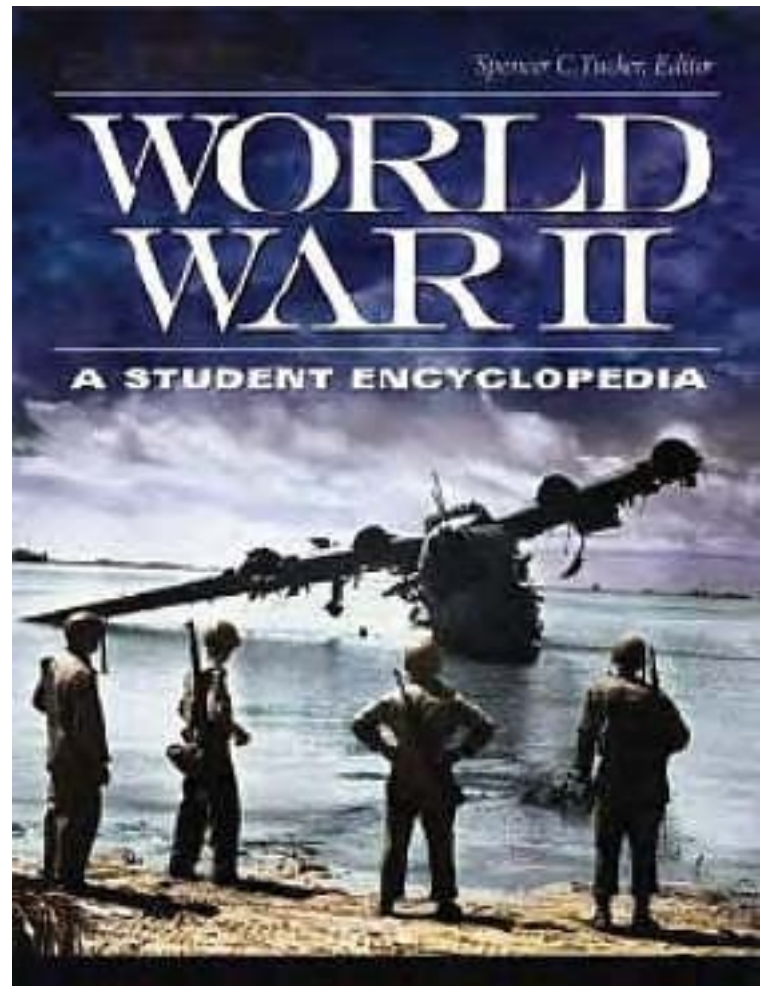


Spencer C. Tucker, Editor

WORLD WAR II

A STUDENT ENCYCLOPEDIA



WORLD WAR II

A Student Encyclopedia

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A Student Encyclopedia

VOLUME I: A – C

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FOREWORD BY
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A B C  C L I O

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*This encyclopedia is dedicated to my Father,
Colonel Cary S. Tucker, USAR (1906–1962),
who fought in the Pacific Theater in World War II*

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Spencer C. Tucker, Ph.D., held the John Biggs Chair of Military History at his alma mater of the Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, for six years until his retirement from teaching in 2003. Before that, he was professor of history for thirty years at Texas Christian University, Fort Worth. He has also been a Fulbright scholar and, as an army captain, an intelligence analyst in the Pentagon. Currently the senior fellow in military history at ABC-CLIO, he has written or edited twenty-three books, including the award-winning *Encyclopedia of the Vietnam War* and the *Encyclopedia of the Korean War*, both published by ABC-CLIO.

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Foreword

I am a child of World War II. The *Anschluss* of Austria was Adolf Hitler's birth gift. The Führer topped that generosity the next year with the Munich Crisis, in which Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain discovered peace in our time, meaning the next eleven months. In the autumn of 1938, my parents and I lived in London, which meant that they became acquainted with gas masks and civil defense air-raid pamphlets. I must have wailed with baby deprivation when I didn't get my own gas mask, too, but there were no gas masks for infants. I have been a fan of appeasement ever since. Of course, I have no memory of the invasion of Poland, but I remember dimly being on the traditional family countryside Sunday drive (soon to be a casualty of war) when NBC told us about Pearl Harbor. My next memory is a radio report about Guadalcanal while living with my grandparents in Bloomington, Indiana. It is hard to believe that their war memories included *their* parents' tales of the Civil War, in which my paternal grandfather had lost three uncles. Guadalcanal was as far away as Antietam.

In our wartime neighborhood in Arlington, Virginia, we fought a proxy war fed by 1945 with enemy souvenirs. My father, an army "emergency" colonel, could provide nothing more interesting than Pentagon papers, but my best friends' fathers were U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) pilots, young lieutenant colonels who commanded B-29 squadrons in the Marianas. Colonels Doubleday and Rustow, both of whom retired as Air Force generals, deluged us with Japanese war matériel, less weapons. We subsequently fought Iwo Jima and Okinawa in the woods off South Hayes Street. I do not recall who got to die in agony for the Emperor, but I certainly know who played a heroic Marine lieutenant with a wooden submachine gun. The best my father, an Army Service Forces planner, could do was to awaken me at O-Dark-Hundred to listen to the first broadcasts about D Day. It was enough then and now.

The last year of the war is a blur—Hitler's death, FDR's death, V-E and V-J Days, the first atomic bombs. I recall that we veterans of the South Hayes Street Front were unhappy to see the war end, probably because we wanted even more Japanese souvenirs, courtesy of the USAAF's XX Bomber Command. As 1946 dawned, we were on our way back to my father's real job, teaching public administration at Columbia University. My postwar veteran's readjustment meant entering the third grade at Leonia (New Jersey) Grammar School. My posttraumatic stress syndrome probably involved sinus headaches and learning I needed glasses for infantile myopia, spoiling my BB gun marksmanship and kickball games.

World War II did not disappear from my scope, however, even when important things intruded, like the Yankees-Giants rivalry and the latest \$2 box of Britain's toy soldiers. Two of my new friends and I wrote a book for a fifth-grade project, mostly cribbed from *Compton's Encyclopedia*. Its title was "Warfare." Most of the book was about World War II, and I wrote about the war with Japan, all five pages. The word count has gone up considerably since 1948, but my interest has been unchecked for almost 60 years of living with World War II. The world has had equal difficulty putting the war behind it, its memory refreshed daily by political allusions, movies, television series, and more than 4,000 books in print in English alone. The fascination with the war reflects a great human truth: we are all children of World War II.

We are children surrounded by the ghosts of the dead of World War II. The graves of the slain stain the earth around the world, although much less so for the United States. The American cemeteries abroad hold only about half of the American wartime combat dead of 292,131 and 113,842 dead of other causes. According to policy, unique among the

belligerents, the United States brought remains back from abroad by family request for reinterment on American soil in national cemeteries like the ones at Arlington, Virginia, or Honolulu, Hawaii. Another option was burial in a private family cemetery, still with a military ceremony and a modest government headstone. For service members for whom no identifiable remains could be found, the largest American cemeteries have memorials that provide the names of the missing in action and unidentified dead, who number 78,955. The largest such memorial is at the National Cemetery of the Pacific (“the Punchbowl”), which lists the names of 18,000 missing in action, most of them airmen and sailors lost forever in the depths of the Pacific Ocean. The cemetery holds 13,000 remains. The two largest American military cemeteries in Europe—Saint-Laurent-sur-Mer, in Normandy, France, and Saint-Avoid, in Lorraine, France—contain the graves of 9,079 and 10,338, respectively, and commemorate 1,864 and 595 missing in action and unidentified dead. That I can provide statistics of reasonable certitude about American wartime losses is telling commentary on how relatively few ghosts the United States provides from the world’s most awful recorded war.

We will never know just how many people died in World War II, but the estimates are horrific and get worse all the time. When I began my life as a professional historian, the estimates of World War II deaths stood at 40 million, more than half of them civilians. The estimates have now climbed above 50 million and may be as high as 60 million. The death toll between 1937 and 1945, arbitrary dates that could be extended easily into the 1950s, has expanded because of recent revelations on the number of Soviet military deaths and the recalculation of war-related deaths throughout China. The totality and globalization of the war is most apparent in one chilling statistic: for the first time in recorded history, more civilians died from direct enemy action than military personnel. Military deaths number in excess of 20 million, civilian deaths probably 35 million. The Axis civilian deaths from bombing and the Red Army’s campaign of revenge from 1944 to 1945 number more than 3 million. Chinese and Russian civilian deaths could be 10 times as many, which explains the enduring hatred of China for Japan and Russia for Germany. By contrast, the deaths of American civilians (excluding Filipinos but not Hawaiians) number 6,200, almost all of whom were merchant seamen.

How does one account for the extent of human suffering among “the innocents” or nonmilitary dead of World War II? Since the warfare of the Napoleonic era, the “civilized” Western nations in practice, national law, and formal international treaty have tried to establish “laws for the conduct of war” or “rules of engagement” that obliged armies to spare nonresisting, nonparticipating civilians caught in the path of

warfare. The first difficulty was that the nineteenth-century codes, brought together in the Hague Convention of 1899, were based on the experiences of armies occupying hostile territory, like the Union army in the rebellious American Confederate states from 1861 to 1865 or the German army in France in 1870 and 1871. When civilians became targets, however inadvertent, of aerial bombing and maritime commerce raiding conducted by submarines in World War I, the rules grew more complex and ambiguous in application. One rationalization was that civilian war-workers in munitions factories on “the Home Front,” a new Great War usage, were no longer innocents but willing participants in the war. Another problem was a military commander’s duty to protect the lives of his men, sometimes called “military necessity.” Why should a submarine commander allow a merchant ship’s captain to get his crew and passengers into lifeboats before the ship was sunk when the ship’s wireless operator could call forth naval assistance that imperiled the submarine? The use of convoys placed escorts nearby, which made surface attacks unattractive. How could a submarine commander risk his crew to pick up survivors? It was one small step to killing enemy merchant mariners in lifeboats and in the water, either with machine guns or by abandonment, a common practice of all submarine forces in World War II.

The growing vagaries of international maritime law do not explain the genocidal nature of World War II. Virulent nationalism, infected with a peculiar brand of racism and religious discrimination, set off the waves of mass murder that characterized the war. By legal definition—regarded as moral standards in some societies—civilians and prisoners of war (POWs) are to be protected from death by the occupying or detaining power. Nazi Germany, Imperial Japan, and the Soviet Union showed how little such standards meant. The Germans still enjoy the dubious distinction of being the most genocidal belligerents of World War II. The Nazi regime divided its victims into three broad categories of exploitation and death: (1) European Jews, 6 million of whom perished as captives in the Holocaust, an exercise in genocide in which almost all European nations participated with some level of complicity; (2) Slavs, broadly defined but especially Poles and Russians, civilians and POWs, whose deaths by murder furthered the “repopulation” and enslavement of eastern Europe required by the *lebensraum* of the Thousand-Year Reich and whose deaths by starvation and disease as slave laborers underwrote the Nazi industrial war effort, numbering an estimated 12 to 15 million; and (3) prisoners of war, resistance fighters, hostages, famine victims, and conscripted laborers from western European nations who died, estimated at around 1 million. Deaths in Great Britain and for the British merchant marine numbered about 100,000. The victims of Imperial Japan were

principally other Asians (the Chinese, the Filipinos) and reached an estimated 9 million. Axis civilian deaths numbered an estimated high of 3 million, about equally divided between the fatalities of strategic bombing and the Soviet ethnic cleansing of 1944 and 1945. When deaths are measured against population, the most victimized nation was Poland, attacked and massacred by Germany and the Soviet Union after 1939; 6 million of 34 million Poles died (Jews and gentiles). One of every 3 Poles left Poland; 1 in 10 eventually returned. Only an estimated 100,000 Poles died fighting in uniform in 1939 or in the exile armed forces eventually formed in France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union. Geographic vulnerability and appeasement politics could not be redressed by fighting heart, ample enough in the Polish armed forces and the urban guerrillas of the Warsaw ghetto uprising (1943) and the Home Army's war in the same city the next year.

The Asia-Pacific war had its horrific novelties. After 1945, Japanese political leaders, now good conservative-capitalists, cultivated the impression that Japan had been a victim of racism, goaded into war and then attacked in "a war without mercy." To save his people, another innocent victim, Emperor Hirohito, shocked by the atomic bombs that leveled Hiroshima and Nagasaki, surrendered his helpless nation. This version of Japan's war—still believed by many Japanese—served the American postwar purpose, which was to make Japan an anti-Communist bastion against Communist China and the Soviet Union. Japan's real victims—China, the Philippines, Malaya, Australia, and Vietnam—never forgot the real war. I witnessed a colonel of the People's Liberation Army thanking Brigadier General Paul W. Tibbets Jr., U.S. Air Force (Ret.), for freeing China. The Chinese colonel only regretted that the United States had chosen peace rather than dropping more atomic bombs.

The Japanese conducted their war against fellow Asians with only a little less sympathy than they showed the hated Europeans—which meant American, British, Dutch, Canadian, French, Australian, and New Zealand military personnel and civilians. Only 65 percent of the 80,000 Europeans held by Japan as POWs or civilian internees survived the war; capricious execution (mostly of Allied airmen), casual murder, and studied neglect of food and medical needs doomed Allied POWs. The Japanese treatment of fellow Asians beggars the imagination, the most egregious example being the month-long orgy of murder, torture, and rapine in Nanjing that took at least 200,000 Chinese lives. The Japanese used Asians for their varied forms of inhumane projects: army brothels, forced labor, bayonet practice, germ-warfare experiments, medical "research" that included vivisection, and the mass murder of hostages and helpless villagers.

For all its atrocious behavior, Japan escaped a reckoning worthy of its crimes against humanity. It lost the war because the United States destroyed its navy and its army and naval air forces. It is true that Japan lost close to 2 million servicemen and probably 500,000 civilians from a population of 72 million, but Germany had more than 3 million service dead and more than 2 million civilian dead from a population of 78 million. When the Asia-Pacific war ended, the Allies took custody of over 5 million overseas Japanese and returned them to Japan. The only Japanese who really paid the loser's price were those captured by the Soviets in Manchuria and Korea; of the 600,000 Japanese and Koreans taken into the Soviet Union as human reparations, only 224,000 survived to return home by 1950. The sudden Japanese surrender, motivated by a frantic effort to save the institution of the emperor, deprived the Soviets of additional revenge for their defeat at the hands of Japan in 1905. Japan may have lost its empire in 1945, but it saved its soul, however unique.

World War II marked the apogee of the military power of the nation-state, the culmination of a process of institutional development that began for Europe in the sixteenth century. To wage war effectively, Prussian General Karl von Clausewitz opined in the 1820s, a nation required the complete commitment and balanced participation of its government, its armed forces, and its people. He might have added its economy to "the holy trinity" he analyzed in *Vom Krieg*. Phrased another way, the 56 belligerent states of World War II could create and sustain an industrialized war effort that in theory left no significant portion of their population or resources untouched. Wartime participation might be voluntary or coerced—usually both—but it was complete, at least in intent. Whatever their prewar political system, the belligerents all came to look like modern Spartas, with their national life conditioned by war-waging.

The authoritarian, police-state character of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union is familiar enough to be ignored as an example of total mobilization, but the experience of Great Britain, a paragon of individual liberty, dramatizes the depths of wartime sacrifice and dislocation, even for a nominal victor. First of all, Great Britain, with a population of 47 million, put almost 6 million men and women into the armed forces, a level of participation about the same as that of the United States. The raw demographics, however, do not do justice to the British commitment. British male deaths of World War I (900,000) and the male children the dead of the Somme would have sired meant that Great Britain had a limited manpower pool from which to draw. Conscription of able-bodied men (and some not able-bodied or young) became almost complete in theory but still

had to deal with the personnel demands of critical occupations: fishing, farming, coal mining, the merchant marine, civil defense and fire fighting, railroads, war material and munitions manufacturing, and health services. Twenty-one million Britons served in war-essential jobs. No sector was adequately staffed, even though almost all British males from teenagers to the elderly who were not in the services found a place in such organizations as the Ground Observer Corps, the Home Guard, and police and fire-fighter auxiliaries. British women filled some of the essential jobs; about half the adult female population of Great Britain took full-time jobs or joined the armed forces. The other part of the female population cared for children and the elderly and did volunteer work that supported the armed forces and the industrial workforce. Male and female, Britons worked more than 50 hours a week, endured German air attacks, and attempted to live on shrinking rations of meat, sugar, eggs, dairy products, and all sugar-dependent condiments like jam and pastries, and tea. Only fish, bread, and vegetables were available in reasonable quantities, thanks to the heroic efforts of the fishing industry and the emergency cultivation of marginal farmlands, inadequately fertilized. As American GIs flooded Great Britain in 1943 and 1944, they redistributed their own imported, ample rations to the British people, sometimes for profit, more often in charity.

There is no reason to doubt that the British war effort represented a voluntary national commitment to survival outside the Axis orbit. Yet behind the stiff upper lips and choruses of “Land of Hope and Glory,” a national government of iron will and ample authority ensured that Britons put the war effort first. The British intelligence services and police had broad powers to ferret out spies, dissenters, war profiteers, and civil criminals. The Official Secrets Act could have been written on the Continent. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the newspapers became essentially an arm of the Churchill government. Military catastrophes—and there were many from 1940 until 1944—disappeared into a void of silence or received the special spin that the War Office and the Admiralty had perfected since the Napoleonic Wars. In such a world, Narvik became an experiment in countering amphibious operations and the pursuit of the *Bismarck* only a combat test of Royal Navy ship design. At heart a war correspondent as well as a politician, Winston Churchill needed no Josef Goebbels.

For most of the major belligerents, World War II seemed a larger repetition of the challenges of World War I, and many of the political and military leaders between 1939 and 1945 had rich experience in coping with a national mobilization for war. Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt had held important administrative positions in a wartime government when Hitler was a *frontsoldat* (front-line soldier) in the advanced

rank of corporal and Benito Mussolini was having a similar military experience fighting the Austrians in the Tyrol. The Anglo-American alliance profited from authoritarian leadership that remained answerable to a representative legislative branch. The Allies welcomed European exiles to their war effort, knowing the wide range of talents modern war required. Even Josef Stalin released more than a million political prisoners because he needed their services. Hitler, by contrast, killed 300,000 of his countrymen, imprisoned hundreds of thousands more, and drove thousands into the arms of his enemies.

The lessons of World War I could be interpreted in several ways, and Hitler’s “lessons” contributed to Germany’s defeat. The Nazis resisted surrendering any managerial power to their talented industrial class, and Hitler refused to embrace long war economic programs until 1943. The German civilian population received ample food supplies while the slave-labor force starved to death, a considerable drag on productivity. Albert Speer, Hitler’s favorite architect, did not take control of the German economy until it was about two years too late to win the war with superweapons or mass-produced, simpler tanks, aircraft, trucks, artillery pieces, and tactical communications. The Allies produced 10,000 fighter aircraft in 1940; the Germans did not reach that annual production until 1943. The Germans, in a heroic effort, then produced 26,000 fighters in 1944, but the Allies had already more than doubled this force with 67,000 fighters the same year. Pilot experience and gasoline supplies contributed to the Luftwaffe’s demise, but so too did Allied aircraft numbers. The Japanese made a comparable economic-strategic error in handling imported petroleum from the occupied Dutch East Indies. Unlike the British and American navies, tested by the German submarine force in World War I, the Imperial Japanese Navy did too little too late to maintain a tanker fleet and protect it with well-escorted convoys. The Indonesian wells pumped merrily away, but the actual tonnage of crude oil that reached Japan dropped by half in 1944. The U.S. Navy failed to protect the Allied tanker fleet in the Caribbean in 1942, but it then enforced convoy discipline and provided adequate escorts and air coverage. In 1943, the navy checked the U-boats’ “happy times” in creating flaming merchant ships. Time and again, the Allies faced problems like maintaining a viable industrial workforce or allocating scarce raw materials. The war managers found the appropriate technical solutions in the World War I experience, and their political leaders found ways to make their people’s economic sacrifices acceptable for World War II.

The exploitation of the means of mass communication reflected the war’s populist character. Once again, World War I—the poster war—provided precedents that World War II exploited to the fullest. No belligerent government

functioned without an office of public information. No military establishment went to war without press officers and morale officers. The Soviets called their officers commissars, the Americans public information officers. The Germans published *Signal*, the Americans *Stars and Stripes*. The civilian populations, however, received the full media blitz. The international motion picture industry went to war, producing eternal images in sound and living color (sometimes) of the wartime leaders and their causes. The newsreels that preceded commercial films brought the war news (in highly selected form) to the home front. Documentary feature films made legends of director-producers like Leni Riefenstahl, Frank Capra, Sir J. Arthur Rank, Sergei Eisenstein, and Watanabe Kunio. Radios reached even more people than movies; by 1939—as a matter of Nazi policy—70 percent of German families had radios, and they were not designed to pick up the BBC. In the United States and Great Britain, 37 million households owned radios. One-third of wartime broadcasts were war news and commentary. Public loud-speaker systems provided the same services in poorer belligerents like the Soviet Union and Japan. The war turned words and images into weapons.

World War II became so lethal because all the major belligerents, even China, had entered the industrial-electronic age by the twentieth century. Technological innovation and mass production worked hand in hand to give the armed forces a capacity for destruction on every type of battlefield that had been demonstrated in World War I and brought to higher levels of destructiveness in the 1940s. Governments and private industry collaborated to institutionalize research and development; to obtain essential raw materials to make steel and rubber; to recruit and train skilled workers; to build factories capable of mass production; and to fabricate munitions, weapons, and vehicles that filled military requirements. The war industries of World War II could even go underground, as they did in Germany and China, or move a thousand miles out of harm's way, as they did in the Soviet Union.

The technology of the war was shaped by two major developments: (1) the evolution of the internal combustion engine fed by fossil fuels, and (2) the exploitation of the electromagnetic spectrum through the development of batteries or generators tied to internal combustion engines, whether they powered aircraft, ships, or vehicles. A parallel development was the ability to make essential parts of engines and radios lighter and more durable by creating components of plastic and alloyed metals and using special wiring, optics, and crystals. The knowledge and skill to pursue these developments was international and uncontrollable. Although one or another national military establishment might become a technological pioneer—like that of the Germans in jet

engines and the Anglo-Americans in nuclear weapons—no instrument of war was beyond the technical capability of the principal belligerents, except China.

The air war dramatizes how rapidly aviation technology advanced and how radar (radio direction and ranging) influenced the battle for the skies. The first strategic bombing raids of the war (1939–1940) involved Royal Air Force bombers whose bomb loads were 4,500 to 7,000 pounds maximum and whose range (round-trip) was around 2,000 miles; the German Heinkel He-111 H-6 had similar characteristics. The last strategic bombing campaign (by the USAAF on Japan in 1945) was conducted by the B-29, which had a 5,600 mile maximum range and 20,000 pound maximum bomb load. The earliest bombing raids involved traditional navigation methods of ground sightings, compass headings, and measurements of air speed and elapsed time. The B-29s had all these options (including celestial navigation at night), but they also relied on radio navigation beacons and ground-search radar to measure speed, direction, and altitude. Radar also assisted in the location of target cities. Aerial gunners on first-generation bombers fired light machine guns with visual sights; B-29 gunners fired remote-controlled automatic cannon and machine guns. Of course, radar also made air defenses more formidable. British air early-warning radar reached out 185 miles, German radar 125 miles, Japanese radar 62 miles, and American radar 236 miles. Airborne and surface naval search radars ranged from 3 to 15 miles. The best anti-aircraft gun-laying radars could plot targets from 18 to 35 miles distant.

Naval warfare also exploited the new technologies of propulsion, navigation, target acquisition, and ordnance to make war at sea more destructive. For example, the U.S. Navy commissioned 175 *Fletcher*-class destroyers (DD 445–804), the largest single production run of a surface warship by any wartime navy. These ships weighed about 3,000 tons and carried a crew of 300, putting them on the high side of displacement and manning for World War II destroyers. They bristled with weapons designed to destroy aircraft, ships, and submarines. The five 5-inch, 38-caliber dual-purpose main battery guns were mounted in turrets fore and aft, and each gun could fire 12 shells a minute in sustained fire. The *Fletchers* mounted 10 torpedo tubes amidships for the standard Mark XIV electric-turbine-powered, 21-inch-diameter torpedo with a warhead of 600 pounds of explosive. To combat enemy submarines, the *Fletchers* had two depth-charge racks bolted to the stern; each rack carried six Mark VII 600 pound depth charges. Each destroyer also employed a K-gun or depth-charge launcher that could propel a 200 pound depth charge out to a range of over 100 yards; the normal pattern of a K-gun attack incorporated nine depth charges. As the war progressed, the depth

charges, like the hedgehog system of rocket charges, improved in sinking speed, depth, and detonation systems.

A major mission for a destroyer, probably the dominant mission in the war with Japan, was to serve as an antiaircraft platform in a carrier battle group. The main battery turret guns provided the first layer of defense. They improved their lethality by a factor of five with the deployment of the proximity fuse for shells in 1944. The proximity fuse detonated a shell by radio waves emitted and returned in the shell's nose cone; this miniature radar system gave new meaning to a near miss, as Japanese kamikaze pilots learned. The close-in defense system depended on rapid-firing automatic cannon adopted in 40 mm and 20 mm configurations that could be single, dual-mounted, or quadruple-mounted gun systems. By the end of the war, *Fletchers* had 16 of these antiaircraft artillery (AAA) stations of "pom-poms."

A *Fletcher*-class destroyer could not have fought its tridimensional naval war without the use of the electromagnetic spectrum. The AAA radar suite included the mating of three different radars to provide information on the altitude, speed, distance, and numbers of incoming aircraft up to 40,000 yards distant from the ship. The surface-search system of two radars provided coverage of up to 40,000 yards of ocean around the ship. The radars sent data to the ship's combat information center, where the gunnery director sent data to the gun captains and subordinate fire directors for the main batteries; the turret fire directors often received the same radar returns so that they could order targets engaged as soon as the central fire director assigned priorities to targets.

For antisubmarine warfare, a *Fletcher*-class destroyer employed passive and active acoustical systems to acquire targets. Hydrophone systems, either attached to a ship or deployed in the ocean's depths, listened for undersea noises like a submarine's propeller. The active radio systems—called "asdic" by the British and "sonar" by the Americans—had varied properties for beam strength, range, depth, and degrees of coverage, but the multi-transmitter systems could detect and track a submarine at only about 2 miles, thereby being most useful for target localization. When the radio beams reached out and touched something, experienced sonar operators faced the challenge of differentiating a submarine from a large whale. Electronic displays aboard the destroyer showed the direction, speed, and depth of its underwater target but only briefly and through a sea made dark with noise by the movement of the destroyer itself. Successful attacks on submarines still required a dose of good luck and tactical cunning that could be gained only by experience.

Although the Allies used aircraft (also radar equipped) to attack Axis submarines and submarines also sank sub-

marines, surface warships like the *Fletchers* broke the back of the Axis submarine force. The Germans lost 625 of 871 U-boats, and Japanese submariners went to the bottom in 74 of their 77 submarines.

The blinding acceleration of technological innovations in warfare since 1945 should not devalue the advances between 1914 and 1945, especially in the interwar period from 1919 to 1939. In a brief span of two decades, scientists, inventors, engineers, designers, and military users conceived of a variety of weapons that brought direct, immediate death and destruction to a new level of probability for soldiers and civilians alike. Atomic bombs and the B-29 bombers that carried them had entered the early development phase in the United States before Pearl Harbor, a combination of foresight, fear, and ferocity. Although J. Robert Oppenheimer was referring to the awesome fireball of his test bomb when he quoted the Hindu god Vishnu, "I am become death, destroyer of worlds," his reverie could have applied to the whole World War II arsenal.

Although World War II survives as the most destructive and geographically extensive interstate conflict in history, it also included at least 20 civil wars. These wars within a war often extended beyond 1945, filling the vacuum created by failed occupations and social upheaval. In many aspects, these civil wars repeated a similar phenomenon that followed the collapse of the German, Austro-Hungarian, and Ottoman Empires in the last stages of World War I. As the Bolsheviks had proved in 1917, a great war created the preconditions for a great revolution. The new wave of civil wars came in many forms. The civil war in Spain, from 1936 to 1939, is often interpreted as an opening phase of World War II, as is the Sino-Japanese War that began in 1937. Both of these conflicts are more accurately the first of the new civil wars that attracted foreign intervention. They set the global pattern of combining the Big War with many little wars, little only in their disaggregated nature. All the little wars produced a revolution in world affairs, the era of decolonization.

The civil wars of World War II often began in collaboration with the Axis occupations and the resistance to those occupations. The Stalinist and Nazi forms of coerced corporatism had global appeal in the chaotic 1930s. Japan enjoyed a modest reputation for its anti-European anticolonialism and for its economic dynamism and superficial modernity. The Spanish Civil War gave the world the term for internal subversion, "the Fifth Column." Norway provided the word for treacherous politician, "quisling." The collaborators were pro-Fascist, if not pro-German. Many were simple opportunists, adventurers, and minor functionaries. Some were ardent anti-Communists, the ideological glue that joined Belgians and Bulgarians; some were anti-Semitic, the paranoia that unified Frenchmen with Hungarians. Volunteers

from every western European nation joined the Waffen SS to exterminate Jews and Bolsheviks. For the Finns and Romanians, Germany was a powerful ally in their continuing war with the Soviets. The Balkans were especially complex. Mouthing memories of the Roman conquest of Thrace and Dacia, Benito Mussolini invaded Moslem Albania in 1939, to which the British responded with a partisan war mounted from Kosovo, Yugoslavia. This war created a hero, Enver Hoxha, a Communist dictator until 1983. When the patchwork monarchy of Yugoslavia came apart with a German occupation in 1941, the Slovenes and Croats used the Germans to wage war on the Serbian Chetnik ultranationalists (the Mihajlović group) and the Communist resistance movement led by Josip Broz, a Croat revolutionary known as Tito. Before the Germans abandoned Yugoslavia in September 1944, more than a million Yugoslavs had died, the majority killed by their fellow countrymen, not the Germans. The Soviets then pillaged all of Yugoslavia, Communist-held areas included.

The Europe of 1943 through 1945 became a kaleidoscope of shifting political loyalties as the German occupations began to collapse. When an Italian royalist coalition deposed Mussolini and surrendered to the Allies in September 1943, Italy split wide open. Hitler rescued Mussolini and supported a rump Fascist regime in the Po Valley. Part of the Italian army stayed with the Germans, part joined the Allies, and most of its troops became German prisoners. The resistance movement, formed by northern Communists, built a solid political base in 1944 and 1945 by killing Germans and other Italians, including devout Catholic villagers and their priests. They also killed Mussolini. The experience of the Poles followed a similar course. When the Germans destroyed the Jewish resistance and the Home Army, the exile Poles inherited the leadership of national liberation. The difficulty was that there were two Polish exile governments, the Catholic Nationalists in London and the Communists in Lublin. By 1945, there were two Polish armies, both bearing the Polish eagle. The armored division and parachute brigade in France and a two-division corps (with armor) in Italy represented the London Poles. The Communist Poles formed a nine-division force with five additional armored brigades that joined the Red Army in July 1944. When the Soviets rolled through Poland, the Communist Poles took control of Poland and held it for 45 years. The Free Poles joined Europe's 16 million "displaced persons."

As the Soviets battered their way into eastern Europe in 1944 and 1945, they ensured that native Communists, backed by a "people's" police and army, took control of Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, and Hungary. Tito kept the Soviet Union out of Yugoslavia as an extended occupier; the Albanian Communists seized power; the non-Communist

Czechs held out until 1948; and the Greek civil war flared between the royalists and Communists almost as soon as a British Commonwealth expeditionary force accepted the Germans' surrender. In France, the Resistance partisans attacked collaborators during the liberation, then held war crimes trials for the Vichyites. The same pattern appeared in Belgium, the Netherlands, and Norway.

The Middle East became a region beset by civil strife during World War II. German agents in Palestine and Iraq encouraged the Arabs to attack the Palestinian Jews, the pro-British Jordanian monarchy, and the pro-British Iraqi monarchy. A revolt actually occurred in Iraq in 1941, and terrorism and guerrilla warfare plagued Palestine. The British forces in Egypt watched the Egyptian army with care because of the pro-Axis sympathies of its officer corps. To the south, Commonwealth forces liberated Ethiopia and Somalia from the Italians, assisted by both Moslems and Coptic Christians. In the Levant, Free French colonial and British forces took Lebanon and Syria away from the Vichyites but found the Moslem nationalists unwilling to accept another French colonial government, setting the stage for the French withdrawal under duress in 1946.

Throughout Asia, the anti-imperialist resistance movements developed a two-phase strategy: (1) fight the Japanese hard enough to attract Allied money and arms, and (2) build a popular political base and native guerrilla army capable of opposing the reimposition of European colonial rule after Japan's defeat. For native Communists, active since the 1920s, the second task offered a chance to replace or challenge the native nationalists, who saw communism as a new form of Soviet or Chinese imperialism. Some Asian resistance movements reflected civil strife between a dominant ethnic majority and an oppressed minority, like the Chinese in Malaya, the Dyaks of Borneo, and the Chin, Kachen, Karen, and Shan hill tribes of Burma. Fighting the Japanese had some appeal to the partisans; fighting each other or preparing to fight each other had equal priority. In China, the Nationalists of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek (now Jiang Jieshi) and his Guomindang (Kuomintang) Party conducted minimal operations against the Japanese and improved their American arsenal for the continuing struggle against the Chinese Communists of Mao Zedong, building their own forces in north China. In the Philippines, *americanista* partisans, supplied by General Douglas MacArthur, vied with the Communist *hukbalahap* guerrillas for primacy on Luzon. MacArthur's massive return in 1944 and 1945 swung the balance to the *americanistas* but only temporarily, since the *hukbalahaps* fought for control of the independent Philippines (as of 1946) for years thereafter.

Elsewhere in Asia, the collapse of the Japanese Empire set off more postcolonial civil wars. In Indochina, the Communists (under Ho Chi Minh) already held the field by

default since the Japanese had crushed their rivals in a premature uprising in 1944. In Malaya, the resistance movement had formed around the Chinese minority, while the Malay Moslem elite, supported by Great Britain, patiently waited for liberation and a final confrontation with the Malaya Chinese. Modern Malaya and the modern island-state of Singapore are the products of that decades-long struggle that began in 1945. In the Dutch East Indies, the Moslem nationalists (whose most extreme members created today's abu-Sayyid terrorist group) played off collaborationism with the Japanese with guerrilla warfare for the Allies to create a resistance movement that fought a Dutch return from 1945 to 1949. More civil strife continued until the army-led nationalists replaced the charismatic President Achmet Sukarno and destroyed the Indonesian Communists in a civil war in the 1960s that killed at least half a million Indonesians. One neglected aspect of the Japanese hurried surrender—usually explained by the influence of two nuclear weapons and Soviet intervention—is the Imperial peace faction's fear of a Communist-led popular revolt in Japan.

There is no question that the movement of great armies throughout Europe in 1944 and 1945 created social destruction of unimagined proportions, which set the stage for postwar revolutionary changes. In 1945, more than 50 million Europeans found themselves severed from their original homes. Thirteen million orphans wandered across the land. The Allies appeased the Soviet Union by the forced repatriation of 6 million Soviet citizens (defined in Moscow) who had found their way to western Europe as POWs, forced laborers, or military allies of the Germans, like the Ukrainians and varied anti-Bolshevik Cossack clans. Sending these people—most often neither Russian nor Communist—back to the Soviet Union resulted in the death or imprisonment of 80 percent of the repatriates, but it also cut the “displaced persons” population of Europe. To a Europe already plagued with famine and on the brink of epidemic diseases, the Anglo-American forces brought food and medicine, distributed by the United Nations, individual governments, and private relief organizations. The Soviets not only ferreted out former Nazis in their German and Austrian occupation zones but also stripped off food supplies, factories, transportation assets, and raw materials for the USSR's reconstruction. They also imprisoned eastern Europeans who had fought in the Allied armed forces, and former partisans (no matter their politics) faced a similar fate or worse. At war's end, the Soviets had held or still held 3 million Wehrmacht POWs, most of them placed in forced-labor camps in the Urals or Siberia. Only 1 million returned to Germany by the time the last POWs were released in 1955.

Not known for his radical politics, General of the Army

Douglas MacArthur recognized the enormity of the war and its revolutionary implications for all mankind. In a post-surrender radio broadcast, MacArthur gave one of his greatest sermons: “We have had our last chance. If we do not now devise some greater and more equitable system, Armageddon will be at our door.”

The children of World War II are rapidly becoming the aging men and women of the twenty-first century. Their parents, who lived through the war as young adults, may or may not be “the greatest generation,” but they are most certainly a disappearing generation. Will the grip of World War II on the popular culture and politics of Eurasia loosen as the living memory of the war fades? It does not seem likely. Even in Japan, where historical amnesia is institutionalized in the school system, the residual remembrance will continue at the Hiroshima Peace Park, Yasukuni Shrine, and the new “Peace Museum” in Tokyo. Even if Japan still takes refuge in its self-assigned victimization, contact with other Asians (especially the Chinese) and Americans will expose the Japanese to an alternative perspective. As for the Germans, had they not renounced their Nazi past, admitted their criminality, and continued programs to compensate their victims—a process still under way—the Russians and the Jews would be at their collective throats. Yad Vashem in Jerusalem and the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C., will keep alive the images of German atrocities for world visitors. Russia is a nation of war memorials, mass graves, and long memories. Few Russians families who lived west of the Urals escaped the war without loss; those whom the Germans didn't kill, Stalin's work camps, factories, and military system did. The American experience—a low number of military deaths by World War II standards and virtually no civilian deaths in the continental United States—was a global anomaly. American cultural gurus—even combat veterans—suffer little embarrassment in calling World War II “the good war,” with both moral and existential meaning. Although the Eurasian nations still have collective posttraumatic stress syndrome after 60 years, the United States has finally built a real World War II memorial in Washington and recognized its World War II veterans, who had gratefully used their GI Bill benefits and faded back into the general population. Sixty years later, their children and grandchildren learn in wonderment of their perils, their courage, and their leadership—or lack thereof.

The informal, tribal communication of historical meaning will no doubt preserve the World War II memory in those societies most affected by the war, but the American people will continue to profit from the more formal written word. Although family tradition can preserve the war as a personal, human experience—as institutionalized in local muse-

ums and oral-history projects—World War II demands the continued attention of professional historians who can provide a broader vision of the war's conduct and consequences. As this encyclopedia project shows, the number of topics and international historians such a study requires continues to grow. These volumes represent a giant step forward as a ref-

erence work and should encourage more students of the war to continue the search for the effect and meaning of the modern world's most destructive war.

Dr. Allan R. Millett

Maj. Gen. Raymond E. Mason Jr.

Professor of Military History

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Preface

One might disagree as to which of the two world wars of the twentieth century made a greater impact. World War I had the larger overall influence in changing the course of events, but World War II was certainly the most wide-ranging and costly conflict in human history; it ultimately involved, to some degree, every major power and region of the world.

Wars are preventable, and World War II was no exception. It represented the triumph of inadequate leadership and narrow nationalism over internationalism. Unfortunately, little has changed in that regard. The League of Nations has given way to the United Nations, but we still live in a state of international anarchy in that each nation pursues the course of action it deems most appropriate to further its own interests. This is not the outcome that many who fought in the conflict were seeking.

This encyclopedia treats the causes, the course, and, to some extent, the effects of the war. With the exception of introductory essays, as well as the glossary of terms and the selective bibliography, all entries are arranged alphabetically. These cover the major theaters of war, the campaigns, the individual battles, the major weapons systems, the diplomatic conferences, and the key individuals on all sides of the conflict. We have also included entries on the home fronts and on the role of women in the war, and we have sought to address some of the war's historiographical controversies and major turning points.

Throughout, we have followed the system the Japanese use for expressing their personal names—that is, with the family name followed by the given name. In Chinese proper names

and locations, we use both the pinyin system and the older Wade-Giles system. The Wade-Giles system was first devised by British diplomat-linguist Thomas F. Wade in 1859 to help in pronouncing the official Mandarin and/or Putonghua. His work was slightly revised in 1912 by another British consular officer, Herbert A. Giles. This system has its defects, since many Chinese sounds have no exact counterpart in English. For the first consonant in “zero,” for example, the Wade-Giles romanization uses “ts” and/or “tz,” and for Chen Yi, both “Chen Yi” and “Chen I” are acceptable. Following the establishment of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), a new system for expressing Chinese words in the Latin alphabet was adopted in the 1970s, at the same time that the PRC devised and used simplified characters for written Chinese. Known as pinyin, this new system was intended to ensure standardized spelling, with each vowel and consonant having a counterpart in English. Still, variation in pronunciation is inevitable because of the four tones of each Chinese vowel and consonant and because of different Chinese dialects. Throughout this encyclopedia, however, we have endeavored to employ the most recent spelling forms: thus, for instance, we use “Guandong” rather than “Kwantung.”

All of us who have labored on this encyclopedia trust that it will be an asset both for scholars and for students of World War II. We hope also that it will contribute to the understanding of how wars occur and that this might help in preventing them in the future. Finally, we seek to preserve the contributions of the many who fought and died in the conflict, no matter the side.

Dr. Spencer C. Tucker

Acknowledgments

Many people contributed to this encyclopedia. I retired as holder of the John Biggs Chair in Military History at the Virginia Military Institute (VMI) in the summer of 2003, and I am grateful to a number of cadet assistants who worked with me on this project in the several years before my retirement. Alex Haseley, Daniel Cragg, Lawton Way, and above all Shelley Cox helped chase down obscure facts and bibliographical citations. I am also appreciative of assistance provided by staff members of the Preston Library at VMI, especially Lieutenant Colonel Janet Holley, for their repeated gracious assistance, even following my retirement.

Of course, I am greatly in the debt of assistant editors Jack Greene; Dr. Malcolm Muir Jr.; Dr. Priscilla Roberts; Colonel Cole Kingseed, USA (Ret.), Ph.D.; and Major General David Zabecki, USAR, Ph.D. Each brought a special expertise to the project, and their reading of the manuscript has helped improve it immeasurably. Dr. Debbie Law of the Hong Kong University Open Learning Institute read all the Chinese entries and assisted with their editing and the pinyin and Wade-Giles spellings. Rear Admiral Hirama Yoichi (Ret.), Ph.D., located Japanese authors for many entries, checked their work, and answered many inquiries.

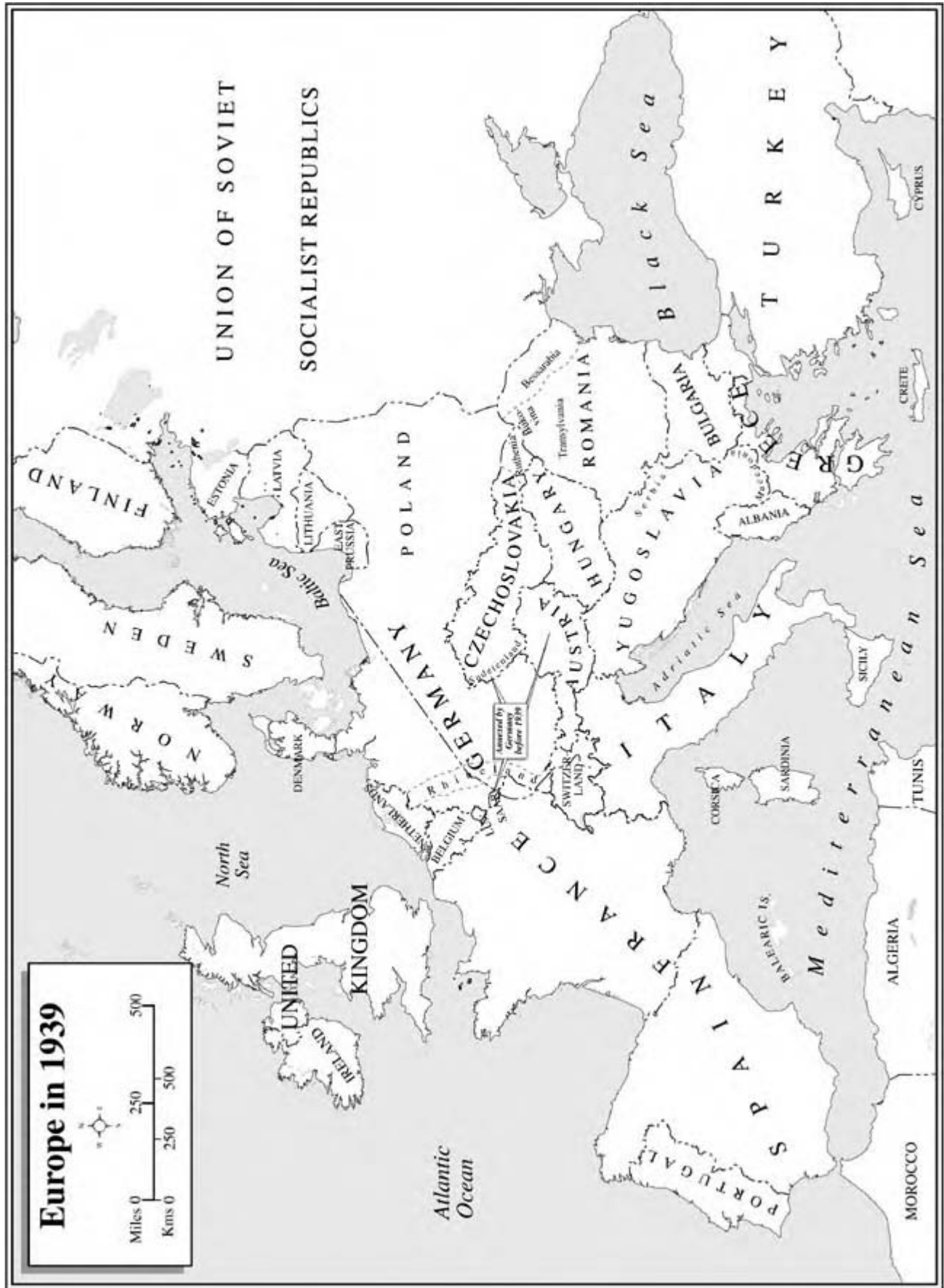
We are pleased to have a large number of foreign authors in this project, including scholars from such nations as Austria, Australia, Britain, China, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, and Russia. We believe that these authors provide unique perspectives and, in many cases, information that is not available in other sources. This reference work has the most complete biographies of Chinese, Japanese, and Soviet individuals of any general encyclopedia of the war to appear in English.

I am also grateful to a number of contributors who took on additional tasks when others dropped out, especially Dr. Priscilla Roberts but also Drs. Timothy Dowling, Eric Osborne, and Ned Willmott. Members of the Editorial Advisory Board suggested changes to the entry list, recommended contributors, and, in most cases, wrote entries. One member of the board, Gordon Hogg, a research librarian by profession but also a linguist, has proved invaluable to this project by assisting in chasing down obscure facts, bibliographical citations, and arcane matters of language.

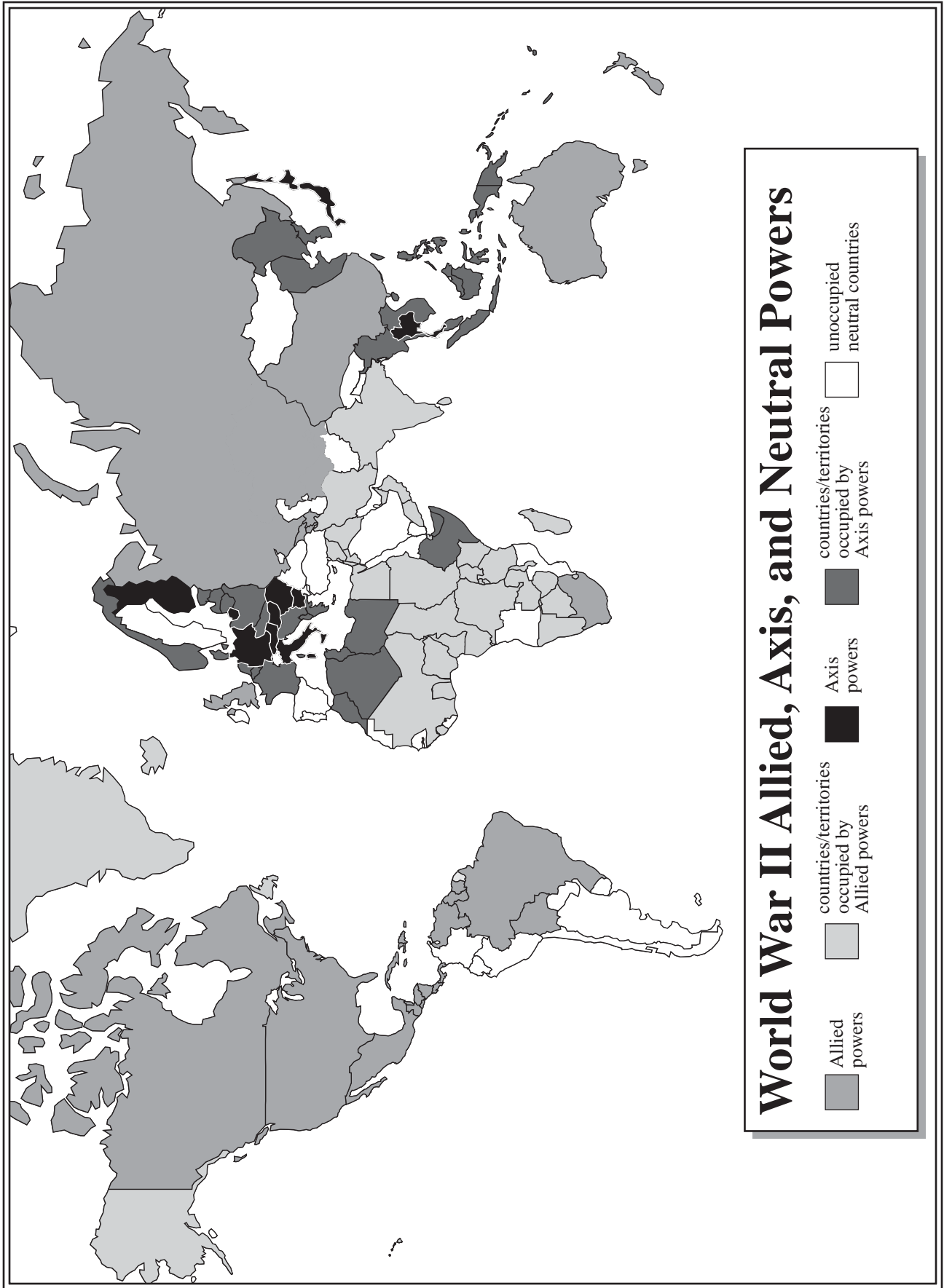
Finally, I am most especially grateful to Dr. Beverly Tucker for her forbearance in regard to my long hours in front of the computer. She is, in the end, my strongest supporter in everything I do.

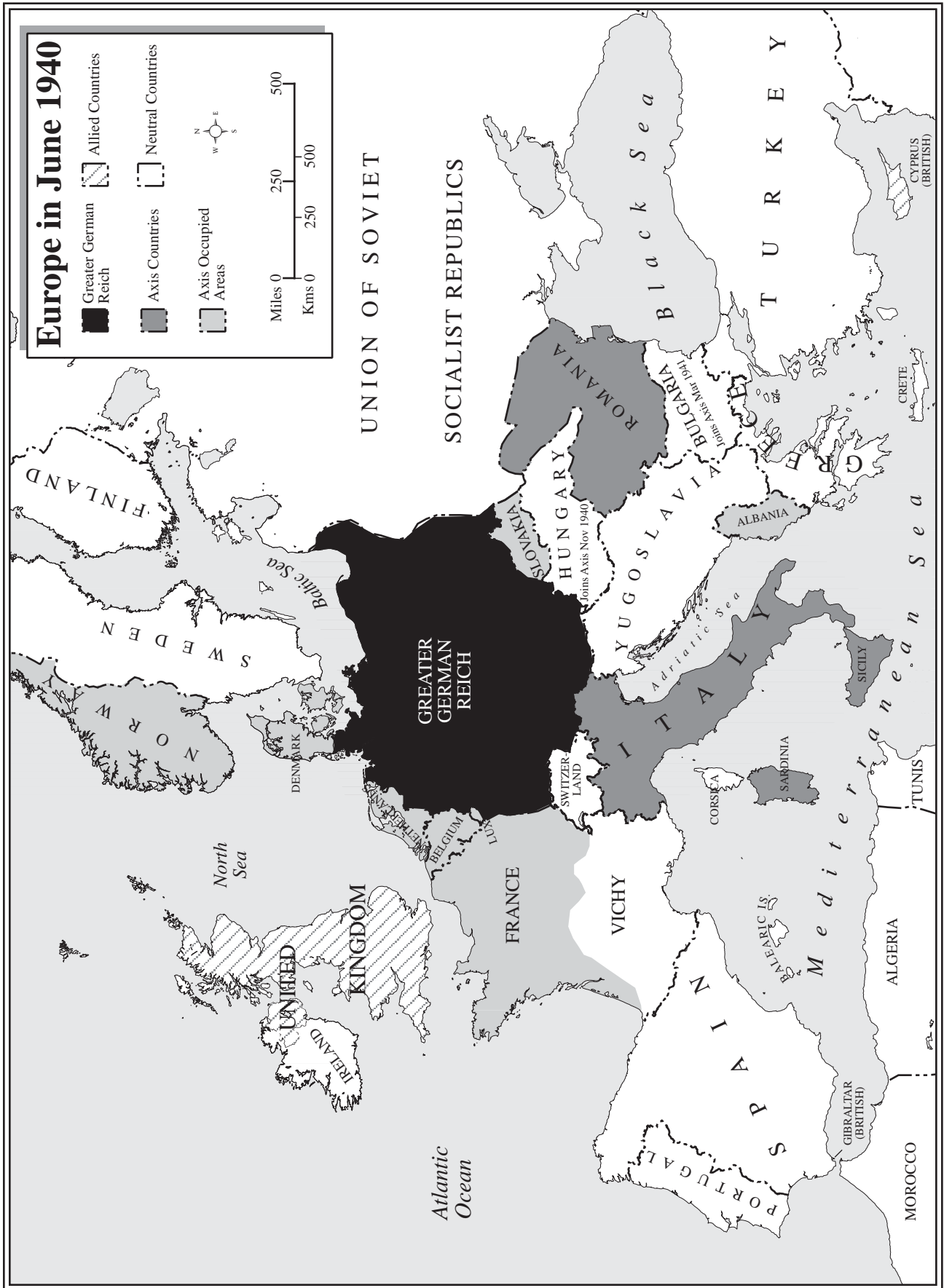
Dr. Spencer C. Tucker

General Maps

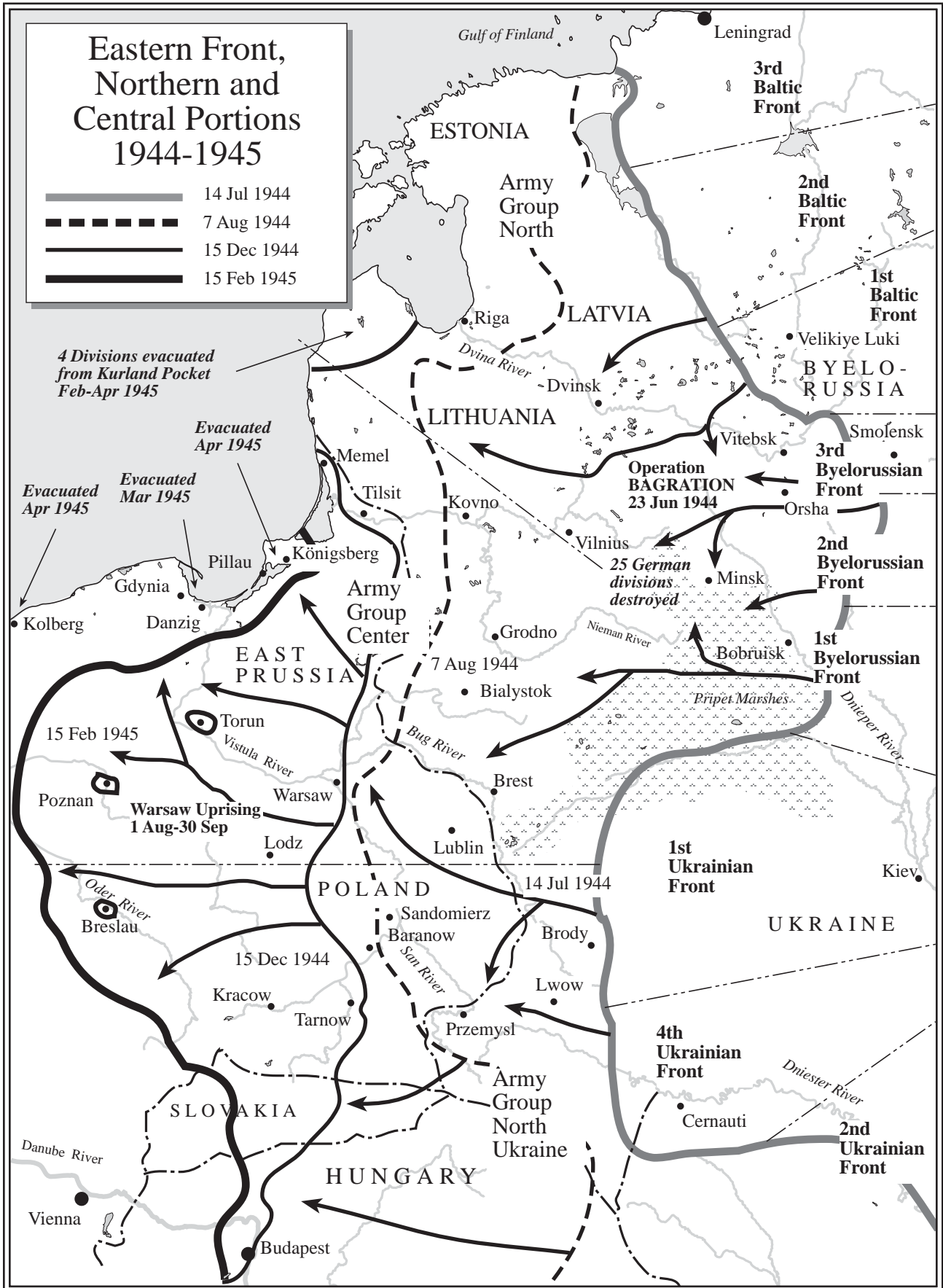


Europe in 1939

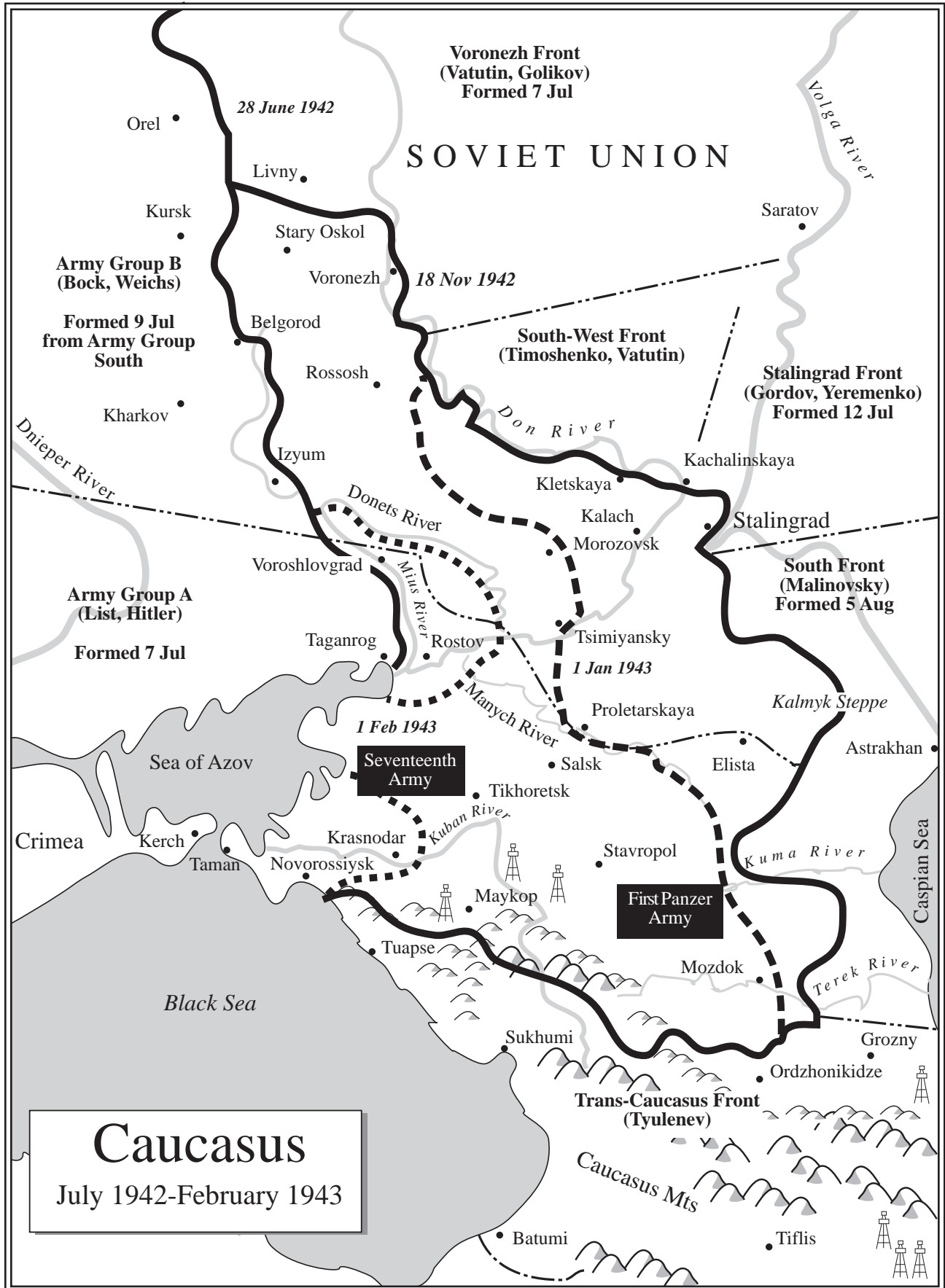




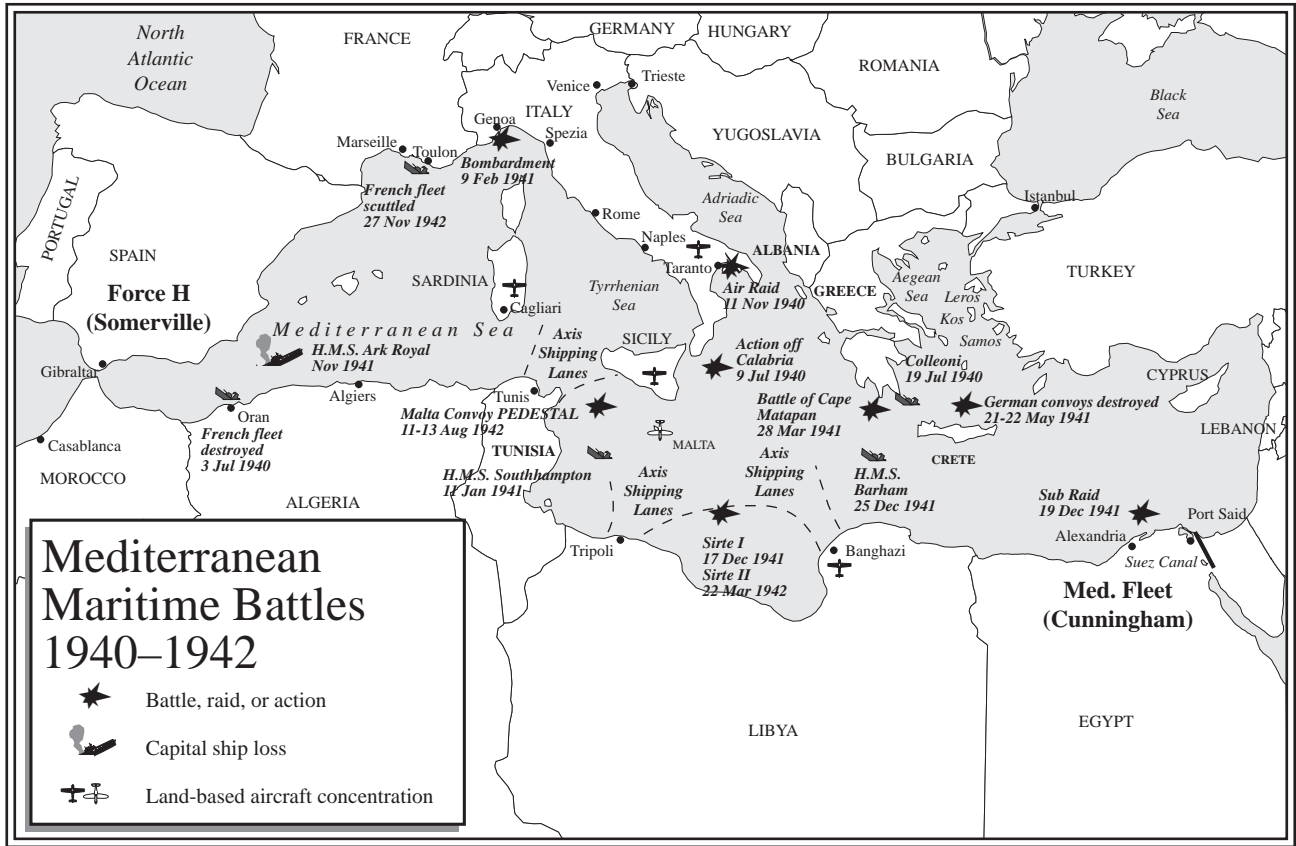


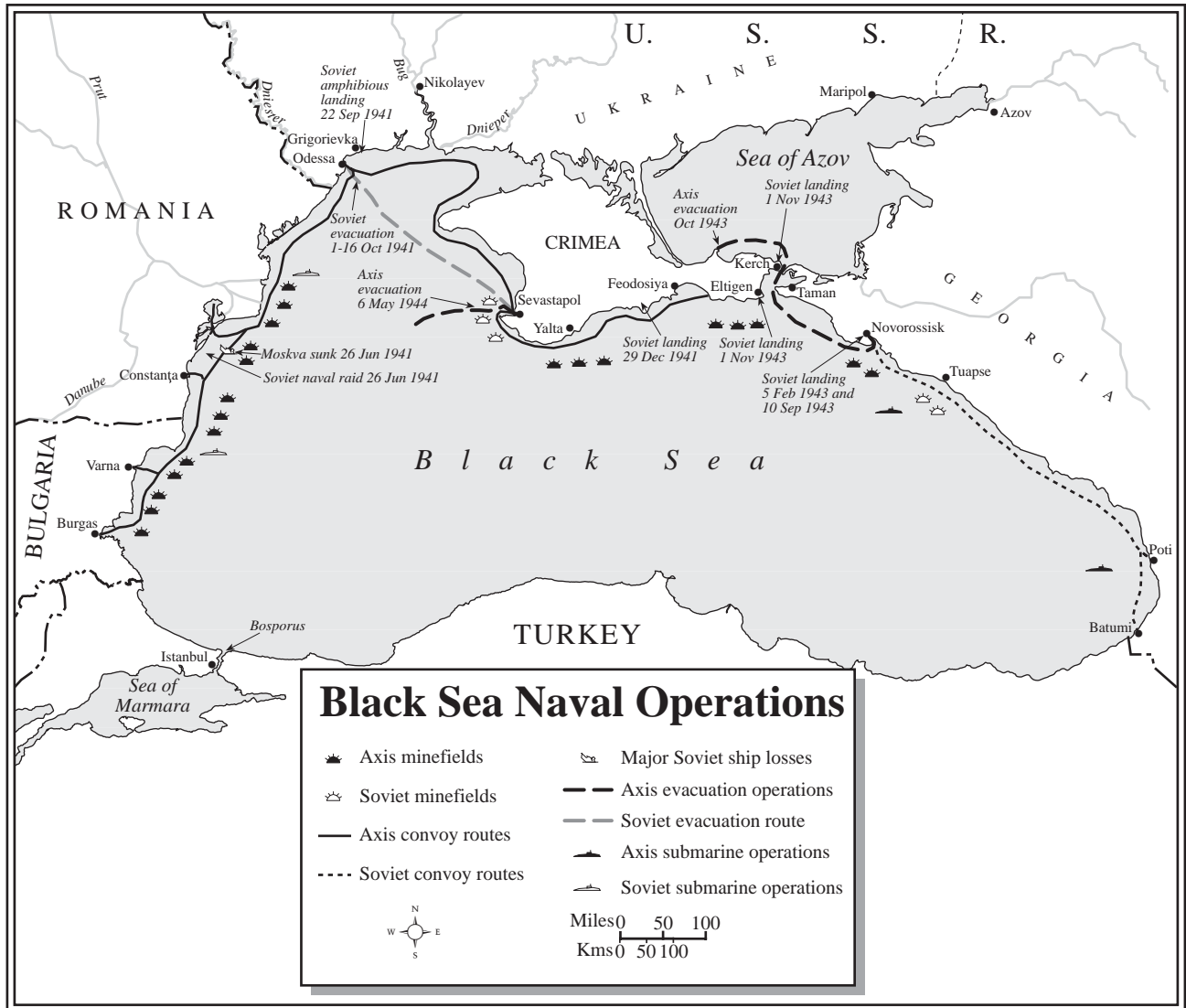




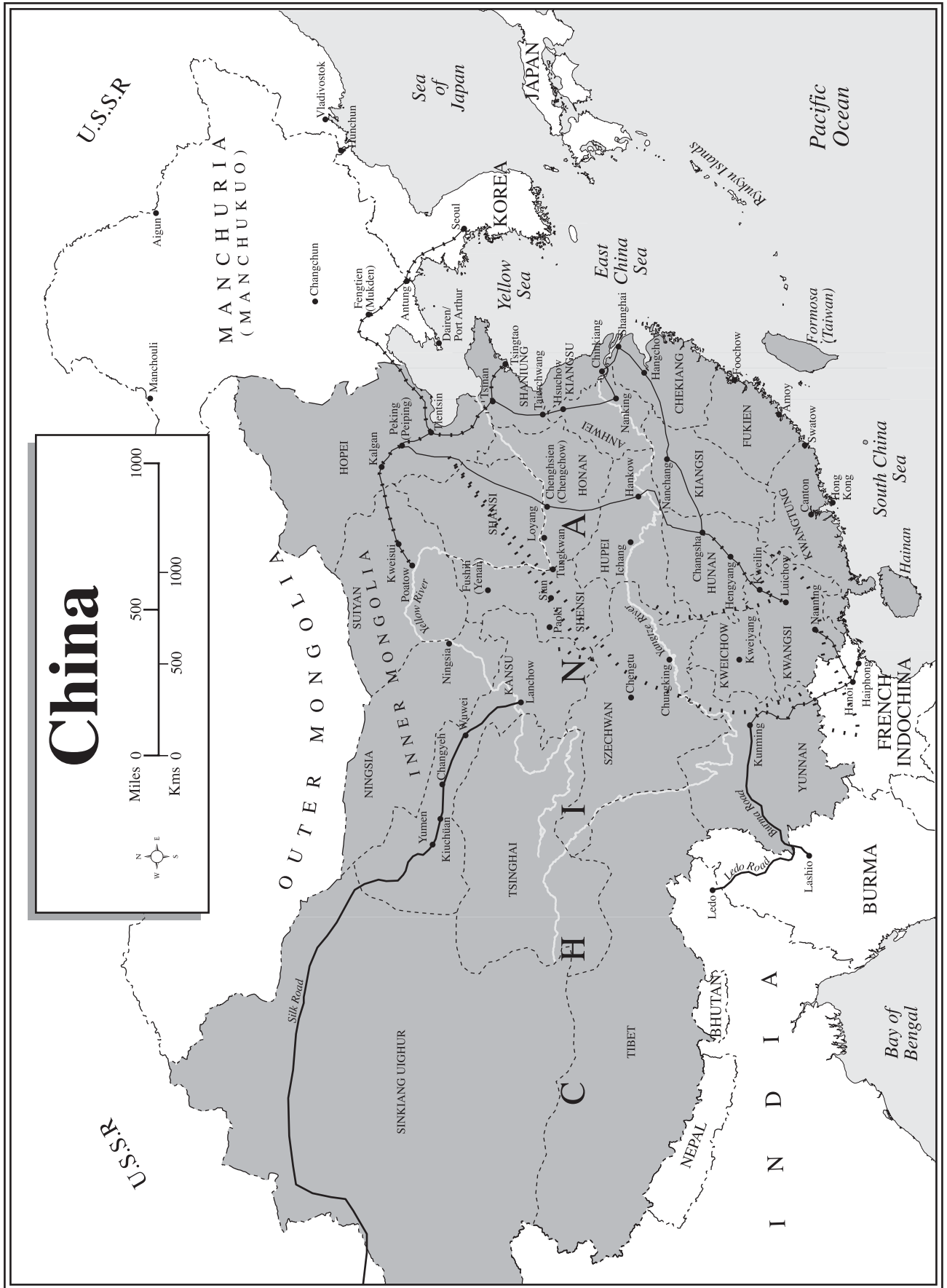






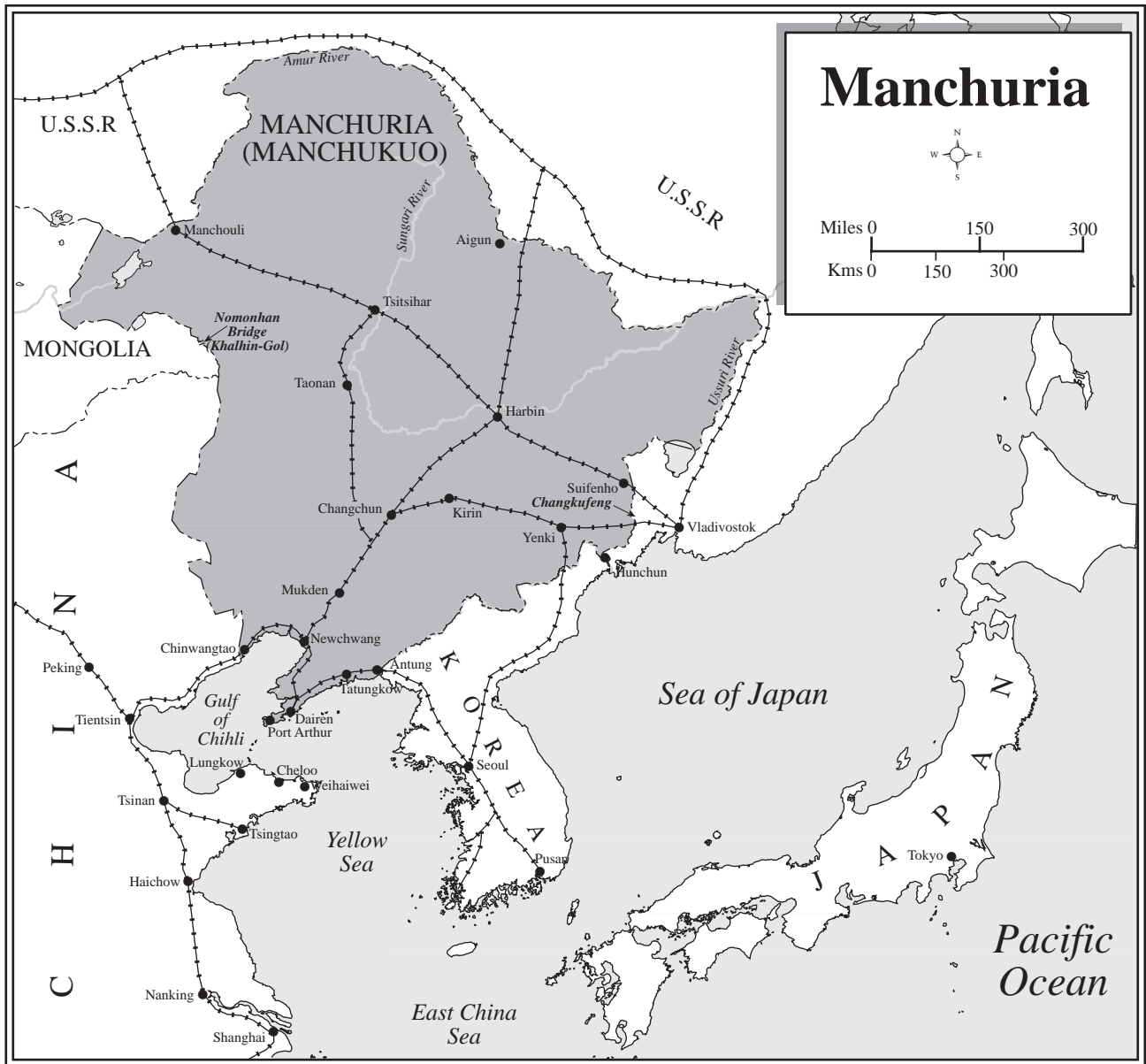


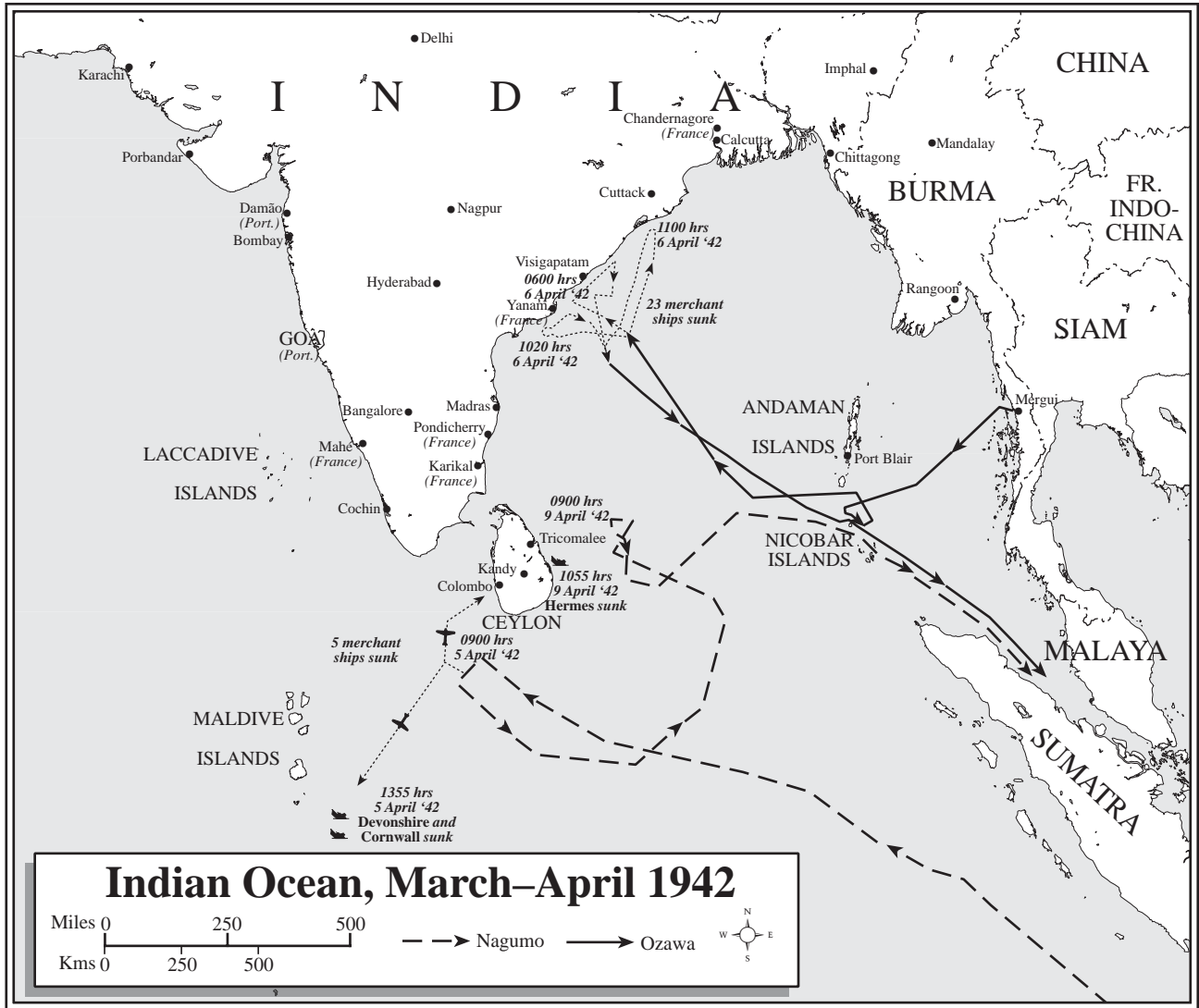


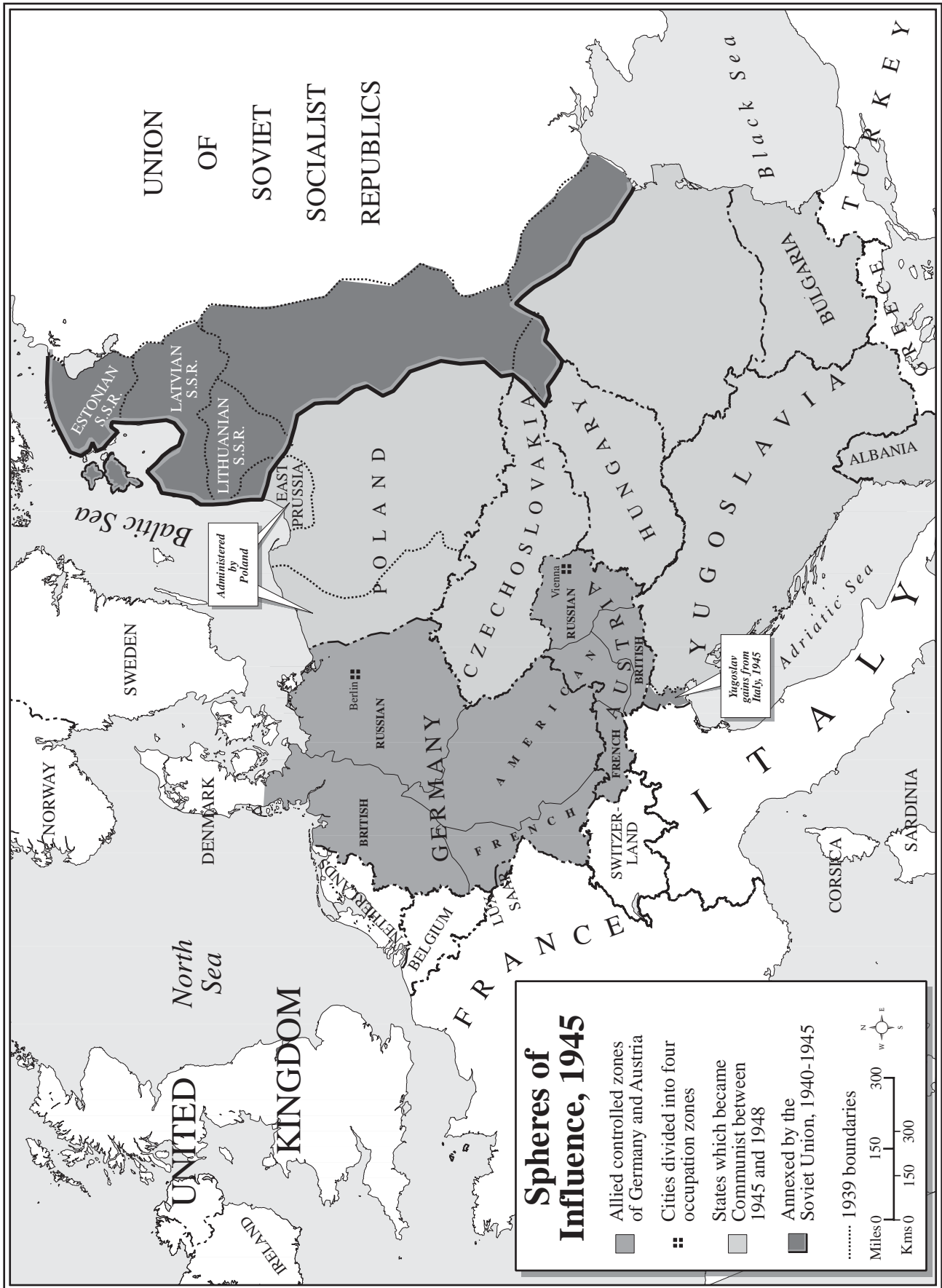


China











General Essays



Adolf Hitler accepts the ovation of the Reichstag after announcing the annexation of Austria. This action set the stage for Hitler to annex the Czechoslovakian Sudetenland, largely inhabited by a German-speaking population. Berlin, March 1938. (National Archives)

Origins of the War

On 1 September 1939, German forces invaded Poland. Two days later, Britain and France declared war on Germany, beginning World War II. Some historians date the war from 1937, with the Japanese invasion of China; Japanese official histories, however, start with 1931, when Japan's forces overran Manchuria. But perhaps the most accurate place to begin is with the end of World War I. That conflict exacted horrible human and economic costs, destroyed the existing power structure of Europe, and toppled all the continental empires. It also sowed the seeds for a new conflict.

In January 1919, representatives of the victorious Allied, or Entente, powers met in Paris to impose peace terms on the defeated Central Powers. The centerpiece of the settlement, the Versailles Treaty, was the worst of all possible outcomes—it was too harsh to conciliate but too weak to destroy. It was also never enforced, making a renewal of the struggle almost inevitable.

The Paris peace settlement was drafted chiefly by Britain, France, and the United States. The Germans claimed they had assumed the November 1918 armistice would lead to a true negotiated peace treaty, yet in March and May 1918, when they were winning the war, their leaders had imposed a truly harsh settlement on Russia. In the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Russia lost most of its European territory, up to a third of its population, and three-quarters of its iron and coal production. It was also required to pay a heavy indemnity.

Far from being dictated by French Premier Georges Clemenceau, as many Americans still believe, the Paris peace settlement of 1919 was largely the work of British Prime Minister David Lloyd George and U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, who repeatedly blocked proposals advanced by Clemenceau. The irony is that the British and American leaders prevented a settlement that, although punitive, might indeed have brought actual French and Belgian security and prevented war in 1939.

The most novel creation of the conference was undoubtedly the League of Nations. Clemenceau did not place much stock in a league, but if there had to be one, he wanted mandatory membership and an independent military force. The Anglo-American league relied primarily on moral suasion; its strongest weapon was the threat of sanctions.

The most contentious issue at the peace conference—and arguably its most important matter—was that of French and Belgian security. Alsace and Lorraine were returned to France, and for security purposes, Belgium received the two small border enclaves of Eupen and Malmédy. France was granted the coal production of the Saar region for 15 years in compensation for Germany's deliberate destruction of French mines at the end of the war. The Saar itself fell under League of Nations control, with its inhabitants to decide their future at the end of the period.

A storm of controversy broke out, however, over the Rhineland, the German territory west of the Rhine River. France wanted this area to be reconstituted into one or more independent states that would maintain a permanent Allied military presence to guarantee Germany would not again strike west, but Lloyd George and Wilson saw taking the Rhineland from Germany as “an Alsace-Lorraine in reverse.” They also wished to end the Allied military presence on German soil as soon as a peace treaty was signed.

These vast differences were resolved when Clemenceau agreed to yield on the Rhineland in return for the Anglo-American Treaty of Guarantee, whereby Britain and the United States promised to come to the aid of France should Germany ever invade. The Rhineland would remain part of the new German Republic but would be permanently demilitarized, along with a 30-mile-deep belt of German territory east of the Rhine. Allied garrisons would remain for only a limited period: the British would occupy a northern zone for

5 years, the Americans a central zone for 10, and the French a southern zone for 15 years. Unfortunately for France, the pact for which it traded away national security never came into force. The U.S. Senate refused to ratify it, and the British government claimed its acceptance was contingent on American approval.

Germany lost some other territory: northern Schleswig to Denmark and a portion of Silesia and the Polish Corridor to the new state of Poland—accessions the Allies justified along ethnic lines. The Polish Corridor allowed Poland access to the sea, but it also separated East Prussia from the remainder of Germany and became a major rallying point for German nationalists. Despite these losses, German power remained largely intact; Germany was still the most powerful state in central and western Europe. Nonetheless, Germans keenly resented the territorial losses.

The Treaty of Versailles also limited Germany in terms of both the size and the nature of its military establishment. The new German army, the Reichswehr, was restricted to 100,000 men serving 12-year enlistments. It was denied heavy artillery, tanks, and military aviation, and the German General Staff was to be abolished. The navy was limited to 6 predreadnought battleships, 6 light cruisers, 12 destroyers, and no submarines. From the beginning, the Germans violated these provisions. The General Staff remained, although clandestinely; moreover, Germany maintained military equipment that was to have been destroyed, and it worked out arrangements with other states to develop new weapons and train military personnel.

Other major provisions of the settlement included Article 231, the “war guilt clause.” This provision blamed the war on Germany and its allies and was the justification for reparations, which were fixed at \$33 billion in 1920, well after Germany had signed the treaty on 28 June 1919. British economist John Maynard Keynes claimed that reparations were a perpetual mortgage on Germany’s future and that there was no way the Germans could pay them, yet Adolf Hitler’s Germany subsequently spent more in rearming than the reparations demanded. In any case, Germany, unlike France following the Franco-Prussian War in 1871, was never really forced to pay.

The breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the peace treaties following the war led to the creation of a number of new states in central Europe, most notably Poland but also Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Resolving the boundaries of Poland proved difficult, especially in the east; it was not until December 1919 that a commission headed by Lord Curzon drew that line. Neither the new Polish government nor Russia recognized it, however. Romania was greatly enlarged with the addition of Transylvania, which was taken from Hungary. Hungary was, in fact, the principal loser at the peace conference, having been left with only 35 percent of its prewar area. The much reduced rump states of Austria

and Hungary were now confronted by Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Romania. The latter three, the so-called Little Entente, allied to prevent a resurgence of their former masters. They were linked with France through a treaty of mutual assistance between that nation and Czechoslovakia.

The Allied solidarity of 1918, more illusion than reality, soon disappeared. When the peace treaties were signed, the United States was already withdrawing into isolation and Britain was disengaging from the Continent. This situation left France alone among the great powers to enforce the peace settlement. Yet France was weaker in terms of population and economic strength than Germany. In effect, it was left up to the Germans themselves to decide whether they would abide by the treaty provisions, which all Germans regarded as a vengeful diktat. Moreover, the shame of the Versailles settlement was borne not by the kaiser or the army—the parties responsible for the decisions that led to the defeat—but rather by the leaders of the new democratic Weimar Republic.

The new German government deliberately adopted obstructionist policies, and by 1923, it had halted major reparations payments. French Premier Raymond Poincaré acted. He believed that if the Germans were allowed to break part of the settlement, the remainder would soon unravel. In January 1923, Poincaré sent French troops, supported by Belgian and Italian units, into the Ruhr, the industrial heart of Germany. German Chancellor Wilhelm Cuno’s government adopted a policy of passive resistance, urging the workers not to work and promising to pay their salaries. The German leaders thereby hoped to secure sufficient time for the United States and Britain to force France to depart. Although that pressure was forthcoming, Poincaré refused to back down, and the result was catastrophic inflation in Germany.

The mark had already gone from 4.2 to the dollar in July 1914 to 8.9 in January 1919. It then tumbled precipitously because of deliberate government policies. By January 1920, its value was 39.5 to the dollar and in January 1922, 191.8. Then came the French occupation of the Ruhr and Cuno’s ruinous policy. In January 1923, the value was 17,972, but by July, it was 353,412. In November, when the old mark was withdrawn in favor of a new currency, the mark’s value stood at 4.2 trillion to the dollar. The ensuing economic chaos wiped out the German middle class, and many middle-class citizens lost all faith in democracy and voted for Adolf Hitler a decade later.

Germany now agreed to pay reparations under a scaled-down schedule, and French troops withdrew from the Ruhr in 1924. Although the French generally approved of Poincaré’s action, they also noted its high financial cost and the opposition of Britain and the United States. These factors helped bring the Left to power in France in 1924, and the new government reversed Poincaré’s go-it-alone approach. The new German government of Chancellor Gustav Stresemann, moreover, announced a policy of living up to its treaty obli-

gations. Notions of “fulfillment” and “conciliation” replaced “obstruction” and led to the Locarno Pacts of 1925, by which Germany voluntarily guaranteed its western borders as final and promised not to resort to war with its neighbors and to resolve any disputes through arbitration. For at least half a decade, international calm prevailed.

By the 1930s, national boundaries were still basically those agreed to in 1919. Italy, Germany, and Japan continued to be dissatisfied with this situation, however, and in the 1930s, the economic difficulties resulting from the Great Depression enhanced popular support in those nations for politicians and military leaders who supported drastic measures, even at the risk of war, to change the situation in the “revisionist” powers’ favor. The “status quo” powers of France, Great Britain, and the United States saw no advantage in making changes, but at the same time, they were unwilling to risk war to defend the 1919 settlement. They therefore acquiesced as, step by step, the dissatisfied powers dismantled the peace settlement. From the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 to the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939, those who wanted to overturn the status quo used force—but not those who sought to maintain it.

The Western democracies seemed paralyzed, in part because of the heavy human cost of World War I. France alone had 1,397,800 citizens killed or missing in the conflict. Including the wounded, 73 percent of all French combatants had been casualties. France could not sustain another such blood-letting, and the defensive military doctrine it adopted came to be summed up in the phrase “Stingy with blood; extravagant with steel.” In 1929, France began construction of a defensive belt along the frontier from Switzerland to Belgium. Named for Minister of War André Maginot and never intended as a puncture-proof barricade, the Maginot Line nonetheless helped fix a defensive mind-set in the French military.

By the 1930s, attitudes toward World War I had changed. German people believed their nation had not lost the war militarily but had been betrayed by communists, leftists, pacifists, and Jews. Especially in Britain and the United States, many came to believe that the Central Powers had not been responsible for the war, that nothing had been gained by the conflict, and that the postwar settlement had been too hard on Germany.

In Britain, there was some sympathy in influential, upper-class circles for fascist doctrines and dictators, who were seen as opponents of communism. British Member of Parliament Winston L. S. Churchill, for example, praised Italian dictator Benito Mussolini. The British government avoided continental commitments, and its leaders embraced appeasement—the notion that meeting the more legitimate demands of the dictators would remove all need for war. Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain (who served in that post from 1937 to 1940) was the principal architect of this policy.

There was also great concern in Britain, as elsewhere, over the possible air bombardment of cities in any future war.

The United States had been one of the few powers that actually benefited from World War I. At a modest cost in terms of human casualties, it had emerged from the struggle as the world’s leading financial power. Yet Americans were dissatisfied with their involvement in European affairs; they believed they had been misled by wartime propaganda and that the arms manufacturers (the so-called merchants of death) had drawn the nation into the war to assure themselves payment for sales to the Entente side. In the 1930s, the United States adhered to rigid neutrality, and Congress passed legislation preventing the government from loaning money or selling arms to combatants in a war. Unfortunately, such legislation benefited the aggressor states, which were already well armed, and handicapped their victims. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the U.S. president from 1933 to 1945, understood the threat the aggressors posed to the world community, but most Americans eschewed international involvement.

The Soviet Union was also largely absorbed in its internal affairs. Following World War I, Russia experienced a protracted and bloody civil war as the Communist Reds, who had seized control in November 1917, fought off the Whites, who were supported by the Western Allies. When this conflict ended in 1921, efforts by the government to introduce Communist economic practices only heightened the chaos and famine. In the 1930s, Soviet leader Josef Stalin pushed both the collectivization of agriculture, which led to the deaths of millions of Soviet citizens, and the industrialization essential for modern warfare.

In foreign policy, Stalin was a revisionist who did not accept the new frontiers in eastern Europe as final. Particularly vexing to him was the new Poland, part of which had been carved from former Russian territory. Russia had also lost additional lands to Poland following its defeat in the 1920 Russo-Polish War.

After 1933 and Adolf Hitler’s accession to power, Stalin became especially disturbed over Germany, for the German Führer (leader) had clearly stated his opposition to communism and his intention of bringing large stretches of eastern Europe under German control, even by the sword. The German threat led Stalin to turn to collective security and pursue an internationalist course. In 1934, the Soviet Union joined the League of Nations.

Simultaneously, Stalin launched unprecedented purges against his own people, largely motivated by his own paranoia and desire to hold on to power. The number of victims may have been as high as 40 million, half of whom were killed. The so-called Great Terror consumed almost all the old-guard Bolshevik leadership and senior military officers. The consequences of decimating the latter group were felt in 1941 when the Germans invaded the Soviet Union.

By the late 1930s, many Western leaders distrusted the Soviet Union to the point that they hoped German strength could be directed eastward against it and that Nazism and communism would destroy one another. Thus, despite the fact that the Kremlin was willing to enter into arrangements with the West against Germany and Japan, no effective international coalition was forged.

In 1931, Japan seized Manchuria. Japan had been one of the chief beneficiaries of World War I. At little cost, it had secured the German islands north of the equator and concessions in China. Riding the crest of an ultranationalist wave, Japanese leaders sought to take advantage of the chaos of the world economic depression and the continuing upheaval in China after the 1911 Chinese Revolution to secure the natural resources their country lacked. The Japanese attempted to garner these not only in Manchuria but also in Mongolia, China proper, and South Asia.

Although Japan had many of the trappings of a democracy, it was not one. The army and navy departments were independent of the civilian authorities; from 1936 onward, the ministers of war and navy had to be serving officers, giving the military a veto over public policy because no government could be formed without its concurrence. Army leaders had little sympathy for parliamentary rule or civil government, and in the 1930s, they dominated the government and occasionally resorted to political assassinations, even of prime ministers.

On the night of 18 September 1931, Japanese staff officers of the elite Guandong (Kwantung) Army in southern Manchuria set off an explosion near the main line of the South Manchuria Railway near Mukden, an act they blamed on nearby Chinese soldiers. The Japanese military then took control of Mukden and began the conquest of all Manchuria. Tokyo had been presented with a *fait accompli* by its own military, but it supported the action.

The Japanese held that they had acted only in self-defense and demanded that the crisis be resolved through direct Sino-Japanese negotiation. China, however, took the matter to the League of Nations, the first major test for that organization. The League Council was reluctant to take tough action against Japan, and the Japanese ignored its calls to withdraw their troops and continued military operations. In February 1932, Japan proclaimed the “independence” of Manchuria in the guise of the new state of Manzhouguo (Manchukuo). A protocol that September established a Japanese protectorate over Manzhouguo. In 1934, the Japanese installed China’s last Manchu emperor—Aixinjueluo Puyi (Aisingioro P’u-i, known to Westerners as Henry Puyi), who had been deposed in 1911—as emperor of what was called Manzhouguo (the empire of the Manzhus [Manchus]).

A League of Nations investigating committee blamed Japan and concluded that only the presence of Japanese

troops kept the government of Manzhouguo in power. On 24 February 1933, the League Assembly approved the report of its committee and the Stimson Doctrine, named for U.S. Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, of nonrecognition of Manzhouguo. Of 42 member states, only Japan voted against the move. Never before had such a universal vote of censure been passed against a sovereign state. Tokyo then gave notice of its intention to withdraw from the league.

Manzhouguo was larger than France and Germany combined, but in March, Japanese troops added to it the Province of Rehe (Jehol). Early in April, they moved against Chinese forces south of the Great Wall to within a few miles of Beijing (Peking) and Tianjin (Tientsin). In May, Chinese forces evacuated Beijing, then under the authority of pro-Japanese Chinese leaders. The latter concluded a truce with Japan that created a demilitarized zone administered by Chinese friendly to Japan.

Had the great powers been able to agree on military action, Japan would have been forced to withdraw from its conquered territory. Such a war would have been far less costly than fighting a world war later, but the world economic depression and general Western indifference to the plight of Asians precluded a sacrifice of that nature. A worldwide financial and commercial boycott in accordance with Article 16 of the League of Nations Covenant might also have forced a Japanese withdrawal, but this, too, was beyond Western resolve. Other states with similar aspirations took note.

Germany was the next to move. In January 1933, Adolf Hitler became Germany’s chancellor, by entirely legitimate means, and in October 1933, he withdrew Germany from both the League of Nations and the international disarmament conference meeting in Geneva. In July 1934, Austrian Nazis, acting with the tacit support of Berlin, attempted to seize power in Vienna in order to achieve Anschluss, or union with Germany. Ultimately, Austrian authorities put down the putschists without outside assistance, although Mussolini, who considered Austria under his influence, ordered Italian troops to the Brenner Pass.

Germany was then still largely unarmed, and Hitler expressed regret at the murder of Austrian Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss and assured the world that Germany had no role in the failed coup. The Nazis’ unsuccessful attempt at a takeover of Austria was clearly a setback for Hitler. Secure in French support, Mussolini met with the new Austrian chancellor, Kurt von Schuschnigg, in Rome that September and announced that Italy would defend Austrian independence. A French pact with Italy rested on agreement with Yugoslavia, but on 9 October 1934 when King Alexander of Yugoslavia arrived at Marseille for discussions with the French government, Croatian terrorists assassinated him and French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou. This event was a great embarrassment for France, although Barthou’s successor, Pierre Laval, did

secure the pact with Italy. The January 1935 French-Italian accords called for joint consultation and close cooperation between the two powers in central Europe and reaffirmed the independence and territorial integrity of Austria. They also recommended a multilateral security pact for eastern Europe. In secret provisions, Italy promised to support France with its air force in the event of a German move in the Rhineland and France agreed to provide troops to aid Italy if the Germans should threaten Austria. France also transferred land to the Italian colonies of Libya and Eritrea, and Laval promised Mussolini that France would not oppose Italy's efforts to realize its colonial ambitions. Thereafter, Mussolini behaved as if he had France's approval to wage aggressive war.

Only a week later, with Hitler declaring the Saar to be his last territorial demand in Europe (the first of many such statements), Saarlanders voted nine to one to rejoin Germany. On 1 March 1935, the League Council formally returned the Saar to German control. Two weeks later, on 16 March, Hitler proclaimed the rearmament of Germany. Secret rearmament had been under way for some time, including development of an air training center at Lipetsk, a gas warfare school at Torski, and a tank school at Kazan (all in the Soviet Union), but Hitler now announced publicly that the Reich would reintroduce compulsory military service and increase its army to more than 500,000 men, moves he justified on the grounds that the Allies had not disarmed. France, Britain, and Italy all protested but did nothing further to compel Germany to observe its treaty obligations. In April 1935, Laval, Prime Minister J. Ramsay MacDonald of Britain, and Mussolini met at Stresa on Lake Maggiore and formed the so-called Stresa Front, agreeing "to oppose unilateral repudiation of treaties that may endanger the peace" (with the phrase "of Europe" being added at Mussolini's request).

On 2 May, France and the Soviet Union signed a five-year pact of mutual assistance in the event of unprovoked aggression against either power. The French rejected a military convention that would have coordinated their military response to any German aggression, however. On 16 May, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia signed a similar mutual-assistance pact, but the Soviet Union was not obligated to provide armed assistance unless France first fulfilled its commitments.

Britain took the first step in the appeasement of Germany, shattering the Stresa Front. On 18 June 1935, the British government signed a naval agreement with Germany that condoned the latter's violation of the Versailles Treaty. In spite of having promised Paris in February that it would take no unilateral action toward Germany, London permitted the Reich to build a surface navy of a size up to 35 percent that of Britain's own navy—in effect, a force larger than the navies of either France or Italy. It also allowed the Reich to attain 45 percent of the Royal Navy's strength in submarines, armaments that Germany was prohibited from acquiring by the

Treaty of Versailles. British leaders were unconcerned. The Royal Navy had only 50 submarines, which meant the Germans could build only 23. Moreover, the British were confident that the new technology of ASDIC, later known as sonar, would enable them to detect submarines at a range of several thousand yards. The Anglo-German Naval Agreement was, of course, another postdated German check. The conclusion of this accord was also the first occasion on which any power sanctioned Germany's misdeeds, and it won Britain the displeasure of its ally France.

On 3 October 1935, believing with some justification that he had Western support, Mussolini invaded Ethiopia (Abyssinia). Long-standing border disputes between Italian Somaliland and Ethiopia were the excuse. Mussolini's goal was to create a great Italian empire in Africa and to avenge Italy's defeat by the Ethiopians at Adowa in 1896. The outcome of the Italo-Ethiopian War was a foregone conclusion, and in May 1936, Italian forces took Addis Ababa and Mussolini proclaimed the king of Italy as the emperor of Ethiopia.

On 7 October 1935, the League of Nations condemned Italy, marking the first time it had branded a European state an aggressor. But behind the scenes, British Foreign Secretary Sir Samuel Hoare and French Foreign Minister Pierre Laval devised their infamous proposals to broker away Ethiopia to Italy in return for Italian support against Germany. Public furor swept both men from office when the deal became known.

Ultimately, the league voted to impose some economic sanctions—but not on oil, which would have brought an Italian withdrawal. In the end, even those ineffectual sanctions that had been voted for were lifted. Italy, like Japan, had gambled and won, dealing another blow to collective security.

Probably the seminal event on the road to World War II occurred in early 1936, when Hitler remilitarized the Rhineland. On 7 March 1936, some 22,000 lightly armed German troops marched into the Rhineland, defying not just the Treaty of Versailles but also the Locarno Pacts, which Germany had voluntarily negotiated. Hitler deliberately scheduled the operation to occur while France was absorbed by a bitterly contested election campaign that brought the leftist Popular Front to power.

Incredibly, France had no contingency plans for such an eventuality. French intelligence services also grossly overestimated the size of the German forces in the operation and believed Hitler's false claims that the Luftwaffe had achieved parity with the French Armée de l'Air (air force). Vainly seeking to disguise its own inaction, Paris appealed to London for support, but Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden made it clear that Britain would not fight for the Rhineland, which was, after all, German territory.

Had the French acted, their forces in all likelihood would have rolled over the Germans, which would probably have

meant the end of the Nazi regime. But as it turned out, remilitarization of the Rhineland provided Germany a buffer for the Ruhr and a springboard for invading France and Belgium. That October, it also led Belgian leaders to renounce their treaty of mutual assistance with France and seek security in neutrality.

Almost immediately after the German remilitarization of the Rhineland, another international crisis erupted, this time in Spain, where civil war began on 18 July 1936. The issue centered on whether Spain would follow the modernizing reforms of the rest of western Europe or maintain its existing structure, favored by Spanish traditionalists. When the Republicans won a narrow victory in the Spanish elections of 1936, the traditionalists, who were known as the Nationalists, took to arms.

It is probable, though by no means certain, that the Republicans would have won the civil war had Spain been left alone to decide its fate. Certainly, the conflict would have ended much sooner. But Germany and Italy intervened early, providing critical air support that allowed the airlifting of Nationalist troops and equipment across the Straits of Gibraltar from Morocco to Nationalist-held territory in Spain—in effect, the first large-scale military airlift in history.

Germany even formed an air detachment, the Kondor Legion, to fight in Spain, a key factor in the ultimate Nationalist victory. The Germans also tested their latest military equipment under combat conditions, developed new fighter tactics, and learned about the necessity of close coordination between air and ground operations, along with the value of dive-bombing. Italy also provided important naval support and sent three divisions of troops, artillery, and aircraft.

Surprisingly, the Western democracies did not support the Spanish Republic. France initially sent some arms to the Republicans, but under heavy British pressure, it reversed its stance. British leaders devised a noninterventionist policy. Although all the great powers promised to observe that policy, only the Western democracies actually did so. This agreement, which made it impossible for the Republicans to obtain the arms they needed, was probably the chief factor in their defeat.

Only the Soviet Union and Mexico assisted the Spanish Republic. Stalin apparently hoped for a protracted struggle that would entangle the Western democracies and Germany on the other side of the European continent. During the civil war, the Soviet Union sent advisers, aircraft, tanks, and artillery to Spain. Eventually, this Soviet aid permitted the Spanish Communists, who were not a significant political factor in 1936, to take over the Republican government. Finally, in March 1939, Nationalist forces, led by General Francisco Franco, entered Madrid. By April, hostilities ended.

The Western democracies emerged very poorly from the test of the Spanish Civil War. Although tens of thousands of foreign volunteers had fought in Spain, most of these for the Republic, the governments of the Western democracies had

remained aloof, and many doubted the West had any will left to defend democracy. Internationally, the major effect of the fighting in Spain was to bring Germany and Italy together. In October 1936, they agreed to cooperate in Spain, to collaborate in matters of “parallel interests,” and to work to defend “European civilization” against communism. Thus was born the Rome-Berlin Axis. Then, on 25 November, Germany and Japan signed the Anti-Comintern Pact to oppose activities of the Comintern (the Communist International), created to spread communism. On the same day, Germany and Japan also signed a secret agreement providing that if either state was the object of an unprovoked attack by the Soviet Union, the other would do nothing to assist the USSR. On 6 November 1937, Italy joined the Anti-Comintern Pact. Shortly afterward, Mussolini announced that Italy would not assist Austria against a German attempt to consummate Anschluss. Italy also withdrew from the League of Nations, and it recognized Manzhouguo as an independent state in November 1937 (as did Germany in May 1938).

Japan, meanwhile, continued to strengthen its position in the Far East, asserting its exclusive right to control China. Tokyo demanded an end to the provision of Western loans and military advisers to China and threatened the use of force if such aid continued. In 1935, Japan began encroaching on several of China’s northern provinces. The Chinese government at Nanjing (Nanking), headed by Generalissimo Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), initially pursued a policy of appeasement vis-à-vis the Japanese, but students and the Chinese military demanded action. The Chinese Communists declared themselves willing to cooperate with the Nationalist government and place their armies under its command if Nanjing would adopt an anti-Japanese policy. The rapid growth of anti-Japanese sentiment in China and the increasing military strength of the Nationalists alarmed Japanese military leaders, who worked to establish a pro-Japanese regime in China’s five northern provinces.

On the night of 7 July 1937, a clash occurred west of Beijing between Japanese and Chinese troops. Later that month, after Nanjing rejected an ultimatum from Tokyo, the Japanese invaded the coveted northern provinces. In a few days, they had occupied both Tianjin and Beijing, and by the end of the year, Japan had extended its control into all five Chinese provinces north of the Yellow River. In mid-December, Japan also installed a new government in Beijing. Tokyo never declared war against China, however, enabling it to evade U.S. neutrality legislation and purchase American raw materials and oil. But by the same token, this situation permitted Washington to send aid to China.

The fighting was not confined to north China, for in August 1937, the Japanese attacked the great commercial city of Shanghai. Not until November, after three months of hard fighting involving the best Nationalist troops, did the city fall.

Japanese forces then advanced up the Changjiang (Yangtze) River, and in December, they took Nanjing, where they committed widespread atrocities.

As scholars have since noted, Japan subsequently developed a collective amnesia in regard to its actions at Nanjing and its atrocities in the war through South Asia in general. (According to the Chinese, Japan has a long history and a short memory.) This Japanese evasion of responsibility stands in sharp contrast to German attempts to come to terms with the Holocaust, and it has affected Japan's relations with China and other nations in Asia right up to the present.

On 12 December 1937, while trying to clear the Changjiang River of all Western shipping, Japanese forces attacked a U.S. Navy gunboat, the *Panay*. Other American ships belonging to an oil company were also bombed and sunk, and British vessels were shelled. Strong protests from Washington and London brought profuse apologies from Tokyo. The Japanese, falsely claiming they had not realized the nationality of the ships, stated their readiness to pay compensation and give guarantees that such incidents would not be repeated. Washington and London accepted these amends, and the episode only served to convince Tokyo that it had little to fear from Western intervention.

Again, China appealed to the League of Nations, which once more condemned Japan. Again, too, the West failed to withhold critical supplies and financial credits from Japan, so once more, collective security failed. By the end of 1938, Japanese troops had taken the great commercial cities of Tianjin, Beijing, Shanghai, Nanjing, Hankou, and Guangzhou (Canton), and the Nationalists were forced to relocate their capital to the interior city of Chongqing (Chungking), which Japan bombed heavily. In desperation, the Chinese demolished the dikes on the Huang He (Hwang Ho), known to Westerners as the Yellow River, costing hundreds of thousands of lives and flooding much of northern China until 1944.

Japan was also confronting the Soviet Union. Fighting began in 1938 between Japanese and Soviet troops in the poorly defined triborder area normally referred to as Changkufeng, where Siberia, Manzhouguo, and Korea met. Although no state of war was declared, significant battles were fought, especially at Changkufeng Hill in 1938 and Nomonhan/Khalkhin Gol in 1939. The fighting ended advantageously for the Soviets. A cease-fire in September 1939 preempted a planned Japanese counterattack, and the dispute was resolved by treaty in June 1940. The fighting undoubtedly influenced Stalin's decision to sign a nonaggression pact with Germany in August 1939. It also gave Tokyo a new appreciation of Soviet fighting ability, and in 1941, it helped to influence Japanese leaders to strike not north into Siberia but against the easier targets of the European colonies in Southeast Asia.

In the West, the situation by 1938 encouraged Hitler to embark on his own territorial expansion. Mussolini was now

linked with Hitler, and France was experiencing another period of ministerial instability. In Britain, appeasement was in full force, so much so that in February 1938, Anthony Eden, a staunch proponent of collective security, resigned as foreign secretary.

Austria was Hitler's first step. In February 1938, Austrian Chancellor Schuschnigg traveled to Berchtesgaden at the Führer's insistence to meet with the German leader. Under heavy pressure, Schuschnigg agreed to appoint Austrian Nazi Arthur Seyss-Inquart as minister of the interior and other Austrian Nazis as ministers of justice and foreign affairs. On 9 March, however, in an attempt to maintain his nation's independence, Schuschnigg announced that a plebiscite on the issue of Anschluss would be held in only four days, hoping that the short interval would not allow the Nazis to mobilize effectively.

Hitler was determined that no plebiscite be held, and on 11 March, Seyss-Inquart presented Schuschnigg with an ultimatum demanding his resignation and postponement of the vote under threat of invasion by German troops, already mobilized on the border. Schuschnigg yielded, canceling the plebiscite and resigning. Seyss-Inquart then took power and belatedly invited in the German troops "to preserve order" after they had already crossed the frontier. Yet Germany's military was hardly ready for war; indeed, hundreds of German tanks and vehicles of the German Eighth Army broke down on the drive toward Vienna.

On 13 March, Berlin declared Austria to be part of the Reich, and the next day, perhaps a million Austrians gave Hitler an enthusiastic welcome to Vienna. France and Britain lodged formal protests with Berlin but did nothing more. After the war, Austrian leaders denied culpability for their association with the Third Reich by claiming that their country was actually the first victim of Nazi aggression.

The Anschluss greatly strengthened the German position in central Europe. Germany was now in direct contact with Italy, Yugoslavia, and Hungary, and it controlled virtually all the communications of southeastern Europe. Czechoslovakia was almost isolated, and its trade outlets operated at Germany's mercy. Militarily, Germany outflanked the powerful western Czech defenses. It was thus not surprising that, despite his pledges to respect the territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia, Hitler should next seek to bring that state under his control.

In Austria, Hitler had added 6 million Germans to the Reich, but another 3.5 million lived in Czechoslovakia. Germans living there had long complained about discrimination in a state that had only minority Czech, German, Slovak, Hungarian, Ukrainian, and Pole populations. In 1938, however, Czechoslovakia had the highest standard of living east of Germany and was the only remaining democracy in central Europe.

Strategically, Czechoslovakia was the keystone of Europe. It had a military alliance with France, an army of 400,000

well-trained men, and the important Skoda munitions complex at Pilsen, as well as strong fortifications in the west. Unfortunately for the Czechs, the latter were in the Erzgebirge (Ore Mountains) bordering the Bohemian bowl, where the population was almost entirely German. From the German point of view, it could now be said that Bohemia-Moravia, almost one-third German in population, protruded into the Reich. Hitler took up and enlarged the past demands of Konrad Henlein's Sudetendeutsch (Sudeten German) Party to turn legitimate complaints into a call for outright separation of the German regions from Czechoslovakia and their union with Germany.

In May 1938, during key Czechoslovakian elections, German troops massed on the border and threatened invasion. Confident of French support, the Czechs mobilized their army. Both France and the Soviet Union had stated their willingness to go to war to defend Czechoslovakia, and in the end, nothing happened. Hitler then began to construct fortifications along the German frontier in the west. Known to Germans as the West Wall, these fortifications were clearly designed to prevent France from supporting its eastern allies.

Western leaders, who believed they had just averted war, now pondered whether Czechoslovakia, which had been formed only as a consequence of the Paris Peace Conference, was worth a general European war. British Prime Minister Chamberlain concluded that it was not. In early August, he sent an emissary, Lord Runciman, to Prague as a mediator, and on 7 September, based on Runciman's suggestions, Prague offered Henlein practically everything that the Sudeten Germans demanded, short of independence.

A number of knowledgeable Germans believed that Hitler was leading their state to destruction. During August and early September 1938, several opposition emissaries traveled to London with messages from the head of the Abwehr (German military intelligence), Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, and the chief of the German General Staff, General der Artillerie (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) Ludwig Beck. They warned London of Hitler's intentions and urged a strong British stand. Beck even pledged, prior to his resignation in mid-August, that if Britain would agree to fight for Czechoslovakia, he would stage a putsch against Hitler. Nothing came of this effort, however, as London was committed to appeasement.

By mid-September, Hitler was demanding "self-determination" for the Sudeten Germans and threatening war if it was not granted. Clearly, he was promoting a situation to justify German military intervention. France would then have to decide whether to honor its pledge to Czechoslovakia. If it chose to do so, this would bring on a general European war.

In this critical situation, Chamberlain asked Hitler for a personal meeting, and on 15 September, he flew to Germany and met with the Führer at Berchtesgaden. There, Hitler informed him that the Sudeten Germans had to be able to

unite with Germany and that he was willing to risk war to accomplish this end. London and Paris now decided to force the principle of self-determination on Prague, demanding on 19 September that the Czechs agree to an immediate transfer to Germany of those areas with populations that were more than 50 percent German. When Prague asked that the matter be referred to arbitration, as provided under the Locarno Pacts, London and Paris declared this unacceptable. The Czechs, they said, would have to accept the Anglo-French proposals or bear the consequences alone.

The British and French decision to desert Czechoslovakia resulted from many factors. The peoples of both countries dreaded a general war, especially one with air attacks, for which neither nation believed itself adequately prepared. The Germans also bluffed the British and French into believing that their Luftwaffe was much more powerful than it actually was, and both Chamberlain and French Premier Édouard Daladier feared the destruction of their capitals from the air. The Western leaders also thought they would be fighting alone. They did not believe they could count on the USSR, whose military was still reeling from Stalin's purges. It also seemed unlikely that the United States would assist, even with supplies, given its neutrality policies. Nor were the British dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa likely to support Great Britain in a war for Czechoslovakia. In France and especially in Britain, there were also those who saw Nazism as a bulwark against communism and who hoped that Hitler could be diverted eastward and enmeshed in a war with the Soviets in which communism and fascism might destroy one another.

Chamberlain, who had scant experience in foreign affairs, hoped to reconcile differences in order to prevent a general European war. He strongly believed in the sanctity of contracts and could not accept that the leader of the most powerful state in Europe was a blackmailer and a liar. But the West also suffered from a moral uncertainty. In 1919, it had touted the "self-determination of peoples," and by this standard, Germany had a right to all it had hitherto demanded. The transfer of the Sudetenland to the Reich did not seem too high a price to pay for a satisfied Germany and a peaceful Europe. Finally, Hitler stated repeatedly that, once his demands on Czechoslovakia had been satisfied, he would have no further territorial ambitions in Europe.

Under heavy British and French pressure, Czechoslovakia accepted the Anglo-French proposals. On 22 September, Chamberlain again traveled to Germany and met with Hitler, who, to Chamberlain's surprise, demanded that all Czech officials be withdrawn from the Sudeten area within 10 days and that no military, economic, or traffic establishments be damaged or removed. These demands led to the most serious international crisis in Europe since 1918. Prague informed London that Hitler's demands were absolutely unacceptable.

London and Paris agreed and decided not to pressure Prague to secure its acceptance. It thus appeared that Hitler might have to carry out his threat to use force and that a general European war might result.

Following appeals by Roosevelt and Mussolini to Hitler, the German leaders agreed to a meeting. Chamberlain, Daladier, and Mussolini then repaired to Munich to meet with Hitler on 29 September. The Soviet Union was not invited, and Czechoslovakia itself was not officially represented. There were no real negotiations, the object being to give Hitler the Sudetenland in order to avoid war.

The Munich Agreement, dated 30 September, gave the Führer everything he demanded, and early on 1 October 1938, German troops marched across the frontier. Other neighboring states joined in. Poland demanded—and received—an area around Teschen of some 400 square miles with a population of 240,000 people, only 100,000 of whom were Poles, and in November, Hungary secured some 4,800 square miles of Czechoslovakia with about 1 million people.

In retrospect, it would have been better for the West to have fought Germany in September 1938. The lineup against Germany might have included the Soviet Union and Poland, but even discounting them, the German army would have been forced to fight against France and Britain, as well as Czechoslovakia. Despite Hitler's claims to the contrary, Germany was not ready for war in September 1938. The Luftwaffe had 1,230 first-line aircraft, including 600 bombers and 400 fighters, but nearly half of them were earmarked for use in the east, leaving the rest too thinly stretched over the Reich frontier to counter any serious offensive by the French air force and the Royal Air Force (RAF). The Luftwaffe was also short of bombs. Worse, only five fighting divisions and seven reserve divisions were available to hold eight times that number of French divisions.

Britain itself was far from ready, its rearmament program having begun only the year before. France had many more artillery pieces than Germany but was weak in the air. According to one estimate, France had only 250 first-quality fighters and 350 bombers out of perhaps 1,375 front-line aircraft, but France also could have counted on 35 well-armed and well-equipped Czech divisions, backed by substantial numbers of artillery pieces and tanks and perhaps 1,600 aircraft.

Later, those responsible for the Munich debacle advanced the argument that the agreement bought a year for the Western democracies to rearm. Winston Churchill stated that British fighter squadrons equipped with modern aircraft rose from only 5 in September 1938 to 26 by July 1939 (and 47 by July 1940), but he also noted that the year "gained" by Munich left the democracies in a much worse position vis-à-vis Hitler's Germany than they had been in during the Munich crisis.

The September 1938 crisis had far-reaching international effects. Chamberlain and Daladier were received with cheers

at home, the British prime minister reporting that he believed he had brought back "peace in our time." But the agreement effectively ended the French security system, since France's eastern allies now questioned French commitments to them. Stalin, always suspicious, was further alienated from the West. He expressed the view that Chamberlain and Daladier had surrendered to Hitler in order to facilitate Germany's *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the east) and a war between Germany and the Soviet Union.

Hitler had given assurances that the Sudetenland was his last territorial demand, but events soon proved the contrary. The day after the Munich Agreement was signed, he told his aides that he would annex the remainder of Czechoslovakia at the first opportunity. Within a few months, Hitler took advantage of the Czech internal situation. In March 1939, he threw his support to the leader of the Slovak Popular Party, Jozef Tiso, who sought complete independence for Slovakia. On 14 March, Slovakia and Ruthenia declared their independence. That same day, Hitler summoned elderly Czech President Emile Hácha to Berlin, where the commander of the Luftwaffe, Hermann Göring, threatened the immediate destruction of Prague unless Moravia and Bohemia were made Reich protectorates. German bombers, he alleged, were awaiting the order to take off. Hácha signed, and on that date, 15 March, Nazi troops occupied what remained of Czechoslovakia. The Czech lands became the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, and Slovakia became a vassal state of the Reich, with little more independence than Bohemia-Moravia.

Thirty-five highly trained and well-equipped Czech divisions thus disappeared from the anti-Hitler order of battle. Hitler had also eliminated what he had referred to as "that damned airfield" (meaning all of Czechoslovakia), and the output of the Skoda arms complex would now supply the Reich's legions. In Bohemia and Moravia, the Wehrmacht acquired 1,582 aircraft, 2,000 artillery pieces, and sufficient equipment to arm 20 divisions. Any increase in armaments that Britain and France achieved by March 1939 was more than counterbalanced by German gains in Czechoslovakia, which included nearly one-third of the tanks they deployed in the west in spring 1940. Between August 1938 and September 1939, Skoda produced nearly as many arms as all British arms factories combined.

Hungarian troops crossed into Ruthenia and incorporated it into Hungary. Later in March, Germany demanded from Lithuania the immediate return of Memel, with its mostly German population. Lithuania, which had received the Baltic city after World War I to gain access to the sea, had no recourse but to comply.

Hitler's seizure of the rest of Czechoslovakia demonstrated that his demands were not limited to areas with German populations but were instead determined by the need for *Lebensraum*, or living space. His repudiation of the formal

pledges given to Chamberlain at Munich did, however, serve to convince the British that they could no longer trust Hitler. Indeed, Britain and France responded with a series of guarantees to the smaller states now threatened by Germany. Clearly, Poland would be the next pressure point, as the German press orchestrated charges of the Polish government's brutality against its German minority. On 31 March, Britain and France extended a formal guarantee to support Poland in the event of a German attack. At the eleventh hour and under the worst possible circumstances—with Czechoslovakia lost and the Soviet Union alienated—Britain had changed its eastern European policy and agreed to do what the French had sought in the 1920s.

Mussolini took advantage of the general European situation to strengthen Italy's position in the Balkans. In April 1939, he sent Italian troops into Albania. King Zog fled, whereon an Albanian constituent assembly voted to offer the crown to King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy. On 13 April, Britain and France extended a guarantee to defend Greece and Romania.

The Western powers began to make belated military preparations for an inevitable war, and they worked to secure a pact with the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, the guarantee to Poland gave the Soviet Union protection on its western frontier, virtually the most it could have secured in any negotiations.

On 23 May, Hitler met with his leading generals at the Reich Chancellery. He reviewed Germany's territorial requirements and the need to resolve these by expansion eastward. War, he declared, was inevitable, and he announced that he intended to attack Poland at the first suitable opportunity.

The same month, Britain and France initiated negotiations with the Soviet Union for a mutual-assistance pact. Although negotiations continued until August, no agreement was reached. Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia were all unwilling to allow Soviet armies within their borders, even to defend against a German attack. Many in these countries feared the Soviets more than the Germans, and Polish leaders refused to believe that Hitler would risk war with Britain and France. But due to the 1920 Russo-Polish War, Poland's eastern border extended almost to Minsk, and the Soviets believed that the French and British wished them to take the brunt of the German attack. The Poles also had an exaggerated sense of their own military power. In any case, the Anglo-French negotiators refused to sacrifice Poland and the Baltic states to Stalin as they had handed Czechoslovakia to Hitler.

While the Kremlin had been negotiating more or less openly with Britain and France, it concurrently sought an understanding with Germany, even to the point of Stalin dispatching personal emissaries to Berlin. On 10 March 1939, addressing the Eighteenth Party Congress of the Soviet Union, Stalin had said that his country did not intend to "pull

anyone else's chestnuts out of the fire." He thus signaled to Hitler his readiness to abandon collective security and negotiate an agreement with Berlin. Within a week, Hitler had annexed Bohemia and Moravia, confident that the Soviet Union would not intervene. Another consideration for Stalin was that the Soviet Union potentially faced war on two fronts, owing to the threat from Japan in the Far East. Japanese pressure on Mongolia and the Maritime Provinces may well have played a significant role in predisposing Stalin to make his pact with Hitler.

In early May 1939, Stalin gave further encouragement to Hitler when he dismissed Commissar for Foreign Affairs Maxim Litvinov and appointed Vyacheslav Molotov in his place. Litvinov was both a champion of collective security and a Jew. Hitler later said that the dismissal of Litvinov made fully evident Stalin's wish to transform its relations with Germany. Contacts begun in May culminated in the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact signed on 23 August in Moscow by Molotov and German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop.

The German-Soviet agreement signed that night consisted of an open, 10-year, nonaggression pact, together with two secret protocols that did not become generally known until Rudolf Hess revealed them after the war during the proceedings of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. These secret arrangements, never publicly acknowledged by the Soviet Union until 1990, partitioned eastern Europe between Germany and the Soviet Union in advance of the German invasion of Poland, for which Hitler had now, in effect, received Stalin's permission. Any future territorial rearrangement of the area was to involve its division between the two powers. The Soviet sphere would include eastern Poland, the Romanian Province of Bessarabia, Estonia, Latvia, and Finland. Lithuania went to Germany. A month later, Hitler traded it to Stalin in exchange for further territorial concessions in Poland. In addition, a trade convention accompanying the pact provided that the Soviet Union would supply vast quantities of raw materials to Germany in exchange for military technology and finished goods. This economic arrangement was immensely valuable to Germany early in the war, a point that Churchill later made quite clear to Stalin. Certainly, Stalin expected that Hitler would face a protracted war in the west that would allow the Soviet Union time to rebuild its military. All indications are that Stalin welcomed the pact with Germany, whereas he regarded the subsequent wartime alliance with Britain and the United States with fear and suspicion. His position becomes understandable when one realizes that Stalin's primary concern was with the internal stability of the Soviet Union.

The nonaggression pact had the impact of a thunderbolt on the world community. Communism and Nazism, supposed to be ideological opposites on the worst possible terms,

had come together, dumbfounding a generation more versed in ideology than power politics.

On 22 August, Hitler summoned his generals and announced his intention to invade Poland. Neither Britain nor France, he said, had the leadership necessary for a life-and-death struggle: "Our enemies are little worms," he remarked, "I saw them at Munich." British and French armament did not yet amount to much. Thus, Germany had much to gain and little to lose, for the Western powers probably would not fight. In any case, Germany had to accept the risks and act with reckless resolution.

The German invasion of Poland, set for 26 August, actually occurred on 1 September, the delay caused by Italy's decision to remain neutral. Prompted by his foreign minister and son-in-law, Galeazzo Ciano, Mussolini lost faith in a German victory. Ciano proposed that Mussolini tell Hitler that Italy would enter the conflict only if Germany would agree to supply certain armaments and raw materials. On 25 August, the Germans rescinded their plans and engaged in frenzied discussions. The next day, Mussolini asked for immediate delivery of 170 million tons of industrial products and raw materials, an impossible request. Hitler then asked that Mussolini maintain a benevolent neutrality toward Germany and continue military preparations so as to fool the English and French. Mussolini agreed.

On 1 September, following false charges that Polish forces had crossed onto German soil and killed German border guards—an illusion completed by the murder of concentration camp prisoners who were then dressed in Polish military uniforms—German forces invaded Poland. On 3 September, after the expiration of ultimatums to Germany, Britain and France declared war on Germany.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Aixinjueluo Puyi; Anti-Comintern Pact; Beck, Ludwig; Canaris, Wilhelm Franz; Chamberlain, Arthur Neville; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Ciano, Galeazzo; Daladier, Édouard; Eden, Sir Robert Anthony; Franco, Francisco; Gamelin, Maurice Gustave; Guangdong Army; Hess, Walter Richard Rudolf; Hitler, Adolf; Kondor Legion; Manzhouguo; Molotov, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich; Munich Conference and Preliminaries; Mussolini, Benito; Rhineland, Remilitarization of; Ribbentrop, Ulrich Friedrich Willy Joachim von; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Schuschnigg, Kurt von; Sino-Japanese War; Spain, Civil War in; Stalin, Josef; Stimson, Henry Lewis; Tiso, Jozef; Victor Emanuel III, King of Italy

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Overview of World War II

World War II was the most destructive enterprise in human history. It is sobering to consider that more resources, material, and human lives (approximately 50 million dead) were expended on the war than on any other human activity. Indeed, this conflict was so all-encompassing that very few “side” wars took place simultaneously, the 1939–1940 Finnish-Soviet War (the Winter War) being one of the few exceptions.

The debate over the origins of World War I had become something of a cottage industry among historians in the 1920s and 1930s. Yet the question of origins rarely arises over World War II, except on the narrow issue of whether U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt had advance knowledge of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Whatever their grievances (certainly minor in comparison to the misery they inflicted on their victims), Germany and Japan are still considered the aggressors of World War II.

World War II is historically unique in that it represents if not necessarily a “crusade” of good against evil at least a struggle against almost pure evil by less evil forces. More than half a century after the end of this war, no mainstream or serious historians defend any significant aspect of Nazi Germany. Perhaps more surprisingly, there are also few if any such historians who would do likewise for militaristic Japan. In practically all previous conflicts, historians have found sufficient blame to give all belligerents a share. For example, no prominent historian takes seriously the Versailles provision that Germany was somehow completely responsible for the outbreak of World War I. German Führer Adolf Hitler and his followers have thus retained mythic status as personifications of pure evil, something not seen since the Wars of Religion of seventeenth-century Europe.

The starting date of World War II, however, can be disputed. Some scholars have gone as far back as the Japanese seizure of Manchuria in 1931. Others date its outbreak to

the opening of the full-scale Sino-Japanese War in 1937. But these were conflicts between two Asian powers, hardly global war.

The more traditional and more widely accepted date for the start of World War II is 1 September 1939, with the quick but not quite blitzkrieg (lightning) German invasion of Poland. This action brought France and Great Britain into the conflict two days later in accordance with their guarantees to Poland. (The Soviet Union’s invasion of eastern Poland on 17 September provoked no similar reaction.)

The Germans learned from their Polish Campaign and mounted a true blitzkrieg offensive against the Low Countries and France, commencing on 10 May 1940. In this blitzkrieg warfare, the tactical airpower of the German air force (the Luftwaffe) knocked out command and communications posts as integrated armor division pincers drove deeply into enemy territory, bypassing opposition strong points. When all went well, the pincers encircled the slow-moving enemy. Contrary to legend, the armored forces were simply the spearheads; the bulk of the German army was composed of foot soldiers and horses. Further, the French army and the British Expeditionary Force combined had more and usually better tanks than the Germans, and they were not too seriously inferior in the air. The sluggish Allies were simply outmaneuvered, losing France in six weeks, much to the astonishment of the so-called experts. France remains the only major industrial democracy ever to be conquered—and, also uniquely, after a single campaign. It was also the only more or less motorized nation to suffer such a fate; many French refugees fled the rapidly advancing Germans in their private cars. The Germans found that the French Routes Nationales (National Routes), designed to enable French forces to reach the frontiers, could also be used in the opposite direction by an invader. The Germans themselves relearned this military truth on their autobahns in 1945.

Germany suffered its first defeat of the war when its air offensive against Great Britain, the world's first great air campaign, was thwarted in the Battle of Britain. The margin of victory was small, for there was little to choose between the Hurricane and Spitfire fighters of the Royal Air Force (RAF) and the Luftwaffe's Bf-109 or between the contenders' pilots. The main advantages of the RAF in this battle were radar and the geographic fact that its pilots and their warplanes were shot down over Britain itself; German pilots and aircraft in a similar predicament were out of action for the duration, and they also had farther to fly from their bases. But Great Britain's greatest advantage throughout this stage of the war was its prime minister, Winston L. S. Churchill, who gave stirring voice and substance to the Allied defiance of Hitler.

Nonetheless, by the spring of 1941, Nazi Germany had conquered or dominated all of the European continent, with the exception of Switzerland, Sweden, and Vatican City. Greece, which had held off and beaten back an inept Italian offensive, finally capitulated to the German Balkan blitzkrieg in spring 1941.

Nazi Germany then turned on its erstwhile ally, the Soviet Union, on 22 June 1941, in Operation BARBAROSSA, the greatest military campaign of all time, in order to fulfill Hitler's enduring vision of crushing "Judeo-Bolshevism." (How far Hitler's ambitions of conquest ranged beyond the Soviet east is still disputed by historians.) If he had any introspective moments then, Soviet dictator Josef Stalin must have wished that he still possessed the legions of first-rate officers he had shot or slowly destroyed in the gulag in the wake of his bloody purge of the military in 1937. Stalin's own inept generalship played a major role in the early Soviet defeats, and German forces drove almost to within sight of the Kremlin's towers in December 1941 before being beaten back.

Early that same month, war erupted in the Pacific, and the conflict then became truly a world war, with Japan's coordinated combined attacks on the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor and on British, Dutch, and American imperial possessions. With the Soviet Union holding out precariously and the United States now a belligerent, the Axis had lost the war, even though few recognized that fact at the time. America's "great debate" as to whether and to what extent to aid Britain was silenced in a national outpouring of collective wrath against an enemy, in a manner that would not be seen again until 11 September 2001.

But Pearl Harbor was bad enough, with 2,280 Americans dead, four battleships sunk, and the remaining four battleships damaged. Much worse was to follow. As with the Germans in France, more-professional Japanese forces surprised and outfought their opponents by land, sea, and air. Almost before they knew it, British and Dutch forces in Asia, superior in numbers alone, had been routed in one of the most successful combined-arms campaigns in history. (The French

had already yielded control of their colony of Indochina, whose rice and raw materials were flowing to Japan while the Japanese military had the use of its naval and air bases until the end of the war.) The course of the Malayan-Singapore Campaign was typical. British land forces could scarcely even delay the Japanese army, Japanese fighters cleared the skies of British aircraft, and Japanese naval bombers flying from land bases quickly sank the new battleship *Prince of Wales* and the elderly battle cruiser *Repulse*. This disaster made it obvious that the aircraft carrier was the capital ship of the day. Singapore, the linchpin of imperial European power in the Orient, surrendered ignominiously on 16 February 1942.

The British hardly made a better fight of it in Burma before having to evacuate that colony. Only the Americans managed to delay the Japanese seriously, holding out on the Bataan Peninsula and then at the Corregidor fortifications until May. The end of imperialism, at least in Asia, can be dated to the capitulation of Singapore, as Asians witnessed other Asians with superior technology and professionalism completely defeat Europeans and Americans.

And yet, on Pearl Harbor's very "day of infamy," Japan actually lost the war. Its forces missed the American aircraft carriers there, as well as the oil tank farms and the machine shop complex. On that day, the Japanese killed many U.S. personnel, and they destroyed mostly obsolete aircraft and sank a handful of elderly battleships. But above all, they outraged Americans, who determined to avenge the attack so that Japan would receive no mercy in the relentless land, sea, and air war that the United States was now to wage against it. More significantly, American industrial and manpower resources vastly surpassed those Japan could bring to bear in a protracted conflict.

And yet—oddly, perhaps, in view of its own ruthless warfare and occupation—Japan was the only major belligerent to hold limited aims in World War II. Japanese leaders basically wanted the Western colonial powers out of the Pacific, to be replaced, of course, by their own Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere (a euphemism for "Asia for the Japanese"). No unconditional surrender demands ever issued from Tokyo. To Japan's own people, of course, the war was presented as a struggle to the death against the arrogant Anglo-Saxon imperialists.

Three days after the Pearl Harbor attack, Hitler decided to declare war on the United States, a blunder fully as deadly as his invasion of the Soviet Union and even less explicable. But the Nazi dictator, on the basis of his customary "insights," had dismissed the American soldier as worthless, and he considered U.S. industrial power vastly overrated. His decision meant the United States could not focus exclusively on Japan.

The tide would not begin to turn until the drawn-out naval-air clash in the Coral Sea (May 1942), the first naval bat-

tle in which neither side's surface ships ever came within sight of the opponent. The following month, the U.S. Navy avenged Pearl Harbor in the Battle of Midway, sinking no fewer than four Japanese carriers, again without the surface ships involved ever sighting each other. The loss of hundreds of superbly trained, combat-experienced naval aviators and their highly trained maintenance crews was as great a blow to Japan as the actual sinking of its invaluable carriers. The Americans could make up their own losses far more easily than the Japanese.

Although considered a sideshow by the Soviets, the North African Campaign was of the utmost strategic importance, and until mid-1943, it was the only continental land campaign that the Western Allies were strong enough to mount. Had North Africa, including Egypt, fallen to the Axis powers (as almost occurred several times), the Suez Canal could not have been held, and German forces could have gone through the Middle East, mobilizing Arab nationalism, threatening the area's vast oil fields, and even menacing the embattled Soviet Union itself. Not until the British commander in North Africa, General Bernard Montgomery, amassed a massive superiority in armor was German General Erwin Rommel defeated at El Alamein in October 1942 and slowly pushed back toward Tunisia. U.S. and British landings to the rear of Rommel's forces, in Algeria and Morocco, were successful, but the raw American troops received a bloody nose at Kasserine Pass. The vastly outnumbered North African Axis forces did not capitulate until May 1943. Four months earlier, the German Sixth Army had surrendered at Stalingrad, marking the resurgence of the Soviet armies. One should, nonetheless, remember that the distance between Casablanca, Morocco, and Cape Bon, Tunisia, is much the same as that from Brest-Litovsk to Stalingrad, and more Axis troops surrendered at "Tunisgrad" than at Stalingrad. (One major difference was that almost all Axis prisoners of the Western Allies survived their imprisonment, whereas fewer than one in ten of those taken at Stalingrad returned.)

By this time, U.S. production was supplying not only American military needs but also those of most of the Allies—on a scale, moreover, that was simply lavish by comparison to all other armed forces (except possibly that of the Canadians). Everything from the canned-meat product Spam to Sherman tanks and from aluminum ingots to finished aircraft crossed the oceans to the British Isles, the Soviet Union, the Free French, the Nationalist Chinese, the Fighting Poles, and others. (To this day, Soviets refer to any multidrive truck as a *studeborkii*, or Studebaker, a result of the tens of thousands of such vehicles shipped to the Soviet Union.) Moreover, quantity was not produced at the cost of quality. Although some the Allies might have had reservations in regard to Spam, the army trucks, the boots, the small arms,

and the uniforms provided by the United States were unsurpassed. (British soldiers noted with some envy that American enlisted men wore the same type of uniform material as did British officers.) The very ships that transported the bulk of this war material—the famous, mass-produced Liberty ships ("rolled out by the mile, chopped off by the yard")—could still be found on the world's oceanic trade routes decades after they were originally scheduled to be scrapped.

After the North African Campaign ended in 1943, the Allies drove the Axis forces from Sicily, and then, in September 1943, they began the interminable Italian Campaign. It is perhaps indicative of the frustrating nature of the war in Italy that the lethargic Allies allowed the campaign to begin with the escape of most Axis forces from Sicily to the Italian peninsula. The Germans were still better at this sort of thing. Winston Churchill to the contrary, Italy was no "soft underbelly"; the Germans conducted well-organized retreats from one mountainous fortified line to the next. The Italian Campaign was occasionally justified for tying down many German troops, but the truth is that it tied down far more Allied forces—British, Americans, Free French, Free Poles, Brazilians, Canadians, Indians, and British and French African colonials among them. German forces in Italy ultimately surrendered in late April 1945, only about a week before Germany itself capitulated.

The military forces of World War II's belligerents, as might be expected in so historically widespread a conflict, varied wildly. The French army in 1939, considered by "experts" the world's best, was actually a slow-moving mass that was often supplied with very good equipment and was led by aged commanders who had learned the lessons of World War I. No other such powerful army was so completely defeated in so short a period of time. The French air force and navy likewise had some excellent equipment as well as more progressive commanders than the army, but France fell before they could have any great impact on the course of battle.

It is generally agreed that the German army was superb—so superb, in fact, that some authorities would venture that the Germans traditionally have had "a genius for war." (Then again, it was hardly a sign of genius to provoke the United States into entering World War I or to invade the Soviet Union in World War II while the British Empire still fought on, before declaring war on the United States six months later.) Obviously, Germany's greatest and traditional military failing has been the denigration of the fighting ability of its opponents. But on the ground, at the operational and tactical levels, the combination of realistic training, strict discipline, and flexible command made the German army probably World War II's most formidable foe. One need only look at a map of Europe from 1939 to 1945 and calculate Germany's enemies compared to its own resources. The Luftwaffe had

superbly trained pilots, although their quality fell off drastically as the war turned against their nation. German fighters were easily the equal of any in the world, but surprisingly, given that Hitler's earlier ambitions seemingly demanded a "Ural bomber," the Luftwaffe never put a heavy, four-engine bomber into production. Germany led the world in aerodynamics, putting into squadron service the world's first jet fighter (the Me-262), with swept wings, and even a jet reconnaissance bomber (although German jet engines lagged somewhat behind those of the British). The Luftwaffe also fielded a rocket-powered interceptor, but this craft was as great a menace to its own pilots as to the enemy.

The German navy boasted some outstanding surface vessels, such as the battleship *Bismarck*, but Hitler found the sea alien, and he largely neglected Germany's surface fleet. Submarines were an entirely different matter. U-boat wolf packs decimated Allied North Atlantic shipping, and the Battle of the Atlantic was the only campaign the euphonic Churchill claimed cost him sleep. German U-boats ravaged the Atlantic coast of the United States, even ranging into Chesapeake Bay in the first months of 1942 to take advantage of inexcusable American naval unpreparedness. As in World War I, convoy was the answer to the German U-boat, a lesson that had to be learned the hard way in both conflicts.

The British army on the whole put in a mediocre performance in World War II. As with the French, although to a lesser degree, the British feared a repetition of the slaughter experienced on the World War I Western Front, and except for the elite units, they rarely showed much dash or initiative. Montgomery, the war's most famous British general, consistently refused to advance until he had great superiority in men and material over his enemy. The British Expeditionary Force fought well and hard in France in 1940 but moved sluggishly thereafter. By far the worst performance of the British army occurred in Malaya-Singapore in the opening months of the war.

For all of their commando tradition, moreover, the British undertook few guerrilla actions in any of their lost colonies. Churchill himself was moved to wonder why the sons of the men who had fought so well in World War I on the Somme, despite heavy losses, suffered so badly by comparison to the Americans still holding out on Bataan. As late as 1943, the Japanese easily repulsed a sluggish British offensive in the Burma Arakan.

This situation changed drastically when General William Slim took command of the beaten, depressed Anglo-Indian forces in Burma. His was the only sizable Allied force not to outnumber the Japanese, yet he inflicted the worst land defeat in its history on Japan and destroyed the Japanese forces in Burma. Unlike so many Allied generals, Slim led from the front in the worst climate of any battle front. He managed to switch his army's composition from jungle fighters to armored cav-

alry. Slim's only tangible advantage over his enemy was his absolute control of the air, and with this, he conducted the greatest air supply operation of the war. Although the modest Slim, from a lower-middle-class background, achieved the highest rank in the British army and then became one of Australia's most successful governor-generals, he is almost forgotten today. Yet, considering his accomplishments with limited resources and in different conditions, William Slim should be considered the finest ground commander of World War II.

The Royal Navy suffered from a preponderance of battleship admirals at the opening of the war, most notably Admiral Sir Tom Phillips, who was convinced that "well-handled" capital ships could fight off aerial attacks. He was proved emphatically and fatally wrong when Japanese torpedo-bombers rather swiftly dispatched his *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* on the third day after the opening of war in the Pacific. The Royal Navy was also handicapped by the fact that not until 1937 did it win control of the Fleet Air Arm (FAA) from the RAF, which had little use for naval aviation and had starved the FAA of funds and attention through the years between the world wars. Although the Royal Navy's carriers were fine ships and their armored flight decks gave them a protection that the U.S. Navy envied, albeit at the cost of smaller aircraft capacity, Fleet Air Arm aircraft were so obsolete that the service had to turn to U.S. models. Even so, the FAA made history on 11 November 1940 when its obsolete Fairy Swordfish torpedo-bombers sank three Italian battleships in Taranto harbor, a feat that the Japanese observed carefully but the Americans did not. British battleships and carriers kept the vital lifeline through the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal open through the darkest days of the war, and together with the Americans and Canadians, they defeated the perilous German submarine menace in the North Atlantic. Significant surface actions of the Royal Navy included the sinking of the German battleship *Bismarck* in May 1941 by an armada of British battleships, cruisers, carriers, and warplanes and the December 1943 destruction of the pocket battleship *Scharnhorst* by the modern battleship *Duke of York*.

The Soviet army almost received its deathblow in the first months of the German invasion. Caught off balance and shorn by Stalin's maniacal purges of its best commanders (whose successors were the dictator's obedient creatures), the Soviet army suffered heavier losses than any other army in history. Yet, spurred by the bestiality of the German war of enslavement and racial extermination and by Stalin's newfound pragmatism, the Red Army was able to spring back and, at enormous cost at the hands of the more professional Germans, fight its way to Berlin.

The Red Air Force developed into one of the most effective tactical air powers of the war. (The Soviets constructed very few heavy bombers.) The Shturmovik was certainly one of the

best ground-attack aircraft of the time. The Red Navy, by contrast, apparently did little to affect the course of the war; its main triumph may have been in early 1945 when its submarines sank several large German passenger ships crammed with refugees from the east in the frigid Baltic, the worst maritime disasters in history.

The United States emerged from World War II as the only nation since the time of the Romans to be a dominant power on both land and sea, not to mention in the air. In 1945, the U.S. Air Force and Navy could have defeated any combination of enemies, and only the Soviet army could have seriously challenged the Americans on land. In 1939, the U.S. Army was about the size of that of Romania; by 1945, it had grown to some 12 million men and women.

World War II in the Pacific was the great epic of the U.S. Navy. From the ruin of Pearl Harbor, that service fought its way across the vast reaches of the Pacific Ocean to Tokyo Bay. Eventually, it had the satisfaction of watching the Japanese surrender on board a U.S. Navy battleship in that harbor. Immediately after Pearl Harbor, it was obvious that the aircraft carrier was the ideal capital ship for this war, and the United States virtually mass-produced such warships in the Essex-class. The U.S. Navy had much to learn from its enemy, as demonstrated in the Battle of Savo Island, where Japanese cruisers sank three U.S. and one Australian cruiser in the worst seagoing defeat in U.S. naval history. By the end of the war, almost all of Japan's battleships and carriers had been sunk, most by naval airpower. U.S. Navy submarines succeeded where the German navy had failed in two world wars, as absolutely unrestricted submarine warfare strangled the Japanese home islands, causing near starvation. Equally impressive, the U.S. Navy in the Pacific originated the long-range seatrains, providing American sailors with practically all their needs while they fought thousands of miles from the nearest continental American supply base.

The U.S. Marine Corps was a unique military force. Alone among the marine units of the belligerents, it had its own air and armor arms under its own tactical control. The U.S. Marines were the spearhead that stormed the Japanese-held islands of the Pacific, and the dramatic photograph of a small group of Marines raising the American flag over the bitterly contested island of Iwo Jima became an icon of the war for Americans.

The Japanese army was long on courage but shorter on individual initiative. It was a near medieval force, its men often led in wild *banzai* charges by sword-flourishing officers against machine-gun emplacements. The entire nation of Nippon was effectively mobilized against the looming Americans under the mindless slogan "Our spirit against their steel." But the history of the Japanese army will be stained for the foreseeable future by the bestial atrocities it practiced against Allied troops and civilians alike; untold numbers of

Chinese civilians, for example, were slaughtered during Japanese military campaigns in China. Only two-thirds of Allied troops unfortunate enough to fall into Japanese hands survived to the end of the war. Yet the Japanese army was probably the best light infantry force of the war, and it was certainly the only World War II army that, on numerous occasions, genuinely fulfilled that most hackneyed order "Fight on to the last man!"

The Imperial Japanese Navy and the air arms of the army and navy were superb in the early stages of the Pacific war. Both had extensive combat experience in the Chinese war as well as modern equipment. Japanese admirals were the best in their class between 1941 and 1942, and Japanese air and naval forces, along with the Japanese army itself, quickly wound up European colonial pretensions. Only the vast mobilized resources of the United States could turn the tide against Japan. And except for their complete loss of air control, only in Burma were the Japanese outfought on something like equal terms.

The aftermath of World War II proved considerably different from that of World War I, with its prevailing spirit of disillusionment. Amazingly, all of World War II's belligerents, winners and losers alike, could soon look back and realize that the destruction of the murderous, archaic, racist Axis regimes had genuinely cleared the way to a better world. All enjoyed peace and the absence of major war. Even for the Soviets, the postwar decades were infinitely better than the prewar years, although much of this measure of good fortune might be attributed simply to the death of Josef Stalin. Except for Great Britain, the British Commonwealth nations and even more so the United States emerged from the war far stronger than when they entered it after enduring a decade of the Great Depression. By the 1950s, both war-shattered Western Europe and Japan were well on their way to becoming major competitors of the United States. The uniquely sagacious and foresighted Western Allied military occupations of Germany, Japan, and Austria in many ways laid the foundations for the postwar prosperity of these former enemy nations. (For the most part, similar good fortune bypassed the less developed nations.) Within a few years, former belligerents on both sides could agree that, despite its appalling casualties and destruction, World War II had been if not perhaps "the Good War" at least something in the nature of a worthwhile war.

Stanley Sandler

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Atlantic, Battle of the; BAR-BAROSSA, Operation; *Bismarck*, Sortie and Sinking of; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Convoys, Allied; Coral Sea, Battle of the; El Alamein, Battle of; Finnish-Soviet War (30 November 1939–12 March 1940, Winter War); France, Battle for; Hitler, Adolf; Jet and Rocket Aircraft; Kasserine Pass, Battle of; Lend-Lease; Liberty

Ships; Malaya Campaign; Midway, Battle of; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; North Africa Campaign; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Poland Campaign; *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse*; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Singapore; Sino-Japanese War; Stalin, Josef

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Legacy of the War

Across the globe, people greeted the end of World War II with a profound sense of relief. By virtually any measurement, the war had been the most devastating conflict in human history. All nations were touched by it to some degree. The war's economic cost alone has been calculated at perhaps five times that of World War I. In human terms, it claimed half again as many military lives: 15 million versus 10 million for World War I. Including civilians, between 41 and 49 million people died in the war, a figure that would have been much higher without the advent of sulfa and penicillin drugs and blood plasma transfusions.

When the war finally ended, vast stretches of Europe and parts of Asia lay in ruins. Whole populations were utterly exhausted, and many people were starving and living in makeshift shelters. Millions more had been uprooted from their homes and displaced; many of them had been transported to the Reich to work as slave laborers in German industry and agriculture. Transport—especially in parts of western and central Europe and in Japan—was at a standstill. Bridges were blown, rail lines were destroyed, and highways were cratered and blocked. Ports, particularly those in northwestern Europe and Japan, were especially hard hit, and many would have to be rebuilt. Most of the large cities of Germany and Japan were piles of rubble, their buildings mere shells.

Some countries had fared reasonably well. Damage in Britain was not too extensive, and civilian deaths were relatively slight; Denmark and Norway escaped with little destruction. The rapid Allied advance had largely spared Belgium, although the port of Antwerp had been badly damaged. The Netherlands, however, sustained considerable destruction, and portions of the population were starving. The situation in Greece was also dire, and Poland suffered horribly from the brutal German and Soviet occupation policies and armies sweeping back and forth across its territory.

Among the major powers, the USSR was the hardest hit. With 27 million of its people killed in the war, national demographics were dramatically impacted, an effect that has persisted even to the present. In 1959, Moscow announced that the ratio of males to females in the Soviet Union was 45 to 55. Aside from the catastrophic human costs, the Germans had occupied its most productive regions, and the scorched-earth policy practiced by both the Soviets and the Germans resulted in the total or partial destruction of 1,700 towns, 70,000 villages, and 6 million buildings, including 84,000 schools. The Soviet Union also lost 71 million farm animals, including 7 million horses. There was widespread destruction in such great cities as Kiev, Odessa, and Leningrad. Perhaps a quarter of the property value of the USSR was lost in the war, and tens of millions of Soviet citizens were homeless. Simply feeding the Soviet population became a staggering task. All of these factors help to explain the subsequent policies, both internal and external, of the Soviet Union.

Efforts in Europe, as well as in Asia, centered for several years on the pressing problems of providing food, housing, and employment. As it turned out, much of the damage was not as extensive as initially thought, and many machines were still operational once the rubble was removed. In one perverse sense, Germany and Japan benefited from the bombing in that they rebuilt with many of the most modern techniques and systems.

With the end of the war, the liberated nations carried out purges of fascists and collaborationists. Many of these individuals were slain without benefit of trial. In France, 8,000 to 9,000 people were so executed; subsequently, 1,500 more were sentenced to death and executed following regular court procedures. The victorious Allies were determined to bring to justice the leaders of Germany and Japan, whom they held responsible for the war. Two great trials were held, in

Nuremberg and Tokyo. Afterward, interest in bringing the guilty to justice waned, even in the cases of those responsible for wartime atrocities. Punishment varied greatly according to nation and circumstance, and it proved virtually impossible to work out acceptable formulas that might punish the guilty when so many people had, to some degree, collaborated with the occupiers.

At the end of the war, it appeared as if the idealistic, left-leaning resistance movements might realize their goals of forging new political, economic, and social institutions to bring about meaningful change. Although most people thought a return to prewar democratic structures was impossible, bright hopes for building new structures in the future were soon dashed. Resistance leaders fell to quarreling among themselves, and the fracturing of the Left, as occurred in France and Italy, made room for the return of the old but still powerful conservative elites. The political structures that ultimately emerged from the war, at least in western Europe, were little changed from those that had preceded it. In much of eastern and central Europe, where the Soviet Union now held sway, there was significant change, including land reform, although this was seldom to the real benefit of the populations involved. Soviet rule also brought widespread financial exactions in the form of reparations and the stifling of democracy.

The war did intensify the movement for European unity. Many European statesmen believed that some means had to be found to contain nationalism, especially German nationalism, and that the best vehicle for that would be the economic integration of their nations, with political unification to follow in what some called the “United States of Europe.” They believed that a Germany integrated into the European economy would not be able to act alone. Although Europe was slow in taking steps in that direction, such thinking led, a decade after the end of the war, to the European Common Market.

Asia was also greatly affected by the war. In China, the bitter prewar contest between the Chinese Nationalist Party—the Guomindang, or GMD (Kuomintang, or KMT)—and the Chinese Communist Party resumed in a protracted civil war when Nationalist leader Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) sent troops into Manchuria in an effort to reestablish Nationalist control of that important region. The conflict ended in 1949 with a Communist victory. To the west, British imperial India dissolved into an independent India and Pakistan.

The United States granted the Philippines delayed independence, but in other areas, such as French Indochina and the Netherlands East Indies, the colonizers endeavored to continue their control. Where the European powers sought to hold on to their empires after August 1945, there would be further bloodshed. The French government, determined to maintain the nation as a great power, insisted on retaining its empire, which led to the protracted Indo-China War. Fighting also erupted in many other places around the world, including

Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies. Even where the European powers chose to withdraw voluntarily, as Britain did in Palestine and on the Indian subcontinent, there was often heavy fighting as competing nationalities sought to fill the vacuum. Nonetheless, independence movements in Africa and Asia, stimulated by the long absence of European control during the war, gathered momentum, and over the next two decades, much of Africa and Asia became independent.

One of the supreme ironies of World War II is that Adolf Hitler had waged the conflict with the stated goal of destroying communism. In the end, he had gravely weakened Europe, and rather than eradicating his ideological adversary, he had strengthened it. In 1945, the Soviet Union was one of the two leading world powers, and its international prestige was at an all-time high. In France and Italy, powerful Communist Parties were seemingly poised to take power. The Soviet Union also established governments friendly to it in eastern and central Europe. Under the pressure of confrontation with the West, these states became openly Communist in the years after World War II. In 1948, the Communists made their last acquisition in central Europe in a coup d'état in Czechoslovakia. Communists also nearly came to power in Greece.

Indeed, far from destroying the Soviet Union and containing the United States, Germany and Japan had enhanced the international position of both. Western and Soviet differences meant that, although treaties were negotiated with some of the smaller Axis powers, there were no big-power agreements concerning the future of Germany and Japan. Germany, initially divided into four occupation zones, became two states in 1949: the western Federal Republic of Germany and the Communist German Democratic Republic. Korea also had been “temporarily” divided at the thirty-eighth parallel for the purposes of a Japanese surrender. Unlike Germany, which was reunited in 1990, Korea remained divided as of 2004—another legacy of World War II.

Despite the continued importance of secondary powers such as Britain and France, the year 1945 witnessed the emergence of a bipolar world, in which there were two superpowers: the United States and the Soviet Union. Added to the confrontational mix was the threat of nuclear war as both governments embarked on a new struggle known as the Cold War.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Casualties; Cold War, Origins and Early Course of; International Military Tribunal: Far East; International Military Tribunal: The Nuremberg Trials; Jiang Jieshi; Paris Peace Treaties

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WORLD WAR II

A Student Encyclopedia

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See Antiaircraft Artillery and Employment.

Aachen, Battle of (13 September–21 October 1944)

Located on the western border of Germany, the city of Aix-la-Chapelle, later Aachen, had been the capital of the Holy Roman Empire; Charlemagne was crowned emperor there in the year 800. Since German dictator Adolf Hitler considered Charlemagne to be the founder of the first German Reich, the city held special status for him. Aachen was the first major German city encountered by U.S. troops, and the five-week-long battle for it gave notice to U.S. forces that the war against the Third Reich was far from over. Lieutenant General Courtney Hodges, commander of the American First Army, had hoped to bypass Aachen from the south, quickly break through the German defenses of the West Wall (Siegfried Line), and reach the Rhine River.

In September 1944, Lieutenant General Gerhard von Schwerin's understrength 116th Panzer Division defended Aachen. Schwerin entered the city on 12 September and quickly concluded that Aachen was lost. He halted the evacuation of the city so that the population might be cared for by the Americans. Only local defense forces prevented occupation of the city on the morning of 13 September. Unaware of this fact, the commander of U.S. VII Corps, Major General J. Lawton Collins, elected to continue his attack on the Siegfried Line. Late on 15 September, however, troops of Major Gen-

eral Clarence R. Huebner's 1st Infantry Division began to surround Aachen from the south and southeast.

Hitler ordered the city evacuated, but Schwerin refused that order and was relieved of command. Up to 145,000 of the population of 160,000 fled the city. Meanwhile, the pause in Allied operations along the Siegfried Line during Operation MARKET-GARDEN allowed the Wehrmacht the chance to reinforce its West Wall defenses. By the end of September with the collapse of MARKET-GARDEN, operations around Aachen resumed.

From 7 to 20 October, elements of the U.S. VII and XIX Corps strengthened their hold around the city, now defended by the I Panzer Korps of the 116th Panzer Division, 3rd Panzergrenadier Division, and 246th Volksgrenadier Division under Colonel Gerhard Wilck.

On 8 October, U.S. forces began their attack on Aachen. On 10 October, Huebner sent a message into the city, threatening to destroy Aachen if the Germans did not surrender. When this demand was rejected, 300 P-38s and P-47s of the Ninth Tactical Air Force dropped 62 tons of bombs on Aachen on 10 October. U.S. artillery also pounded the city.

On 12 October, Wilck assumed command of some 5,000 German defenders in Aachen. The German troops, supported by assault guns and tanks (mostly Mark IVs), held their positions tenaciously. Also on 12 October, the U.S. fighter-bombers returned and dropped another 69 tons of bombs, and U.S. artillery fired 5,000 rounds.

On 13 October, troops of the 26th Infantry Regiment assaulted the city proper. The fighting was bitter, with the U.S. infantry accompanied by tanks and self-propelled artillery to knock out German armor and reduce strong points. Fighting



An endless procession of German soldiers captured with the fall of Aachen marching through the ruined city streets to captivity, October 1944. (National Archives)

was house-to-house. Infantry blasted holes in the outer walls of buildings with bazookas and then cleared resistance room by room with small arms and hand grenades. Many Schutzstaffel (SS) troops died at their posts rather than surrender. When German troops west of Aachen tried to relieve the siege in hastily organized counterattacks, American artillery beat them back. Aachen was now completely surrounded, and gradually the German defensive position shrank to a small section of the western part of the city. Wilck's efforts to break out of the city on 18 and 19 October failed, and he surrendered Aachen on 21 October.

The Allied rebuff in Operation MARKET-GARDEN and German resistance at Aachen prevented a quick Allied crossing of the Rhine and bought Hitler time to strengthen his West Wall defenses, but the costs were heavy. U.S. forces took some 12,000 German prisoners, and thousands more Germans were killed. Several hundred civilians also died. U.S. losses of 3,700 men (3,200 from the 30th Infantry Division and 500 from the 1st Infantry Division) were also high, particularly among experienced riflemen. Remarkably, amidst all the

ruin and destruction, Aachen's magnificent medieval cathedral survived.

Terry Shoptaugh and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Collins, Joseph Lawton; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; West Wall, Advance to the

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Admiralty Islands Campaign (29 February–18 May 1944)

Island group off of New Guinea seized by Allied forces in 1944. Located 200 miles north of New Guinea, the Admiralty Islands were an attractive target to the commander of the Southwest Pacific Area, General Douglas MacArthur. Seadler Harbor, an enclosed harbor formed by Manus and Los Negros Islands, and the airstrips on the islands provided a base complex to support subsequent operations against Japanese strong points in New Guinea and complete the isolation of Rabaul. The latter, a major Japanese air and naval base on New Britain Island, had been the major objective of Allied operations in the South Pacific since the summer of 1942.

MacArthur planned to invade the Admiralties in a division-size operation on 1 April 1944, but air reconnaissance in February 1944 indicated the islands were lightly defended. Ignoring the estimates of his intelligence staff that there were more than 4,000 Japanese troops in the islands who would likely put up stiff resistance, MacArthur decided to gamble and advance the landing to the end of February, even though all the forces earmarked for the operation would not be ready by that point. He planned to land a reconnaissance force on Los Negros and then rush in reinforcements faster than the Japanese could react.

The Admiralties operation began on 29 February with the landing of 1,000 assault troops from the 1st Cavalry Division at Hyane Harbor on the east coast of Los Negros. There were 2,000 Japanese on Los Negros; however, their commander had expected a landing on the other side of the island and placed only a few defenders at Hyane. The cavalrymen quickly captured Momote airfield and set up a defensive perimeter. Over the next days, aided by air support, they beat back piecemeal Japanese counterattacks. MacArthur poured in reinforcements, and by the morning of 4 March, the last Japanese counterattack had been defeated.

On 9 March, U.S. troops went ashore at Salami Plantation on the other side of Los Negros, and in 10 days of heavy fight-



The first soldiers of the U.S. 1st Cavalry Division storm ashore at Los Negros Island. (Bettmann/Corbis)

ing, the Americans secured the island. In the meantime, American troops landed on Manus Island west of Lorengau airfield, and with the seizure of the airfield on 18 March, the important part of the island was in American hands.

The last Japanese stronghold in the Admiralties, Pityilu Island, was captured on 31 March. Except for a few stragglers in the jungles of Manus, all of the Japanese defenders in the Admiralties had been wiped out. U.S. casualties were 330 killed and 1,189 wounded. MacArthur's gamble to advance the date of the Admiralties landing had paid off. The initial invaders had fought well even though outnumbered on 29 February, and once MacArthur could bring to bear all of the 1st Cavalry Division, the Japanese were doomed.

With the capture of the Admiralties, MacArthur could now extend his operations. Most important, at a time when the Joint Chiefs of Staff were deliberating future strategy in the Pacific war, the successful Admiralties operation helped

convince them to underwrite MacArthur's ambition to liberate the Philippine Islands by an offensive along the north coast of New Guinea.

John Kennedy Ohl

See also

MacArthur, Douglas; New Guinea Campaign; Rabaul; Southwest Pacific Theater

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Afghanistan

Afghanistan was formally nonaligned during World War II, but there were nonetheless complex diplomatic, political, and military developments of consequence in and around that country. As early as 1907, the British Committee of Imperial Defense had concluded, "The gates of India are in Afghanistan and the problem of Afghanistan dominates the situation in India." This assessment reflected the fact that the country was strategically situated between British India and Russia and of considerable interest to both in the diplomatic and political maneuvering of the nineteenth century known as "the Great Game."

Afghanistan was effectively positioned for neutrality in the years before World War II. The February 1921 Soviet-Afghanistan Treaty of mutual recognition was followed in 1926 by a formal nonaggression pact between the two countries. The government in Kabul clearly saw the Soviet Union as an effective counterweight to British power and influence in the region. The November 1921 Anglo-Afghanistan Treaty had accorded Afghanistan full and formal independence, although Britain remained the most important power in terms of immediate control over territory in South Asia, including India and what would become Pakistan.

The Afghanistan constitution, adopted in April 1923 and not replaced until 1963, declared the country to be free and independent, with a free press and free economy. Other democratic guarantees were made explicit in writing, although they were not always followed in actual practice. A constitutional monarchy governed the country, with Islam the established religion. Moderate rule dating from the 1930s was an advantage in dealing with the turmoil and uncertainty of the period.

With the approach of World War II, Afghan leaders established broader ties with Germany. In 1935, they decided to rely mainly on Germany for economic and military modernization, and the following year Germany hosted the Afghan hockey team as well as visiting senior officials as special guests at the Berlin Olympic Games. Weekly air service between Berlin and Kabul commenced in 1938. The German Todt began construction and improvements of airfields, bridges, roads, and industrial plants. German officers began training the Afghanistan military and introduced modern equipment, techniques, and weapons. In diplomatic and political terms, the government in Kabul saw Germany as a counterweight to both Britain and the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, the British government, irritated by Kabul's partnership with Germany, refused to aid Afghanistan in territorial and related disputes with the Soviet Union. Despite the British attitude, Afghan leaders generally saw Britain in positive terms.

After World War II began, developments pressed Afghanistan toward the Allied camp. The June 1941 German invasion

of the Soviet Union and the August 1941 British-Soviet invasion of Iran meant Afghanistan was virtually surrounded by Allied-controlled territory. In preparation for a possible German invasion, antitank mines were laid in the Khyber Pass, and other defensive measures were taken. At Allied insistence, Afghanistan expelled German and Italian representatives in the country and severed all ties with the Axis powers.

Arthur I. Cyr

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; India; Iran; Todt Organization

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Africa

Africa was an important theater of operations in World War II. The continent offered war materials and important routes for air and sea communications. Essential to Allied strategic planning was control of the Suez Canal in Egypt, and during the demands of the Battle of Britain, British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill had to divert scant British military resources there. Had the Axis powers taken that vital waterway, all British shipping to and from India would have been forced to detour around the Cape of Good Hope, doubling the length of the voyage.

Securing the vital oil supplies of the Middle East was another important consideration for Allied planners. From Cairo, the British Middle East Command directed operations to secure the Suez Canal and then to take the offensive against Italian forces invading from Libya and resident in East Africa.

Unlike World War I, World War II saw no fighting in southern Africa. The Union of South Africa, a British dominion, rallied to the British cause and made major contributions to the Allied war effort. The French African empire was another situation entirely. Following the defeat of France, most of the empire remained loyal to the new Vichy regime, although Chad declared early for Free French leader General Charles de Gaulle.

Allied operations occurred at Dakar and Madagascar and in the Horn of Africa in Italian East Africa, but most of the fighting took place in French North Africa and in northeast Africa. The road from Tripoli in western Libya through Benghazi and east to Alexandria, Egypt—the Benghazi Handicap—was the primary scene of fighting as Allied and Axis ground forces engaged in tactical patterns, advancing and retreating along the narrow coastal band of desert. Benito Mussolini's Italian forces invaded Egypt from Libya in September 1940. The fighting there seesawed back and forth with



An U.S. Army Air Transport Command Douglas C-47 flies over the pyramids in Egypt. Loaded with war supplies and materials, this plane was one of a fleet flying shipments from the U.S. across the Atlantic and the continent of Africa to strategic battle zones, 1943. (National Archives)

both sides increasing the stakes. Finally, with the British offensive at El Alamein and simultaneous British and U.S. landings in French North Africa, Axis forces there were caught in a vise. The continent was cleared of Axis troops in the Battle of Tunis in May 1943.

The war had tremendous influence on African nationalism, often because of the role African troops played in the war effort. General Charles de Gaulle acknowledged during the conflict that France owed a special debt of gratitude to its African empire for providing France the base and resources that enabled it to reenter the war in its final phases. It was thanks to the French colonial empire that the independent existence of France was continuously preserved. De Gaulle pledged a new relationship between metropolitan France and its colonies after the conflict.

Although Churchill was very much an imperialist, he could not override the strong anticolonial attitudes expressed by the governments of the United States and Soviet Union. U.S.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt had often declared himself opposed to European colonialism, and when he attended the Casablanca Conference in early 1943, Roosevelt denounced French imperial practices. Soviet leader Josef Stalin often denounced Western imperialism, although this stance did not prevent him from practicing it himself in the case of eastern and central Europe, nor did it keep him from requesting bases in Libya.

Nationalism found fertile ground in those African states that had been cut off from the mother countries during the war, especially in the case of the French and Belgian African possessions. Serious uprisings against French rule occurred both in Madagascar and at Sétif in Algeria. French authorities put these down with significant loss of life. Repression only temporarily quieted nationalism, which continued to feed on the lack of meaningful political reform.

After the war, Italy lost its African empire save Italian Somaliland as a mandate; Libya became independent. Nationalism

also affected the colonial African empires of Britain, Belgium, France, and Portugal. In 1945, Ethiopia, Egypt (nominally), Liberia, and the Union of South Africa were the only free states in Africa. Over the next two decades, however, most of the African states secured independence. Sometimes this occurred peacefully and sometimes with significant loss of life.

In a very real sense, World War II was a great watershed for Africa. Its outcome led to a fulfillment of the nationalism that had first washed over the continent in World War I. Unfortunately, the governments of many of the newly independent states seemed incapable of managing effectively the development of the continent's vast resources and the education of its people.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Casablanca Conference; Dakar, Attack on; de Gaulle, Charles; East Africa Campaign; Egypt; El Alamein, Battle of; North Africa Campaign; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; South Africa, Union of; Stalin, Josef; Tunis, Battle of

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Afrika Korps

The Deutsches Afrika Korps (DAK), better known as the Afrika Korps (Africa Corps), was the name given to the initial two German armor divisions sent to Libya in 1941 as part of Operation SONNENBLUME (SUNFLOWER). Commanded by Major General Erwin Rommel, the Afrika Korps would grow and change in character as Rommel received promotions and as other commanders took over, but its legendary mystique would forever be associated with Rommel, “the Desert Fox.”

The DAK's 5th Light Division began to arrive in Libya in February 1941 (in August it was officially reconstituted as the 21st Panzer Division). Elements of the 15th Panzer Division arrived in April. At various times other units were added to, or subtracted from, the Afrika Korps. Thus at the time of Operation CRUSADER (11 November–8 December 1941), the then-nonmotorized Afrika Division was attached, as was the Italian Savona Division. At the time of the Battle of El Alamein in November 1942, the DAK consisted of the 15th and 21st Panzer Divisions, the 90th and 164th Light Motorized Infantry Divisions, the Ramcke Parachute Brigade, the Italian *Giovani Fascisti* Regiment, and assorted supporting units. During the Tunisia Campaign, the 10th Panzer Division was added.

Because North Africa was an Italian theater, the DAK was technically subordinate to the Italian High Command and thus affected by the variable winds of coalition warfare. The commanders of the DAK often exceeded their authority and could always (and frequently did) appeal directly to Berlin. The DAK was also largely dependent on supply convoys. Thus the ebb and flow of the naval war in the Mediterranean directly influenced DAK operations, especially fuel supplies. As a consequence of a deteriorating naval situation for the Axis powers in the Mediterranean, most of the officers and men arrived in or departed from Africa by air, especially after 1941.

Joining with the better-trained and better-led Italian units shipped to Libya in early 1941, the DAK went on the offensive, advancing quickly to the Egyptian border and laying siege to Tobruk. It would be involved in British Operations BREVITY, BATTLEAXE, and CRUSADER and in the Battles of Gazala and El Alamein. It formed the core of Axis forces in the retreat across Libya to Tunisia and in the ensuing battles there including Kasserine Pass and El Guettar. The DAK ended the war serving under Italy's best general, Marshal Giovanni Messe, who commanded the First Italian Army. The DAK's last commander, General Hans Cramer, surrendered with the DAK on 13 May 1943.

More than 1 million Axis soldiers served in Africa, and 260,000 of them were German. Although the wisdom of sending German forces to Africa may be questioned, certainly the major mistake Adolf Hitler made was in not sending sufficient resources early. Lieutenant General Wilhelm Ritter von Thoma's study, prepared for Hitler before the dispatch of the DAK, recommended that Germany send four divisions or none to North Africa. This recommendation was based on the difficulty of supplying forces in North Africa and on all that would be required to conquer Egypt in conjunction with Italian forces. Had four divisions been sent at the beginning, Rommel in all probability would have secured the Suez Canal, and his victory would have had a major impact on the course of the war. But Hitler only made a halfhearted effort in a theater he always considered to be secondary. The majority of German forces arrived during the Tunisia Campaign, and only a small percentage of them belonged to the DAK.

In the North African fighting, 18,594 Germans died, with another 3,400 missing in action and presumed lost. Approximately 101,784 Germans became prisoners following the Allied conquest of Tunisia.

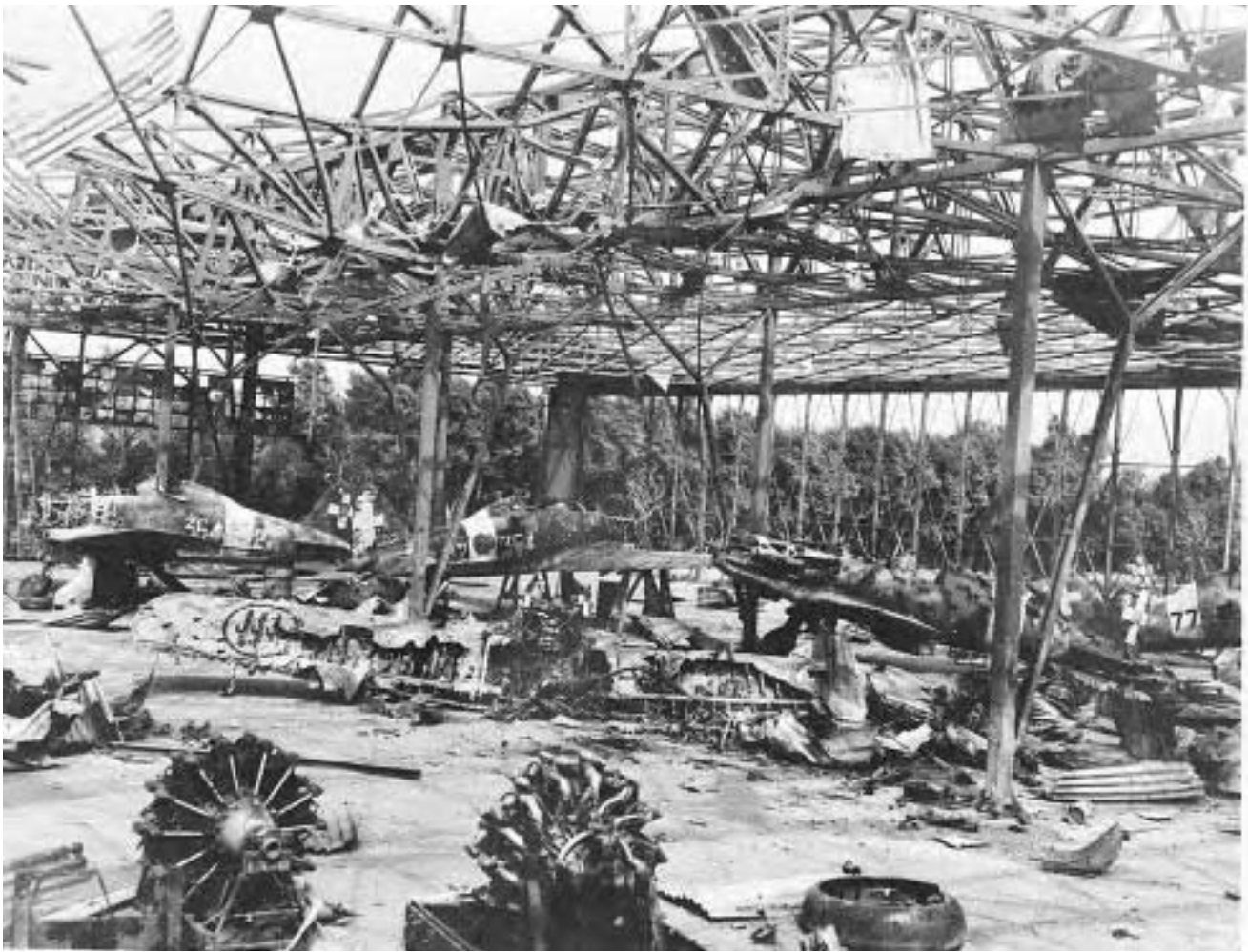
Jack Greene

See also

Bastico, Ettore; El Alamein, Battle of; Gazala, Battle of; Hitler, Adolf; Kasserine Pass, Battle of; North Africa Campaign; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Thoma, Wilhelm Ritter von; Tobruk, First Battle for, Second Battle for, Third Battle of; Tunisia Campaign

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Axis air equipment and installations took a heavy pounding from bombers of the U.S. Army Air Forces as they pursued Field Marshal Erwin Rommel's retreating Afrika Korps through Libya and Tripoli to the Tunisian coast. This former hangar was located at Castel Benito Airdrome. (Library of Congress)

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Ainsworth, Walden Lee “Pug” (1886–1960)

U.S. Navy admiral. Born on 10 November 1886 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, Walden Ainsworth graduated from the University of Minnesota in 1905 and the U.S. Naval Academy in 1910. Ainsworth participated in navy operations against Veracruz, Mexico, in 1914. During World War I, Ainsworth served on transports as a gunnery officer. Commissioned an ensign in 1919, Ainsworth was an ordnance

specialist for two years ashore before returning to sea as an executive officer of a transport. Ainsworth was then an inspector of ordnance at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He was an instructor at the Naval Academy (1928–1931), and he served at the New York Navy Yard. He was then stationed in the Panama Canal Zone (1934–1935) and graduated from the Naval War College before returning to sea as executive officer of the battleship *Mississippi*. He headed the Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) unit at Tulane University from 1938 to 1940.

Promoted to captain, Ainsworth commanded Destroyer Squadron 2 in the Atlantic in 1940 and 1941 and then was assigned to Vice Admiral William F. Halsey's staff. At the end of 1941, Ainsworth took command of the battleship *Mississippi*. Promoted to rear admiral (July 1942), Ainsworth became commander, Destroyers, Pacific Fleet. He took a leading role in the Solomon Islands Campaign, commanding the bombardment of the Japanese airfield at Munda during 4–5 January 1943, long considered a textbook operation.

As commander of Cruiser Division 9 (January 1943–October 1944), Ainsworth commanded three cruisers and five destroyers escorting the U.S. invasion force to New Georgia. He fought in the Battle of Kula Gulf (5–6 July 1943), for which he was awarded the Navy Cross. He also fought in the Battle of Kolombangara (12–13 July 1943) and saw action in the Marianas, Guam, Leyte Gulf, and Peleliu. Ainsworth then commanded Cruisers and Destroyers, Pacific Fleet (October 1944–July 1945).

After the war, Ainsworth commanded the Fifth Naval District (August 1945–December 1948) until his retirement as a vice admiral. He died on 7 August 1960 in Bethesda, Maryland. The destroyer escort *Ainsworth* was named for him.

Gary Kerley

See also

Guam, Battle for; Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Kolombangara, Battle of; Kula Gulf, Battle of; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; Mariana Islands, Naval Campaign; New Georgia, Battle of; Peleliu, Battle of; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign

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Airborne Forces, Allied

The concept of airborne forces originated in 1918 during World War I when Colonel William Mitchell, director of U.S. air operations in France, proposed landing part of the U.S. 1st Division behind German lines in the Metz sector of the Western Front. Thus was born the idea of parachuting or air-landing troops behind enemy lines to create a new flank, what would be known as *vertical envelopment*. The concept was put into action in the 1930s.

The U.S. Army carried out some small-scale experiments at Kelly and Brooks Fields in 1928 and 1929, and in 1936 the Soviets demonstrated a full-blown parachute landing during Red Army maneuvers. Some 1,500 men were dropped in the exercise. One observer—Major General A. P. Wavell—commented that the previous year vehicles had also been landed by aircraft.

During World War II, the Soviets maintained an airborne corps and numerous Guards Airborne Divisions. These troops, although elite, were never used for strategic purposes. However, on several occasions the Soviets dropped parachute troops behind German lines to aid partisan operations and to disrupt German lines of communication. Ominously for the paratroopers, there were no operations in which drives of ground troops were coordinated with parachute

operations to relieve these troops once they had been committed to battle.

British reaction to the reports from the Soviet Union was one of mild interest only, although some antiparachutist exercises took place in Eastern Command, in which Lieutenant Colonel F. A. M. Browning (commanding the 2nd Battalion of the Grenadier Guards) took part. Browning was later, as Lieutenant General Sir Frederick Browning, to command all British airborne forces in World War II. The matter then rested until the Germans showed how effective parachute and air-landing troops were when they carried out their spectacular landings in 1940 in Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands.

Although manpower demands in Britain in 1940 were such that it should have been impossible to raise a parachute force of any significance, nevertheless at the urging of Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, by August 1940, 500 men were undergoing training as parachutists. Fulfillment of Churchill's order that the number be increased to 5,000 had to await additional equipment and aircraft.

Gliderborne troops were part of the plan, and various gliders were under consideration as troop-carrying aircraft. Inevitably such a new branch of infantry was beset with problems, mainly of supply, and there was also a body of resistance to the concept itself in the regular units of the British army. This attitude often led battalions to post their least effective men to such new units merely to get rid of them; the best men were jealously guarded by their commanding officers.

The War Office (representing the British army) and the Air Ministry (representing the Royal Air Force [RAF]) had to agree on aircraft. However, because Bomber Command was becoming aggressively conservative of aircraft, the only plane initially available for training and operations was the Whitley bomber. Aircraft stocks available to airborne forces were initially severely limited until a supply of Douglas C-47 and DC-3 Dakota (Skytrain in U.S. service) aircraft was established, whereon the parachute troops found their perfect drop aircraft. Gliders were also developed, and the American Hamilcar design could carry a light tank.

Progress in developing airborne forces was slow; Royal Air Force objections were constant, in view of the pressure on the RAF to carry the continental war to Germany by means of the strategic bombing campaign. There is no doubt, however, that once the United States came into the war, the situation eased enormously, and equipment became readily available from the United States that Britain was unable to manufacture.

To provide more men for the airborne forces, the War Office decided in 1941 that whole battalions were to be transferred en masse, even though extra training would be needed to bring many men up to the standards of fitness for airborne troops. At the same time, the Central Landing Establishment became the main training center for airborne forces. The 1st Parachute Brigade was established under the command of



U.S. Army Brigadier General Anthony C. McAuliffe, artillery commander of the 101st Airborne Division, gives various glider pilots last minute instructions before the take-off on D plus 1 in Operation MARKET-GARDEN, England, 18 September, 1944. (National Archives)

Brigadier General R. N. Gale, consisting of four parachute battalions. Initially three battalions were formed, which exist to this day in the British army as 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Battalions, Parachute Regiment.

The Glider Pilot Regiment, also formed in 1941, was based at Haddenham, near Oxford, having moved from Ringway (now Manchester Airport). Pilots were recruited from among army and RAF volunteers, but they were part of the army once trained. Airborne forces are infantry, but they have to be fitter than the average soldier, and so training was rigorous. Troops were trained to endure in the cold, in wet weather, and in heat. They had to be fit to withstand the impact of the landing and to fight alone with light weapons and without support for some days.

The airborne concept at that time was twofold: to raid, in which case troops would be extracted by land or sea after the operation (such as the attack on the German radar station at Bruneval in northern France) or to land at the rear of the enemy to capture a strategic target. Two examples of the lat-

ter are the Orne bridge landing on D day in June 1944 and Operation MARKET-GARDEN (MARKET was the airborne portion) the following September when the 1st Airborne Division tried to capture the bridges across the Rhine at Arnhem in Holland.

Airborne forces were regarded, justifiably, as an elite force, but they were a force of considerable strength by the end of the war. Despite the losses suffered at Arnhem, where the 2nd Battalion of the 1st Parachute Regiment held the northern end of the road bridge for four days against two German Schutzstaffel (SS) panzer divisions, the 1st Airborne Division was again up to strength for the Rhine crossing operation in March 1945.

British airborne forces were also engaged in the Far East, and the 44th Indian Airborne Division came into being there. In the Pacific Theater, airborne operations were on a smaller scale than in Europe because the jungle limited the ability to drop large numbers of troops.

The first U.S. airborne division was the 82nd, a conversion of the 82nd Infantry (all-American) Division, formed in



Long, twin lines of C-47 transport planes are loaded with men and equipment at an airfield in England from which they took off for Holland in Operation MARKET-GARDEN on 17 September, 1944. The C-47's carried paratroopers of the First Allied Airborne Army. (National Archives)

March 1942. Major General Omar N. Bradley commanded the division, with Brigadier General Matthew B. Ridgway as his assistant. Ridgway was appointed divisional commander as a major general in June 1942, and the division became the 82nd Airborne Division that August. The 82nd went to North Africa in April 1943, just as German resistance in the theater was ending. It took part in operations in Sicily and Normandy, and under the command of Major General James M. Gavin, it participated in Operation MARKET in the Nijmegen-Arnhem area and also in the Ardennes Offensive.

The 101st Airborne Division was activated in August 1942 with a nucleus of officers and men from the 82nd Division. The 101st was commanded by Major General William C. Lee, one of the originators of U.S. airborne forces. The division left for England in September 1943. Lee had a heart attack in the spring of 1944, and the division was taken over by Major General Maxwell D. Taylor, who led it through D day and Operation MARKET, when it secured the bridge at Eindhoven. The division distinguished itself in the defense of Bastogne during the German Ardennes Offensive.

Three other U.S. airborne divisions were established: the 11th, which served in the Pacific and jumped into Corregidor Island and fought in the Battle of Manila; the 17th, which was rapidly moved to Europe for the German Ardennes Offensive

and then jumped in the Rhine Crossing with the British 6th Airborne Division; and the 13th, which, although it arrived in France in January 1945, never saw action.

Cooperation between British and U.S. airborne forces was very close. When the U.S. 101st Airborne arrived in England, it was installed in a camp close to the training area for the British 6th Airborne Division, which had prepared much of the camp in advance. Training and operational techniques were almost identical, and there were common exercises and shoots to create close bonds among troops. There were also frequent personnel exchanges to cement friendship. Similar arrangements were made between the U.S. 82nd Airborne and the British 1st Airborne Division.

Parachute training in the United States was centered at Fort Benning, Georgia, and in 1943, some 48,000 volunteers started training, with 30,000 qualifying as paratroopers. Of those rejected, some were kept for training as air-landing troops. In Britain, Polish troops were also trained as parachutists to form the Polish 1st Parachute Brigade, which fought at Arnhem in Operation MARKET. Contingents from France, Norway, Holland, and Belgium were also trained, many of whom served operationally in the Special Air Service Brigade.

One great contribution made by the United States to the common good was the formation and transfer to England of

the U.S. Troop Carrier Command. As noted previously, transport aircraft shortages had bedeviled airborne forces' training and operations from the outset. The arrival of seemingly endless streams of C-47 aircraft (known to the British as the DC-3 or Dakota) was a major help. Further, the Royal Air Force in 1944 had nine squadrons of aircraft, or a total of 180 planes, dedicated to airborne forces.

The British Commonwealth also raised parachute units. Australian paratroopers (1st Australian Parachute Battalion) served in the Far East, and the Canadian 1st Parachute Battalion served in Europe.

Several small-scale operations had been carried out before 1943 with mixed success, but the big date for airborne forces was 6 June 1944. Plans for D day required the flanks of the invasion beaches to be secured in advance, and only airborne forces could guarantee this objective. In Britain for the invasion were two British airborne divisions (1st and 6th) and two American airborne divisions (82nd and 101st). The plan was to use all the available airborne and gliderborne troops in the initial stages of the operation. Unfortunately, even in June 1944, transport aircraft available were insufficient for all troops to be dropped at once. All aircraft were organized in a common pool, so that either British or American troops could be moved by mainly American aircraft. This was another fine example of the cooperation that existed at all levels within the Allied airborne forces.

Operation OVERLORD began for the paratroopers and gliders in the dark of the early morning of 6 June. To the west, American paratroopers dropped at the base of the Cotentin Peninsula to secure the forward areas of what were to be Omaha and Utah Beaches. Despite many dispersal problems, the troops managed to link up and were soon in action, denying the Germans the ability to move against the beachheads. The troops fought with great gallantry despite their weakened strength (caused by air transport problems), and by the end of the day, contact had been established with the shipborne forces from the beachheads.

In the east, Britain's 6th Airborne Division was tasked with controlling the left flank of the British invasion beaches. Perhaps the most startling operation (for the Germans) was the coup de main attack by gliderborne air-landing troops of 11th Battalion, Oxford and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry, who landed so close to their target that they were able to capture bridges over the Caen Canal and the River Orne. On a larger scale, the 3rd Parachute Brigade was ordered to take out the Merville Battery, which posed a threat to the invasion beaches. The 9th Parachute Battalion, which planned to attack with 700 men, was so spread out on landing that only 150 men were available. With virtually no support, however, the men attacked the battery and captured it. The battalion lost 65 men and captured 22 Germans; the remainder of the German force of 200 were either killed or wounded.

The essence of airborne forces is morale; training inculcates a feeling of superiority among the men, and their distinctive headgear and equipment marks them as men apart. All Allied parachute and glider troops in the war were of a high standard, and their fighting record bears this out. Even when things went wrong, as often happened when troops were dropped from aircraft, the men made every effort to link up and to carry out the task they had been given.

David Westwood

See also

Airborne Forces, Axis; Aircraft, Transports; Anzio, Battle of; Ardennes Offensive; Bastogne, Battle for; Blitzkrieg; Bradley, Omar Nelson; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Commandos/Rangers; Gavin, James Maurice; Infantry Tactics; Manila, Battle for; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Naval Gunfire, Shore Support; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; OVERLORD, Operation; Parachute Infantry; Ridgway, Matthew Bunker; Sicily, Invasion of; Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival

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Airborne Forces, Axis

An initial German airborne force was formed in the spring of 1936 as an experiment after German observers had watched Soviet airborne troops in an exercise. Set up at Stendhal, the force was made up of men from the General Göring Regiment of the Luftwaffe. Within a year of the establishment of the first parachute regiment, the Schutzstaffel (SS) was also training a platoon, and the army was evaluating parachute troops. Luftwaffe commander Hermann Göring, however, ensured that air force troops only were to form the parachute force.

The first German exercises took place in the autumn of 1937, followed later that year by the first use of cargo gliders. Expansion was rapid, and in 1938, Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general) Kurt Student was organizing the first airborne German division to take part in the "liberation" of the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia. This 7th Flieger (Parachute) Division had two parachute battalions, one airborne infantry battalion and an airborne infantry regiment, three airborne SS battalions, and airborne artillery and medical troops. The division was not needed in 1938, and it was decided that the 7th Parachute Division would be all-parachute, whereas the 22nd Infantry Division would be gliderborne.

In the April 1940 German invasion of Norway, a parachute battalion dropped on Stavanger airfield and secured it in 35 minutes. On 10 May 1940, Germany captured bridges and an airfield in Holland, while gliderborne troops attacked and



This Junkers JU.52/3M was employed by the German Air Force as a military transport and to drop paratroopers. (Museum of Flight/Corbis)

captured Fort Eben Emael in Belgium, which opened the German route into the Low Countries during the invasion of France. Airborne operations had proved their worth, so much so that the British immediately began to form their own parachute units.

These successes encouraged the German High Command to expand its airborne assets. It formed XI Flieger Korps, which included three parachute regiments of three battalions each plus parachute signals; medical, artillery, antiaircraft, antitank, machine gun, and engineer battalions; and the necessary supply troops. These troops were originally seen as the spearhead of the invasion of Britain, but that operation never took place.

The Germans next employed paratroops in their 1941 Balkan Campaign to capture the island of Crete. Student saw this as the forerunner of other more ambitious airborne operations. The largest airborne operation to that point in history, it involved 9,000 men and 530 Junkers Ju-52 transport aircraft flying from Greece. Thanks to Allied ULTRA intercepts, the defenders knew the drop zones in advance. Although by rushing in reinforcements the Germans were able to secure their objectives, they paid a heavy price. They sustained 6,700 casualties (3,000 killed) and lost some 200 transport aircraft in the operation. Student wanted to go on and try to take Malta, but Hitler refused. Crete was the graveyard of the German airborne forces; henceforth they fought as elite ground

troops only, whose fighting abilities were recognized by all who met them in battle.

The Italians started early in their evaluation of airborne forces. Their first experiments occurred in 1927, when 9 men dropped on Cinisello airfield. Some 250 paratroops then began training and took part in a training drop at Gefara in Libya. A training center was set up at Tarquinia in central Italy, and in April 1941, Italian paratroops captured the island of Cephalonia, off the west coast of Greece. Although a small number of parachute troops continued thereafter, the planned Italian assault on Malta never took place, and Italian paratroops fought in a ground role for the rest of the war.

The Japanese began parachute training in 1940 with four training centers in the Japanese home islands. In autumn 1941, they were joined by about 100 German instructors, and soon there were nine training centers and 14,000–15,000 men under training. Both the Japanese army and navy had paratroops, all of whom were ready for operations at the start of the war.

Japanese army paratroops numbered about 6,000 men and were known as raiding units. They were divided into parachute and gliderborne units. Their first operation in February 1942 was to capture Menado airfield in the Celebes Islands. They then attacked the airfield and oil refineries at Palembang. Although the Japanese managed to capture the airfield, the refineries were destroyed before they could take

them over. A week later the Japanese successfully struck Timor in coordination with seaborne troops.

Operations after this were mainly tactical, especially an assault on Leyte in December 1944. This attack was virtually a total failure. However, Allied intelligence summaries noted that the Japanese parachute troops were part of a well-organized, well-trained force that could have proved extremely effective had the emphasis in the Pacific war not been on manpower and ships to capture the many islands of this area.

David Westwood

See also

Airborne Forces, Allied; Aircraft, Transports; Crete, Battle of; Eben Emael; Freyberg, Bernard Cyril; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Netherlands Campaign; Netherlands East Indies, Japanese Conquest of; Norway, German Conquest of; Signals Intelligence; Student, Kurt

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Aircraft, Bombers

Aircraft designed to attack enemy targets including troop concentrations, installations, and shipping. During the 1930s, bomber designs underwent something of a revolution; performance increased to the point that many bombers were faster than the fighters in service. The prevailing wisdom was that “the bomber will always get through.” It was assumed that the bomber would be fast enough to evade most defending fighters and that defensive armament could deal with any that did intercept. The bomber was therefore seen as something of a terror weapon. Events in the Spanish Civil War, including the German bombing of Guernica, and early German experience in World War II tended to reinforce this view.

At the start of the war, most combat aircraft were not equipped with self-sealing fuel tanks, and most did not have adequate protective armor. However, operational experience during 1939 and early 1940 led the European powers to retrofit their aircraft with armor and self-sealing fuel tanks. Some aircraft designers took this to extremes: for example, about 15 percent of the weight of the Russian I1-2 Shturmovik (1941) was armor plate. On the other hand, many Japanese aircraft had no protection of any sort until very late in the war; they were known to their crews as “flying cigarette lighters” and were very easy to shoot down.

Other changes also affected bomber capabilities. The Germans embraced dive-bombing, and all their bombers had to

be able to dive-bomb. The necessary structural changes greatly added to the bombers’ weight and decreased bomb loads. The flying weight of the Ju-88, for example, went from 6 to 12 tons, sharply reducing both its speed and bomb-carrying capacity.

Defensive armament of the majority of bombers in service at the start of the war was inadequate in terms of the number and caliber of weapons and/or their field of fire. This situation came about partly because of the assumption that interceptions at 300-plus mph were difficult and would therefore be rare. The early B-17Cs, for example, were quite vulnerable because their few defensive weapons had several blind spots and were single manually aimed weapons. Later B-17Es had much better defensive armament deployed as multiple weapons in power turrets, making them much more difficult to shoot down. An alternative tactic was to dispense with all defensive weapons and rely on speed and performance to evade the defenses. The De Havilland Mosquito, which carried out many pinpoint attacks from 1942 onward, epitomized this approach.

The following text describes the most significant bombers employed by both sides during World War II. (See also Table 1.)

Germany

The Heinkel He-111 entered service in 1935, and the B model served with distinction in the Spanish Civil War, where it was fast enough to fly unescorted. Nearly 1,000 He-111s were in service at the start of the war; they formed a significant part of the Luftwaffe’s medium bomber strength early in the conflict, although they were roughly handled during the Battle of Britain in spite of carrying nearly 600 lb of armor. Later versions had better defensive armament and were used in various roles, including torpedo bombing. Approximately 7,450 He-111s were built before production ended in 1944.

The prototype Junkers Ju-87 Stuka dive-bomber flew in 1935, entering service with the Luftwaffe in spring 1937. Examples sent to Spain with the Kondor Legion in 1938 were able to demonstrate highly accurate bombing under conditions of air superiority. Stukas were highly effective in the invasions of Poland in 1939 and France in 1940. During the Battle of Britain, they suffered such heavy losses from opposing British fighters that they were withdrawn from operations partway through the campaign. However, they continued to serve in the Mediterranean Theater and on the Eastern Front against the Soviet Union in dive-bombing and close ground-support roles. A total of 5,709 Ju-87s of all versions were built.

The Junkers Ju-88, one of the most effective and adaptable German aircraft of the war, entered Luftwaffe service in September 1939. The Ju-88 had good performance for a bomber, particularly the later versions, which were used as night fighters. Specialized variants were also produced for dive-



The Junkers JU-87 Stuka dive bomber virtually ruled the skies in World War II until the 1940 Battle of Britain, but continued to perform useful service on the Eastern Front. (Bettmann/Corbis)

bombing, antishipping, reconnaissance, and training. Ju-88C fighter variants were used in daylight during the Battle of Britain, but they were unable to cope with attacks by modern British single-engine fighters. A total of 14,980 Ju-88s were built, 10,774 of which were bomber variants.

Italy

The principal Italian bomber, and one of the most capable Italian aircraft of the war, was the trimotor Savoia-Marchetti SM.79 Sparviero (Sparrow). The Italians used it as a bomber, torpedo-bomber, and reconnaissance aircraft. Originally designed by Alessandro Marchetti as a high-speed, eight-passenger transport, it had retractable landing gear. The SM.79 entered service in 1936 and first saw service in the Spanish Civil War. A total of 1,217 were produced during World War II. Reconverted to military transports after the war, Sparvieros served with the Italian air force until 1952.

The CANT Z.1007 Allione (Kingfisher) was Italy's second-most-important bomber of the war. Entering production in 1939, it was both a medium conventional bomber and a torpedo-bomber. It was of largely wooden construction with weak defensive armament. It appeared both in single- and twin-rudder configurations without differing designations and often in the same squadron. The CANT Z.1007 was

widely used all over the Mediterranean Theater. Of good design and easy to fly, it was nonetheless poorly defended and suffered heavy losses from Royal Air Force (RAF) fighters. CANT Z.1007s continued in service until the end of the war on both sides after the Italian surrender of 1943. A total of 560 were built.

The Italians had only one 4-engine bomber, the Piaggio P.108. Designed by Giovanni Casiraghi, it entered service in May 1941 and was only intermittently used. It had a crew of 6, a maximum speed of 261 mph, and a range of 2,190 mi. Armed with 8 machine guns, it could carry 7,700 lb of bombs. Only 33 were produced, however, 8 of which went to the Germans for use as transports.

Japan

The Mitsubishi Ki-21 medium bomber ("Sally" in Allied designation) was the winner of a 1936 bomber design competition run by the Japanese army air force. It entered service in 1937 as the Ki-21-Ia and was replaced shortly afterward by the Ki-21-Ic, which had additional armament and defensive armor as a result of combat experience in China. The Ki-21 was the standard Japanese air force bomber at the end of 1941 and was encountered throughout the Pacific and the Far East. When production ended in 1944, 2,064 had been built by Mitsubishi and Nakajima, as well as about 500 transport versions by Mitsubishi.

The Mitsubishi G4M medium bomber ("Betty") entered service with the Japanese army early in 1941 and was involved in pre-World War II operations in China. It was designed in great secrecy during 1938–1939 to have the maximum possible range at the expense of protection for the crew and vital components, and it was mainly used in the bomber and torpedo-bomber roles. G4M1s were mainly responsible for sinking the British battleship *Prince of Wales* and battle cruiser *Repulse* off Malaya in December 1941. The G4M had an extraordinary range, but more than 1,100 gallons of fuel in unprotected tanks made the aircraft extremely vulnerable to enemy fire. The G4M2 appeared in 1943 and was the major production model, with more-powerful engines and even more fuel. Losses of the aircraft continued to be very heavy, and Mitsubishi finally introduced the G4M3 model late in 1943 with a redesigned wing and protected fuel tanks. A total of 2,479 aircraft in the G4M series were built.

Great Britain

The Bristol Blenheim was developed from the private-venture Bristol 142, and the short-nosed Mk I entered service as a light bomber in March 1937, although some were completed as fighters. The Blenheim was an effective bomber, but lacking adequate defensive armament and armor, it was vulnerable to fighter attack. The most numerous versions were the long-nosed Mk IV and V, but their performance suffered from significant weight growth, the Mark V in particular suffering



An Italian Savoia Marchetti SM-79 bomber. (Corbis)

heavy losses. The Blenheim nevertheless filled an important capability gap in time of need, and it was exported to Finland, Romania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia. A total of 5,213 Blenheims of all versions were built.

The Vickers Wellington entered service with the RAF late in 1938 and (with the Whitley and Hampden) bore the brunt of the RAF bomber offensive for the first two years of the war. Its light but strong geodetic structure enabled it to carry a respectable bomb load, and it could withstand a significant amount of battle damage. The Wellington was one of the first monoplane bombers to be fitted with power turrets, but (in common with all early World War II bombers) it was vulnerable to fighter attack when flown unescorted in daylight. The Wellington was mainly employed as a medium bomber, although some were used for maritime reconnaissance, torpedo-bombing, minelaying, and transport duties. Wellingtons were in production throughout the war, 11,461 being built up to October 1945.

The Handley Page Hampden entered RAF service late in 1938. Of imaginative design, it delivered a reasonable per-

formance on only average engine power, but the cramped fuselage caused crew fatigue, and the defensive field of fire was very limited. Hampdens were used as medium bombers and minelayers until late 1942, and they served as torpedo-bombers and maritime reconnaissance aircraft until the latter part of 1943. A total of 1,430 Hampdens and variants were built.

The Short Stirling, the first of the RAF's four-engine "heavies" to see combat, entered service in late 1940. It was built to specification B.12/36, which unfortunately specified that the wingspan should be less than 100 ft to fit in a standard hangar; this compromised the aircraft's altitude capability to the extent that attacks on Italy required British pilots to fly through the Alps rather than over them. However, the Stirling was outstandingly maneuverable for such a large aircraft. It was used as a bomber, minelayer, glider tug/transport, and (with 100 Group) an electronic countermeasures aircraft. A total of 2,381 Stirlings were built.

The Handley Page Halifax I entered service early in 1941 and was found to be a good bomber, but it lacked adequate

Table 1
Bombers, All Powers—Specifications

Name	Year of Introduction	Crew	Engine	Span	Length	Takeoff Weight (lb)*	Maximum Speed (mph)	Operational Ceiling (ft)	Range (mi)†	Armament/ Payload
Germany										
Junkers Ju-87 B-1 (late 1938)	Early 1937	2	1 × 900-hp Junkers Jumo v-type	45 ft 3.25 in.	36 ft 5 in.	9,370	242 mph at 13,410 ft	26,250 ft	342 mi with 1,102 lb bombs	3 × 7.9-mm machine guns, up to 1,542 lb bombs
Heinkel He 111 H-3 (late 1939)	1935	5	2 × 1,200-hp Junkers Jumo v-type	74 ft 1.75 in.	53 ft 9.5 in.	24,912	258 mph at 16,400 ft	25,590 ft	758 mi with maximum bomb load	1 × 20-mm cannon, 5 × 7.9-mm machine guns, 4,409 lb bombs
Junkers Ju-88 A-4 (1942)	Late 1939	4	2 × 1,340-hp Junkers Jumo v-type	65 ft 7.5 in.	47 ft 3 in.	26,700	269 mph at 14,765 ft	26,900 ft	650 mi with maximum bomb load	9 × 7.7-mm machine guns, up to 3,306 lb bombs
Great Britain										
Handley Page Hampden 1 (late 1938)	Late 1938	4	2 × 980-hp Bristol Pegasus radials	69 ft 2 in.	53 ft 7 in.	18,756	265 mph at 15,500 ft	22,700 ft	1,095 mi with maximum bomb load	6 × 0.303-in. machine guns, 4,000 lb bombs
Bristol Blenheim IVL (early 1939)	Early 1939	3	2 × 920-hp Bristol Mercury radials	56 ft 4 in.	42 ft 9 in.	13,500	266 mph at 11,800 ft	27,260 ft	1,950 mi maximum	5 × 0.303-in. machine guns, 1,000 lb bombs
Short Stirling I (late 1940)	Late 1940	7 or 8	4 × 1,590-hp Bristol Hercules radials	99 ft 1 in.	87 ft 3 in.	59,400	260 mph at 10,500 ft	20,500 ft	1,930 mi with 5,000 lb bombs	8 × 0.303-in. machine guns, up to 14,000 lb bombs
Vickers Wellington III (early 1941)	Late 1938	6	2 × 1,500-hp Bristol Hercules radials	86 ft 2 in.	64 ft 7 in.	29,000	255 mph at 12,500 ft	19,000 ft	2,200 mi with 1,500 lb bombs	8 × 0.303-in. machine guns, 4,500 lb bombs
Avro Lancaster B.1 (early 1942)	Early 1942	7	4 × 1,280-hp Rolls Royce Merlin v-type	102 ft	69 ft 4 in.	68,000 maximum	287 mph at 11,500 ft	24,500 ft	1,730 mi with 12,000 lb bomb load	8 × 0.303-in. machine guns, up to 18,000 lb bombs
Handley Page Halifax B.III (late 1943)	Early 1941	7	4 × 1,615-hp Bristol Hercules radials	104 ft 2 in.	71 ft 7 in.	54,400	282 mph at 13,500 ft	24,000 ft	1,985 mi with 7,000 lb bombs	9 × 0.303-in. machine guns, up to 13,000 lb bombs
De Havilland Mosquito B.XVI (early 1944)	Late 1941	2	2 × 1,680-hp Rolls Royce Merlin v-type	54 ft 2 in.	40 ft 6 in.	19,093	408 mph at 26,000 ft	37,000 ft	1,370 mi with 4,000 lb bombs	Up to 4,000 lb bombs
Italy										
Savoia-Marchetti S.M.79-II Sparviero (early 1940)	1937	6	3 × 1,000-hp Piaggio radials	69 ft 6.5 in.	53 ft 1.75 in.	25,133	295 mph at 13,120 ft	27,890 ft	1,243 mi with 2,756 lb bombs	3 × 12.7-mm machine guns, 2 × 7.7-mm machine guns, 2 × 450- mm torpedoes, or 2,756 lb bombs
CANT Z.1007bis (late 1940)	1937	5	3 × 1,000-hp Piaggio radials	81 ft 4.5 in.	60 ft 11 in.	38,206	283 mph at 15,100 ft	26,500 ft	1,243 mi with 2,430 lb bombs	4 × 12.7-mm machine guns, 2,430 lb bombs, or 2 × 450-mm torpedoes
Japan										
Mitsubishi Ki-21-IIb (1942)	1937	5–7	2 × 1,500-hp Mitsubishi Ha-101 radials	73 ft 10 in.	52 ft 6 in.	21,407	302 mph at 15,485 ft	32,810 ft	1,350 mi with maximum bomb load	5 × 7.7-mm machine guns, 1 × 12.7-mm machine gun, 2,205 lb bombs

(continues)

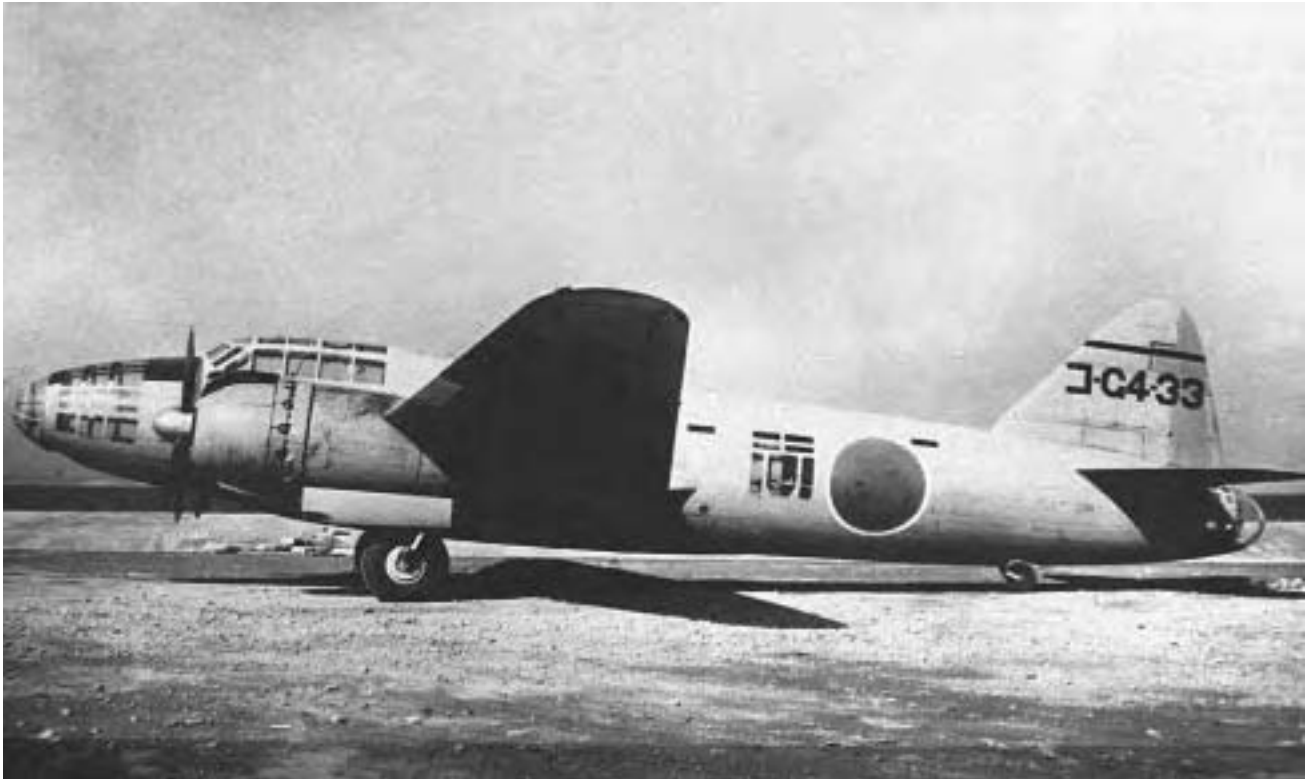
Table 1
Bombers, All Powers—Specifications (continued)

Name	Year of Introduction	Crew	Engine	Span	Length	Takeoff Weight (lb)*	Maximum Speed (mph)	Operational Ceiling (ft)	Range (mi)†	Armament/ Payload
Japan (continued)										
Mitsubishi G4M2a Betty (mid-1944)	Early 1941	7	2 × 1,850-hp Mitsubishi Kasei radials	81 ft 8 in.	64 ft 5 in.	33,069 maximum	272 mph at 15,090 ft	29,365 ft	1,497 mi with normal bomb load	4 × 20-mm cannon, 1 × 7.7-mm machine gun, up to 2,205 lb bombs or 1 × 1,764-lb torpedo
Soviet Union										
Ilyushin Il-4 (1940)	1940	3–4	2 × 1,100-hp M-88B radials	70 ft 4 in.	48 ft 6.5 in.	22,046 maximum	255 mph at 21,000 ft	29,530 ft	2,647 mi with 2,205 lb bombs	3 × 7.7-mm or 12.7-mm machine guns, up to 5,512 lb bombs
Petyakov Pe-2	Early 1941	3	2 × 1,100-hp Klimov v-type	56 ft 3.5 in.	41 ft 6.5 in.	18,734	336 mph at 16,400 ft	28,900 ft	700 mi with maximum bomb load	3 × 7.7-mm machine guns, 2,645 lb bombs
Ilyushin Il-2m3 Shturmovik (late 1942)	Mid-1941	2	1 × 1,770-hp Mikulin v-type	47 ft 11 in.	38 ft 2.5 in.	12,147	251 mph at 4,920 ft	19,685 ft	373 mi with normal load	2 × 23-mm cannon, 2 × 7.62-mm machine guns, 1 × 7.62-mm machine gun, 1,323 lb bombs or 8 rockets
United States										
Douglas A-20 C Havoc (1941)	1940	3	2 × 1,600-hp Wright Cyclone radials	61 ft 4 in.	47 ft 3 in.	24,500 maximum	342 mph at 13,000 ft	24,250 ft	1,050 mi with maximum bomb load	7 × 0.303-in. machine guns, 2,000 lb bombs
Martin B-26 B Marauder (early 1942)	1941	7	2 × 1,920-hp Pratt and Whitney radials	71 ft	58 ft 3 in.	37,000	282 mph at 15,000 ft	21,700 ft	1,150 mi with 3,000 lb bombs	11 × 0.5-in. machine guns, 1 × 0.3-in. machine gun, up to 5,200 lb bombs
Boeing B-17F (mid-1942)	1939	9–10	4 × 1,200-hp Wright Cyclone radials	103 ft 9.5 in.	74 ft 8.75 in.	55,000	299 mph at 25,000 ft	37,500 ft	1,300 mi with 6,000 lb bombs	8 or 9 × 0.5-in. machine guns, 1 × 0.303-in. machine gun, 12,800 lb bombs
North American B-25 J Mitchell (1943)	Late 1940	5	2 × 1,700-hp Wright Cyclone radials	67 ft 7 in.	52 ft 11 in.	33,450	275 mph at 15,000 ft	25,000 ft	1,275 mi with 3,200 lb bombs	13 × 0.5-in. machine guns, up to 4,000 lb bombs
Consolidated B-24J Liberator (1944)	Early 1941	8–12	4 × 1,200-hp Wright Cyclone radials	110 ft	67 ft 2 in.	56,000	290 mph at 25,000 ft	28,000 ft	1,700 mi with 5,000 lb bombs	10 × 0.5-in. machine guns, 5,000 lb bombs
Boeing B-29 Superfortress (mid-1944)	Mid-1944	10	4 × 2,200-hp Wright Cyclone radials	141 ft 3 in.	99 ft	120,000	357 mph at 30,000 ft	33,600 ft	3,250 mi with 10,000 lb bombs	1 × 20-mm cannon, 10 × 0.5-in. machine guns, up to 20,000 lb bombs
Douglas A-26 B Invader (late 1944)	Late 1944	3	2 × 2,000-hp Pratt and Whitney radials	70 ft	50 ft	35,000 maximum	355 mph at 15,000 ft	22,100 ft	1,400 mi with maximum load	10 × 0.5-in. machine guns, up to 4,000 lb bombs

Sources: Brown, Eric. *Wings of the Luftwaffe*. Shrewsbury, UK: Airline, 1993; Green, William. *Famous Bombers of the Second World War*. 2d ed. London: Book Club Associates, 1979; Jarrett, Philip, ed. *Aircraft of the Second World War*. London: Putnam, 1997; and Munson, Kenneth. *Bombers, Patrol and Transport Aircraft 1939–45*. Poole, UK: Blandford, 2002.

* Weight is normal takeoff weight unless specified otherwise.

† Range is maximum flyable distance, including reserves.



A Japanese Mitsubishi G4M3 prototype bomber, with the Allied code name “Betty,” during engine tests in the mid-1940’s. (Museum of Flight/Corbis)

defensive armament. The Halifax B.II had a dorsal gun turret but suffered from weight growth and a tendency to spin when fully loaded. Later B.IIs underwent a weight- and drag-reduction program and had larger fins fitted to correct these faults. The B.III version was the most numerous, using more powerful Bristol Hercules engines in place of the Merlins. Although the Halifax’s main role was as a bomber, it was also employed as a transport, glider tug, and maritime reconnaissance aircraft. A total of 6,176 Halifaxes were built.

The Avro Lancaster was a successful development of the Rolls-Royce Vulture-powered Manchester, entering operational service with the RAF in early 1942. The Lancaster remained in service until the end of the war and rapidly became the primary strategic bomber for the RAF. It lost fewer aircraft per ton of bombs dropped than either the Halifax or Stirling. The Lancaster had a large bomb bay and was designed to take 4,000 lb bombs; successive modifications enabled it to carry 8,000 lb and 12,000 lb weapons, and the B.I (special) carried a single 22,000 lb “Grand Slam” armor-piercing bomb. The Lancaster participated in several special operations, including the Dambusters raid in May 1943, when specially adapted Lancasters of 617 Squadron attacked dams in the Rhine valley using a skipping bomb designed by Barnes Wallis. A total of 7,366 Lancasters were built.

The De Havilland Mosquito was constructed largely from a plywood/balsa sandwich and was designed to be fast enough to outrun enemy fighters. It had excellent handling characteristics. It began operations with the RAF in the bomber role early in 1942 and quickly demonstrated that it could carry out extremely accurate attacks, including the daring low-level attack on the Gestapo headquarters in Oslo, Norway, in late 1942. Mosquitoes originally equipped the RAF’s pathfinder force, and they were able to roam across Germany largely unmolested. Operationally, the Mosquito had by far the lowest loss rate of any aircraft in Bomber Command (about 0.6 percent), as its speed enabled it to avoid most interception and its structure tended to absorb cannon hits. A total of 6,439 Mosquitoes of all marks were built.

Soviet Union

The Ilyushin Il-4 was the most widely used Soviet medium bomber of the war. Initially designed as the DB-3 in 1935, it entered service in that form in 1938. The updated DB-3F was redesignated Il-4 in 1940, and many examples were built. Following the Soviet entry into the war, a force of Soviet Navy Il-4s carried out the first Soviet attack on Berlin in August 1941. As a result of shortages of strategic materials, parts of the airframe including the outer wing panels were redesigned to use wood instead of metal. The Il-4 was a maneuverable aircraft

in spite of its size, and approximately 5,000 were built up to 1944.

The Petlyakov Pe-2 entered service early in 1941. It was originally designed as a fighter and therefore had unusually responsive controls for a bomber. It turned out to be one of the most versatile aircraft produced by the USSR in the war, being used as a heavy fighter, light bomber, dive-bomber, ground-attack, and reconnaissance aircraft. More than 11,000 Pe-2s were built.

The Ilyushin Il-2 Shturmovik was probably one of the most effective ground-attack aircraft of World War II, entering service on the Soviet Front in mid-1941. Initial versions were single-seaters, but the higher-performance Il-2m3 introduced in mid-1942 had a gunner and was highly effective in aerial combat at low altitude, even against single-seat German fighters. Later versions of the Il-2m3 had a more powerful engine and a 37 mm cannon against German Panther and Tiger tanks. The Shturmovik was remarkably tough; about 15 percent of its empty weight was armor plate that protected the engine, fuel systems, and crew, and it had few weak points. Approximately 35,000 Shturmoviks were built.

United States

The Boeing B-17 Flying Fortress was designed in 1934 and sold to Congress as a U.S. Army Air Corps requirement for an offshore antishipping bomber. The B-17B entered service late in 1939; it was fast and had a high operational ceiling, but the initial versions were not particularly capable. The B-17E, which entered service early in 1942, had much-improved defensive armament, including a tail gun turret, and the B-17G (late 1943) introduced an additional chin turret, which was later fitted to some F models. The B-17 E, F, and G models formed the mainstay of the U.S. heavy day-bomber force in Europe and remained in service until the end of the war. There were 8,685 B-17s built.

The Consolidated B-24 Liberator heavy bomber was designed with a high aspect-ratio wing that, together with its Davis high-lift airfoil, gave very good range/payload performance. The first Liberators entered service with RAF Coastal Command in mid-1941, and the type went on to serve with the U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) and U.S. Navy. USAAF B-24s conducted the ill-fated raid on the Ploesti oil field on 1 August 1943. The Liberator developed a reputation for fragility in the European Theater and was prone to catch fire when hit, but its long range made it the preeminent strategic bomber in the Pacific Theater. The B-24 was employed as a reconnaissance, antisubmarine, and transport aircraft as well as in its primary strategic bombing role, and it was produced in greater quantities than any other American aircraft, 18,188 being built up to May 1945.

The Douglas Aircraft Company built the A-20 attack bomber as a private venture, albeit with the help of U.S. Army Air Corps technicians at the specification stage. It entered service early in 1940 with the French Armée de l'Air, outstanding orders being transferred to the RAF when France capitulated to the Germans. The A-20 (designated Boston or Havoc, depending on the role) was an excellent airplane. Fast, docile, and pleasant to fly, it had a commendably low loss rate. It was very adaptable and was produced in both solid-nose and transparent-nose versions. Used in many roles including low-level attack, strafing, torpedo-bombing, reconnaissance, and night fighting, it remained in frontline service until the end of hostilities. A total of 7,385 variants were built.

North American was awarded a contract to build the B-25 Mitchell without the usual prototypes, relying instead on experience with the NA-40 design and feedback from the Army Air Corps. Self-sealing fuel tanks and armor protection were incorporated on the production line following combat reports from Europe. The Mitchell had good handling characteristics and was probably the best all-around medium bomber of the war. The B-25 achieved lasting fame when 16 of them attacked Tokyo in April 1942, flying from the carrier *Hornet*. The Mitchell was adapted to multiple missions including ground strafing, torpedo-bombing, antisubmarine work, and reconnaissance, mounting a variety of main armament including up to 18 0.5-inch machine guns in the B-25J and a 75 mm cannon in the B-25H. Mitchells were used by most Allied air forces, and approximately 11,000 were built.

The Boeing B-29 Superfortress, the heaviest bomber of the war, evolved from a 1940 Army Air Corps requirement for a "hemisphere defense weapon." The resulting XB-29, which first flew late in 1942, had several innovative design features including a pressurized fuselage and remote-controlled gun turrets. The B-29 entered service in the first half of 1944 and mounted increasingly heavy attacks against the Japanese mainland from bases in the Mariana Islands. Operationally, the B-29 was successful largely as a result of its speed and altitude capabilities. B-29s forced the Japanese surrender following attacks with atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki during August 1945. A total of 3,970 were built.

The Douglas A-26 Invader was a worthy successor to the Douglas A-20 Havoc. It entered service late in 1944. The A-26B had a solid attack nose carrying six .50 caliber machine guns, and the A-26C had a more conventional transparent nose for a bombardier. The A-26 was fast and well armed, and it had a very low loss rate (about 0.6 percent), even allowing for low enemy fighter activity toward the end of the war. A total of 2,446 Invaders were built, and they continued to serve for many years after the war.



A U.S. Army Air Forces Consolidated B-24 Liberator bomber. (Corbis)

The Martin B-26 Marauder entered service early in 1942 and initially gained a reputation as a difficult aircraft to fly, partly because of its weight and high landing and takeoff speeds. Certainly it required skill and practice to master. In later models (B-26F onward), the wing incidence was increased to reduce the landing and takeoff speeds. The B-26 could absorb a lot of damage and was an effective bomber; its final combat loss rate was less than 1 percent. A total of 5,157 Marauders were built.

Andy Blackburn

See also

Aircraft, Naval; Aviation, Ground-Attack; Britain, Battle of; B-29 Raids against Japan; Guernica, Kondor Legion Attack on; Hiroshima, Bombing of; Kondor Legion; Nagasaki, Bombing of; Pathfinders; Ploesti; *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse*; Strategic Bombing; Tokyo, Bombing of (1942)

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Aircraft, Fighters

Aircraft designed to shoot down other aircraft. World War II was a period of transition for fighters; by 1945 aircraft weight, armament, and performance had increased dramatically, and jet fighters were approaching the speed of sound.

Throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, most air forces were equipped with biplane fighters that were little more advanced than their twin-gunned ancestors that had fought on the Western Front in World War I. By the mid-1930s, aero-engine design and airframe construction techniques had advanced dramatically, and newer prototypes were appearing with stressed-skin construction, retractable undercarriages, and top speeds of over 300 mph. These aircraft entered service in the late 1930s, just in time for World War II.

Many of these new designs had flush-fitting cockpit canopies (e.g., Bf-109, Spitfire), partly for reasons of aerodynamic efficiency but also because it was thought (incorrectly) that the classic World War I dogfight would be impossible at speeds of over 300 mph. Visibility from the cockpit turned out to be very important; about 80 percent of pilots shot down during the war never saw their attackers. Bulged cockpit hoods were fitted to some fighters to alleviate the problem, but later aircraft were fitted with clear Perspex canopies that gave unrestricted rearward vision.

Most fighters are defined by performance and maneuverability. Of the two, performance was probably more important during World War II. A speed advantage over an opponent (ignoring surprise attacks and tactical advantage) enabled a fighter to dictate the terms on which combat was joined and also enabled an easy escape if the fight was not going well. Comparisons tend to be problematic since performance varied dramatically with altitude; an aircraft that had a significant advantage against an opponent at sea level could find the position dramatically reversed at 30,000 ft. In any case, in-service improvements could change performance characteristics, and new aircraft usually had the latest equipment and engine variants, further complicating the issue.

Maneuverability is essentially a measure of the ability of an aircraft to change direction and is dictated to a large extent by the wing loading of the aircraft. Some lightly loaded aircraft (particularly the early Japanese fighters) were capable of remarkably tight turns, but the ability of the aircraft to roll and establish the turn also played a part. Some fighters, such as the Focke-Wulf FW 190, had an excellent rate of roll that to some extent compensated for their average rate of turn. An aircraft's handling qualities degrade to a greater or lesser extent as the weight inevitably increases with each new version, and heavier aircraft tend to be less agile than lighter ones. Twin-engine aircraft are particularly disadvantaged in roll as more mass is distributed around the centerline than with a single-engine aircraft.

Many early fighters had tactical limitations because of control difficulties. There is a relationship between the size and shape of a control surface and the effort required to move it; it becomes progressively more difficult to deflect as speed increases and may in some cases exceed the ability of the pilot to apply sufficient force. For example, the Messerschmitt Bf-109 had very heavy stick forces at normal speeds; Spitfires had metal-covered ailerons fitted late in 1940 to make high-speed rolls easier; and the Mitsubishi Zero had (in common with most other Japanese fighters) huge control surfaces that gave outstanding agility below about 200 mph (as with the F4U Corsair and Tempest) but almost none above 300 mph. Much later in the war, new designs had spring-tabs fitted on control surfaces to balance the extra air resistance at high speeds.

In 1939 few, if any, aircraft had self-sealing fuel tanks or armor. Operational experience in the European Theater showed that aircraft were very vulnerable unless so equipped, and in 1940 crash programs were instituted to retrofit fuel tank liners and armor plate to most aircraft. This added weight reduced performance slightly, but most air arms were prepared to accept the price. However, the Japanese army and navy were not. As a result, most Japanese aircraft, which were lightly constructed anyway, were extremely vulnerable even to machine-gun fire, and cannon hits caused immediate and catastrophic damage. The use of armor and other protection on bombers had already obliged designers to fit heavier weapons, and continuing development encouraged the adoption of cannon. The Messerschmitt Me-262 was probably the ultimate World War II bomber-killer with four 30 mm cannon, only three hits from which were usually required to down a four-engine bomber.

The increased performance of fighters brought compressibility effects into play. As speeds increased at high altitude, airflow over parts of the structure could reach the speed of sound (Mach 1.0) even in quite shallow dives, leading to buffeting, nose-down trim changes, and eventually loss of control of the aircraft. Recovery from the dive was difficult, and reducing power usually led to the nose dropping further! Sometimes the only solution was to wait until the aircraft reached warmer air at lower altitudes and the local speed of sound increased above the critical value. These effects were not well understood at the time and caused tactical limitations to some aircraft: the Lockheed P-38 ran into serious compressibility effects above Mach 0.68, and the Messerschmitt Me-262 could reach its limit of Mach 0.83 only in a very shallow dive.

World War II was a fascinating period for fighter development; the following aircraft were the most significant fighters of the conflict. (See also Table 1.)

Germany

The Messerschmitt Bf-109 entered service in its earliest form (Bf-109B) in 1937 and remained in service throughout the war. It continued to be modified during the conflict. It received progressively more powerful engines, and in common with many other aircraft, its handling qualities and maneuverability degraded with successive versions. The Bf-109 could not turn tightly (although the 109E and 109F models were better than commonly supposed), but it was a very effective fighter when handled correctly, possessing excellent dive and zoom climb capabilities. The later versions in particular were better at high altitude, but the controls became very stiff at high speeds, and visibility from the cockpit was poor. Approximately 35,000 examples were built.

The Messerschmitt Bf-110 was designed as a long-range escort fighter, entering service with the Luftwaffe in 1939. It

Table 1
Fighters, All Powers—Specifications

Name	Year of Introduction	Engine	Span	Length	Wing Area (sq ft)	Takeoff Weight (lb)*	Maximum Speed (mph)	Combat Ceiling (500 ft/min)†	Range (mi)‡	Armament/ Payload
France										
Dewotine D.520 (early 1940)	Early 1940	1 × 910-hp Hispano-Suiza v-type	33 ft 5.5 in.	28 ft 8.5 in.	171.7 sq ft	6,129 lb	329 mph at 19,685 ft	34,000 ft	620 mi	1 × 20-mm Hispano cannon, 2 × 7.5-mm MAC machine guns
Germany										
Messerschmitt Bf 109 E-1 (early 1939)	Mid-1937	1 × 1,100-hp Daimler-Benz DB601 v-type	32 ft 4.5 in.	28 ft 4 in.	174 sq ft	5,523 lb	354 mph at 12,300 ft	34,000 ft (est)	412 mi	2 × 7.9-mm MG 17 machine guns, 2 × 20-mm MG FF cannon
Messerschmitt Bf 110 C-4 (mid-1939)	Mid-1939	2 × 1,100-hp Daimler-Benz DB601 v-type	53 ft 5 in.	39 ft 8.5 in.	413 sq ft	15,300 lb	349 mph at 22,965 ft	30,000 ft (est)	565 mi	4 × 7.9-mm MG 17 machine guns, 2 × 20-mm MG FF cannon, + 1 × flexible 7.9 mm MG-15 machine gun
Messerschmitt Bf 109 F-3 (early 1941)	Mid-1937	1 × 1,300-hp Daimler-Benz DB601 v-type	32 ft 6.5 in.	29 ft 0.5 in.	174.4 sq ft	6,054 lb	390 mph at 22,000 ft	35,000 ft (est)	440 mi	2 × 7.9-mm MG 17 machine guns, 1 × 15-mm MG 151 cannon
Focke-Wulf FW 190 A-3 (mid-1941)	Mid-1941	1 × 1,700-hp BMW 801 radial	34 ft 5.5 in.	28 ft 10.5 in.	197 sq ft	8,770 lb	408 mph at 21,000 ft	32,000 ft	500 mi	2 × 7.9-mm MG 17 machine guns, 2 × 20-mm MG 151 cannon, 2 × 20-mm MG/FF cannon
Messerschmitt Bf 109 G-6 (mid-1942)	Mid-1937	1 × 1,475-hp Daimler-Benz DB605 v-type	32 ft 6.5 in.	29 ft 8 in.	174.4 sq ft	6,950 lb	387 mph at 22,970 ft	36,500 ft (est)	450 mi	2 × 13-mm MG 131 machine guns, 1 × 20-mm MG 151 cannon
Focke-Wulf FW 190 D-9 (mid-1944)	Mid-1941	1 × 2,240-hp Junkers Jumo v-type	34 ft 5.5 in.	33 ft 5.25 in.	197 sq ft	9,480 lb	426 mph at 21,650 ft	40,500 ft (est)	520 mi	2 × 13-mm MG 131 machine guns, 2 × 20-mm MG 151 cannon
Messerschmitt Bf 109 K-4 (early 1945)	Mid-1937	1 × 1,800-hp Daimler-Benz DB605 v-type	32 ft 6.5 in.	29 ft 4 in.	174.4 sq ft	7,410 lb	440 mph at 24,750 ft	38,000 ft (est)	387 mi	2 × 13-mm MG 131 machine guns, 1 × 30-mm MK 108 cannon
Great Britain										
Hawker Hurricane Mk I (early 1940)	Late 1937	1 × 1,030-hp Rolls-Royce Merlin v-type	40 ft	31 ft 11 in.	257.5 sq ft	6,218 lb	324 mph at 17,800 ft	31,000 ft	425 mi	8 × 0.303-in. Browning machine guns
Supermarine Spitfire Mk IA (early 1940)	Mid-1938	1 × 1,030-hp Rolls-Royce Merlin v-type	36 ft 10 in.	29 ft 11 in.	242 sq ft	6,050 lb	355 mph at 19,000 ft	32,500 ft (est)	425 mi	8 × 0.303-in. Browning machine guns
Bristol Beaufighter IF (late 1940)	Late 1940	2 × 1,590-hp Bristol Hercules radial	57 ft 10 in.	41 ft 4 in.	503 sq ft	20,800 lb	323 mph at 15,000 ft	26,500 ft (est)	1,500 mi	4 × 20-mm Hispano cannon, 6 × 0.303-in. Browning machine guns
Hawker Hurricane Mk IIC (early 1941)	Mid-1940	1 × 1,260-hp Rolls-Royce Merlin v-type	40 ft	32 ft 2.5 in.	257.5 sq ft	7,544 lb	329 mph at 17,800 ft	32,400 ft	460 mi	4 × 20-mm Oerlikon cannon
Supermarine Spitfire Mk VB (early 1941)	Mid-1938	1 × 1,470-hp Rolls-Royce Merlin v-type	36 ft 10 in.	29 ft 11 in.	242 sq ft	6,525 lb	371 mph at 20,000 ft	35,500 ft (est)	470 mi	2 × 20-mm Hispano cannon, 4 × 0.303-in. Browning machine guns

(continues)

Table 1
Fighters, All Powers—Specifications (continued)

Name	Year of Introduction	Engine	Span	Length	Wing Area (sq ft)	Takeoff Weight (lb)*	Maximum Speed (mph)	Combat Ceiling (500 ft/min)†	Range (mi)‡	Armament/Payload
Great Britain (continued)										
Hawker Typhoon Mk IB (late 1941)	Late 1941	1 × 2,180-hp Napier Sabre H-type	41 ft 7 in.	31 ft 10 in.	279 sq ft	11,400 lb	405 mph at 18,000 ft	32,000 ft (est)	610 mi	4 × 20-mm Hispano cannon
Supermarine Spitfire Mk IX (mid-1942)	Mid-1938	1 × 1,585-hp Rolls-Royce Merlin v-type	36 ft 10 in.	29 ft 11 in.	242 sq ft	7,400 lb	408 at 28,000 ft	38,000 ft	434 mi (later 660 mi)	2 × 20-mm Hispano cannon, 4 × 0.303-in. Browning machine guns
Hawker Tempest Mk V series 2 (early 1944)	Early 1944	1 × 2,200-hp Napier Sabre H-type	41 ft	33 ft 8 in.	302 sq ft	11,400 lb	435 mph at 17,000 ft	34,000 ft (est)	820 mi	4 × 20-mm Hispano cannon
Supermarine Spitfire Mk XIV (early 1944)	Mid-1938	1 × 2,050-hp Rolls-Royce Griffon v-type	36 ft 10 in.	32 ft 8 in.	242 sq ft	8,400 lb	446 mph at 25,400 ft	41,500 ft	460 mi	2 × 20-mm Hispano cannon, 2 × 0.5-in. Browning machine guns
De Havilland Mosquito NF Mk 30 (late 1944)	Mid-1942	2 × 1,710-hp Rolls-Royce Merlin v-type	54 ft 2 in.	40 ft 10.75 in.	454 sq ft	20,000 lb	407 mph at 28,000 ft	36,500 ft (est)	1,300 mi	4 × 20-mm Hispano cannon
Italy										
Fiat C.R.42 (mid-1939)	Mid-1939	1 × 840-hp Fiat A.74 radial	31 ft 10 in.	27 ft 1 in.	240.5 sq ft	5,042 lb	266 mph at 13,120 ft	31,300 ft (est)	482 mi	2 × 12.7-mm Breda-SAFAT machine guns
Macchi Mc202 (mid-1941)	Mid-1941	1 × 1,175-hp Alfa-Romeo R.A.1000 v-type	34 ft 8.5 in.	29 ft 0.5 in.	180.8 sq ft	6,459 lb	370 mph at 16,400 ft	35,750 ft (est)	475 mi	2 × 7.7-mm Breda-SAFAT machine guns, 2 × 12.7-mm Breda-SAFAT machine guns
Japan										
Kawasaki Ki-45 KA1c “Nick” (early 1942)	Early 1942	2 × 1,080-hp Mitsubishi Ha.102 radial	49 ft 5.25 in.	36 ft 1 in.	344.4 sq ft	12,125 lb	340 mph at 22,965 ft	30,000 ft	746 mi	1 × 37-mm Ho-203 cannon, 2 × 20-mm type 2 cannon
Kawasaki Ki-61-Ia “Tony” (early 1943)	Early 1943	1 × 1,160-hp Kawasaki Ha-40 v-type	39 ft 4.5 in.	28 ft 8.5 in.	215.3 sq ft	7,650 lb	348 mph at 16,404 ft	30,500 ft (est)	1,118 mi	2 × 7.7-mm type 89 machine guns, 2 × 20-mm MG 151 cannon
Nakajima Ki-44-IIb “Tōjō” (mid-1943)	Late 1942	1 × 1,520-hp Nakajima Ha.109 radial	31 ft	28 ft 9.75 in.	161.4 sq ft	6,107 lb	376 mph at 17,060 ft	34,500 ft (est)	497 mi	4 × 12.7-mm type 1 machine guns
Kawanishi N1K1-J “George” (early 1944)	Early 1944	1 × 1,990-hp Nakajima Homare radial	39 ft 4 in.	29 ft 1.5 in.	252.9 sq ft	9,526 lb	362 mph at 17,715 ft	37,000 ft (est)	888 mi	2 × 7.7-mm type 97 machine guns, 4 × 20-mm type 99 cannon
Nakajima Ki-43-IIb “Oscar” (early 1944)	Late 1941	1 × 1,130-hp Nakajima Ha.115 radial	35 ft	29 ft 3 in.	232 sq ft	5,320 lb	320 mph at 19,680 ft	34,500 ft (est)	1,006 mi	2 × 12.7-mm type 1 machine guns
Nakajima Ki-84 “Frank” (late 1944)	Late 1944	1 × 1,900-hp Nakajima Ha.45 radial	36 ft 10.25 in.	32 ft 6.5 in.	226 sq ft	7,965 lb	388 mph at 19,680 ft	32,000 ft (est)	1,025 mi	2 × 12.7-mm type 103 machine guns, 2 × 20-mm type 5 cannon

(continues)

Table 1
Fighters, All Powers—Specifications (continued)

Name	Year of Introduction	Engine	Span	Length	Wing Area (sq ft)	Takeoff Weight (lb)*	Maximum Speed (mph)	Combat Ceiling (500 ft/min)†	Range (mi)‡	Armament/ Payload
Soviet Union										
Polikarpov I-16 type 24 (1941)	Late 1934	1 × 1,000-hp Shvetsov M-62 radial	29 ft 6.5 in.	20 ft 1 in.	161 sq ft	4,189 lb	326 mph at 14,765 ft	27,500 ft (est)	249 mi	2 × 7.62-mm ShKAS machine guns, 2 × 20-mm ShVAK cannon
Yakovlev Yak-9D (early 1943)	Late 1942	1 × 1,210-hp Klimov M-105 v-type	32 ft 9.75 in.	28 ft 0.5 in.	185.7 sq ft	6,897 lb	373 mph at 11,485 ft	30,000 ft (est)	808 mi	1 × 20-mm MPSh cannon, 1 × 12.7-mm UBS machine gun
Lavochkin La-5FN (mid-1943)	Late 1942	1 × 1,640-hp Shvetsov M-82 radial	32 ft 1.75 in.	27 ft 10.75 in.	188.5 sq ft	7,406 lb	402 mph at 16,405 ft	30,000 ft (est)	435 mi	2 × 20-mm ShVAK cannon
Yakovlev Yak-3 (early 1944)	Early 1944	1 × 1,222-hp Klimov M-105 v-type	30 ft 2.25 in.	27 ft 10.75 in.	176 sq ft (est)	5,684 lb	403 mph at 16,400 ft	33,000 ft (est)	560 mi	1 × 20-mm ShVAK cannon, 2 × 12.7-mm BS machine guns
United States										
Curtiss P-40B (late 1940)	Late 1940	1 × 1,090-hp Allison V-1710 v-type	37 ft 3.5 in.	31 ft 8.5 in.	236 sq ft	7,610 lb	351 mph at 15,000 ft	28,000 ft (est)	606 mi	2 × 0.303-in. and 2 × 0.5-in. Browning machine guns
Bell P-39D Airacobra (mid-1941)	Mid-1941	1 × 1,150-hp Allison V-1710 v-type	34 ft	30 ft 2 in.	213 sq ft	7,650 lb	360 at 15,000 ft	29,000 ft (est)	600 mi	1 × 37-mm M-4 cannon, 4 × 0.303-in. and 2 × 0.5-in. Browning machine guns
Curtiss P-40E (early 1942)	Late 1940	1 × 1,150-hp Allison V-1710 v-type	37 ft 3.5 in.	31 ft 2 in.	236 sq ft	8,515 lb	334 mph at 15,000 ft	27,000 ft (est)	716 mi	6 × 0.5-in. Browning machine guns
Lockheed P-38F-15-LO Lightning (early 1942)	Early 1942	2 × 1,225-hp Allison V-1710 v-type	52 ft	37 ft 10 in.	327.5 sq ft	15,900 lb	395 mph at 25,000 ft	37,000 ft	900 mi	1 × 20-mm Hispano cannon, 4 × 0.5-in. Browning machine guns
North American P-51A-10-NA (early 1943)	Early 1942	1 × 1,200-hp Allison V-1710 v-type	37 ft 0.25 in.	32 ft 2.5 in.	232 sq ft	8,600 lb	390 mph at 20,000 ft	29,000 ft (est)	1,000 mi	4 × 0.5-in. Browning machine guns
Republic P-47B Thunderbolt (early 1943)	Early 1943	1 × 2,000-hp Pratt and Whitney radial	40 ft 9.75 in.	35 ft 3.25 in.	300 sq ft	12,245 lb	429 mph at 27,000 ft	39,500 ft (est)	550 mi	8 × 0.5-in. Browning machine guns
Bell P-39Q-5-BE Airacobra (mid-1943)	Mid-1941	1 × 1,325-hp Allison V-1710 v-type	34 ft	30 ft 2 in.	213 sq ft	7,600 lb	376 mph at 15,000 ft	32,000 ft (est)	525 mi	1 × 37-mm M-4 cannon, 4 × 0.5-in. Browning machine guns

(continues)

Table 1
Fighters, All Powers—Specifications (continued)

Name	Year of Introduction	Engine	Span	Length	Wing Area (sq ft)	Takeoff Weight (lb)*	Maximum Speed (mph)	Combat Ceiling (500 ft/min)†	Range (mi)‡	Armament/Payload
United States (continued)										
Lockheed P-38J-25-LO Lightning (late 1943)	Early 1942	2 × 1,425-hp Allison V-1710 v-type	52 ft	37 ft 10 in.	327.5 sq ft	17,500 lb	414 mph at 25,000 ft	41,500 ft (est)	1,175 mi	1 × 20-mm Hispano cannon, 4 × 0.5-in. Browning machine guns
Republic P-47D-22-RE Thunderbolt (late 1943)	Early 1943	1 × 2,300-hp Pratt and Whitney radial	40 ft	36 ft 1.75 in.	300 sq ft	13,500 lb	433 mph at 30,000 ft	37,500 ft (est)	640 mi	8 × 0.5-in. Browning machine guns
North American P-51B-1-NA (early 1944)	Early 1942	1 × 1,620-hp Packard Merlin v-type	37 ft	32 ft 0.25 in.	232 sq ft	9,200 lb	440 mph at 30,000 ft	37,500 ft (est)	810 mi	4 × 0.5-in. Browning machine guns
North American P-51D-25-NA (early 1944)	Early 1942	1 × 1,695-hp Packard Merlin v-type	37 ft	32 ft 0.25 in.	233 sq ft	10,100 lb	437 at 25,000 ft	37,500 ft (est)	1,300 mi	6 × 0.5-in. Browning machine guns

Sources: Brown, Eric. *Wings of the Luftwaffe*. Shrewsbury, UK: Airlife, 1993; Green, William. *War Planes of the Second World War*. Vol. 1. London: MacDonald, 1960; Green, William. *War Planes of the Second World War*. Vol. 2. London: MacDonald, 1961; Green, William. *War Planes of the Second World War*. Vol. 3. London: MacDonald, 1961; Green, William. *War Planes of the Second World War*. Vol. 4. London: MacDonald, 1961; Green, William. *Famous Bombers of the Second World War*. 2d ed. London: Book Club Associates, 1979; Mason, Francis K. *The Hawker Hurricane*. Bourne End, UK: Aston, 1990; Mason, Francis K. *The British Fighter since 1912*. London: Putnam, 1992; Jarrett, Philip, ed. *Aircraft of the Second World War*. London: Putnam, 1997; Munson, Kenneth. *Bombers, Patrol and Transport Aircraft 1939–45*. Poole, UK: Blandford, 2002; Price, Alfred. *World War II Fighter Conflict*. London: Macdonald and Janes, 1975; and Price, Alfred. *The Spitfire Story*. London: Arms and Armour, 1986.

* Weight is normal takeoff weight unless specified otherwise.

† Combat ceiling is the maximum height at which the aircraft would fight and maneuver. The service ceiling would typically be 2,000 or 3,000 ft higher than this.

‡ Range is maximum flyable distance on internal fuel, including reserves. Combat radius would typically be 30 percent to 35 percent of this value.

had a useful top speed and was well armed, but it could not meet contemporary single-engine fighters on equal terms. It was not a success as an escort fighter, but it was first used as a fighter-bomber during the Battle of Britain, and from 1943 the Bf-110 G-4 enjoyed much success as a radar-equipped night fighter. Approximately 6,150 were built.

The Focke-Wulf FW-190A entered service in mid-1941 and became one of the best low- and medium-altitude fighters of the war. It had light and effective controls and possibly the best rate of roll of any World War II fighter, attaining 160 degrees per second at about 260 mph. It was superior to the contemporary Spitfire Mk V in all areas except turning circle and was generally regarded as a strong and rugged aircraft. The 190F and 190G were similar to the 190A, but they had extra armor for ground-attack missions, and the 190D had a 2,240 hp Junkers Jumo liquid-cooled engine for better high-altitude performance. A total of 20,001 Focke-Wulf FW 190s were built.

Italy

The Fiat CR-42 entered service with the Italian air force in 1939 and was exported to Belgium, Sweden, and Hungary. It was a highly maneuverable fighter with (for a biplane) good dive acceleration. However, it was lightly armed and quite vulnerable to enemy fire and was not really capable of taking on modern fighters on equal terms. A total of 1,781 were built.

The Macchi Mc 200 first entered service during 1940. A well-built and extremely maneuverable fighter with finger-light controls, it could outturn most of its opponents. It was, however, lightly armed with only two machine guns. The Macchi Mc 202 was a Mc 200 airframe with a license-built Daimler-Benz DB601 engine. It was probably the most effective Italian fighter of the war, retaining most of its predecessor's maneuverability, and was able to meet the Spitfire Mk V on at least equal terms. A total of 2,251 Mc 200 and Mc 202 aircraft were built.

Japan

The Nakajima Ki.43 (“Oscar” by the Allied identification system) entered service late in 1941 and was highly maneuverable but not particularly fast (304 mph at 13,120 ft). It had extremely sensitive controls that unfortunately stiffened significantly at speed. Allied fighters found that they could not turn with the Oscar but could outdive and outzoom it. Its armament was weak; pilot armor and self-sealing tanks were introduced with the more powerful Ki.43-IIa late in 1942, but the Oscar remained vulnerable to enemy fire. It continued to undergo development throughout the Pacific war, 5,751 examples being built.

The Kawasaki Ki.45 (“Nick”) was designed to a 1937 specification for a long-range escort fighter and entered service early in 1942. The Ki.45 was increasingly used as a night fighter from early 1944 using two 12.7 mm or 20 mm weapons firing obliquely upward. It was relatively successful against U.S. B-29 night raids, and it later became the first Japanese army air force type to be used on a kamikaze mission. A total of 1,701 were built.

The Nakajima Ki.44 interceptor (“Tōjō”) first appeared in service late in 1942, although some of the 10 prototypes were evaluated on operations during 1941 and early 1942. The Tōjō was reasonably maneuverable with a good climb, but its high takeoff and landing speeds made it unpopular with pilots. The Ki.44-IIc appeared in mid-1943; armed with two 40 mm cannon and two machine guns, it was quite effective against high-flying U.S. B-24 and later B-29 bombers. A total of 1,233 were built.

The Kawasaki Ki.61 (“Tony”) appeared early in 1943 and was the only Japanese fighter powered by a liquid-cooled engine to see operational service. It carried self-sealing fuel tanks and armor and was more maneuverable than were heavier opponents. Its dive characteristics were also very good indeed, comparable to the best U.S. fighters. The Ki.61 was one of very few Japanese fighters able to engage the U.S. B-29 bombers at high altitude. A total of 3,078 Ki.61s were built. Engine production was slow and the power plant gave problems in service, so early in 1945 many Ki.61 airframes were reengined with a 1,500 hp Mitsubishi Ha 112 radial to produce the Ki.100. Only 272 were built by war’s end, but it was the best Japanese fighter during the conflict.

The Kawanishi N1K1-J (“George”) evolved from a float-plane and was one of the best fighters of the Pacific Theater. Entering service early in 1944, it had automatic combat flaps and was outstandingly maneuverable, its pilots coming to regard even the F6F Hellcat as an easy kill. Its climb rate was, however, relatively poor for an interceptor, and the engine was unreliable. The later N1K2-J was redesigned to simplify production, and limited numbers entered service early in 1945. A total of 1,435 aircraft of the N1K series were built.

The Nakajima Ki.84 (“Frank”) was one of the best Japanese fighters of the war. It entered service late in 1944. The Ki.84 could outmaneuver and outclimb late-model P-51 and P-47 fighters and had excellent maneuverability. It was well armed, strong, and well protected, and it was easy for novice pilots to fly. Production examples were beset with manufacturing faults and engine difficulties, causing performance to suffer, particularly at high altitude. A total of 3,470 Ki.84 aircraft were built.

France

The Dewoitine D.520 was designed as a private venture and entered service with the French air force in 1940. It was probably the most effective French-designed fighter of the war, shooting down 100-plus enemy aircraft in exchange for 54 losses during the Battle of France. After the fall of France, the D.520 continued in Vichy French service and was encountered by the Allies in Vichy North Africa. A total of 905 were built.

Great Britain

The Hawker Hurricane entered service in 1937 and was the first monoplane fighter of the Royal Air Force (RAF), serving on all fronts. The Hurricane Mk I was the major RAF fighter during the Battle of Britain. On paper it was average, but it had hidden strengths; it was an excellent gun platform and was more maneuverable than the Spitfire. Its controls did not stiffen appreciably at high speed, and it was very strong, being able to withstand maneuvers that would literally pull the wings off its contemporaries. Later versions (MK IID, Mk IV) were mainly built as fighter-bombers. A total of 14,233 Hurricanes were built.

The Supermarine Spitfire was a very advanced design when the Mk I entered service in 1938, and it was able to accept progressively more powerful engines and heavier armament as the war progressed, with only a slight reduction in handling qualities. The “Spit” was fast and very maneuverable and was widely regarded as a pilot’s aircraft. In performance terms, it was usually considered superior to its direct opponents, although the FW-190 gave Spitfire Mk V pilots a hard time until the Mk IX redressed the balance in mid-1942. The Spitfire was continuously updated and revised with many specialist high- and low-altitude versions, and the late-war marks had a particularly impressive performance. It remained in production until after the war. A total of 20,351 were built.

The Bristol Beaufighter was designed as a private venture using components from the Beaufort torpedo-bomber. The Mk IF entered service as a radar-equipped night fighter late in 1940. It operated successfully in Europe, the Western Desert, the Mediterranean, the Far East, and the Pacific as a night fighter, long-range fighter, ground-attack aircraft, and



A Royal Air Force Supermarine Spitfire fighter over the English countryside in 1939. (Bettmann/Corbis)

torpedo-bomber. It was a big, heavy aircraft with a good performance at low level and a very heavy armament. A total of 5,562 Beaufighters were built.

The Hawker Typhoon was rushed into service late in 1941 to combat the German FW-190 menace, but it suffered from teething troubles. Its performance at low altitude was very good, particularly its acceleration and dive, but its performance above about 20,000 ft was poor because of its thick wing. The Typhoon was used later in the war as a ground-attack aircraft. The Hawker Tempest appeared early in 1944 and was an aerodynamically cleaner Typhoon with a thinner, laminar-flow wing. The Tempest was very fast and was one of the best late-war fighters. It could be maneuvered easily at high speed and had outstanding dive acceleration and zoom climb capabilities. It was, however, not easy to fly to its limits. A total of 3,300 Typhoons and 800 Tempests were built.

The De Havilland Mosquito was conceived as a bomber but was also produced in radar-equipped night-fighter and fighter-bomber versions. The NF.II entered service with the RAF in May 1942 and was very successful on night-intruder missions; Mosquito night fighters were used over Germany from late 1944 onward and seriously hampered German night-fighter operations. A total of 1,053 Mosquito night

fighters of all versions were built; the most numerous fighter version was the FB.VI, of which 2,718 were built.

Soviet Union

The Polikarpov I-16 Rata entered service late in 1934, the first of the new generation of monoplane fighters. More than 450 machines were operationally tested in the Spanish Civil War, and I-16s bore the brunt of the initial German assault on the Soviet Union. The Rata was marginally stable at best but was outstandingly maneuverable; it had a very good zoom climb but poor diving characteristics. Approximately 20,000 were built, the type remaining in service until 1943.

The Yakovlev series of fighters began with the Yak-1 in early 1942. It was fast at low altitude, but both the Yak-1 and the more powerful Yak-7 were slightly short on range. The Yak-9 appeared late in 1942 with a more powerful engine and particularly effective ailerons; it was capable of outturning all its opponents at low altitude. The Yak-3 was a specialized low-altitude fighter, entering service early in 1944. It had excellent performance below about 10,000 ft and was the preferred mount of the Normandie-Niemen Groupe de Chasse. Approximately 30,000 Yak fighters were produced, of which 16,700 were Yak-9s.

The Lavochkin La-5 was a very successful adaptation of the problematic LaGG-3 airframe to take a 1,330 hp Shvetsov M-82 radial engine. The La-5 entered service late in 1942 and was an immediate success as a highly maneuverable low-altitude fighter. The more powerful La-5FN appeared in mid-1943; it was faster and lighter with improved controls that gave better handling qualities. It is thought that about 15,000 Lavochkin fighters were built, although the total may well have been nearer 20,000.

United States

The Curtiss P-40 entered service in 1940. The aircraft was based on the Curtiss P-36, which was itself a reasonable fighter; French P-36 variants (Hawk 75A) accounted for approximately 70 percent of French air force kills during the Battle of France. The P-40 had reasonable dive acceleration but a poor ceiling and climb. It was average in most departments, its major attribute being that it was available in numbers when required. It was, however, continuously developed until December 1944, when the last of 13,738 P-40s, a P-40N, rolled off the production line.

The Bell P-39 Airacobra entered service in 1941. It was fast at low altitudes and pleasant to fly, but its performance fell away above 12,000 ft. Together with the P-40, the P-39 bore the brunt of the early fighting in the Pacific until later U.S. types appeared. The P-39 was rejected by the RAF but was used with some success as a low-altitude fighter by the Soviet Union, which took more than half the production total of 9,558 machines.



A U.S. Curtiss P-40 Warhawk Fighter. (Corel)

The P-39 was used by at least 20 Soviet aces, including Aleksandr Pokryshkin (59 kills) and Grigorii Rechkalov (56 kills).

The Lockheed P-38 Lightning entered service in numbers early in 1942 and was possibly the ultimate long-range tactical fighter of the war. Its long range and twin engines made it the primary U.S. Army Air Corps fighter in the Pacific Theater. Not as maneuverable as a single-engine fighter, it was fast with very effective armament and an outstanding zoom climb. Compressibility problems handicapped diving maneuvers, however. A total of 9,923 Lightnings were built.

The North American P-51 Mustang was one of the most successful fighters of World War II. Offered to the British Air Purchasing Commission in April 1940 as an alternative to the Curtiss P-40, the P-51A entered service early in 1942. Using the same Allison engine as in the P-40, it was appreciably faster than the P-40 because of its laminar-flow wing and efficient cooling system. It had an excellent dive and zoom climb and was quite maneuverable, but it lacked performance at high altitude. The Mustang's performance was transformed by the substitution of a 1,620 hp Rolls-Royce Merlin engine in the P-51B, increasing the ceiling by nearly 10,000 ft and providing a marked performance advantage over Luftwaffe piston-engine fighters, particularly above 20,000 ft. A total of 15,686 P-51s were built.

The Republic P-47 Thunderbolt was designed for high-altitude combat and was the heaviest single-engine fighter of the war. Entering service early in 1943, the P-47B was at its best at high speed and altitude. Maneuverability was quite good at high speed, but it became ponderous at lower speeds. Although its climb rate was poor, it had exceptional dive acceleration and was very rugged. The major production model was the P-47D, which had provision for bombs and rockets and was a very effective ground-attack aircraft. A total of 15,683 Thunderbolts were built.

Andy Blackburn

See also

Aircraft, Naval; Britain, Battle of; B-29 Raids against Japan; Fighter Tactics; France, Battle for; Jet and Rocket Aircraft; Kamikaze; Radar

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Aircraft, Gliders

A glider is an aircraft without an engine that is most often released into flight by an aerial tow aircraft. During World War II, both the Axis and Allied militaries developed gliders to transport troops, supplies, and equipment into battle. This technique had been discussed prior to the war but never implemented. These motorless aircraft would crash-land behind enemy lines, often at night, and the men aboard them would then become infantrymen on the ground.

The Germans were first to recognize the potential of gliders in the war, in large part because of extensive pre-World War II scientific research and sport use of them. The Germans embraced gliding because it did not violate military prohibitions in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles. Soaring clubs, which developed in other countries as well, increased interest in gliding worldwide. Sport gliders used air currents to climb and soar for extended periods, while military gliders descended on release from aerial tows.

By the late 1930s, Germany had developed a military glider, the DFS-230. Built of plywood, steel, and fabric, it had a wingspan of 68 ft 5.5 inches, length of 36 ft 10.5 inches, and height of 8 ft 11.75 inches. It weighed 1,896 lb empty and had a maximum weight loaded with troops and cargo of 4,630 lb. A total of 1,022 were produced. This glider was designed to mount a machine gun, which the crew could use for defense. DFS-230 gliders were employed in the invasion of Belgium and the Netherlands in May 1940, especially in securing Fort Eben Emael, which was the key to securing Belgium. The Germans also used gliders in the invasion of Crete and during fighting in the Soviet Union at Stalingrad.

The Gotha 242 glider was larger than the DFS-230 and could carry more troops. It had a wingspan of 80 ft 4.5 inches, length of 51 ft 10 inches, and height of 14 ft 4.5 inches. It weighed 7,056 lb empty and 13,665 lb fully loaded. A total of 1,528 were built. Some were launched by rockets, but most were simply towed by aircraft. Approximately 1,500 Go-242s were produced, of which 133 which adapted into Go-244s, which had twin engines. The huge Messerschmitt Me-321 glider had a wingspan of 180 ft 5.5 inches, length of 92 ft 4.25



A U.S. Waco CG-4A glider with a Griswold Corey nose skid, under tow. (Corbis)

inches, and height of 33 ft 3.4 inches. It weighed 27,432 lb empty and 75,852 lb fully loaded. It could perform level flight after rocket-assisted takeoff. A total of 200 were built. The Me-321 could transport 200 troops but was difficult to launch, and most were transformed into the six-engine Me-323.

Great Britain was the first Allied nation to deploy gliders. The Air Ministry's Glider Committee encouraged the use of the Hotspur to transport soldiers in late 1940. The Hotspur had a wingspan of 61 ft 11 inches, length of 39 ft 4 inches, and height of 10 ft 10 inches. It weighed 1,661 lb empty and 3,598 lb fully loaded. The Hotspur was designed to transport 2 crewmen and 6 soldiers. A total of 1,015 were built.

In 1941, the British developed the Horsa. It had a wingspan of 88 ft, length of 68 ft, and height of 20 ft 3 inches. It weighed 8,370 lb empty and 15,750 lb fully loaded. It was capable of carrying 2 crewmen and 25–28 passengers or 2 trucks. In all, Britain manufactured some 5,000 Horsas. They were employed in Operations OVERLORD and MARKET-GARDEN.

The largest Allied glider was the British Hamilcar. With a wingspan of 110 ft, length of 68 ft 6 inches, and height of 20 ft 3 inches, it weighed 18,000 lb empty and 36,000 lb fully loaded. It could transport 40 troops, a light tank, or artillery pieces. A total of 412 were built. It was employed during Operation OVERLORD.

The Soviet Union introduced the A-7 glider in 1939. It had a wingspan of 62 ft 2 inches and length of 37 ft 7 inches. It weighed 2,000 lb empty and carried a pilot and eight passengers. A total of 400 were manufactured. The Soviets, however, had few aircraft available for glider tows, and following the German invasion of the Soviet Union, their priority was with other weaponry. They used the A-7 chiefly to transport supplies to partisans working behind German lines.

The U.S. Navy explored the possibility of military applications for gliders as early as the 1930s. In February 1941, Chief of the Army Air Corps Major General Henry H. Arnold ordered that specifications be drawn up for military gliders. The Waco Aircraft Company in Troy, Ohio, received the first U.S. government contract to build training gliders, and the army began organizing a glider training program. Constructed of plywood and canvas with a skeleton of steel tubing, the Waco CG-4A had a wingspan of 83 ft 6 inches, length of 48 ft 4 inches, and height of 12 ft 7 inches. Its empty weight was 3,300 lb, and its loaded weight was 7,500 lb. It could carry 15 troops or 3,800 lb of cargo, including artillery pieces, a bulldozer, or a jeep. The Ford Motor Company plant at Kingsford, Michigan, manufactured most of the U.S. gliders, although 15 other companies also produced the Waco. In all 13,908 Wacos were built, making it the most heavily produced glider of the entire war by any power.

Because the gliders were so fragile, soldiers dubbed them “canvas coffins.” Men and cargo were loaded through the wide, hinged nose section, which could be quickly opened.

Moving at an airspeed of 110–150 mph at an altitude of several thousand feet, C-47s towed the gliders with a 300 ft rope toward a designated landing zone and then descended to release the glider several hundred feet above ground. En route to the release point, the glidermen and plane crew communicated with each other either by a telephone wire secured around the towline or via two-way radios. This glider duty was hazardous indeed; sometimes gliders were released prematurely and did not reach the landing zones, and on occasion gliders collided as they approached their destination.

The U.S. 11th, 13th, 17th, 82nd, and 101st Airborne Divisions were equipped with two glider infantry regiments, a glider artillery battalion, and glider support units. U.S. gliders were sent to North Africa in 1942 and participated in the July 1943 Sicily invasion, accompanied by British gliders. High casualties sustained in that operation led General Dwight D. Eisenhower to question the organization of airborne divisions and to threaten to disband glider units. A review board of officers convinced the military authorities to retain them, however. Improvements were made in structural reinforcement of the glider and personnel training.

By mid-1944, gliders had become essential elements of Allied invasion forces. Occasionally they were used to transport wounded to hospitals. During Operation NEPTUNE, U.S. glidermen with the 82nd and 101st Airborne Divisions flew across the English Channel in 2,100 gliders to participate in the D day attack. Many gliders and crews were lost during that mission. New gliders were manufactured for Operation MARKET-GARDEN, the assault on the Germans in the Netherlands, three months later.

Initially, the military did not distribute hazardous-duty pay to glidermen. These soldiers also did not qualify for wing insignia worn by parachutists. Some of the men created posters; one read: “Join the Glider Troops! No Jump Pay. No Flight Pay. But Never A Dull Moment.” By July 1944, glider wings were authorized for glider soldiers, and they received hazardous-duty pay. Also in 1944, the modified Waco CG-15A appeared, offering improved crash absorption. The Waco CG-18A could carry 30 soldiers and was deployed during the 1945 Rhine campaign.

Gliders were also used in the Pacific and China-Burma-India Theaters. The final U.S. glider mission of the war occurred on Luzon Island, the Philippines, in June 1945. In July, IX Troop Carrier Command Commander Brigadier General Paul L. Williams issued an order to grant an Air Medal to Normandy glider pilot veterans. Gliders were gradually phased out of military inventories after the war, although the Soviets retained them through the 1950s.

Elizabeth D. Schafer

See also

Airborne Forces, Allied; Airborne Forces, Axis; Aircraft, Transports; Arnold, Henry Harley; Belgium Campaign; Crete, Battle of; Eben

Emael; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Germany, Air Force; Great Britain, Air Force; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; OVERLORD, Operation; Rhine Crossings; Soviet Union, Air Force; United States, Air Force

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Aircraft, Jet and Rocket

See Jet and Rocket Aircraft.

Aircraft, Naval

Most naval aircraft fall into one of four main classifications: spotters, patrol aircraft, land-based attack aircraft, and carrier-based aircraft. Battleships and cruisers usually carried catapult-launched spotter aircraft to correct gunfire against enemy vessels or shore targets. Most spotter aircraft tended to be relatively slow floatplanes (e.g., Mitsubishi F1M2 [“Pete” in the Allied identification system] and Vought OS2U Kingfisher), as the design parameters were restricted by the launch and recovery mechanism. These aircraft were also very useful in search and rescue missions.

Patrol aircraft were designed to keep track of enemy ships and (in some cases) to attack small vessels such as submarines. The major performance requirements for patrol aircraft were range and endurance; the sea covers a vast area and an enemy fleet occupied a relatively tiny part of it, so the ability to search large areas and remain on station for a long time was important. Flying boats were widely used as patrol aircraft (e.g., the Consolidated PBY Catalina, Kawanishi H8K, and Short Sunderland), but land-based patrollers with longer ranges (e.g., Lockheed Hudson, Ventura, and Consolidated B-24 Liberator) were used toward the latter part of the war, initially to patrol colder areas such as the Aleutians and Iceland, where flying boats found operation difficult.

Land-based attack aircraft were employed by most combatants and were sometimes successful, provided that they employed specialist antiship attack techniques. Torpedo-bombing was probably the most effective form of attack, but results varied depending on the efficiency of the weapon. American torpedoes suffered from problems and were largely ineffective until the second half of 1943, whereas the Japanese 18-inch “Long Lance” torpedo was extremely effective with a large warhead. Italian, German, and British torpedoes were all moderately effective. Dive-bombing and skip-bombing were also effective, but attacks by high-level bombers were universally unsuccessful against moving ships, as the target had plenty of time to take avoiding action.

Great Britain employed purpose-designed torpedo attack aircraft (the Beaufort and Beaufighter). The United States mainly used conversions of existing aircraft as torpedo carriers (the B-25 Mitchell and B-26 Marauder), but it usually employed skip-bombing in preference to torpedoes. Medium bombers were also used as torpedo-aircraft by Japan (the GM-4 “Betty”), Germany (He-111H), Italy (SM.79), and the Soviet Union (Ilyushin DB-3T/Il-4). German and Japanese bombers were particularly effective.

The following two types of specialist torpedo-bombers were widely used during World War II.

1. The Italian Savoia-Marchetti S.M.79, originally designed as a commercial transport, was adapted to use as a bomber when its excellent performance became known. The SM.79-I entered service in 1936 and was used with some success during the Spanish Civil War. The more powerful SM.79-II was employed throughout World War II in the Mediterranean Theater as a torpedo-bomber (carrying two 17.7-inch torpedoes), medium bomber, reconnaissance aircraft, close-support aircraft, and transport/training aircraft. A total of 1,330 were built between 1936 and 1944.
2. The Bristol Beaufort was the standard British land-based torpedo-bomber until it was replaced by the Bristol Beaufighter TF.X in 1943. Entering service late in 1939, the Beaufort was also used for bombing and minelaying operations. It was reasonably successful, although occasionally let down by malfunctioning torpedoes. A total of 1,429 were built in the United Kingdom, and 700 were built under license in Australia.

Flying an aircraft off and onto an aircraft carrier places many more stresses and strains on the aircraft's structure than comparable activities on land. As a consequence, carrier-based aircraft were generally heavier and more robust—and thus slower and less maneuverable (at least in theory)—than their land-based counterparts. Parts of their structure usually folded to allow the aircraft to be taken below

to the hangar, further increasing the weight. On top of that, landing characteristics had to be superior, which required a light wing loading, large flaps, good stall behavior, and a compliant undercarriage. Combining all of these characteristics in a single aircraft was not easy; many of the aircraft that served on carrier decks during World War II had flaws.

Of the major combatants, only the United States, Japan, and Great Britain had aircraft carriers, and each had a different approach to design of carrier-based aircraft (see Tables 1, 2, and 3 for carrier-based attack aircraft, fighters, and bombers respectively).

United States

In 1941, the United States had several large carriers and well-organized carrier operational procedures; it used scout/dive-bombers (SBD Dauntless), torpedo/level-bombers (TBD-1 Devastator), and fighters (F4F Wildcat). Generally speaking, U.S. carrier aircraft were rugged and quite suitable for maritime use. The Douglas TBD-1 Devastator carrier-based torpedo-bomber entered service late in 1937 and was obsolescent when the United States entered the war. Its combat career was

terminated by the Battle of Midway when it proved to be vulnerable to fighter attack while unescorted. A total of 129 TBD-1s were built.

The Douglas SBD Dauntless entered service with the U.S. Marine Corps in mid-1940 and with the U.S. Navy later in 1940. It was the standard navy carrierborne dive-bomber in December 1941 when Pearl Harbor was attacked. Operationally, the Dauntless was very successful and could absorb a lot of battle damage, having the lowest attrition rate of any U.S. carrier aircraft in the Pacific Theater. It played a major part in the 1942 Battles of the Coral Sea and Midway and later flew off escort carriers on antisubmarine and close-support missions. A total of 5,936 Dauntless were built.

The Grumman F4F Wildcat entered service with the Royal Navy late in 1940, and it became operational with the Marine Corps and U.S. Navy at the beginning of 1941. The F4F-3 was the standard navy shipboard fighter when the United States entered the war, and it was generally inferior to the Japanese A6M2 Zero in performance and maneuverability. However, the F4F was very rugged and had good dive performance, giving a good account of itself when using the correct tactics.



The motion of its props causes an “aura” to form around this U.S. Navy Grumman F6F Hellcat on the carrier Yorktown. Rapid change of pressure and drop in temperature create condensation. Rotating with the blades, the halo moves aft, giving depth and perspective. November 1943. (National Archives)



U.S. Navy Grumman TBF Avenger torpedo bombers flying in formation over Norfolk, Virginia. September 1942. (National Archives)

Later in the war, the Wildcat gave sterling service on escort carriers. Approximately 8,000 Wildcats were built.

The Grumman TBF Avenger first flew in August 1941 and became the standard navy carrier-based torpedo-bomber. It entered service in mid-1942 in time for the Battle of Midway. It could take a lot of punishment and, although it was not very maneuverable, it was easy to land on deck. A total of 9,836 Avengers were built; most served with the U.S. Navy, but 958 were supplied to the British navy.

The Curtiss SB2 Helldiver was the most successful carrier-based dive-bomber in U.S. Navy service, in spite of its handling faults and a reputation for structural weakness. Entering service early in 1943, its first major action was the Rabaul Campaign in November 1943, and it took part in almost every major naval/air action during the remainder of the war. The navy was the major user of the Helldiver, although some were flown by the Marine Corps and the British Royal Navy. A total of 7,200 Helldivers were built in the United States and Canada.

The Vought F4U Corsair entered service with the Marine Corps early in 1943; it was not an easy aircraft to deck-land and was initially rejected by the U.S. Navy in favor of the Hellcat.

The gull-winged F4U operated from land bases in the Pacific and flew off Royal Navy carriers from late 1943. The Corsair was a very good fighter, convincingly superior in performance to the Mitsubishi Zero and much better than the P-51B Mustang below about 20,000 ft. Eventually the Corsair matured into a reasonable deck-landing aircraft, and it began to supplant the F6F Hellcat as the standard U.S. Navy carrier fighter by the end of the war. It saw extensive service after the war and continued in production until 1952. A total of 12,571 were built.

The Grumman F6F Hellcat entered service early in 1943. It was the most successful carrier-based fighter of the war, accounting for 76 percent of the total enemy aircraft destroyed by U.S. Navy carrier pilots. It was extremely rugged and had much better speed and dive capabilities than the Mitsubishi Zero, which it could normally beat in an even fight. Many of the U.S. Navy aces flew Hellcats. The Hellcat was also employed with some success at night; approximately 1,300 of the 12,272 produced were dedicated radar-equipped night-fighter versions.

Japan

The Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) had several carriers at the start of the war, the air groups of which were weighted toward attack aircraft rather than fighters. Its aircraft were lightly built and had very long range, but this advantage was usually purchased at the expense of vulnerability to enemy fire. The skill of Japanese aviators tended to exaggerate the effectiveness of the IJN's aircraft, and pilot quality fell off as experienced crews were shot down during the Midway and Solomon Islands Campaigns.

The Nakajima B5N ("Kate" in the Allied designator system) first entered service in 1937 as a carrier-based attack bomber, with the B5N2 torpedo-bomber appearing in 1940. The B5N had good handling and deck-landing characteristics and was operationally very successful in the early part of the war. Large numbers of the B5N participated in the Mariana Islands campaign, and it was employed as a suicide aircraft toward the end of the war. Approximately 1,200 B5Ns were built.

The Aichi D3A ("Val") carrier-based dive-bomber entered service in mid-1940, and it was the standard Japanese navy dive-bomber when Japan entered the war. It was a good bomber, capable of putting up a creditable fight after dropping its bomb load. It participated in the attack on Pearl Harbor and the major Pacific campaigns including Santa Cruz, Midway, and the Solomon Islands. Increasing losses during the second half of the war took their toll, and the D3A was used on suicide missions later in the war. Approximately 1,495 D3As were built.

When it first appeared in mid-1940, the Mitsubishi A6M Zero was the first carrier-based fighter capable of beating its land-based counterparts. It was well armed and had truly exceptional maneuverability below about 220 mph, and its

Table 1
Carrier-Based Attack Aircraft, All Powers—Specifications

Name	Year of Introduction	Crew	Engine (hp)	Span	Length	Takeoff Weight (lb)*	Maximum speed (mph)	Operational ceiling (ft)	Range (mi)†	Armament/Payload
Fairey Swordfish Mk 1 (late 1936)	Late 1936	3	1 × 690-hp Bristol Pegasus radial	45 ft 6 in.	36 ft 4 in.	9,250 lb	139 mph at 4,750 ft	10,700 ft	546 mi	2 × 0.3-in. machine guns, 1 × 1,610-lb torpedo
Douglas TBD-1 Devastator (late 1937)	Late 1937	3	1 × 900-hp Pratt and Whitney twin-wasp radial	50 ft 0 in.	35 ft 0 in.	10,194 lb	206 mph at 8,000 ft	19,500 ft	716 mi	2 × 0.3-in. machine guns, 1,000 lb bombs
Nakajima B5N2 “Kate” (late 1940)	Late 1937	3	1 × 1,000-hp Nakajima Sakae radial	50 ft 11 in.	33 ft 9.5 in.	9,039 lb	235 mph at 11,810 ft	27,100 ft	1,237 mi	1 × 7.7-mm machine gun, 1 × 1,764-lb torpedo
Blackburn Skua Mk II (late 1938)	Late 1938	2	1 × 890-hp Bristol Perseus radial	46 ft 2 in.	35 ft 7 in.	8,228 lb	225 mph at 6,500 ft	19,100 ft	761 mi	5 × 0.3-in. machine guns, 740 lb bombs
Fairey Albacore Mk 1 (early 1940)	Early 1940	3	1 × 1,065-hp Bristol Taurus radial	50 ft 0 in.	39 ft 9.5 in.	10,600 lb	161 mph at 4,000 ft	20,700 ft	930 mi	3 × 0.3-in. machine guns, 1 × 1,610-lb torpedo or 1,650 lb bomb
Douglas SBD-3 Dauntless (early 1941)	Mid-1940	2	1 × 1,000-hp Wright Cyclone radial	41 ft 6 in.	32 ft 8 in.	10,400 lb	250 mph at 14,000 ft	27,100 ft	1,345 mi	4 × 0.3-in. machine guns, 1,200 lb bombs
Aichi D3A1 “Val” (mid-1940)	Mid-1940	2	1 × 1,000-hp Mitsubishi Kinsei radial	47 ft 2 in.	33 ft 5.5 in.	8,047 lb	240 mph at 9,840 ft	30,050 ft	915 mi	3 × 7.7-mm machine guns, 813 lb bombs
Grumman TBF-1 Avenger (mid-1942)	Mid-1942	3	1 × 1,700-hp Wright Cyclone radial	54 ft 2 in.	40 ft	15,905 lb	271 mph at 12,000 ft	22,400 ft	1,215 mi	3 × 0.3-in. machine guns, 1,600 lb bombs or 1 torpedo
Curtiss SB2C-1 Helldiver (early 1943)	Early 1943	2	1 × 1,700-hp Wright Cyclone radial	49 ft 9 in.	36 ft 8 in.	16,616 lb	281 mph at 16,700 ft	25,100 ft	1,110 mi	2 × 20-mm cannon, 2 × 0.3-in. machine guns, 2,000 lb bombs
Yokosuka D4Y1 “Judy” (early 1943)	Early 1943	2	1 × 1,200-hp Aichi Atsura v-type	37 ft 9 in.	33 ft 6.5 in.	9,370 lb	343 mph at 15,585 ft	32,480 ft	978 mi	3 × 7.7-mm machine guns, 683 lb bombs
Fairey Barracuda Mk II (early 1943)	Early 1943	3	1 × 1,640-hp Rolls-Royce Merlin v-type	49 ft 2 in.	39 ft 9 in.	14,100 lb	210 mph at 2,000 ft	21,600 ft	604 mi	2 × 0.3-in. machine guns, 1 × 1,610-lb torpedo or 1,600 lb bomb
Nakajima B6N2 “Jill” (late 1943)	Late 1943	3	1 × 1,850-hp Mitsubishi Kasei radial	48 ft 10.5 in.	35 ft 8 in.	12,456 lb	299 mph at 16,075 ft	29,660 ft	1,892 mi	2 × 7.7-mm machine guns, 1 × 1,764-lb torpedo

Sources: Brown, Eric M. *Duels in the Sky*. Shrewsbury, UK: Airlife, 1989; Jarrett, Philip, ed. *Aircraft of the Second World War*. London: Putnam, 1997; Munson, Kenneth. *Bombers, Patrol, and Transport Aircraft, 1939–45*. Poole, UK: Blandford Press, 1969; and Munson, Kenneth. *Fighters, Attack and Training Aircraft, 1939–45*. Poole, UK: Blandford Press, 1969.

* Weight is normal takeoff weight unless specified otherwise.

† Range is maximum flyable distance including reserves.

Table 2
Carrier-Based Fighters, All Powers—Specifications

Name	Year of Introduction	Engine	Span	Length	Wing Area (sq ft)	Takeoff Weight (lb)*	Maximum speed (mph)	Combat ceiling (500 ft/min)†	Range (mi)‡	Armament/Payload
Mitsubishi A6M2 Zero model 21 (mid-1940)	Mid-1940	1 × 925-hp Nakajima Sakae radial		29 ft 8.75 in.	241.5 sq ft	5,313 lb	332 mph at 16,570 ft	31,000 ft (est)	1,595 mi	2 × 7.7-mm type 97 machine guns, 2 × 20-mm type 99 cannon
Grumman F4F-3 Wildcat (early 1941)	Late 1940	1 × 1,200-hp Pratt and Whitney Twin Wasp radial	38 ft 0 in.	28 ft 9 in.	260 sq ft	7,002 lb	328 mph at 21,000 ft	35,000 ft (est)	845 mi	4 × 0.5-in. Browning machine guns
Hawker Sea Hurricane Mk IIC (early 1941)	Mid-1940	1 × 1,260-hp Rolls-Royce Merlin v-type	40 ft 0 in.	32 ft 2.5 in.	258 sq ft	7,618 lb	317 mph at 17,500 ft	28,000 ft	452 mi	4 × 20-mm Oerlikon cannon
Fairey Fulmar II (early 1941)	Mid-1940	1 × 1,300-hp Rolls-Royce Merlin v-type	46 ft 4.5 in.	40 ft 2 in.	342 sq ft	9,672 lb	272 mph at 7,250 ft	24,500 ft (est)	780 mi	8 × 0.303-in. Browning machine guns
Grumman F6F-3 Hellcat (early 1943)	Early 1943	1 × 2,000-hp Pratt and Whitney R-2800 radial	42 ft 10 in.	33 ft 7 in.	334 sq ft	11,381 lb	376 mph at 17,300 ft	36,000 ft (est)	1,090 mi	6 × 0.5-in. Browning machine guns plus 2 × 1,000-lb bombs or 6 × 5-in. rockets
Supermarine Seafire F.III (early 1944)	Mid-1942	1 × 1,470-hp Rolls-Royce Merlin v-type	36 ft 10 in.	30 ft 2.5 in.	242 sq ft	7,100 lb	352 mph at 12,250 ft	31,000 ft (est)	465 mi	2 × 20-mm Hispano cannon, 4 × 0.303-in. Browning machine guns plus 500-lb bombs
Vought F4U-1D Corsair (early 1944)	Early 1943	1 × 2,250-hp Pratt and Whitney R-2800 radial	40 ft 11 in.	33 ft 4 in.	314 sq ft	12,039 lb	425 mph at 20,000 ft	34,500 ft (est)	1,015 mi	6 × 0.5-in. Browning machine guns plus 2 × 1,000-lb bombs or 8 × 5-in. rockets
Mitsubishi A6M6c Zero model 53c (late 1944)	Mid-1940	1 × 1,130-hp Nakajima Sakae radial	36 ft 1 in.	29 ft 9 in.	229.3 sq ft	6,047 lb	346 mph at 19,680 ft	32,500 ft (est)	1,194 mi	3 × 12.7-mm type 3 machine guns, 2 × 20-mm type 99 cannon

Sources: Brown, Eric M. *Duels in the Sky*. Shrewsbury, UK: Airlife, 1989; Jarrett, Philip, ed. *Aircraft of the Second World War*. London: Putnam, 1997; Munson, Kenneth. *Bombers, Patrol, and Transport Aircraft, 1939–45*. Poole, UK: Blandford Press, 1969; and Munson, Kenneth. *Fighters, Attack and Training Aircraft, 1939–45*. Poole, UK: Blandford Press, 1969.

* Weight is normal takeoff weight unless specified otherwise.

† Combat ceiling is the maximum height at which the aircraft would fight and maneuver. The service ceiling would typically be 2,000 or 3,000 feet higher than this.

‡ Range is maximum flyable distance on internal fuel including reserves. Combat radius would typically be 30% to 35% of this value.

Table 3
Naval Bombers, All Powers—Specifications

Name	Year of Introduction	Crew	Engine	Span	Length	Takeoff Weight (lb)*	Maximum Speed (mph)	Operational Ceiling (ft)	Range (mi)†	Armament/Payload
Bristol Beaufort Mk 1 (late 1939)	Late 1939	4	2 × 1,130-hp Bristol Taurus radials	57 ft 10 in.	44 ft 3 in.	21,228 lb	263 mph at 6,500 ft	16,500 ft	1,600 mi	4 × 0.303-in. machine guns, 1 × 1,650-lb torpedo, or 2,000 lb bombs
Savoia-Marchetti S.M.79-II Sparviero (early 1940)	1937	6	3 × 1,000-hp Piaggio radials	69 ft 6.5 in.	53 ft 1.75 in.	25,133 lb	295 mph at 13,120 ft	27,890 ft	1,243 mi with 2,756 lb bombs	3 × 12.7-mm machine guns, 2 × 7.7-mm machine guns, 2 × 450-mm torpedoes, or 2,756 lb bombs

Sources: Green, William. *Famous Bombers of the Second World War*. 2d ed. London: Book Club Associates, 1979; Jarrett, Philip, ed. *Aircraft of the Second World War*. London: Putnam, 1997; and Munson, Kenneth. *Bombers, Patrol and Transport Aircraft 1939–45*. Poole, UK: Blandford, 2002.

* Weight is normal takeoff weight unless specified otherwise.

† Range is maximum flyable distance, including reserves.

capabilities came as an unpleasant shock to U.S. and British forces. It achieved this exceptional performance at the expense of resistance to enemy fire, with a light structure and no armor or self-sealing tanks. Its Achilles heel was the stiffness of its controls at high speed, the control response being almost nil at indicated airspeed over 300 mph. The Zero was developed throughout the war, a total of 10,449 being built.

The Nakajima B6N (“Jill”) carrier-based torpedo-bomber entered service late in 1943 and was intended to replace the B5N, but the initial B6N1 was plagued with engine troubles. The B6N2 with a Mitsubishi engine was the major production model, appearing early in 1944. Overall, it was better than its predecessor but not particularly easy to deck-land. It participated in the Marianas Campaign and was encountered throughout the Pacific until the end of the war. A total of 1,268 were built.

The Yokosuka D4Y (“Judy”) reconnaissance/dive-bomber entered service on Japanese carriers early in 1943 and was very fast for a bomber. Initially assigned to reconnaissance units, it was intended to replace the D3A, but it was insufficiently armed and protected and suffered from structural weakness in dives. In common with most other Japanese aircraft, it was used for kamikaze attacks, and a D4Y carried out the last kamikaze attack of the war on 15 August 1945. A total of 2,819 D4Ys were built.

Great Britain

During the 1930s, Great Britain had a limited number of air assets with which to patrol a far-flung empire; the Admiralty

was therefore obliged to buy multirole aircraft and accept the inevitable compromises in performance. The Royal Navy entered the war with low-performing aircraft, and its efforts to introduce better aircraft were compromised by conflicts in engine supply. In 1943 it was only too pleased to have the use of F4U Corsairs that were surplus to the requirements of the U.S. Navy.

The Fairey Swordfish carrier-based torpedo/spotter/reconnaissance aircraft entered service late in 1936 and participated in the night raid on Taranto, the battle of Cape Matapan, and the sinking of the *Bismarck*. It was very slow but was astonishingly agile with excellent flying qualities. Very easy to deck-land, it was a natural choice for use on Atlantic convoy escort carriers. It remained in service until mid-1945, outlasting its replacement (the Fairey Albacore). A total of 2,391 Swordfish were built.

The Blackburn Skua came on line late in 1938 as a carrier-based fighter/dive-bomber. It was not easy to deck-land and had poor stall characteristics, but it was an effective dive-bomber, sinking the German cruiser *Königsberg* in Bergen harbor during the Norwegian Campaign. A total of 190 were built.

The Fairey Albacore carrier-based torpedo/dive-bomber/reconnaissance aircraft entered service as a replacement for the Swordfish early in 1940 and took part in many of the Middle East operations, including the Battles of Cape Matapan and El Alamein and the Allied landings at Sicily and Salerno. The Albacore had only a slightly better performance than the Swordfish and few redeeming features, and its

service with the Royal Navy ended late in 1943. A total of 800 were built.

The two-seat Fairey Fulmar carrier fighter entered service in mid-1940 and was principally designed to combat unescorted bombers and maritime patrol aircraft. It had adequate range, but it was underpowered and its performance was insufficient to deal with contemporary fighters. Nevertheless, it filled a gap until better aircraft became available. A total of 600 were built.

The Hawker Sea Hurricane was first used on catapult-armed merchantmen (CAM) ships during early 1941. Many were conversions of existing land-based fighters. Sea Hurricanes were operational on carriers from late 1941; they were maneuverable and well armed but usually had a lower performance than their adversaries. Approximately 800 Sea Hurricanes were built or converted.

The Supermarine Seafire was an adaptation of the land-based Supermarine Spitfire VB fighter. When it appeared in mid-1942, it was the fastest operational carrier fighter in the world, but it was difficult to deck-land and was not sufficiently robust for use at sea. Later versions were very effective at low altitude, the Seafire LIIC having an outstanding climb and roll performance. Approximately 1,900 were built or converted before the end of the war.

The Fairey Barracuda carrier-based dive/torpedo-bomber entered service early in 1943. It was usually used as a dive-bomber and was not popular with its crews; its performance was mediocre and its defensive armament was poor. It was, however, a reasonably good dive-bomber and was easy to deck-land. A total of 1,718 were built.

Andy Blackburn

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft Carriers; Aircraft, Fighters; *Bismarck*, Sortie and Sinking of; Cape Matapan, Battle of; Coral Sea, Battle of the; El Alemain, Battle of; Mariana Islands, Naval Campaign; Midway, Battle of; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Salerno Invasion; Santa Cruz Islands, Battle of; Taranto, Attack on; Torpedoes

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war matériel because they had begun military production much earlier than the Allies, the combined industrial potential of the Allies far exceeded that of the Axis nations. Even though Axis aircraft production increased during the course of the war, it paled in comparison to that of the Allies, especially the United States. To the extent that World War II was a total war that depended on industrial output, the Allied advantage in manpower and industry ultimately proved decisive, and aircraft production is a key indicator of that advantage (see Table 1).

Axis Powers

Although Germany had entered the war in September 1939 as the world's leading air power, with 4,840 frontline aircraft and an aircraft industry producing 1,000 airplanes a month, the Luftwaffe's arsenal had serious defects. For one, Germany had never developed a satisfactory long-range bomber, in part because the German military's focus on blitzkrieg (lightning war) emphasized production of medium-range bombers and ground-attack aircraft, which had proven so successful in the Spanish Civil War. Germany's defeat in the Battle of Britain revealed the flaw of this policy from a strategic standpoint, as aircraft such as Heinkel He-111, Dornier Do-17, and Junkers Ju-87 proved ineffective against a technologically well-equipped enemy force. Likewise, Germany's lack of long-range bombers prevented it from conducting long-range air operations at sea or striking Soviet manufacturing centers relocated deep within the Soviet Union. Despite the damage inflicted by the Allied air campaign, the German armaments industry, ably led by Fritz Todt and Albert Speer, not only managed to increase production from 8,295 aircraft in 1939 to 39,807 in 1944 but also introduced the world's first jet fighter, the Messerschmitt Me-262, in the second half of 1944. These successes, however, proved to be too little and too late to make a difference, and the Allies had air supremacy in the last two years of the war.

As with Germany, Japan entered the war with a powerful air arm, which included some 2,900 combat-ready aircraft on 7 December 1941. Yet, Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor was in part a desperate gamble designed to cripple the United States to purchase time for Japan to build a defensive perimeter before U.S. industrial might reached heights that Japan knew it could never equal. Indeed, Japanese industry produced just 5,088 aircraft in 1941, compared with 26,277 for the United States. Failure to destroy the U.S. carriers in the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor ranks as a clear strategic mistake for Japan. Once it lost the Battle of Midway in early June 1942, Japan was forced into a defensive war in which it could not compete with the American war machine. Despite Allied attacks that crippled its shipping industry and weakened its industrial infrastructure, Japan still managed to produce 28,180 aircraft in 1944, a testament to the perseverance of its

Aircraft, Production of

Key aspect of World War II industrial production that tipped the scales of the air war decisively away from the Axis powers in favor of the Allies. Although Germany and Japan had entered the war with initial advantages of aircraft and other

Table 1
Aircraft Production in World War II

Year	Germany	Japan	Italy	Axis Totals by Year
1939	8,295	4,467	1,692	14,454
1940	10,826	4,768	2,142	17,736
1941	11,776	5,088	3,503	20,367
1942	15,556	8,861	2,818	27,235
1943	25,527	16,693	967	43,187
1944	39,807	28,180	x	67,987
1945	7,544	8,263	x	15,807
Axis totals (all years)	119,331	76,320	11,122	206,773

Year	Great Britain	Soviet Union	United States	Allied Totals by Year
1939	7,940	10,382	5,856	24,178
1940	15,049	10,565	12,804	38,418
1941	20,094	17,735	26,277	64,106
1942	23,673	25,436	47,836	96,945
1943	26,263	34,845	85,898	147,006
1944	26,461	40,246	96,318	163,025
1945	12,070	20,052	49,761	81,883
Allied totals (all years)	131,550	159,261	324,750	615,561

Source: Wilson, Stewart. *Aircraft of WWII*. Fyshwick, Australia: Aerospace Publications, 1998.

workers on the home front. That the United States produced 96,318 aircraft during the same year is a testament to the futility of Japan's challenge to American industrial might.

Although Benito Mussolini had built a powerful Italian air force in the late 1920s and early 1930s, by the beginning of World War II in September 1939, Italy's air force had become largely obsolete. This decline was in part a reflection of Italy's weak economy. When Italy joined the war on 10 June 1940, barely half of its 3,296 aircraft were of combat quality. While assistance from Germany (particularly in supplying aircraft engines) allowed the Italian aircraft industry to make modest increases from 2,142 aircraft produced in 1940 to 3,503 aircraft in 1941, Italy's weak industrial sector could not withstand the impact of the Allied bombing campaign, and production dropped to 2,818 aircraft in 1942 and just 967 aircraft by the time Italy surrendered in September 1943.

Allied Powers

Although Germany enjoyed a great lead in the number of its combat-ready aircraft at the start of the war, Great Britain had

an advantage in that its industry was in the process of introducing aircraft (such as the Hawker Hurricane and Supermarine Spitfire) more technologically advanced than their German counterparts. This qualitative advantage would prove critical to defeating Germany in the Battle of Britain. Secure from the threat of German invasion, British industry succeeded not only in increasing productive capacity with each passing year of the war but also in introducing aircraft such as the Handley Page Halifax and Avro Lancaster that played a critical role in the Allied bombing campaign against Germany. Great Britain's highest annual production total reached 26,461 aircraft in 1944, compared with 39,807 aircraft for Germany that year. Nevertheless, Great Britain's overall production of 131,550 aircraft during the war exceeded that of Germany, which produced 119,331 aircraft.

The Soviet Union possessed large numbers of aircraft at the outbreak of the war, but most of these were inferior to their German counterparts. Making matters worse, when Germany launched its invasion of the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, it destroyed 1,200 Soviet aircraft in the first nine hours



Long lines of A-20 attack bombers roll ceaselessly off the assembly line, night and day, through the Douglas Aircraft plant at Long Beach, California, ca. October 1942. (Franklin D. Roosevelt Library (NLFDR))

of the attack. The Soviet Union managed not only to sustain this loss but to recover, because of its monumental efforts to transfer industries eastward beyond the reach of the German army and air force. In the first three months after the German invasion, the Soviet Union relocated 1,523 factories. The primary production line for the Yakovlev Yak-1, for example, was moved more than 1,000 miles and returned to production in less than six weeks. The success of these efforts allowed the Soviet Union to exceed German production for each year of the war, including 1941, for a total of 159,261 Soviet aircraft compared with 119,331 German aircraft.

In 1939, the U.S. economy was still suffering from the Great Depression, with 8.9 million registered unemployed workers. However, the success of the German blitzkrieg against western Europe in 1940 spurred the American war machine into action. The Burke-Wadsworth Act of 16 September 1940 introduced peacetime conscription for the first time in American history, and massive military spending got the American economy

working again. Unlike Germany and Japan, the United States not only had a large population base and natural resources that could be mobilized for production but also enjoyed an industrial infrastructure far removed from its enemies. By 1944, a total of 18.7 million Americans, approximately 50 percent of whom were women, had entered the American workforce. Of all of their industrial achievements, none was more spectacular than aircraft production. From just 5,856 aircraft produced in 1939, the United States would reach the staggering total of 96,318 produced in 1944—almost one-third more than that produced by Germany and Japan combined for that year. For the war years as a whole, the United States would produce 324,750 aircraft, compared with a total of 206,773 for Germany, Japan, and Italy. The U.S. output, combined with the output of the British and the Soviet Union, gave the Allies an advantage greater than three to one, with 615,561 aircraft. With such an advantage, it is little wonder that the Allies won the war in the air.

Justin D. Murphy

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Aircraft, Gliders; Aircraft, Naval; Aircraft, Reconnaissance and Auxiliary; Aircraft, Transports; Britain, Battle of; Germany, Air Force; Great Britain, Air Force; Italy, Air Force; Japan, Air Forces; Midway, Battle of; Mussolini, Benito; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Soviet Union, Air Force; Speer, Albert; Strategic Bombing; United States, Army Air Forces

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Aircraft, Reconnaissance and Auxiliary

Aircraft the purpose of which is to provide support for land, sea, and air forces. From the beginning of military aviation, including the use of balloons during the French Revolutionary wars, air reconnaissance of enemy positions and movements has been crucial not only for defense against attack but also in preparation for offensive action. Just as improvements in aviation technology during the 1920s and 1930s greatly expanded the capabilities of fighters and bombers by the beginning of World War II, the same was true of reconnaissance and auxiliary aircraft. High-altitude photo reconnaissance was crucial to successful planning for military invasions such as the Normandy landings, and long-range reconnaissance was crucial for naval operations in the Atlantic and Pacific.

Three main types of reconnaissance and auxiliary aircraft were used during World War II: land-based aircraft, float-planes, or flying boats designed to conduct reconnaissance missions; army cooperation aircraft designed for multipurpose roles such as liaison or tactical support; and training aircraft designed to train pilots and crewmen for service.

In addition to aircraft specially designed for reconnaissance or auxiliary service, numerous bombers and fighters were either converted to take on these roles or were relegated to these purposes after becoming obsolete in their intended roles. Such aircraft include the following: France's Bloch 131 and Latécoère Laté 298; Germany's Arado Ar 234 Blitz, Junkers Ju-86, Ju-88, and Ju-188 and the Messerschmitt Me-210; Great Britain's De Havilland Mosquito, Fairey Swordfish, Supermarine Spitfire, and Vickers Wellington; Italy's Cant Z. 506 Airone and Savoia-Marchetti S.M.79; Japan's Yokosuka D4Y Suisei; Poland's PZL P.23 Karas; the Soviet Union's Petlyakov Pe-2; and the U.S. Lockheed Hudson, Martin Maryland, and North American P-51 Mustang.

The following text describes the most significant aircraft employed primarily for reconnaissance and auxiliary purposes by both sides during the war (see also Table 1).

Germany

Entering service in September 1940, the twin-engine, three-seat Focke-Wulf Fw-189 Uhu served as the primary tactical reconnaissance aircraft of the German army, especially on the Eastern Front. Although its maximum range of 584 miles limited it to tactical reconnaissance, its rugged construction enabled it to absorb a heavy amount of punishment from anti-aircraft fire, and its armament of three to four 7.9 mm machine guns afforded protection from Soviet fighters. These qualities also allowed it to provide close support for German troops on the ground. A total of 894 were produced.

Introduced in August 1939, the single-engine, two-seat Arado Ar. 196 proved to be one of the most versatile reconnaissance seaplanes in the German navy's arsenal. Designed as a catapult-launched aircraft, it was carried onboard Germany's major capital ships to provide reconnaissance at sea. It also conducted coastal and maritime patrol, antisubmarine hunting, and convoy escort operations in the North Sea, the English Channel, and the Bay of Biscay while operating out of coastal bases. A total of 546 were produced.

Germany relied on three primary flying boats for reconnaissance and auxiliary purposes during World War II. Originally designed for passenger service by Hamburger Flugzeugbau, the three-engine, six-seat Blohm und Voss Bv-138, of which 279 were constructed, entered military service in late 1940. With a maximum range of 2,500 miles, the Bv-138 was capable of remaining aloft for up to 18 hours, enabling it to conduct long-range patrols in the North Atlantic, where it reported the positions of Allied convoys to German U-boats. Designed prior to the war as a trans-Atlantic mail carrier, the twin-engine, four- or five-seat Dornier Do-18, of which 152 were constructed, was quickly adopted for military use when Germany began its rearmament program and was used primarily in the Baltic and North Sea for maritime patrol and air-sea rescue operations. Larger, faster, and possessing greater range than the Do-18, the three-engine, six-seat Dornier Do-24, of which 294 were constructed, entered service in 1937. In addition to maritime patrol and air-sea rescue operations, it also served as a transport and troop evacuation aircraft.

The two-seat Fieseler Fi-156 Storch and Henschel Hs-126 were small light aircraft that served effectively as army cooperation and utility aircraft. Noted for its short takeoff and landing (STOL) capabilities—it required just 213 ft for takeoff and just 61 ft for landing roll—the Fi-156 Storch (Stork) served as a liaison and staff transport, air ambulance, and tactical reconnaissance aircraft. It was also used in the daring German rescue of Benito Mussolini in September 1943. A

Table 1
Reconnaissance and Auxiliary Aircraft, All Powers

Aircraft	Year of Introduction	Engine (Primary)	Span	Length	Maximum Speed (mph)	Ceiling (ft)	Range (mi)	Weight (Loaded) (lb)	Crew
Aichi E13A	1941	1 × 1,080-hp Mitsubishi Kinsei 43 14-cylinder radial	47 ft 7 in.	37 ft	234 mph	28,640 ft	1,298 mi	8,818 lb	3
Aichi E16A Zuiun	1944	1 × 1,300-hp Mitsubishi Kensei 51 or 54 14-cylinder radial	42 ft	35 ft 6.5 in.	274 mph	32,810 ft	1,504 mi	10,038 lb	2
Arado Ar 96	1939	1 × 485-hp Argus As 410MA-1 inverted V12	36 ft 1 in.	29 ft 11.5 in.	211 mph	22,965 ft	615 mi	3,858 lb	2
Arado Ar. 196	1939	1 × 900-hp BMW 132K 9-cylinder radial	40 ft 10 in.	36 ft 1 in.	193 mph	22,965 ft	670 mi	8,223 lb	2
Avro Anson	1936	2 × 355-hp Armstrong Siddeley Cheetah IX 7-cylinder radial	56 ft 6 in.	42 ft 3 in.	188 mph	19,500 ft	820 mi	8,500 lb	6
Beechcraft AT-11 Kansan	1940	2 × 450-hp Pratt and Whitney R-985-An-1 Wasp Junior 9-cylinder radial	47 ft 8 in.	34 ft 3 in.	214 mph	20,000 ft	850 mi	8,727 lb	8
Beriev MBR-2 (Be-2)	1931	1 × 860-hp Mikulin Am-34NB	62 ft 4 in.	44 ft 3 in.	171 mph	25,920 ft	650 mi	9,359 lb	5
Blohm und Voss Bv 138	1940	3 × 880-hp Junkers Jumo 205D inline diesel engine	88 ft 4 in.	65 ft 1.5 in.	170 mph	18,700 ft	2,500 mi	34,100 lb	6
Boeing-Stearman Kaydet	1936	1 × 220-hp Jacobs R-755 7-cylinder radial	32 ft 2 in.	25 ft 0.25 in.	124 mph	11,200 ft	505 mi	2,717 lb	2
Cant Z. 501 Gabbiano	1934	1 × 900-hp Isotta-Fraschini Asso XI R2 C15 V12	73 ft 10 in.	46 ft 11 in.	171 mph	22,966 ft	1,490 mi	15,542 lb	4-5
Cessna AT-17/ UC-78 Bobcat	1939	2 × 245-hp Jacobs R-755-9 7-cylinder radial	41 ft 11 in.	32 ft 9 in.	195 mph	22,000 ft	750 mi	5,700 lb	2-5
Consolidated PB2Y Catalina	1936	2 × 1,200-hp Pratt and Whitney R-1820-92 Twin Wasp 14-cylinder radial	104 ft	63 ft 10 in.	196 mph	18,100 ft	3,100 mi	34,000 lb	7-9
De Havilland Dominie	1935	2 × 200-hp De Havilland Gipsy Queen 3 6-cylinder inline engine	48 ft	34 ft 6 in.	157 mph	16,700 ft	570 mi	5,500 lb	5-9
De Havilland Tiger Moth	1931	1 × 130-hp De Havilland Gipsy Major 4-cylinder inline engine	29 ft 4 in.	23 ft 11 in.	109 mph	14,000 ft	300 mi	1,825 lb	2
Dornier Do 18	1938	2 × 700-hp Junkers Jumo 205D 6-cylinder diesel engine	77 ft 9 in.	63 ft 7 in.	166 mph	17,200 ft	2,175 mi	23,800 lb	4-5
Dornier Do 24	1937	3 × 1,000-hp Bramo 323R-2 Fafnir 9-cylinder radial	88 ft 7 in.	72 ft 2 in.	211 mph	19,360 ft	2,950 mi	35,715 lb	6
Fiat R.S. 14	1938	2 × 840-hp Fiat A 74 RC38 14-cylinder radial	64 ft 1 in.	46 ft 3 in.	254 mph	16,400 ft	1,553 mi	17,637 lb	5
Fiesler Fi 156 Storch	1939	1 × 240-hp Argus As 10C inverted V8	46 ft 9 in.	32 ft 5.75 in.	109 mph	15,090 ft	600 mi	2,910 lb	2
Focke-Wulf Fw 189 Uhu	1940	2 × 465-hp Argus As 410A-1 inverted V12	60 ft 4.5 in.	39 ft 4 in.	221 mph	27,560 ft	584 mi	8,708 lb	3
Grumman J2F Duck	1934	1 × 950-hp R-1820-50 Cyclone 9-cylinder radial	39 ft	34 ft	188 mph	27,000 ft	780 mi	7,700 lb	2-3
Henschel Hs 126	1938	1 × 850-hp Bramo Fafnir 323A-1/Q-1 9-cylinder radial	47 ft 6.75 in.	35 ft 7 in.	193 mph	27,000 ft	534 mi	7,209 lb	2
Kawanishi H6K	1938	4 × 1,000-hp Mitsubishi Kinsei 43 14-cylinder radial	131 ft 2.75 in.	84 ft 1 in.	211 mph	31,365 ft	4,210 mi	47,399 lb	9
Kawanishi H8K	1941	4 × 1,530-hp Mitsubishi MK4B Kasei 12 14-cylinder radial	124 ft 8 in.	92 ft 4 in.	290 mph	28,740 ft	4,460 mi	71,650 lb	10

(continues)

Table 1
Reconnaissance and Auxiliary Aircraft, All Powers (continued)

Aircraft	Year of Introduction	Engine (Primary)	Span	Length	Maximum Speed (mph)	Ceiling (ft)	Range (mi)	Weight (Loaded) (lb)	Crew
Lockheed F-4 and F-5 Lightning	1942	2 × 1,150-hp Allison V-1710 V12	52 ft	37 ft 10 in.	389 mph	39,000 ft	975 mi	15,500 lb	1
Mitsubishi F1M	1939	1 × 875-hp Mitsubishi Zuisei 13 14-cylinder radial	36 ft 1 in.	31 ft 2 in.	230 mph	30,970 ft	460 mi	6,294 lb	2
Mitsubishi Ki-46	1941	2 × 1,080-hp Mitsubishi Ha-102 14-cylinder radial	48 ft 2.75 in.	36 ft 1 in.	375 mph	35,170 ft	1,537 mi	12,787 lb	2
Nakajima C6N Saiun	1944	1 × 1,990-hp Nakajima NK9B Homare 21 18-cylinder radial	41 ft	36 ft 1 in.	379 mph	34,236 ft	3,330 mi	11,596 lb	3
North American AT-6 Texan/Harvard	1938	1 × 600-hp Pratt and Whitney R-1340 9-cylinder radial	42 ft 0.25 in.	29 ft 6 in.	208 mph	21,500 ft	750 mi	5,300 lb	2
Piper L-4 Grasshopper	1941	1 × 65-hp Continental O-170-3 4-cylinder	35 ft 3 in.	22 ft	85 mph	9,300 ft	190 mi	1,220 lb	2
Polikarpov U-2/Po2	1928	1 × 100-125-hp Shvetsov M-11 5-cylinder radial	37 ft 5 in.	26 ft 9 in.	93 mph	13,125 ft	329 mi	2,167 lb	2–3
			upper; 34 ft 11.5 in. lower						
Short Sunderland	1938	4 × 1,065-hp Pegasus XVIII 9-cylinder radial	112 ft 9.5 in.	85 ft 4 in.	210 mph	16,000 ft	2,900 mi	45,210 lb	10–13
Supermarine Walrus	1935	1 × 775-hp Pegasus VI 9-cylinder radial	45 ft 10 in.	37 ft 7 in.	124 mph	18,500 ft	600 mi	7,200 lb	4
Tachikawa Ki-26 and Ki-55	1938	1 × 510-hp Hitachi Ha-13a 9-cylinder radial	38 ft 8.5 in.	26 ft 3 in.	216 mph	26,900 ft	659 mi	3,794 lb	2
Vought OS2U Kingfisher	1940	1 × 450-hp Pratt and Whitney R-985-AN-1 Wasp Junior 9-cylinder radial	35 ft 11 in.	33 ft 10 in.	164 mph	13,000 ft	805 mi	6,000 lb	2
Vultee Valiant	1939	1 × 450-hp Pratt and Whitney R-985-AN-1 Wasp Junior 9-cylinder radial	42 ft	28 ft 10 in.	180 mph	21,650 ft	725 mi	4,360 lb	2

Sources: Angelucci, Enzo, ed. *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Military Aircraft: 1914 to the Present*. Milan, Italy: Arnoldo Mondadori S.p.A., 2001; Fredriksen, John C. *Warbirds: An Illustrated Guide to U.S. Military Aircraft, 1914–2000*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1999; Fredriksen, John C. *International Warbirds: An Illustrated Guide to World Military Aircraft, 1914–2000*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2001; and Wilson, Stewart. *Aircraft of WWII*. Fyshwick, Australia: Aerospace Publications, 1998.

total of 2,834 were produced by war's end. The Hs-126 had proved its usefulness in the Kondor Legion in the Spanish Civil War in tactical reconnaissance, as an artillery spotter, and for strafing enemy positions. It continued in these roles in the early stages of World War II until it was withdrawn from frontline service by early 1943. A total of 803 were produced.

Introduced in 1939, the two-seat Arado Ar-96 served as the Luftwaffe's primary trainer throughout the war. Its

unarmed version served as a basic trainer, while its armed version (with a single 7.9 mm machine gun) served as an advanced trainer. It also performed other auxiliary roles, such as liaison transport, glider towing, and reconnaissance. A total of 11,546 were produced.

Great Britain

Designed in 1935, the twin-engine Avro Anson entered service with the Royal Air Force (RAF) in 1936 as an armed



A German Blohm und Voss Bv.138B reconnaissance bomber seaplane. (Museum of Flight/Corbis)

coastal patrol aircraft. While it continued in that role until 1941, it was as an air crew trainer that it made its primary contribution to the British war effort, training navigators, radio operators, and air gun operators. One variant, the Mk.X, was used for transporting freight or up to eight passengers. A total of 10,996 were produced until 1952, and it remained in service until 1968.

The four-engine Short Sunderland was a maritime patrol and antisubmarine flying boat with a maximum range of 2,690 miles. Nicknamed the “Flying Porcupine” because it came equipped with eight .303 caliber machine guns, the Sunderland was more than capable of defending itself. In addition to its reconnaissance and antisubmarine roles, it was also used for transport and air-sea rescue operations and played an important role in successfully evacuating forces from Norway, Greece, and Crete. A total of 749 were constructed and it remained in service with the RAF until 1959.

First introduced in 1935 by Australia, where it was known as the Seagull V and intended as a maritime patrol and anti-submarine aircraft, the single-engine Supermarine Walrus entered British service in 1936 as an amphibious biplane used for search and air-sea rescue operations. Capable of operating in rough seas, it successfully rescued as many as 5,000 downed pilots around Britain and another 2,500 in the Mediterranean. A total of 771 Walrus aircraft were constructed.

Introduced originally as a passenger liner (the D.H.89 Dragon Rapide), the twin-engine De Havilland Dominie served primarily as a radio and navigator trainer and as a communications aircraft. With the outbreak of the war, civilian versions were pressed into military service in an effort to supply the British Expeditionary Force in France. A total of 730 of all varieties were constructed.

The De Havilland Tiger Moth, a single-engine, open-air-cockpit biplane, served as one of the primary trainers for Allied pilots who flew in World War II. In addition to the 8,796 trainers produced, 420 radio-operated, wooden-constructed versions, known as queen bee drones, were manufactured to serve as anti-aircraft gunnery targets.

Italy

Introduced in 1934, the single-engine, four- to five-seat Cant Z. 501 Gabbiano served as Italy’s only flying boat during World War II. Intended as an armed reconnaissance/ maritime patrol aircraft, the wooden-constructed Gabbiano had set numerous long-distance records in the mid-1930s. With Italy’s entry into the war, however, they quickly proved to be extremely vulnerable to enemy fire, so they were relegated primarily to coastal patrol service. By the time Italy surrendered in September 1943, only 40 remained out of the 445 that had been produced.



A Royal Air Force Supermarine Pegasus VI Walrus reconnaissance aircraft. (Corbis)

Introduced in 1941, the twin-engine Fiat R.S. 14 was originally designed as a coastal reconnaissance floatplane. Although its performance soon proved to be far better than that of the Cant Z.506 and Savoia-Marchetti SM.79, allowing it to be used as a torpedo-bomber, it came too late in the war to allow mass production. As a result, only 187 were produced.

Japan

In addition to transporting troops and supplies, the four-engine Kawanishi H6K and four-engine Kawanishi H8K flying boats also served important roles as long-range reconnaissance aircraft, with the former having a maximum range of 4,210 miles and the latter having a maximum range of 4,460 miles.

Japan relied on three primary reconnaissance floatplanes during the war. The three-seat Aichi E13A, of which 1,418 were produced, was Japan's most widely used floatplane of the war. Entering service in early 1941, it was employed for the reconnaissance leading up to the attack on Pearl Harbor, and it participated in every major campaign in the Pacific Theater, performing not only reconnaissance but also air-sea rescue, liaison transport, and coastal patrol operations.

Introduced in January 1944 as a replacement for the E13A, the two-seat Aichi E16A Zuiun offered far greater performance capabilities but came too late in the war to make a significant difference, primarily because Japan's worsening industrial position limited production to just 256 aircraft. Based on a 1936 design that underwent several modifications, the two-seat Mitsubishi F1M biplane, of which 1,118 were produced, proved to be one of the most versatile reconnaissance aircraft in Japan's arsenal. Operating from both ship and water bases, it served in a variety of roles throughout the Pacific, including coastal patrol, convoy escort, antisubmarine, and air-sea rescue duties, and it was even capable of serving as a dive-bomber and interceptor.

The three-seat Nakajima C6N Saiun, of which 463 were produced, was one of the few World War II reconnaissance aircraft specifically designed for operating from carriers. With a maximum speed of 379 mph, a maximum range of 3,300 miles, and service ceiling of 34,236 ft, the C6N proved virtually immune from Allied interception. Unfortunately for Japan, it did not become available for service until the Mariana Islands Campaign in the summer of 1944.



A Japanese Aichi Eiga Zuiun naval reconnaissance and dive bomber with the Allied code name “Paul.” The U.S. Navy insignia was placed on the aircraft after its capture. (Museum of Flight/Corbis)

The twin-engine, two-seat Mitsubishi Ki-46, of which 1,742 were produced, served as Japan’s primary strategic reconnaissance aircraft of the war. Entering service in March 1941, the Ki-46 was one of the top-performing aircraft of its type in the war with a service ceiling of 35,170 ft, a range of 2,485 miles, and a maximum speed of 375 mph.

Although the two-seat Tachikawa Ki-36 served as an effective army cooperation aircraft against the Chinese when it entered service in November 1938, it proved to be vulnerable against better-equipped Allied forces after the outbreak of war in the Pacific. The Ki-55 was an advanced trainer version that became available in 1940. Both were later used as suicide aircraft toward the end of the war. A total of 2,723 of both types were constructed.

Soviet Union

When it entered service in 1928, the two- to three-seat Polikarpov U-2/Po2 biplane was intended as a basic trainer. By the time of the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, approximately 13,000 had already been constructed for both military and civil use. The U-2/Po2 performed a wide variety of roles besides training, such as tactical reconnaissance, air ambulance, night artillery spotting, and close ground support. One version, the U-2GN, was equipped with loudspeakers and used for propaganda purposes. Production continued in the

Soviet Union until 1948 and in Poland until 1953; more than 33,000 were ultimately produced.

The five-seat Beriev MBR-2 (Be-2) flying boat was first introduced in 1931 for coastal patrol service. Incorporating a wooden hull and metal wings and utilizing a single pusher engine, it proved to be one of the most versatile flying boats of its time. In addition to its reconnaissance role, it was used in air-sea rescue, light transport service, and minelaying operations. More than 1,500 of all varieties were produced.

United States

The single-seat Lockheed F-4 and F-5 Lightning were modified versions of the Lockheed P-38 Lightning, which had cameras and clear panels installed in place of its guns in the nose section. First deployed in the Pacific in early 1942, they proved to be one of the most widely used photoreconnaissance aircraft of the war. Of the 1,400 employed during the war, 500 were new and the remaining were converted from existing stocks of P-38s.

Designed to operate from land or catapulted from a ship, the two-seat Vought OS2U Kingfisher, of which 1,519 were produced, first entered service in August 1940 and served as the U.S. Navy’s primary observation aircraft in every theater of the war. In addition to its reconnaissance duties, it performed air-sea rescue, antisubmarine patrol, and liaison transport missions.



A U.S. Navy Vought-Sikorsky OS2U-2 Kingfisher scout plane in 1941. (Museum of Flight/Corbis)

Entering service in 1936, the twin-engine, seven- to nine-crew Consolidated PB2Y Catalina proved to be the most widely used flying boat of World War II; a total of 3,290 were produced in the United States, Canada, and the Soviet Union. With a maximum range of 3,100 miles, the Catalina served on all fronts of the war primarily for long-range maritime reconnaissance. Other duties included air-sea rescue, minelaying, and transport.

The two- to three-seat Grumman J2F Duck, of which 641 were produced, was an amphibious biplane that entered service in 1936 with the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Coast Guard as a coastal patrol aircraft. After Pearl Harbor, the Duck was pressed into a variety of roles in both the European and Pacific Theaters, including air-sea rescue, target towing, coastal patrol, and maritime reconnaissance.

Utilizing a three-tiered system of training—primary, basic, and advanced—for its pilots, the United States relied on training aircraft that corresponded to each level. The two-seat Boeing-Stearman Kaydet, of which approximately 10,000 were constructed, was an open-air biplane that served the U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) and U.S. Navy as a primary trainer throughout the war. The two-seat Vultee Valiant, of which a total of 11,525 were produced, served as the most important basic trainer for the USAAF and the U.S. Navy. Finally, the two-seat North American AT-6 Texan/Harvard, of which over 17,500 were produced in the United States and Canada, served as the most important Allied advanced trainer of World War II.

Other prominent American auxiliary aircraft included the Cessna AT-17/UC-78 Bobcat, which was used as an advanced trainer and light utility transport; the Piper L-4 Grasshopper, which was used as an artillery spotter, trainer, and liaison transport; and the Beechcraft Kansan, a military version of the Beechcraft Model 18 that served as a navigation, bombing, and gunnery trainer.

Justin D. Murphy

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Gliders; Aircraft, Naval; Aircraft, Production of; Aircraft, Transports; Kondor Legion

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Aircraft, Transports

Aircraft the primary purpose of which is to transport personnel and supplies. Although fighters, bombers, and reconnaissance aircraft played major roles in World War I, the technology of the time did not allow aircraft to play a mean-

ingful role in transporting troops and supplies. By the early 1930s, however, improvements in aircraft design and, more important, aircraft engines had resulted in the emergence of civil aircraft, such as the Douglas DC-3, for commercial passenger service. Military planners were quick to note these developments, which raised the prospect of rapidly deploying large numbers of men and a large amount of supplies to the battle zone, including behind enemy lines. By the outbreak of World War II, most of the powers that would become involved in the war had either already developed military variants of these civil aircraft or had introduced specially designed military transport aircraft.

Two main types of transport aircraft were used during the war: large multiengine, land-based aircraft or flying boats designed to move many troops or supplies (some of these also served in bombing and reconnaissance roles); and assault or transport gliders designed to be towed, then released, so they could glide silently to a landing behind enemy lines.

The following are the most significant aircraft employed primarily for transport by both sides during World War II (see also Table 1).

Germany

Designed originally in 1930 as a three-engine passenger carrier for Deutsche Lufthansa, the Junkers Ju-52/3m served as the primary transport aircraft of the German army in World War II. Including the approximately 200 civil models constructed prior to the war, a total of 4,800 Ju-52/3ms were built by the end of 1944. It made its military debut as a bomber and troop transport during the Spanish Civil War. Successive versions of the Ju-52/3m incorporated more-powerful engines that provided greater load capacity (approximately twice its empty weight of 12,600–14,300 lb) and interchangeable wheel, ski, or float landing gear that allowed it to operate in a variety of conditions. In addition to its transport duties, it served as a bomber, air ambulance, glider tug, and paratrooper transport.

Intended as a replacement for the Ju-52/3m, the Junkers Ju-252 Herkules relied on the same three-engine configuration as the Ju-52/3m but featured improved interior and exterior designs and more powerful engines, which not only made it faster and capable of bearing heavier loads but also gave it a range as much as twice that of the Ju-52/3m. Unfortunately for Germany, shortages of resources and manpower forced the Luftwaffe to limit production of the all-metal Ju-252 to just 15 aircraft. A mixed-wood and tube-steel version, the Ju-352 entered service in 1944, but it came too late in the war to make a difference. Just 45 of the Ju-352s were constructed.

Originally designed for Deutsche Lufthansa to serve as a trans-Atlantic flying boat, the six-engine Blohm und Voss Bv-222 Viking was the largest flying boat, and the largest aircraft of any kind, to serve in World War II. Although only 13 were pro-

duced, the Bv-222, which could carry up to 110 troops in addition to its 11-man crew, played an important role in transporting troops in the Mediterranean and North African Campaigns.

Germany employed three types of gliders as transports during World War II: the DFS-230, the Gotha Go-242, and the Messerschmitt Me-321 Gigant. Entering service in 1938, the DFS 230 could carry 8 airborne troops and proved to be the standard assault glider used by the Germany army during the war, with approximately 1,500 being constructed. Introduced in late 1941, the Gotha Go-242 could carry up to 23 airborne troops or the equivalent weight in supplies. As one of the largest aircraft of the war, the Messerschmitt Me-321 Gigant was capable of carrying up to 120 troops, 21,500 lb of freight, or 60 wounded soldiers. The Go-242 and Me-321 served primarily on the Eastern Front to bring food and supplies to German soldiers. Powered versions, the Go-244 and Me-323, were also developed for transport service.

Great Britain

Although the twin-engine Bristol Bombay was designed as a troop transport carrier in 1931, the economic conditions of the Great Depression delayed production until early 1939. While only 51 were produced, the Bristol Bombay, which was capable of carrying up to 24 troops or a payload of 7,200 lb, saw significant action for the Royal Air Force (RAF) during the first half of the war, ferrying troops and supplies across the English Channel in 1940, evacuating British forces from Crete in 1941, and dropping paratroopers behind enemy lines in North Africa.

Originally intended as a bomber, the Armstrong Whitworth Albemarle was instead converted to transport service. A total of 310 were used as transports for special operations, such as dropping paratroopers behind enemy lines. An additional 247 served as the standard tug for the Airspeed Horsa assault glider, seeing action in the invasion of Sicily in 1943 and the D day landings in June 1944. At least 10 were shipped to the Soviet Union.

Great Britain produced two primary transport gliders during the war: the Airspeed Horsa and the General Aircraft Hamilcar. The Horsa came in two varieties: the Mk.1, which was configured for carrying up to 25 troops; and the Mk.2, which could carry up to 7,000 lb of freight and featured a hinged nose section for easier loading and unloading. Approximately 3,800 of the Horsa gliders were constructed. The Hamilcar was the largest Allied glider of the war and was capable of carrying a payload of 17,500 lb. It first saw action in the D day landings and proved immensely significant because it could provide heavy equipment, such as the British Tetrarch Mk.IV tank, to airborne troops operating behind enemy lines.

Other British aircraft used in a transport role included those that also served as bombers or reconnaissance aircraft,

Table 1
Transport Aircraft, All Powers

Aircraft	Year of Introduction	Engine	Span	Length	Maximum speed (mph)	Ceiling (ft)	Range (mi)	Weight (loaded) (lb)
Airspeed Horsa	1941	None	88 ft	67 ft	150 mph	NA	NA	15,500 lb
Armstrong Whitworth Albemarle	1942	2 × 1,560-hp Bristol Hercules XI 14-cylinder radials	77 ft	59 ft 11 in.	265 mph	18,000 ft	1,300 mi	36,500 lb
Beechcraft C-45 Expeditor	1940	2 × 450-hp Pratt and Whitney R-985-An-1 Wasp Junior 9-cylinder radials	47 ft 8 in.	34 ft 3 in.	214 mph	20,000 ft	850 mi	8,727 lb
Blohm und Voss Bv 222 Viking	1940	6 × 1,000-hp BMW Bramo Fafnir 323R 9-cylinder radials or 6 × 980-hp Junkers Jumo inline diesel engines	150 ft 11 in.	121 ft 4.5 in.	242 mph	23,950 ft	3,790	109,026 lb
Bristol Bombay	1940	2 × 1,010-hp Bristol Pegasus XXII 9-cylinder radials	95 ft 9 in.	69 ft 3 in.	192 mph	25,000 ft	2,230 mi	20,000 lb
Consolidated Liberator Transport C-87	1940	4 × 1,200-hp Pratt and Whitney R-1830-43 Twin Wasp 14-cylinder radials	110 ft	66 ft 4 in.	306 mph	31,000 ft	2,900 mi	56,600 lb
Curtiss C-46 Commando	1940	2 × 2,000-hp Pratt and Whitney R-2800-51 Double Wasp 18-cylinder radials	108 ft 1 in.	76 ft 4 in.	269 mph	27,600 ft	1,600 mi	56,000 lb
DFS 230	1938	None	68 ft 5.5 in.	36 ft 10.5 in.	112–130 mph	NA	NA	4,630 lb
Douglas C-47 Skytrain	1942	2 × 1,000–1,200-hp Wright R-1820 Cyclone 9-cylinder or 2 × 1,200-hp Pratt and Whitney R-1830 Twin Wasp 14-cylinder radials	95 ft 9 in.	64 ft 5.5 in.	229 mph	24,000 ft	1,500 mi	29,300 lb
Douglas C-54 Skymaster	1942	4 × 1,350-hp Pratt and Whitney R-2000-7 or -11 Twin Wasp 14-cylinder radials	117 ft 6 in.	93 ft 10 in.	275 mph	22,500 ft	3,900 mi	73,000 lb
General Aircraft Hamilcar	1943	None	110 ft	68 ft	150 mph	NA	NA	21,400 lb
Gotha Go 242	1941	None	80 ft 4.5 in.	51 ft 10 in.	149 mph	NA	NA	15,653 lb
Junkers Ju 252/352 Herkules	1939	3 × 1,410-hp Junkers Jumo 211F inverted V-12s	112 ft 3 in.	79 ft 5 in.	205 mph	19,685 ft	1,852 mi	52,911 lb
Junkers Ju 52/3m	1931	3 × 725-hp BMW 123A-3 9-cylinder radials	95 ft 11.5 in.	62 ft	171 mph	18,000 ft	800 mi	23,149 lb
Kawanishi H6K	1938	4 × 1,000-hp Mitsubishi Kinsei 43 14-cylinder radials	131 ft 2.75 in.	84 ft 1 in.	211 mph	31,365 ft	4,210 mi	47,399 lb
Kawanishi H8K	1941	4 × 1,530-hp Mitsubishi MK4B Kasei 12 14-cylinder radials	124 ft 8 in.	92 ft 4 in.	290 mph	28,740 ft	4,460 mi	71,650 lb
Kawasaki Ki-56	1941	2 × 990-hp Nakajima Ha-25 14-cylinder radials	65 ft 6 in.	48 ft 10.5 in.	249 mph	26,250 ft	2,060 mi	17,692 lb
Lockheed Lodestar	1941	2 × 1,200-hp Pratt and Whitney R-1830 Twin Wasp 14-cylinder radials	65 ft 6 in.	49 ft 10 in.	266 mph	30,000 ft	1,660 mi	18,500 lb
Martin PBM Mariner Flying Boat	1941	2 × 1,700-hp Wright R-2600-12 Cyclone 14-cylinder radials	118 ft	80 ft	198 mph	16,900 ft	2,240 mi	58,000 lb
Messerschmitt Me 321 Gigant	1942	None	180 ft 5.5 in.	93 ft 4 in.	112 mph	NA	NA	48,500 lb

(continues)

Table 1
Transport Aircraft, All Powers (continued)

Aircraft	Year of Introduction	Engine	Span	Length	Maximum speed (mph)	Ceiling (ft)	Range (mi)	Weight (loaded) (lb)
Mitsubishi Ki-57	1942	2 × 1,050-hp Mitsubishi Ha-102 14-cylinder radials	74 ft 2 in.	52 ft 10 in.	292 mph	26,250 ft	1,865 mi	18,600 lb
Savoia-Marchetti S.M.75	1939	3 × 750-hp Alfa Romeo A.R. 126 RC 34 9-cylinder radials	97 ft 5 in.	70 ft 10 in.	225 mph	20,500 ft	1,070 mi	28,700 lb
Savoia-Marchetti S.M.82 Canguru	1941	3 × 950-hp Alfa Romeo 128 RC 21 9-cylinder radials	97 ft 4.5 in.	75 ft 1.5 in.	230 mph	19,685 ft	1,864 mi	39,727– 44,092 lb
Tupolev TB-3 (ANT-6)	1930	4 × 730-hp M-17F V-12s or 4 × 1,200-hp Am-34FRNV V-12s	132 ft 10.5 in.	82 ft 8 in.	122–179 mph	12,470– 25,393 ft	839– 1,939 mi	37,920– 54,012 lb
Waco CG-4A Hadrian	1942	None	83 ft 8 in.	48 ft 4 in.	150 mph	NA	NA	7,500– 9,000 lb

Sources: Angelucci, Enzo, ed. *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Military Aircraft: 1914 to the Present*. Milan, Italy: Arnoldo Mondadori S.p.A., 2001; Fredriksen, John C. *Warbirds: An Illustrated Guide to U.S. Military Aircraft, 1914–2000*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1999; Fredriksen, John C. *International Warbirds: An Illustrated Guide to World Military Aircraft, 1914–2000*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2001; and Wilson, Stewart. *Aircraft of WWII*. Fyshwick, Australia: Aerospace Publications, 1998.

NA = not applicable

such as the Handley Page Halifax, the Short Stirling, and Vickers Warwick.

Italy

Although Italy relied on several aircraft for transport duties, such as the Caproni CA 309-316, the Piaggio P.108, and the Savoia-Marchetti S.M.81 Pipistrello, their primary role was as bombers or reconnaissance aircraft. The Savoia-Marchetti S.M.75 and the Savoia-Marchetti S.M.82 Canguru were exceptions. The S.M.75 had originally been designed for passenger service for Ala Littoria in 1937. Requisitioned for military service when Italy entered the war in June 1940, the S.M.75 could carry up to 30 troops and saw action throughout the Mediterranean until the end of the war. A total of 98 were constructed. The three-engine S.M.82 proved to be one of the best heavy transports available to the Axis powers. It was capable of carrying up to 40 fully equipped troops or almost 9,000 lb of freight. Of approximately 400 S.M.82s constructed between 1941 and 1943, at least 50 entered service with the Luftwaffe in the Baltic area of the Eastern Front. Those that survived the war continued in service with the Italian air force into the 1950s.

Japan

Although Japan employed a variety of multipurpose aircraft, such as the Nakajima G5N Shinzan and the Tachikawa Ki-54, for transporting troops and supplies, it relied prima-

rily on four main transport aircraft during World War II: the Kawanishi H6K flying boat, the Kawanishi H8K flying boat, the Kawasaki Ki-56, and the Mitsubishi Ki-57.

When Japan entered the war, the four-engine Kawanishi H6K served as the navy's primary long-range flying boat. Although used at first primarily for long-range reconnaissance, it was soon relegated to transport duty because of its vulnerability to Allied fighters. Capable of carrying up to 18 troops in addition to its crew, the H6K remained in production until 1943. Of the 217 constructed, 139 were designed exclusively for transport.

The four-engine Kawanishi H8K entered service in early 1942 and gradually replaced the Kawanishi H6K. While it also served in a variety of roles, its transport version, the H8K2-L, of which 36 were built, could carry up to 64 passengers. With a cruising speed of 185 mph and a range of up to 4,460 miles, it was well-suited for the Pacific Theater, and its heavy armament afforded better protection than the H6K.

Ironically, Japan's primary light transport aircraft, the twin-engine Kawasaki Ki-56, was a military version of a license-built American plane, the Lockheed 14 Electra. It was capable of carrying a payload of up to 5,290 lb or 14 passengers and had a range of approximately 3,300 miles. A total of 121 were constructed between 1941 and 1943.

Originally intended for passenger service with Nippon Koku KK, the twin-engine Mitsubishi Ki-57 was quickly



A U.S. Army Air Forces Curtiss-Wright C-46 military transport. (Corbis)

adapted for service with both the Japanese army and navy beginning in 1940. After Japan entered the war, the original production series, of which 101 were built, was modified by adding more powerful engines. Between 1942 and early 1945, 406 of the new version (Ki-57-II) were constructed. These were capable of carrying a crew of 4 and up to 11 passengers or a cargo of approximately 7,000 lb to a range of up to 1,835 miles.

Soviet Union

While the Soviet Union relied heavily on American aircraft, such as license-built Douglas C-47 Skytrains, for transport purposes, the four-engine Tupolev TB-3 (ANT-6), originally designed in the early 1930s as a heavy bomber, had been converted primarily for troop and freight transport by the time the Soviet Union entered World War II. Later versions fitted with four 1,200 hp engines were capable of carrying more than 12,000 lb of cargo. In addition to carrying airborne troops and supplies, it also served as a glider tug. Some were

even modified to carry a tank or truck between their undercarriage legs.

United States

Of all the powers in World War II, the United States had by far the largest number and variety of transport aircraft, in part because it was conducting simultaneous campaigns in the European and Pacific Theaters.

Without question, the twin-engine Douglas C-47 Skytrain was the most famous transport aircraft of World War II. As the DC-3, it had revolutionized civil air travel before the war. Once the United States entered the war, the Skytrain went into full-scale military production; 10,665 were produced by war's end, including 4,878 in 1944 alone. Of its variants, the C-47 Skytrain (known as the Dakota in British service), accounted for more than 9,000 of the total produced, approximately 1,800 of which were loaned to Great Britain through Lend-Lease. An additional 2,500 were constructed on license by the Soviet Union as the Lisunov Li-2. Even the Japanese built 485

as the Nakajima L2D through a 1938 license. With a range of 1,500 miles and capable of carrying 28 troops or a cargo of 10,000 lb, it saw service in every theater of the war.

The four-engine Consolidated Liberator Transport C-87 was a transport version of the Consolidated B-24 Liberator bomber. A total of 287 C-87s were produced and served with the U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) and the RAF as a transport and a tanker. As a transport, it was capable of carrying up to 25 passengers and up to 10,000 lb of freight. As a tanker, it could carry up to 2,400 gallons of fuel, which proved useful in a variety of theaters, but especially in support of Boeing B-29 Superfortresses operating in China.

Originally designed in 1936 as the CW-20 (a 36-passenger pressurized airliner), the twin-engine Curtiss C-46 Commando entered service in 1942 after undergoing extensive modifications for military service. These included the installation of a large cargo door, a strengthened floor, and folding troop seats. It was capable of carrying up to 50 troops, 33 wounded soldiers, and up to 10,000 lb of cargo. These characteristics, combined with its excellent climbing ability, made it ideally suited for flying over the Himalayas ("the Hump") from India to China. A total of 3,341 were produced.

As with the Douglas C-47 Skytrain, the Douglas C-54 Skymaster was originally designed for passenger airliner service as the DC-4. After Pearl Harbor, the U.S. military quickly adopted it, with the first C-54 Skymaster entering service in February 1942. With a maximum range of 3,900 miles, Skymasters flew almost 80,000 trans-Atlantic flights during the course of the war with a loss of just three aircraft. It was capable of carrying 50 troops or 28,000 lb of cargo. It would remain in service until 1974 and is famous for its role in the Berlin Airlift of 1948.

The Waco CG-4A Hadrian proved to be one of the most effective transport gliders produced in the war. Designed for mass production, the Hadrian featured fabric-covered wooden wings and a steel tube fuselage, which was easily replicated by the 15 firms involved in constructing the 13,910 Hadrians produced during the war. Its most notable feature was a hinged nose section that raised upward and allowed cargo to be loaded directly into the cabin. It was capable of carrying 15 troops or 3,800 lb of cargo, which could include a jeep or 75 mm howitzer and its crew. It proved effective in landings in Sicily, the D day invasion, and the Rhine crossings, and it would have been an integral part of an Allied invasion of the Japanese mainland had the atomic bomb not ended the war.

Other successful U.S. transport aircraft of the war included the following three aircraft: the twin-engine Lockheed Lodestar, of which 625 were produced, was a military version of the civil Lockheed Model 14 Super Electra; the twin-engine Beechcraft C-45 Expeditor, of which 1,391 were

built, was a military version of the civil Beechcraft Model 18 light transport; and the Martin PBM Mariner Flying Boat, of which 1,405 were produced, served in a variety of roles besides transport, including antisubmarine warfare, air-sea rescue, and maritime patrol.

Justin D. Murphy

See also

Airborne Forces, Allied; Airborne Forces, Axis; Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Gliders; Aircraft, Naval; Aircraft, Production of; Aircraft, Reconnaissance and Auxiliary; Crete, Battle of; DRAGOON, Operation; Germany, Air Force; Great Britain, Air Force; Hump, The; Italy, Air Force; Japan, Air Forces; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Normandy Invasion and Campaign, OVERLORD, Operation; Parachute Infantry; Rhine Crossings; Sicily, Invasion of; Soviet Union, Air Force; United States, Army Air Forces

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Aircraft Carriers

Ships capable of launching and recovering fixed-wing aircraft. Almost without exception, the aircraft carriers commissioned by combatant navies during World War II owed their origins to designs developed between the two world wars. Furthermore, since this warship type itself was so new, most of the first generation of semiexperimental vessels remained in frontline service at the outbreak of hostilities. These included the British carriers *Eagle* (converted from an incomplete ex-Chilean battleship into a flush-deck carrier with an offset island) and *Hermes* (the first vessel constructed as a carrier from the keel up, also flush-decked with an island) and the similar Japanese carrier *Hosho*.

Provisions of the 1922 Washington Treaty also had freed large U.S., British, French, and Japanese hulls for conversion into carriers. The United States and France converted two battle cruisers and a battleship, respectively, into the flush-deck carriers *Lexington*, *Saratoga*, and *Béarn*. British and Japanese concepts emphasizing rapid aircraft launching led both navies to develop designs incorporating multiple flight deck levels to permit several aircraft to fly off simultaneously. Britain rebuilt the *Furious* (which had served as a fleet carrier since 1917 in two earlier guises) with a three-quarter-length flush deck and a forward flying-off deck at a lower level, and it similarly converted two near-sister ships, the *Courageous* and the *Glorious*. Japan took this idea still further and configured a battleship and a battle cruiser, the *Kaga* and the



The U.S. Navy aircraft carrier *Lexington*. Commissioned in 1927, it was lost in the May 1942 Battle of the Coral Sea. (The Mariners' Museum/Corbis)

Akagi, as carriers with two forward flying-off decks beneath the main deck. Both navies learned through experience that efficient deck-handling procedures were more effective in increasing launch rates. Japan subsequently rebuilt its two carriers with conventional flush decks and greatly enlarged air groups, but the British ships still served unaltered in the front line at the outbreak of war.

Operational experience with these large converted carriers had a profound influence on subsequent carrier doctrine and designs. Their speed allowed them to operate with the battle fleet, and their size and aircraft capacity gave commanders invaluable opportunities to appreciate the importance of efficient deck-handling procedures, rapid launch and recovery, and concentrated mass attacks. They also served as development platforms for crucial operational equipment, including effective arresting gear using transverse wires, safety crash barriers, hydraulic catapults, and fast elevators to move aircraft between the hangar and the flight deck.

During the 1930s, Japan and the United States added new carriers to their fleets. Although constrained by provisions of the 1922 Washington Treaty, both navies evolved effective designs that became the basis for later construction. Their first treaty vessels, the Japanese *Ryujō* and the U.S. Navy's *Ranger*, were not entirely satisfactory but formed the bases for the two ships of the *Soryū*-class and the three-vessel *Yorktown*-class, respectively. They were ships that combined large flight decks, substantial air groups of 60–80 aircraft, strong defensive armament (for the period), high speed, and long range in vessels suitable for extended oceanic operations.

Britain was a latecomer to new-carrier construction in the 1930s. The *Ark Royal*, commissioned in 1939, incorporated internal hangars, an enclosed bow, and a flight deck that was also the vessel's principal strength deck—all features that characterized subsequent British carrier designs—and embarked a similar size air group to those of its American and Japanese contemporaries.

The large fleet carriers commissioned by Britain, Japan, and the United States during World War II derived from their earlier 1930s designs. Japan commissioned two ships of the enlarged Shokaku-class in 1941 with greater offensive and defensive capabilities, followed by the *Taiho*, a variant incorporating an armored flight deck (although at the cost of a reduced air group). In 1942–1943, Japan laid down the six-ship Unryu-class, which was derived directly from the *Soryu*, although only two of these vessels entered service. The United States standardized on the Essex-class, an expansion of the Yorktown-class. No fewer than 32 units were ordered, of which 24 were completed to serve as the backbone of U.S. carrier forces from 1943. They combined a powerful offensive air group of as many as 100 aircraft, substantially augmented defensive armament, long range, and high speed in hulls the size of which conferred great adaptability to changing operational requirements.

The six British wartime carriers of the *Illustrious* type introduced armor protection for both flight decks and hangar sides. Incorporating this feature into the basic *Ark Royal* design produced vessels that proved very effective in the confined waters of the Mediterranean and in the face of kamikaze attack, but it also incurred severe penalties. Air-group capacity was slashed substantially (the original design accommodated only 36 aircraft; modified to carry 54, it still fell short of the *Ark Royal's* embarked 72 machines), hangars were cramped, and it proved very difficult and expensive to upgrade these ships postwar.

Both the U.S. Navy and the British Royal Navy developed a third generation of carrier designs from their wartime experience. These emphasized the importance of large air groups, efficient layout for fast aircraft operation, and strong defensive features—both passive in the form of armor at hangar and flight-deck level and active by means of very large batteries of automatic anti-aircraft guns. None of these carriers served during World War II. The U.S. Navy commissioned the three ships of the Midway-class just after the war, but the Royal Navy's Malta-class was canceled, although two vessels of the intermediate *Audacious*-class entered service postwar as the *Ark Royal* and *Eagle*.

Both Britain and the United States studied small austere carrier designs before World War II, but only the Royal Navy seriously considered vessels for trade protection (the U.S. Navy's XCV projects envisaged second-line fleet duties). In 1935–1936, the British Naval Staff agreed on sufficiently firm requirements to earmark five specific merchant vessels for conversion should war break out. Nevertheless, no action was taken until December 1940, when work began to create Britain's first escort carrier, the *Audacity*, commissioned in June 1941.

U.S. Navy planning for austere mercantile conversions began in October 1940, resulting in the completion of the *Long Island*, its first escort carrier, also in June 1941. The *Long Island*

was converted from a completed diesel C-3 cargo ship, the *Mormacmail*, but 45 subsequent conversions used partially completed hulls and steam turbines rather than the mechanically unreliable diesel plants featured in the first five U.S.-built escort carriers. More than half of these vessels went to Britain under Lend-Lease, and all 50 were in service before the end of 1943.

The United States also converted four fleet tankers into escort carriers. These larger twin-shaft turbine vessels were very successful, but a general shortage of tanker hulls prevented further conversions. Nevertheless, they formed the basis for the U.S. Navy's first purpose-designed escort carriers, the 19 Commencement Bay-class vessels. These were the only escort carriers to continue to operate postwar, since their size and speed suited them for the larger antisubmarine warfare aircraft then entering service.

The 50 Casablanca-class ships, however, formed the bulk of the U.S. Navy escort carrier force, even though they were outside the mainstream of U.S. Navy design. All came from the Kaiser Vancouver yard and were commissioned within one year starting in July 1943. Their design was by Gibbs and Cox, and their construction was under the auspices of the Maritime Commission. Shortages of both turbines and diesels forced the use of reciprocating machinery, but the ships were faster and more maneuverable than the original C-3 conversions, had longer flight decks, and had larger hangars than even the Sangamon-class converted tankers.

Other than the *Audacity*, Britain completed only five escort carriers of its own, all conversions from mercantile hulls. They were similar to contemporary American C-3 conversions, although generally somewhat larger. Thirty-eight of these, transferred under Lend-Lease, formed the core of the Royal Navy's escort carrier force throughout the war.

Escort carriers, initially conceived as platforms providing air cover for convoys, soon expanded their activities into a wide variety of tasks. In the U.S. Navy, escort carriers formed the core of specialized antisubmarine hunter-killer groups, provided close air support for landings, served as replenishment carriers and aircraft transports, and operated as training flight decks. In addition, during 1942 the Sangamons took on fleet carrier assignments to compensate for shortages of first-line vessels.

The Royal Navy employed its escort carriers in much the same way. Its own shortage of large carriers, however, and its operational responsibilities within more confined waters led it to assign escort carriers additional frontline duties. The small carriers operated in strike roles either within a larger force or as autonomous units in the East Indies, the Aegean, and off the Norwegian coast, including in the attacks on the German battleship *Tirpitz*. Escort carriers also provided night-fighter coverage for the British Pacific Fleet.

To circumvent 1922 Washington Treaty quantitative limitations, Japan designed several fast naval auxiliaries and passenger liners for quick conversion into carriers. Beginning in

1940, conversions from five auxiliaries and three liners joined the Combined Fleet as frontline light fleet carriers. Japan also completed several mercantile conversions similar in capability to the British and American escort carriers. However, unlike the Allied vessels, these were designed and usually were deployed as integral components of Japan's main carrier force. In addition, Japan converted one Yamato-class battleship hull, the *Shinano*, into a huge carrier that never entered operational service, and it commenced conversion of an incomplete cruiser as a light fleet carrier.

The United States, too, deployed converted warships—the nine Independence-class light fleet carriers based on Cleveland-class cruiser hulls formed an integral part of the fast carrier force from early 1943. Although conceived as first-line units, their design owed much to plans for the escort carriers, and their operational limitations made them suitable only for emergency service.

Britain also appreciated the need for smaller, less sophisticated carriers that could enter service more quickly, but it chose to construct new vessels rather than convert existing hulls. The design was similar to that of the larger fleet carriers, but the carrier was unarmored. Britain also deliberately conformed to mercantile rather than naval standards, since the Admiralty contemplated selling these vessels for conversion into passenger liners or fast cargo ships after the war, an interesting reversal of procedures! Four of this Colossus-class of light fleet carriers served with the British Pacific Fleet late in 1945, and they joined six sister ships to form the core of British carrier power into the later 1950s, since they proved very economical to operate.

France's converted carrier *Béarn* remained its only example throughout the war, serving mainly as an aircraft transport because of its low speed. France began building a pair of new carriers, the *Joffre* and the *Painlevé*, just before war began, but the fall of France in 1940 terminated construction. The final design incorporated a flight deck offset to port to minimize superstructure intrusion, a feature that has reappeared in several designs in recent years.

Before and during the war, Germany undertook some carrier construction. Its prewar design, the *Graf Zeppelin*, reached an advanced stage of construction by 1940, but subsequent reductions in priority, design changes, and disputes among the Kriegsmarine, the Luftwaffe, and the Reichs Luft Ministerium (Reich Air Ministry) over provision of aircraft and aircrew combined to prevent carrier completion before the war's end. A similar fate befell several conversion projects from merchant vessels and warships.

Italy evinced little interest in aircraft carriers before the war, subscribing to the position that geography would permit shore-based aircraft to provide entirely sufficient air cover and offensive strike potential for its fleet. Wartime experience led to a change in this view, and the Italian navy began two

conversions from mercantile hulls to create the fleet's first carriers. The *Aquila* was a sophisticated nearly total reconstruction of the liner *Roma* that was virtually complete when Italy surrendered in 1943. The Italians sabotaged the *Aquila* to prevent its use by Germany, and the ship subsequently was seriously damaged by Allied bombing and an attack using "chariots" (manned torpedoes) at Genoa. The hulk was scrapped after the war. Conversion of the liner *Augustus* into the *Sparviero*, a more austere vessel similar to Allied escort carriers, began in 1941, but she, too, was never completed.

Air power at sea came of age during World War II. The combination of unprecedented striking power (both in volume of ordnance and range of delivery), mobility, and flexibility of use transformed the aircraft carrier into the world's major fleets' new capital ship, a position it retains today.

Paul E. Fontenoy

See also

Aircraft, Naval; Aviation, Naval; France, Navy; Germany, Navy; Great Britain, Navy; Hunter-Killer Groups; Italy, Navy; Japan, Navy; Kamikaze; United States, Navy

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Aisingioro P'u-i

See Aixinjueluo Puyi.

Aixinjueluo Puyi (Aisingioro P'u-i) (1906–1967)

Last emperor of China, more commonly remembered as the puppet ruler of Japanese-controlled Manchouguo (Manchukuo, formerly Manchuria) from 1932 to 1945. Born in Beijing (Peking) in Hebei (Hopeh) on 14 January 1906 and nicknamed Henry by his English tutor (he was known to westerners as Henry Puyi), Aixinjueluo Puyi (Aisingioro P'u-i) ascended the throne in December 1908, at age three, as Xuan Tong (Hsuan T'ung). During the Chinese Revolution of 1911–1912, the emperor's mother negotiated frantically with General Yuan Shikai (Yuan Shih-k'ai) for a settlement that would guarantee their lives and financial security. Ignoring



Aixinjueluo Puyi, pictured here in 1934. (The illustrated London News Picture Library)

the claims to the throne of Sun Yixian (Sun Yat-sen), Puyi abdicated in favor of Yuan, who was authorized to create a provisional republic and to establish national unity by embracing all anti-imperial forces.

Briefly restored in 1917 by the intrigues of warlord politics, Puyi was again deposed, and he finally sought refuge in the Japanese concession in Tianjin (Tientsin) in Hebei Province by 1924. In July 1931 his brother visited Japan and met with various rightist politicians. Shortly after the 1931 Mukden (Shenyang) Incident in Liaoning, representatives of the Guandong (Kwantung) Army visited Puyi to discuss the future of Manchuria, assuring him that they were merely interested in helping the people of Manchuria establish an independent nation. The Japanese military was vague about whether the new state would be a monarchy or a republic. Negotiations continued through the fall and winter of 1931–1932, and Puyi finally agreed to be smuggled to Manchuria by sea and to accept the title chief executive of the state of Manzhouguo. Tokyo belatedly recognized the army's creation in August 1932.

In 1934 the Guandong Army allowed Puyi to mount the throne as emperor of Manzhouguo (Manchoutikuo), the Manzhu (Manchu Empire), wearing imperial dragon robes

sent from the museum in Beijing. As “emperor,” Puyi served the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere loyally until 1945, including making a state visit to Tokyo.

When Soviet forces invaded Manzhouguo in August 1945, Puyi was dethroned and imprisoned. Released to Mao Zedong's (Mao Tse-tung's) China in 1950, Puyi was again imprisoned and subjected to reeducation programs until his “rehabilitation” in 1959. He spent his final years as a gardener in Beijing's botanical gardens until his death from cancer on 17 October 1967.

Errol M. Clauss

See also

China, Role in War; Guandong Army; Manzhouguo; Mao Zedong

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Alam Halfa, Battle of (31 August–7 September 1942)

North African battle between German Field Marshal Erwin Rommel's Afrika Korps and British Lieutenant General Bernard Law Montgomery's Eighth Army. Fearful that he would permanently lose the initiative to the Eighth Army after his advance was halted at the First Battle of El Alamein in July 1942, Rommel reorganized with the intention of resuming his advance toward Suez. Meanwhile, Montgomery assumed command of the British Eighth Army on 13 August and began planning for the offensive, all the while expecting Rommel to attack first.

Late on the evening of 30 August, Rommel attempted, as at Gazala, to get around Eighth Army's left flank although his force was weak in armor. With diversionary attacks designed to hold British forces along the coast, Rommel ordered the Afrika Korps east and south of Alam Halfa Ridge with the aim of swinging north to the Mediterranean coast behind Montgomery and enveloping the Eighth Army.

The Eighth Army had established a defense in depth, including strong positions on the Alam Halfa and Ruweisat Ridges, and Montgomery rejected any withdrawal. The 10th Armored Division, 22nd Armored Brigade, and 44th Division defended Alam Halfa, while the 7th Armored Division was south of the ridge. Montgomery ordered his armored units to

defend from their current positions rather than advancing to meet Rommel's panzers.

Slowed by British minefields and fuel shortages, Rommel's tanks did not reach Alam Halfa until the evening of 31 August. Daylight brought vicious Desert Air Force attacks against the Axis advance, and the 7th Armored Division's placement forced Rommel to swing north prematurely, into the teeth of a tank brigade on Alam Halfa Ridge. Fuel shortages prevented the Afrika Korps from outflanking Alam Halfa to the east, forcing Rommel onto the defensive there.

On 1 September, after a flank assault on the 22nd Armored Brigade failed and having suffered severe losses, Rommel

“I have become death, shatterer of worlds”

—Julius Robert Oppenheimer quoting the *Bhagavad Gita*

ordered his forces to retire to their original positions. The withdrawal, which began the next day, exposed the Afrika Korps to further devastating British aerial attacks. Rommel repulsed a counterattack by the 2nd New Zealand Division on the evening of 3 September, and Montgomery believed that he lacked the resources

to force a general Axis withdrawal, so he decided not to press his advantage for the time being. Certainly Rommel's past successes made Montgomery wary of pushing too far forward.

Montgomery had fought his first battle as commander of Eighth Army with great skill. Rommel now had no choice but to go on the defensive. He established positions between the Mediterranean and the Qattara Depression as both sides prepared for the Eighth Army's upcoming offensive: the Second Battle of El Alamein.

Thomas D. Veve

See also

Afrika Korps; El Alamein, Battle of; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; North Africa Campaign; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen

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cient plutonium for several fission bombs, but scientists were unsure of the reliability of the implosion technique required to initiate a chain reaction and an explosion. Small-scale experiments were unrevealing, since nothing below critical mass can explode. Thus, Major General Leslie R. Groves, overall director of the MANHATTAN Project, authorized a full-scale test (known as Trinity) of the implosion technique. The Jornada del Muerto (Dead Man's Trail) near Alamogordo, New Mexico, was chosen as ground zero for the explosion. Isolated and ringed by peaks, the site helped to preserve secrecy and contain radioactive fallout, the effects of which were not yet then fully known.

Secured on top of a 100-ft steel tower, the device exploded at 5:30 A.M. on 16 July 1945. With a predicted minimal yield of 500 tons of trinitrotoluene (TNT) and an optimal yield of 5,000 tons if all parts functioned synergistically, the device actually produced a yield of 20,000 tons of TNT. Accompanied by a powerful shock wave and an awesome roar, the device vaporized the tower, creating a crater 400 yards in diameter. A mushroom cloud rose to 41,000 ft; the explosion was heard from 100 miles away, and the light produced was seen from 200 miles. To allay concerns of local residents, army officials reported that an ammunition dump had blown up.

Scientists were awestruck by the power of the explosion. Julius Robert Oppenheimer famously recalled the god Vishnu's line from the *Bhagavad Gita*: “I have become death, shatterer of worlds.” Groves predicted, “The war's over.” A report was quickly passed to President Harry S Truman at Potsdam, whose negotiating stance with Josef Stalin hardened considerably based on the stunning results of the Trinity test.

The Trinity test site is located on White Sands Missile Range. It is open to the public twice a year: the first Saturday in April and the first Saturday in October.

William J. Astore

See also

Atomic Bomb, Decision to Employ; Einstein, Albert; Fermi, Enrico; Groves, Leslie Richard; Hiroshima; MANHATTAN Project; Nagasaki, Bombing of; Oppenheimer, Julius Robert; Potsdam Conference

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Alamogordo (16 July 1945)

New Mexico site of the first successful test of an atomic device. By 1945 the MANHATTAN Project had produced suffi-

Alanbrooke, Lord

See Brooke, Sir Alan Francis.



The first test of an atomic bomb near Alamogordo, New Mexico on 16 July 1945. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Albania, Role in the War

During World War II, Albania was the springboard for the Italian invasion of Greece and the scene of anti-Axis guerrilla warfare. Having dominated Albania politically and economically for some time, Italian dictator Benito Mussolini planned a formal annexation of Albania in the spring of 1939. Italian troops invaded the small mountainous country on 7 April 1939 and met only light resistance, although a small force led by Colonel Abas Kupa held the Italians at Durazzo for 36 hours, sufficient time for Albanian King Zog and his family to escape. On 16 April 1939, King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy accepted the Albanian crown, and a profascist government was installed. Britain, still hoping to prevent an alliance between Mussolini and Adolf Hitler, acceded to the annexation, but the Greeks prepared to resist an inevitable Italian invasion of their own country, which occurred on 28 October 1940.

Already, earlier in 1940, Britain's Special Operations Executive (SOE) had attempted to create a united-front movement under Abas Kupa and to stimulate a revolt against the Italians in northern Albania. The effort began well, but it faltered after the German conquest of Yugoslavia in April 1941 and the subsequent transfer of Kosovo Province from Yugoslavia to Albania. However, as Axis fortunes waned in 1943, Albanian resistance revived.

In the mountains of southern Albania, the Communists, encouraged by Tito (Josip Broz), leader of the Yugoslav Partisans, coalesced under Enver Hoxha. Liberal landowners and intellectuals formed the Balli Kombetar (National Front) resistance movement. In central and northern Albania, Abas Kupa and various tribal leaders also formed resistance groups. SOE agents Colonel Neil McLean and Major David Smiley were sent into southern Albania, and they subsequently recommended that the British provide aid to both Hoxha's partisans and the Balli Kombetar.

The disintegration of the Italian forces in Albania following the overthrow of Mussolini in September 1943 provided the Albanian guerrillas with arms and other supplies captured from or abandoned by the Italians. The Germans quickly sent in troops to clear out the remaining Italian forces, savagely repressed the local population, and "restored Albanian independence." The Germans created a government under Mehdi Frasheri, but it was able to control only the main towns and coastal plain. The rest of Albania descended into chaos as various guerrilla chieftains fought for power.

The British Balkan Air Force headquarters at Bari controlled the support to anti-Axis guerrillas in the Balkans and was decidedly pro-Partisan, in both Albania and Yugoslavia. The British hoped to use all of the Albanian resistance forces to harass the German withdrawal from Greece, which began in September 1944. But when Hoxha's Communists attacked the Balli Kombetar and Abas Kupa instead, the British cut

off aid to the non-Communist resistance groups, thereby ensuring their defeat. Kupa and the Balli Kombetar leaders were evacuated to Italy with the McLean SOE mission, and the Communists were left to take over Albania. With Yugoslav support, Hoxha seized power on 29 November 1944, and the People's Republic of Albania was recognized by the Allies. Albanians subsequently developed anti-Western views and supported an isolated Stalinist regime for nearly half a century.

Charles R. Shrader

See also

Balkans Theater; Mussolini, Benito; Special Operations Executive; Tito; Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy

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Aleutian Islands Campaign (1942–1943)

Military campaign for a 1,100-mile-long chain of U.S. islands stretching west from Alaska in the Bering Sea toward northern Japan. Though the Aleutians had a negligible population, no useful resources, and extreme climatic conditions that made them unsuitable for major military staging bases, they were nonetheless the scene of bitter fighting between the United States and Canada on the one hand and Japan on the other.

On 7 June 1942, elements of Japanese Vice Admiral Hoshigaya Boshiro's Northern Naval Task Force seized the Aleutian islands of Attu and Kiska. The Japanese aim was twofold: to support Japan's advance on Midway Island by luring U.S. forces away from there, and to gain bases in the Aleutians to deter U.S. attacks on the Japanese Kurile Islands. By May 1943 the Japanese had more than 2,500 men on Attu and more than 5,400 on Kiska.

This Japanese foothold on U.S. soil triggered a substantial response from the United States and Canada, which together would eventually commit more than 100,000 troops to this remote region. Rear Admiral Robert A. Theobald commanded Task Force 8, an array of sea, air, and land units charged with expelling the Japanese from the Aleutians. Theobald intended to interdict Japanese lines of communication into Attu and Kiska by isolating the Aleutian waters and engaging Japanese transports and warships where possible.

Initially, the Allies employed submarine attacks in the western Aleutians. When Rear Admiral Thomas C. Kinkaid replaced Theobald in January 1943, he doubled the effort to interdict Japanese supply convoys. On 26 March 1943, a small U.S. Navy task force intercepted and defeated a larger Japanese force of cruisers, destroyers, and transports in the Bat-



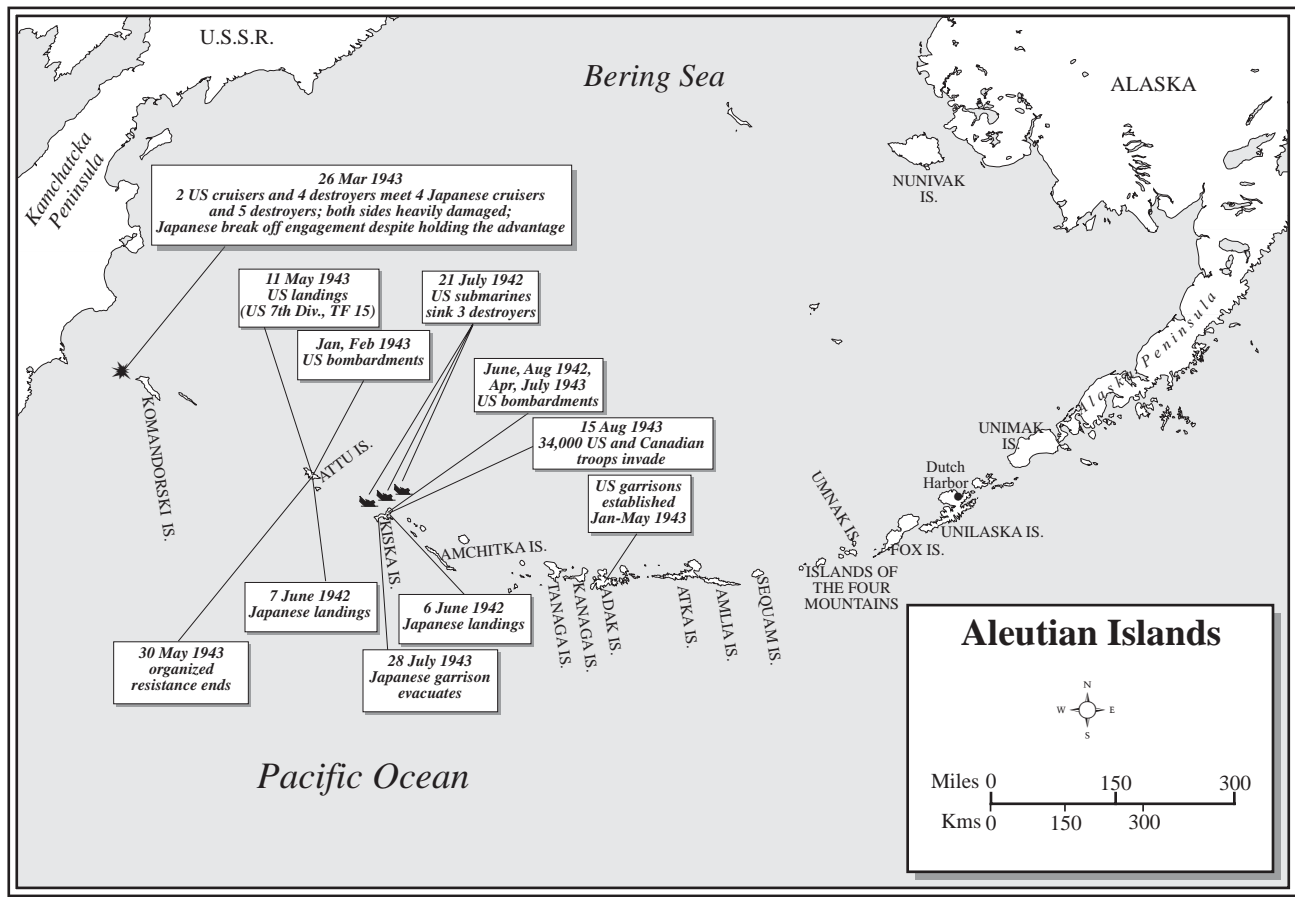
Attu, Aleutian Island, 4 June 1943. U.S. soldiers firing mortar shells over a ridge into a Japanese position. (Library of Congress)

tle of the Komandorski Islands. This action ended further Japanese surface resupply efforts.

Along with naval interdiction, U.S. and Canadian aircraft harassed the Japanese from bases in Alaska and the eastern Aleutians. In August 1942, U.S. forces established an airfield on Adak Island, from which bombers could strike Japanese in the western Aleutians. By September, Allied aircraft bombed targets on Kiska nearly every day for three weeks. The Japanese were forced to rely on submarines as the most dependable conveyance to ferry minimal subsistence supplies. By April 1943, the Allies had succeeded in tightening an air-sea noose around the Japanese bases.

Even so, U.S. commanders determined that an invasion of Attu and Kiska was necessary. One consideration focused on unpredictable weather, especially fog, which could cloak naval activity and allow the Japanese to reclaim control of the seas. The U.S. 7th Infantry Division was designated as the landing force, and it received amphibious warfare training at Fort Ord, California, until April when it deployed north for operations. Attu was chosen as the first objective, because intelligence estimated Japanese troops there to be only 500 men, considerably fewer than on Kiska.

The 7th Division landed on Attu on 11 May 1943 with almost 11,000 men. At first, U.S. commanders thought they had surprised the Japanese when they met no resistance at the shoreline. However, as American troops traversed through mushy tundra and ascended mountains ranging more than



2,000 to 3,000 ft above sea level, they discovered more than 2,500 Japanese waiting in trenches along ridgelines, using the inhospitable terrain to their advantage. The supply-starved Japanese troops conducted a stubborn defense that exacted a heavy toll on the U.S. force. After 19 days of attrition defense, the Japanese conducted a final banzai suicide attack with more than 600 soldiers, many of whom blew themselves up with grenades rather than surrender. U.S. losses were 561 killed and 1,136 wounded. Only 28 Japanese were taken prisoner.

After the loss of Attu, the Japanese decided to evacuate the 5,400 troops remaining on Kiska. On the night of 28 July, while U.S. ships were off refueling in foggy weather, two Japanese cruisers and six destroyers, entered Kiska harbor and in one hour evacuated their troops from the island. Not knowing about the evacuation, on 16 August the Allies conducted the planned amphibious assault on Kiska with more than 34,000 U.S. and Canadian troops. It took the Allies several days to realize the Japanese had departed, but the operation cost some 300 casualties from friendly fire and Japanese booby traps.

The campaign in the Aleutians was an indecisive one that challenged both Japanese and Allied planners. In the end, the Allies removed the Japanese from the two islands, but at great cost in resources committed and for only questionable gain.

Steven J. Rauch

See also

Kinkaid, Thomas Cassin; Komandorski Islands, Battle of the; Midway, Battle of; Theobald, Robert Alfred

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Alexander, Sir Harold Rupert Leofric George (First Earl Alexander of Tunis) (1891–1969)

British army general. Born on 10 December 1891 in London, Harold Alexander was educated at Harrow and Sandhurst and commissioned in the Irish Guards in 1911. He served on the Western Front during World War I and rose to command a battalion and, temporarily, a brigade, ending the war a lieutenant colonel. Following the war he helped organize military



General Sir Harold Alexander (left), Lieutenant General George S. Patton Jr. (center), and Rear Admiral Alan G. Kirk (right) inspect invasion task force ships off the coast of North Africa, 1943. (Library of Congress)

forces in Latvia in 1919. He then graduated from the Staff College at Camberley and the Imperial Defence College and held staff assignments, first at the War Office and then in the Northern Command. From 1934 to 1938, he commanded the Nowshera Brigade of the Northern Command in India as a brigadier general. On his return to Britain in 1938, he was advanced to major general and received command of the 1st Division.

Alexander's division was sent to France, where he distinguished himself during the Battle for France by commanding the British rear guard to Dunkerque, I Corps, and the Dunkerque perimeter. Promoted to lieutenant general in December 1940, Alexander had charge of Southern Command in Britain. In February 1942, Alexander received command of British forces in Burma. Recalled to Europe, that July he became commander of British forces in the Middle East. There he worked well with Eighth Army Commander General Bernard Law Montgomery as well as other Allied leaders. He

undoubtedly played a key role in building up British forces for the Battle of El Alamein in October 1942.

Alexander attended the Casablanca Conference in January 1943, after which he became deputy supreme commander of Allied forces in North Africa and commander of the 18th Army Group. Alexander initially had a low opinion of U.S. Army generals and thought that American forces were poorly trained. He realized that cooperation with the Americans was vital but gave greater latitude to British commanders.

Appointed commander in chief of 15th Army Group for the invasion of Sicily in July 1943, Alexander failed to maintain adequate control over his subordinates, Montgomery and U.S. Major General George S. Patton Jr., each of whom sought the preeminent role. Alexander then directed the Allied invasion of Italy in September. Again the command was hindered by rivalries between his subordinates and grandstanding by Lieutenant General Mark W. Clark. His command in Italy, however, brought Alexander promotion

to field marshal in November 1944 and elevation to the position of supreme Allied commander in the Mediterranean.

On 1 May 1945, German forces in Italy surrendered unconditionally, and that October, Alexander handed over his Italian command. In January 1946 he was named Viscount Alexander of Tunis. Not a great general, Alexander was nonetheless regarded as an excellent strategist who never lost a battle.

From 1946 to 1952, Alexander was the appointed governor general of Canada. Named Earl Alexander of Tunis in January 1952, he served from February 1952 to October 1954 as minister of defense in Britain. Alexander died in Slough, England, on 16 June 1969.

Fred R. van Hartesveldt and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Casablanca Conference; Cassino/Rapido River, Battle for; Clark, Mark W.; Dunkerque Evacuation; El Alamein, Battle of; France, Battle of (1940); Italy Campaign; Leese, Oliver; Montgomery, Bernard Law; Patton, George S., Jr.; Rome, Advance on and Capture of; Salerno, Battle of; Sicily, Invasion of; TORCH, Operation; Tunis, Battle of

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Allied Military Tribunals after the War

Following the conclusion of World War II, leading figures of the German and Japanese governments and armed forces were prosecuted on war crimes charges. The trials of the principal figures took place at Nuremberg in Germany and Tokyo in Japan.

In August 1945, representatives of the British, French, U.S., and Soviet governments, meeting in London, signed an agreement that created the International Military Tribunal and set ground rules for the trial. To avoid using words such as *law* or *code*, the document was named *The London Charter of the International Military Tribunal*. It combined elements of Anglo-American and continental European law. Defendants' rights and the rules of evidence differed in several ways from those in American courtrooms.

The four nations issued indictments against 24 persons and 6 organizations in October 1945. The counts of the charges were as follows: (1) conspiracy to wage aggressive war; (2) waging aggressive war, or crimes against peace; (3)

war crimes; and (4) crimes against humanity. Of 22 defendants, 3 were acquitted, 12 were sentenced to death, and the remainder received prison terms. At the conclusion of this trial, 6 Nazi organizations were charged: the Sturmabteilungen (SA), the Reichsregierung (cabinet of the Reich), the General Staff and High Command of the German armed forces, the Schutzstaffel (SS, bodyguard units), the Gestapo, and the Corps of the Political Leaders of the Nazi Party. The first organization was not convicted, and the next two had so few members that the Allies decided simply to deal with the individuals who had belonged to these organizations. The last three organizations were found guilty, making it possible later to convict individuals on the basis of them having belonged to these organizations.

On 9 December 1946, the so-called Doctors' Trial opened, conducted by the Allies. It dealt with individuals associated with the Nazi euthanasia program. A total of 23 individuals were indicted for their involvement. On 20 August 1947, the court proclaimed 16 of them guilty; 7 were sentenced to death and executed on 2 June 1948. In secondary trials before that, 22 of 31 doctors charged were found guilty and sentenced to death at Buchenwald, the concentration camp where many of their crimes were committed.

The Allied occupying powers also conducted individual war crimes trials in their zones of occupation. The Americans were by far the most fervent in their pursuit of justice, scheduling more than 169,000 trials. Although fewer were actually held, the Americans did sentence 9,000 Germans to prison terms, and others were fined. The British and French were not greatly interested in prosecuting war criminals; the British held 2,296 trials in their zone. The Soviets Union was perhaps the least interested in such legal proceedings.

Trials continued under the Federal Republic of Germany but with little punishment for the guilty. Alfred Krupp served only three years in prison for conscripting slave labor in his industrial enterprises, and on his release his empire was restored to him. The chemical firm of I. G. Farben was not broken up. From 1975 to 1981 the government prosecuted 15 individuals associated with the Majdanek concentration camp. Only 1 person was found guilty of murder, and 5 were acquitted.

In January 1946, General Douglas MacArthur approved a charter to inaugurate the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE), which was dominated by the United States. On 3 May 1946, the IMTFE opened with the trial of 28 of 80 Class A Japanese war criminals at Tokyo. The hearings covered crimes that occurred between 1928 and the Japanese surrender in August 1945. The indictments were based on the concept of war crimes that had been stipulated at Nuremberg—that is, crimes against peace, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and aggressive war. However, in the Tokyo proceedings, there was no assumption of collective guilt as

in the case of Germany, and thus no organizations were charged. Of the 28 defendants, 19 were professional military men and 9 were civilians. The prosecution team was made up of justices from 11 Allied nations: Australia, Canada, China, France, Great Britain, India, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippines, the Soviet Union, and the United States. Indictments accused the defendants of promoting a plan of conquest and the commission of both war crimes and crimes against humanity.

On 4 November 1948, the sentences were meted out: 2 defendants had died; 1 was considered insane; 7 were sentenced to death; 16 were sentenced to life imprisonment; and the rest were given jail terms. Japanese Emperor Hirohito, in whose name so many war crimes had been committed, was not charged. A second group of 23 men and a third group of 19 men were never brought to trial, and the men were released in 1947 and 1948, respectively. All those sentenced to prison were released over the next several years. No trials of the infamous Japanese Unit 731, which would have been akin to the Doctors' Trial in Germany, were conducted. Prosecution was not pursued because of a bargain struck by the U.S. government to drop prosecution in return for all information on experiments in germ and biological warfare on human guinea pigs, including U.S. prisoners of war.

The British carried out minor war crimes trials of Japanese nationals in Southeast Asia, and other countries also held war crimes trials for individuals guilty of these offenses in their national territories. In China, there were trials in 10 locations.

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See also

Bataan Death March; Cairo Conference; Hirohito, Emperor of Japan; Holocaust, The; International Military Tribunal: Far East; International Military Tribunal: The Nuremberg Trials; MacArthur, Douglas; Potsdam Conference; Prisoners of War; Unit 731, Japanese Army; United Nations, Declaration; United Nations, Formation of

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Alsace Campaign (November 1944–January 1945)

Allied campaign to capture Alsace from German forces. Formidable barriers to the east and west protected the plains of Alsace from invasion; to the east was the Rhine River and to the west the Vosges Mountains. The two primary gaps in the Vosges were the Belfort Gap and the Saverne Gap, with the former

defying capture by the German army both in 1870 and 1914. The vaunted Wehrmacht did what past German armies failed to do when Panzer Group Guderian penetrated the Belfort Gap in the French Campaign of 1940. German forces occupied Alsace until the Allied campaign of winter 1944–1945.

The Alsace Campaign was a joint American-French campaign to capture Alsace and reach the Rhine River. Lieutenant General Jacob Devers, commander of the Allied 6th Army Group, exercised overall control of the campaign. His forces consisted of the U.S. Seventh Army under Lieutenant General Alexander Patch and the First French Army under General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny. The VI and XV Corps made up the Seventh Army, and the First French Army consisted of the I and II Corps. Opposing was the German Nineteenth Army under General der Infanterie (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) Freidrich Wiese. His army consisted of eight infantry divisions, six of which would be nearly destroyed in the campaign. Wiese's most reliable unit was the 11th Panzer Division (known as the Ghost Division for its fighting on the Eastern Front against the Soviet Union).

Ultimate control of the German forces, however, was in the hands of Army Group G Commander General der Panzertruppen (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) Hermann Balck. Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF) had low expectations for the campaign in Alsace; its attention was more clearly focused on the battles to the north involving the 12th and 21st Army Groups. General Devers was to clear the Germans from his front and secure crossings over the Rhine River. In the 6th Army Group zone, General Patch's XV Corps, commanded by Major General Wade Haislip, held the left, or northern, flank and was linked up with Lieutenant General George S. Patton's Third Army of the 12th Army Group. Next in line was the VI Corps under Major General Edward Brooks, who took over when Lieutenant General Lucian Truscott was reassigned. Holding the southern flank was the First French Army; this was also the southern flank of the entire Allied line.

The campaign in Alsace was to begin in coordination with the fighting to the north. The XV Corps was to jump off on 13 November 1944 and capture Sarrebourg and the Saverne Gap, then exploit its gains eastward while at the same time protecting Patton's flank. (Patton's offensive started on 8 November.) The VI Corps was scheduled to begin its campaign two days after the XV Corps started, or 15 November. It would attack in a northeasterly direction, break out onto the Alsatian plains, capture Strasbourg, and secure the west bank of the Rhine. Farther south, the First French Army was to commence operations on 13 November. The I and II Corps would force the Belfort Gap, capture the city of Belfort, and exploit its success. There was ample opportunity for spectacular success.

The XV Corps attacked in a snowstorm on 13 November with the 79th and 44th Divisions and the French 2nd Armored



French troops in Alsace, 1944. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

Division. The 79th Division captured Sarrebourg on 21 November and advanced so quickly that General Patch directed XV Corps to capture Strasbourg if it could get there before VI Corps. On 23 November, elements of the French 2nd Armored Division liberated Strasbourg, capital of Alsace. The VI Corps began its attack on 15 November with the 3rd, 36th, 100th, and 103rd Divisions and achieved similar success. Crossing the Meurthe River, the 100th Division penetrated the German “Winter Line” on 19 November, a position that quickly crumbled. The attack in the First French Army sector began on 13 November. The French troops successfully breached the Belfort Gap, and elements of the 1st Armored Division of I Corps reached the Rhine on 19 November, the first Allied troops in the 6th Army Group zone to do so.

In the midst of this success in the 6th Army Group zone, Generals Dwight D. Eisenhower and Omar N. Bradley met with Devers and Patch on 24 November. The result was an order for the Seventh Army to turn northward and attack the West Wall (the series of fortifications protecting Germany’s western frontier) along with Patton’s Third Army. The XV and VI Corps, minus

two divisions, were subsequently turned northward while the First French Army and the 3rd and 36th Divisions focused their attention on German troops around the city of Colmar.

The attack northward began on 5 December, with the XV Corps on the left and the VI Corps on the right. After 10 days of heavy fighting, elements of the VI Corps entered Germany on 15 December. The 100th Division’s effort around the French city Bitche was so fierce that it was given the sobriquet “Sons of Bitche.” The Seventh Army offensive was halted on 20 December to enable it to cooperate with the Allied defense in the Ardennes.

The German troops in the 6th Army Group front planned an offensive for late December 1944, known as Operation NORDWIND. Just before midnight on New Year’s Eve, the onslaught commenced. Through much of January 1945, the attack forced Allied troops to give ground. Eisenhower even toyed with the idea of abandoning Strasbourg, but General Charles de Gaulle vehemently opposed such a plan. The city was held, and by 25 January, the German offensive petered out and the German forces withdrew.

With the German attack defeated, the only Wehrmacht troops remaining in Alsace were located around Colmar. The First French Army was assigned the responsibility of reducing the Colmar pocket, and it began this task on 20 January 1945. The I Corps attacked the southern flank of the pocket, while the II Corps assaulted the northern flank. The plan was for the two forces to meet at the Rhine, enveloping the pocket. On 2 February, the city of Colmar was captured, and by 5 February, German resistance ended. The campaign in Alsace was over. Although overshadowed by the 12th and 21st Army Groups to the north, General Devers's 6th Army Group had contributed an important accomplishment.

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See also

Ardennes Offensive; Bradley, Omar Nelson; Colmar Pocket, Battle for the; Devers, Jacob Loucks; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; France Campaign (1944); Lattre de Tassigny, Jean Joseph Marie Gabriel de; Patch, Alexander McCarrell, Jr.

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Altmark Incident (16 February 1940)

World War II British navy seizure of a German merchant ship within Norwegian territorial waters. The *Altmark* was a supply ship serving the German pocket battleship *Graf Spee* in the South Atlantic. She also became a prison ship, taking aboard survivors from the nine ships sunk by the *Graf Spee*. Since the outbreak of war, ships of the Royal Navy had been searching for the *Graf Spee* and her supply ships. On 13 December 1939, in the Battle of Río de la Plata, British cruisers located the *Graf Spee* and damaged her. Believing that the British had assembled a superior force, the *Graf Spee*'s captain then scuttled her. The *Altmark*, which had refueled the pocket battleship just prior to her last fight, departed the South Atlantic in late January 1940 for Hamburg. Commanded by Captain Heinrich Dau, she reached the Norwegian coast on 12 February 1940.

On 14 February, the *Altmark* entered Norwegian territorial waters at Trondheim. Although Norwegian naval vessels twice stopped the *Altmark*, Dau hid his ship's guns below and

claimed he had no prisoners on board. He resisted any effort to search his vessel on the grounds that she was a German naval ship, immune to search. Despite misgivings and suspecting the nature of the cargo, the Norwegians allowed the *Altmark* to proceed. Norwegian officials did not want to create an incident that might be used to precipitate a German invasion of their neutral country. Word of events, however, reached the British Embassy at Oslo, and the naval attaché there informed the British Admiralty of the situation. On 16 February 1940, after British planes had located the *Altmark*, Captain Philip Vian's destroyer flotilla cornered the *Altmark* near Jössing fjord within Norwegian territorial waters. The Norwegian gunboat *Skarv* hampered the British Navy's efforts to force *Altmark* to sea, and the German supply ship then slipped into the fjord.

In London, meanwhile, the War Cabinet met concerning the situation and the reports that the *Altmark* had on board some 300 British seamen, who were in fact being held below deck in difficult conditions. First Lord of the Admiralty Winston L. S. Churchill personally authorized the boarding and search of the *Altmark* and liberation of her prisoners.

At 11:00 P.M. on 16 February, Vian's flagship, the destroyer *Cossack*, entered the fjord. *Altmark* tried to ram the destroyer, but expert British ship handling saved *Cossack* from damage. As the two ships brushed together, some of the boarding party leaped across to the German ship. *Cossack* then again closed, the remainder of the boarding party followed, and *Cossack* backed clear. In a brief fight, 7 *Altmark* crew members were killed and 299 British prisoners were freed.

The *Altmark* incident was definitely an infringement of Norway's neutrality by Britain. Neutral countries could no longer be certain of their inviolability in this war. This incident caused Hitler on 19 February to order an acceleration in his plans to invade Norway, Operation WESERÜBUNG. After they had conquered Norway, the Germans erected a commemorative marker at Jössing fjord reading (in German), "Here on 16 February 1940 the *Altmark* was attacked by British sea-pirates."

Martin Moll

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Norway, Role in War; Plata, Río de la, Battle of; WESERÜBUNG, Operation

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America First Committee (1940–1942)

Leading U.S. anti-interventionist organization prior to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The America First Commit-



The German 'Altmark' aground in Josing Fjord in Norway. 300 British seamen that had been imprisoned aboard were freed when HMS *Cossack* sent over a boarding party. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

tee was established in July 1940 as the presidential election approached. Both Republicans and Democrats nominated pro-Allied candidates, and some prominent Americans were convinced that the United States was in grave danger of being needlessly and foolishly drawn into World War II. The organization's founders included several Midwestern businessmen, including Robert E. Wood of Sears, Roebuck and Robert Douglas Stuart of Quaker Oats, who provided much of the organization's financial support.

Most America First members were Midwestern Republicans, many from the party's conservative wing. Some, though, such as Governor Philip La Follette of Wisconsin and Senator Gerald P. Nye, were political liberals or even radicals. America First also included a contingent of liberal Democrats, such as Chester Bowles and Kingman Brewster of Connecticut, and the radical historian Charles A. Beard. Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, the famed aviator, was its most celebrated member, and former President Herbert Hoover, although he held aloof so as not to compromise his efforts to feed children in occupied Western Europe, sympathized strongly with the group's stance.

America First members generally united around the belief that the European crisis did not threaten the security of the United States sufficiently to justify American intervention. They also believed that American involvement in war would be highly detrimental to the United States domestically. While supporting measures to strengthen U.S. defenses, they generally opposed, albeit with little success—especially after President Franklin D. Roosevelt's electoral victory in November 1940—many measures the administration introduced. The latter included the establishment of Selective Service (September 1940), the 1940 Destroyers-for-Bases deal, Lend-Lease (March 1941 military aid program to various nations), and the administration's aggressive naval policies against Germany in the Atlantic. America First members opposed these on the grounds that they were moving the United States ever closer to war with Germany. After Pearl Harbor, America First members, despite lingering private misgivings over past administration policies, largely rallied around the wartime president. On 22 April 1942, the organization was officially dissolved.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies; Destroyers-Bases Deal; Lend-Lease; Lindbergh, Charles Augustus; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Selective Service Act

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American Volunteer Group (AVG)

See Flying Tigers.

Amphibious Warfare

The projection of sea-based ground forces onto land. Amphibious warfare was more widely conducted in World War II than in any previous conflict and on a greater scale than ever before or since.

Involving all aspects of naval and military operations—from mine warfare to air and ground combat—amphibious operations are the most complex and risky of all military endeavors. The basic principles had been established in World War I and the postwar period, but the lessons were largely ignored by most military leaders except those in the Soviet Union, the U.S. Marine Corps (USMC), and Germany's Landungspionieren (Landing Pioneers). The Royal Navy concluded that the British Gallipoli operation had demonstrated a successful amphibious assault was impossible in modern war.

Meanwhile, the Japanese navy and army developed separate procedures, forces, and equipment to conduct amphibious operations, and they had the good fortune to carry out their early assaults against undefended beaches in the late 1930s in China and in the early campaigns of the Pacific war. The German navy had no interest in amphibious operations before the war, but ironically, Germany initiated the war's first large-scale amphibious operation when it invaded Norway in April 1940. It was the Allies, however, who demonstrated true mastery of the amphibious art. In the end, they landed more than 4 million troops in five major amphibious assaults, dozens of tactical landings, and countless raids

along German-occupied coasts of Europe. Amphibious operations provided the western Allies with their only means of taking the ground war to the European Axis countries. In the Pacific Theater, there was no Allied victory without amphibious warfare.

Amphibious operations come in three levels—strategic, operational, and tactical—depending on the intended objectives. The Allied landings in France, the Philippines, and Italy and the planned invasion of Japan represent strategic landings intended to have a decisive impact on the war. The North African landings (Operation TORCH), the German assaults on the Dodecanese Islands, and most of the Allied assaults in the Pacific were operational-level landings that supported a specific campaign, each part of an overall strategic effort. Soviet landings and most Allied commando raids were tactical-level operations against limited objectives, although some had a strategic impact (capturing German codes, radars, and so on). The Dunkerque and Crete evacuations are difficult to categorize, but most observers would describe them as operational-level efforts.

Amphibious operations also fall into four types: raids, assaults, evacuations, and administrative (noncombat) landings. The first of these is the most dangerous since it generally occurs in an area of enemy superiority and involves elements of both an assault and an evacuation. An administrative landing is the safest, being conducted in a benign environment with no enemy ground, air, or naval forces present. Assaults and evacuations face varying levels of risk, depending on the defender's strength and support. The German invasion of Norway is an example of an assault, although most of its troops landed under circumstances approaching that of an administrative landing. Britain's Dunkerque evacuation was the war's first major combat evacuation, while Germany's naval evacuation of its forces from the Baltic at the end of the war was the conflict's largest such operation.

The phases of amphibious operations evolved as the war progressed. In 1939 the German army was the only service to recognize the need to rehearse landings and procedures for a specific landing. By 1943, every major military leader realized the necessity to practice for a specific landing. Then, as today, amphibious operations were broken down into five phases: (1) planning, (2) embarkation, (3) rehearsal, (4) movement to the objective area, and (5) the assault. Soviet doctrine added a sixth phase, the landing of the follow-on army forces.

Necessarily, the Japanese military was much interested in amphibious warfare in the 1930s. The Japanese pioneered development of ramp front-end landing craft, later copied by other countries including the United States. The Imperial Japanese Army used amphibious landings to outflank British forces in Malaya and to invade the Philippines and other Pacific islands. In Malaya and the Philippines, the army used its own ships and land-based aircraft to support the opera-



A Water Buffalo, loaded with Marines, churns through the sea bound for beaches of Tinian Island in the Marianas, July 1944. (Still Picture Records LICON, Special Media Archives Services Division (NWCS-S), National Archives)

tions, receiving little or no assistance from the navy other than to have its navy's ships attack those of enemy naval forces. The Japanese navy had its own specialized naval landing troops to execute its amphibious assaults on Wake and other Pacific islands. The assault on the Netherlands East Indies was the only time Japan's two services cooperated in the execution of an amphibious invasion, and there, as in Malaya, the landing beaches were not defended. In cases where the beaches were defended, the Japanese suffered heavy losses, as at Wake.

The Soviet Union had a specialized amphibious force of naval infantry at war's start, but they lacked equipment and training. They were expected to land on the beach using ships' boats or other improvised transport. Soviet doctrine called for naval infantry to conduct amphibious raids and support the army's landing by seizing and holding the beachhead while conventional forces disembarked behind them. Although this approach economized on the number of troops requiring specialized amphibious assault training, it proved costly in combat, as any delays in the follow-on landing left the naval infantry dangerously exposed to counterattack. As a result, Soviet naval infantry suffered heavy casualties in their

amphibious assaults but one can argue they led the Allied way in these operations. On 23 September 1941, the Soviet Black Sea Fleet conducted the Allies' first amphibious assault, when Captain Sergei Gorshkov landed a naval infantry regiment against the coastal flanks of the Romanian army besieging Odessa. The action eliminated the Romanian threat to the city's harbor. In fact, amphibious raids and assaults figured prominently in Soviet naval operations along Germany's Black and Arctic Sea flanks, with the Soviets conducting more than 150 amphibious raids and assaults during the war.

However, there was little to no cross-fertilization of ideas or lessons learned among the Allies regarding amphibious landings, particularly between the European and Pacific Theaters. This lack was largely because of antipathy and parochialism among service leaders, but the primary contributing factor was the differing military challenges posed by the Japanese and European Axis countries. The Japanese army had few mechanized units, no heavy tanks, and little artillery, but it was much better at camouflage and improvised defenses than the Germans or Italians. The Germans, conversely, rapidly reinforced their beach defenders with heavily mechanized ("mech-heavy") forces and heavy

artillery, and they employed more extensive minefields and beach obstacles than did the Japanese. These differences shaped Allied doctrine and tactics in their respective theaters.

Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill forced Britain to develop an amphibious warfare capability with the formation of Combined Operations Command. Beginning in June 1940, this organization conducted amphibious commando raids along the coasts of German-occupied Europe. Gradually, such amphibious raids became more effective as lessons were learned, expertise expanded, and training improved. But, Britain's assault tactics and equipment were driven primarily by lessons learned from the unsuccessful Dieppe raid in August 1942. The beach obstacles, extensive minefield belts, and overlapping antitank and artillery fire proved devastating, suggesting to the British a need for specialized vehicles and equipment. Those "funnies" were ready by the 1944 Normandy landings, but not in time for the earlier Allied landings in North Africa and Italy.

The U.S. Army, present in only a limited capacity at Dieppe, saw little requirement for specialized amphibious equipment, other than landing craft, but it did see a need to remove beach obstacles and isolate the beachhead from enemy reinforcement. The smaller land areas and lack of a mech-heavy counterattack threat obviated the need to isolate Pacific assault beaches from reinforcements. Hence, airborne operations were not endemic to Pacific Theater amphibious assaults, although they were planned for the invasion of Japan.

Operation TORCH in North Africa in November 1942 was the western Allies' first amphibious assault against a defended beach in the European Theater, albeit not a heavily contested one; but it provided the foundations for American amphibious warfare doctrine in Europe. The TORCH landings saw the first employment of underwater demolition teams (UDTs) and the specialized amphibious landing ships that were so critical to getting forces ashore quickly. The tank landing ships were particularly important since they enabled tanks to land directly on the assault beach. Although many mistakes were made in planning and execution of TORCH, it established the basic foundations for all future Allied assaults in the west. All subsequent landings were preceded by special forces, such as UDT and commandos, to remove obstacles and seize key terrain and defensive features before the main assault force approached the beach. Operation TORCH also exposed the need to rehearse the actual landings well in advance of the assault to ensure a smooth and rapid disembarkation. Additional lessons about air and naval support were gained from the Sicily and Salerno landings. More significantly, procedures and equipment were developed to accelerate the pace of force buildup ashore. That it was a successful effort can best be measured by the success of the Normandy landings, which placed six divisions ashore in less than 24 hours and nearly 1 million men and their equipment in France in less than a week—a phenomenal accomplishment.

The almost disastrous Tarawa landing was the pivotal experience that shaped the Navy–Marine Corps team's amphibious warfare doctrine. The failure to chart and survey the offshore waters meant that hundreds of Marines had to wade half a mile in shoulder-deep water under heavy Japanese fire. Casualties in the first wave amounted to more than 85 percent killed or wounded. Naval air and gunfire support was poorly planned and coordinated, leaving the Marines to win by sheer force of will and superior combat cohesion ashore. All subsequent landings enjoyed extensive pre-assault UDT beach surveys. Fire-support plans were refined, and pre-assault advanced-force operations became more extensive and powerful. Firepower for the assaulting troops was substantially increased in terms of automatic weapons, demolitions, and flamethrowers. After Tarawa, as in Europe after Sicily, amphibious assaults in the Pacific enjoyed extensive pre-assault rehearsals and practice landings. Unlike in Europe, the Marines developed specialized amphibious vehicles and equipment to facilitate their movement ashore and to provide some armored-vehicle support to the first landing wave.

Germany did not generate a capacity to land troops against determined opposition until well into 1942. By then, Germany's strategic situation precluded such operations, except in very limited and special circumstances. However, amphibious operations were critical to the Allied war effort. They enabled the Soviets to threaten the Axis powers' extreme flanks throughout the Eastern Campaign. Thus the Soviets were able to divert Axis forces away from the front and facilitate Soviet offensive efforts in the war's final two years. The western Allies could never have contributed to Germany's defeat nor beaten Japan had they not mastered amphibious operations, the most complex of all military activities. The war firmly established the amphibious operations procedures that are used by all Western nations to this day.

Carl O. Schuster

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Crete, Battle of; Dieppe Raid; DRAGON, Operation; Dunkerque, Evacuation of; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Norway, German Conquest of; Salerno Invasion; Sicily, Invasion of; Tarawa, Battle of; TORCH, Operation; Wake Island, Battle for

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Anami Korechika (1887–1945)

Japanese army general and army minister. Born in Oita on 21 February 1887, Anami Korechika graduated from Military Academy in 1905. He was military aide to Emperor Hirohito from 1926 to 1932. Promoted to colonel in 1930, he commanded the Imperial Guards Regiment during 1933–1934, and he headed the Tokyo Military Preparatory School from 1934 to 1936. He was promoted to major general in 1935 and to lieutenant general in 1938, when he took command of the 109th Division. During 1940–1941, he was vice minister of war. Anami commanded the Eleventh Army in central China from April 1941 to July 1942. He next headed the Second Army in Manchuria and was promoted to full general in 1943.

In December 1944, Anami became inspector general of army aviation. Highly regarded within the army, in April 1945 he became army minister in the government of Prime Minister Suzuki Kantarō. Anami was one of those who urged that Japan continue the war. Even after the atomic bombing of Hiroshima on 6 August 1945 and the Soviet Union's declaration of war on Japan two days later, Anami continued to urge Emperor Hirohito to remain in the war. Anami believed that Japan could negotiate more satisfactory terms if it could inflict heavy losses on Allied forces invading the Japanese home islands. Foreign minister Tōgō Shigenori and Minister of the Navy Admiral Yonai Mitsumasa opposed Anami's position. In any case, Emperor Hirohito decided to accept the Potsdam Declaration and surrender. Anami and other hawks in the army plotted a military coup d'état, but Anami finally agreed to accept the surrender, and this development led to collapse of plans for a coup. Anami committed suicide in Tokyo on 15 August 1945, shortly before Hirohito's broadcast to the Japanese people.

Kotani Ken

See also

Hirohito, Emperor of Japan; Hiroshima, Bombing of; Japan, Surrender of; Potsdam Conference; Suzuki Kantarō; Tōgō Shigenori

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Anders, Władysław (1892–1970)

Polish army general. Born to a peasant family in Błonie near Warsaw on 11 August 1892, Władysław Anders graduated from Saint Petersburg Military Academy in 1917. He served in the Polish Army Corps during World War I and, during the Poznan Rising of 1918–1919, as chief of staff in the Poznan army. He commanded a cavalry regiment during the Russo-Polish War of 1919–1920 and studied from 1921 to 1923 at the École

Supérieure de Guerre in Paris. An opponent of Józef Piłsudski's coup d'état in 1926, Anders became a general only in 1930.

In September 1939, when Germany invaded Poland, Anders commanded the Nowogródek Cavalry Brigade of the Polish "Modlin" army at the East Prussian border. During his brigade's subsequent withdrawal to southeastern Poland, the Soviet Union invaded Poland from the east and Anders was captured.

Imprisoned in Moscow's Lubyanka Prison, Anders was released following an understanding between the Polish government-in-exile and the Soviet Union. On 30 July 1941, General Władysław Sikorski and the Soviet ambassador to Great Britain, Ivan Majskij, agreed to restore diplomatic relations and form a Polish army on Soviet territory. That army was to be composed of Polish soldiers detained in the Soviet Union since 1939. Anders was appointed its commander in chief with the rank of lieutenant general.

Establishing his first headquarters at Buzuluk on the Volga, Anders continued to insist on the liberation of Polish prisoners withheld by Soviet authorities, but he had only limited success. In 1942 he was allowed to move his army to Yangi-Yul near Tashkent and then to Pahlevi in Persia, where his troops were no longer subordinate to the Soviet Supreme Command. Linking up with the British in Iran, Anders's newly formed II Polish Corps was transferred to North Africa and Italy. There it fought as a part of the British Eighth Army at Monte Cassino in May 1944. Its victory helped open the way to Rome for the Allies.

In the last stages of the war, Anders commanded all Polish forces in the west. After the war, he refused to return to Communist-ruled Poland and became a prominent member of the Polish émigré community. Anders died in London on 12 May 1970.

Pascal Trees

See also

Italy Campaign; Katyń Forest Massacre; Poland, Role in War; Sikorski, Władysław Eugeniusz

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Anderson, Sir Kenneth Arthur Noel (1891–1959)

British army general. Born in India on 25 December 1891, Kenneth Anderson was commissioned in the British army on graduation from Sandhurst in 1911. He served in India and was a captain by 1915. In 1916, Anderson was badly wounded

in fighting at the Somme in France. In 1917, he took part in campaigns in Palestine and Syria.

Anderson attended the Army Staff College at Camberley, commanded a regiment on the Northwest Frontier of India, and served in Palestine from 1930 to 1932. Promoted to colonel in 1934, he commanded the 11th Infantry Brigade as part of the 3rd Infantry Division of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) in France at the beginning of World War II. Toward the end of the withdrawal to Dunkerque, he took command of the 3rd Division. Promoted to major general, he held a variety of posts in the United Kingdom during the next two years, culminating in heading the Eastern Command.

In autumn 1942, Anderson became the senior British officer in Lieutenant General Dwight D. Eisenhower's U.S. headquarters in London. Although unpopular with many U.S. officers, Anderson was well liked by Eisenhower. Anderson commanded the Eastern Task Force in the Allied invasion of North Africa, Operation TORCH. Anderson's units landed at Algiers, although in respect to French sensibilities, an American, Major General Charles Ryder, commanded the actual landing. Anderson took over the day after the landing, and on 11 November 1942, he became head of the newly constituted British First Army and was concurrently promoted to lieutenant general. Anderson's acerbic nature and dour personality tinged with pessimism did not suit him for command of an Allied force.

Ordered to quickly advance eastward to Tunis, 500 miles away, Anderson had only four brigades at his disposal. Rugged terrain, poor weather, stiffening Axis defenses, and lack of transportation thwarted his offensive, which was stopped 12 miles short of its goal. In January 1943, Eisenhower added to Anderson's command the French XIX Corps and Major General Lloyd Fredenhall's U.S. II Corps. Field Marshal Erwin Rommel and General Hans Jürgen von Arnim then launched a series of counterattacks, most notably at Kasserine Pass during 14–22 February, that threw the Allied armies into disarray. Although there were efforts to replace Anderson, he remained in command of First Army, and his troops entered Tunis in May 1943.

Anderson returned to Britain to take over the British Second Army headquarters in June 1943 and began to plan for the invasion of France. In January 1944, however, Anderson was shifted to Eastern Command. From January 1945 to October 1946, Anderson headed the East Africa Command. During 1947–1952, he was governor and commander in chief of Gibraltar. Promoted to full general in 1949, he retired in 1952. Anderson died at Gibraltar on 29 April 1959.

Dana Lombardy and T. P. Schweider

See also

Arnim, Hans Jürgen Dieter von; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Fredenhall, Lloyd Ralston; Kasserine Pass, Battle of; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; TORCH, Operation; Tunis, Battle of; Tunisia Campaign

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Andrews, Frank Maxwell (1884–1943)

U.S. Army Air Forces general. Born in Nashville, Tennessee, on 3 February 1884, Frank Andrews graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1906 and was commissioned in the cavalry. He then held routine assignments in the American West, Hawaii, and the Philippines. When the United States entered World War I in 1917, Andrews transferred to the Signal Corps, and in 1918 he qualified as a military aviator, although too late to see active service in France. In mid-1920, Andrews succeeded Brigadier General William Mitchell as the Air Service officer of the American Army of Occupation in Germany.

Returning to the United States in 1923, Andrews then commanded the 1st Pursuit Group. He established several speed and altitude records until transferred to staff assignments. In March 1935, Andrews was promoted to temporary brigadier general and assigned to command General Headquarters (GHQ), Air Force. The new organization placed for the first time all the U.S. Army's air-strike elements under a single commander. He became a strong advocate of the four-engine strategic bomber that became the Boeing B-17 Flying Fortress, and he was certainly one of the leading architects of American military air power in the years before World War II. Andrews molded GHQ, Air Force into the offensive combat arm that became the model for the U.S. Army Air Forces in World War II. GHQ, Air Force was also the model of the Air Force's post-Cold War Air Combat Command.

In 1937, Andrews clashed seriously with elements in the Army General Staff when he forcefully advocated an air force as an independent service during testimony before the House Military Affairs Committee. In 1939, he was reassigned to an insignificant staff position at Fort Sam Houston, Texas, and reduced from his temporary rank of major general to his permanent rank of colonel. But just a few months later, General George C. Marshall became chief of staff of the U.S. Army; Marshall brought Andrews back to Washington and made him assistant chief of staff of the army for training and operations. Andrews was the first aviator to hold that key general staff position.

In 1941, Andrews took over the Caribbean Defense Command, becoming the first American air officer to command a



U.S. Army Lieutenant General Frank M. Andrews. (Corbis)

theater. In November 1942, he assumed command of U.S. forces in the Middle East. On 5 February 1943, Andrews became the supreme commander of U.S. forces in the European Theater of Operations (ETO). Three months later, on 3 May, Lieutenant General Andrews died at the controls of a B-24 bomber while attempting a landing at Kaldadarnes, Iceland, during poor visibility.

Andrews's appointment to command the ETO was a tacit recognition that the majority of American forces in Europe at the time were air rather than ground units. However, many contemporary observers at the time of his death considered him rather than Dwight Eisenhower the leading candidate for supreme Allied command of the invasion of the Continent. Andrews had the total confidence of General Marshall, and he possessed an almost ideal balance of intellect, character, courage, and military skill. Andrews Air Force Base in Maryland was later named for him.

David T. Zabecki

See also

Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Marshall, George Catlett; United States, Army Air Forces

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Animals

During the war, animals fulfilled unique military support roles that humans and machines could not perform. Probably more horses were employed in the war than any other animal. Several were used as cavalry or dragoons by some powers in the war, but chiefly horses were used for transport—to pull artillery or transport supplies. The German army, often thought as being highly mechanized, in fact relied on large numbers of horses: a German infantry division of 1939 required between 4,000 and 6,000 horses, and even the panzer divisions used them. As late as 1944, an estimated 85 percent of German infantry divisions were horse drawn, with very few vehicles. Millions of horses were employed, and died, during the German invasion of the Soviet Union. The Japanese also used horses in Burma, and the Chinese soldiers often traded ponies captured from the Japanese to the Americans.

Many horses were killed for their meat in the Soviet Union and also elsewhere, as in the case of the 26th Cavalry's mounts in the Philippines. After the war, animals deemed in poor shape were destroyed, and their meat was distributed to the local population. Many healthy horses, mules, and oxen that had been captured were sent to countries to help develop agricultural programs for reconstruction.

Mules were also invaluable as pack animals during the conflict, and they saw service on many fronts. Mules could carry one-third of their half-ton weight. The military prized mules for being steady on their hooves despite rocky conditions and for their ability to follow trails even when paths seemed non-existent. U.S. forces employed mules first in North Africa at the end of 1942 and the next year in Sicily and Italy, where they proved particularly useful in mountainous terrain.

Most U.S. military mules were assigned to the China-Burma-India Theater, however. Shipped to the war zones via Liberty ships, mules were then sent on to base camps via the railroads. Mules transported artillery, crew-served weapons, and ammunition. Mules were distributed among transportation, demolition, communication, and reconnaissance platoons, and some were selected for use by medics and for casualty evacuation.

Mules could often be cantankerous, especially when being loaded into aircraft to fly from India over “the Hump” to China. Mules sometimes kicked soldiers and expressed fear when encountering elephants. Because mules could alert an enemy that Allied troops were approaching, veterinarians sometimes surgically removed their vocal cords to silence them.



U.S. Marine Raiders and their dogs, which were used for scouting and running messages, starting off for the jungle front lines on Bougainville, 1943. (National Archives)

Elephants proved useful to Allied and Japanese troops in the China-Burma-India Theater. Elephants could perform heavy work equivalent to that of a dozen people. Elephants were employed to transport supplies and to load cargo planes. One elephant, called Elmer, was often featured in the press and was shown lifting 55-gal fuel drums with his trunk to adjacent airplanes. Elephants were also used to string communication lines, especially in swampy locations where vehicles could not navigate.

Pigeons, cared for by various signal corps, carried messages between units and were essential during periods when radio silence was imposed. Thousands of soldiers, many of them pigeon fanciers, worked in the U.S. Army Pigeon Service, tending to some 54,000 pigeons. The British, Canadians, and Australians also organized pigeon units. Some Allied pigeons were trained to fly messages at night in an attempt to evade enemy fire. The Axis powers also used bird messengers.

Pigeons accompanied ground troops and were also deployed from submarines and seaplanes. Paratroopers often carried pigeons on their jumps. Pigeons flew hundreds of miles over land or water from behind enemy lines to their lofts. Equipped with small cameras, pigeons provided images of enemy troops and ships so officers could determine targets for future air raids. Messages carried by pigeon alerted offi-

cers to downed aircraft, grounded ships, and the need for plasma supplies. News pigeons carried timely dispatches from the front written by war correspondents.

War pigeons faced death not only from enemy weapons but also because of disease and birds of prey. Because of difficult jungle climates and high humidity, the militaries bred pigeons in those areas so that the offspring would be accustomed to tropical conditions. Pigeons were essential in some areas where jungle often prevented line and wireless communications from being effective. Many World War II pigeons received ranks and service awards. Some were buried with military honors, while others were mounted for display in museums.

Both Allied and Axis forces mobilized war dogs. British handlers and dogs prepared at the War Dogs Training Schools. The Soviets trained sledge dogs and placed mines on dogs that crawled underneath tanks prior to detonation. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, dog fanciers in the United States discussed the idea of establishing a system to identify and train war dogs for the military. World War I veteran Harry I. Caesar and poodle breeder Alene Erlanger communicated with quartermaster general Major General Edmund B. Gregory to form Dogs for Defense. This group encouraged patriotic Americans to donate dogs of suitable size and temperament for military service. Newspaper advertisements, posters, and movie reels promoted U.S. war dogs. Regional and state Dogs for Defense representatives recruited and evaluated the animals. Many people donated their dogs because they could not afford to feed them during the war. In any case, donors were not allowed any information as to the disposition of the dogs.

American Kennel Club dog shows sponsored war dog exhibitions and war dog classes to raise funds and identify dogs with qualities the military sought. War dogs were featured at the prestigious Westminster Kennel Club Dog Show. Throughout the country, war dog demonstrations and rallies were held, with themes such as “Back the Attack.” On the home front, war dogs guarded prisoner-of-war camps and defended industries from saboteurs. Other breeds, such as beagles, were used to assist in the rehabilitation of wounded veterans.

German-born trainers such as Willy Necker introduced effective training regimens at American war dog training and reception centers. Such facilities were distributed throughout the United States, with significant sites located at Front Royal, Virginia; San Carlos, California; and Fort Robinson, Nebraska. Necker left no doubt about his allegiance, teaching one dog to place its paw over its snout whenever it heard the name “Hitler.”

U.S. Marine war dog platoons trained at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, and Camp Pendleton, California. Their mission was to locate enemy forces, mines, and booby traps. These dogs, mostly Doberman pinschers, guarded soldiers on patrol and alerted them to approaching enemy soldiers. The Marine dogs also transported supplies and messages. Each Marine division had an attached war dog platoon.

Germany mobilized an estimated 200,000 war dogs. Japan trained war dogs at Nanjing (Nanking) in China, and it had 25,000 trained before its attack on Pearl Harbor. The Japanese used black dogs for night service and white dogs to serve in snow.

After their service was completed, American war dogs were shipped to war dog centers for training to readjust to civilian life before returning to their families. Even after war dogs returned home, their owners did not know where their pets had served. War dog handlers formed closed attachments to their charges, and they often asked the dogs' owners if they could keep the dogs with which they had served. Heroic animals were often praised in newspaper accounts. Chips, perhaps the war's most famous dog, who helped capture Italian soldiers, gained notoriety for biting General Dwight D. Eisenhower. Newspapers reported awards presented to Chips and his handlers.

World War II motivated strange uses of animals. Camels provided the power for mills used to mix mortar. Mice in the Soviet Union chewed through German tank engine wires; the Germans responded by procuring cats to eat the mice. Canaries and mice helped soldiers determine whether poisonous gases were present in tunnels. Among the more bizarre use of animals was a U.S. Army Air Forces plan to place incendiary bombs on bats, which would then be released to fly in kamikaze-style raids against Japanese military sites. Millions of animals and birds served in the war, and numerous memoirs around the world testify to their contributions.

Elizabeth D. Schafer

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Burma Road; China-Burma-India Theater; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Liberty Ships; United States, Home Front

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(German acronym for *Flugzeug* [aircraft] *Abwehr* [defense] *Kanonen* [cannon]; the British knew antiaircraft artillery as "ack-ack"). The Americans used these two terms and also "Triple A." In the latter half of the 1930s, new equipment appeared in antiaircraft units around the world. Countries adopted slightly larger-caliber and more-effective guns with higher rates of fire.

Introduced in 1935, the German 88 mm gun became perhaps the most feared artillery weapon of the war. Widely used as a tank gun, it was also a powerful antitank gun and a coast defense and antiaircraft weapon. With a practical ceiling of 35,000 ft, the 88 posed a great threat to enemy bombers. A 105 mm gun also saw widespread use, and in 1942, with Allied bombing intensified, Germany fielded a 128 mm gun as an interim system (pending development of a superheavy 150 mm gun, which, however, never entered service). Lighter German antiaircraft guns ranged from 20 mm to 55 mm. Germany used 20 mm and 37 mm antiaircraft guns in a variety of configurations on several motorized platforms. The effectiveness of German antiaircraft defenses was reduced by a lack of precision radar control (RPC) systems and the fact that its antiaircraft projectiles lacked proximity fuses. The Italians also used a wide range of antiaircraft guns up to 90 mm in size.

Beginning in 1938, the British produced a 3.7-inch gun, which many came to believe was their best gun of the war. It had a ceiling of 28,000 ft. Its effectiveness was greatly increased by the introduction of RPC in 1944. This combination of radar, predictors, and proximity-fused ammunition gave it a high rate of success against German V-1 flying bombs. The U.S. Army began to replace its 3-inch gun with a 90 mm gun in 1940.

The Soviets also employed a wide range of antiaircraft weapons. They reproduced both the Swedish Bofors 25 mm and 40 mm guns, retooling the latter to fire a 37 mm projectile. The largest Soviet field antiaircraft weapon was the 76.2 mm gun; for home defense the Soviets relied on the 85 mm gun. Produced in large numbers, it was the principal Soviet antiaircraft gun of the war. As was the case with the smaller 76.2 mm gun, the 85 mm piece saw widespread service as main tank armament. The Soviets claimed that antiaircraft guns shot down 2,800 Axis aircraft, 40 percent of the total downed.

Operating on the generally held belief in the 1930s that bombers would always get through, the British focused their aviation efforts on developing a strategic bomber force at the expense of air defense. At war's outbreak, antiaircraft artillery was directed by predictors that followed the path of aircraft mechanically; they were useless at night or in poor visibility. Although all major powers experimented with new detection devices, the British made the primary strides in the field of operational radar. This interception device established the height, course, and speed of enemy aircraft. Throwing up shell barrages through which aircraft flew was no more

Antiaircraft Artillery (AAA) and Employment

Antiaircraft artillery (AAA) is ground defense against aircraft. The Germans knew antiaircraft fire by the term *flak*



Antiaircraft Bofors gun on a mound overlooking the beach in Algeria with a U.S. anti-aircraft artillery crew in position, 1943. (Library of Congress)

successful as a tactic in World War II than it had been in World War I, but ground-fire threats increased substantially when the speed and height of a bomber stream could be ascertained by radar.

In the autumn of 1939, Britain still had only 540 anti-aircraft guns larger than 50 mm. During the Battle of Britain, anti-aircraft artillery took second place to fighter aircraft. Most sources place the number of aircraft shot down by anti-aircraft artillery at fewer than 300 of the nearly 1,800 Luftwaffe planes destroyed. Yet ground fire forced aircraft to higher elevations, unnerved aircrews, and diminished bombing accuracy.

Flak was the principal defense against night attack. Night fighters were still being developed, although the requisite technology would evolve rapidly. Artillery sighting was largely visual until October 1940, when the British began to equip their forces with gun-laying radar, which increased the accuracy of artillery fire in all weather.

Reliance in Britain on lesser-trained territorial forces for anti-aircraft defense foreshadowed personnel difficulties the Axis powers would later encounter in the war. Experienced men usually deployed to distant fronts or to sea, and so air defense depended on women, those too old to qualify for military service, or the physically restricted. During the war about 70,000 women served in British anti-aircraft units.

When the Royal Air Force (RAF) and U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) strategic bombing campaigns gained impetus in 1942, German flak posed a serious threat. Aircraft coming in below 8,000 ft often suffered grievous losses from ground fire. Damage from flak continued to rise in the air war, and gunfire from the ground shot down more Allied bombers than did fighter aircraft.

Technological developments moved at a staggering pace as the fighting continued. By 1941, German flak units began deploying incendiary shells, gun-laying radar, and grooved projectiles that fragmented into small pieces, causing dread-

ful damage to aircraft. By 1943, most antiaircraft artillery shells had been converted from powder to mechanical fuses. Flashless propellants augmented the efficiency of the guns, as did automatic fuse-setters that improved accuracy and amplified the rate of fire two or three times. Use of electric predictors became fairly common. In 1944, the Germans introduced double fuses, both contact and timed, that boosted the efficacy of guns severalfold. By then, the Allies were customarily installing the U.S. Navy–developed proximity fuses in their shells, a technology the Germans never successfully employed.

For all that, the Germans put to trial several innovative antiaircraft techniques, such as squeeze-bore and sabot mechanisms designed primarily to increase the muzzle velocity of guns. During the course of the war, Germany developed four types of flak rockets, some guided, some not. The effect of flak rockets was in the main psychological, though, since German forces lacked operational proximity fuses, and radio-controlled guidance systems were rudimentary and subject to degradation.

In several urban areas, such as Berlin, Vienna, and the “flak alley” around Köln, Germany constructed large flak towers to serve as gun platforms. Some covered an entire city block and were more than 130 ft high (corresponding in size to a 13-story building) with reinforced concrete walls up to 8 ft thick. Batteries sited on the roofs mounted heavy antiaircraft artillery and multiple-barreled pom-pom cannon in the structures’ turreted corners.

As the war progressed and Allied air raids occurred almost daily, German antiaircraft defenses faced challenges in growing measure. The quality of flak personnel plummeted as youngsters, women, disabled veterans, foreigners, and even prisoners of war serviced the artillery. At war’s end, nearly half of all German gun crews were auxiliaries or civilians. Ammunition shortages manifested themselves in a big way in 1944, necessitating firing restrictions during air raids. Shortages would eventually reduce firing potential by more than one-half.

Nonetheless, German flak units caused about one-third of Allied aircraft losses and inflicted at least two-thirds of total aircraft damage through 1944. As German fighter protection became weaker, antiaircraft artillery invariably took on a larger role, continuing to impair Allied aircraft and to degrade bombing accuracy. According to U.S. reports, the USAAF lost 18,418 aircraft in European combat, 7,821 of them downed by flak. Follow-on studies credited antiaircraft artillery for as much as 40 percent of bombing errors.

After the June 1944 Allied invasion of Europe, Germany launched its V-1 buzz-bomb campaign in earnest. These low-altitude weapons, flying at nearly 400 mph, were tricky to locate and even harder to down. Fighters had little time to spot and destroy a buzz bomb. Antiaircraft artillery constituted the final line of defense against the V-1s.

Increasing motorization of land forces fostered a need for self-propelled antiaircraft artillery. Although U.S. ground forces used the .50 caliber Browning machine gun in various configurations for basic air defense, these were frequently mounted with the 37 mm antiaircraft gun, so the latter could aim with the Browning’s tracer fire. After 1943, the army’s chief heavy antiaircraft artillery piece, the 90 mm gun, was often mounted on a multipurpose carriage for antiaircraft or field artillery use. In early 1944, the army adopted the 120 mm antiaircraft stratosphere gun, which was nearly twice the size and weight of the 90 mm fieldpiece.

Beginning in 1940, the U.S. Navy devoted considerable attention to improving its antiaircraft defenses. Experience showed that 20 mm cannon of Swiss design were many times more effective against aircraft than machine guns. By 1945, the navy had deployed about 13,000 20-mm artillery tubes aboard ship and had inflicted nearly one-third of all Japanese aircraft losses with these weapons. In due course, the navy deployed some 5,000 40-mm guns of Swedish design in single, dual, and quad mounts. Also widely used shipboard was the 5-inch/38-caliber dual-purpose—that is, antiaircraft and antiship—gun, and some 3,000 were eventually mounted on ships. Proximity fuses in the 5-inch weapon greatly increased antiaircraft effectiveness.

Throughout the war, technological constraints and manufacturing hindrances beset Japanese antiaircraft-artillery capabilities. In 1941, the Japanese deployed just 300 guns in defense of the home islands, and by 1945, even in the face of the American air onslaught, Japan had only 2,000 guns earmarked for homeland defense. The standard Japanese antiaircraft gun throughout the war was the 75 mm type that first saw service in the 1920s. In the Japanese navy, the 25 mm was the standard light antiaircraft gun, and the 5-inch was the standard heavy. Some 500 heavy artillery pieces were committed to the defense of Tokyo by 1944, but fire control and radar capabilities for most weaponry remained inadequate.

Compared with that of the Germans, Japanese flak was far less effective against Allied air attack. During the entire war, Japanese antiaircraft artillery was credited with destroying just 1,524 American aircraft. Japanese naval vessels, perennially lacking in shipboard antiaircraft defense, suffered accordingly.

In sum, during the war, flak was often quite lethal and cost-effective, downing many enemy aircraft and complicating air missions. It made low-altitude bombing and strafing operations a risky business. Evolving technology—above all, radar—increased gun efficacy exponentially.

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See also

Braun, Wernher von; Radar; Strategic Bombing; V-1 Buzz Bomb

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Anti-Comintern Pact (25 November 1936)

Formal alliance between Germany and Japan. Signed in Berlin on 25 November 1936, the Anti-Comintern Pact was ostensibly a response to the activities of the Communist International (the Comintern), the Soviet organization that claimed leadership of the world socialist movement. Nominally intended to oppose the existence and expansion of international communism, the agreement was really a diplomatic tool directed at achieving other goals.

German Special Ambassador Plenipotentiary Joachim von Ribbentrop first proposed such an agreement in 1935, but the Foreign Office and the army opposed it. Since World War I, the Germans had worked to develop a close relationship with China. This pact would nullify these efforts, as Japan and China were at loggerheads over the Japanese takeover of Manchuria. Nevertheless, Adolf Hitler's approval ended discussion. Hitler hoped that the pact would pressure Great Britain not to interfere with Germany's military buildup and his plans for eastward expansion. In any case, British leaders were concerned about the escalating Japanese threat to their interests in the Far East.

Developed from conversations between Ribbentrop and Japanese military attaché Major General Hiroshi Ōshima, the pact was Hitler's effort to tie Japan to Germany. Japanese leaders saw it as an important step toward finding an ally in an increasingly hostile world. Alienated from the West by its takeover of Manchuria, Japan was also involved in armed clashes with Soviet forces in the Far East. The Japanese hoped that a pact with Germany would strengthen its position vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. Thus, the wording of the pact was more important to the Japanese than to the Germans.

On the same day, Germany and Japan signed another agreement providing that in case of an unprovoked attack by the Soviet Union against Germany or Japan, the two nations would consult on what measures to take "to safeguard [their] common interests," and in any case they would do nothing to assist the Soviet Union. They also agreed that neither nation would make any political treaties with the Soviet Union. Germany also recognized Manzhouguo (Manchukuo), the Japanese puppet regime in Manchuria.

Germany later employed the Anti-Comintern Pact as a litmus test to determine the loyalty of minor allies. Italy adhered

to the pact on 6 November 1937. The pact was renewed in 1941 with 11 other countries as signatories.

To many observers, the pact symbolized Germany's resurgence as the most powerful country in Europe. The threat of global cooperation between Germany and Japan directly imperiled the overextended empires of France and Great Britain. However, the pact, much like Germany's actual capabilities, was more illusion than reality. Both signatories failed to cooperate, and only rarely did one even inform the other of its intentions. An even greater indication of the pact's worthlessness was Hitler's breaking of its terms when he signed the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact in August 1939.

C. J. Horn

See also

German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact; Hitler, Adolf; Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact; Ōshima Hiroshi; Ribbentrop, Ulrich Friedrich Willy Joachim von; Tripartite Pact

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Antisubmarine Warfare

The effectiveness of submarine attacks made the development of antisubmarine warfare tactics one of the most important challenges for both sides during World War II. At the beginning of the war, both the Allied and Axis powers underestimated the potential impact of submarine warfare. The British were confident that ASDIC (for Allied Submarine Detection Investigating Committee), later known as *sonar* (*sound navigation ranging*), would enable them to detect submarines out to a range of several thousand yards and that they would thus be able to sink German submarines at will. Then too, in September 1939 Germany had few submarines. On 1 September 1939, commander of German submarines Kommodore (commodore) Karl Dönitz had available but 57 submarines, of which 27 were oceangoing types.

Nonetheless, submarines quickly emerged as potent weapons in the European Theater because of the domination of the British surface navy and improvements in both weapons and tactics. During the first two months of the war, U-boats were able to sink 67 Allied naval and merchant vessels. Italian submarines also participated in this effort, in the course of the war sinking a half million tons of Allied Atlantic

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONTROVERSY
Axis Cooperation, Myth and Reality

The United States and Great Britain formed one of the closest and most effective alliances in history during World War II, and both cooperated reasonably well with their other principal ally, the Soviet Union. In sharp contrast, the three major Axis powers—Germany, Italy, and Japan—failed to coordinate their efforts and often failed to communicate their intentions to one another. This lack of cooperation actually mirrored the fractious relationships of their own armed services. The Japanese army and navy refused to share resources, technology, or merchant shipping with each other. The German armed forces also hoarded scarce resources, and the German and Italian air forces only grudgingly supported their navies.

What might better Axis cooperation have accomplished? Obviously, geographic separation and their differing objectives and enemies limited the extent of Axis cooperation, but the three powers might have helped one another much more than they did. Perhaps the major issue was the failure of the three states to develop common goals and objectives. If Japan had joined Germany in a full-scale invasion of the Soviet Union, the Axis powers might have won the war.

Simply communicating their plans and objectives would have made a tremendous difference. Germany never informed Italy in advance of its invasion of France and the Low Countries, nor did Italy inform Germany beforehand of its invasion of Greece. Japan did not inform either of its planned attack on Pearl Harbor. Germany might have positioned U-boats off the American coast to go into action immediately after the United States entered the war. Japanese submarines might have entered the Battle of the At-

lantic and made Allied merchant shipping their primary targets.

Even aggressive patrols and military demonstrations along the Manchurian border by Japan's Kwantung Army could have tied down Soviet forces and prevented the transfer of some of the 40 Soviet divisions that spearheaded the 1941 winter counteroffensive. Italy, as a prewar German study suggested, would have helped Germany immeasurably by remaining neutral and serving as a conduit for critical imports. Once it entered the war, however, Adolf Hitler needed to work Italy into his plans and reward its efforts. Early and more significant German support of Italy's offensive in North Africa (support, however, that Italy did not want) against Egypt might well have paid handsome dividends, securing the Suez Canal and Middle Eastern oil, as would have greater Luftwaffe support of the Italian navy.

Honest reporting of their military operations would also have assisted the Axis war efforts. The Japanese government informed neither its citizens nor its allies of its defeat at Midway, and Germany continued to expect significant naval victories from Japan. Similarly, the Germans concealed the magnitude of their defeats on the Soviet front, and Japan continued to expect a Soviet collapse long after that possibility had disappeared. All three failed to share intelligence, technology, and experience. Germany would have benefited from Japanese torpedoes and experience in naval combat and aviation, and Japan from German advances in rocketry, jet aircraft, radar, and armored warfare. Some of this occurred, of course, but nothing that matched the scale of cooperation that developed between the Allied powers.

The months immediately following Japan's entry into the war offered the greatest opportunity for coordinated Axis attacks. Instead of scattering its efforts at divergent points across the Pacific, a Japanese land and naval offensive might well have seized Ceylon and India and from there threatened Egypt and the Persian Gulf while the Afrika Korps drove into Egypt. There existed a real opportunity to overrun the Middle East and India before the United States could build up its military resources in a significant way.

Still, better cooperation would not have solved the mismatch between the Axis powers' goals and capabilities, their overwhelming lack of resources and industrial capacity next to the Allies, or Japan's vulnerability to submarine attack.

Stephen K. Stein

See also

Atlantic, Battle of the; BARBAROSSA, Operation; Pearl Harbor, Attack on

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A TURNING POINT?

Black May

The defeat of German U-boats in the North Atlantic was called by Germany "Black May." The climactic convoy battles of March 1943 had given a first hint that Allied antisubmarine forces were finally gaining the upper hand in the battle for the North Atlantic sea lines of communication. By early 1943, the fully mobilized American shipyards were producing vast numbers of escort vessels in addition to building more merchant ships than were being sunk. Modern long-range naval patrol aircraft such as the B-24 Liberator and escort carrier-based aircraft were closing the dreaded air gap: the last refuge of the wolf packs from Allied air power in the North Atlantic. At the same time, Allied signals intelligence was reading the German U-boat cipher Triton almost continuously and with minimal delay.

On 26 April 1943, the Allies suffered a rare blackout in their ability to read the German cipher, just as 53 U-boats regrouped for an assault on the convoy routes. Miraculously, two eastbound convoys, SC.128 and HX.236, escaped destruction. However, ONS.5, a weather-beaten westbound convoy of 30 merchant ships escorted by seven warships, stumbled into the middle of the wolf packs on 4 May. During the next 48 hours, the U-boats sank 12 ships, but at an unacceptable cost: escort vessels sank six U-boats, and long-range air patrols claimed three others. Radar in aircraft and escort vessels played a decisive role in giving the numerically overmatched escorts a tactical edge in the battle.

Commander of the German U-boat arm Admiral Karl Dönitz was aware of the tilting balance, but he urged his U-boat commanders not to relent. Yet many U-boats failed to reach their areas of operation. The determined antisubmarine offensive in the Bay of Biscay by aircraft of the Royal Air Force Coastal Command destroyed six U-boats during May and forced seven others to return to base.

During the second week of May, the ragged survivors of the North Atlantic wolf packs, which had operated against convoys ONS.5 and SL.128, regrouped and deployed against HX.237 and SC.129. Only three merchantmen were sunk at the expense of the same number of U-boats. In addition to radar, the contribution of the small escort carrier *Biter*, which had provided air cover for HX.237 and SC.129, was vital in denying the German submarines tactical freedom on the surface near the convoys. When the U-boats renewed their attacks against convoy SC.130 between 15 and 20 May, escort vessels sank two U-boats, and shore-based aircraft claimed three others. SC.130 suffered no casualties. The U-boat offensive failed entirely against HX.239, a convoy with a rather generous organic air cover provided by escort carriers USS *Bogue* and HMS *Archer*. Not a single U-boat managed to close with the convoy, and on 23 May one U-boat fell victim to the rockets of one of the *Archer's* aircraft. The following day, Dönitz recognized the futility of the enterprise and canceled all further operations in

the North Atlantic. By the third week in May, more than 33 U-boats had been sunk and almost the same number had been damaged, nearly all in convoy battles in the North Atlantic or during transit through the Bay of Biscay.

The month went down in German naval annals as "Black May," with losses reaching 40 U-boats. At the end of May 1943, the British Naval Staff noted with satisfaction the cessation of U-boat activity. SC.130 was the last North Atlantic convoy to be seriously menaced during the war.

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See also

Aircraft, Naval; Aircraft Carriers; Antisubmarine Warfare; Atlantic, Battle of the; Aviation, Naval; Convoys, Allied; Convoys SC.122 and HX.229, Battle of; Dönitz, Karl; Radar; Signals Intelligence; Wolf Pack

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shipping. Allied losses continued to climb, and at the peak of the Battle of the Atlantic in March 1943, U-boats sank 96 ships in only 20 days. Meanwhile, after overcoming deficiencies in armament and strategy, U.S. Navy submarines extracted a significant toll on Japanese shipping in the Pacific Theater. By the end of the war, U.S. submarines had accounted for 57 percent of all Japanese naval and merchant losses.

Initially, the main tactics and weapons used in antisubmarine efforts by both sides during the war were those that had been developed and honed during World War I. Soon

after the outbreak of World War II, the British reintroduced the convoy system. This had proved successful in World War I, and it minimized losses during World War II. For instance, at the outbreak of World War II, ships traveling in convoys between North America and Great Britain suffered only 2 percent losses until the Germans developed improved tactics. The *Rudeltaktik* (wolf tactic, which the Allies referred to as the wolf pack) developed by Dönitz involved simultaneous attacks at night by many submarines. It diminished the effectiveness of the convoy system, which was in any case ini-



U.S. Navy sailors load hedgehog bomb projectors used in antisubmarine warfare. (Corbis)

tially hampered by a lack of escort ships. Not until 1943 could the Allies deploy sufficient numbers of escorts to optimize the convoy system, which worked best with a ratio of at least one escort for every three merchant ships.

One exception to the convoy system in the Atlantic was the use of fast liners to carry troops. Ships such as the *Queen Elizabeth* and *Queen Mary* were able to travel at more than 26 knots and literally outrun U-boats. Throughout the war, the superliners sailed without escorts and ultimately without casualties. Concurrently, in the Pacific, U.S. submarine success was partly attributable to Japan's failure—prompted by its own glaring lack of escort vessels—to use convoys, which left Japanese merchant and naval ships vulnerable to submarine attack. In December 1941, the Japanese had only four Shimushu or Type A-class ships, their only purpose-built escort warships, and they were not equipped with hydrophones until the autumn of 1942, when the Royal Navy had some 2,100 vessels of all types equipped with sonar.

British defenses of the vital Atlantic trade routes were strengthened in May 1941 when the U.S. Navy began escorting convoys between the United States and Iceland. Then, in June 1941, Canada created the Canadian Escort Force for the same purpose. The Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) played a key role in the Battle of the Atlantic. Comprising only 6 destroyers and 5 minesweepers at the beginning of the war, the RCN grew by war's end to include 2 light carriers, 2 light cruisers, 15 destroyers, 60 frigates, 118 corvettes, and many other vessels. Virtually all these ships were committed to the Battle of the Atlantic.

Antisubmarine weapons existed in two broad forms: passive and active. Passive weapons included underwater mines and impediments, such as submarine nets, designed to prevent submarines from traveling in certain areas. Underwater contact mines exploded when they touched a hull; magnetic mines exploded when a ship or submarine was in their vicinity. Mines could be placed at a variety of depths to make them more effective.

To protect their ships against torpedoes, the Allied powers developed several countermeasures. One of the most successful was the “noisemaker.” Towed behind a ship, it could disable advanced acoustic torpedoes. Another was the degausser, which discharged an electronic current at regular intervals through a cable around the hull of a ship. The current helped to reduce the ship’s magnetic field, reducing its vulnerability to magnetic torpedoes.

Active antisubmarine weapons included depth charges, torpedoes, aerial bombs, and other explosive devices designed to rupture the hull of a submarine and sink it. The depth charge was a waterproof bomb that could be set to explode at a particular depth. The charge did not have to come into contact with a submarine to be effective; its concussion could breach a submarine’s hull.

Depth charges improved during the course of the war. Such weapons could be either rolled off the stern of a ship or fired at specific areas. Weapons such as the “hedgehog,” when fired from a ship, delivered several smaller charges over a broad area. Depth charges and torpedoes could also be delivered by aircraft. As the war progressed, the crews of Allied planes and ships became more adept at developing patterns to enhance the effectiveness of depth-charge runs.

Key to the success of a surface attack on submarines was the escorting ships’ ability to use their superior speed to keep enemy submarines contained within a certain area and then to deliver successive depth-charge attacks. Submarines usually have a smaller turning ratio than escort vessels, so containment of the submarine was especially important to a successful attack.

Antisubmarine weapons were most commonly deployed by escort ships and airplanes. The escorts were usually small, lightly armed, fast craft ranging from destroyers and corvettes to frigates and small motor launches. Some merchant ships were also equipped with depth charges or other antisubmarine weapons. Aircraft proved especially useful in antisubmarine warfare. They could spot submarines from long distances and either attack the submarines themselves or report a submarine’s presence to surface units. Aircraft could also use a variety of weapons to attack the submarine. However, because of the Battle of Britain and the subsequent concentration on strategic bombing, British and U.S. air commanders were reluctant to allocate aircraft for antisubmarine roles. Large flying boats and later the long-range Consolidated B-24 Liberator equipped with radar proved critical in closing the mid-Atlantic gap, a wide area in the central Atlantic that had lacked air protection.

In 1943, the German navy began equipping U-boats with significant antiaircraft defenses, including machine guns and rapid-fire 20 mm and 37 mm cannon. These German antiaircraft defenses were subsequently overcome as the Allies began to deploy additional long-range bombers. During one

week-long period in the summer of 1943, Allied aircraft sank nine U-boats in the Bay of Biscay alone.

The increased use of aircraft along the coasts of the United States and Great Britain reduced the number of submarine attacks in these regions, but the air gap remained without air protection. To improve the convoys’ chances, the British modified ships into escort carriers—merchant or naval ships that had the capability to launch one or more aircraft.

Critical in antisubmarine warfare was the ability to locate the submarine and therefore render its stealth meaningless. In the immediate aftermath of World War I, sonar (known as ASDIC by the British) was developed. Sonar devices sent out sound pulses and then ranged underwater using the echoes. Using detection devices and direction finders, the Allies were able to detect and attack submarines before they came in range of the merchant vessels. Ships could also be fitted with hydrophones or other listening devices that detected the sounds emitted by a submarine. Although the Germans endeavored to develop rubber sheathing for their U-boats, sonar remained the most important detection device in anti-submarine warfare.

Surface radar could also be used to detect submarines, since the subs had to surface periodically to recharge their electric batteries. British Coastal Command aircraft were also equipped with lightweight 10 cm radar developed by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology radiation laboratory; working with Royal Navy corvettes, such aircraft played a key role in the Battle of the Atlantic. Radar enabled Allied aircraft or surface ships to locate Axis submarines and attack them, even at night. The widespread installation of radar in Allied aircraft brought increasing numbers of U-boat “kills.” In response, the U-boats began using their own acoustic detection devices, called Biscay crosses, to warn of approaching planes. However, the devices often did not provide the U-boat crews sufficient time to react before an attack.

Even before the United States entered the war, Washington and London had initiated a variety of cooperative programs to protect merchant ships. German successes added urgency to these efforts, which led to establishment of the Anglo-American integrated convoy system. As a result of the Allied Convoy Conference in 1943, lines of control over convoys were split: the United States controlled the Central and South Atlantic, and Canada and Great Britain controlled the northern convoy routes.

In May 1943, U.S. chief of naval operations Admiral Ernest King created the Tenth Fleet. Although it did not have ships attached to it, the Tenth Fleet maintained the submarine tracking room (covertly classified as *unit F-21*), which used radar and sonar reports and cryptologic intelligence—of immense importance in this campaign—to plot the movement of Axis submarines in the Atlantic and Pacific.

F-21 coordinated U.S. antisubmarine efforts with the British tracking section at the Admiralty in London and with a much smaller unit attached to the Canadian naval command.

The combination of aircraft, better intelligence, increased use of radar and sonar, and improved coordination and tactics led to massive losses among the German U-boat force. By 1943, Allied antisubmarine efforts were sinking, on average, one dozen U-boats a month. By the summer of 1943, the Battle of the Atlantic was being won. In 1943 and 1944, the Allies sank 478 U-boats, and Allied merchant losses were dramatically reduced.

Aircraft proved vital in antisubmarine warfare; they could deflect German bomber attacks against the Allied convoys and do battle with surfaced submarines. In order to provide fighter protection, the British equipped several merchantmen with a forward catapult that held a modified Hurricane fighter. After launch and intercept, the fighter would try to make landfall or else would land in the water.

A more satisfactory solution was to fit a flight deck to the hull of a merchant ship. The German cargo/passenger ship *Hannover*, taken in March 1940, was converted into the first escort carrier, the *Audacity*, and entered service in June 1941 carrying six fighters. Additional escort carriers soon appeared in the form of U.S.-built conversions in the Avenger-class. They entered service with the Royal Navy in the first half of 1942. Designed to carry 15 aircraft each, the escort carriers proved invaluable. Unlike their British counterparts, U.S. captains of escort carriers (CVEs, “Jeep” carriers) ultimately enjoyed complete freedom of action to mount hunt-and-kill missions. Teams composed of an escort carrier and half a dozen destroyers or new destroyer escorts sank 53 U-boats and captured 1; the teams may have been the single most important U.S. contribution to the war against the U-boats.

German U-boats succeeded in shattering a special convoy designated “TM I” (Tanker, Trinidad-Gibraltar) that sailed from Trinidad for Gibraltar at the end of December 1942 and incurred 77 percent losses. This led British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill and U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt to concentrate on the U-boat menace during their meeting at Casablanca in January 1943. Churchill urged that priority be given to the Battle of the Atlantic, and the Allied leaders decided to provide for the effort additional convoy escorts, aircraft assets (including the VLR Consolidated B-24 Liberator, which was to be based at Newfoundland for the first time to close the Greenland air gap), and escort carriers. Unfortunately, nearly three months passed before these available assets were diverted to the battle.

Carrier-based aircraft were essential in closing the mid-Atlantic gap, and long-range aircraft flying from Britain also were important, although the preoccupation of the Royal Air Force (RAF) with strategic bombing meant that Coastal Com-

mand possessed few long-range aircraft. Only grudgingly did Bomber Command’s Air Marshal Arthur Harris make such air assets available. The U.S. Consolidated PBY Catalina and PB2Y Coronado and the British Short Sunderland flying boats proved invaluable, as did long-range B-24 Liberator and British Lancaster bombers.

In August 1944, RAF Bomber Command Squadron 617 (the “Dam Busters”) mounted attacks with special “tallboy” bombs against the concrete-reinforced U-boat pens of the Bay of Biscay. These raids were highly effective, and in the last year of the war, 57 U-boats were destroyed by bombing, compared with only 5 destroyed by bombers in the previous five years. This shows what might have been accomplished had the bombers been directed against the submarines earlier. Indeed, after March 1943, aircraft were probably the chief factor in the defeat of the U-boats. Between March 1943 and May 1945, a total of 590 U-boats were destroyed, compared with only 194 in the previous three and one-half years of war. Of the 590 destroyed, 290 were by air power, 174 by ships, and the remainder through a combination of the two or from other causes.

A combination of factors brought the Allies victory in the Battle of the Atlantic. The convoy system was important, but so too was technology, primarily the 10 cm radar sets, sonar, improved depth charges, rockets fired from aircraft, and forward-thrown shipborne antisubmarine “hedgehogs” or “mousetraps” (small depth charges known to the British as *squids*). The high-intensity Leigh light on aircraft illuminated the sea at night. Radio detection equipment was vital, and long-range aviation helped narrow the so-called “black hole” in the central Atlantic. Intelligence also played a role, chiefly ULTRA intercepts of U-boat communications that guided aircraft to the submarines. The hunter-killer groups operating independently of the convoys also carried the war to the submarines. It is true, however, that Allied and interservice cooperation was far too long in coming.

In the Pacific Campaign, use of submarines turned out to be decisive, but this time it was the Allies—specifically U.S. submarines—that carried the war to the Japanese. Allied success came in part because the Japanese never developed effective antisubmarine techniques. The Japanese also failed to use their own submarines effectively. Although they developed some fine, large, long-range types, the Japanese never really deployed their submarines against Allied merchant ships. The Imperial Japanese Navy subscribed to the doctrine that submarines were an ancillary weapon of the main battle fleet. The ineffectiveness of U.S. submarines early in the Pacific because of a faulty torpedo only reinforced the Japanese attitude that submarines were not a key weapons system. The Japanese often used their own submarines as long-range transports and supply vessels, and some Japanese submarines carried aircraft. In addition, design problems

(the Japanese submarines were large and easily detectable) further minimized Japanese submarines' effectiveness.

Because they lacked radar detection and avoidance systems, Japanese submarines were especially vulnerable to antisubmarine efforts. The Japanese only deployed 190 submarines during the course of the war, and the Allies sank 129 of them. For their part, Japanese submarines only sank 184 merchant vessels during the entire war, and they made no effort to attack Allied transport and supply convoys from the mainland United States. The most significant danger to Allied merchant shipping in the Pacific actually came from the handful of German U-boats and raiders that operated in the area or from Japanese air units. In the Pacific Theater, the Allies also successfully employed the antisubmarine tactics developed in the Atlantic Campaign to further minimize merchant losses.

Ineffective Japanese antisubmarine warfare techniques led to the lowest percentage of losses for U.S. submarines of any of the submarine forces of the major powers during the war. It was not until the end of 1943 that the Japanese navy established its first escort squadron and not until 1944 that significant air units began to engage in antisubmarine patrols. It was a case of too little, too late. The first Japanese depth charges, which used a time fuse rather than a pressure-activated detonation device, were also ineffective. More significantly, the Japanese lacked antisubmarine sonar and lightweight radar sets. These considerations and the loss of so many Japanese aircraft in combat reduced the effectiveness of Japan's antisubmarine patrols. Finally, U.S. submarines could detect Japanese radar emissions.

Antisubmarine warfare came into its own in World War II. It was certainly a key factor in the war at sea, at least in the Atlantic Theater.

Thomas Lansford and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Atlantic, Battle of; Canada, Navy; Casablanca Conference; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Convoy PQ 17; Convoys, Allied; Depth Charges; Dönitz, Karl; Harris, Sir Arthur Travers; Hunter-Killer Groups; King, Ernest Joseph; Mines, Sea; Minesweeping and Minelaying; Naval Warfare; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Submarines; U.S. Submarine Operations against Japan; Wolf Pack

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Antitank Guns and Warfare

The evolution of antitank (AT) warfare in World War II was a continual trade-off between technology and tactical doctrine. At the start of the war, most armies believed that the tank itself was the most effective AT weapon. In the earliest days of the fighting, however, it became clear that the smaller-caliber guns on most tanks were ineffective against opposing armor. The light, towed antitank guns that were supposed to be the backup system were even more ineffective. Thus, field artillery firing in the direct-fire mode became the primary antitank system in 1941 and 1942 on the Eastern Front and in North Africa. Field artillery was only able to return to its primary direct-support mission in late 1942 after large numbers of heavier AT guns had been fielded. Infantry armed with AT rifles were supposed to be the third line of defense. These, too, proved mostly worthless and were quickly replaced with projector-type weapons, such as the U.S. bazooka, the British PIAT, and the German Panzerfaust.

For a good 10 years before the war, German doctrine recognized that high-velocity, flat-trajectory antiaircraft guns could be used in an antitank role in emergency situations. In North Africa, the Germans quickly discovered that their 88 mm flak guns were devastatingly effective against British tanks. The Soviets, meanwhile, also believed that the enemy's infantry, rather than its tanks, should be the primary target of Soviet tanks. In 1942, therefore, the Soviets revived the German World War I practice and assigned an antitank role to all artillery weapons. By the final two years of the war, Soviet gun production rates widely outmatched that of the Germans, and the balance tipped in favor of the Soviets.

Most armies used field artillery crews to man antitank units. As the war progressed, antitank guns became larger and more powerful, and many were mounted on self-propelled (SP) carriages to give them mobility equal to the tank. The Germans on the Eastern Front pioneered the use of SP antitank guns in an offensive role. The Soviets also developed a wide range of SP weapons. As the war progressed, the distinctions blurred among the Soviet Union's field, assault, and antitank SP guns. Almost all American SP antitank guns were turret-mounted, but the Germans and especially the Soviets favored turretless vehicles. They were simpler and cheaper to build, and the lack of a turret produced a lower profile that made the vehicles smaller targets.

The Soviets spent the first two years of the war on the defensive, and as a result they mastered defensive AT tactics. At Stalingrad, they deployed four sets of antitank belts to a depth of 6.2 miles. Soviet tanks only counterattacked after all forms of their artillery had stopped the German tank attack. The tactics the Soviets developed at Stalingrad were refined



A U.S. infantry antitank crew fires on Germans who machine-gunned their vehicle, somewhere in Holland, 4 November 1944. (National Archives)

and applied with devastating effect later in the Battle of Kursk, the graveyard of the German panzers.

The U.S. Army organized AT guns into tank-destroyer (TD) battalions. In 1942, a TD battalion had three companies of three platoons of four guns each, either towed or self-propelled. American SP tank destroyers did not do well in North Africa. The operational area was too vast for the guns to mass effectively, and the terrain was too open for the SP vehicles to find good defensive hull-down positions. Many American commanders shifted to the British system of towed antitank guns, but these proved far less effective when combat operations later moved to Western Europe. In that more restricted terrain, the towed guns moved too slowly, and they were too close to the ground to shoot over the hedgerows. By July 1944, the U.S. Army started reequipping all TD battalions with SP guns, but some units still had towed guns by the time of the Battle of the Bulge.

As World War II progressed, the balance shifted back and forth between heavier and more powerful AT guns and

thicker and heavier tank armor. Tank designers were faced with the challenge of developing tanks with guns powerful enough to defeat enemy armor, yet with armor strong enough to resist the fire from enemy tanks and AT guns. Larger guns produced more recoil, which required a larger and heavier turret. That combined with stronger armor added to the overall weight of the tank, decreasing the tank's mobility and creating a larger target. Most World War II tanks had heavier armor on the front and sides, where the tank was more likely to be attacked.

Tanks can be defeated in differing degrees, with correspondingly different results. In a mobility kill, a tank becomes immobilized because of damage to its treads or drive train. Many mobility kills resulted when a tank hit a mine. An immobilized tank can still fire, but it can no longer maneuver. The advantage from the attacker's standpoint is that the tank becomes more vulnerable to subsequent attack. A firepower kill happens when the tank's main gun system can no longer fire. Although the tank has almost no combat power at that

point, it still has the mobility to withdraw from the action, where it can be repaired and placed back into service. A total kill results when the tank is completely destroyed and the crew is killed or severely wounded. In some situations, a trained tank crew may be more difficult to replace than the tank itself.

There are two basic categories of AT projectiles, kinetic energy and chemical energy. A kinetic energy round is a solid-shot projectile that depends on weight and velocity to penetrate and defeat opposing armor. As weight and velocity increase, so does penetrating power. The distance to the target is also a factor. As the round travels farther, its velocity and penetrating power decrease accordingly. The German 88 mm PAK 43 could penetrate 207 mm of armor at a range of 1,640 ft but only 159 mm at a range of 6,562 ft.

The angle of impact also affects a round's penetrating power. At a 30-degree angle of impact, the penetrating power of the PAK 43 at 1,640 ft dropped to 182 mm. Thus, beginning with World War II, most tanks have had sloped armored fronts. The earlier kinetic energy rounds also had a tendency to ricochet off the sloped surfaces. The solution to that problem was a special soft nose cap that allowed the round to stick to the armor surface just long enough for penetration to begin.

Tapering the bore of the gun also could increase the velocity of a kinetic energy round. The squeeze-bore guns fired a round with a plastic driving band that wore away as the round moved forward through the bore. As the bore narrowed, the pressure behind the round increased, which in turn increased muzzle velocity. As the round left the gun's muzzle, the remnants of the driving band fell away. The Germans used this technique on their smaller 42 mm and 75 mm PAK 41 anti-tank guns, but technical factors limited the effectiveness of the squeeze-bore technique in larger calibers.

Dense and heavy material such as tungsten made the best kinetic-energy rounds. But at 1.4 times the density of steel, a projectile made completely from tungsten would have been too hard and too heavy for the bore of the gun to survive more than a handful of firings. In 1944, the British solved that problem with the introduction of the armor-piercing discarding sabot (APDS) round. A relatively small but heavy main projectile was encased completely in a plastic casing that fell away as soon as the round left the muzzle. This system had the advantage of placing the pressure produced by a large-bore gun behind a smaller projectile. The result was greater velocity and penetrating power. The APDS remains the primary AT round today.

Chemical-energy rounds defeat armor through a blast effect. The effectiveness of the round depends on its size, composition, and physical configuration rather than on its velocity. Chemical-energy rounds tend to travel more slowly and have a more arched trajectory than kinetic energy rounds. Thus, their aiming is far more dependent on an accurate estimate of the range to the target.

Chemical-energy projectiles that produce a uniformly distributed blast effect, such as conventional high-explosive (HE) field artillery rounds, were effective against tanks only in the very early days of World War II. But as the war progressed and armor got heavier and stronger, riveted tank hull construction gave way first to welding and then to whole casting. In response, rounds known as hollow-charge or shaped-charge rounds were developed based on the so-called Monroe Effect. In a hollow-charge round, the explosive material is configured in the shape of a recessed cone, with the base of the cone toward the front of the round. The surface of the inverted cone is lined with light retaining metal such as copper. When the round first hits the target, the explosive is detonated from the rear of the round forward. The hollow cone has the effect of focusing the entire force of the blast onto a small spot on the tank's skin exactly opposite the apex of the cone. The result is a very hot and very concentrated jet of gas that punches its way through the tank's armor and sends red-hot fragments into the tank's interior. The tank crew is killed by its own armor. The shaped-charge chemical-energy rounds were designated "high-explosive antitank" (HEAT).

When a HEAT projectile is fired from a conventional gun tube, the stabilizing spin imparted by the bore's rifling tends to degrade the round's penetrating power. That led to the development of fin-stabilized projectiles fired from smooth-bore launchers, such as the bazooka and Panzerfaust. These close-range infantry weapons proved relatively effective. The HEAT warheads did not depend on velocity, so they could be fired from relatively light weapons. HEAT projectiles do depend on warhead weight, however, and in these weapons, that was limited to what an infantryman could carry.

No single system stood out in World War II as the premier tank killer, although certain systems predominated at certain times and in certain theaters. Overall for the war, some 30 percent of British tanks that were knocked out fell victim to anti-tank guns, 25 percent were knocked out by enemy tanks, 22 percent hit mines, 20 percent fell victim to artillery indirect fire and air attack, and the rest were knocked out by infantry AT weapons. In North Africa, Axis AT guns accounted for 40 percent of the British tanks knocked out, whereas in Italy it was only 16 percent. Throughout the war, German tanks were generally better armed and more powerful than their British and American counterparts. That meant that Allied tanks destroyed far fewer panzers than the other way around.

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See also

Ardennes Offensive; Armored Warfare; Artillery Doctrine; Infantry Tactics; Kursk, Battle of; Mines, Land; Stalingrad, Battle of; Tanks, All Powers

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Antonescu, Ion (1882–1946)

Romanian marshal and dictator. Born in Pitești on 14 June 1882 to an aristocratic military family, Ion Antonescu graduated from Romanian military schools in Craiova (1902) and Iași (1904). A cavalry lieutenant during the 1907 Peasant Revolt, he fought in the Second Balkan War and was an operations officer during World War I. From 1922 to 1927, he was military attaché in Paris, Brussels, and London. He was chief of the Army General Staff in 1933 and 1934.

As with most others among the nationalistic Romanian military elite, Antonescu favored British and French political influence. However, he closely monitored both the Third Reich's ascendancy and the looming Soviet Union in his vigilance regarding Romanian territorial integrity, pragmatically preparing for a German accommodation should such a choice become necessary. As minister of defense, Antonescu became embroiled in and frustrated by the corrupt governing vicissitudes of King Carol II, especially after 1937. Protesting Carol's February 1938 establishment of the Royal Dictatorship and his suppression of the fascistic Legion of Saint Michael (the Iron Guard), Antonescu defended the Iron Guard's leaders in court and was briefly jailed and outposted to Chisinau (Kishinev) near the Soviet border.

Following the Soviet Union's occupation of Bessarabia and the ceding of Transylvania to Hungary in summer 1940, in September Carol was coerced into naming Antonescu head of the troubled government before abdicating under pressure in favor of his son Michael, 19. Antonescu's title, Conducator, was the Romanian equivalent of Duce or Führer, and he used his broad powers to oust the Iron Guard from government in January 1941. That June, he assigned 14 Romanian divisions to Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union, Operation BARBAROSSA. For reclaiming Romanian lands from the Soviets, Antonescu was proclaimed marshal by figurehead King Michael I on 23 August 1941. Antonescu continued to supply the German war effort with troops (ultimately, Romania lost substantially more men than Italy) in exchange for German military favor, but on the home front he sought to temper his ally's overbearing appetite for Romania's oil and agricultural bounty.

In coming to terms with Romania's "Jewish question," Antonescu—like Benito Mussolini in Italy—preferred his



Romanian premier Ion Antonescu, on a visit to Munich in July 1941 with Adolf Hitler. Six days later Germany declared war on the USSR, with Romania on the German side. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

own solution to anything dictated by Berlin, employing policies that (officially) allowed Jews to emigrate in exchange for payment or to face deportation to Romanian-administered work camps in the Ukrainian region of Transnistria. Nonetheless, Antonescu's regime was responsible for the deaths of more than 250,000 Romanian and Ukrainian Jews and Gypsies as a result of its "romanization" policies during 1940–1944, despite its refusal to join Germany's "final solution" outright.

Antonescu was deposed by coup-installed King Michael on 23 August 1944 and was turned over to the occupying Soviet forces. His war crimes show trial, held in Bucharest on 4–17 May 1946, led to the death sentence, and he was executed there on 1 June 1946.

Gordon E. Hogg

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Holocaust, The; Romania, Role in War

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Antonov, Alexei Innokentievich (1896–1962)

Soviet general. Born the son of a tsarist artillery officer in Grodno, Belorussia, on 15 September 1896, Alexei Antonov attended the Pavlovsky Military School in Petrograd. He was commissioned as an ensign in the Russian army in 1916 during World War I and was wounded in the last great Russian offensive of 1917. In 1918, Antonov joined the Red Army and had his first experience with staff work as chief of staff of a brigade in the Russian Civil War. He graduated from the Frunze Military Academy in 1931 and was then posted to the Kharkov Military District. In 1937, he graduated from the General Staff Academy, and from 1938 to 1940 he was a lecturer at the Frunze Military Academy.

Antonov held numerous staff positions during World War II. Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, he was promoted to major general and became chief of staff of the Kiev Military District. He was chief of staff of the Southern Army Group from August 1941 to July 1942. In December 1941, he was promoted to lieutenant general. During 1942, he was chief of staff first of the North Caucasian Army Group, then of the Transcaucasian Army Group. Appointed chief of operations of the General Staff in December 1942, after April 1943 Antonov was also deputy chief of the General Staff and was thus at the center of events for the remainder of the war. Antonov was promoted to general of the army in August 1943, a rank he held for the remaining two decades of his military career.

Because chief of the General Staff Aleksandr Vasilevsky was absent so frequently, Antonov acted in that role much of the time. A meticulous planner, he helped to orchestrate the major Soviet offensives of the war, including Operation BAGRATION, the encirclement of the German salient in Belorussia and East Prussia that brought the Red Army to the river Elbe.

In February 1945, Antonov replaced Vasilevsky as chief of the Soviet General Staff. He was a member of the Soviet delegation to both the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences. Demoted in 1946 to first deputy chief of the General Staff and then to first deputy commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, Antonov became commander of that same military district in 1950. In April 1954, he was again first deputy chief of the General Staff, and in 1955, he also assumed the post of chief of staff of Warsaw Pact forces. He held these posts until his death in Moscow on 16 June 1962.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Belorussia Offensive; Potsdam Conference; Vasilevsky, Aleksandr Mikhailovich; Yalta Conference

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Antwerp, Battle of (4 September–2 October 1944)

Western Front battle for the key Belgian port of Antwerp. Its port facilities mark Antwerp as an important strategic city in Europe. Antwerp is about 54 miles from the open sea connected by the Scheldt River, which is fairly narrow below the city and then broadens into a wide estuary. The southern bank of the estuary is formed by the European mainland. The northern side is formed by the South Beveland Peninsula and Walcheren Island, which is connected to the peninsula by a narrow causeway. The port had 600 hydraulic and electric cranes as well as numerous floating cranes, loading bridges, and floating grain elevators. Its clearance facilities included extensive marshaling yards and excellent linkage with the Belgian network of railroads and navigable waterways. It was essential for the Anglo-American forces to secure Antwerp as a supply port in order to sustain their offensive.

The British Second Army took Brussels on 3 September and then managed to cover the 60 miles to Antwerp on 4 September. The British 11th Armoured Division entered the city to find that the port was relatively intact, largely because of activities of the Belgian Resistance. Commander Major General George Philip Roberts of the 11th Armored Division ordered a pause for two days, neglecting to order his troops to secure the bridges over the Albert Canal on the northern edge of the city. Indeed, the whole XXX Corps then paused for a three-day rest to refit and refuel. Had the bridges been secured on 4 September, the way would have been open to the eastern base of the South Beveland Peninsula some 17 miles distant. This would have trapped the remaining units of Generaloberst (U.S. equiv. full general) Gustav von Zagen's Fifteenth Army of some 100,000 men in a pocket. By 6 September, however, German resistance had rallied to permit the British only a small bridgehead that was subsequently destroyed.

The German Fifteenth Army was sealed off in the Calais-Flanders region in what was known as the "Breskens pocket." On 4 September, von Zagen ordered an evacuation across the estuary, in which the troops were ferried to Walcheren. By the time the evacuation was completed on 23 September, the Germans had managed to extract some 86,000 men, 616 guns,



British soldiers lay down covering fire as others dash across a bridge in Antwerp, Belgium, September 1944. (Bettmann/Corbis)

6,200 vehicles, and 6,000 horses. Had the Beveland Peninsula been cut off, the evacuation would have taken a different route, a 12-hour journey to reach safety, and allowed for more Allied interference.

Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery did not bring the full force of his 21st Army Group to bear on clearing the surrounding countryside to allow traffic on the Scheldt River. Indeed, he did not even order the First Canadian Army to clear the Scheldt estuary until late September, even while that force was still tasked with clearing the Channel ports. Not until 16 October did Montgomery order that the Scheldt be cleared with the utmost vigor, irrespective of casualties. The port itself did not open for traffic until 26 November.

Most scholars believe Montgomery's failure at Antwerp influenced his concern that the maximum amount of force and effort be applied in the subsequent Operation MARKET-GARDEN. The Battle of Antwerp was a lost opportunity for the Allies to open a major port early, trap a large German force, and potentially end the war sooner.

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See also

MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Scheldt, Battles

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Anzio, Battle of (22 January–25 May 1944)

Allied amphibious operation in Italy from January to May 1944. The idea for an invasion of mainland Italy emerged from the British, most notably Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill. The Americans opposed the operation for fear that it might weaken preparations for Operation OVERLORD, the cross-Channel invasion of France. At the August 1943 Quebec Conference, the Americans argued that an invasion of southern France should be the main Mediterranean operation. Nevertheless, the Americans agreed to an Italian Campaign in exchange for a firm British commitment to invade Normandy in 1944.

On 3 September 1943, General Bernard Montgomery's Eighth Army landed at the Italian toe, forcing the surrender of the Italian army. Six days later, American forces under Lieutenant General Mark W. Clark landed at Salerno approx-

imately 30 miles south of Naples. General Albert Kesselring retired his German forces to a position north of Naples known as the Gustav Line. This formidable defensive position took advantage of the Apennine Mountains as well as the Garigliano and Rapido Rivers. The line's western end, closer to Rome, was anchored by the impressive mountain abbey of Monte Cassino. Four separate attempts to break the German line failed as the Allies could not fully employ their overwhelming naval, armor, and air advantages in the rocky terrain of central Italy.

The failure of frontal assaults on the Gustav Line led to Allied plans for an amphibious operation near the town of Anzio on the Tyrrhenian Sea approximately halfway between the Gustav Line and Rome. Anzio had excellent beaches and was near the main highway that connected the Italian capital to the Gustav Line. A successful amphibious attack there could force the Germans to abandon the Gustav Line and surrender Rome. It might also dislodge Germany from all of Italy.

The Anzio assault was British in conception but chiefly American in execution. Most Americans, including operational commander Major General John Lucas, were not optimistic about the assault's chances. Churchill appealed



U.S. Sherman M4 tanks and a troop-filled truck move forward to a front-line position in the Anzio beachhead area, 23 May 1944. (Hulton Archive)

personally to President Franklin D. Roosevelt to keep sufficient shipping in the Mediterranean to make the assault possible and to increase troop strength from 24,000 to 100,000 men. The timing for Anzio had to be moved forward in order that the landing craft might then be sent to England for OVERLORD rehearsals.

Even though Lucas believed his men were not ready, the landing went ahead as scheduled on 22 January 1944. The Americans achieved tactical surprise and met little resistance. By midnight, 36,000 men and 3,200 vehicles were ashore at the cost of only 13 Allied dead.

Because of the hurried and muddled planning, American leaders had only prepared for a fight on the beaches. Once troops were ashore, confusion reigned. The Americans made no effort to seize the Alban Hills overlooking Anzio. Lucas apparently assumed that Clark, once he had broken the Gustav Line, would move north and take the hills. Clark, for his part, seems to have counted on Lucas to seize the hills and thus divert German resources away from the Gustav Line. In any case, the delay allowed Kesselring to move reserves from Rome to the Alban Hills and pin the Americans down without weakening the Gustav Line.

The Germans now had 125,000 men against the 100,000 Americans and British on the Anzio beachhead. The Germans were strong enough to hold the invaders on the beach, but they lacked the artillery or air support needed to destroy the Allied position. Anzio settled into stalemate. By March, the Americans had a new, more aggressive commander in Lieutenant General Lucian Truscott, but Anzio remained a standoff.

On 17 May, Polish and Free French contingents broke the Gustav Line in costly frontal assaults that the Anzio attack was supposed to have rendered unnecessary. These assaults forced German troops at Anzio to relocate to the Caesar Line north of Rome. On 25 May, Allied forces from Anzio and the Gustav Line linked up. They entered Rome on 4 June, just two days before D day.

Critics argue that the Allied campaigns in Italy were an unnecessary sideshow. Defenders claim that Anzio taught the United States and Britain a crucial lesson in amphibious warfare: get off the beaches as quickly as possible and drive inland.

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See also

Amphibious Warfare; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Clark, Mark Wayne; Italy Campaign; Kesselring, Albert; Lucas, John Porter; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Salerno; Truscott, Lucian King, Jr.

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Arakan, First Campaign (October 1942–May 1943)

First British offensive to regain land lost to the Japanese in Burma. In January 1942, Japanese forces drove into Burma (Myanmar) from Thailand to sever Allied lines of communication into China, gain a dominant position in Southeast Asia, and threaten British India. By May, British forces—along with allied Indian, Burmese, and Chinese units—were being pushed north and east into China and north and west into India. In June, the British-controlled forces were holding along the Indian border forward of Ledo, Imphal, and Chittagong, where they began to rebuild and refit their battered forces. In July, commander of the British Eastern Army Lieutenant General N. M. Irwin began planning for an offensive operation against Arakan, a northwest coastal province of Burma bordering southwestern India (now Bangladesh) and separated from the rest of Burma by mountainous jungle terrain.

The offensive was to begin in the late fall and was designed to clear elements of Japanese Lieutenant General Takeuchi Hiroshi's 55th Division from the Mayu Peninsula and Akyab Island. In December, Major General W. L. Lloyd's 14th Indian Division conducted a two-pronged assault down the peninsula. Initially successful, the British were in striking distance of Akyab when General Iida Shōjirō, commander of the Japanese Fifteenth Army, reinforced and strengthened the defensive positions near Donbaik and Rathedaung. The British then reinforced the stalled 15th Indian Division with five additional infantry brigades and a troop of tanks. The March 1943 assault on Donbaik failed, and the Japanese quickly then began a counteroffensive that drove Japanese forces back up the peninsula. The 55th Division struck from Akyab, while other Japanese units worked their way over the supposedly impassable mountains to hit the British left flank and rear areas during 13–17 March.

In early April, Major General C. E. N. Lomax relieved Lloyd with the mission of stemming the Japanese attack. British Lieutenant General William Slim, commander of XV Corps, and his staff were redeployed from Ranchi to Chittagong, although Slim did not receive command of the operation until mid-April. The 26th Division headquarters deployed to relieve the staff of the 14th Division when ordered. Fighting on the Mayu Peninsula raged as Japanese units took full advantage of their proven jungle warfare tactics to outmaneuver and cut off British units at multiple points. Lomax attempted to entrap the rapidly advancing Japanese forces; however, although his plan was sound, the battle-weary

British forces were overcome and were again forced to retreat, having suffered significant losses of transport and equipment. The Japanese reoccupied Arakan on 12 May. British forces were finally able to disengage and establish a stable defensive position near Cox's Bazaar. The first campaign for the Arakan area was over; the British offensive to regain Burmese territory had failed, and the reputation of Japanese forces as unmatched jungle fighters continued to grow.

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See also

Arakan, Second Campaign; Burma Theater; Slim, Sir William Joseph

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Arakan, Second Campaign (December 1943–July 1944)

Allied Burma Theater Campaign. Arakan is the northwest coastal province of Burma bordering southwestern India (now Bangladesh); it is separated from the rest of Burma by mountainous jungle terrain. In early 1944, Allied forces in the China-Burma-India Theater were preparing to go on the offensive. U.S. Army Lieutenant General Joseph Stilwell, chief of staff of the Nationalist Chinese Army, planned to direct Merrill's Marauders and Chinese forces against Myitkyina in northern Burma, supported by British Brigadier General Orde Wingate's Chindits. At the same time, Lieutenant General William Slim's British forces would attack from Assam to regain control of the Irrawaddy Valley. An Allied attack in the south by the British XV Corps would secure the Arakan region by again moving down the Mayu Peninsula toward Akyab. Similar in design to the 1942–1943 operation, which had ended in a major British defeat, this offensive had a different result.

In late 1943, three divisions of the British XV Corps were ready to move into the Arakan. The 81st West African Division deployed into the Kaladan Valley to the east of the Mayu Peninsula. The 5th and 7th Indian Divisions relieved the 26th Indian Division forward of Chittagong. A brigade of tanks, the 25th Dragoons, moved forward to provide additional offensive punch. The 55th Japanese Infantry Division, supported by units of the Indian National Army, was defending the Arakan. These formations were later reinforced with elements of the 54th Division. The British aim was to move down the coast of Burma, take the island of Akyab, and prepare to continue the offensive, supporting the overall campaign to retake Burma.

In late December 1943, the Second Arakan Campaign began with the 7th Indian Division attacking on the eastern

side of the peninsula and the 5th Indian Division attacking in the west to secure the port of Maungdaw. The initial British objective was to secure the Japanese fortifications guarding the Maungdaw-Buthidaung road that crossed the mountainous spine of the peninsula. The British secured land routes, airfields, and coastal ports to support the offensive, as there was little doubt that the Japanese would counterattack. To forestall this, the British 26th and 36th Indian Divisions were alerted for movement to the Arakan.

The British advance was halted by Lieutenant General Hanaya Tadashi's 55th Division, which was dug in along a mountain spur extending west to the sea near Maungdaw. This Japanese position blocked land access to Akyab. For nearly two months, the British tried without success to break the Japanese defenses, which Burma Area Army commander Lieutenant General Kawabe Masakazu reinforced with the 54th Division. In early February 1944, the 55th Division counterattacked. One element attacked to fix the 5th and 7th Indian Divisions in place, while a second smaller force moved against the 81st, and a third force infiltrated into the XV Corps and attacked the rear area. Designed to cut off supplies and destroy the British divisions when they retreated, this was the identical strategy the Japanese had used successfully in the same area a year earlier.

The Japanese plan was stymied when General Slim refused to authorize a withdrawal and the Allied units dug in. Resupply efforts by air were successful, and the units held. The Japanese then found themselves encircled by the Indian 26th and British 36th Divisions, which came forward, while at the same time the two frontline British divisions reestablished contact with the Japanese. Although the 81st Division was not able to hold in Kaladan, in the Mayu area British units went on the offensive.

In fierce fighting, the British XV Corps drove through the Maungdaw position. Fighting continued through May, but with the British about to continue on to Akyab, they were obliged to break off the attack to send reinforcements to the Imphal area. Nonetheless, for the first time in Burma, British forces had met and decisively defeated a major Japanese attack. With victory in the Arakan, the tide had decisively turned in Burma.

J. G. D. Babb

See also

Arakan, First Campaign; Burma Theater; Chindits; Kawabe

Masakazu; Merrill, Frank Dow; Myitkyina, Siege of; Slim,

Sir William Joseph; Stilwell, Joseph Warren; Wingate, Orde

Charles

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Allied Troops clambering up a rough, precipitous hillside in a typical Arakan hill country during a daylight attack. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

ARCADIA Conference (22 December 1941–14 January 1942)

Post–Pearl Harbor conference, held between U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill and their staffs. This meeting, code-named *ARCADIA*, was held in Washington, D.C., from 22 December 1941 to 14 January 1942. It came only two weeks after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and U.S. entry into the war. Its purpose was to hammer out joint strategy and cooperative agreements to achieve victory over the Axis powers.

Roosevelt was determined that direction of the Allied war effort would be from the U.S. capital, and the meeting was designed to underscore that end. Churchill saw the meeting as a means of bringing about full U.S. commitment to the war effort. Members of the British delegation entered the talks believing they would show the Americans how things should be run. It did not work out that way. There were sometimes heated exchanges during the meetings. The British delegation was appalled by the lack of organization and procedure on the U.S. side.

The U.S. representatives to the talks sought to establish a council similar to World War I's Supreme Allied War Coun-

cil with many participants, which the British opposed. At a meeting early Christmas Day, U.S. Army Chief of Staff George C. Marshall made a strong appeal for unity of command of the South Pacific area. The British concurred, but the issue then arose of which entity the American-British-Dutch-Australian commander (General Archibald Wavell) should report to. This led to heated debate and ultimately to the decision that the authority would be the American military chiefs in Washington with representatives of the British chiefs, but leaving the authority of both intact. Roosevelt approved this decision on 1 January, which led to establishment of the Combined Chiefs of Staff, involving the military chiefs from the British and U.S. sides. This also created, without executive order, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the U.S. component of the Combined Chiefs of Staff. In effect, the Americans had won and the war would be run from Washington.

Toward the end of the conference, Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to set up an agency for munitions allocation with equal bodies in Washington and London. Marshall strongly opposed this, insisting there be only one entity. Roosevelt agreed, and the U.S. position prevailed. The establishment of the Combined Chiefs of Staff marked the beginning of perhaps the closest-ever collaboration between two sovereign nations at war.

The conferees at ARCADIA also discussed the possibility of an invasion of North Africa, General Douglas MacArthur's appeal for assistance to the Philippines, and the issue of Lend-Lease aid to the Soviet Union. The two nations also agreed that U.S. troops would be sent to Iceland and Northern Ireland. The ARCADIA conference also led to agreement on the epochal Declaration of the United Nations, signed on 1 January 1942 by representatives of 26 countries. The declaration called for the overthrow of the Axis powers and peace on the basis of the Atlantic Charter. But perhaps the chief result of ARCADIA was that it ensured the war would be run from Washington rather than London.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Combined Chiefs of Staff; Joint Chiefs of Staff; Lend-Lease; MacArthur, Douglas; Marshall, George Catlett; Philippines, Japanese Capture of; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; United Nations Declaration; Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival

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British Army military police escort SS Obersturmbanner Führer Herbert Kappler to trial in November 1946. Kappler ordered the World War II Ardeatine Massacre in which 335 civilians were executed in retaliation for a partisan bomb that killed 44 German policemen and 10 Italians that March. (Corbis)

Ardeatine Massacre (24 March 1944)

Atrocity committed by the Germans in Italy, a reprisal for Italian partisan bombing in Rome. On 23 March 1944, the Communist-led Gruppi Azione Patriotica (GAP, Patriotic Action Group), commanded by Carlo Salinari, exploded a bomb in the Via Rasella in the center of Rome just as a group of 156 Schutzstaffel (SS) policemen were marching by. The survivors of the bomb blast were then attacked with automatic weapons and grenades. Perhaps as many as 42 German policemen were killed outright, as were 10 Italian civilians. Another 60 Germans were badly wounded.

In retaliation, the German High Command in Berlin ordered the immediate execution of 50 Italians for each German killed in the Via Rasella incident. The German commander in chief in Italy, Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, reduced the number to 10 Italians for each German and directed that those to be executed should be prisoners already under sentence of death. Sufficient condemned prisoners were not located, however, and SS-Obersturmbannführer Herbert Kappler, Nazi police chief of Rome, ordered additional arrests. The details of the operation were arranged by SS-Hauptsturmführer Erich Priebke.

In all, 335 Italians, 75 of whom were Jews and most of whom had no connection with the Via Rasella bombing, were taken from various Roman prisons and transported to the caves on the Fosse Ardeatine (Via Ardeatine) in the southern part of Rome near the catacombs of Saint Calixtus. There they were shot to death in groups of five and buried in the caves. Most of the victims were killed by a single shot to the head, but some were no doubt buried alive when the caves were dynamited. Among the Italians executed were several women and two 14-year-old boys.

In postwar trials, Field Marshal Kesselring; Lieutenant General Kurt Maeltzer, German commandant of the city of Rome; and Colonel General Eberhard von Mackensen, German Fourteenth Army commander were all tried and sentenced to death for their parts in the Ardeatine massacre. The sentences of all three were later commuted to terms of imprisonment. Through a quirk in Italian law, Kappler, the principal perpetrator of the massacre, could not be sentenced to death but was imprisoned. He escaped from a prison hospital in 1977 and died in Germany the following year. Priebke was extradited from Argentina to Italy in 1995; he was eventually convicted and was sentenced to life in prison in 1998.

The Ardeatine massacre has become a symbol of German wartime atrocities in Italy, and the historical realities have been obscured by myth and conjecture. For example, the actual number of Germans killed in the Via Rasella and whether or not Adolf Hitler actually issued a *Führerbefehl* (Führer order) for the reprisal are still unclear. It has also been alleged that the Via Rasella bombing was planned by the Communist-led GAP specifically to provoke a reprisal that would fall most heavily on the many non-Communist antifascists in German prisons. Only three of the Ardeatine victims were Communists, one of whom was Antonello Trombadori, who until 2 February 1944 had commanded the GAP.

Charles R. Shrader

See also

Italy, Home Front; Kesselring, Albert; Rome, Advance on and Capture of

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Ardennes Offensive (Battle of the Bulge) (16 December 1944–16 January 1945)

Largest land battle on the Western Front during World War II and the largest engagement ever fought by the U.S. Army. In early December 1944, Supreme Allied Commander General Dwight D. Eisenhower planned major offensives in the northern and southern sectors of the Western Front. To ensure sufficient power for these offensives, he left his 80-mile-wide central sector in the Ardennes lightly defended by Major General Troy Middleton's VIII Corps of the 4th, 28th, and 106th Infantry Divisions; the 9th Armored Division (less Combat Command B); and the two-squadron 14th Cavalry Group. The Allies used this area for new commands to gain experience and to train replacements. The rugged Ardennes terrain and presumed light German force gave Eisenhower reason to deploy fewer troops there. Further, the Allies saw no tactical or strategic objectives in the area.

Neither the 9th Armored nor the 106th had experienced combat, and the 28th and 4th were absorbing thousands of replacements after suffering massive casualties in fighting in the Hürtgen Forest. From south to north on the Corps front were the 4th and part of the 9th Armored, the 28th on a 25-mile front, and the 106th holding 1 of almost 16 miles. The 14th Cavalry screened a 5-mile sector between Major General J. Lawton Collins's VII Corps to the south and Major General Leonard T. Gerow's V Corps to the north.

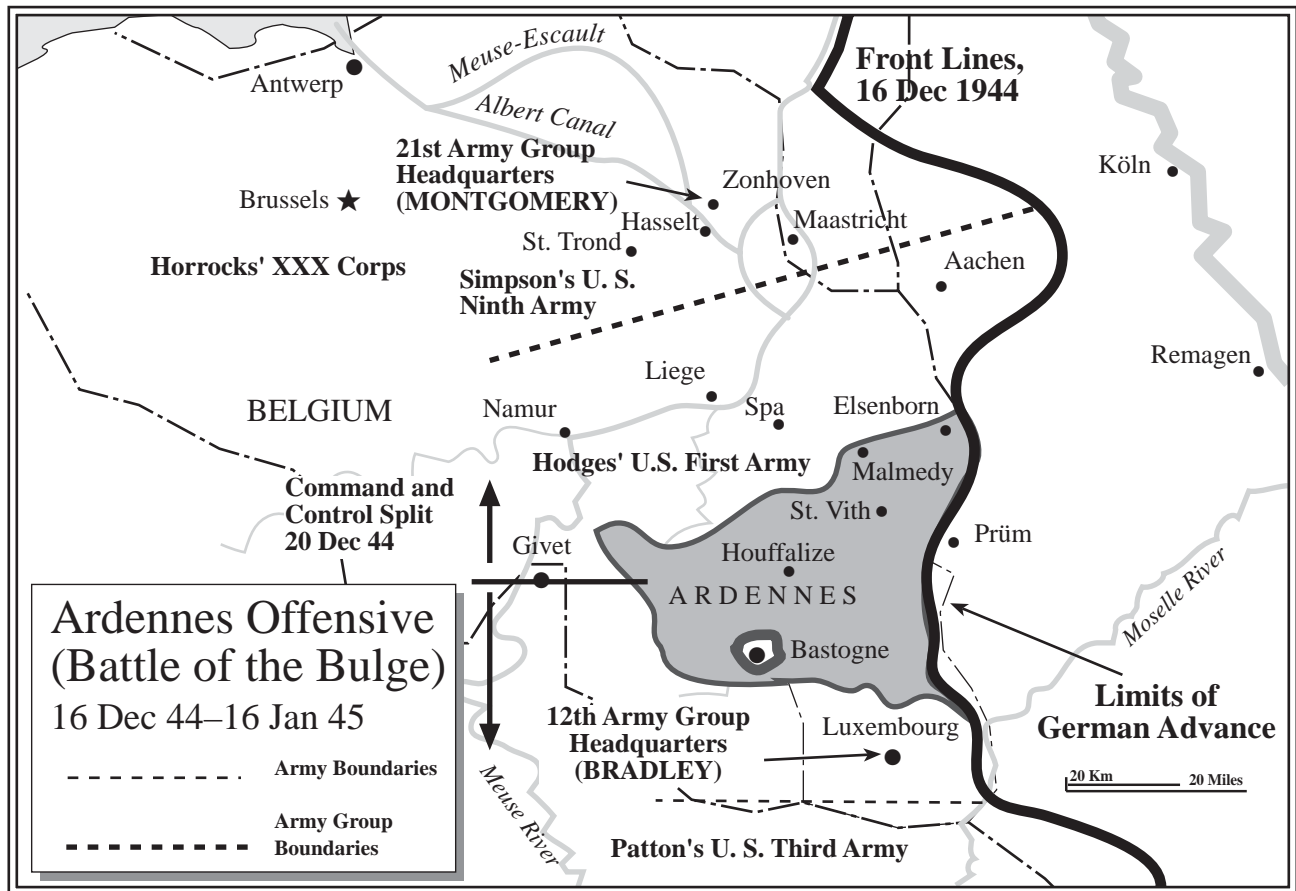
With the Eastern Front largely static and with the Allies gaining ground in the west, German leader Adolf Hitler meanwhile prepared a massive counteroffensive into this lightly defended area to retake the port of Antwerp. He hoped thereby at a minimum to purchase three or four additional months to deal with the advancing Soviets. Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt, German commander in the West, thought Hitler's plan too ambitious and tried to dissuade him, as did other high-ranking officers, to no avail. Preparations for the offensive began in September 1944 with strict security and no radio communication. As a consequence, Allied code-breaking did not learn of the German plans. Other information that might have given Allied commanders pause was ignored.

Early on the morning of 16 December, Field Marshal Walther Model's Army Group B mounted the attack. Bad weather prevented Allied air intervention. Attacking German forces included General der Panzertruppen (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) Hasso-Eccard von Manteuffel's Fifth Panzer Army, Generaloberst (U.S. equiv. full general) Josef "Sepp" Dietrich's Sixth Panzer Army, and General der Panzertruppen Erich Brandenburger's Seventh Army. Army Group B numbered 250,000 men, 1,900 artillery pieces, and 970 tanks and assault guns and was supported by 2,000 aircraft.

In the north, the 99th Division of V Corps stopped the 12th, 277th, and 326th Volksgrenadier Divisions (VGD). But the 14th Cavalry was forced back, and elements of the 3rd Parachute Division (Sixth Panzer Army and 18th VGD [Fifth Panzer Army]) made headway against the 106th Division. The 28th's northern regiment, the 112th, held against elements of the 116th Panzer Division and 560th VGD (Fifth Panzer Army). The 110th Infantry Regiment in the center—hit by the 2nd Panzer Lehr Division, elements of the 116th Panzer Division, and the 26th VGD (Seventh Army)—was decimated. Small, isolated fragments of U.S. forces were surrounded and destroyed. In the south, the hard-pressed 109th held back the 352nd VGD and 5th Parachute Division (Seventh Army). Elements of the 9th Armored and 4th Divisions south of the 28th stopped the 276th and 282nd VGD (Seventh Army).

German forces soon created a bulge in the Allied lines, which gave the battle its name. Ultimately it was 50 miles wide and 70 miles deep. Eisenhower correctly assessed the offensive as a major German effort and immediately ordered the 82nd and 101st Airborne Divisions up from rest areas in France. Traveling by cattle truck, the 101st arrived in the vicinity of the key road hub of Bastogne, Belgium, at midnight on 18 December.

The day of 19 December was pivotal. Eisenhower also sent the 7th and 10th Armored Divisions to support VII Corps. Combat Command R (CCR), 9th Armored Division; Combat Command B (CCB), 10th Armored Division; the 755th Armored Field Artillery Battalion; 705th Tank Destroyer Bat-



talion; and remnants of the 28th Infantry Division joined the 101st. Major General Maxwell D. Taylor, commanding the 101st, was not with the division, which was then commanded by Assistant Division Commander Brigadier General Anthony C. McAuliffe.

Both the 28th and 106th had been destroyed by 19 December, but these two U.S. divisions had irretrievably set back the German timetable. The Germans surrounded and forced the surrender of the 106th's 422nd and 423rd Infantry Regiments, but the 424th extricated itself and withdrew west of the Our River. CCB, 9th Armored Division and the 7th Armored Division under Brigadier General Robert W. Hasbrouk came in on the 424th's north flank. The 112th Infantry of the 28th Division bolstered its south. This diverse force under Hasbrouk defended Saint Vith until 21 December and then withdrew to new positions, which it defended for two more days before withdrawing through elements of the 82nd Airborne and 3rd Armored Divisions.

Also on 19 December, Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery, commanding the 21st Army group, on his own initiative deployed his XXX Corps (43rd, 51st, and 53rd Infantry and the Guards Armored Divisions) into positions between Namur and Brussels, blocking further German advance. Meanwhile, the 1st Schutzstaffel (SS) Panzer Division spear-

head under Lieutenant Colonel Joachim Peiper was slowed, then halted by U.S. troops.

From 19 December until it was relieved on 26 December, the 101st, aided by armor, artillery, and other miscellaneous units, defended Bastogne against determined attacks by the Panzer Lehr, 26th VGD, and elements of the 15th Panzer Grenadier Division. When called on to surrender, McAuliffe replied, "Nuts!" The U.S. stands at Saint Vith and Bastogne ruined German hope that their counteroffensive would succeed. From 18 December on, German rear areas had been chaotic. The road net, inadequate to support the German offensive, was jammed with traffic, denying the front badly needed reinforcements, supplies, and ammunition.

On 22 December, Major General John Milliken's U.S. III Corps of the 26th and 80th Infantry and 4th Armored Divisions (from Lieutenant General George S. Patton's Third Army) attacked to the north to relieve Bastogne. That same day, too, a thaw set in, slowing tank movements. By 22 December, the Sixth Panzer Army wallowed in mud and rain, the Fifth Panzer Army was hampered by fog and snow, and supply lines were assailed by continuous snow. Clearing weather permitted Allied aircraft to inflict heavy losses (especially on German armor) and to further snarl German traffic and resupply efforts throughout the Bulge. Fighting contin-



American soldiers of the 289th Infantry Regiment march to cut off the St. Vith-Houffalize road in Belgium in January 1945. The Battle of the Bulge in the Ardennes forest of Belgium was Hitler's last offensive and the largest land battle on the Western Front. (National Archives)

ued until late January, when the Germans were finally forced back to their original positions.

For the Allies, the Ardennes Campaign was a classic example of a tactical defeat but a strategic victory. The brief delays by the 28th and 106th Divisions, the stands at Saint Vith and Bastogne and on the German flanks, and the snarled traffic in the rear (compounded by Allied air attacks) all bought valuable time. This allowed the Allies to strategically reallocate and realign troops to contain and then destroy the German salient. Both sides sustained heavy casualties in the battle: for the Germans some 100,000 men (almost one-third of those engaged), 700 tanks, and 1,600 aircraft; for the Allies (mostly American, of whom 700,000 were ultimately engaged) 90,000

men, 300 tanks, and 300 aircraft. The difference was that the United States could replace its losses, but Germany could not. Hitler's gamble was an irretrievable disaster. It delayed Eisenhower's campaign by five weeks, but it also devoured already slim German reserves of personnel, tanks, guns, fuel, and ammunition. Germany surrendered four months later.

Uzal W. Ent

See also

Bastogne, Battle for; Dietrich, Josef "Sepp"; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Gerow, Leonard Townsend; Hitler, Adolf; Hürtgen Forest Campaign; McAuliffe, Anthony Clement; Middleton, Troy Houston; Model, Walther; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Peiper, Joachim; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von

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Armaments Production

Armaments production in each combatant nation, like other economic aspects of the war effort, was intimately tied to each nation's decisions about grand strategy and the use of military force. Governments analyzed their economic resources and potential industrial mobilization, and they considered how noneconomic factors such as political tradition, cultural institutions, or the limits of state power would modify or restrict those plans. The resulting policies, which Alan Milward calls *strategic synthesis*, allowed governments to distribute finite resources among the civilian economy, war production, and the armed forces in a more or less rational manner. Put another way, although munitions production was theoretically unlimited, competing demands on resources meant armament creation was often constrained in ways that could not be overcome. The different national limitations on armament expansion help explain why the Allies dominated munitions production during the period 1939–1945.

Limits on armaments production in Nazi Germany were initially political, with the regime explicitly refusing to mobilize the economy too deeply. The Nazis endeavored to prevent a repetition of the experience of World War I, when Imperial Germany suffered political unrest and eventual revolution trying to wage total war. Given Germany's weaker economic position and resources vis-à-vis its opponents, Adolf Hitler deliberately planned to avoid a long war of industrial attrition. Instead, he planned to wage short, intense campaigns with the limited military forces under development since 1936. Hitler's guiding strategic concept was to defeat his enemies quickly and avoid military stalemate on the battlefield. The Italian and Japanese war efforts took a similar approach, mainly owing to their inability to compete with Britain and the United States in war production. Indeed, the small size of the Japanese and Italian economies and the drain on Japan of the Sino-Japanese War precluded a major mobilization effort in any case.

The initial Axis strategies called for a high initial investment in modern military equipment; a readiness to conduct short, opportunistic campaigns; and the careful avoidance of

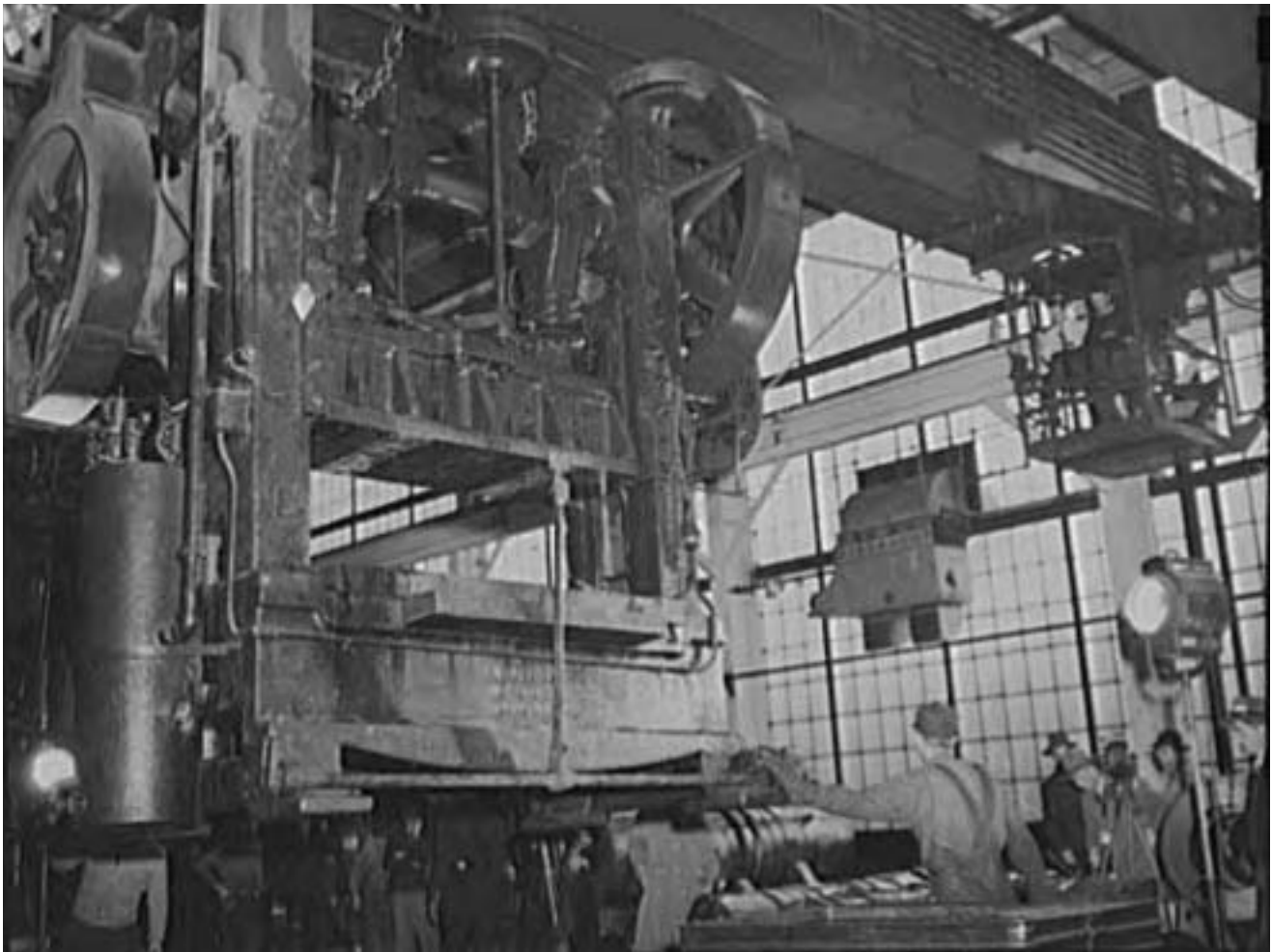
long-term economic mobilization. Unfortunately for the Axis powers, the course of the war quickly rendered these plans obsolete.

The western Allied strategic synthesis was also based on the wartime experience of 1914–1918, although different lessons were drawn from that Pyrrhic victory. Although the war itself was viewed as a political and economic disaster, the concept of mass industrial mobilization was taken for granted. By investing in technologically intensive and financially costly—but manpower-saving—armament programs, the western democracies hoped to avoid the mass bloodletting of World War I. Future wars, their leaders believed, would be won by industrial might invested in such programs as the Maginot Line or four-engine bombers, not by running infantry against enemy trench lines. In contrast to the Axis strategy, the Allied strategy was slow to develop, as it took time to gather resources and mobilize industry for war.

As with the western democracies, the Soviet Union also intended to wage machine war on a grand scale, although with a significantly heavier reliance on manpower. Formed out of the experience of the 1919–1920 Russian Civil War, Soviet strategic thinking planned on mass warfare in part because party leaders saw no separation of war, politics, and society. In addition, the policy took advantage of the great resource and manpower reserves available in the Soviet Union. Despite the extreme social and economic disruption caused by industrial and agricultural five-year plans in the 1930s, the experienced and hardened Soviet bureaucracy was confident of a massive industrial response to any future conflict.

Viewed in these terms, there were four main centers of armaments production during World War II: the western democracies (after 1940, only the United States and British Commonwealth), the European Axis (Germany and Italy), the Soviet Union, and Japan. These economic spheres were in no way equal, however; the Axis powers were at a severe disadvantage. In 1938, for example, the Allied gross domestic product (GDP) was 2.4 times the size of the GDPs of Axis nations. This ratio is meaningless, however, if such economic power is not translated into combat-ready munitions.

In 1939–1941, the Axis nations enjoyed a significant armaments advantage, as their rearmament programs had started earlier and had concentrated on frontline aircraft, vehicles, and other equipment. In contrast, the western democracies and the Soviet Union were still heavily engaged in long-range rearmament programs at the outbreak of war. The British and the French were building aircraft factories and capital ships in 1940, for example, while the Russians were still focused on engineering, machine tools, and factory construction. Before the fall of France in June 1940, U.S. armament expenditure was quite low, and the munitions industry was backlogged with European orders for machine tools and aircraft. From an



Conversion of a Chevrolet Motor automobile plant in Detroit, Michigan, to armament production: A giant overhead crane moves a 6D Bliss press, weighing 17 tons, from a plant being entirely cleared for outright conversion to armament production. Set up in another of the automobile factory's buildings, this press formed door trim panels for 4×4 and 6×6 army trucks. (Library of Congress)

armament perspective, the Allies were trailing behind the Axis in the production of actual combat power despite economic superiority, which partly explains the military success of the German and Japanese offensives through 1941. Allied fortunes were then at a low point as entire countries and colonies fell under Axis control, and the Allied GDP ratio over the Axis fell to 2:1 at the end of the year.

From 1942 on, however, the ratio moved steadily against the Axis powers, particularly as the Allies began coordinating armaments production on a massive scale. During 1942, the United States, Britain, and Canada agreed to pool their resources and allocate the production of munitions on a combined basis. The governing idea was to take advantage of each nation's manufacturing potential, covering any shortfall in other areas through imports from other Allied countries. The British, for example, dedicated a higher proportion of national income to war production than they could normally support (over 54 percent), covering the resulting gap in the

civilian economy with imports from North America. Indeed, it was the ability of the western Allies to trade via the world's oceans, despite the challenge by German U-boats, that allowed the combined production process to work.

By 1944, an immense quantitative mobilization drive nearly doubled the 1938 GDP in the United States (with 42 percent of national income dedicated to the war), steadily increasing the Allied production ratio to 3.3:1 over Germany and Italy and to almost 10:1 over Japan. Combat armament production in the United States alone equaled 50 percent of total world munitions output, with the British adding another 15 percent. Although partly a function of mass production methods, another key to Allied success was the advanced level of economic development in Britain and North America. Well-established transport and other advantages gave the western Allied labor force a 1.4:1 productivity advantage over German workers. The combination led to Allied dominance in the output of a whole range of weapons (see Table 1).

Table 1
Selected Munitions Production of the Great Powers, 1939–1945 (1,000s)

	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
Tanks and self-propelled guns							
Germany	1.3	2.2	3.8	6.2	10.7	18.3	4.4
Italy	Total production, June 1940–August 1943 = 3.0						
Japan	0.2	1.0	1.0	1.2	0.8	0.4	0.2
United Kingdom	0.9	1.4	4.8	8.6	7.5	4.6	2.1
United States	—	0.4	0.9	27.0	38.5	20.5	12.6
USSR	2.9	2.8	4.8	24.4	24.1	29.0	20.5
Combat aircraft							
Germany	2.3	6.6	8.4	11.6	19.3	34.1	7.2
Italy	1.7	3.3	3.5	2.8	2.0	—	—
Japan	0.7	2.2	3.2	6.3	13.4	21.0	8.3
United Kingdom	1.3	8.6	13.2	17.7	21.2	22.7	9.9
United States	—	—	1.4	24.9	54.1	74.1	37.5
USSR	—	—	8.2	21.7	29.9	33.2	19.1
Guns							
Germany	2.0	6.0	22.0	41.0	74.0	148.0	27.0
Italy	Total production, June 1940–June 1943 = 10.0						
Japan	1.0	3.0	7.0	13.0	28.0	84.0	23.0
United Kingdom	1.0	10.0	33.0	106.0	118.0	93.0	28.0
United States	—	1.8	3.0	188.0	221.0	103.0	34.0
USSR	17.0	15.0	30.0	127.0	130.0	122.0	72.0

— = Data incomplete.

Sources: Harrison, Mark, ed. *The Economics of World War II: Six Great Powers in International Comparison*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998; and Overy, Richard. *Why the Allies Won*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1996.

In contrast to the western Allies, the Soviet Union struggled against difficult odds. Although the USSR was much larger than Germany in both area and population, Soviet economic production before the war was only equal to that of Germany, primarily owing to more primitive infrastructure and more primitive machine technology. Following a 25 percent collapse in GDP after the German invasion in summer 1941, the Soviets labored under tremendous pressure to match Axis ground armament production. Over a two-year period, almost half the Soviet economy was shifted from civilian to military efforts, with almost 60 percent of national income allocated to the war in 1943. The ability of the Soviet government to mobilize resources and people proved astonishing, and as noted by Richard Overy, it was this genius for industrial management that allowed the Soviets to pull even with Germany by the end of that year. Despite the accompanying suffering and privation—what Overy called “an exceptional, brutal form of total war”—Soviet workers, helped by Lend-Lease aid from the United States, provided the Red Army with sufficient material to eventually destroy the German armies on the Eastern Front.

Although the German economy was increasingly mobilized for war after 1939, Germany’s prewar notion of limited mobilization restricted centralized control of industrial production. Bureaucratic inertia, the resistance of industry to state control, and a dislike of mass production methods placed Germany in a dangerous position by 1941. Hopes for a quick end to the war were finally dashed that winter, and the German government embarked on a more systematic approach to economic mobilization. The ad hoc style of the past was more or less abandoned, although the mobilization program did not truly get under way until after the German defeat at Stalingrad. Between 1943 and 1944, the proportion of Germany’s national wealth dedicated to the war effort increased from 52 percent to almost 75 percent, which is revealed in the production figures in Table 1. Despite these gains, however, the smaller European industrial base and difficulties extracting resources from conquered territories meant that German war production could simply not keep pace with the Allies. Germany was beset by enemy armies and heavily bombed from the air, and its economy collapsed in 1945.

In comparison with the larger powers, both the Japanese and the Italians fell woefully short in armaments production. Starting with major disadvantages in resources, transportation, and population, neither country was able to mobilize for a long war of industrial attrition. The disruption of imports, confusion in domestic resource allocations, and the loss of overseas supplies such as fuel, coal, and iron ore led to mobilization failures and declining armaments production. Indeed, labor and resource problems meant Italy was never able to commit more than 23 percent of its GDP to the war effort. Japan fared a little better, dramatically raising the low 1941 ratio (27 percent of GDP) in a massive last-ditch mobilization effort (76 percent of GDP dedicated to military outlays in 1944) before economic collapse helped end the war a year later.

The central core of Allied armaments production superiority was resource and industrial mobilization. Firmly rooted in prewar strategic thinking, the Allies refused to be derailed by Axis success during 1940–1941 and continued to plan for a long war of industrial attrition. Though their efforts were improvised and wasteful, the western Allies and the Soviet Union gathered resources from around the world, mobilized workers and industrial plant on a massive scale, and achieved a steady increase in armaments production. The Axis powers, smaller in size and resources even at the height of their conquests, could not match this effort, and this failure helped bring about their defeat.

Timothy L. Francis

See also

Blitzkrieg; Home Front (*various nations*); Lend-Lease; Stalingrad, Battle of

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Armored Personnel Carriers

German military exercises in 1934 showed that in order to keep up with the now-faster tanks, infantry needed to be motorized. Trucks were sufficiently fast on roads, but they were not at all mobile in open country. Also, troops to be carried needed better protection. Consequently, armored half-tracks and fully tracked vehicles were developed to carry infantry; these came to be known as armored personnel carriers (APCs).

The Germans, with their strategy of rapid deployment of armored and mechanized forces (what came to be called later the blitzkrieg, or lightning war), were the first to develop these kinds of troop carriers with their SdKfz (Sonderkraftfahrzeug,

or special motor vehicle) 250 and Hanomag 251 series. Preliminary trials had begun as early as 1926, and in 1939 the German army issued a call for an armored vehicle that could carry half a platoon (four men). Demag built the D7 chassis based on the SdKfz 10, and Buessing-NAG developed an armored body. Production began in June 1941. The SdKfz 250 was 4.77 m long, weighed 6 tons, and could achieve a cross-country speed of up to 37 mph and a road speed of 42 mph. In 1943, the production process was simplified, reducing the main armor from 19 complex plates to 9 straight plates. The new version entered production in October 1943. The larger SdKfz 251/1 became the standard vehicle to equip German Armored Infantry Panzergrenadier units and could carry 12 men. It had a cross-country speed of up to 30 mph and a road speed of more than 35 mph; its road range was just under 200 miles.

Both the SdKfz 250 and SdKfz 251 came in various subtypes. The SdKfz 250 had 12 main variants; the 251 had a total of 16. Usually, the vehicles were equipped with one or two machine guns, but some also carried guns or mortars and were used as tank hunters or self-propelled artillery. These half-tracks were produced at least until 1944. In theory, all tank divisions operated together with armored infantry divisions in APCs from the summer of 1942 onward, but the reality was quite different.

Despite having started the trend, the German army was never as mechanized as the American or British forces. The United States produced the well-known M2 and M3 half-tracks, which were used by all the Allies including the Soviet Union. Although less sophisticated than their German counterparts, these vehicles were produced in much greater numbers. The engine was in the conventional truck position, the transmission being led forward toward the driven front wheels and backward to the track drive wheels through a transfer box. The track suspension had four road wheels, and the tracks had continuous steel bands with metal crosspieces driven by drive wheels that were elevated and to the front.

The M-2 design originated in the four-wheel-drive Scout Car M.3A1 with the rear wheels being substituted through tracks. This led to the Car, Half Track, M-2 which could carry 10 men. It had two machine guns and a 147 hp engine that provided a road speed of 40 mph and cross-country speed of up to 33 mph. It had a 6.35 mm armored hull with 12.72 mm frontal protection. The M-3 was slightly elongated and had room for 13 men. It, too, came with various modifications, such as the antitank gun motor carriage M-3, a personnel carrier that also mounted a 75 mm gun. To meet demand, the International Harvester Company was tasked with producing the M-5 and M-9 series, which were similar to the M-2 and M-3. But even the combined production of the various American factories could not keep up with orders.

During the last stages of the war, self-propelled guns such as the M-7 Priest howitzer motor carriage and the Canadian Ram Mk I (adopted from the U.S. M-3) and the U.S. M-4

Sherman medium tanks were converted to APCs by having their guns or turrets and top decking removed. This meant that the upper bodies of people in the vehicles were visible and vulnerable and that a grenade or shell landing in the open compartment could kill all inside.

The best-known Japanese APCs were the half-tracked Type 1 (known as the Ho-Ha) and the tracked Type 1 (Ho-Ki). The Ho-Ha was similar to the German SdKfz 251 but was somewhat larger. Powered by a 134 hp 6-cylinder engine and weighing 7 tons, it provided room for 15 men protected by armor up to 8 mm thick. The Ho-Ki weighed half a ton less and had 6 mm all-around protection, but it also provided no overhead protection for the rear, troop-carrying compartment. It had a top (road) speed of 25 mph.

During the war, APCs were used extensively in Europe and North Africa. The jungles of the Pacific Theater were less favorable for mechanized combat, so APCs were not used there as much, although the U.S. Marine Corps did employ large numbers of armored amphibious vehicles (known as amphtracs) to deploy troops, equipment, and supplies in Pacific Theater amphibious operations.

Thomas J. Weiler

See also

Armored Warfare; Tanks, All Powers

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Armored Warfare

Several of the belligerents used both tanks and armored cars in combat in World War I, but it was in World War II that the potential for mobility, firepower, and protection of tanks and other armored fighting vehicles came into its own. In World War I, armored vehicles supported infantry; in World War II, the tank became the centerpiece of armored warfare.

As World War II began, the structure of armored forces depended much on the philosophy driving a country's mechanization efforts. Germany had been particularly active in spite of treaty restrictions. Working secretly with the Soviet Union as early as 1922, Germany led the world in the development of an all-arms armored fighting force, with the role of other weapons subordinated to the requirements of tanks. An important part of emerging German armor doctrine was that offensive tanks should detour around the strong points of enemy defense.

Meanwhile, as late as the end of the 1930s, the British General Staff believed that breakthroughs would be accomplished by infantry supported by tanks and that tank units would be used only to exploit success. In France, although there was a move toward mechanization, most tanks were in separate tank battalions designed to support infantry. In the United States, progress was limited by both budgets and branch jealousy. Tanks were assigned to the infantry, and mechanization of the cavalry was slow. Having learned with the Germans the value of integrated mechanized arms, the Soviet army, initially developing a combined-arms armored force along with Germany, took a giant step backward with Josef Stalin's purge of most senior army officers. When war came, Germany's success in Poland and later in France brought widespread realization of the effectiveness of all-arms armored warfare.

During World War II, armored forces played a role in every theater, but the impact of armored warfare was most evident in Poland in 1939, in France in 1940, on the Eastern Front, in North Africa, and in Western Europe during 1944 and 1945. Difficult terrain limited the importance of armored forces in other theaters.

The German invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939 and its blitzkrieg tactics opened the eyes of the world. Germany attacked with a force of 54 divisions, 6 of them armored and 4 mechanized. With 3,195 tanks, as well as a supporting fleet of 1,538 combat aircraft, in a matter of a few weeks the German army overwhelmed Polish defenses. Learning from operations in Poland, the German army assigned each armored (panzer) division its own air force element. The Germans also learned that truck-mounted infantry could not accompany tanks cross-country or survive even infantry fire. Accompanying infantry required cross-country mobility and some armor protection.

In 1940, save for the Soviet Union, France had the strongest armored force in the world, but France failed to learn from German experience. Most French tanks remained dispersed among infantry formations. The British had created an armored division, but it was never deployed to France, where only one armored brigade joined the British Expeditionary Force (BEF). The Allied defensive strategy in the west was based on an assumption that Germany would attack through the Low Countries, and forces were deployed to meet that expectation. On 10 May 1940, however, Germany struck through the Ardennes toward the Meuse near Sedan, planning to then swing northwest in a wide arc toward the coast.

In spite of the superior armor and firepower of many British and French tanks, the combined-arms attack of the German panzer divisions, well supported by close air support, reached the English Channel by the end of May. By early June, following the evacuation of the BEF and some French

forces from Dunkerque, the German army turned its forces south. By the end of June, Germany had defeated France. German armored forces—employed in mass, using surprise, aiming at weak points, and well supported by aircraft—had enjoyed rapid success.

Following the defeat of France, British leaders realized the necessity of building an armored force sufficient to counter German armor, especially as the war had then extended into North Africa when Italy attacked Egypt. British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill directed a British goal of 10 armored divisions by the end of 1941. The government quickly ordered 4,000 tanks from a variety of sources.

The focus of armored warfare next shifted to North Africa, where on 13 September 1940, Italian forces in Libya launched an offensive against British forces in Egypt. The weak British forces, including only one tank battalion and totaling 36,000 men, were pushed back, but the Italian force was exhausted after a 60-mile advance. By December the British were able to launch a successful counterattack, using speed and surprise, with a force that included the 7th Armored Division (only the second to form) and the well-trained Indian 4th Infantry Division. The Italian force was shattered. However, to save his ally from defeat in Libya, Adolf Hitler organized and dispatched the Afrika Korps under Lieutenant General Erwin Rommel. Outmaneuvering the British, Rommel drove them back to Egypt. Through 1941 and most of 1942, the war in the African desert swung back and forth.

German tanks were superior to British tanks, even when the British received tanks from the United States, but British tanks outnumbered German tanks. Rommel also used anti-tank guns as an integral part of his operations, especially the powerful 88 mm antiaircraft gun in a new role as a highly effective antitank gun. Logistics for both sides were difficult, particularly for Germany and Italy, given Britain's nearly complete control of the Mediterranean. Armored combat in Africa was characterized by rapid movement over long distances and close-in violent fighting when forces met.

Meanwhile, both the Soviet Union and the United States used the experiences of combat in France to rethink their armored forces. The Soviets stopped considering tanks to be useful solely for infantry support, and they started a rapid buildup of armored and mechanized units built on the German pattern. In the United States, the Armored Force was created in July 1940; it placed all armored units under one command. New tanks were designed, and production increased. Two all-arms armored divisions were formed, with three more soon to follow. Ambitious plans of the Armored Force, however, were greatly reduced by the commander of Army Ground Forces Lieutenant General Leslie J. McNair, who believed that infantry and artillery would be the key to success. The army planned for only about 10 percent of its divisions to be armored. Each corps

would also have a group of tank battalions for infantry division support.

On 22 June 1941, Germany attacked the Soviet Union. The scale of armored warfare in this theater would dwarf other armored operations. The Germans attacked with 3,200 tanks; the Soviets defended with 20,000. But Germany planned to use the same blitzkrieg tactics of deep armored thrusts that had been successful in France, and it could select the points of attack. Although the attack was led by 25 panzer divisions, it is worth noting that the invading army also included 750,000 horses.

Within weeks, the Soviets had been driven back 200–400 miles; they suffered massive losses as units were surrounded and captured. By mid-July, however, the Soviet defenders began to employ special tactics to repel the invaders. If a German armored spearhead broke through the lines, the Soviets, instead of retreating, closed in on both flanks to try to halt the flow, while other units took up defensive positions to the rear. Large reserve armored units would then attack the German flanks. In addition, the Soviets set up antitank guns and sowed large minefields along expected axes of German advance.

Nevertheless, it was August before the German advance slowed. On 19 November, the Soviets were able to launch a counteroffensive. Inexperienced in the use of mass tank offensive operations, Soviet commanders often failed in their attacks, but by the end of 1941 the Germans were on the defensive. By mid-January 1942, tactical defeats suffered by the Germans threatened to develop into a strategic disaster. Creating and holding a series of strong points, the Germans were able to stabilize the front by March. Several weeks of muddy conditions then held both armies in place. By then, the Soviets had realized any continued offensive would require large massed armored formations, which they created in the form of armored and mechanized corps.

Germany was able to launch offensives in the summers of 1942 and 1943, but the relative strength of the two combatants was changing. On 4 July 1943, German forces, having concentrated most of their Eastern Front armor, attacked the 50-mile-deep Kursk salient, hoping to eliminate it and to cripple Soviet offensive capability. The Soviets were aware of the German plans and prepared a defense in depth marked by an intricate system of minefields and antitank defenses. In the greatest tank battle of all time, the Soviets yielded ground skillfully and launched strong counterattacks. By 23 July, the Soviets had defeated the German offensive.

Each winter, the Soviets countered German attacks with offensives aided by their adaptability to winter and their massive armies. Germany was losing tanks and experienced tank crews at an alarming rate. Meanwhile, the Soviets were able to increase their armor strength substantially because of their own huge ordnance industry and using aid from the United States.

From 1942 to 1945, the Soviets manufactured some 30,000 tanks and self-propelled guns, and the U.S. provided 7,056 tanks. The Soviet T-34 medium tank and the IS-2 heavy tank also proved to be more than a match for most German tanks.

Although the Soviets for the most part did not accomplish the breakthroughs typical of German offensives, they were able to conduct a war of attrition. Overall, the Soviet Union, with its unending miles of difficult terrain, its huge population, its massive defense industry, and its terrible winters proved to be too much for the German military machine. By the spring of 1945, the Soviet army had reached the river Elbe and joined hands with U.S. forces.

Meanwhile, U.S. forces were also conducting successful armored operations. Indeed, the U.S. Army was the most highly mechanized military force to that point in history. On 8 November 1942, the United States committed its new Armored Force to battle with successful landings in North Africa. Moving east rapidly, the inexperienced American force was bloodied at the first major battle with the Germans at Kasserine Pass. Recovering, the Americans soon combined with British forces to encircle the Axis forces in Tunis and defeat them there by 13 May 1943. U.S. armor units continued to gain experience in Sicily and Italy, but terrain there made it impractical to use large armored forces. Besides, the Allies now placed their emphasis on building up a force to invade northwestern Europe.

The June 1944 landings on Normandy were accomplished by infantry, although a few tanks rigged as amphibians contributed to the effort. After a firm lodgement had been achieved, large armored forces could be committed. In late July, the highly mobile U.S. Third Army broke out of Normandy. Within a month, the Allies had advanced to the line of the Seine River and liberated Paris. Advancing on a broad front, by mid-September Allied forces had cleared Belgium and northern France. Although the Germans did not offer significant organized resistance, their Panther and Tiger tanks took a toll on the lighter and lesser-gunned—but more numerous—Allied tanks, especially the M-4 Sherman medium. Indeed, the United States did not have a heavy tank, the M-26, in combat until early 1945.

In a winter offensive, the Allies attacked the German West Wall on a broad front with the aim of breaking through to the Ruhr industrial district. Gathering his armored forces for a counteroffensive, on 16 December Adolf Hitler surprised the Allies with a mobile attack through the Ardennes. The Germans lacked the means to exploit their initial breakthrough, and within a month, they were stopped. By March 1945, Allied forces had encircled and defeated German forces west of the Rhine and had crossed the river. Capitalizing on its highly mobile armored divisions and on weakening German defense, Allied forces then drove across Germany, which surrendered on 8 May.

Clearly, in the 1930s, Germany had seized the initiative in the development of armored forces and the implementation of armored warfare. Its blitzkrieg tactics were highly successful until attrition and logistics problems began to play a part (particularly on the East European Front) and the Allies caught up in fielding effective armored forces. Whereas the Soviets defeated the German forces by overwhelming them, tactics played a greater part in the West. There the concepts of armored breakthroughs and exploitation were effective, especially in the American Third Army led by Lieutenant General George S. Patton Jr.

Tanks and other armored vehicles were used effectively in other theaters of the war, but in those areas they usually were used as infantry support rather than as highly mobile maneuver forces. Nevertheless, they played an important role in many Pacific campaigns.

From 1939 to 1945, Germany produced some 53,700 tanks, peaking at 22,100 in 1944. During the same period, Japan produced only 4,572, and Italy manufactured 3,054 through August 1943. Great Britain produced 28,296 tanks during the course of the war. The Soviet Union manufactured more tanks than any other power—105,232, more than 40,000 of which were T-34 tank variants. By December 1945, the United States had produced 88,479 tanks in 17 different plants. Production figures for supporting armored vehicle were similarly impressive. Clearly, armored warfare had come of age.

Philip L. Bolté

See also

Afrika Korps; Alam Halfa, Battle of; Ardennes Offensive; Armored Personnel Carriers; BARBAROSSA, Operation; Berlin, Air Battle of; Land Battle for; Blitzkrieg; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; El Alamein, Battle of; France, Battle for; Germany, Collapse of; Guderian, Heinz; Kasserine Pass, Battle of; Kursk, Battle of; McNair, Leslie James; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Poland Campaign; Rhineland Offensive; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Tanks, All Powers; Tunis, Battle of; Tunisia Campaign; West Wall, Advance to the; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Arnauld de la Perière, Lothar von (1886–1942)

German navy admiral. Born in Posen (today Poznan, Poland) in 1886, Lothar von Arnauld de la Perière entered the Imperial German Navy in 1903 and was commissioned in 1906. He became a torpedo specialist. Following sea duty, in 1913 Arnaud became adjutant to chief of the naval staff Admiral Hugo von Pohl. He then spent time in Britain acquiring language skills until the outbreak of World War I.

Returning to Germany, Arnaud volunteered for the Imperial Naval Air Service (Zeppelins), but he was recalled by von Pohl. He then volunteered for U-boat service, and on completing submarine school, in October 1915 he took command of the *U-35* based at Pola on the Adriatic. From November 1915 to March 1918, Arnaud completed 14 cruises with the Pola Flotilla. During one cruise alone in 1916, he sank 54 ships totaling more than 90,150 tons. In March 1918, Arnaud took command of the *U-139* in the Atlantic. During his wartime total of 16 patrols, Arnauld sank 196 ships totaling 455,716 tons. This record stands unsurpassed in both world wars and indeed all history.

Retained in the German navy following World War I, Arnauld filled staff billets and commanded the light cruiser *Emden* from 1928 to 1930. He left the navy in 1931 as a captain and subsequently taught at the Turkish Naval Academy from 1932 to 1938. Recalled to the German navy at the start of World War II, Arnauld subsequently served as naval commander in Belgium, the Netherlands, Brittany, and western France. Promoted to vice admiral and named Admiral Southeast, he died in a plane crash at Le Bourget airport in Paris on 24 February 1942 en route to take up his new command.

Dana Lombardy and T. P. Schweider

See also

Atlantic, Battle of the; Submarines

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Arnim, Hans Jürgen Dieter von (1889–1962)

German army general. Born at Ernsdorf on 4 April 1889, Hans von Arnim was commissioned in the German army in October 1909. During World War I, he saw service on both the Western and Eastern Fronts and won promotion to captain in January 1917.



German General Jürgen von Arnim, 1945. (Corbis)

Arnim continued in the Reichswehr after the war, and in 1935 he took command of the 69th Infantry Regiment. Advanced to Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general) in January 1938, von Arnim took charge of an Army Service Depot at Schweidnitz in Silesia during 1938 and 1939.

Following the outbreak of World War II, on 12 September 1939 von Arnim took command of the 52nd Infantry Division. He was promoted to Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) in December 1939. In October 1940, he shifted to head the 17th Panzer Division and led it in Operation BARBAROSSA, the German invasion of the Soviet Union.

Assigned to Major General Heinz Guderian's 2nd Panzer Group, von Arnim proved his mettle as a panzer commander. Seriously wounded near Schklov on 27 June 1941, von Arnim did not return to action until September and participated in the encirclement of Kiev later that month. His forces then took the important railway junction of Bryansk. Shortly after the victory at Bryansk, von Arnim was promoted to General der Panzertruppen (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) effective in October 1941. He then commanded the XXXIX Motorized Corps, which became a panzer corps in July 1942, and saw action at Tikhvin and Cholm. Arnim was promoted to Generaloberst (U.S. equiv. full general) in December 1942 and assumed command of the Fifth Panzer Army in Tunisia.

Following meetings with Adolf Hitler, Arnim assumed command of Axis forces in Tunisia on 9 December 1942. His performance in this role has drawn criticism from historians. Arnim and Field Marshal Erwin Rommel often worked at cross-purposes, and Arnim failed to take advantage of Rommel’s victories at Kasserine and Tebersa. Arnim’s own attack by the Fifth Panzer Army in February 1943 toward Medjez el Bat and Beja failed, even though he won a series of tactical victories. Following those events, Arnim received command of Army Group Africa on 9 March 1943.

British forces took Arnim prisoner on 12 May 1943. Incarcerated in an English country house at Hampshire until his release in 1947, Arnim then took up residence in Bad Wildungen, Germany, where he died on 1 September 1962.

Gene Mueller

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Kasserine Pass, Battle of; Kiev Pocket; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Tunisia Campaign; Vyzma-Bryansk, Battles for

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Arnold, Henry Harley “Hap” (1886–1950)

U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) general who led the USAAF and its predecessor, the Army Air Corps, throughout the war. Born on 25 June 1886 in Gladwyne, Pennsylvania, Henry Harley “Hap” Arnold graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1907 and was commissioned in the infantry. He transferred into the aeronautical division of the Signal Corps in 1911 and received his pilot’s certificate after training with Orville Wright. In 1912, Arnold set a world altitude record and won the first Mackay Trophy for aviation.

During World War I, Arnold served on the army staff in Washington, rising to the rank of colonel and overseeing all aviation training. After the war, Arnold reverted to his permanent rank of captain. During the 1920s, he held a variety



General Henry Harley “Hap” Arnold seated at desk in his Munitons Building office. (Photo by U.S. Army Signal Corps, Library of Congress)

of assignments. He supported Colonel William Mitchell at the latter's court-martial, although this was not well received by his superiors. Arnold wrote or cowrote five books on aviation, won a second Mackay Trophy, and continued to rise in the Army Air Corps. He became its assistant chief as a brigadier general in 1935. Three years later he became chief of the Army Air Corps as a major general after the death of Major General Oscar Westover in a plane crash.

Arnold proved particularly adept at improving the readiness of his service and expanding its resources, even with tight interwar budgets. Promoted to lieutenant general in December 1941, he was designated commanding general of the U.S. Army Air Forces in the March 1942 War Department reorganization, which raised the air arm to equal status with the Army Ground Forces and Army Service Forces. Because the British had a chief of air staff, Arnold was included on the British-American Combined Chiefs of Staff as well as the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. Although he was not a major player in their decisions, he was a loyal supporter of U.S. Army Chief of Staff George C. Marshall, who repaid Arnold after the war by supporting the establishment of an independent U.S. Air Force. Arnold was promoted to general in March 1943 and became one of four five-star generals of the army in December 1944.

During the war, Arnold built an organization that reached a peak of approximately 2.5 million personnel and more than 63,000 aircraft. He was a fine judge of people and selected the best men as his advisers, staff, and field commanders. Arnold also established an emphasis on technological research and development that his service retains today. Although he was not really involved in day-to-day combat operations, his authority to relieve the field commanders who really did run the war gave him leverage to influence their actions. Poor health limited his effectiveness late in the war, especially after a fourth heart attack in January 1945.

Arnold was a proponent of precision bombing, but his pressure for more raids despite bad weather led to increased use of less accurate radar-directed bombardments in Europe, and his demand for increased efficiency in Japan inspired the fire raids there. His main goals were to make the largest possible contribution to winning the war and to ensure that the USAAF received credit for the win through proper publicity.

Although Arnold retired in June 1946, his goal of an independent U.S. air service was realized the next year by his successor, General Carl Spaatz. In May 1949, Arnold was named the first general of the U.S. Air Force. Arnold truly deserves the title "Father of the United States Air Force." He died at Sonoma, California, on 15 January 1950.

Conrad C. Crane

See also

B-29 Raids against Japan; Eaker, Ira Clarence; Marshall, George Catlett; Spaatz, Carl Andrew "Tooney"; United States, Air Force

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Art and the War

Although imagery of World War II is often thought of in terms of its haunting photographic legacy, thousands of other pictorial records were created by artists who depicted the war as it unfolded around them. Artists served as high-profile correspondents throughout much of the war, vividly documenting its conflicts in drawings, watercolors, and paintings executed on the spot and often under harrowing conditions.

An important precedent for European artists had been set by Pablo Picasso's mural-sized painting, *Guernica* (1937), named after a Basque town bombed by the German Kondor Legion during the Spanish Civil War. In *Guernica*, distended forms and disfigured characters were blown up large and linked to a vast panorama of brutality. The painting, which extended Picasso's fragmented Cubist pictorial language into the political arena, was all the more powerful for its ability to express an idyllic world shattered by the sweeping acts of anonymous warfare.

The warring powers linked art to propagandistic rhetoric. Perhaps the most unusual coupling of art and propaganda can be traced to Adolf Hitler's imagined lineage of the Germanic people from the Greek civilization of antiquity. The revival of severe forms of Greek classicism, along with a "volkish" art and architecture (art and architecture "of the people"), would result in Germany in the most spectacular public rejection of modernism in the twentieth century.

As early as 1933, the Nazi Party had stormed the legendary Bauhaus (academy of arts founded in 1919) in Dessau and padlocked its doors. In 1937, the Nazis ordered museums to be purged of artwork that they considered to have a corrosive effect on the morals of the German people. The targets of Nazi aggression were some of the greatest works of the avant-garde—the lyrical abstractions of Wassily Kandinsky; the raw energetic forms of Ernst Ludwig Kirchner and Die Brücke; the antimilitaristic sentiments and nihilistic acts of George Grosz, Otto Dix, and Berlin Dada. Particularly scorned were the works of Jewish artists who expressed their spirituality in their work, such as Marc Chagall, who had already lived through the Russian pogroms in the century's first decade. Many of the works of the artists in Nazi disfavor were



General Dwight Eisenhower (right), accompanied by General Omar Bradley (far left) and Lt. General George Patton (center), inspects art treasures stolen by Germans and hidden in a salt mine in Germany, 12 April 1945. (National Archives)

simply destroyed, and 650 were selected from the thousands purged from the museums for a special exhibition *Entartete Kunst (Degenerate Art)* which traveled to a dozen cities in Germany and Austria. In the exhibition, paintings were poorly displayed, often at crooked angles, and sculptures were crowded together in piles; instead of didactic labels, graffiti scrawled on the walls ridiculed the objects and their makers. More than three million people attended this exhibition and a companion to it, *Degenerate Music*.

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers sent eight artists to document the experiences of American combat troops in Europe. In late 1942, a second War Art Unit was created. A War Art Advisory Committee led by muralist George Biddle and composed of museum directors, curators, and even writer John Steinbeck identified artists for the special unit. Of the 42 individuals selected by the committee, 23 were already on active military duty. Although the first artists were sent to the Pacific Theater, shortly thereafter official artists were deployed to cover the various theaters. By 1943, each branch of the military had assembled its own art unit to commemorate its contribution—by land, air, or sea.

Military artists were first and foremost soldiers who assumed the additional duties of documenting the war's events with the tools of the artist. The images they generated

run the gamut from portraying soldiers' and sailors' everyday routines to stirring portrayals of troops in the heat of battle. Such artists participated in the events they recorded, and at times they had to take up weapons with their fellows. When the opportunity arose, they would take out their sketchbooks and drawing instruments to make sketches and jot down notations. Such sketches matured into full drawings or were translated into paint once the combat artists had the opportunity and resources to accomplish it. Soldier-artists also served as illustrators for military publications such as the U.S. Army magazine *Yank*, which was created for the troops. Although civilian artists did not serve in combat, they accompanied the troops on dangerous missions and put their lives in harm's way; at least one civilian artist died when his transport crashed on the way to India.

When a failure by Congress to appropriate funds threatened to eliminate the army's War Art Unit shortly after its inauguration, the contracts of 17 of the 19 civilian artists were taken over by publisher Henry R. Luce's *Life* magazine. The magazine profiled war artists such as Fletcher Martin, Floyd Davis, Tom Lea, Paul Sample, and Rubin Kadish, and photographs of the artists sketching in airplane cockpits or painting on aircraft carriers often appeared next to their works.

Life also ran several contests on the theme of art in the armed services and featured soldiers' work in subsequent multipage spreads. The magazine quickly became the vehicle by which the images moved beyond their original function as reportage to achieve acclaim as works of art in their own right. *Life* sponsored exhibitions of war art at populist venues such as state fairs and at venerable institutions such as the National Gallery in Washington, D.C., and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. It was by examining the objects firsthand—hurried pencil sketches and pen-and-ink scrawls, watercolors and oils put down on wrapping paper and pasteboard from packing boxes—that the public could fully grasp their immediacy, ponder the obstacles the artists had to overcome to record each scene, and be convinced of the soldiers' patriotic duty to make the art.

A second source of funding for the U.S. civilian art contracts came from Abbott Laboratories, a pharmaceutical company in Chicago that provided medical supplies to the troops. The company had an established record of patronage of the arts, and its director of advertising, Charles Downs, realized the power of images to rally the support of the public. Working with the Associated American Artists group in New York, Abbott Laboratories recruited a dozen artists to be sent overseas and successfully lobbied the War Department to provide the artists with the same degree of support given to photographers and filmmakers in terms of housing, transportation, and security clearance. Many of the artists, such as Thomas Hart Benton, Reginald Marsh, and John Stuart Curry, had worked on large-scale mural projects sponsored

by the Works Projects Administration during the Great Depression years. Abbott Laboratories commissioned thematic sets of images, oftentimes showcasing their own products, although the stated mission of the project was to create permanent collections that were later donated to the military branches. Abbott also sponsored traveling exhibitions of these works to university galleries and museums across the country.

Although even the Museum of Modern Art in New York complied with the public's appetite for war pictures by sending art supplies to the front and mounting exhibitions from the battlefield, a small but vocal group of artists protested these images as sanitized portrayals of war—or worse, products of the American propaganda machine. Some were critical of the civilian component of the art units and those who traveled as artist-correspondents, charging that they played no direct role in the war effort.

Artists who served in the war designed camouflage patterns or condensed information into strategic charts and maps; their skills directly contributed to the war effort. Some artists objected to the lack of psychological or philosophical commentary in the images themselves, arguing that works of art should offer information beyond that of a photograph and should give a truer sense of the atrocities faced by the soldiers who were battling for freedom. The large community of European exiles gathered in New York City during the early 1940s created a more ambivalent body of images that speaks of the emotional and psychological complexities of a world at war. Paintings by Max Ernst or the Chilean artist Roberto Matta, often nightmarish plunges into landscapes ruled by irrational forces, were executed in expressionist or surrealist styles.

After the war, U.S. soldiers who had worked in the art units or as artist-correspondents, as well as those who had interest in but no actual background in the arts, were offered the opportunity to pursue formal art training through the GI Bill. It created a generation of college-educated artists who sought to distance themselves from their experiences on the battlefield. Because of the association of conservative pictorial styles with Nazi propaganda and international outrage over Hitler's extreme forms of censorship, postwar art would attempt to break from the past altogether by experimenting with nonobjective styles that would be difficult for any party or platform to co-opt.

Denise Rompilla

See also

Propaganda

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Artillery Doctrine

Artillery and fire-support tactics in World War II owed more to the lessons of World War I than to the theories of mechanized warfare that evolved between the wars. Between 1914 and 1918, artillery went through a series of radical changes, altering forever the face of modern warfare. Most of the artillery innovations of 1914–1918 are still very much with us today, albeit in far more refined technological forms.

Major changes that occurred in World War I had an especially profound influence on the way World War II was fought. The most important change was the perfection of indirect fire, as opposed to direct fire. Indirect fire techniques had been developed before 1914, but during World War I they were standardized and became the norm rather than the exception for artillery combat. Firing an artillery piece by direct fire required the crew to be able to see the target and to aim at it directly, either through open iron or optical sights. Firing using this method limited the range at which guns could engage targets and required the guns to be far forward and exposed to enemy fire. Indirect fire is a system in which a gun can be fired at targets the gun crew cannot see. The gun crew instead aims the piece by sighting on a reference point.

Initially, indirect fire required a forward observer who could see the target and had some means of communication to transmit corrections back to the guns. After the first shot was fired, the observer would make successive corrections until the fall of shot was adjusted onto the target. Near the end of World War I, however, several armies had mastered the technique of firing without observer corrections. Using the correct current weather data and accurate ballistics data about the ammunition and the guns, the necessary adjustments could be mathematically predicted—hence the name *predicted fire* for the technique.

Indirect fire combined with predicted fire had several extremely significant consequences for war fighting. First, it was no longer necessary to physically mass guns on the ground to produce massed fire effects on a target. Guns at diverse points on the battlefield could all fire simultaneously on the same target. The second major consequence was the introduction of depth to combat operations. The ability to engage targets beyond visual range transformed the conducting of warfare from a linear, two-dimensional problem to a three-dimensional problem. The advent of combat aircraft also added significantly to three-dimensional warfare.

These changes came to dominate combat operations in the final years of World War I, but they were not fully developed



This British Army 25 pounder was part of an eight gun battery which fired 4000 rounds in just over 15 hours. Firing was continuous and water was used to keep the guns cool. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

by the time the war ended. Two major constraining factors were the relatively primitive mobility and communications technologies of the day, which limited the effectiveness of the new fire-support capabilities. Between the wars, the technologies of battlefield transportation and communications made great advances, which contributed significantly to the fact that the stagnation of the trench warfare of World War I was not repeated in World War II.

Germany

Germany led the world in the development of artillery tactics during World War I. Between 1916 and 1918, Colonel Georg Bruchmüller pioneered many of the most important artillery tactical methods: neutralization and suppressive fires, as opposed to simple destructive fires; performance of specific tactical missions by specially trained artillery groups, including infantry support, counterbattery, and deep attack; and fire preparations organized into phases to accomplish specific tactical objectives. In early 1918, Bruchmüller championed the work of Captain Eric Pulkowski, who developed a

technique of meteorological corrections—still in use today, albeit computerized—that made accurate predicted fire both possible and practical.

Ironically, Germany in the interwar years all but abandoned most of the artillery lessons it had taught the rest of the world during World War I. German artillery had been so devastating that the Versailles Treaty only allowed the postwar German army 284 artillery pieces, none larger than 105 mm. As late as 1936, three years after Adolf Hitler came to power, the German army still had only 284 guns. An army not allowed any significant amount of artillery, then, focused on developing alternative tactics centered on the tank, which in theory was supposed to provide its own close fire support. This in turn led the Germans to conclude that even if they had adequate artillery, the guns and especially their ammunition supply would not be able to keep pace with the tanks.

The Germans did recognize that even a massive tank force would sometimes encounter stiff opposition that would slow the momentum of the advance. In such situations, the additional required fire support would come from the air. By 1940,

the Germans had developed an impressively sophisticated air-to-ground coordination system that was capable of concentrating as many as 2,700 aircraft over a critical sector. As successful as this system was in France, the Germans did recognize that their panzer forces would still benefit by the addition of highly mobile, organic fire-support assets. At that point they started to develop and field a limited number of self-propelled assault, antitank, and field guns.

The German system of relying primarily on air power for fire support worked fairly well in France. As the war progressed, though, the Germans came to realize that their approach was subject to flaws in three critical areas: mass, weather, and air superiority. When the German army invaded the Soviet Union, the operational theater was so vast and Soviet ground forces were spread so widely that the Luftwaffe could not be overhead everywhere it was needed at one time. The weather in the Soviet Union also severely restricted Luftwaffe operations. But conventional field artillery is practically impervious to weather conditions, and the massively gunned Red Army almost always had adequate fire support. Finally, as the war progressed and attrition sharply affected the Luftwaffe, the Germans lost air superiority. The real importance of the Combined Bomber Offensive mounted by the western Allies was not so much its effect on Germany's industrial base, but rather the steady attrition of Luftwaffe fighters and pilots. By late 1944 and 1945, Germany no longer controlled the air over its own territory, let alone over the battlefields in France or the Eastern Front.

Again abandoning lessons it had taught the world in 1918, the German army of World War II rarely emphasized the massing of artillery above the divisional level. It failed to provide artillery concentrations at the corps, army, or army group levels. The Soviets, though, considered artillery at those levels to be decisive. By 1944, the Germans had come to fully recognize their critical error with respect to artillery, and they desperately tried to recreate the fire-support structure and assets that had served them so well in 1918. By then, however, it was too little, too late.

Japan

The Japanese army believed that the immediate and close support of the infantry attack was the primary mission of field artillery. Secondary artillery missions included destroying the enemy's supporting infantry weapons, destroying obstacles in the way of the infantry advance, and interdicting enemy lines of communication. Counterbattery work had the lowest priority.

The Japanese stressed the importance of keeping their guns well forward, often placing firing positions within a few hundred yards of an enemy's forward positions. Command posts were sited right next to the guns so the battery could be controlled by voice command. But the fire and observation conditions of Asian jungles created special problems for close

infantry support. The terrain often made it difficult or impossible to track accurately the positions of the infantry units. The requirement to fire over trees almost always meant that the fall of shot would be too far forward of the infantry. The solution to that problem was to position the guns on the flanks of the attacking infantry.

Under Japanese doctrine, artillery was oriented primarily to the offense. Before an attack, standard Japanese artillery preparation lasted between one and two hours. The preparation was conducted in three phases of roughly equal duration: (1) range adjustment; (2) obstacle destruction; and (3) fire on the enemy's forward positions. As the infantry began its attack, the mission of the artillery shifted to direct support. In defensive situations, the main weight of the Japanese guns would be echeloned 1 to 1.2 miles behind the main line of resistance. As the enemy massed for the attack, the defending artillery would fire a counterpreparation. Once the enemy attack started, the mission of the artillery was to break up the momentum of the assault with a series of standing barrages.

As with the Germans, the Japanese throughout World War II suffered from too little artillery and inadequate organization and control at the higher echelons. Artillery in small units was allocated directly to the tactical-level infantry units, which left almost no fire-support assets for centralized command and control at the divisional level and up. By 1944 the Japanese, too, had come to recognize the gravity of these shortcomings, and they moved to correct the problems. But, as with their German allies, it was too little and too late.

France

The French were slow to modernize their artillery following World War I. Throughout the interwar years, all French tactical thinking was either woefully outdated or too heavily influenced by a defensive orientation. The French believed that massive firepower was the key to victory. They took this idea to its extreme limit and also rejected mobility. They came to regard "weight of metal" as the decisive factor in any defense or attack. This, of course, led to the massive defensive system of the Maginot Line, which sought to replicate on a grand scale the fixed fortifications of Verdun, which had held out in 1916.

The French put all their interwar artillery efforts into artillery in fortresses, largely ignoring mobile field artillery. In the early 1930s, the French did experiment with a mechanized division, but French field artillery was not even motorized until 1934. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, French tactical doctrine emphasized that the mission of artillery was (1) to destroy any obstacles in the path of the infantry, (2) to accompany the infantry by fire, and (3) to strike at the enemy artillery's capability to hit the friendly infantry. The emphasis on these missions, however, was always within a framework of counterpreparations and defensive fires.

Just prior to the start of World War II, a French artillery preparation had three primary targets: the enemy's infantry, the enemy's known antitank weapons, and the enemy's suspected antitank weapons. Counterbattery fire against the enemy's guns had almost completely fallen out of the French doctrine. The French believed that modern technology and mechanization made counterbattery fires impractical, if not impossible. Finally, the French failed to provide any real doctrine for coordinating artillery with air support and air defense. A result of this failure was that two French divisional artilleries were cut off and then routed at Sedan in May 1940 before the German ground forces had even crossed the Meuse.

United States

As early as the mid-1920s, the U.S. Army started to abandon many of the hard-learned artillery lessons of World War I, and the focus of ground tactics shifted back to an infantry-centered world. Right up to the start of World War II, the U.S. Army neglected the requirements of artillery command and control above the divisional level and almost totally ignored corps-level artillery. What passed for corps-level artillery was little more than a holding pool for units and guns not otherwise assigned to a division. According to the doctrine, corps artillery was supposed to be responsible for counterbattery fire. But even as late as May 1943, the Field Artillery School at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, was still recommending that corps artillery units be parceled out to the divisions during operations.

The U.S. Army, however, did not go quite as far as the British, French, or even the Germans in abandoning the artillery lessons of World War I. The American penchant for technical solutions prevailed, and Fort Sill experimented with various forms of fire control techniques, including aerial observation. By 1934, Fort Sill had developed the first battalion Fire Direction Center, which could simultaneously control and mass the guns of all three of an artillery battalion's batteries. In 1940, Fort Sill introduced the graphical firing table, a specialized artillery slide rule that greatly speeded the calculation of the firing solution. In April 1941, Fort Sill demonstrated for U.S. Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall a divisional shoot, controlling and massing against a single target the fires of four separate battalions, totaling 12 batteries.

In the late 1930s, Brigadier General Lesley J. McNair was the assistant school commandant at Fort Sill. McNair had commanded a field artillery brigade in France during World War I. Later, as commander of U.S. Army Ground Forces, he became the chief architect of the U.S. military buildup going into World War II. McNair was a strong believer in flexible massed fires. He championed the development of longer-range guns and supported all initiatives to centralize artillery command and control systems. Under his direction, the

number of nondivisional medium and heavy artillery battalions in the U.S. Army nearly doubled between 1942 and 1944.

U.S. Army doctrine in World War II identified two primary field artillery missions: (1) supporting the ground-gaining (infantry, cavalry, armored) units by either neutralizing or destruction fires; and (2) giving depth to combat by counterbattery fire, by fire on enemy reserves, by restricting movement in enemy rear areas, and by disrupting enemy command and control systems.

As the war progressed, the U.S. Army's logistical advantage became increasingly decisive, and the American tactical experience mirrored that of the other Allies. At the corps level, the emphasis increased on command, joint operations, and airpower. Joint operations and airpower were especially important in the Far East, where amphibious operations and jungle terrain made it almost impossible to mass artillery on the ground.

British Commonwealth

The British army had (and still has) a somewhat different approach to artillery command and control. In almost all other armies, the forward observers (FO), who accompanied the infantry and requested—and, if necessary, adjusted—the supporting fires, were junior officers, usually lieutenants. The more senior artillery officers remained in command of the guns or in the command posts of the artillery battalions or the divisional artillery headquarters. The British attached their more senior officers to the command post of the supported maneuver unit. Thus, a British infantry company would have a captain as an FO—or forward observation officer (FOO), as the British called them. The supported infantry battalion commander would have an artillery major as his artillery adviser.

The idea behind the British system is that the senior and more experienced officers would better understand the overall tactical situation. Whereas a lieutenant FO in most armies could only request fires, a British FOO had the authority to order the fires. The British believed this system produced quicker and more responsive fire support. The system depended heavily on radio communication, which was widespread and effective in the British army from 1940 forward.

As with the Germans, the British had rejected most of the artillery lessons of World War I. Great Britain entered World War II with a tactical doctrine that de-emphasized artillery, based on the theory that tanks could operate independently without much support from the other arms. Unlike the Germans, the British did not have an air force structured to provide air-to-ground support for emergencies. Unlike the Luftwaffe, the Royal Air Force before World War II concentrated on building up its bomber forces. The lack of air support for their ground troops cost the British dearly in the campaign for France in 1940.

The British approach to mobile tactics did work well against the Italians at the start of the campaign in North Africa. But once the Germans entered that fight, the British were at a severe disadvantage against the German combined-arms tactics and organizations. Too often, the British tried to attack German positions without adequate artillery preparation and paid a high price. And at the same time, the British had difficulty establishing an effective defense built on fire and maneuver.

What made the British situation even more difficult during the early fighting in North Africa was the fact that they were forced to use most of their field artillery in an antitank role, which left little for infantry support. By 1942, the British were pouring new antitank guns and more field artillery into North Africa, which then allowed them to develop new tactical methods.

General Bernard Montgomery was the primary architect of the new British approach. Montgomery stressed the steady buildup of a superior firepower ratio and the use of artillery to produce shock action in coordination with the other arms. The two main tactical techniques to achieve this were the creeping barrage and the timed concentration. These techniques had been developed in World War I, but in World War II they were far more sophisticated and effective because of better communications and predicted rather than observed and adjusted fire. At El Alamein, for example, 1,000 British guns produced a massive shock effect by firing more than 1.2 million shells at plotted German targets without having to telegraph the attack by first adjusting the fall of shot. The British also developed a standard fire mission they called the “72-gun battery,” which concentrated all the guns of a division on a single target.

Soviet Union

Virtually alone among the world’s major armies, the Red Army following World War I intensely studied the artillery lessons of that war and diligently applied them during the interwar years. In the 1920s, Soviet Chief of Artillery Lieutenant General Yuri Shedeiman personally translated from German into Russian the books written by Colonel Georg Bruchmüller about his artillery innovations during World War I. Reflecting their faith in massed firepower, the Soviets by the 1920s had built their army into a combined-arms force with artillery as a major component at all levels.

In 1941, the Soviets initiated a major reorganization of their artillery. The number of guns in a division was reduced by almost two-thirds, but the number of mortars increased by the same proportion. The objective was to make the divisions more mobile. The Soviets grouped their heavier artillery pieces into artillery reserve units, which then could be massed at the decisive point of any battle. Following these reorganizations, Soviet leader Josef Stalin in 1942 directed

that artillery should be concentrated to support a breakthrough in a designated sector and that more mobile artillery had to be developed to support the armored units that would exploit the breakthrough.

In late 1942, the Soviets organized their artillery reserve units into artillery divisions. With the exception of one artillery division with which the Germans experimented briefly, the Soviets were the only ones to field such organizations in World War II. By the end of the war, the Red Army had some 90 artillery divisions, about the same number of total divisions in the U.S. Army. In 1943, the Soviets began grouping their artillery divisions into breakthrough artillery corps of two or more artillery divisions and one rocket launcher division. The Soviets believed in holding artillery in reserve—directly the opposite of the American belief that artillery is never held in reserve. At the start of the war, some 8 percent of the Red Army’s artillery was in the High Command Artillery Reserve. By the end of the war, this percentage had risen to 35 percent.

On the defensive for the first part of the war, the Soviets drew the following conclusions about fire support in defensive operations: (1) artillery, not aircraft, was the superior form of fire support in the defense, (2) the antitank plan should be the basis for determining the overall deployment of forces, (3) all guns should be capable of direct fire, (4) an artillery reserve was essential, (5) armor should counterattack only after a tank attack had been stopped by artillery, (6) artillery must be sited in depth in prepared positions, and (7) indirect fire was only effective when massed and centrally commanded.

USSR attack doctrine grew out of Soviet experiences launching counterattacks from the defensive. By the time the Red Army went on the offensive in the final years of World War II, its artillery had three primary missions: (1) preparation of the attack; (2) support of the attack, principally through a creeping barrage or fixed concentrations; and (3) accompaniment of the maneuver forces. Accompanying fire was the primary mission of the divisional artillery units, more often than not through close-range direct fire. As a result, divisional artillery units generally suffered 10 times the casualty rates of nondivisional units.

The Soviet system worked for the USSR, but it did have its drawbacks. Operations required a methodical buildup of overwhelming force, which in turn required periods of stability. That meant that operations on the Eastern Front went through cycles of long periods of buildup, followed by brief surges of steamrollerlike momentum. The Soviets ultimately had the manpower and the resources to succeed with this approach on the operational level, but during the interim periods the Germans often were able to achieve stunning tactical successes because of their more flexible organization and doctrine. In the end, however, the Soviets succeeded. In

so doing, they proved that conventional artillery—the “god of war,” as Stalin called it—was in fact a decisive element at the operational level of war.

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See also

Artillery Types; Hitler, Adolf; Infantry Tactics; Maginot Line; Marshall, George Catlett; McNair, Lesley James; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Stalin, Josef

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Artillery Types

Firepower and maneuver are the two primary elements of land combat power. From the late Middle Ages to the early years of the twentieth century, artillery was the only significant source of land-based firepower. Even after the appearance in World War I of machine guns, tanks, and ground-attack aircraft, artillery still remained the major source of firepower on the battlefield. Throughout history, firepower and mobility technology have been in a constant tug of war with each other. Rarely has one achieved a significant advantage over the other; but whenever that has happened, the results have been devastating.

During World War I, firepower technology far outstripped mobility technology. During the years between the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871) and the start of World War I in 1914, there was vast technological improvement for artillery and infantry weapons, particularly the machine gun. The result was previously unimaginable levels of battlefield firepower. Battlefield mobility, however, was still primarily a matter of human and animal muscle, as it had been for thousands of years. Thus, firepower had become mechanized by 1914, mobility had not, and the result was trench warfare. By World War II, mobility technology had caught up, and the balance was restored.

Artillery pieces are broadly classified by the ballistic performance of the projectiles they shoot. The three basic categories of cannon, or tube, artillery have not changed in the past 300 years, although individual technologies have advanced considerably. Guns fire projectiles at a very high velocity and on a relatively flat trajectory. They have the greatest range and tend to be the heaviest of artillery pieces. Mortars are generally light weapons that fire a relatively light

projectile at low muzzle velocities and short ranges but at high angles of fire—above 45 degrees. Howitzers are extremely versatile weapons, capable of firing at both high and low angles. The muzzle velocity and range of a howitzer are less than those of a gun of comparable size, but a howitzer is far more accurate. A howitzer also can fire a heavier shell than can a gun of the same weight. Most armies in World War II had both guns and howitzers in their arsenals. Although they were technically artillery pieces, mortars were considered infantry weapons by almost all armies.

All forms of artillery through the start of the nineteenth century were the same smooth-bore, muzzle-loading, black-powder mechanisms that had been in use for hundreds of years. They had poor mobility, and the gun crews engaged their targets by direct fire—that is, the gunner had to see and directly aim at the target, just as if he was firing a large rifle. In the last half of the nineteenth century, artillery made several technological leaps in areas such as improved metallurgical and manufacturing techniques, rifled bores, breech-loading mechanisms, fire-control instruments, and, most importantly, recoil mechanisms.

Modern recoil mechanisms, introduced at the very end of the nineteenth century, allowed the artillery piece to hold its position on the ground as each round was fired. That, in turn, meant that the piece did not have to be reaimed after each round, which produced far more rapid rates of fire. The result was vastly improved accuracy and repeatability, which—combined with modern optics and fire control techniques—made indirect fire possible. Indirect fire is the technique of accurately firing at targets that the gun crew cannot see directly. That important advance extended the effective depth of artillery fire, which in turn led to the very concept of deep battle. The first artillery piece with modern fire control and recoil systems was the French *Canon de 75 mle 1897* (75 mm gun, model 1897), widely known as the “French 75.”

Through World War I, all field artillery was horse-drawn. In the interwar years, the horse gave way to the truck as the artillery prime mover in the British and U.S. armies. Many armies, including those of Germany, Japan, Italy, and the USSR, relied heavily on horses until the very end of World War II. Self-propelled (SP) artillery—guns mounted on a wheeled or tracked carriage—also appeared shortly after the end of World War I, when the British Birch Gun was introduced. By the end of World War II, almost all armies had SP guns and howitzers.

According to an old maxim of the British Royal Artillery, the real weapon of the artillery is the projectile—the gun is merely the means of sending a projectile to the target. During World War II the standard artillery projectile was high-explosive (HE), producing both blast and fragmentation effects. The blast was employed primarily against fortifications and fragmentation was used against personnel. Smoke rounds

were used to obscure enemy visibility on the battlefield, and illumination rounds were utilized to enhance friendly visibility at night. In the early years of the war, most armies were forced to use their field artillery in an antitank role, which required the guns to fire special armor-piercing (AP) and high-explosive antitank (HEAT) rounds. During World War I, most armies had developed and used a wide array of chemical rounds that produced various combinations of lethal and nonlethal, persistent and nonpersistent effects. Although all sides still had these chemical rounds in their arsenals during World War II, they were not employed.

The fuse is perhaps the most critical element of an artillery round. The point-detonating (PD) fuse triggers the round as soon as it touches the ground, producing a surface burst. Most PD fuses could be set on “delay” to allow the round to penetrate into the ground and produce a subsurface burst. The concrete-piercing fuse is a variation of the delay fuse that allows an artillery projectile to burrow into the wall of a bunker or fortification before exploding. The mechanical time fuse was used to produce an air burst, which rained fragments on the target below. This was generally the most effective means of attacking troops in the open. The time fuse, however, required a high degree of skill on the part of the forward observer and the fire direction center personnel to get the time of flight and the height of burst just right. Near the end of World War II, the U.S. Army introduced the proximity fuse, adapted from naval anti-aircraft artillery for field artillery work. Also called the variable-time fuse, it contained a small radar transmitter and receiver that produced a perfect 66-ft height of burst every time. The “funny fuse,” as Lieutenant General George S. Patton called it, was first used by U.S. artillerymen with devastating effect during the German Ardennes offensive in December 1944.

United States

The U.S. Army classified its field artillery guns and howitzers into three basic categories by weight: light, medium, and heavy. Light guns, used for direct support, were found only in divisional artillery. The airborne divisions and the 10th Mountain Division were armed with the 75 mm M-1A1 pack howitzer. It was designed for easy disassembly, which allowed it to be dropped from the air or transported by six mules. The 75 mm pack howitzer was widely used in Italy and in the jungles of the Pacific, where its transportability was its most important feature.

The workhorse of most infantry divisional artillery was the 105 mm M-2A1 howitzer, the most widely used artillery piece in history. It was accurate and reliable, and it could withstand a great deal of punishment and mishandling. It was first developed in the 1920s as a weapon capable of being towed by a team of six horses, and the design was approved in March 1940.

The M-2A1 was towed by a two-and-a-half ton truck, which also carried the gun’s crew and its basic load of ammunition. The armored divisions used the M-2A1’s tube and gun carriage on a one of several self-propelled mounts. The standard was the M-7B1, which was mounted on a Sherman tank chassis. In 1945, these guns began to be replaced by the M-37, which was mounted on a Chaffee tank chassis.

In 1943, the army introduced a lightened version of the M-2A1 with a shortened barrel to give airborne units more firepower than the 75 mm pack howitzer delivered. The M-3 howitzer was not a successful design, however. After World War II, the M-2A1 was modified somewhat to become the M-101A1. That version remained in service with the U.S. Army through the Korean and Vietnam Wars. More than 10,200 M-2A1s or M-101A1s were built and supplied to some 45 different armies between 1940 and 1953.

The 155 mm M-1A1 towed howitzer was the standard American medium artillery piece used by the general support battalions of almost all the infantry divisions. It was a successful and popular design, although heavy and somewhat difficult to handle. The cannoneers on the gun crews called these weapons “pigs”—short for pig iron. A self-propelled version of the 155 mm howitzer mounted on a Chaffee tank chassis was designated the M-41, but only about 100 were ever built.

The most widely used American heavy gun was the 155 mm M-1 towed gun, which is not to be confused with the 155 mm M-1A1 towed howitzer. The 155 mm gun was two-and-a-half times as heavy as the 155 mm howitzer and could shoot a shell of the same weight (95 lb) 60 percent farther. The 155 mm gun had a 19-ft barrel and was nicknamed the “long Tom” by all sides. One self-propelled version was the M-12, based on a modified Grant tank chassis. The M-40 version was based on a modified Sherman tank chassis.

The 8-inch M-2 towed howitzer used the same carriage as the 155 mm M-1 towed gun. Whereas the bore sizes of all other U.S. Army artillery pieces were designated in millimeters, this one was designated in inches because it originally was adopted from a U.S. Navy design. Despite its relatively short barrel, the 8 inch had the reputation of being the most accurate artillery piece ever invented. It remained in service in the U.S. Army into the 1960s and in the British Army into the 1970s. After World War II, the U.S. Army also mounted the 8 inch on a self-propelled carriage, and that version remained in service until just after the 1991 Gulf War.

The heaviest U.S. artillery piece was a 240 mm M-1 towed howitzer called the “black dragon.” Towed by a 38-ton M-6 tractor, it had surprisingly good mobility for a gun weighing almost 21 tons. Once the gun arrived in a firing position, it took the gun crew about two hours to place the piece into action. The 240 mm howitzer saw extensive service in the Italian Campaign.



Front view of a 240mm howitzer of B Battery, 697th Field Artillery Battery, Magnano area, Italy, 30 January 1944. (National Archives)

France

At the start of the war the French army still had large numbers of the World War I-era 75 mm guns in service. One of them, the French 75, had been the world's first truly modern artillery piece, featuring a hydraulic recoil mechanism and a screw-type breechblock that allowed a high rate of fire. Between the wars, the French had tried to modernize the weapon, updating it with pneumatic tires and a split trail. The Germans captured thousands of these guns from the French in 1940 and incorporated them into lower-priority Wehrmacht units. The Germans also modified the French 75 as an antitank gun for service on the Eastern Front.

In 1939, the French still had more than 1,000 105-mm and 3,000 155-mm World War I-vintage artillery pieces in service. These obsolete weapons were a detriment in 1940. The standard French 105 mm gun was the *Canon de 105 mle 1913 Schneider*. The French also still had in service 450 *Canon de*

155 Grand Puissance Filloux (Can 155 GPF). Despite the age of these weapons from an earlier war, the Germans placed many of the captured weapons into service with their own units—an indicator of Germany's overall weakness in field artillery.

The French did have some small numbers of modern light field guns, including the *Canon de 105 mle 1934-S* the *Canon de 105 court mle 1935-B*, and the *Canon de 105 L mle 1936 Schneider*. Only 159 of the M-1936 guns were in service in 1940. The Germans used those captured pieces primarily for coastal defense. Of even more value to the Germans was the *Can 155 GPF* (the updated version of the *Can 155 GPF-T*), which had a carriage designed for motor transport.

Soviet Union

Unlike most other countries, the Soviets read the lessons of World War I as requiring more artillery rather than less. In 1937, the Red Army had an inventory of 9,200 field and heavy

guns, more than twice that of the German army and triple that of the French. When Germany attacked in June 1941, the Soviet artillery arsenal stood at 67,000 tubes (artillery pieces). Throughout the war, Soviet artillery designs were more reliable, durable, and effective than those of virtually all other armies. Soviet army guns generally had longer ranges and greater lethality. The Soviets also developed innovative mass-production techniques that produced large numbers of relatively inexpensive guns. Through their system of design evolution, they repeatedly combined the successful features of various existing designs and could introduce improved models in a very short period of time.

Unlike most other armies, the Soviet army did not put much effort into developing increasingly powerful antitank guns. Soviet field artillery pieces generally fired at a higher velocity than those of most other armies, and experience in the Spanish Civil War convinced the Soviets that if they were provided with the proper ammunition, field guns were the best weapons against tanks. With the USSR's overwhelming tube superiority over Germany, Soviet field guns could be used effectively to mass indirect fires against distant targets and then quickly switch to a direct-fire point defense against tanks when the situation required. In 1941 and 1942, most German tank losses were to fire from towed field guns.

The Red Army suffered huge equipment losses in the early period following the German attack in 1941. In the first five months of the war, the Soviets lost upward of 20,000 guns. But this loss quickly led to a surge in mass production of modern, standardized weapons. The basic divisional support gun was the 76.2 mm M1942 ZIS-3, a long-barreled gun with a split trail. By the end of the war, variants on the same design had been introduced in 85 mm and 100 mm types. With a range of nearly 13 miles, the latter outranged all comparable divisional support guns. The 100 mm version also was mounted on the SU-100 SP assault gun. Soviet medium artillery included the excellent 122 mm M-1931/37 A-19 and the 152 mm M-1937 ML-20 and M-1943 D-1.

Massed artillery was the basis of the defense of Moscow in the winter of 1941. According to Soviet reports, artillery destroyed more than 1,400 German tanks between 16 November and 10 December alone. The Soviets relied on the same tactics in the Battle of Stalingrad. At Kursk on 5 July 1943, the Red Army fired a counterpreparation with 3,000 guns against the assembling German attack force. It was a dramatic demonstration of the power of massed artillery to disrupt an armored attack before it could be launched. As the war wound into its final years and Soviet production continued to swell the Red Army's arsenal, artillery preparations became more and more massive. During the offensive to cross the Vistula and Oder Rivers in January 1945, the Soviets massed 7,600 guns and mortars along the 21-mile breakthrough sector alone, with 33,500 tubes deployed across the entire front.

The Germans were better-armed with artillery than the Soviets in just one area. In 1944, a typical panzer division had some 70 SP guns with calibers up to 150 mm. A Soviet tank corps of the same period had only 20 76-mm SP guns. Despite their overwhelming number of tubes, only about 30 percent of the Soviet guns were larger than 100 mm. The maximum effective range of most of the smaller guns was only about 3.1 miles. Much beyond that range, Soviet gunners had great difficulty supporting the advance of the maneuver units. Thus, the Soviet's large numbers of massed but relatively immobile guns were effective in creating the conditions for successful breakthroughs but ineffective in supporting and sustaining those breakthroughs.

British Commonwealth

By 1939, the British army was the first fully motorized army in the world. All British field guns were towed by a four-wheel-drive truck that also carried the gun crew and the ammunition. The primary British close-support gun was the 25-pounder, which fired a 3.45-inch round. Initially designed in 1930, the 25-pounder had a box trail and an innovative central firing platform that allowed the crew to traverse the gun a full 360 degrees.

The earliest version, the MK-1, was based on the modified carriage of a World War I-vintage gun. The MK-1s saw service in France in 1940. The MK-2, with a carriage specifically designed for the 25-pounder, was introduced in 1940 and saw service in Norway. When firing special armor-piercing ammunition, the 25-pounder was pressed into service as an effective antitank gun during the early years of the war. In 1943, the Australian army introduced a lightweight version of the 25-pounder for jungle operations. The British also mounted it on a Valentine tank chassis to produce a self-propelled version known as "the Bishop." A far more successful design called "the Sexton" mounted the 25-pounder on a Canadian Ram tank. The Royal Artillery also used the American 105 mm M-7 SP howitzer, a system known as "the Priest."

At the start of the war, British medium artillery consisted of World War I-vintage guns, including the 6-inch gun, 6-inch howitzer, and the 60-pounder. These were soon replaced by the 4.5-inch and 5.5-inch guns, which used the same chassis. The 5.5-inch gun was first developed in the 1930s, and its final version was approved in August 1939. It fired a 100 lb shell. The 4.5-inch gun first saw service in North Africa in 1942. Both guns were grouped together in medium field artillery regiments.

Early British heavy artillery also consisted mostly of World War I weapons, including the 8-inch, 9.2-inch, 12-inch, and 18-inch howitzers and 6-inch and 9.2-inch guns. All of these weapons were too heavy and cumbersome for modern mobile warfare, and the British lost most of them in France in 1940. Although the British did start the work to design and develop

more modern heavy artillery, they suspended those efforts when the United States entered the war. The British instead adopted the American towed 155 mm gun and towed 8-inch howitzer.

Germany

The Germans had four categories of artillery: the *Kanone* (cannon), the *Haubitze* (field howitzer), the *Moerser* (a heavy howitzer firing at high angle only), and the *Werfer* (mortar). Generically, all artillery pieces were called *Geschuetze* (guns). The three primary calibers of German field artillery were 75 mm, 105 mm, and 150 mm. (The Germans used centimeters to designate their weapons—7.5 cm, 10.5 cm, and 15 cm.) Almost from the start of the war, the Germans recognized that 75 mm guns were ineffective for modern warfare. Those guns, including ones captured from the French, were issued only to low-priority units.

The towed 10.5 cm *leichte Feldhaubitze 18* (le FH 18) was the principal German close-support gun. Designed at the end of World War I, it remained a capable weapon throughout World War II. The main problems were that the Germans

never had enough of them, and in almost all units right up until the end of the war they were drawn by horses. On the Eastern Front, the le FH 18 was an effective antitank weapon when armed with the proper ammunition. A self-propelled version for the panzer divisions called the *Wespe* (Wasp) was mounted on a PzKpfw-II tank chassis.

The heavier artillery at the divisional level included a gun (the 10 cm s K 18) and a medium field howitzer (the 15 cm *Schwere Feldhaubitze 18* [s FH 18]). The SP version of the s FH 18, called the *Hummel* (Bumblebee), was mounted on a PzKpfw-IV tank chassis. At the corps and field army echelons, the most common heavy support guns were the 17 cm K 18 gun and the 21 cm *Moerser 18* (Mrs 18) heavy howitzer. Both weapons had a common carriage.

In most World War II armies, the organic fire support for infantry units came from mortars. The Germans did have effective mortars at both company and battalion levels, but on the basis of their experiences from World War I, they also fielded infantry guns right up until the end of the war. The two basic types were the 7.5 cm *leichtes Infantriegeschuetz 18*,



Large German coast defense gun. (Corbis)

designed late in World War I, and the heavier 15 cm *schweres Infantriegeschuetz 33*. The latter was actually too heavy for an infantry gun.

The Germans did produce several SP versions of their field and antitank guns, and they also produced a self-propelled weapon called an assault gun that was more like a turretless tank. Whereas the SP field and antitank guns consisted mostly of standard towed guns mounted on various tank chassis, many of the SP assault guns had no towed equivalent. The 7.5 cm *Sturmkanone 40* (Stu. K. 40) fired a 15 lb shell approximately 4 miles; the 10.5 cm *Sturmhaubitze 42* (Stu. H. 42) fired a 33 lb projectile 4.8 miles; and the 15 cm Stu. H. 43 fired a 95 lb shell only 2.8 miles from a barrel that was only about 6 ft long.

German artillerymen were tactically skilled, and their guns were generally technically advanced. The main problems were that the Germans did not have nearly enough of them, and the mobility of the guns they did have was generally poor. Initially, the Luftwaffe provided the close fire support for the fast-moving panzer divisions on the Eastern Front. But when the Germans found that the Luftwaffe could not be everywhere at once across the vast expanses of the east, especially in bad weather, they found themselves woefully outgunned by the Soviets.

Italy

As with most other European armies, the Italians entered World War II with many obsolescent artillery pieces in service. Italy had, however, started a rearmament program in the 1920s, ahead of most other nations. The Italians entered the war, then, with several modern artillery designs, but none in great numbers. As the war progressed, even the more modern Italian guns quickly became outclassed by British and American guns, whose development had started much later, in the 1930s.

The 75 mm *Cannone da 75/32 modello 37* was initially developed in the 1920s, but it never entered full production. The 75 mm *Obice da 75/18 modello 35* howitzer was another good design, but the Italians only had 68 in service by September 1942. The Italians started the war with more than 900 of the obsolete 149 mm *Cannone da 149/35* in service. Based on a turn-of-the-century design and lacking a modern recoil system, the gun had to be relaid after every round. It was supposed to be replaced in 1940 by the 149 mm *Cannone da 149/40*, but that weapon, too, never went into mass production.

Two of the better Italian designs were kept in production and service by the Germans after Italy surrendered in 1943. By 1942, only 147 of the *Obice da 149/19* howitzers were in service and only 20 of the heavy 210 mm *Obice da 210/22 modello 35*, which was an accurate and mobile piece for its heavy caliber.

Japan

The Japanese came late to artillery. Most Japanese had never seen a cannon before the arrival of Admiral Matthew Perry in

1853. The Japanese army manufactured its first artillery piece only in 1905, and up through World War II almost all Japanese artillery was based on European designs. Japanese guns, however, were lighter, and they had a greater range than comparable European designs of the same caliber. Japanese designers achieved the weight savings at the expense of the strength of the tubes, trails, and especially the recoil systems. As a result, these weapons suffered from an overall lack of ruggedness and high failure rates that proved costly in light of the heavy firing that was necessary during sustained combat.

Throughout the war, the Japanese had both horse-drawn and motorized artillery units. Whereas the U.S. Army and most European armies moved between the wars from 75 mm to 105 mm as the standard caliber for direct support of infantry, the Japanese stayed with 75 mm throughout World War II. The standard divisional support gun was the 75 mm type-90. It was introduced in 1930, but many units entered the war still equipped with the older type-38. The type-90 had a high muzzle velocity, which made it especially effective in an antitank role. The 75 mm type-94 mountain gun was also widely used in the jungle as pack artillery. Weighing just 1,181 lb, it could be carried by 18 men and assembled and laid for firing in about 10 minutes. As with the Germans, the Japanese also had an infantry gun. The 70 mm type-92 battalion gun weighed only 450 lb, but its range was only about one-third that of the type-94 mountain gun.

Japanese general support guns included the 105 mm type-91 howitzer and the 105 mm type-92 gun, introduced in 1931 and 1932 respectively. Both guns fire the same basic projectile, but the far heavier type-92-gun had almost twice the range. With a range of 11.3 miles, the type-92 could throw a 35 lb shell farther than most other artillery pieces of World War II. The Japanese medium artillery battalions were armed with either the 149 mm type-96 howitzer or the 149 mm type-89 gun. Despite weighing almost three times as much as the 105 mm type-92 gun, the 150 mm type-89 gun had a range only 0.9 mile greater. The largest Japanese artillery piece of the war was the 240 mm type-45 howitzer. An elderly pre-World War I design, it was most effective as a coastal defense gun.

With Japan's overwhelming emphasis on the infantry attack, the Japanese entered World War II without adequate industrial resources for large-scale artillery production and maintenance. Their production facilities were not tooled for standardized production and the mass production of interchangeable parts. Thus, the Japanese army was always chronically short of artillery, and it had trouble keeping what it did have in service.

David T. Zabecki

See also

Antiaircraft Artillery and Employment; Artillery Doctrine; Kursk, Battle of; Moscow, Battle of; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Stalingrad, Battle of; Tanks, All Powers

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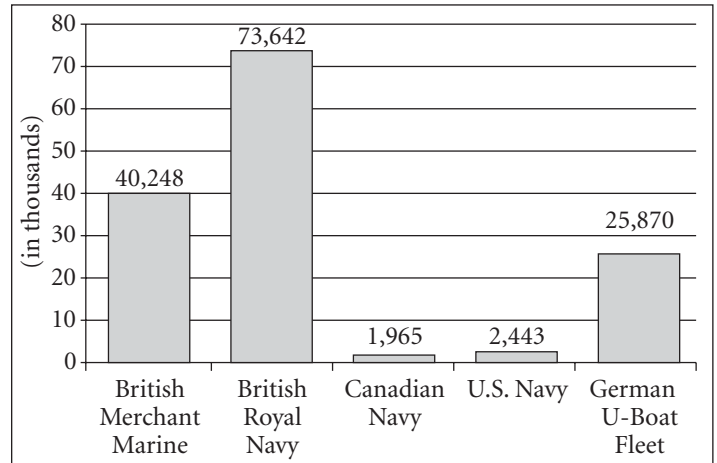
Atlantic, Battle of the

The Battle of the Atlantic was the longest campaign of World War II. In it, the German navy tried to sever the Allied sea lines of communication along which supplies necessary to fight the war were sent to Great Britain. To carry out the battle, the Germans employed a few surface raiders, but principally they used U-boats.

At the beginning of the war, the German navy possessed not the 300 U-boats deemed necessary by Kommodore (commodore) Karl Dönitz (he was promoted to rear admiral in October 1939), but 57 boats, of which only 27 were of types that could reach the Atlantic from their home bases. Although an extensive building program was immediately begun, only in the second half of 1941 did U-boat numbers begin to rise.

On the Allied side, British navy leaders were at first confident that their ASDIC (for Allied Submarine Detection Investigating Committee) location device would enable their escort vessels to defend the supply convoys against the submerged attackers, so that shipping losses might be limited until the building of new merchant ships by Britain, Canada, and the United States might settle the balance. However, Dönitz planned to concentrate groups of U-boats (called “wolf packs” by the Allies) against the convoys and to jointly attack them on the surface at night. It took time, however, before the battles of the convoys really began. The Battle of the Atlantic became a running match between numbers of German U-boats and the development of their weapons against the Allied merchant ships, their sea and air escorts (with improving detection equipment), and new weapons.

Naval Casualties During Battle of the Atlantic



The Battle of the Atlantic may be subdivided into eight phases. During the first of these, from September 1939 to June 1940, a small number of U-boats, seldom more than 10 at a time, made individual cruises west of the British Isles and into the Bay of Biscay to intercept Allied merchant ships. Generally, these operated independently because the convoy system, which the British Admiralty had planned before the war, was slow to take shape. Thus the U-boats found targets, attacking at first according to prize rules by identifying the ship and providing for the safety of its crew. However, when Britain armed its merchant ships, increasingly the German submarines struck without warning. Dönitz's plan to counter the convoy with group or “pack” operations of U-boats—also developed and tested before the war—was put on trial in October and November 1939 and in February 1940. The results confirmed the possibility of vectoring a group of U-boats to a convoy by radio signals from whichever U-boat first sighted the convoy. However, at this time, the insufficient numbers of U-boats available and frequent torpedo failures prevented real successes.

The German conquest of Norway and western France provided the U-boats with new bases much closer to the main operational area off the Western Approaches and brought about a second phase from July 1940 to May 1941. In this phase, the U-boats, operated in groups or wolf packs, were directed by radio signals from the shore against the convoys, in which was now concentrated most of the maritime traffic to and from Great Britain. Even if the number of U-boats in the operational area still did not rise to more than 10 at a time, a peak of efficacy was attained in terms of the relationship between tonnage sunk and U-boat days at sea. This was made possible partly by the weakness of the convoy escort groups because the Royal Navy held back destroyers to guard against an expected German invasion of Britain. In addition, British



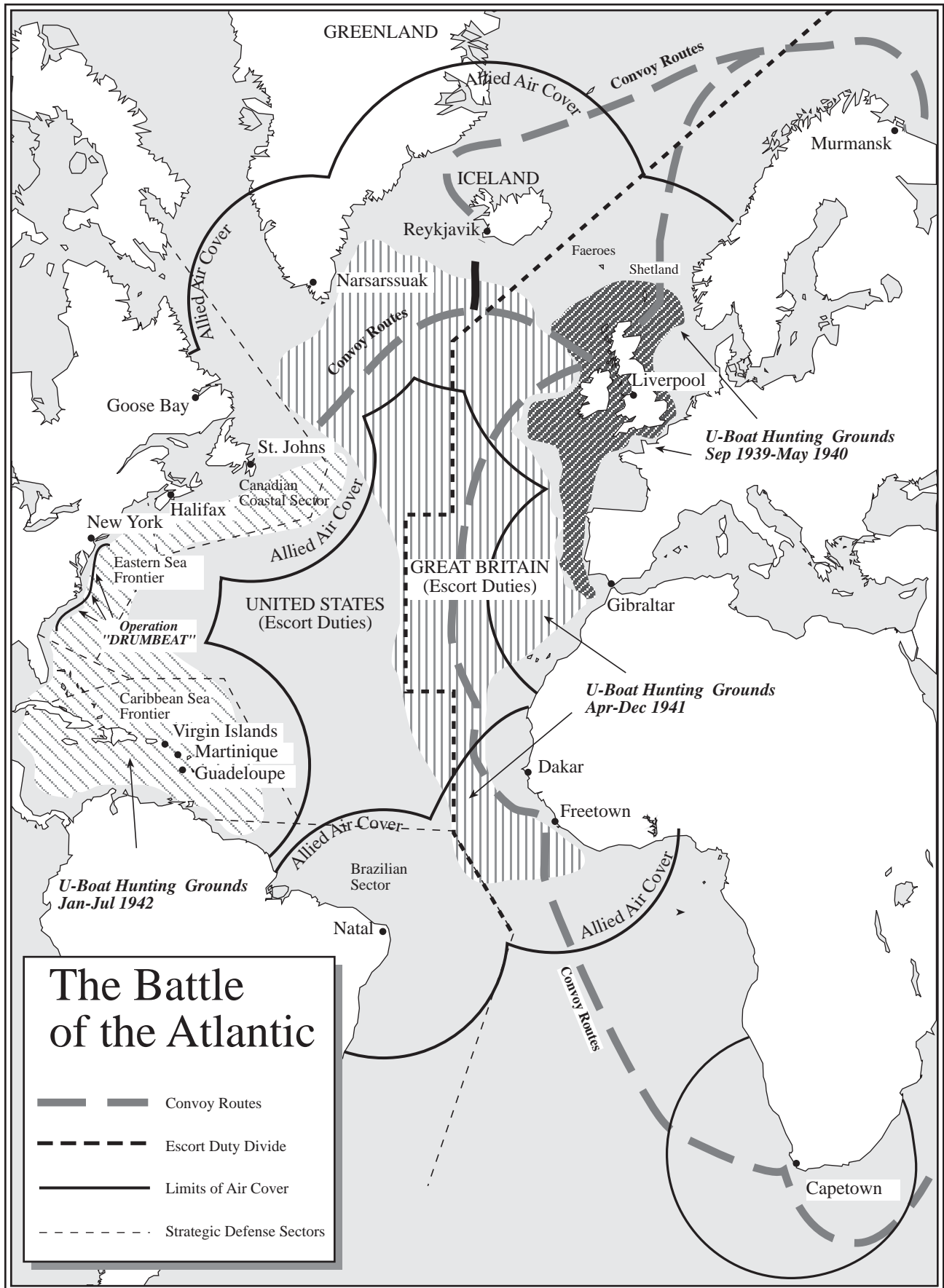
Officers on the bridge of a U.S. destroyer, escorting a large convoy of ships, keep a sharp lookout for attacking submarines, ca. 1942. (Library of Congress)

merchant shipping losses were greatly augmented during this phase by the operations of German surface warships in the north and central Atlantic; by armed merchant raiders in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans; by the attacks of German long-range bombers against the Western Approaches; and by heavy German air attacks against British harbors. The Germans were also aided by Italian submarines based at Bordeaux and sent into the Atlantic, the numbers of which in early 1941 actually surpassed the number of German U-boats.





In late 1940 and spring 1941, when the danger of an invasion of the British Isles had receded, London released destroyers for antisubmarine operations and redeployed Coastal Command aircraft to support the convoys off the Western Approaches. Thus, in the third phase of the Battle of the Atlantic, from May to December 1941, the U-boats were forced to operate at greater distances from shore. Long lines of U-boats patrolled across the convoy routes in an effort to intercept supply ships. This in turn forced the British in June to begin escorting their convoys along the whole route from Newfoundland to the Western Approaches and—when the

U-boats began to cruise off West Africa—the route from Freetown to Gibraltar and the United Kingdom as well.

In March 1941, the Allies captured cipher materials from a German patrol vessel. Then, on 7 May 1941, the Royal Navy succeeded in capturing the German Arctic meteorological vessel *München* and seizing her Enigma machine intact. Settings secured from this encoding machine enabled the Royal Navy to read June U-boat radio traffic practically currently. On 9 May during a convoy battle, the British destroyer *Bulldog* captured the German submarine *U-110* and secured the settings for the high-grade officer-only German naval signals. The capture on 28 June of a second German weather ship, *Lauenburg*, enabled British decryption operations at Bletchley Park (BP) to read July German home-waters radio traffic currently. This led to interception of German supply ships in the Atlantic and cessation of German surface ship operations in the Atlantic. Beginning in August 1941, BP operatives could decrypt signals between the commander of U-boats and his U-boats at sea. The Allies were thus able to reroute convoys and save perhaps 1.5 million gross tons of shipping.



The Battle of the Atlantic

-  Convoy Routes
-  Escort Duty Divide
-  Limits of Air Cover
-  Strategic Defense Sectors

During this third phase, the U.S. Atlantic Fleet was first involved in the battle.

The entry of the United States into the war after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor ushered in the fourth phase of the battle, presenting the U-boats with a second golden opportunity from January to July 1942. Attacking unescorted individual ships off the U.S. East Coast, in the Gulf of Mexico, and in the Caribbean, German U-boats sank greater tonnages than during any other period of the war.

But sightings and sinkings off the U.S. East Coast dropped off sharply after the introduction of the interlocking convoy system there, and Dönitz found operations by individual U-boats in such distant waters uneconomical. Thus, in July 1942, he switched the U-boats back to the North Atlantic convoy route. This began the fifth phase, which lasted until May 1943. Now came the decisive period of the conflict between the U-boat groups and the convoys with their sea and air escorts. Increasingly, the battle was influenced by technical innovations. Most important in this regard were efforts on both sides in the field of signals intelligence.

On 1 February 1942, the Germans had introduced their new M-4 cipher machine, leading to a blackout in decryption that lasted until the end of December 1942. This accomplishment was of limited influence during the fourth phase, because the German U-boats operated individually according to their given orders, and there was no great signal traffic in the operational areas. And when the convoy battles began again, the Germans could at first decrypt Allied convoy signals.

But when Bletchley Park was able to decrypt German signals anew, rerouting of the convoys again became possible, although this was at first limited by rising numbers of German U-boats in patrol lines. In March 1943, the U-boats achieved their greatest successes against the convoys, and the entire convoy system—the backbone of the Allied strategy against “Fortress Europe”—seemed in jeopardy. Now Allied decryption allowed the dispatch of additional surface and air escorts to support threatened convoys. This development, in connection with the introduction of new weapons and high-frequency direction finding, led to the collapse of the U-boat offensive against the convoys only eight weeks later, in May 1943.

This collapse came as a surprise to Dönitz. Allied success in this regard could be attributed mainly to the provision of centimetric radar equipment for the sea and air escorts and the closing of the air gap in the North Atlantic. In a sixth (intermediate) phase from June to August 1943, the U-boats were sent to distant areas where the antisubmarine forces were weak, while the Allied air forces tried to block the U-boat transit routes across the Bay of Biscay.

The change to a new Allied convoy cipher in June, which the German decryption service could not break, made it more difficult for the U-boats to locate the convoys in what was the seventh phase from September 1943 to June 1944. During this

time, the German U-boat command tried to deploy new weapons (acoustic torpedoes and increased anti-aircraft armament) and new equipment (radar warning sets) to force again a decision with the convoys, first in the North Atlantic and then on the Gibraltar routes. After short-lived success, these operations failed and tapered off as the Germans tried to pin down Allied forces until new, revolutionary U-boat types became available for operational deployment.

The final, eighth phase, from June 1944 to May 1945, began with the Allied invasion of Normandy. The U-boats, now equipped with “snorkel” breathing masts, endeavored to carry out attacks against individual supply ships in the shallow waters of the English Channel and in British and Canadian coastal waters. The U-boats’ mission was to pin down Allied supply traffic and antisubmarine forces to prevent the deployment of warships in offensive roles against German-occupied areas. But construction of the new U-boats (of which the Allies received information by decrypting reports sent to Tokyo by the Japanese embassy in Berlin) was delayed by the Allied bombing offensive, and the German land defenses collapsed before sufficient numbers of these boats were ready.

The Battle of the Atlantic lasted without interruption for 69 months, during which time German U-boats sank 2,850 Allied and neutral merchant ships, 2,520 of them in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. The U-boats also sank many warships, from aircraft carriers to destroyers, frigates, corvettes and other antisubmarine vessels. The Germans lost in turn one large battleship, one pocket battleship, some armed merchant raiders, and 650 U-boats, 522 of them in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

The Allied victory in the Battle of the Atlantic resulted from the vastly superior resources on the Allied side in shipbuilding and aircraft production (the ability to replace lost ships and aircraft) and from superior antisubmarine detection equipment and weapons. Allied signals intelligence was critical to the victory.

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See also

Antisubmarine Warfare; Bletchley Park; Depth Charges; Dönitz, Karl; Hunter-Killer Groups; Signals Intelligence; Torpedoes

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Atlantic Charter (14 August 1941)

First face-to-face meeting between U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill; the basis for the United Nations Declaration. Arranged by Roosevelt, the Atlantic Charter meeting took place in Placentia Bay, Newfoundland. Roosevelt had put out on the presidential yacht *Potomac* under cover of having a vacation, and he then transferred secretly to the cruiser *Augusta*. Churchill traveled across the Atlantic on the battleship *Prince of Wales*. The two leaders and their staffs (including all service chiefs of each side) met aboard these ships beginning on 9 August for four days. Topics of discussion included Lend-Lease aid, common defense issues, and a strong joint policy against Japanese expansion in the Far East. Almost as an afterthought, the meetings produced a press release on 14 August 1941 that came to be known as the Atlantic Charter.

The Atlantic Charter had eight main points: (1) the eschewing by the two heads of government of any territorial aggrandizement for their own countries; (2) opposition to territorial changes without the freely expressed consent of the peoples involved—in other words, self-determination of peoples; (3) the right of all peoples to choose their own forms of government and determination to restore freedom to those peoples who had been deprived of it; (4) free access for all nations to the world's trade raw materials; (5) international cooperation to improve living standards and to ensure economic prosperity and social security; (6) a lasting peace that would allow peoples everywhere to “live out their lives in freedom from fear and want”; (7) freedom of the seas; and (8) disarmament of the aggressor states “pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security.”

Although there was no formally signed copy of the Atlantic Charter, just the press release containing the eight guiding principles, these principles had the same appeal as President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points of 1918. Certainly the talks strengthened the bonds between the United States and Britain. Isolationists in the United States denounced the



Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt stand together on the HMS *Prince of Wales*, 14 August 1941. The meeting aboard the British ship led to the Atlantic Charter. (Corel)

charter for the determination it expressed to bring about “the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny.” The government of the Soviet Union later announced its support for the charter's principles, but even at this early stage in the war, there were sharp differences between the Anglo-Saxon powers and the Soviet Union over what the postwar world should look like. Nonetheless, the Atlantic Charter subsequently formed the basis of the United Nations Declaration.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; United Nations, Declaration

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Atlantic Wall

German defenses along the European coast, last of the great defensive lines to be built (1941–1944). As German plans to invade Britain faded late in 1940, it became increasingly clear to the German High Command that thousands of miles of European coast had to be defended from Allied invasion. Heavily protected from the beginning were the German submarine bases in France, the occupied Channel Islands, and the Dover-Calais narrow point in the English Channel. Following the June 1941 invasion of Russia and the U.S. entry into the war in December 1941, Germany went on the defensive in the west. Formal work on the Atlantic Wall began in May 1942.

There never was a continuous “wall” per se; that would have been impossible to build or man. What was built was a series of defended zones—artillery and infantry positions overlooking likely invasion beaches and ports. Rivalries and different designs among army and navy units and civilian construction battalions often held up progress, as did strategic arguments about the comparative value of fixed defenses versus mobile reserves. And so did Allied bombardment of transport of construction materials. Nevertheless, the three-year effort by Germany was massive, soaking up huge quantities of men, money, and material.

Thousands of emplacements were built along the coast of France, with lesser facilities in the Low Countries, Denmark, and along the Norwegian coast. Where possible existing fortifications and weapons were used. Highlights of the wall were the often-extensive artillery batteries built into extensive steel-reinforced cement casemates designed to deflect air attacks. A typical position might include four separate 8-inch gun casemates (which, while protecting the gun and its crew, also limited the weapon’s field of fire) plus one or more observation and combat-direction posts, all built close to the coastline. The largest positions might feature mobile 14-inch railway-mounted artillery or huge turret-mounted guns. Some of the latter, installed in massive emplacements built near the French coast, could shell England directly across the Channel. Among German defenses were scores of smaller emplacements for machine guns, observation, personnel, command posts, and minefields. Some were camouflaged to look like houses or other structures, and most were built at least partly built into the ground for further protection. A large number of so-called “standard” bunker designs were employed, although each service had its own set of standards. Extensive propaganda made the wall appear impregnable to attack from the sea.

When placed in command of German beach defenses in October 1943, Erwin Rommel made the high-tide mark into the main line of defense, adding obstacles and intervening

emplacements covering possible landing points. There were a half million beach obstacles along the English Channel alone, many armed with mines.

In the end the stupendous construction project was largely for naught. Although two-thirds of a planned 15,000 emplacements were completed, few of them fired in anger. D day was hardly hindered by the several emplacements in Normandy (some were shelled from the sea; others were taken by paratroopers or special ranger attacks, as at Point du Hoc), and the rest of the coastal forts were generally captured from behind by advancing Allied forces. Extensive remains of the Atlantic Wall exist to this day.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also

Maginot Line; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen

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Atomic Bomb, Decision to Employ

Although there were extensive consultations about the employment of the atomic bomb, discussions always focused on how to use the new weapon, not whether to use it. The primary aim of Allied decision-makers was to achieve the unconditional surrender of Japan as quickly as possible at the lowest cost in lives, and everyone of importance assumed that if the MANHATTAN Project could produce a workable weapon, that weapon would be expended against an enemy target.

It could be argued that the decision to use the atomic bomb was actually made on 6 December 1941, when the first money was approved to fund its development. At the time, American leaders assumed the new invention would be a legitimate weapon in the war, and they never questioned that assumption afterward.

Although President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s key advisers on the project concluded in May 1943 that the first operational bomb should be dropped on Japan, the choice of targets really did not receive systematic attention until two years later. A special Target Committee for the MANHATTAN Project

began meeting in April 1945, and by the next month it had selected a shortlist of cities including Kyoto and Hiroshima. On 31 May, a blue-ribbon Interim Committee appointed by Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson began meeting to discuss how best to use the new weapon. A suggestion made at lunch to try a warning and noncombat demonstration was quickly rejected for many practical reasons, and the committee recommended that the bomb be dropped without warning on a target that would make the largest possible psychological impression on as many inhabitants as possible.

Eventually, military planners came up with a target list of Hiroshima, Kokura, Kyoto, and Nigata. Stimson persuaded the planners to substitute Nagasaki for the shrine city of Kyoto and then presented the list to President Harry S Truman in late July. Truman approved the directive without consulting anyone else and wrote in his diary that the bomb would be used between 25 July and 10 August. The new weapon offered the possibility of ending the war sooner, and he had no compelling reason not to employ it. Despite some historians' claims to the contrary, there was no reliable evidence of any imminent Japanese collapse or surrender. Although some leaders did perceive a display of the atomic bomb's power as a potential tool to intimidate the Soviet Union in the future, this was a secondary benefit of its employment and not a factor in operational decisions.

No single government document shows Truman's decision to use the bomb, but there were two relevant military directives from the Joint Chiefs to the U.S. Army Air Forces. The first, to General Henry "Hap" Arnold on 24 July, designated the four possible targets. The next day, a similar order to General Carl Spaatz, who was commanding strategic air forces in the Pacific, added a date: "after about 3 August 1945." That document also directed that other bombs were to be delivered against targets as soon as they were ready. On the basis of these orders, Spaatz selected Hiroshima and then Kokura to be the targets for the first and second atomic missions. (Cloud cover on the day of the second raid caused the shift to the secondary target of Nagasaki.)

Some critics have questioned why there was not more deliberation about whether to use the terrible new weapon. The main concern for decision-makers was to win the war quickly while avoiding a bloody invasion or losing public support for unconditional surrender. Under the conditions in 1945, which had already produced fire raids that had killed far more Japanese civilians than did the attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, no U.S. president or general could have failed to employ the atomic bomb.

Conrad C. Crane

See also

Arnold, Henry Harley "Hap"; B-29 Raids against Japan; Groves, Leslie Richard; Hiroshima, Bombing of; MANHATTAN Project; Nagasaki, Bombing of; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Spaatz, Carl

Andrew "Tooe"; Stimson, Henry Lewis; Tokyo, Bombing of (1945); Truman, Harry S

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ATS

See Great Britain, Auxiliary Territorial Service.

Attlee, Clement Richard (First Earl Attlee and Viscount Prestwood) (1883–1967)

British politician, leader of the Labour Party and deputy leader of the House of Commons, and prime minister. Born 3 January 1883 in the Putney part of London, Clement Attlee was educated at University College, Oxford. He initially practiced law, but after working with the poor in London's East Side, he joined the Labour Party in 1907, living in a settlement house until 1922 (except during World War I). He served as a lecturer at the London School of Economics. During World War I, Attlee rose to the rank of major and served at Gallipoli and in the Middle East and later on the Western Front.

Elected to Parliament in October 1922, Attlee and held various minor posts in Labour and national governments. He became the head of the Labour Party in 1935 as a compromise candidate, a middle-of-the-road democratic socialist. Attlee and a growing proportion of his party agreed with Winston L. S. Churchill's call for faster rearmament in the face of the threat from Nazi Germany.

Refusing to serve under Neville Chamberlain, Attlee helped to bring about Winston Churchill's government during the crisis of May 1940, when Chamberlain was forced to resign. On 10 May, Churchill named Attlee Lord Privy Seal (he served to 1942) and deputy leader of the House of Commons (effectively deputy prime minister), a position he held from 1942 to 1945. Attlee often chaired cabinet sessions during Churchill's constant travels, and he remained loyal to Churchill throughout the war.



British Labor Party leader Clement Attlee. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

Attlee worked closely with fellow Labourite Aneurin Bevin to develop the 1943 white paper on postwar social plans. He was renowned for his ability to remain calm in a crisis, to outline major positions in few words, and to make hard decisions. Pressed by his party, however, he led Labour out of the national coalition in May 1945 after the defeat of Germany (there had not been a general election for a decade). This led to national elections at which Labour won a resounding victory, and Attlee became prime minister on 26 July 1945. He replaced Churchill as the British representative for the remainder of the Potsdam Conference.

Attlee presided until October 1951 over creation of the British welfare state with its nationalization of health services, steel, coal, railways, and civil aviation. He supervised the granting of independence to India and Pakistan on 14 August 1947, a key step in converting the British Empire to the Commonwealth of Nations. On retiring as party leader, he was made an earl in 1955. He spoke often in the House of Lords against Britain becoming part of the Common Market. Attlee died in Westminster, London, on 8 October 1967.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also

Chamberlain, Arthur Neville; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Potsdam Conference

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**Auchinleck, Sir Claude John Eyre
(1884–1981)**

British Army general. Born at Aldershot, England, on 21 June 1884, Claude Auchinleck was known as “the Auk.” He graduated from Sandhurst (1902) and saw extensive service in India and Tibet (1904–1912), the Middle East (in often appalling conditions, 1914–1919), and India again (1929–1940), rising to the rank of major general.

Auchinleck returned to England in January 1940, expecting to prepare British units for action in France. Instead, he was sent on 7 May 1940 to command British forces in Narvik in the disastrous Norwegian Campaign, which suffered from lack of air cover and adequate forces and equipment. Just after Britain’s evacuation of Norway, on 14 June 1940 Auchinleck took over Southern Command to prepare for a possible German invasion. In this role, he worked effectively to improve the Home Guard. As fears of invasion receded, Auchinleck was promoted to general and sent to India as commander in chief on 21 November 1940 to control pressures for independence while overseeing training of Indian units for Allied use elsewhere.

Auchinleck was called by Winston L. S. Churchill to take the same role in the critical Middle East Theater (21 June 1941), replacing Archibald Wavell. While in Egypt, Auchinleck came under constant pressure from Churchill to undertake aggressive action against Lieutenant General Erwin Rommel’s Afrika Korps. He argued, however, that he had to first train his force and overcome the difficulties of having inadequate supplies and armaments. Auchinleck began his offensive, Operation CRUSADER, on Libya in November 1941, but it suffered from the lack of a strong Eighth Army commander in Lieutenant General Alan Cunningham. Auchinleck replaced Cunningham with Major General Neil Ritchie, and for a time the offensive went well. But Rommel struck back, leading to the fall of Tobruk on 21 June 1942, when more than 30,000 men were taken prisoner.

Auchinleck then took direct control of the Eighth Army and stabilized his line at the First Battle of El Alamein later that month, thus saving Egypt. However, Churchill, still impatient for success from a more aggressive commander,



British General Claude Auchinleck. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

relieved him of his command on 5 August 1942. Damning reports from Lieutenant General Bernard Montgomery about Auchinleck surely eased the skids.

Turning down a proffered command in Syria and Iraq, Auchinleck returned to India as commander in chief of the army there (18 June 1943–14 August 1947). Auchinleck was made a field marshal in June 1946, refusing a peerage a year later (he did not wish to be honored for helping to divide India and Pakistan, a result he abhorred). He retired in 1967 to live in Marrakesh, Morocco, and died there on 23 March 1981.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also

Cunningham, Sir Alan Gordon; Norway, German Conquest of; Ritchie, Sir Neil Methuen; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Tobruk, Second Battle for, Third Battle of; Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival

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Auphan, Paul Gabriel (1894–1982)

French Navy admiral. Born on 4 November 1894 at Alès, Gard, France, Paul Auphan entered the French Naval Academy in 1911. He served in the World War I Dardanelles Campaign and in a submarine. Between the wars he commanded submarines, destroyers, a cruiser, and a naval school ship. He was deputy commander of the Naval Academy at Brest and studied at the Naval War College. He was promoted to rear admiral in March 1931. As a vice admiral in 1936, he commanded the French Mediterranean Squadron (1936–1938) before becoming maritime prefect at Toulon. Known for administrative rather than seagoing skills, in September 1939 Auphan, a protégé of Admiral Jean Darlan, French Navy commander in chief, became naval deputy chief of staff. The day before Franco-German armistice negotiations began in June 1940, Darlan and Auphan promised the British that they would never permit Hitler to control the French fleet, even if this meant scuttling it.

In July 1940 after the armistice, Auphan became director of the French merchant marine. In September 1941, he was named chief of the general naval staff, a position to which in April 1942 he added that of secretary of the navy in the Vichy government. Auphan's defenders later claimed he only accepted these posts to ensure the fleet's continued freedom from German control.

Both before and after the November 1942 Allied invasion of North Africa, Auphan and former French supreme commander General Maxime Weygand pressed Marshal Henri Pétain, head of the Vichy government, to support the Allies openly. After the Allied landings on 8 November 1942, Auphan and Weygand urged Pétain to accept the North African cease-fire with the Allies that Darlan, then in Algiers, had negotiated. At the insistence of collaborationist Vichy French Premier Pierre Laval, Pétain initially condemned Darlan's negotiated cease-fire, but Auphan persuaded Pétain to reverse this stand. On 10 November 1942, Auphan sent a telegram legitimizing Darlan's accord with U.S. Army Lieutenant General Mark W. Clark. Auphan hoped to arrest Laval, but he could not obtain Pétain's authorization and was the only minister to advocate a cease-fire agreement for all North Africa. On 11 November, Auphan ordered Admiral Jean de Laborde at Toulon to destroy the French fleet should German forces threaten the port. With Pétain's approval, on 13 November Auphan cabled Resident General Charles Noguès of Morocco to transfer to Darlan command of all North Africa. On 18 November, Auphan resigned to protest Laval's assumption of full governmental powers.

On 18 August 1944, Pétain empowered Auphan to negotiate the transfer of power to the Free French leader Charles de Gaulle, a development that de Gaulle completely ignored. In September 1944, the new French government revoked Auphan's pension, and in August 1946 the French High Court sentenced him to lifetime imprisonment and forced labor for treason, including for having commanded the Toulon fleet's destruction. Released in January 1955, Auphan was rehabilitated in November 1956. He subsequently published extensively in naval and political history. Auphan died at Versailles (Yvelines) on 6 April 1982.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Clark, Mark Wayne; Darlan, Jean Louis Xavier François; de Gaulle, Charles; Laval, Pierre; Noguès, Charles August Paul; Pétain, Henri Phillippe; Toulon; Weygand, Maxime

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Auschwitz

See Concentration Camps, German.

Australia, Air Force

The Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) played an important role in the Allied war effort. At the beginning of the conflict, the RAAF was a small, ill-equipped, but well-trained force of 3,489 personnel and 146 mostly obsolete aircraft. These included Anson bombers, flying boats, and the Australian Wirraway, essentially a training aircraft that proved totally inadequate as a fighter. When the war began in September 1939, one squadron was en route to Great Britain to secure new aircraft. The Australian government released this squadron to serve with the Royal Air Force (RAF), which it did for the remainder of the war under the auspices of RAF Coastal Command. In this role, the Australian squadron was responsible for sinking six submarines. Other squadrons served under the RAF in the Middle East and in the Italian Campaigns. Although there were 17 formal RAAF squadrons



Royal Australian Air Force air crew prepare to enter their De Havilland Mosquito fighter-bomber, 1944. (Photo by Keystone Features/Getty Images)

during the war, Australian pilots served in more than 200 individual Commonwealth squadrons.

To facilitate air training, representatives of the Commonwealth established the Empire Air Training Scheme. This brought potential pilots to Australia for initial training and then sent them to Canada for final flight school and dispatch to Great Britain to serve in the RAF. The RAAF established several flight schools in Australia for a program that eventually trained some 37,000 pilots.

The initial deployment of RAAF assets was to support the war in Europe. The entry of Japan into World War II in December 1941 led to a redeployment of Australian squadrons to the Pacific. Japanese military advances and Japan's air raid on Darwin on 19 February 1942 increased pressure for better air defense over Australia. Beginning in 1942, U.S. air units were dispatched to Australia to bolster the RAAF. On 17 April 1942, all RAAF squadrons in the Pacific were placed under the auspices of Allied Air Forces Headquarters, part of U.S. General Douglas MacArthur's Southwestern Pacific Theater command.

The RAAF participated in almost every major campaign of the Pacific Theater. Four RAAF squadrons, two with Hudson bombers and two flying obsolete Brewster Buffalo fight-

ers, fought in the 1941–1942 Malaya Campaign. Later, elements of these squadrons were withdrawn to the Netherlands Indies and finally back to Australia. Two other RAAF squadrons fought in the Netherlands Indies before being relocated to Australia. RAAF units distinguished themselves in the defense of Milne Bay in September 1942.

Early deficiencies in aircraft were overcome with the addition of P-40 Kittyhawk and Spitfire fighters. The RAAF played an important role in supporting ground operations and in attacking Japanese shipping, including during the Battle of the Bismarck Sea. It also assisted in long-range minelaying operations throughout the war. The RAAF also provided wireless units to its troops who participated in the invasion of the Philippines. By the end of the war, the RAAF numbered 131,662 personnel and 3,187 aircraft.

Thomas Lansford

See also

Air Warfare; Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Australia, Role in War; Bismarck Sea, Battle of the; Guadalcanal, Land Battle for; MacArthur, Douglas; Malaya Campaign; Milne Bay, Battle of; New Guinea Campaign; Papua Campaign

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Australia, Army

The Australian Army contributed to Allied successes in North Africa and the Middle East and in the Pacific Theater. During the 1930s, the army had been drastically reduced because of financial pressures. The Australian government hoped that in an emergency, it could rely instead on reserve or territorial forces. However, by statute, these forces could not be deployed overseas. On the eve of World War II, the army did expand its reserve component and embark on a program of improving coastal defenses.

When Australia declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939, the army numbered 82,800 men, but this included 80,000 poorly trained volunteer militia. The regular army was basically a small cadre force of officers, noncommissioned officers, and support staff. After New Zealand offered to raise a division to serve with Commonwealth forces in the European Theater, the Australian government announced its intention to do the same, and later it pledged to raise a corps. Given the high casualties sustained by Australian forces in World War I, the government extended conscription only for home defense. This meant that forces would have to be recruited for service abroad. The army grew to four divisions—the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th—that were formed into the

Second Australian Imperial Force (the first having served in World War I). The Imperial Staff decided to send this force to the Middle East for training prior to deployment in France. The first of the Second Australian Imperial Force, the 6th Division, departed Australia in January 1940. Some of the division, which became the nucleus of the 9th Division, went to Britain. In effect, Australia then fielded two separate armies: one in the Middle East and the other for the defense of Australia and its mandate of New Guinea.

With the fall of France in June 1940, the 6th, 7th, and 9th Divisions made up a corps in the Middle East under the command of Lieutenant General Sir Thomas A. Blamey. Recalled to Australia in March 1942, Blamey became both commander of the Australian army and commander of land forces, Southwest Pacific Area.

In North Africa, Australian forces took part in the early victories against Italian forces there. Part of the 6th Division was detached to join the British Expeditionary Force, which had been dispatched to Greece, and it was caught up in the defeats both in Greece and in Crete during the spring of 1941. The 7th Division fought in Syria, and the 9th Division helped defend Tobruk.

Amid increased anxieties about Japanese intentions, additional Australian troops were dispatched to bolster Commonwealth garrisons throughout the Pacific. In August 1941, two brigades of the 8th Division and two squadrons of Royal Australian Air Force aircraft had been sent to reinforce Singapore, where the men were then taken prisoner. With the entry of Japan into the war in December 1941, the Australian government secured the release of two of its divisions from the Middle East. A third division remained there and played a key role in the Allied victory at the Battle of El Alamein in November 1942, after which it, too, returned to the Pacific. In March 1942, much of the 7th Division was redeployed to Colombo. Part of the 7th was also sent to Java in the Netherlands East Indies, where it was captured by Japanese forces. Land forces in Australia itself consisted of an armored division with but few tanks and seven militia divisions. Australia appealed to the United States for military aid, and it also passed legislation that allowed reserve units to be deployed anywhere in the Pacific south of the equator.

In March 1942, the Southwest Pacific Command was formed under General Douglas MacArthur but with General Blamey as commander of land forces. The agreement gave MacArthur complete control of the Australian army, a fact that rankled many Australian officers and politicians—especially as the imperious MacArthur often excluded Australian officers from planning, gave the Australians little credit for their contributions, and generally viewed Australia as a base for American operations. Blamey and MacArthur often disagreed over strategy and over MacArthur's belief that the Australian general was too cautious. MacArthur's forces ini-



A member of an Australian tank crew awaits the signal for further attack during fighting at Buna, 1943. (Library of Congress)

tially consisted of the seven militia divisions, the 6th and 7th Australian Divisions, and the U.S. 41st Infantry Division in April 1942, followed by the 32nd Infantry Division and other units.

Meanwhile, the main thrust of the Australian land effort centered on the defense of Port Moresby and on a domestic buildup to counter a possible Japanese invasion. From July 1942 to January 1943, the Australians and Americans were locked in combat with the Japanese in Papua and New Guinea. In late August 1942, Japanese forces landed at Milne Bay at the eastern edge of Papua. Australian forces, not greatly superior to the Japanese, contained the landing and forced the Japanese to withdraw. This event, a great psychological lift for the Allies and humiliation for the Japanese, proved that the Allies could defeat the Japanese in jungle warfare.

Although Australia faced significant manpower shortages, its troops continued to support Allied operations in New Guinea, Papua, and Guadalcanal. The Australians were given the task of clearing the Japanese from New Guinea. Australian forces also took part in operations on New Britain and in

Borneo in 1945. The Australian army launched its largest amphibious invasion of the war on 1 July 1945 when troops landed at Balikpapan as part of the effort to recapture Brunei. During the war, 691,400 men and 35,800 women served in the Australian army, which suffered (including prisoners of war recovered) 19,351 casualties in the war in Europe and 42,224 in the war in the Pacific. For the two theaters combined, total casualties were 18,713 dead, 22,116 wounded, and 20,746 prisoners of war recovered.

Thomas Lansford and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Australia, Air Force; Australia, Navy; Australia, Role in War; Blamey, Sir Thomas Albert; Crete, Battle of; El Alamein, Battle of; Guadalcanal, Land Battle of; MacArthur, Douglas; Milne Bay, Battle of; New Britain Island; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign; Southeast Pacific Theater; Southwest Pacific Theater; Syria; Tobruk, First Battle for, Second Battle for, Third Battle of

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Australia, Navy

The Royal Australian Navy (RAN) played an integral part in the Allied war effort in both the Mediterranean and Pacific Theaters. At the beginning of World War II in September 1939, the RAN had declined in strength to two heavy cruisers (the *Australia* and the *Canberra*) mounting 8-inch guns, four light cruisers (the *Adelaide*, the *Hobart*, the *Perth*, and the *Sydney*) mounting 6-inch guns, five old destroyers, and two sloops. Its primary missions were coastal defense and protection of trade.

When the war began, the Australian government immediately started work to build up naval strength. In all, the RAN requisitioned 200 civilian vessels for military use, mainly for coastal defense, transport, and search and rescue missions. Several small vessels were also converted into minesweepers. The government also ordered construction of several warships, including 3 destroyers, 6 frigates, 56 corvettes, and 35 motor launches. By the end of the war, the RAN had 337 vessels in service (and an additional 600 in the naval auxiliary) with 39,650 personnel.

At the beginning of the war, the Australian government sent its five destroyers into the Mediterranean to assist the British there. The *Perth* went to the East Indian station, and the *Australia* and the *Canberra* helped escort Australian troop convoys to Egypt. The RAN also converted three liners into armed merchant cruisers for Royal Navy use, two of them manned by Australian personnel. Two others were commissioned in the RAN. All were sent to the China station. After Italy entered the war, the Australian government sent the *Sydney* to the Mediterranean, where she sank an Italian destroyer and helped to sink an Italian cruiser. In December 1940, the *Sydney* was replaced in the Mediterranean by the *Perth*. Other naval units were also sent, and Australian ships took part in all the big Mediterranean battles, including that in Cape Matapan. Australian ships also participated in the hunt for the German battleship *Bismarck* and performed Atlantic convoy duty. Some 10 percent of the Royal Navy's total antisubmarine ships were from the RAN. Later in the war, eight RAN ships supported the Allied invasion of Sicily in July 1943.

The first real blow to the RAN came in November 1941 when the *Sydney* was sunk off Western Australia by a German armed merchant cruiser. After Japan entered the war in December 1941, nearly all Australian ships were withdrawn to the Pacific Theater either to Singapore or to Australia. The cruiser *Perth* was sunk in the Battle of Sunda Strait in Febru-

ary 1942. The Japanese air raid on Darwin, also in February, and the midget submarine attack in May on Sydney Harbor underscored the need for increased naval strength. By the end of 1942, the Japanese had sunk 30 ships in Australian waters through air, naval, or submarine attack.

For the rest of the war, RAN ships in the Pacific undertook several duties. They engaged in antisubmarine and convoy protection missions and were credited with sinking six Axis submarines and escorting some 1,100 convoys. The RAN also laid some 10,000 defensive mines around Australia and New Zealand and engaged in minesweeping operations throughout the Pacific. RAN ships also fought in the major battles of the theater, including the Battle of the Coral Sea, the Solomon Island Campaign (the cruiser *Canberra* was sunk in the Battle of Savo Island), and the Battle of Leyte Gulf. They also supported operations in Borneo and Burma and the Australian landings at Taraken, Brunei, and Balikpapan in 1945. In all, 45,800 men and 3,100 women served in the Royal Australian Navy during the war.

Thomas Lansford and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Antisubmarine Warfare; Australia, Role in War; Cape Matapan, Battle of; Convoys, Allied; Crete, Naval Operations off; Darwin, Raid on; Great Britain, Navy; Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; Milne Bay; Mines, Sea; Minesweeping and Minelaying; Savo Island, Battle of; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign; Sunda Strait, Battle of

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Australia, Role in War

Australia played an important role in Allied operations in all theaters of World War II. Although its population was only about 7 million people, Australia covered 3 million square miles of territory and was strategically located in the Southwest Pacific. The war, however, caught Australians unprepared. As with the other Commonwealth nations, Australia followed Britain's lead, and Prime Minister Robert Menzies announced a declaration of war on Germany on 3 September 1939.

The exuberance that had marked the nation's entry into war in 1914 was sadly lacking in 1939. Australians remem-



Australian troops launch an attack on the beach at Balikpapan on the southeast coast of Borneo, 27 July 1945. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

bered the heavy losses sustained in World War I. Many had suffered in the Great Depression, and ties with Britain had grown weaker. Initially, the nation's war effort was directed at supporting Britain in the European Theater of Operations, but after Japan's entry into the war, Australia became the principal Allied staging point in the Pacific, and during the conflict Australians served in virtually every theater of war.

With 10 percent of its population unemployed, Australia could easily raise men for the war effort, but weapons and equipment were in desperately short supply. In 1939, Australian defense spending was only 1 percent of its gross national product (GNP); not until 1942 did the level of Australian defense spending approach that of the other warring powers. In 1943–1944, Australia was spending 37 percent of GNP on the war effort, in large part from higher taxes and the sale of low-interest government bonds.

During the course of the war, the Australian economy shifted over to military production, and real industrial expansion was achieved. For example, during the war Australia produced 3,486 aircraft. Although new defense spending was concentrated on production of equipment including

guns, ammunition, aircraft, and ships, measures were also put in place to increase the reserves. The government introduced conscription, but only for home service, which included assignments to Papua and the mandate of New Guinea. As part of the mobilization for war, industrialist Essington Lewis was placed in charge of the production of munitions, and newspaper publisher Keith Murdoch headed propaganda.

In October 1941, the Labour Party took power; John Curtin was prime minister until his death in July 1945. Labour would govern Australia for the remainder of the war. The generally ambivalent popular attitude toward the war changed when Japan joined the conflict in December 1941. The widespread rapid early Japanese victories raised the possibility that Australia itself might be invaded. This led to more government controls over the economy, including the right for the government to order men and women to work in any occupation. Wages and prices were controlled, and rationing was introduced. The government also increased efforts at civilian defense and the improvement of coastal defenses. An even greater blow for Australians was the February 1942 fall of

Singapore and the loss of two brigades of the Australian 8th Division there. The Japanese raid on Darwin later that month—the first time since the arrival of Europeans in Australia that Australians had been killed on their own soil by an invader—caused great anxiety.

Curtin then called for the return of Australian troops and naval assets from the Mediterranean Theater. Gradually most of these forces were released, but British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill was loathe to see so many fine fighting men lost at once from the North African Theater, and he called on Washington to take up the slack. The United States then became Australia's chief ally. Many thousands of U.S. servicemen arrived in Australia (eventually some 10,000 Australian women married U.S. military personnel). This influx required construction of bases and facilities, creating an acute labor shortage and necessitating the discharge of some personnel from the Australia armed forces. Italian prisoners of war were also pressed into labor service.

The labor shortage was also the result of the extensive Australian armaments program, which included an indigenous tank—the excellent medium cruiser Sentinel—that entered production in 1943, and a large shipbuilding program that produced three destroyers and 56 corvettes in addition to some 30,000 small craft and amphibious vehicles. Australian shipyards also repaired or refitted thousands of Australian and Allied ships. To alleviate labor shortages, women's auxiliary units were created for each branch of the military, and large numbers of women went to work in industrial occupations.

In March 1942, the Australian government agreed to the formation of the Southwest Pacific Command with American General Douglas MacArthur as commander in chief and General Sir Thomas Blamey as the commander of land forces. Australia became the principal logistics base for Allied military actions, particularly in the campaigns in New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. The Australian conscripts proved an embarrassment for the government; under pressure from MacArthur, who believed Americans were doing an unfair share of the fighting, the Curtin government secured in February 1943 what became known as the Militia Bill. It permitted deployment of conscripts overseas, although this was to be limited to the Southwest Pacific Area. In August 1943, the Australian Labour Party scored a resounding election victory.

Tensions developed (largely behind the scenes) between MacArthur and the Australian government and armed forces, especially given MacArthur's tendency to take credit himself for any successes and blame others for anything that went wrong. His disparaging attitude toward Australians notwithstanding, Australians distinguished themselves in every theater of war, including North Africa and the Mediterranean and also with the Royal Australian Air Force in Bomber Command. Australian troops scored important successes on the ground in New Guinea and Papua, and they also

helped garrison Allied island conquests. In 1945, Australian troops led the invasions of Borneo and Tarakan. They were also in garrison on New Britain Island. The July 1945 invasion of Balikpapan was marked the largest amphibious operation undertaken by Australian forces during the war.

By the end of the fighting, 993,000 Australian men and women had served in the army, air force, and navy, and more than half of them had been deployed overseas. In addition, the nation had suffered 27,073 military dead (including prisoners of war who died in captivity) and 23,467 wounded.

World War II had a profound effect on the Australian nation. During the conflict, Australia established formal diplomatic ties with many more nations, and after the conflict it took pride in its place as a principal Pacific power. The war also enhanced Australian relations with the United States at the expense of existing ties with Great Britain.

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See also

Australia, Air Force; Australia, Army; Australia, Navy; Blamey, Sir Thomas Albert; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Convoys, Allied; Crete, Battle of; Darwin, Raid on; El Alamein, Battle of; Guadalcanal, Land Battle for; Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; MacArthur, Douglas; Milne Bay, Battle of; New Britain Island; Savo Island, Battle of; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign; Southeastern Pacific Theater; Southwestern Pacific Theater; Tobruk, First Battle for, Second Battle for, Third Battle of

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Austria

Austria emerged from World War I diminished and impoverished, a shadow of its former self. Once the anchor of the great multinational Hapsburg Empire, the Federal Republic of Austria became a small (32,500-square-mile) state with an overwhelmingly German population of some 7 million people in 1938. Forbidden by the 1919 Treaty of Saint Germain to unite with Germany, Austria was nonetheless drawn inexorably toward its aggressive neighbor. After years of political upheaval and economic hardship, Austrians could not shake the impossible urge to pursue contradictory courses: to foster self-determination and Austrian national-



Nazi banner with swastika being hung in the plaza in front of the Schloss Esterházy in Eisenstadt, Austria. (Library of Congress)

ism and to pursue *Anschluss*, union with Germany (despite the treaty prohibition).

Adolf Hitler's accession to power in 1933 put great pressure on Austria's social, political, and economic stability. Hitler was determined to bring the land of his birth into a greater German Reich. He undoubtedly realized that the annexation of Austria would have international repercussions, and thus he worked to achieve the annexation indirectly. Because the Austrian Nazis took their orders from Hitler, a political victory by that party in Austria would bring about the de facto union of the two states. To achieve this end, Hitler's government began spending considerable sums on propaganda in Austria, including leaflets and radio broadcasts from stations in Bavaria. Berlin also applied major economic pressure, cutting off German tourism (an important source of revenue in Austria) by imposing severe limits on the amount of currency that might be taken out of Germany to that state. Meanwhile, the worldwide economic depression hit the Austrian economy hard.

With armed groups forming in Austria and the threat looming of civil war between the militias of the Christian Socialists and the Social Democrats, Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss, himself a nominal Christian Socialist, on 12 Febru-

ary 1934 moved against the Social Democrats, outlawing the party, arresting its leaders, and proclaiming martial law. In March the Austrian Parliament—without opportunity to debate and with more than half its members, including Social Democrats, absent—approved a new constitution submitted to it by Dollfuss. It established an authoritarian corporate state that abolished both universal suffrage and political representation of the people.

On 25 July 1934, a small group of Austrian Nazis seized the government radio station and announced that the government had fallen. Another group seized the chancellery, mortally wounding Dollfuss, who had refused to flee, and holding other cabinet ministers captive. The plot was poorly organized, however, and soon collapsed. Within a few days, the Austrian government had put it down without outside assistance, and on 29 July a new cabinet was formed under Kurt Schuschnigg, a Christian Socialist colleague of Dollfuss. A dozen leaders of the putsch were eventually executed, and hundreds more were sentenced to prison.

The events in Austria had repercussions abroad. Italian dictator Benito Mussolini, who considered Austria under his sway, ordered troops to the Brenner Pass. Hitler had initially expressed pleasure at the putsch, but when news arrived of its failure he washed his hands of it. There was in fact little he could have done, as Germany—still largely unarmed—was in no position to oppose Italy. Hitler expressed regret at the Dollfuss murder, recalled his ambassador (who had promised the putschists asylum), and assured the world that Germany had no role in the failed coup. The attempted Nazi takeover of Austria was clearly a setback for Hitler. Nevertheless, the coup attempt had made emphatically clear Austria's dependence on outside support for the maintenance of its independence.

Schuschnigg attempted to continue the Dollfuss agenda, especially the cultivation of relationships with Italy and Hungary. He also endeavored to improve relations with Hitler, but at the same time he contemplated the restoration of the Austrian ruling house of the Hapsburgs, which Hitler vehemently opposed. By 1938, the international situation had dramatically changed for Austria, as Mussolini had become a confederate of Hitler in the Axis alliance. In consequence Schuschnigg, while he pursued an alliance with Czechoslovakia, had little choice but to mend fences with Hitler. On 12 February 1938, he traveled to Berchtesgaden at Hitler's insistence to meet with the German leader. Under heavy pressure, Schuschnigg agreed to appoint Austrian Nazi Arthur Seyss-Inquart as minister of the interior and other Austrian Nazis as ministers of justice and foreign affairs.

On 9 March, however, in an attempt to maintain his nation's independence, Schuschnigg announced a plebiscite on the issue of *Anschluss* to be held in only four days, hoping that the short interval would not allow the Nazis to mobilize

effectively. Hitler was determined that no plebiscite be held, and on 11 March Seyss-Inquart presented Schuschnigg with an ultimatum, demanding his resignation and postponement of the vote under threat of invasion by German troops, which were already mobilized on the border. Schuschnigg gave in, canceling the plebiscite and resigning. Seyss-Inquart then took power and invited in the German troops (which had actually already crossed the frontier) “to preserve order.”

Had it been ordered to fight, the small Austrian army might have given a good account of itself. Germany would have won, of course, but its military was hardly ready for war and a battle might have dispelled some rampant myths about the German military. Indeed, hundreds of German tanks and vehicles of the German Eighth Army broke down on the drive toward Vienna.

On 12 March, Hitler returned to his boyhood home of Linz, Austria, and on the next day Berlin declared Austria to be part of the Reich. On 14 March, perhaps a million Austrians gave Hitler an enthusiastic welcome to Vienna. France and Britain lodged formal protests with Berlin, but that was the extent of their reaction.

The consummation of *Anschluss* greatly strengthened Germany’s position in Central Europe. Germany was now in direct contact with Italy, Yugoslavia, and Hungary, and it controlled virtually all of the communications of southeastern Europe. Czechoslovakia was almost isolated, and its trade outlets were at the mercy of Germany. Militarily, Germany outflanked the powerful western Czech defenses. It was thus not surprising that, despite Hitler’s pledges to respect the territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia, he should next seek to bring that state under his control.

The Austrian army was soon absorbed into the Wehrmacht and the Waffen-Schutzstaffel (Waffen-SS). Austria eventually contributed three army corps and additional military assets (a total of some 800,000 military personnel) to the Axis effort, and the country suffered roughly 400,000 military and civilian casualties during the war.

A great many Austrians enthusiastically supported the Nazi cause. Although Austrians comprised but 6 percent of the population of Hitler’s Reich, they furnished 14 percent of SS members and 40 percent of those involved in the Nazi extermination efforts. Anti-Semitism was rife in Austria, and actions against the Jews (who had been prominent in the professions in Vienna, in particular) were applauded by a significant sector of the population, unlike in Berlin.

Austrians who had welcomed the incorporation of their country into the Reich soon discovered to their dismay that German interests dominated much of Austria’s economy and that the inhabitants of the Ostmark (as Austria was now known, its medieval name having been revived) were often treated more as a conquered people subject to intense scrutiny and discrimination. This says nothing of the experi-

ences endured by minorities and Jews who came in for special, and horrific, treatment.

Resistance groups formed around the old political factions—socialists, monarchists, nationalists—and soon developed contact with the Allies. In-country resistance and the work of Austrians abroad limited the extent to which Austria remained identified with Nazi Germany. In the 1943 Moscow Declaration, the Allies recognized Austria as the first victim of Hitler’s aggression, a view that Austrian politicians did their utmost after the war to nurture.

Austria experienced air attacks beginning in 1943, and the attacks escalated as the Allies moved eastward in 1944. When Germany’s military situation crumbled in the spring of 1945, Allied armies converged on Austria. The Red Army entered Austria at the end of March and liberated Vienna in mid-April. At the end of April, a provisional government established under Soviet direction nullified the *Anschluss*. The Allied powers—the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, and France—each set up occupation zones in Austria and pursued their own interests in the icy atmosphere that followed Germany’s surrender. In October 1945, the Allies formally recognized Austria’s provisional government. The Allied military occupation of Austria did not end until the Treaty of Belvedere in 1955.

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See also

Czechoslovakia; Hungary, Role in War; Moscow Conference; Origins of the War; Poland, Role in War; Schuschnigg, Kurt von; Yugoslavia

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Auxiliary Territorial Services

See Great Britain, Auxiliary Territorial Services.

AVALANCHE, Operation

See Salerno Invasion.

AVG (American Volunteer Group)

See Flying Tigers.

Aviation, Ground-Attack

Ground-attack aviation is the dedicated use of combat aircraft to attack ground combat units and their supporting echelons on or near the front lines to support friendly ground forces. By the end of World War I, the practice of supporting infantry ground attack with aircraft was gaining acceptance. Air attacks increasingly were employed both in immediate support of ground operations at the front but also upon rear-echelon enemy units.

During the interwar period, military theory and doctrine bifurcated, and two distinct schools of thought developed about the proper use of air power. One school, following the precepts of Italian theorist Giulio Douhet, advocated concentration on strategic bombing by heavy, self-defending “battle planes” on targets far behind the battle lines, with the intent of collapsing an enemy nation’s will to continue the fight. Most British and U.S. air power advocates supported this concept.

The second school of thought, generally adhered to by the Soviet Union, France, and Germany, advocated air power in direct support to ground maneuver operations. In this vision

of air power, aircraft primarily attacked targets on the front lines or behind the front, which might extend as much as 150 miles. These theorists saw air forces as working in direct support of ground forces, enabling the latter to move farther in the attack or to yield less terrain in the defense.

Each school drove aircraft design in particular directions. Thus, the United States and Great Britain came up with four-engine “strategic” bombers such as the American Boeing B-17 Flying Fortress (Douhet’s self-defending “battle plane”) and the British Avro Lancaster. The Germans, however, concentrated on fast fighters such as the Me-109 to secure air superiority over the battlefield for fast medium-sized dual-engine bombers such as the Heinkel He-111 and the Dornier Do-17. The Germans, having learned from U.S. Marine Corps operations, also embraced dive-bombing, developing their important single-engine Junkers Ju-87 Stuka, which could deliver its ordnance with great accuracy and proved vital during the war’s early campaigns. The Luftwaffe was essentially intended for close air support, geared to ground operations.

The multiple German blitzkriegs against Poland (1939), Norway (1940), and France (1940) demonstrated the great importance of the ground-attack school of thought. Luftwaffe units, working in close coordination with advancing columns



U.S. Army Air Forces B-25 Mitchell medium bomber. (Photo by John Florea//Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

of German infantry and armor, were a key element in allowing those columns to cut through opposing forces with seeming ease. We now know that German air-to-ground coordination was far from perfect and that several German troops became casualties of friendly fire.

First with the British in fighting in eastern North Africa and then with the Americans in French North Africa, the western Allies developed their own system of close air support. Almost immediately, the Americans discovered that their own system of command and control for ground-attack operations, developed before the war, was inefficient and could not keep pace with rapidly shifting operations on the ground. Capitalizing on their great strength of being able to adapt to changed circumstances, the Americans jettisoned their own doctrine nearly wholesale and adopted a modified version of the British system. Thereafter their efficiency in ground-attack operations increased markedly.

At the same time, the Soviet air force, which had suffered heavily in the German invasion of the Soviet Union beginning in June 1941, perfected its own system of ground support aviation. The USSR developed some highly successful ground-attack fighters and fighter-bombers in the Yakovlev Yak-4 and especially the Ilyushin Il-2 Sturmovik. Flying low and employing rockets, Sturmoviks were efficient tank killers. Sturmoviks, purpose-built for the ground-attack role, were heavily armored at crucial points to protect against German antiaircraft fire. The Il-2 was perhaps the best ground-attack aircraft of the war. In testimony to its success, the Sturmovik remained in production until 1955; the Soviets produced some 36,000 of them.

Simultaneously, the western Allies began to specialize—in use if not in design—their own aircraft. Both Great Britain and the United States entered the war with credible, if not outstanding, medium bombers such as the North American B-25 Mitchell and the British Bristol Blenheim. The British added other aircraft, including the versatile De Havilland Mosquito, while the Americans produced excellent fighters in the ground-attack role, such as the Vought F4U Corsair, the twin-engine Lockheed P-38 Lightning, the Republic P-47 Thunderbolt, and the North American P-51 Mustang. The P-38, P-47, and P-51 were originally designed as bomber escorts or classic conventional pursuit planes (hence the *P* in the nomenclature). The P-51 Mustang, a superb aircraft, may have been the best all-around fighter of the war, but the P-38 and P-47 each had characteristics that made them more suited to lower-level work and the rigors of close air support. For the Thunderbolt, it was the fact that the aircraft could absorb significant damage and continue flying. Its air-cooled engine was less susceptible to failure from damage than was the Mustang engine, and ground-attack work generally meant taking ground fire while flying at low altitude. The

Lightning had twin engines on twin booms with a pod for the pilot slung between them, and it combined decent range with the heavy punch of five .50 caliber machine guns that fired straight ahead from the central pod. (The guns of most conventional aircraft were aimed inward to a single point.) This gave it lethal accuracy; the dual air-cooled engines gave the pilot a decent chance to make it home, even if one engine was shut down. On the British side was the Hawker Typhoon, an underappreciated contender for the title of best ground-attack aircraft of the war.

The air-ground team for the western Allies in the European Theater of Operations truly came into its own in the summer of 1944 during the Allied push across France. The penultimate display of this was the complete linkage between Lieutenant General George S. Patton's Third Army, the widest-ranging and fastest-moving element of the Allied sweep across France, and Major General Elwood "Pete" Quesada's IX Tactical Fighter Command. Patton, with no forces to spare to cover his right flank, committed the security of that increasingly open and vulnerable edge wholly to the air units under Quesada's command.

Ground-attack aviation was also important in the Pacific Theater, although it was perhaps marginally less effective in jungle terrain. U.S. air power proved vital in the struggle for Guadalcanal, for example; both the Japanese and the Americans saw control of Henderson Field as the key to the campaign. Overwhelming air support proved immensely important to Allied forces in the subsequent island-hopping campaigns in the Southwest Pacific along the New Guinea coast and at Bougainville. The introduction of napalm in 1944 gave another potent weapon to close air support fighters such as the F4U Corsair—the combination was used to great effect in the Philippines, the Marianas, and on Okinawa. Ground-attack aviation, which began in World War I, came into its own in World War II.

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See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Blitzkrieg; Bombers; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Quesada, Elwood Richard "Pete"; Strategic Bombing

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Aviation, Naval

On 14 November 1910, flying a Curtiss pusher aircraft, American Eugene B. Ely made the first flight from a ship, the USS *Birmingham*, at Hampton Roads, Virginia. On 18 January 1911, he landed the same Curtiss pusher on the USS *Pennsylvania* in San Francisco Bay for the first landing of a plane on a ship. Britain's Royal Navy later conducted similar tests.

The world's major navies developed four major roles for naval aircraft: reconnaissance, spotting for naval gunnery, attacking enemy fleet and shore installations, and defending the fleet from enemy aircraft. Navies first relied on seaplanes and land-based aircraft, but during World War I Britain began conversion of several ships into aircraft carriers. This undertaking came to include the battle cruisers *Furious*, *Courageous*, and *Glorious*, all of which served in World War II. The U.S. Navy commissioned its first aircraft carrier, the *Langley*, in 1922; in the same year Japan commissioned its first carrier, the *Hosho*.

Following World War I, the world's navies deployed catapult-launched seaplanes on their battleships and cruisers for reconnaissance and spotting. Many navies considered building aircraft carriers, but only Great Britain, Japan, and the United States built them in significant numbers. During the 1920s and 1930s, aviators in all three of these navies solved the many technical problems of carrier operations despite low budgets, some opposition, and the Washington and London treaties that limited the size, number, and armament of the carriers. Large new aircraft carriers joined the three navies' fleets in the late 1930s and early 1940s.

Each nation developed a force suited to its particular needs. The United States and Japan planned for operations across the vast and relatively empty stretches of the Pacific Ocean, where land air bases would be few. Both nations developed long-range seaplanes, such as the U.S. PBV Catalina, to extend their search range, although only the Japanese navy developed land-based bombers to support its carrier aircraft. Japan also sought to maximize the number of planes on its aircraft carriers. Limited by the size of the carriers' internal hangars, Japan's larger carriers generally carried between 70 and 80 planes. In U.S. carriers planes were parked on the decks, and hangars were used only for repair and maintenance. This enabled the United States to bring as many as 100 planes into battle. The U.S. Navy also took better advantage of folded-wing airplanes to fit large complements on its carriers. Keeping planes on deck also substantially increased the pace of flight operations on the American carriers, allowing planes to be launched at a much higher rate than that from the Japanese or British ships.

Britain planned for war in Europe, where its fleet was likely to confront land-based air power. For that reason, the British

favored heavily armored aircraft carriers with armored flight decks capable of withstanding 500-lb bombs. Although this scale of protection reduced the British aircraft complement to half that of comparably sized American aircraft carriers, it paid off repeatedly during the war, when British aircraft carriers survived damage that would likely have sunk a U.S. or Japanese carrier. On 10 January 1941, while protecting a convoy bound from Alexandria to Malta, the *Illustrious* survived hits by 500 lb and 1,000 lb bombs and then survived further damage while under repair at Malta. Later in the war, several British carriers withstood hits from Japanese kamikaze aircraft with minimal damage.

Unlike the case in Japan or the United States, the Royal Air Force, rather than the navy, had authority over naval aviation. This divided leadership slowed innovation, and the Royal Navy entered the war with obsolete aircraft. Typical of this was its Fairey Swordfish biplane torpedo-bomber.

Japan developed its aviators into an elite strike force, selecting only 100 new aviators each year from its rigorous training program. In 1941, they flew the best naval aircraft in the world: the Mitsubishi A6M2 Reisen ("Zero") fighter—so named because it entered service in 1940, the Japanese year 5700, and was henceforth known as the type 0 (Reisen or Zero)—the Aichi D3A "Val" dive-bomber, and the B5N "Kate" torpedo-bomber. These aircraft sacrificed protection for speed and maneuverability, and they considerably outperformed and outranged U.S. naval aircraft. Japanese fleets sent their search planes out to almost 600 miles, compared with 350 miles for the U.S. Navy, and their strike aircraft had a combat radius of 300 miles, compared with 200 miles for most American aircraft.

The Zero established a deadly combat reputation, and Americans flying Grumman F4F Wildcats could only best it with careful tactics and teamwork. The U.S. Douglas SBD Dauntless proved an excellent dive-bomber and served through much of the war, but the obsolete TBD Devastator torpedo-bomber was slow and vulnerable. The U.S. Navy replaced it as soon as it could with the more modern TBF Avenger following the great carrier battles of 1942.

During the first two years of war, aircraft did little to fulfill the promises of prewar aviation advocates. German aircraft rarely hit British warships during the 1940 Norwegian Campaign, and the German battle cruisers *Gneisenau* and *Scharnhorst* sank Britain's aircraft carrier *Glorious* with gunfire. In November 1940, British carrier aircraft surprised Italian battleships docked at Taranto and torpedoed three of them, but this proved little to critics, who argued that battleships at sea would evade bombs and torpedoes and devastate attacking aircraft with their heavy defensive armament.

Critics were also unimpressed by the battering by land-based aircraft that British carriers sustained while escorting



Aerial view of SB2C in upper landing circle showing USS *Yorktown*, below, July 1944. (U.S. Navy, National Archives)

convoys through the Mediterranean. However, carrier aircraft proved critical in bringing the German battleship *Bismarck* to battle. On 16 May 1941, torpedoes dropped by the *Swordfish*, which had been launched from the *Ark Royal*, jammed the *Bismarck*'s rudder. Yet it required the heavy guns of British battleships to actually sink the ship. Similarly, Japan's brilliantly conceived and executed attack on Pearl Harbor proved only that bases and stationary ships were vulnerable to surprise air attack. Three days later, though, Japanese navy G4M land-based bombers located and sank the newest British battleship, the *Prince of Wales*, and the battle cruiser *Repulse* in an hour-long battle off the coast of Malaya. The British warships shot down only 3 of 129 attacking aircraft. Aircraft would often dominate future sea battles.

Japanese and U.S. aircraft carriers engaged each other in battles in 1942. The first of these, the Battle of the Coral Sea, ended with roughly equal losses for both sides. At Midway, though, Japan lost four carriers and sank only one U.S. carrier, the *Yorktown*. There followed a series of grueling battles around Guadalcanal in which both navies suffered heavily. Aircraft carriers, loaded with fuel and ordnance, proved particularly vulnerable to even minor damage, and few survived

the first year of war in the Pacific. The United States lost five of its seven carriers in these battles, and the sixth suffered heavy damage. Japan suffered similar losses to its carrier fleet; more than 400 of the 765 airmen who attacked Pearl Harbor had died in battle by the end of 1942, in part the consequence of a poor Japanese pilot replacement/ training system.

In a desperate effort to replace lost aircraft carriers, the United States and Japan converted light cruisers into small aircraft carriers, such as the U.S. 33-aircraft *Independence*, which joined the fleet in June 1943. Japan also added partial flight decks to two battleships, allowing them to launch but not recover planes, and it converted a Yamato-class battleship to an aircraft carrier, the 64,800-ton *Shinano*. Yet U.S. industry easily won the naval building race. Japan completed three carriers in 1943 and four in 1944–1945; the United States completed 17 of its large Essex-class carriers during the war and more than 60 smaller carriers. By mid-1944, the United States was launching a large aircraft carrier every month.

U.S. carrier operations became increasingly sophisticated after the 1942 battles. Improving radar, which by early 1944 could detect even low-flying aircraft, and new control and communications systems allowed American fighters to intercept

attacking aircraft with great success. New ships, increasing anti-aircraft armament, and the proximity fuse considerably improved fleet defense. Radar-equipped TBF Avengers proved adept at locating targets at sea and in the air, allowing the U.S. Navy to intercept attacking aircraft at night. Whereas the Japanese navy continued to rely on its prewar aircraft designs, the United States developed several new airplanes, which began joining the fleet in 1943. These included the excellent F6F Hellcat and F4U Corsair, which completely outclassed Japan's Zero in combat.

U.S. aircraft also joined the British Royal Navy—first Wildcats and later Corsairs, Hellcats, and Avengers. By 1943, the United States was supplying most of the Royal Navy's aircraft. U.S. industry also churned out dozens of small escort carriers for both its own navy and the British navy. Carrying two dozen aircraft, these "baby flattops" provided continuous air cover for convoys crossing the Atlantic. Other escort carriers formed the core of antisubmarine hunter-killer groups that prowled the ocean in search of German U-boats and reinforced convoys under attack. Combined with land-based air power, the escort carriers proved the answer to the threat from Germany's U-boats and, in mid-1943, turned the tide of the Battle of the Atlantic. They also provided vital air support for numerous amphibious invasions.

A series of U.S. carrier raids and air offensives further wore down Japanese air strength in the Pacific during 1943. By November, when the United States invaded Tarawa and began its drive across the Central Pacific, 11 U.S. carriers faced only 6 Japanese carriers. U.S. Navy carriers, supported by an enormous fleet train and logistical system, raided throughout the Pacific. They isolated Japanese-held islands before invasion, protected amphibious landings, and provided close air support for the invading soldiers and Marines. American training and combat performance continued to improve, and an excellent submarine and seaplane rescue service saved the lives of many American pilots shot down during these missions.

The Japanese carrier fleet, rebuilt from the 1942 battles and supported by land-based planes, confronted a far larger U.S. fleet in June 1944 in the Battle of the Philippine Sea. The result was the "great Marianas turkey shoot," as the better-trained and better-equipped Americans shot down scores of poorly trained Japanese pilots who failed to press home their attacks and often missed their targets. Japan lost 475 planes and almost as many pilots; the United States lost only 100 planes and 16 pilots. Japanese naval air power never recovered from this defeat.

In the Battle of Leyte Gulf in October 1944, Japan used 1 heavy aircraft carrier and 3 light carriers (with a total of only

116 planes on board) as a diversion to draw away the U.S. battle fleet so Japanese battleships and cruisers could attack the landing beaches. Instead of the superbly trained pilots who attacked Pearl Harbor, Japan relied on the kamikazes, whose suicidal attacks sank dozens of U.S. ships. In the Battle for Okinawa, the kamikazes inflicted more casualties on the U.S. Navy than it had sustained in all of its other wars combined. But the Japanese were unable to stem the U.S. Navy advance across the Pacific. Throughout the Pacific, from the Mariana Islands to the Philippines, Iwo Jima, and Okinawa, U.S. naval aircraft smashed Japanese defenses, destroyed Japanese aircraft, supported invasions, sank Japanese ships, and raided Japanese positions.

By 1945, four British aircraft carriers operated in the Pacific, and these joined more than a dozen American carriers in launching a series of devastating air attacks on Japanese positions in July and August. All told, 1,000 U.S. and 250 British carrier aircraft destroyed more than 3,000 Japanese aircraft in the air and on the ground, adding to the damage B-29 bombers had already inflicted on Japan's home islands. New aircraft carriers continued to join the U.S. fleet, although the first of large 47,000-ton Midway-class battle carriers were not commissioned until September 1945, after the end of the war. Of Japan's carriers, only the old, experimental *Hosho* survived the war. Japan's fortunes in the Pacific war had risen and then sunk with its aircraft carriers.

Stephen K. Stein

See also

Aircraft Carriers; Aircraft, Naval; *Bismarck*, Sortie and Sinking of; Cape Esperance, Battle of; Caroline Islands Campaign; Coral Sea, Battle of the; Eastern Solomons, Battle of the; Fletcher, Frank Jack; Gilbert Islands Campaign; Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Hunter-Killer Groups; King, Ernest Joseph; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; Mariana Islands, Naval Campaign; Marshall Islands, Naval Campaign; Midway, Battle of; Nagumo Chūichi; Nimitz, Chester William; Philippine Sea, Battle of the; *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse*; Santa Cruz Islands, Battle of; Spruance, Raymond Ames; Taranto, Attack on; Truk; Yamamoto Isoroku

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B

Babi Yar Massacre (29–30 September 1941)

German mass shooting of Soviet Jews outside Kiev, Ukraine. Following the German army's invasion of the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, four *Shutzstaffel Einsatzgruppen* (SS mobile killing squads) entered Soviet territory, their task being the physical annihilation of Communist Party functionaries, Red Army commissars, the physically and mentally handicapped, partisans, and Jews.

As the Wehrmacht drove ever deeper into the Soviet Union, the *Einsatzgruppen* followed, rounding up and slaughtering their intended victims in mass shootings. Consequently, by the time of their disbanding in 1943, when the war on the Eastern Front swung irreversibly in favor of the Red Army, the *Einsatzgruppen*—with the assistance of the German army and a host of enthusiastic collaborators from the Latvian, Lithuanian, and Ukrainian populations—had committed a multitude of unspeakable atrocities and murdered an estimated 1.5 million Soviet Jews and others.

Among the numerous *Einsatzgruppen* crimes, the slaughter of Jews at Babi Yar in late September 1941—perpetrated by SS Colonel Paul Blobel's *Sonderkommando 4a*, a subunit of Otto Rasch's *Einsatzgruppe C*—was arguably the most notorious. On 19 September 1941, units of the German Army Group South occupied Kiev, the capital of Soviet Ukraine. In the days immediately following, a series of explosions rocked the city, destroying German field headquarters, burning more than one-third of a square mile of the Kiev city center, and leaving some 10,000 residents homeless. Although these explosions were likely the work of the Soviet political police, or NKVD, the Germans saw in them a convenient justifica-

tion to massacre the city's Jews, a task Blobel's *Sonderkommando* would have carried out regardless.

After discussions between Blobel, Rasch, and Major General Kurt Eberhard, the German field commander in Kiev, the latter ordered the city's Jews to assemble with their possessions—including money, valuables, and warm clothing—near the Jewish cemetery no later than 7:00 A.M. on Monday, 29 September. The posted order indicated that the Jews were to be resettled and warned that failure to comply would be punishable by death.

Once assembled, Kiev's Jews were marched to Babi Yar, a partially wooded ravine just outside the city. There, the Germans, following the procedure used by *Einsatzgruppen* since the mass shootings of Soviet Jews began in late June, forced the Jews to strip, dispossessed them of their belongings, and shot them to death in groups of 30 to 40 people. In the course of two gruesome days, Blobel's men, relying exclusively on automatic weapons, murdered 33,771 innocent men, women, and children. Subsequently, they reported that the Jews had offered no resistance and until the last minute had believed they were to be resettled.

During the months that followed the initial Babi Yar massacre, the Germans periodically used the ravine as a murder site, killing several thousand more Jews there, plus an untold number of Gypsies and Soviet prisoners of war. In July 1943, with Soviet forces having seized the military initiative and advancing rapidly, the Germans launched Operation *AKTION 1005* to eradicate evidence of their crimes in the Soviet Union. Blobel, who had been released from his duties as commander of *Sonderkommando 4a* in early 1942 and transferred to Berlin, returned to Kiev, where he oversaw efforts to obliterate



Nazi SS Special Commanders prepare to execute Kiev Jews during the Babi Yar Massacre in Ukraine, 29–30 September 1941 (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images).

traces of the executions at Babi Yar. Throughout August and September, Blobel's men and conscripted concentration camp inmates reopened the mass grave, crushed bones, and cremated the remains of the dead. Despite the Germans' efforts to hide their crimes, significant evidence of the massacres remained and was discovered by Soviet forces following the liberation of Kiev in November 1943.

The Babi Yar massacre of late September 1941 was not the largest German "special action" against the Jews. In October 1941, the Germans and their Romanian allies murdered an estimated 50,000 at Odessa. Nonetheless, more than any other, Babi Yar has come to symbolize an aspect of the Holocaust—mass shootings—that is invariably overshadowed by the horrors of Auschwitz and the other death camps.

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See also

Holocaust, The; Kiev Pocket; Waffen-SS

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Badoglio, Pietro (1871–1956)

Italian army marshal who helped Italy switch allegiance from the Axis to the Allied powers in World War II. Born in Grazzano Monferrato (later renamed Grazzano Badoglio), Italy, on 28 September 1871, Pietro Badoglio entered the Italian military in 1890 as an artillery officer and participated in the campaigns in Abyssinia between 1896 and 1897 and Tripolitania (Libya) from 1911 to 1912. A captain at the beginning of World War I, he rose to lieutenant general in August 1917 and commanded XXVII Corps in the October–November 1917 Battle of Caporetto. His deployment and poor handling of his corps opened a gap in the Italian lines and facilitated the Austro-German advance. Some information on this situation was suppressed, and Badoglio's career did not suffer. Indeed, Badoglio became deputy to the chief of staff of the Italian army, General Armando Diaz.

From November 1919 to February 1921, Badoglio was army chief of staff. In 1924 and 1925, the anti-Fascist Badoglio



Italian Marshal Pietro Badoglio. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

was ambassador to Brazil, but in May 1925, he returned to Italy as chief of the General Staff and was promoted to field marshal in June 1926.

From 1928 to 1933, Badoglio was governor of Italian North Africa, and during that period, he oversaw the suppression of the Senussi Rebellion. In November 1935, he assumed command of Italian forces in Ethiopia, completing the conquest of that country; he was rewarded with the title of duke of Addis Ababa and named viceroy there in May 1936. In November 1939, Badoglio was again chief of staff of the Italian armed forces, a post he held until he was forced to resign on 4 December 1940 following the failure of Italian forces in Greece.

After Benito Mussolini's arrest in July 1943, King Victor Emmanuel III selected Badoglio as head of the Italian government and commander of the armed forces. Badoglio then dissolved the Fascist Party and many of its institutions, released political prisoners, and failed to enforce the anti-Semitic legislation. He also helped engineer Italy's change from the Axis to the Allied side as a cobelligerent, a move carried out secretly on 3 September 1943. When the German

army took over much of Italy, Badoglio, the king, and other members of the government managed to flee Rome on the night of 8–9 September and make their way to Brindisi, where they set up a government in cooperation with the Allies. On 29 September 1943, Badoglio formally surrendered Italy, and on 13 October 1943, Italy declared war on Germany. Following the liberation of Rome, Badoglio stepped down, on 5 June 1944. He died at his family home in Grazzano Badoglio on 1 November 1956.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Greece, Campaign (28 October 1940–March 1941; April 1941); Italo-Ethiopian War; Italy, Home Front; Victor Emanuel III, King of Italy

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Bäer, Heinrich (1913–1957)

German air force officer and World War II ace. Born in Sommerfeld, Germany, on 25 March 1913, Heinrich "Pritzel" Bäer joined the Luftwaffe in 1937 and began World War II as an Umteroffizier (U.S. equiv. corporal). Within a year, he had both attained the rank of sergeant and qualified as a non-commissioned fighter pilot. During this time, he was stationed with Jagdgeschwader (Fighter Group) 51.

On 25 September 1939, Bäer scored his first confirmed victory (kill). During the 1940 battle for France, he earned a battlefield commission as a lieutenant. He then fought in the Battle of Britain, raising his total kills to 27.

Transferring to the Soviet Front in 1941, Oberleutnant (U.S. equiv. first lieutenant) Bäer continued to score victories in aerial combat. He obtained 96 kills in this campaign, including 6 against Soviet pilots in a single day. Once shot down behind Soviet lines, Bäer made his way back to German-held territory. He was hospitalized with a spinal injury but rejoined his unit shortly thereafter.

In the spring of 1942, newly appointed Hauptmann (U.S. equiv. major) Bäer was assigned as commander of JG-77 in the North African Campaign, flying from Sicily. In January 1945, Bäer took command of JG-1, a jet fighter training unit. He was then transferred to JG-3, where he scored his two-hundredth career victory. His final assignment of the war was with JV-44, Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) Adolf Galland's "Expert Squadron." Flying the Me-262 jet, Bäer had 220 career

victories in more than 1,000 combat missions. His total of 16 victories in the Me-262 remains the record for a jet aircraft.

Heinrich Bäer completed his military service as a lieutenant colonel. He died in an airplane crash in Brunswick, Germany, while demonstrating the capabilities of a light plane on 28 April 1957.

Kyle D. Haire

See also

Britain, Battle of; Germany, Air Force

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Balbo, Italo (1896–1940)

Italian air marshal who argued against fighting the Allies in World War II. Born in Qartesana, Italy, on 6 June 1896, Italo Balbo joined the army in 1915 when Italy entered World War I and fought as a lieutenant in the Alpini. Balbo joined the Fascist Party in 1921 and was a leader of the 1922 Fascist March on Rome. One of the more brutal commanders of the anti-Socialist Fascist militia, he became a top adviser to Benito Mussolini. After Mussolini became premier, Balbo held various cabinet posts before becoming minister of aviation in 1929, in which position he worked to make Italy a major air power. Balbo personally led a number of transatlantic flights to North and South America that captured public attention in Italy and abroad. But the Italian air force, despite setting numerous air records, was largely a paper tiger and had few modern aircraft.

Promoted to Italy's first air marshal in 1933, Balbo came to be seen as a political threat by Mussolini, who, in January 1934, appointed him governor and commander in chief of Italian forces in Libya. There, Balbo worked against the policy of Italian domination advocated by others, instead favoring a degree of assimilation for the Arab and Berber populations.

Balbo criticized Italy's alliance with Germany. At a Fascist Grand Council meeting on 7 December 1939, he raised the possibility of Italy fighting on the side of France and Britain. He continued to speak out, even to the British ambassador, against Italy going to war with the Allies.

After Italy declared war in June 1940, Balbo accepted command of Italian forces in North Africa. But on 28 June, his plane was shot down near Tobruk by Italian anti-aircraft fire, and he was killed. A British air raid had just taken place, and Balbo's plane was downed while attempting to land after it failed to give the proper identification signal. Rumors had it,



Italian aviator and politician Count Italo Balbo, June 1940. (Photo by Topical Press Agency/Getty Images)

however, that Mussolini had ordered his death. Il Duce later remarked that Balbo was “the only one capable of killing me.”

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Mussolini, Benito

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Balkans Theater

The Balkan Peninsula lies between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara to the east, the Mediterranean Sea to the south, the Ionian Sea to the southwest, and the Adriatic Sea to the west. The northern boundary of the Balkans is generally considered to be formed by the Sava and Danube Rivers. In 1939, there were six states south of that line: Albania, Greece, Bul-



German paratroopers capturing British soldiers during the invasion of Crete, 1941. (Bettmann/Corbis)

garia, European Turkey, most of Yugoslavia, and southeastern Romania.

With the exception of Turkey—which remained neutral—the Axis powers of Germany and Italy gained the allegiance of some of the Balkan states and then invaded and conquered the remainder in 1940 and 1941. This move ensured that the Axis powers had control over the eastern side of the Mediterranean, and it provided the security on the southern flank that was a prerequisite to a German invasion of the Soviet Union. With the rapid collapse of France between May and June 1940, Soviet leader Josef Stalin moved swiftly to secure gains promised him under the August 1939 Soviet-German pact. The Red Army occupied Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. This development was expected, but Adolf Hitler professed himself surprised by the subsequent Soviet moves in the Balkans.

In late June 1940, Stalin ordered the annexation of the Romanian provinces of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina. Bessarabia had been assigned to the Soviet sphere under the nonaggression pact, but northern Bukovina had not. Also, unlike Bessarabia, Bukovina had never been part of Imperial Russia, and it was the gateway to the Romanian oil fields at Ploesti, vital to the German war machine.

Italy also sought to take advantage of the defeat of France as well as Britain's weakness by opening new fronts in Africa and in Greece. In April 1939, Italian dictator Benito Mussolini had ordered Italian forces to seize Albania. Then, on 28 Octo-

ber 1940, he sent his army into Greece from Albania, without informing Hitler in advance. Hitler most certainly knew of the Italian plans but did not act to restrain his ally, nor did he reproach him. Mussolini's decision, taken on short notice and against the advice of his military leaders, had immense repercussions. Not only did the Greeks contain the Italians, they also drove them back and began their own counterinvasion of Albania. That winter, the campaign became deadlocked, which caused Hitler to consider sending in German troops to rescue the Italians.

Meanwhile, Hitler acted aggressively in the Balkans to counter the Soviet moves and shore up his southern flank before the German invasion of the Soviet Union. In November 1940, he forced both Hungary and Romania to join the Axis powers and accept German troops. Bulgaria followed suit at the beginning of March 1941. Hitler took advantage of irredentist sentiment but also used hardball tactics to secure the allegiance of these countries. He pressured Yugoslavia, and in late March, under German threats, Prince Regent Paul reluctantly agreed to join the Axis powers.

Early in March 1941, meanwhile, honoring the pledge to defend Greece, British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill dispatched to that country two infantry divisions and an armored brigade. He hoped thereby to forestall a German invasion, but this step also forced the British Middle East commander, General Sir Archibald Wavell, to halt his offensive against the Italians in North Africa.



On March 27, elements in the Yugoslavian army carried out a coup in Belgrade that overthrew Paul and repudiated the German alliance. This move was motivated, above all, by popular sentiment among the Serbs against the alliance. Furious at the turn of events, Hitler ordered German forces to invade Yugoslavia. Marshal Wilhelm List's Twelfth Army and Generaloberst (U.S. equiv. full general) Edwald von Kleist's 1st Panzer Group, positioned in Hungary and Romania for the forthcoming invasion of the Soviet Union, now shifted to southwestern Romania and Bulgaria.

The German invasion of Yugoslavia began on 6 April 1941 with a Luftwaffe attack on Belgrade that claimed 17,000 lives. Eleven German infantry divisions and four tank divisions invaded from the north, east, and southeast. Other Axis troops, including the Third Hungarian Army, took part, but Hungarian Premier Pál Teleki committed suicide rather than dishonor himself by participating in the invasion of neighboring Yugoslavia. The invasion was conducted so swiftly that the million-man Yugoslav army was never completely mobilized. Yugoslavia surrendered unconditionally on 17 April.

Simultaneous with their move into Yugoslavia, the Germans came to the aid of the hard-pressed Italians by invading Greece. This move caught the Greeks with 15 divisions in Albania and only 3 divisions and border forces in Macedonia, where the Germans attacked. Also, the scratch British Expeditionary

Force (BEF) in Greece was woefully unprepared to deal with German armor and the Luftwaffe, and between 26 and 30 April, it precipitously evacuated Greece. Many of the roughly 50,000 troops taken off were then landed on Crete. During the evacuation of Greece, British naval units were savaged by the Luftwaffe, with the Royal Navy losing more than two dozen ships to German air attack; many other vessels were badly damaged.

In May 1941, the Germans continued their push south by occupying the island of Crete in the eastern Mediterranean in the first airborne invasion in history. The invasion turned out to be the graveyard of German paratroop forces. Hitler saw the action only as a cover for his planned invasion of the Soviet Union, securing the German southern flank against British air assault and helping to protect the vital oil fields of Ploesti. The German invasion, conducted by parachutists and mountain troops carried to the island by transport aircraft, began on 20 May and was soon decided in favor of the attackers. Again, the Royal Navy suffered heavy losses, although it did turn back a German seaborne landing effort. Churchill's decision to try to hold Crete, unprepared and bereft of Royal Air Force (RAF) fighter support, ignored reality. But Hitler, by his aggressive Balkan moves, barred Soviet expansion there and secured protection against a possible British air attack from the south. These goals accomplished, he was ready to move against the Soviet Union.

From the very beginning of the Axis occupation, the Balkans were a theater for guerrilla warfare until the Red Army invaded in August 1944. In both Greece and Yugoslavia, there were Communist and non-Communist resistance groups, which often fought among themselves as well as against their Greek and Italian occupiers. In Greece, the lead was taken by the National People's Liberation Army (ELAS), which came to be dominated by the Communists, and the National Republican Greek League (EDES). In Yugoslavia, the Chetniks were led by former army officers. Soon, a rival resistance group, known as the Partisans, came to the fore, dominated by the Communists. As in Greece, these two groups would become bitter enemies, even to the point of fighting one another. Ultimately, the British, who oversaw Allied aid to the Yugoslav resistance, decided to back only the Partisans, a decision that helped bring Josip Broz (Tito) to power in Yugoslavia after the war. The Yugoslav resistance largely freed the country from German control.

When Italy left the war in September 1943, Germany had to provide the occupying forces on its own, severely straining resources in men and material. The Allies also conducted a number of commando raids in the Balkans, including the German-occupied islands of the eastern Mediterranean.

In late August 1944, the Red Army's 2nd and 3rd Ukrainian Fronts launched an offensive in Romania against Army Group Südukraine. Romania and Bulgaria soon capitulated and then switched sides, declaring war on Germany. In the case of Romania, these events occurred on 23 August and 4 September, and for Bulgaria, they took place on 25 August and 8 December 1944. In Greece, the Communists made three attempts to seize power: the first came during the 1943–1944 Axis occupation in anticipation of an early end to the war; the second occurred in Athens in December 1944; and the third effort came in the form of a bloody and prolonged civil war from 1946 to 1949. World War II in the Balkans was extremely costly in terms of human casualties, both directly—in actual military losses and civilian casualties resulting from warfare—and indirectly, stemming from shortages of food and other necessities.

In the immediate postwar period, the alignment of the Balkans actually worked out by and large along the lines of the agreement made between Churchill and Stalin at Moscow in October 1944. The Soviet Union dominated Romania and Bulgaria, whereas Greece ended up in the Western camp. Yugoslavia, which was to have been a fifty-fifty arrangement, freed itself from Moscow's grip in 1949.

Thomas J. Weiler and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Albania, Role in War; Bulgaria, Role in War; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Churchill-Stalin Meeting; Crete, Battle of; German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact; Greece Campaign (28 October 1940–March 1941); Greece Campaign (April 1941); Hitler, Adolf; Hungary, Role in War; Kleist, Edwald von; Mussolini, Benito; Romania

Campaign; Romania, Role in War; Stalin, Josef; Tito; Turkey; Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival; Yugoslavia Campaign (1941); Yugoslavia Campaign (1944–1945)

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Banten Bay, Battle of (28 February 1942)

Naval battle in the Pacific Theater, also known as the Battle of Sunda Strait. On 27 February 1942, the American-British-Dutch-Australian (ABDA) Command failed to block a Japanese invasion of Java in the Battle of Java Sea, and the surviving ABDA warships retreated to Java. The following day, at around 1:30 P.M., the cruisers USS *Houston* and HMAS *Perth*, together with the destroyer HMNS *Evertsen*, reached Batavia's port of Tanjong Priok. Resupply proved difficult, and only ammunition for the cruisers' secondary guns and 300 tons of fuel, half of the *Perth's* needs, were secured. Also, the *Houston's* number 3 turret was damaged, and the crews were exhausted. Nonetheless, the ABDA naval commander, Dutch Admiral Conrad Helfrich, ordered his warships to rendezvous at Tjilatjap on Java's south coast for another sortie against the Japanese.

At 7:00 P.M., the cruisers, commanded by Captain Hec Waller of the *Perth*, steamed west into Sunda Strait but without the *Evertsen*, which was still getting up steam. Two hours earlier, ABDA aircraft had spotted the Japanese approaching Banten Bay, but this information failed to reach ABDA's naval commanders.

At 11:06 P.M., Waller's force encountered the Japanese Western Attack Force near the entrance to Banten Bay. Rear Admiral Kurita Takeo had overall command of the Japanese force covering the invasion. His ships included the heavy cruisers *Suzuya* and *Kumano*, the aircraft carrier *Ryujo*, and destroyers situated about 20 miles north of Banten Bay to protect against an Allied attack from that direction. Just outside the bay were the cruisers *Mogami* and *Mikuma* and a destroyer. Inside the bay were the light cruisers *Natori* and *Yuri*, eight destroyers, and a minelayer protecting 58 Japanese merchantmen that were disembarking troops onto the shore.

Unaware that he was caught between these two Japanese forces, Waller led the *Perth* and *Houston* into the bay to attack the Japanese troop transports. His ships fired at multiple targets while steaming in a 5-mile circle around the bay. Meanwhile, the cruisers of the Japanese covering force came up, which led to some confusion when the two Japanese naval forces fired on each other. In the confusion, the *Houston* and *Perth* were about to escape into the Sunda Strait when a Japanese torpedo struck the latter at 12:05 A.M. Three additional torpedoes finished her off. The *Houston* took a Japanese torpedo hit at 12:15 A.M. but continued to return fire in a gallant effort. Heavy Japanese shelling and additional torpedoes sank the *Houston* by 12:45 A.M.

In the battle, the *Perth* lost 353 crewmen, and of her 320 survivors, 100 died while being held as prisoners of war (POWs). The *Houston* lost 655 crew; of her 368 survivors, 76 died while POWs. Japanese losses, some self-inflicted, included the transports *Sakura Maru*, *Horai Maru*, and *Ryujo Maru* and the minesweeper *W2*, all of which were sunk. The cruiser *Mikuma* and destroyer *Harukaze* were both damaged. Japanese personnel losses are unknown. The Japanese Western Attack Force had crushed Allied opposition and could now expand the beachhead without fear of opposition.

Jonathan "Jack" Ford

See also

Darwin, Raid on; Java Sea, Battle of; Kurita Takeo; Lombok, Battle of; Madoera Strait, Battle of; Makassar Strait, Battle of; Menado, Battle of; Netherlands East Indies; Sunda Strait, Battle of

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BARBAROSSA, Operation (22 June 1941)

German invasion of the Soviet Union that opened World War II on the Eastern Front, commencing the largest, most bitterly contested, and bloodiest campaign of the war. Adolf Hitler's objective for Operation BARBAROSSA was simple: he sought to crush the Soviet Union in one swift blow. With the USSR defeated and its vast resources at his disposal, surely Britain would have to sue for peace. So confident was he of victory that he made no effort to coordinate the invasion with his Japanese ally. Hitler predicted a quick victory in a campaign of, at most, three months.

German success hinged on the speed of advance of 154 German and satellite divisions deployed in three army

groups: Army Group North in East Prussia, under Field Marshal Wilhelm von Leeb; Army Group Center in northern Poland, commanded by Field Marshal Fedor von Bock; and Army Group South in southern Poland and Romania under Field Marshal Karl Gerd von Rundstedt. Army Group North consisted of 3 panzer, 3 motorized, and 24 infantry divisions supported by the Luftflotte 1 and joined by Finnish forces. Farther north, German General Nikolaus von Falkenhorst's Norway Army would carry out an offensive against Murmansk in order to sever its supply route to Leningrad. Within Army Group Center were 9 panzer, 7 motorized, and 34 infantry divisions, with the Luftflotte 2 in support. Marshal von Rundstedt's Army Group South consisted of 5 panzer, 3 motorized, and 35 infantry divisions, along with 3 Italian divisions, 2 Romanian armies, and Hungarian and Slovak units. Luftflotte 4 provided air support.

Meeting this onslaught were 170 Soviet divisions organized into three "strategic axes" (commanding multiple fronts, the equivalent of army groups)—Northern, Central, and Southern or Ukrainian—that would come to be commanded by Marshals Kliment E. Voroshilov, Semen K. Timoshenko, and Semen M. Budenny, respectively. Voroshilov's fronts were responsible for the defense of Leningrad, Karelia, and the recently acquired Baltic states. Timoshenko's fronts protected the approaches to Smolensk and Moscow. And those of Budenny guarded the Ukraine. For the most part, these forces were largely unmechanized and were arrayed in three linear defensive echelons, the first as far as 30 miles from the border and the last as much as 180 miles back.

The German plan called for three phases in which they hoped to achieve three broad objectives: the destruction of Soviet armed forces; the capture of political and industrial centers; and the occupation of coal, iron, and agricultural centers in the Ukraine and Caucasus. Phase one called for Nazi ground forces, supported by air, to drive deep into Soviet territory and encircle and destroy Soviet forces west of the Dvina-Dnieper Line while disrupting supply lines and creating maximum chaos. Phase two objectives were the seizure of Leningrad, Moscow, and the Ukraine to prevent political-military direction and economic support to the Red Army. In Phase three, the Wehrmacht was to advance to and hold the Volga-Archangel Line.

Initial Soviet defensive plans differed, but the primary defense in all was to position the bulk of forces along the perceived path of any German attack. The differences in the plans came from disagreements over the exact direction of the assumed main thrust. One concept held that the principal German attack would occur in the north, whereas another prepared for the main attack in the south, into the Ukraine. For whatever reasons, none considered the center of the front toward Moscow as primary. Soviet leader Josef Stalin believed the assault would be launched toward the Ukraine and Cau-



A TURNING POINT?

German Invasion of the Soviet Union

On 22 June 1941, the German army began Operation BARBAROSSA, the invasion of the Soviet Union. This event dramatically altered the course of the war. No longer fighting Germany virtually alone, Great Britain now had a formidable ally. Nearly four years later, Soviet troops captured Berlin and Germany was defeated. Was Adolf Hitler's decision to invade the Soviet Union an irrational act? Was BARBAROSSA doomed to failure from the start? Based on the final result, it appears so, but in 1941, many knowledgeable military and political officials believed otherwise.

Even before World War II, Nazi Germany and the Communist Soviet Union were bitter ideological enemies. When the two powers signed the Soviet-German Non-aggression Pact on 23 August 1939, it took most observers by surprise, but this agreement in fact benefited both sides. Germany was free to invade Poland, and the Soviet Union gained both territory and time to rearm. The unexpectedly swift German victory over France in 1940 left Hitler in control of Western Europe. Although Germany lost the Battle of Britain that summer and Hitler indefi-

nately postponed a sea invasion of that country (Operation SEA LION) in September, he still had a large, experienced, and undefeated army. In December, Hitler issued Directive No. 21 to "crush Soviet Russia in a quick campaign before the end of the war against England."

In October 1940, Germany's ally Italy invaded Greece. The invasion went poorly, and Britain sent troops to Greece. At the same time, a coup in Yugoslavia led that nation to repudiate its recently signed alliance with Germany. A furious Hitler ordered his army and air force into both Yugoslavia and Greece and then on to Crete.

He next turned his attention to the invasion of the Soviet Union. German overconfidence, based on the quick defeat of France, led Hitler to conclude that the Soviet Union might be defeated in six weeks. Soviet leader Josef Stalin's purges of the officer class and the mediocre performance of the Red Army in the 1940 Russo-Finnish War seemed to support Hitler's conclusion that "all you have to do is kick in the door and the whole rotten structure will crumble to the ground."

BARBAROSSA began late because of German delays in assembling the requisite forces for the invasion, the Balkan Campaign, and, above all, inclement weather. The invaders needed a period of dry weather to use their tanks effectively. BARBAROSSA began on 22 June, five weeks after the planned starting date of 15 May. Employing a force of 3.6 million men, nearly 3,000 tanks, and more than 2,700 aircraft, the Germans made dramatic, rapid gains. Early on, the attackers destroyed much of the Red Air Force and then encircled and captured vast Soviet ground formations. A logistical pause of one week in August grew to four weeks, which meant that the German drives on Leningrad and Moscow were seriously impeded by the onset of autumnal rains, mud, and winter weather. In October, the Germans began Operation TAI-FUN (TYPHOON) to take Moscow. They never reached the Soviet capital, and in December, Soviet Siberian reinforcements hurled them back. The Germans still held the military initiative, having conquered much of the western Soviet Union and taken 3 million Soviet prisoners of war in little more than six months of fighting. Despite this

casus because of the agricultural and mineral resources there. Consequently, final General Staff plans were developed for the Red Army to defend against a southern main thrust.

Whatever the direction of any German attack, Stalin counted on a repeat of the stalemate of the Western Front of 1914 to 1918 or at least a campaign lasting a year or more. Soviet planning estimated that any war between Germany and the USSR would last a minimum of three years. Critical to ensuring the ability of the Soviet Union to fight a protracted war would be denial of the eastern Ukraine to the Germans, which is why so much Soviet armor was positioned forward in June 1941.

Stalin refused to believe Soviet intelligence reports that German forces were massing on the western approaches to the USSR. He also rejected Western warnings with detailed information of the impending Germany attack. He received a reported 100 Western warnings but dismissed them all as efforts by the Western powers to involve the Soviet Union in the war. The German ambassador to the Soviet Union, Count Friedrich von Schulenberg, who opposed war between Germany and the

Soviet Union, even informed an astonished Vladimir Dekanozov, the Soviet ambassador to Germany, that Germany would invade. Reportedly, Stalin informed the Politburo that "disinformation has now reached ambassadorial level."

Although Stalin had utilized the respite of the Soviet-German Non-aggression Pact period to improve war stocks and develop military industries, he ultimately resisted fully mobilizing the Red Army for fear that doing so would provoke Hitler. These factors, plus the self-inflicted decapitation of the Soviet armed forces in the 1937 purges that liquidated 40 to 50 percent of the senior officer corps, left the Red Army unable to prevent the Wehrmacht from achieving tremendous initial victories.

Hitler had ordered that preparations for the invasion of the Soviet Union be complete by May 15, but the assault did not actually occur until June 22, almost the very day that Napoleon Bonaparte had begun his invasion of Russia in 1812. Heavy spring rains in eastern Europe were the most important factor in the delay, as the panzers needed dry, hard

success, however, they had failed to achieve the quick victory that Hitler had sought and instead found themselves bogged down in a long campaign of attrition.

BARBAROSSA may have failed because rainy weather and the need to assemble the resources involved delayed its start by more than a month. Further, the Germans were unprepared for the harsh Russian winter. There are other reasons as well: the Soviet landmass was considerable; the Soviets were able to relocate industry to the east; Soviet resources were vastly superior to those of the Germans in terms of sheer numbers of soldiers, tanks, and aircraft; and German racial policies toward the Soviet population were utterly self-defeating. Repeated poor strategic and operational decisions by Hitler and his generals, massive matériel support from Stalin's Western allies in the form of Lend-Lease assistance, and Soviet pluck and adaptiveness eventually canceled the remarkable early German gains. Despite these advantages, it would take the Red Army nearly three years to liberate what the German armed forces conquered in six months of 1941.

In retrospect, attacking the Soviet Union while Great Britain was undefeated appears to have been a major mistake. There were alternatives. One was to keep up the pressure on Britain via U-boat and

aircraft attacks in an attempt to starve that nation into submission. Another was to make a major effort in the Mediterranean Theater. Both Reichsmarschall (Reich Marshal) Hermann Göring, commander of the German air force, and Grand Admiral Erich Raeder, commander of the German navy, argued for a Mediterranean strategy. They presented plans to Hitler for a series of operations to bring Spain into the war on the German side; seize Gibraltar and Malta; and then conquer Egypt, take the Suez Canal, and capture the Middle East oil fields. Thereafter, the Soviet Union could be invaded from the Middle East, if necessary.

Hitler rejected this course of action. Aside from the "nuisance" air attacks of the Blitz and the U-boat campaign in the Battle of the Atlantic, he never maintained the pressure on Britain. He did bolster the Axis effort in North Africa in the creation of the Afrika Korps (Africa Corps), but there, too, he never made a major effort. Even a few additional divisions for General Erwin Rommel might have given the Axis control of the Suez Canal. But instead, Hitler merely found a new way in which to deplete his strength and especially his limited air transport. His concentration on the Soviet Union was based largely on ideological rather than sound

strategic reasoning. Ultimately, although Operation BARBAROSSA seriously crippled the Soviet Union, the campaign ended in the defeat of Germany.

Dana Lombardy and T. P. Schweider

See also

Atlantic, Battle of the; BARBAROSSA, Operation; Blitz, The; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Hitler, Adolf; Leningrad, Siege of; Moscow, Battle of; Raeder, Erich; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; SEA LION, Operation; Stalin, Josef

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ground for an advance across a country with few roads. Also, it took more time than anticipated to assemble the invasion force of more than 3 million men, the largest in history. Motor transport had to be allocated, and the Luftwaffe was also slow to build forward airfields. Moreover, units taking part in the campaign in the Balkans had to be relocated and refitted.

Despite all the German preparations, there was a great disparity in military hardware. The Luftwaffe, still waging operations against Britain and also supporting the Afrika Korps (Africa Corps) in North Africa, was forced to keep 1,150 combat aircraft in these theaters. Thus, only 2,770 combat aircraft were available against the Soviet Union. Arrayed against them were 18,570 Soviet aircraft, 8,154 of which were initially in the west and the bulk of them tactical aircraft of sturdy basic designs, including the excellent Ilyushin Il-2 Shturmovik ground-attack aircraft.

Germany deployed some 6,000 tanks, the Soviets 23,140 (10,394 in the west)—and even in 1941, the Soviets possessed some of the best tanks of the war. Their BT-series and

T-26 were superior in armor, firepower, and maneuverability to the German light PzKpfw I and II and could destroy any German tank. Similarly, the Soviet T-34 medium tank and KV-1 heavy tank were superior to the PzKpfw III and IV and indeed any German tank in June 1941.

The German attack began at 3:00 A.M. on 22 June 1941, the longest day of the year, with only two hours of total darkness. Soviet forces were taken completely by surprise. German panzer and mechanized divisions easily broke through the defenses and were deep into Soviet territory by nightfall. Striking Soviet air forces within range, the Luftwaffe, in one day's operation for all practical purposes, gained air supremacy over the operational area. Army Group North took Kaunas in one day and reached the Dvina River after four days, then rolled into Riga on 29 June. Not until they reached new Soviet defensive positions south of Pskov on 8 July did the Germans encounter stiff resistance.

The progress of Army Group South was slowed by numerous natural obstacles, which allowed Soviet forces to withdraw



Soviet tanks roll towards the battle front on 22 June 1941 the first day of Operation BARBAROSSA. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

in a more orderly manner and even to counterattack occasionally. The southern army group advanced along three lines: the Lublin-Kovel-Lutsk-Zhitomir-Kiev line; the Przemysl-L'viv (Lvov)-Vinnitsia-Dnieper River line; and a third line from Romania to Odessa and Dnepropetrovsk. Soviet forces avoided German encirclement attempts in this southern zone until Uman, where, in early August, over 100,000 men were encircled and surrendered, along with 300 tanks and 800 pieces of heavy artillery.

The most spectacular results were achieved by Army Group Center. It reached the Dnieper River by 6 July, where it encountered increased Soviet resistance. Before arriving there, however, one column took Vilnius on 24 June and then headed for Minsk, where it joined the second column that had come from Brest-Litovsk. On 27 June, the two columns met to surround a large number of Soviet troops around Grodno and Bialystok, provoking the surrender of 320,000 men, 3,000 tanks, and 2,000 pieces of heavy artillery. Even with stiffening resistance, Soviet forces could not prevent the Germans from crossing the Dnieper on 9 July and seizing Smolensk on 16 July, where they captured another 300,000 prisoners.

Phase one of BARBAROSSA seemed a success. Despite increased resistance, Wehrmacht forces appeared to have

open roads to Leningrad, Moscow, and Kiev after capturing nearly a million Soviet troops and killing countless others. Phase two of the German plan, however, proved more difficult to achieve for several reasons. Soviet defenses were stiffening because the initial shock of invasion had worn off and an additional 5 million men in reserve forces had been mobilized and thrown into the breach. In addition, Hitler and his generals had been debating the best course of action for phase two, and the objectives continued to change. The generals believed the army should concentrate on securing Moscow because it was the Soviet capital and a vital communication and industrial center. It offered, they believed, the best chance to destroy the Soviet armies. Hitler, however, at first thought the priority should be the seizure of Leningrad and a linkup with the Finns; then, the Germans and Finns together should clear the Baltic and open a sea line of communications. But by mid-August, Hitler had changed his mind and directed the main effort to focus on the Ukraine and Caucasus in order to gain the resources of those regions, relegating both Leningrad and Moscow to secondary priority. He even directed the other two army groups to yield forces to reinforce Army Group South.

Phase two finally began with an assault on Kiev, which fell to the Germans on 19 September and netted 650,000

additional prisoners. Then, fall rain and mud slowed the German advance in the south. Movement toward Leningrad also slowed, partly because of increased Soviet resistance but also because Hitler conceived a new plan. This plan, known as Operation *TAIFUN* (Typhoon), called for Leningrad to be encircled, put under siege, and starved into submission; the Crimea, the Donbass, and the Caucasus were to be taken for the coal and oil resources that would be gained for Germany's use.

The new plan accorded the highest priority to the encirclement and capture of Moscow. Previously transferred panzer forces were now to revert to Army Group Center, and operations were to commence on 30 September. In the drive on Moscow, the Germans took Orel on 3 October, and 17 days later, around Vyazma and Bryansk, they captured 665,000 Soviet prisoners. But again, fall rains and mud, increasing Soviet resistance as the Germans neared the capital, and an early drop in temperature to well below zero ground the German advance to a halt.

Some success was had elsewhere. Leningrad was nearly surrounded, and the Crimea was taken along with Odessa, Karkov, and Rostov-on-Don, but these achievements were short-lived when, along the entire front, the Soviets opened their first major counteroffensive in early December 1941.

Because the strategic objective did not change, it can be argued that Operation *BARBAROSSA* continued for the entire period of Germany's strategic advance, from the surprise attack on 22 June 1941 until the assault that stalled before Moscow in November. However, the commencement of Operation *TAIFUN*, with its change of operational focus and main objectives, technically ended Operation *BARBAROSSA*.

Arthur T. Frame

See also

Bock, Fedor von; Budenny, Semen Mikhailovich; Eastern Front; Finnish-Soviet War (Continuation War); German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact; Leeb, Wilhelm Franz Josef Ritter von; Moscow, Battle of; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von; Stalin, Josef; Stalingrad, Battle of; Timoshenko, Semen Konstantinovich; Voroshilov, Kliment Efremovich; Vyazma-Bryansk, Battles for; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Barents Sea, Battle of

See Convoy PQ 17.

Barkhorn, Gerhard (1919–1983)

German air force officer and fighter pilot, the second-highest-scoring ace of World War II, with 301 victories. Born in Königsberg, East Prussia, on 20 March 1919, Gerhard Barkhorn joined the Luftwaffe in March 1938. On completion of his pilot training, he was posted to Staffel 3 (squadron), Jagdgeschwader (fighter wing) 2 (3.JG-2) in October 1939. In August 1940, he was transferred to JG-52 for the Battle of Britain. Barkhorn did not score his first victory until his one hundred and twentieth mission, on 1 July 1941. Within a year, his total stood at 60, and he was awarded the Knight's Cross and, six months later, in January 1943, the Oakleaves. On 23 January 1944, Barkhorn became the first Luftwaffe fighter pilot to have flown 1,000 combat missions and the second to reach 250 victories. For the latter feat, he was awarded the Swords to his Knight's Cross.

During his career, Barkhorn entered combat over 1,100 times. He was shot down nine times, bailed out once, and was wounded twice. On 31 May 1944, with 273 victories, he was well on his way to becoming the leading ace in the Luftwaffe when he was severely wounded in a dogfight. The four months he spent in the hospital allowed another JG-52 ace, Erich Hartmann, to surpass his record. Barkhorn scored his three hundred and first—and final—victory on 5 January 1945.

Barkhorn ended his wartime career as a major flying the Me-262 jet in JV-44, Major General Adolf Galland's "Squadron of Experts." Injuries from a crash landing took Barkhorn out of combat permanently on 21 April 1945. At the end of the war, he surrendered to the Americans and was held prisoner until September 1945.

Barkhorn's postwar career included service in the Federal Republic of Germany's air force from 1956 until his retirement as a major general in 1976. On 6 January 1983, he and his wife, Christl, were involved in a serious automobile accident near Köln (Cologne). Christl died at the scene, and Barkhorn died in the hospital in Köln on 8 January 1983.

M. R. Pierce

See also

Britain, Battle of; Germany, Air Force; Hartmann, Erich Alfred

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Bastico, Ettore (1876–1972)

Italian army field marshal who was appointed governor of Libya in 1941. Born in Bologna on 9 April 1876, Ettore Bastico joined the army in 1896 and served in the elite Bersaglieri (light infantry). In 1912, he was posted to Libya, where he took part in pacification operations. Promoted to colonel during World War I and general in 1927, Bastico commanded a division and then a corps during the invasion of Ethiopia. A close friend of Italian dictator Benito Mussolini, Bastico was dispatched to Spain in April 1937 to head the Italian expeditionary force supporting the Nationalist side in the Spanish Civil War. Although he scored one of the few Italian victories at Santander in August, he was relieved of his post in October because of conflicts with the Nationalist leader General Francisco Franco. Nevertheless, in 1938, he received command of Second Army, stationed on the border with Yugoslavia, and in December 1940, he was appointed governor of the Dodecanese Islands.

In July 1941, Bastico became governor of Libya. Although he was, in theory, the superior of the Afrika Korps (Africa Corps) commander Erwin Rommel, he and Rommel immediately developed a contentious relationship over issues involving the command and control of the Axis forces in North Africa. Rommel's repeated rebuffs of Bastico's attempts to rein him in, as well as his increasingly ill disguised contempt for the Italian army, led to a series of heated exchanges between the two, with Rommel referring to Bastico as "Bombastico." Nevertheless, the Axis forces were able to cooperate sufficiently to force the surrender of Tobruk in June 1942. As a result, both Rommel and Bastico were promoted to field marshal.

After the surrender of Tobruk in June 1942, Rommel as usual disregarded Bastico's cautious directives and invaded Egypt. Consequently, the Axis forces became overstretched, thus setting the stage for the decisive British counteroffensive at El Alamein in October 1942. In the wake of the Axis defeat, Bastico was relieved of command in February 1943.

Ettore Bastico retired from the army in 1947. He also wrote a three-volume study of the evolution of warfare. He died in Rome on 2 December 1972.

John M. Jennings

See also

El Alamein, Battle of; Franco, Francisco; Italy, Army; Mussolini, Benito; North Africa Campaign; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugene; Tobruk, First Battle for, Second Battle for, Third Battle of

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Bastogne, Battle for (19 December 1944–9 January 1945)

Key battle within the German Ardennes Offensive (Battle of the Bulge). Bastogne, Belgium, was an important communications hub; seven main roads, a railroad line, and several minor roads met there. Bastogne and the Ardennes area had been liberated by elements of the U.S. First Army in September 1944. By December, following failed Allied attempts to invade Germany, lines in the west had solidified along the German West Wall (Siegfried Line). As the Allies prepared their next move, Adolf Hitler put in motion a counteroffensive in the Ardennes with the goal of destroying Allied units and recapturing the port of Antwerp. At the very least, Hitler expected to buy time to deal with the Soviets. German success in what was known as Operation WATCH ON THE RHINE depended on total surprise and a rapid capture of Bastogne and the Allied fuel depots and communications routes between it and Saint Vith.

The German offensive, which opened early on 16 December, caught the Americans completely by surprise. General Heinrich von Lüttwitz's XLVII Panzer Corps, the spearhead of the southern German thrust, made for Bastogne, some 20 miles from the German line of attack. The Germans expected to occupy it no later than 18 December, but the poor state of the roads and misinformation provided by Belgians delayed their arrival. Meanwhile, Supreme Allied Commander General Dwight D. Eisenhower correctly concluded that this was a major German offensive rather than a spoiling attack and ordered up reinforcements, including the 101st Airborne Division. Traveling in cattle trucks, the 101st arrived at Bastogne near midnight on the 18 December. The first American units to reach the city, however, were elements of the 10th Armored Division, which had arrived there a few hours earlier.

Major General Fritz Bayerlein's Panzer Lehr Division reached Bastogne just after midnight on 19 December. It attacked immediately, as Bayerlein was aware from radio intercepts that the 101st Airborne was on the way. The Americans beat back the German attack but were under constant German pressure from that point and were completely encircled in a 6-mile-diameter pocket by the evening of 21 December. The Germans now brought up supplies and reinforcements.

On 22 December, four German soldiers, one carrying a white flag, walked toward an American outpost near Bastogne. They carried an ultimatum addressed to "the U.S.A.



Infantrymen attached to the 4th Armored Division fire at German troops during the American advance to relieve the pressure on surrounded airborne troops in Bastogne, Belgium. 27 December 1944. (National Archives)

commander of the encircled city of Bastogne.” The message urged Brigadier General Anthony McAuliffe, in command of the division in the absence of Major General Maxwell D. Taylor, to save his troops with an “honorable surrender.” McAuliffe’s response to the Germans was memorable: “To the German Commander: Nuts. The American commander.”

Even though the Germans pressed their offensive all around Bastogne, they failed to take the city. The Allied forces did not break, and Lieutenant General George S. Patton’s Third Army was rushing to relieve Bastogne from the south. Patton told an unbelieving Eisenhower that he could wheel his army 90 degrees and strike north into the bulge with three divisions in only two days. He accomplished this feat in one of most memorable mass maneuvers of that or any war.

On 23 December, the weather cleared, freezing the ground and making it passable for armor. Allied planes filled the skies, and transports dropped resupplies to the defenders of

Bastogne, then down to only 10 rounds per gun. On Christmas Day, 2nd Armored Division gunners had a “turkey shoot” near the Meuse, destroying 82 German tanks. On 26 December, Lieutenant Colonel Creighton Abrams’s 37th Tank Battalion of the 4th Armored Division broke through the German lines, lifting the siege of Bastogne.

The battle now expanded as both sides poured in reinforcements. Fifth Panzer Army made Bastogne its principal effort, as the planned German drive on Antwerp turned into a struggle for Bastogne. Meanwhile, the Americans brought up significant amounts of artillery and armor. Allied aircraft also attacked the German armor without letup, destroying large numbers of tanks. The last major German attack on the city occurred on 4 January. Other smaller attacks took place until 8 January, with the battle ending the next day. The fight for the city had claimed about 2,700 American and 3,000 German casualties; Bastogne itself lost 782 Belgian civilians.

William Head and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Ardennes Offensive; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; McAuliffe, Anthony Clement; Patton, George Smith, Jr.

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Bataan, Battle of (1942)

Key battle of the failed American defense of the Philippine Islands between 1941 and 1942. Bataan is a peninsula on the big island of Luzon; it is some 25 miles long and roughly 20 miles wide and extends south into Manila Bay. The peninsula figured prominently in General Douglas MacArthur's plans for defending the Philippines against a Japanese invasion. The original plan called for U.S. and Philippine forces to withdraw into the Bataan Peninsula and there fight an extended defensive battle until reinforcements arrived from the United States.

MacArthur changed this plan prior to the U.S. entry into the war following the 7 December 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor. He believed that, even with his mobilizing Philippine army and promised reinforcements from the United States, he could defend the entire Philippine Islands against a Japanese invasion. But when elements of Lieutenant General Homma Masaharu's Fourteenth Army landed at Lingayen Gulf on 22 December, it became apparent that MacArthur's new plan would not work. Japanese forces quickly broke through MacArthur's lines north and south of Manila, forcing him to fall back on the original plan but not in orderly fashion. Vast quantities of supplies were lost in the process. By the end of December, more than 67,500 Filipino and 12,500 U.S. troops, as well as 26,000 civilians, were in the Bataan Peninsula. The shortage of supplies put everyone on half rations. Malnutrition, dysentery, and malaria were soon commonplace, with many soldiers unable to fight.

Still, U.S. and Filipino troops put up a stout defense. They lost their main line of defense in late January 1942, but at their secondary line, they stopped Homma's forces by mid-February. The defenders bravely fought on, halting two



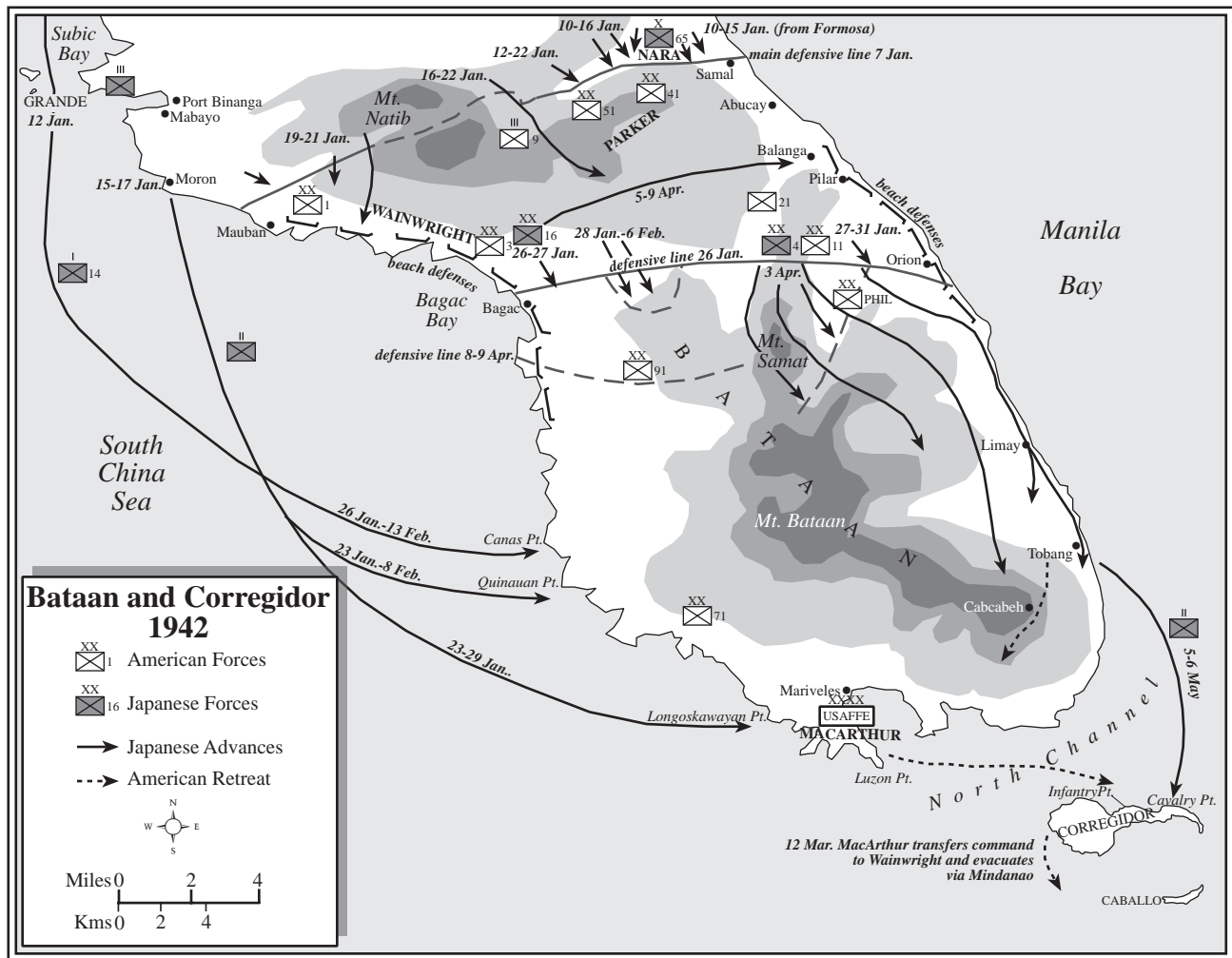
Newspapers of 9 April 1942 displayed at a newsstand at a corner drugstore in a Japanese-American neighborhood in Hayward, California. (Library of Congress)

battalion-sized Japanese landings in late January and early February.

Meanwhile, most of Homma's best troops were diverted to the Netherlands East Indies; with more than 2,700 dead, 4,000 wounded, and 13,000 sick, Homma was temporarily unable to mount additional attacks. MacArthur used this pause to shore up his defensive positions, but the realization that no relief force was coming from the United States caused bitter disappointment. The Americans and Filipinos called themselves the "Battling Bastards of Bataan." And in the wake of U.S. defeats at Pearl Harbor, Guam, and Wake Island, as well as the British defeat at Singapore, the resistance that was mounted in Bataan boosted morale on the American home front.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered MacArthur to leave the Philippines on 11 March, and command of U.S.-Filipino forces fell to Major General Jonathan Wainwright. He inherited a hopeless cause. Homma received reinforcements, and his troops finally broke through the American-Filipino lines on 3 April. MacArthur ordered Wainwright not to surrender, but the U.S. ground forces commander, Major General Edward P. King Jr., realizing that the cause was hopeless, decided to end the fight and capitulated on 9 April.

More than 20,000 Americans and Filipinos perished in the campaign, and roughly 2,000 escaped to the nearby island of Corregidor and fought on until they in turn were forced to surrender on 5 May. The 76,000 prisoners of war of the battle for Bataan—some 64,000 Filipino soldiers and 12,000 Americans—then were forced to endure what came to be known as the Bataan Death March as they were moved into captivity. They had succeeded, however, in delaying the Japanese conquest of the Philippines for 148 days and briefly



inspiring the Allied cause during the dark early days of U.S. participation in World War II.

Lance Janda

See also

Bataan Death March; Corregidor, Battle of; Iba Field, Attack on; King, Edward Postell, Jr.; MacArthur, Douglas; Philippines, Japanese Capture of; Wainwright, Jonathan Mayhew

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the Philippines. On 3 April 1942, Japanese General Homma Masaharu launched a new offensive against the Bataan defenders. The U.S. Far Eastern commander, General Douglas MacArthur, had ordered the troops to continue to fight, but six days later, with his men worn down by the strain of constant combat, disease, and starvation, Major General Edward P. King, commander of the forces on Bataan, ordered them to surrender. The troops had been on half rations since January.

Homma had decided that he would hold the prisoners at Camp O'Donnell, 100 miles away. The Japanese forced the prisoners to march 52 miles from Mariveles to San Fernando, Pampanga, in order to be transported by rail to Capas, Tarlac. They would then walk another 8 miles to Camp O'Donnell. King expressed concern about his men being able to make this trip and asked that trucks transport them to their final location. Homma rejected the request.

The trek began on 10 April 1942 and lasted for over a week. The march is remembered for its sheer brutality, but before it even began, each prisoner was searched, and anyone found to possess a Japanese souvenir was executed on the spot.

Bataan Death March (April 1942)

Forced march of 12,000 U.S. soldiers and 64,000 Filipino troops after the Japanese captured the Bataan Peninsula in



The start of the Bataan Death March. (1945, from a Japanese photograph taken in 1942, Library of Congress)

Allied soldiers were, for the most part, denied food and water by their guards until the completion of their journey. The only food that some received was a bit of rancid rice. The prisoners of war were given only a few hours of rest each night in crowded conditions. One of the worst forms of punishment inflicted on the captives was known as the sun treatment, in which the prisoner, denied any water, was forced to sit in the scalding Philippine sun without the protection of a helmet. Prisoners were beaten, kicked, and killed for falling behind or violating the smallest rule.

Between 7,000 and 10,000 of the prisoners died before reaching Camp O'Donnell. The Japanese had failed to take into consideration both the poor health of their captives and their numbers. Although a few of the prisoners escaped into the jungle, most were physically unable even to make the attempt. A number were murdered at random by their guards.

Many who survived the march died in the overcrowded, suffocating boxcars on the rail trip to Capas. In the two

months after reaching the camp, 1,600 Americans and 16,000 Filipinos died of starvation, disease, and maltreatment. The cruelty of the march became well known, and U.S. commanders used the story of the Bataan Death March to motivate their troops in subsequent fighting against the Japanese.

T. Jason Soderstrum

See also

Bataan, Battle of; King, Edward Postell, Jr.; MacArthur, Douglas; Philippines, Japanese Capture of; Wainwright, Jonathan Mayhew

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Battle Cruisers (All Powers)

Large armored cruisers that incorporated the speed and generally the armor of a cruiser but with the armament of a battleship. The original concept for this vessel was the work of the Italian naval constructor Colonel Vittorio Cuniberti in the early twentieth century. The first power to fully endorse Cuniberti's ideas was Great Britain, through the work of First Sea Lord Admiral Sir John Fisher, who viewed the vessel as one capable of performing the duties of cruisers and battleships. Germany and Japan built these vessels in tandem with the British in the years before and during World War I (the United States began six as a result of the 1916 naval building program but finished none). Each country pursued its own designs, the Germans placing more emphasis on armor than their British rivals. In the 1916 Battle of Jutland, poor armor protection contributed to the destruction of three British battle cruisers, whereas the Germans lost only one. The Washington Naval Treaty of 1922 discontinued construction of battle cruisers, and many of the surviving units were scrapped.

By the outbreak of World War II, two nations retained some of their World War I-era battle cruisers. The British maintained the two ships of the *Renown*-class. As built, the *Renown* and *Repulse* measured 794' (oa) \times 90' and displaced 30,835 tons at full load. They were protected by an armor belt with a maximum thickness of 6 inches. They mounted a primary armament of 6 \times 15-inch guns as well as 17 \times 4-inch guns (following a major refit, the *Renown* substituted 20 \times 4.5-inch guns for her 4-inchers). Their engines produced a maximum speed of 30 knots. The British also operated the battle cruiser *Hood*, completed in 1920 to a World War I design, which displaced 45,200 tons fully loaded on a hull that measured 860' (oa) \times 104' and was protected by armor with a maximum thickness of 12 inches. She was armed with 8 \times 15-inch guns and 12 \times 5.5-inch weapons. Her engines could produce a speed of 31 knots. The Japanese also retained their battle cruisers from World War I. These were the four ships of the *Kongo*-class. They measured 704' (oa) \times 92' and originally displaced 32,200 tons fully loaded. The ships were rebuilt between the wars to be both faster and better protected. Belt armor with a maximum thickness of 8 inches protected their hulls. They were armed with 8 \times 14-inch guns and 14 \times 6-inch weapons and could travel at a maximum speed of 27.5 knots. After reconstruction between 1927 and 1931, these four vessels were reclassified as battleships.

France built two battle cruisers in the interwar period—the two ships of the *Dunkerque*-class completed in 1937 and

1938. The *Dunkerque* and *Strasbourg* displaced 35,500 tons fully loaded, measured 703'9" (oa) \times 102', and were protected by belt armor of a maximum thickness of 9.75 inches. They were armed with 8 \times 13-inch and 16 \times 5.1-inch guns. Their maximum speed was 29.5 knots.

Finally, the United States ordered six battle cruisers, of the *Alaska*-class, during World War II but constructed only two. Completed in 1944, the *Alaska* and *Guam* displaced 34,253 tons fully loaded on hulls that measured 808'6" (oa) \times 91'1" and were protected by armor 9 inches in thickness. Their armament comprised 9 \times 12-inch guns and 12 \times 5-inch guns. These ships could steam at a maximum speed of 33 knots.

In World War II, battle cruisers were employed in a variety of duties that included surface action, shore bombardment, antiaircraft fire support to protect aircraft carriers, and occasional service as convoy escorts, in the case of the Allies in the Battle of the Atlantic. The majority of these ships were lost in the war. Surface action claimed the British battle cruiser *Hood* when design deficiencies in its armor resulted in a magazine explosion while the vessel was engaged with the German battleship *Bismarck*. The British vessel *Repulse* succumbed to Japanese air attacks off Malaya. All four of the Japanese battle cruisers were sunk by air, surface, or submarine attacks. Finally, both the French battle cruisers were scuttled to prevent their capture by the Germans.

Only the U.S. *Alaska*-class ships and the British *Renown* survived the war, but these ships were scrapped after the conflict—the *Renown* in 1948 and the *Alaska* and *Guam* in 1961.

Eric W. Osborne

See also

Atlantic, Battle of the; *Bismarck*, Sortie and Sinking of; Central Pacific Campaign; France, Navy; Great Britain, Navy; Japan, Navy; *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse*; Southeastern Pacific; Southwestern Pacific; United States, Navy

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Battle of the Bulge

See Ardennes Offensive.

Battleships

Large, complex war vessels that have the primary mission of establishing control of the seas. Battleships were the toughest warships built. Despite yielding pride of place to the



U.S. Navy battleship *West Virginia*, February 1939. She was commissioned in 1921 and was among the most modern of the U.S. pre-World War II battleships. The *West Virginia* was struck by seven torpedoes in the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, but was repaired. (National Archives)

aircraft carrier as the principal sea-control and power-projection warship, battleships remained useful throughout World War II in carrying out a wide array of tasks.

The major naval powers continued to build battleships into World War II. The construction of these capital ships was only arrested under the pressure to construct submarines, antisubmarine warships, landing craft, and aircraft carriers. Italy and Germany launched new battleships as late as 1939 and 1940. Germany's *Bismarck* and *Tirpitz* were 41,700 tons, mounted 8 × 15-inch guns, and were capable of making a speed of 29 knots. Italy's *Vittorio Veneto*, *Italia*, *Roma*, and *Impero* (the latter never finished) displaced 40,700 tons, mounted 9 × 15-inch guns, and were capable of 30 knots.

The vulnerability of the battleship to aerial attack was finally demonstrated on 11 November 1940, when three Italian battleships were sunk at anchor in Taranto harbor by elderly British Swordfish torped-bombers from the carrier *Illustrious*. It took only four days, 7 to 10 December 1941, for the Japanese navy to emphasize that the battleship was no longer the capital ship of the world's navies. Building on the Taranto example, Japanese naval airpower practically destroyed the U.S. Navy's Pacific battleship fleet at Pearl Har-

bor on 7 December 1941. Even after that carnage, there were still those who argued that a well-handled battleship, under way and with good antiaircraft protection, could beat off an aerial assault. They were proven incorrect on 10 December, when the new Royal Navy battleship *Prince of Wales* (36,700 tons, 10 × 14-inch guns, 29 knots) and the elderly battle cruiser *Repulse* (17,300 tons, 6 × 15-inch guns, and 32 knots), under way and defended by an array of antiaircraft guns, were sunk in short order by Japanese naval warplanes.

Yet those four days in December simply confirmed a trend that was already in effect; by that time, no nation was building any new battleships. In November 1941, the Royal Navy had begun the *Vanguard* (44,500 tons, 8 × 15-inch guns, and 30 knots), but this battleship was not completely new, having been constructed to put to use the 15-inch guns and turrets off-loaded from two cruisers that had been converted to aircraft carriers following World War I. The *Vanguard*, leisurely constructed, was not commissioned until 1946, but the French battleship *Jean Bart*, finished in 1955, was the world's last battleship to be completed.

Nonetheless, battleships were still so valued during World War II that all of the capital ships from World War I and the

immediate interwar era that had escaped the scrapping frenzy of the 1920s were pressed into combat service. For example, the Royal Navy's *Queen Elizabeth*-class ships, all but one of which (the *Queen Elizabeth* [27,500 tons, 8 × 15-inch guns, 23 knots]) had fought at Jutland, saw hard service in this new war. Only the Royal Navy, however, could boast of battleships that had fired their main batteries in battleship-to-battleship clashes in both world wars. Most of the later World War I-era battleships that survived into World War II had been extensively modernized in the 1930s to protect them against air and submarine attacks, and in all cases, they were converted to oil-fired propulsion. Although the main armament remained remarkably constant, virtually all World War I-era battleships were extensively rebuilt to afford much greater elevations for the main batteries. In terms of both dollars and time, the cost entailed in rebuilding these vessels usually exceeded the original cost of construction.

Construction of the battleships that served in World War II had, with the exception of the *Vanguard*, been started before their nations had opened hostilities. (The last two units of the U.S. ultimate *Iowa*-class were indeed started six months after Pearl Harbor, but the *Illinois* and *Kentucky* [48,000 tons, 9 × 16-inch guns, and design speed of 32.5 knots] were never completed.)

Battleship duties in World War II were not all that different from those in World War I: convoy escort and battleship-to-battleship clashes, although shore bombardment received far greater emphasis. As in World War I, there was only one battleship-to-battleship fleet action and but few battleship-to-battleship clashes. Among the latter category, the Royal Navy battle cruiser *Hood* (42,700 tons, 8 × 15-inch guns, 31 knots) and battleships *Barham* (same statistics as the *Queen Elizabeth*) and *Resolution* (28,000 tons, 8 × 15-inch guns, 24 knots) attacked the stationary French *Bretagne* and *Provence* (both 22,200 tons, 10 × 13.4-inch guns, 20 knots), and *Dunkerque* and *Strasbourg* (both 26,500 tons, 8 × 13-inch guns, and 29.5 knots) at Mers-el-Kébir (Oran, Algeria) on 8 July 1940. Their 15-inch shells nearly sank the *Dunkerque* but caused only slight damage to the *Strasbourg*. The *Resolution* also engaged in a gunnery duel with the 95 percent completed *Richelieu* but to no significant effect. The *Prince of Wales*, *King George V* (same as the *Prince of Wales*), and *Rodney* (33,300 tons, 9 × 16-inch guns, 23 knots) participated in the sinking of the powerful German battleship *Bismarck* in 1941; in November 1942, the U.S. Navy's *Washington* (37,500 tons, 9 × 16-inch guns, 28 knots) sank the Japanese battleship/battle cruiser *Kirishima* (27,500 tons, 8 × 14-inch guns, 27.5 knots). The *South Dakota* suffered some moderate damage in the same action. Also in November 1942, the *Massachusetts* (38,000 tons, 9 × 16-inch guns, 27.5 knots) hit the uncompleted and anchored French *Jean Bart* (38,500 tons, 8 × 15-inch guns, 32 knots) with five 16-inch shells at Casablanca, and in December 1943, the Royal

Navy's new *Duke of York* (same characteristics as the *Prince of Wales*) sank the German *Scharnhorst* (31,900 tons, 9 × 11-inch guns, 32 knots) off North Cape, Norway.

The only battleship fleet action of World War II took place on 25 October 1944, at Surigao Strait, near Leyte, Philippines, when the elderly U.S. battleships *West Virginia* (31,800 tons, 8 × 16-inch guns, 21 knots), *California*, *Mississippi*, *Tennessee*, and *Pennsylvania* (all 32,000–32,300 tons, 12 × 14-inch guns, 21 knots), and *Maryland* (31,500 tons, 8 × 16-inch guns, 21 knots), with seven U.S. and one Australian cruisers and a destroyer flotilla, sank the elderly Japanese battleships *Fuso* (30,600 tons, 12 × 14-inch guns, 22.5 knots) by destroyer torpedoes and *Yamashiro* by gunfire and destroyer torpedoes. The *West Virginia* inflicted the most damage, with her 16-inch guns directed by the Mk 8 gunfire control radar.

Surprisingly, the Japanese navy, the killer of battleships, was also the most battleship-minded of any navy engaged in World War II. Although the Japanese built the largest battleships in history (the *Yamato*-class), both completed units (the *Yamato* and *Musashi* [62,300 tons, 9 × 18.1-inch guns, 27 knots]) were sunk by U.S. naval airpower. Perhaps the most impressive battleships from World War II are those of the U.S. Navy's *Iowa*-class. These magnificent warships have an unmatched battle history, having fought in World War II, Korea, Vietnam (the *New Jersey* only [48,100 tons, 9 × 16-inch guns, 32.5 knots]), and the Gulf War. All four units easily reached 30-plus knots during their reactivation in the 1980s.

Throughout World War II, the battleships performed magnificently in a shore bombardment role. They also served effectively as anti-aircraft platforms for the aircraft carriers and as fast oilers for the destroyers. After the war, U.S. *Iowa*-class battleships rendered excellent service during the Korean, Vietnam, and Gulf Wars. Eight battleships of World War II remain in existence as museum pieces, and all are American: the *Texas* (27,000 tons, 10 × 14-inch guns, 21 knots), which also served in World War I; the *Massachusetts* and *North Carolina* (same characteristics as the *Washington*); the *Alabama* (same as the *Massachusetts*); and the *Iowa*, *New Jersey*, *Missouri*, and *Wisconsin*, with the *Iowa* and *Wisconsin* (the latter the world's last completed extant battleship) also classed as in reserve (ships that can be recalled to duty).

Stanley Sandler

See also:

Bismarck, Sortie and Sinking of; France, Navy; Germany, Navy; Great Britain, Navy; Italy, Navy; Japan, Navy; United States, Navy; *Yamato*

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Beck, Ludwig (1880–1944)

German army general who was involved in attempts to overthrow Adolf Hitler. Born in Biebrich, Germany, on 29 June 1880, Ludwig Beck joined the army in 1898 and as a lieutenant attended the Kriegsakademie (War Academy) in Berlin from 1908 to 1911. Promoted to captain in 1913, he qualified as a General Staff officer the same year and served in a variety of staff and command positions during World War I on the Western Front.

Beck continued in the postwar Reichswehr, rising to command of the 1st Cavalry Division. Promoted to Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general) in February 1931 and Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) in December 1932, he was appointed, in October 1933, chief of the Truppenamt (Troop Office), the thinly disguised covert General Staff prohibited to the Germans under the Versailles Treaty. In 1933, Beck was the primary author of *Truppenfuehrung* (Unit Command), which remained the principal war-fighting manual of the German army until 1945. The body of doctrine in that manual profoundly influenced the conduct of combined-arms warfare for the remainder of the twentieth century.

In March 1935, the Truppenamt was redesignated General Staff of the Army, and in May, Beck was promoted to General der Artillery (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general). He presided over the expansion of the revived General Staff and the development of war plans based on a defensive strategy. His peers considered him a master military planner. He clearly understood that any future war would necessarily become a multi-front conflict, which Germany could not win. As late as 1935, however, Beck continued to believe the officer corps of the German army could keep the National Socialists under control. But as Adolf Hitler continued the push to invade Czechoslovakia in 1938, Beck opposed him openly, writing a series of memoranda describing the inherent dangers in the policy of aggression.

He attempted to mobilize other generals to oppose Hitler's policies, but he failed to gain the support of the army commander in chief, General Walther von Brauchitsch. In August 1938, Beck retired from the army and was promoted to Generaloberst (U.S. equiv. full general). He then organized a covert opposition group of active and retired officers and



Generaloberst Ludwig Beck was chief of staff of the German army before the war. He opposed and deeply despised Nazi leader Adolf Hitler. (Hulton Archive by Getty Images)

other conservatives, maintaining contact with other democratic opposition movements. Beck also contacted London in an attempt to secure British and French support for a coup against Hitler. British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain declined to support such a move. Shortly before the 1940 invasion of the west, Beck's group tried to warn Belgium.

By 1943, Beck had become convinced that the only way to save Germany was to assassinate Hitler. His group tried several times, culminating in Colonel Claus von Stauffenberg's bomb attempt on 20 July 1944. If Stauffenberg had succeeded, the conspirators planned to use the Home Army to establish martial law, seize the radio stations, and arrest the key Nazi and Schutzstaffel (SS) leaders. As the head of the planned interim government pending free elections, however, Beck refused to agree to the systematic summary execution of party and SS leaders to secure success.

When the conspirators learned that Stauffenberg had failed, Beck nonetheless insisted on continuing the putsch, called Operation VALKYRIE, saying that Germany deserved the attempt.

The attempt was unsuccessful. Arrested in the Bendlerstrasse in Berlin, Beck was offered the privilege of shooting himself. When two tries only rendered him unconscious, a sergeant shot Beck in the neck, ending his life on the night of 20–21 July 1944.

Despite being unfairly and inaccurately painted by Heinz Guderian as a rigid and unimaginative opponent of armored warfare, Beck helped rebuild the German military into an efficient war-fighting machine. In his early opposition as a general to Hitler's policy of aggression and in his later active opposition as a private citizen, Ludwig Beck proved that during the Third Reich, true German patriotism was incompatible with Nazism.

David T. Zabecki

See also

Brauchitsch, Heinrich Alfred Hermann Walther von; Germany, Army; Guderian, Heinz; Hitler, Adolf; July Bomb Plot; Stauffenberg, Claus Philip Schenk von

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Begramian, Ivan Khristoforovich

See Bagramyan, Ivan Khristoforovich.

Belgium, Air Service

Formed in March 1920 as part of the Belgian army, the Belgian air force had fewer than 250 aircraft in May 1940, including 90 fighters, 12 bombers, and 120 reconnaissance aircraft. Of this total, only 50 were relatively modern. Belgium produced some of its own planes, including the Renard R-31 reconnaissance aircraft, but most of its aircraft were acquired from Britain and the United States.

Belgian air bases lacked space to disperse the aircraft, and 53 planes were destroyed on the ground by the Luftwaffe on the morning of 10 May 1940, at the beginning of the German invasion of Belgium. Two days later, the Belgians had only between 70 and 80 aircraft remaining. These planes, along with many Dutch aircraft, were incorporated into British and French units. In addition to providing ground support for Allied units, Belgian bombers also carried out one bombing mission in which two squadrons of nine Battle bombers were

sent to destroy bridges across the Albert Canal. Although the strike was successful in hitting the targets, the light bombs the planes carried proved ineffective, and six aircraft were lost. This action was the only independent mission carried out by Belgian aircraft during the campaign. Some Belgian air force units participated in the remainder of the campaign for France, in the Battle of Britain, and in the Western Front Campaign of 1944 and 1945.

Lawton Way

See also

Belgium, Army; Belgium, Role in War; Belgium Campaign; Britain, Battle of

Resources

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Belgium, Army

In 1936, Belgium renounced its 1919 treaty of alliance with France and reasserted its traditional neutrality. As a consequence, Belgian forces did not carry out any joint maneuvers with their potential French and British allies before the war.

Belgium mobilized its armed forces beginning on 25 August 1939. With the outbreak of the war, the government immediately reaffirmed the nation's neutrality, retaining the right to strengthen its military to prevent attack. Belgian King Leopold III acted as commander in chief of the armed forces, which consisted of an army of 18 infantry divisions, 2 partly motorized divisions, and 2 motorized cavalry divisions in May 1940. In all, the army numbered some 600,000 men. Although impressive on paper, the army suffered from serious weaknesses. Both its men and officers were poorly trained and equipped. Further, the army had virtually no antiaircraft artillery and only 54 tanks (42 British Carden-Loyd M1934s and 12 French Renault AMC-35s). The navy consisted of only a few small coastal defense vessels.

In hopes of remaining neutral, King Leopold had prevented significant military coordination with the French and British military staffs. Although British and French forces did come to the aid of Belgium when it was invaded by German forces on 10 May 1940, the Germans breached the initial Belgian defensive line along the Albert Canal that same day. King Leopold then withdrew the bulk of his forces to a line east of Brussels. British and French troops reinforced the new line, but the German strike through the Ardennes flanked it. Soon, the Allies were forced to abandon Brussels and the surrounding area.

By 24 May, the Belgian army had regrouped in western Flanders, where it was again supported by both French and British forces. The only major battle of the campaign occurred there, on 24–25 May, with Belgian forces again unable to hold off the superior German forces. On 28 May, King Leopold surrendered his army. In addressing the House of Commons on 4 June concerning the Belgian defeat, British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill said that the surrender was given “suddenly, without prior consultation, with the least possible notice” and that this action had “exposed our whole flank and means of retreat.” Although Leopold’s decision was definitely not the cause of the German victory, it rendered the British military position untenable and led to the evacuation of the British Expeditionary Force at Dunkerque.

In the 18 days of fighting during the campaign, the Belgian army nonetheless fought bravely, with limited resources. Belgian casualties amounted to some 7,500 killed and 15,850 wounded. An additional 2,000 who had been taken as prisoners of war died in German captivity. Some Belgian soldiers and airmen managed to escape to Britain, where they formed the Independent Belgian Brigade and operated under the British for the remainder of the war.

Lawton Way

See also

Belgium, Air Service; Belgium Campaign; Belgium, Role in War; Dunkerque, Evacuation of; Leopold III, King of Belgium

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Belgium, Role in the War

At the beginning of World War II in September 1939, Belgium was a constitutional monarchy of some 8.2 million people sharply divided along linguistic lines: the Dutch-speaking Flemish provinces in the north and the French-speaking Walloon area of the south and Flanders. The capital, Brussels, was a Walloon preserve, and French speakers dominated the political, economic, and intellectual life of the nation. In the decades before the war, the Flemish areas were beginning to assert themselves, and a Flemish nationalist party, the Vlammsch National Verbond (VNV) held 17 seats in Parliament.

Belgium followed a neutralist foreign policy. The nation had secured its independence from the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1830, and its neutrality and territorial

integrity had been guaranteed by an international treaty signed by the major powers in 1839. The German government’s decision to violate that neutrality in August 1914 at the beginning of World War I brought Britain into the war. Occupied by the German army between 1914 and 1918, Belgium had then allied itself with France. With the increase in tensions in Europe, Belgium again sought refuge in neutrality in 1936. King Leopold III and the tripartite government of the Socialist, Catholic, and Liberal Parties renounced the French alliance. The government, however, proclaimed Belgium’s right to maintain a military establishment to protect the nation from attack. This policy of armed neutrality found broad support among the Belgian people.

In September 1939, when World War II began, Belgian Premier Hubert Pierlot, leader of the Catholic Party, reiterated the government’s resolve to remain neutral, and the government deployed the army along both the German and French borders. Belgians knew the true threat was from Germany, and the government reinforced the frontier with Germany following invasion alerts in November 1939 and January 1940. In the latter case, a German military aircraft had landed in Belgium by mistake, and its passenger was found to be carrying the entire German plan to invade the west, including Belgium.

The German invasion of 10 May 1940 thus did not catch the Belgian government by surprise, and some limited military plans had been made with Britain and France to prepare for that eventuality. Nonetheless, the Belgian military was quickly overwhelmed by the German troops. Although there had been some coordination with the French and British, there were no prepared positions for the latter, and the military situation rapidly deteriorated. On 25 May, King Leopold and his chief ministers met in Wynendaele and agreed on the need to end the military campaign in their country as quickly as possible. Leopold decided to remain in Belgium and share the fate of his countrypeople, whereas the ministers insisted that the government go to France, with whatever military forces could be withdrawn, to continue the fight against Germany. Both parties did what they believed to be appropriate.

King Leopold surrendered the Belgian army unconditionally on 28 May, without coordinating this decision with the very allies who had come to the rescue of his country. This decision produced an immediate 30-mile gap between the British Expeditionary Force and the North Sea that rendered the British military position untenable and forced its evacuation from the port of Dunkerque. Having taken this decision, Leopold then repaired to his palace at Laeken outside Brussels, where he remained under self-imposed isolation for the next four years before being removed to Germany in June 1944.

Leopold’s ministers, meanwhile, fled to France, where they held a session of the Belgian Parliament in Limoges on 31 May

and criticized the king's actions. When France itself fell to the German army in late June, the Belgian parliamentary representatives abandoned their effort to support the Allies and sought a rapprochement with the king, which he then rejected. He—and most Belgians, for that matter—believed that the war was, in effect, over and that Germany had won. These parliamentarians then set up a Belgian government-in-exile in London. Belgian soldiers who escaped their country to Britain later formed the Independent Belgian Brigade, which operated under British command. Most of the 100 ships of the Belgian merchant marine evaded capture and, in accordance with a July 1940 agreement, operated under British control.

Following the surrender, German authorities promptly established an occupation government in Belgium. The German enclaves of Eupen, Malmédy, and Saint Vith, assigned to Belgium in the settlement following World War I, were promptly reintegrated into the Reich. A German army administration (Militärverwaltungschef), nominally headed by General Ludwig von Falkenhausen, ruled Belgium. Eggert Reeder, president of the military administration, was the real decision-maker and also oversaw German authorities in Belgium, such as the Schutzstaffel (SS) and the Foreign Ministry. Reeder's priorities included advancing the position of the "Germanic" Flemish population at the expense of the francophone Walloons (in accordance with a July 1940 order from Hitler), ensuring that Belgian industry was harnessed for the war machine of the Reich, and administering Belgium with as little German manpower as possible. On 10 May 1940, the Belgian Parliament had passed a law allowing civil servants to administer the country in the absence of the political leaders, and the senior members of each department, the *secrétaires-généraux* (principal administrative officers), thus became the administrators of Belgium. Reeder worked through these officials in a system of indirect German rule, and although there were conflicts, the *secrétaires-généraux* agreed to maintain law and order and the nation's industrial and agricultural production.

Some Belgian elites were able to use this time of turmoil to enhance their own positions. The Comité Galopin, a small group of influential bankers and industrialists, controlled the economy and ensured that Belgium provided Germany with the essential materials it required while maintaining their own interests. Many Belgians suffered terribly during the German occupation, however. The dislocation of the fighting and German requisitions led to a severe food shortage, and perhaps a fifth of the population was starving by the fall of 1940. King Leopold was able to convince the Germans to scale back their requisitions of food. He was also able to win some exemptions for women, war orphans, and children of war prisoners among those Belgians deported from the country to work in the Reich. Resistance to the Germans, only sporadic at first, grew with the

addition of the Communists after the German invasion of the Soviet Union and as the overall German military situation deteriorated. Relations between these resistance groups and the government-in-exile in London were sometimes strained.

As in other countries occupied by the Germans, some people collaborated actively and were appointed to positions of influence as a result. The Germans also recruited an SS formation under Léon Degrelle for service on the Eastern Front. For most Belgians, however, the occupation produced a sense of solidarity against the occupier as they struggled to secure food, clothing, and shelter and as they lived with the ever present risk of deportation to work in the Reich.

Belgium remained under German occupation until September 1944, when Allied troops arrived and rapidly liberated the country, with the Belgian Parliament returning to Brussels. The sole feat of resistance by arms was the liberation of the port of Antwerp and the prevention of its destruction by the German military, itself an important step. Some German forces remained on islands at the mouth of the Scheldt River until 28 November 1944, from which they were able to prevent the Allies from using the port. On 16 December, on Hitler's orders, German forces launched what became the Battle of the Ardennes (Battle of the Bulge), the goal of which was to take back Antwerp. During the course of the fighting, the Germans reoccupied part of Belgium, but in January 1945, Allied troops were again able to clear all Belgium of German control.

Belgium was fortunate in that the rapid German advance in 1940 and retreat in 1944 had left its cities and countryside relatively unscathed. Antwerp, the least bomb-damaged port in the Channel area, became a major Allied base in the closing campaigns of the war and was the target of a substantial number of German V-2 rockets in early 1945. The Belgian government took reprisals against collaborators, convicting some 53,000 men and women of assisting the enemy.

Shortly after V-E Day, King Leopold and members of the royal family were freed outside Strobl, Austria, by U.S. troops. The king became the center of political turmoil for having surrendered the army and for his refusal to go abroad with his ministers in order to support a government-in-exile. He was also suspected of having both German sympathies and authoritarian preferences. Then, too, he had compounded his unpopularity by his wartime remarriage to a commoner. Leopold's brother, Prince Charles, the count of Flanders, assumed the title of regent. A referendum in March 1950 gave Leopold a 58 percent favorable vote, but his return led to a major crisis, and he relinquished control of affairs to his son, Baudouin, who became king in 1951.

Lawton Way

See also

Ardennes Offensive; Belgium, Air Service; Belgium, Army; Dunkerque, Evacuation of; Leopold III, King of Belgium

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Belgium Campaign (10–28 May 1940)

A key element of the German invasion of western Europe. Belgium had proclaimed its neutrality and sought to avoid involvement in World War II, but to invade and defeat France swiftly, the Germans needed to secure Belgium. When Germany invaded Poland in September 1939, thereby initiating World War II, Belgium declared a state of armed neutrality. Prime Minister Hubert Pierlot resolved to defend the country against all invaders and deployed the army along both the French and the German borders.

Still, Belgians knew the real danger lay to the east, and they had begun mobilizing their armed forces on 25 August 1939. By May 1940, their country fielded an army of more than 600,000 men organized into 22 divisions: 18 infantry divisions, 2 partially motorized Chasseurs Ardennais divisions, and 2 motorized cavalry divisions. Unfortunately for Belgium, this sizable force was hardly equipped to defeat a German invasion. The Belgians possessed few anti-aircraft guns and had only 42 light and 12 medium tanks. Their air service had only 184 operational aircraft. Thus, Belgium had no hope of winning a prolonged land campaign with Germany without outside assistance.

German Colonel General Fedor von Bock's Army Group B operated against Belgium and the Netherlands. The Germans committed Colonel General Walther von Reichenau's Sixth Army, with 17 infantry and 2 tank divisions, to the initial invasion of Belgium. It was to drive southwest. Meanwhile, General of Artillery (Lieutenant General) Georg von Küchler's Eighteenth Army of 11 divisions (9 infantry and 1 each of cavalry and tanks) was expected to subdue the Netherlands quickly and then drive south to join the fighting in Belgium.

Although Belgian intelligence accurately forecast the German attack that occurred on 10 May 1940, no one anticipated the audacious German attack on the fortress of Eben Emael in the first hours of the fighting. Eben Emael was a series of concrete and steel emplacements north of Liège that guarded bridges over the Albert Canal at Briedgen, Veldwezelt, and



German soldiers raise the Nazi flag at the Royal Castle at Lacken after the German invasion of Belgium in 1940. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

Vroenhoven. Garrisoned by more than 700 men, the fortress was crucial to Belgian defensive plans because the only hope of slowing the German panzers lay in keeping them east of the canal. German army planners took special notice of Eben Emael for that very reason, and at 5:25 A.M. on 10 May 1940, they sent 78 specially trained men of the Koch Assault Detachment in gliders to crash-land on top of the fortress. The attackers employed hollow charges to destroy the key gun turrets and bunkers. At the same time, German paratroopers captured the major bridges. Troops of the 223rd Infantry Division followed close behind and took the rest of the Belgian position the next day. In less than 24 hours, the Germans had breached the key Belgian defensive line on the Albert Canal.

Fighting bravely, the Belgians fell back to the Dyle Line east of Brussels, with King Leopold III in personal command. The British and French had planned to send their own forces into Belgium in the event of a German invasion, but there had been little prior coordination between Britain, France, and neutral Belgium. On 12 May, however, elements of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) and General Georges Blanchard's



French First Army began joining the Belgian defenders, and by 15 May, the Allies had some 35 divisions in the Namur-Antwerp area.

As Reichenau's Sixth Army probed the Dyle Line, Georg von Küchler's Eighteenth Army turned south from the Netherlands after the surrender of that country to the Germans on 15 May. This move threatened the Allied left flank. At the same time and to the south, the hammer blow of Colonel General (Karl) Gerd von Rundstedt's Army Group A, heavy in tanks, was driving west and then north through the Ardennes Forest. The overall German plan, Operation SICHELSCHNITT (the cut of the sickle), worked to perfection.

On 25 May, King Leopold III met with his ministers at the chateau of Wynendaele to discuss the possibility of surrender. His ministers wanted to flee to Great Britain and continue the war on the Allied side, but Leopold, despite a pledge to the British and French not to surrender unilaterally, believed that the campaign was lost and that he should end the fighting to save bloodshed and then remain to share the fate of his people. Leopold indeed took this step, surrendering the Belgian armed forces on 28 May. This step exposed the left flank of the British-French line and ended any Allied hopes of hold-

ing part of Flanders. British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill then ordered the British navy to evacuate British forces at Dunkerque.

The 18 days of the Belgian Campaign cost the nation some 7,500 troops killed in action and 15,850 wounded. And at least 2,000 Belgian prisoners of war died in German captivity. The country remained under German occupation for the next four years.

Lance Janda and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Airborne Forces, Axis; Aircraft, Gliders; Belgium, Air Service; Belgium, Navy; Belgium, Role in War; Bock, Fedor von; Eben Emael; Küchler, Georg von; Leopold III, King of Belgium; Reichenau, Walther von; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von; SICHELSCHNITT, Operation

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Belorussia Offensive (22 June–29 August 1944)

Massive Soviet offensive in Belorussia, code-named *BAGRATION*, commencing exactly three years after the German invasion of the USSR. The Soviet offensive, timed in part to meet Soviet leader Josef Stalin's pledge at the Tehran Conference for an operation to prevent the transfer of German forces to the west to meet the Allied invasion of Normandy, resulted in the most calamitous defeat of German forces in the war.

By the beginning of 1944, the Red Army clearly held the initiative on the Eastern Front. The campaign opened in January with offensives at Leningrad and the Ukraine. The Leningrad offensive broke the German siege and ended with Soviet forces on the Estonian border. The Ukrainian offensive ended after nearly all of the Ukraine had been regained and after a southern salient had been created that nearly reached L'viv (Lvov), with the Red Army threatening the borders of Poland and Czechoslovakia. In the process, these offensives destroyed five German armies, causing well over a million German casualties and untold equipment losses, and put pressure on Finland and Romania, Germany's allies.

Because of these successes, particularly in the Ukraine, German leader Adolf Hitler believed the Soviet summer offensive would continue from the Ukraine. The Soviets needed favorable terrain for mechanized operations, and two options seemed the most advantageous for them. First, they could push west from Ukraine and then south, removing Romania and its resources from German reach. Second and most likely they could push west and then north toward the Baltic to cut off both Army Group Center in the Belorussian "bulge" and Army Group North along the Baltic coast. A direct thrust in the north seemed possible but provided less strategic advantage, and an attack into Belorussia against Army Group Center seemed least likely because of the poor road network and the restrictive terrain in the forests and the Pripet marshes.

The Soviets considered roughly the same options and chose the Belorussian thrust primarily because the others would leave large German forces on the Soviet flanks and because an assault straight into Belorussia would free the Soviet territory that remained occupied. In many respects, Operation *BAGRATION* was the reverse of Operation *BARBAROSSA*, fought over many of the same battlefields.

Arrayed against Field Marshal Ernst Busch's Army Group Center were four Soviet fronts (army group equivalents). From north to south were the 1st Baltic Front and the 3rd, 2nd, and 1st Belorussian Fronts, commanded by Generals Ivan Bagramyan, Ivan Chernyakhovsky, Georgii Zakharov, and Konstantin Rokossovsky, respectively. In addition,

Soviet leader Josef Stalin appointed two veteran commanders as Stavka (Soviet High Command) special representatives—Marshal Georgii Zhukov overseeing the 1st and 2nd Belorussian Fronts and Marshal Aleksandr Vasilevsky coordinating operations of the 1st Baltic and 3rd Belorussian Fronts. The Soviet fronts counted 168 divisions, plus a large Belorussian partisan movement. Army Group Center numbered only 54 divisions.

German intelligence keyed on identifying main thrusts by the location of Soviet tank armies, of which there were six in 1944. However, Soviet air supremacy and their own shortage of assets denied the Germans long-range aerial reconnaissance. German military intelligence was forced to rely on signals intercepts, and Soviet deception focused on disguising heavy reinforcements moving into Belorussia and tank concentrations behind the front lines.

Operation *BAGRATION* began on 22 June with Soviet battalion- and company-sized infantry raids along the front probing for weaknesses while several divisions conducted major attacks to seize openings in the line. Between 23 and 28 June, the Red Army broke through German lines in six places and encircled large German forces at Vitebsk and Bobruisk, taking 20,000 prisoners. On 3 July, the Soviets, striking from two directions, entered Minsk, the Belorussian capital, capturing nearly 100,000 Germans east of the city.

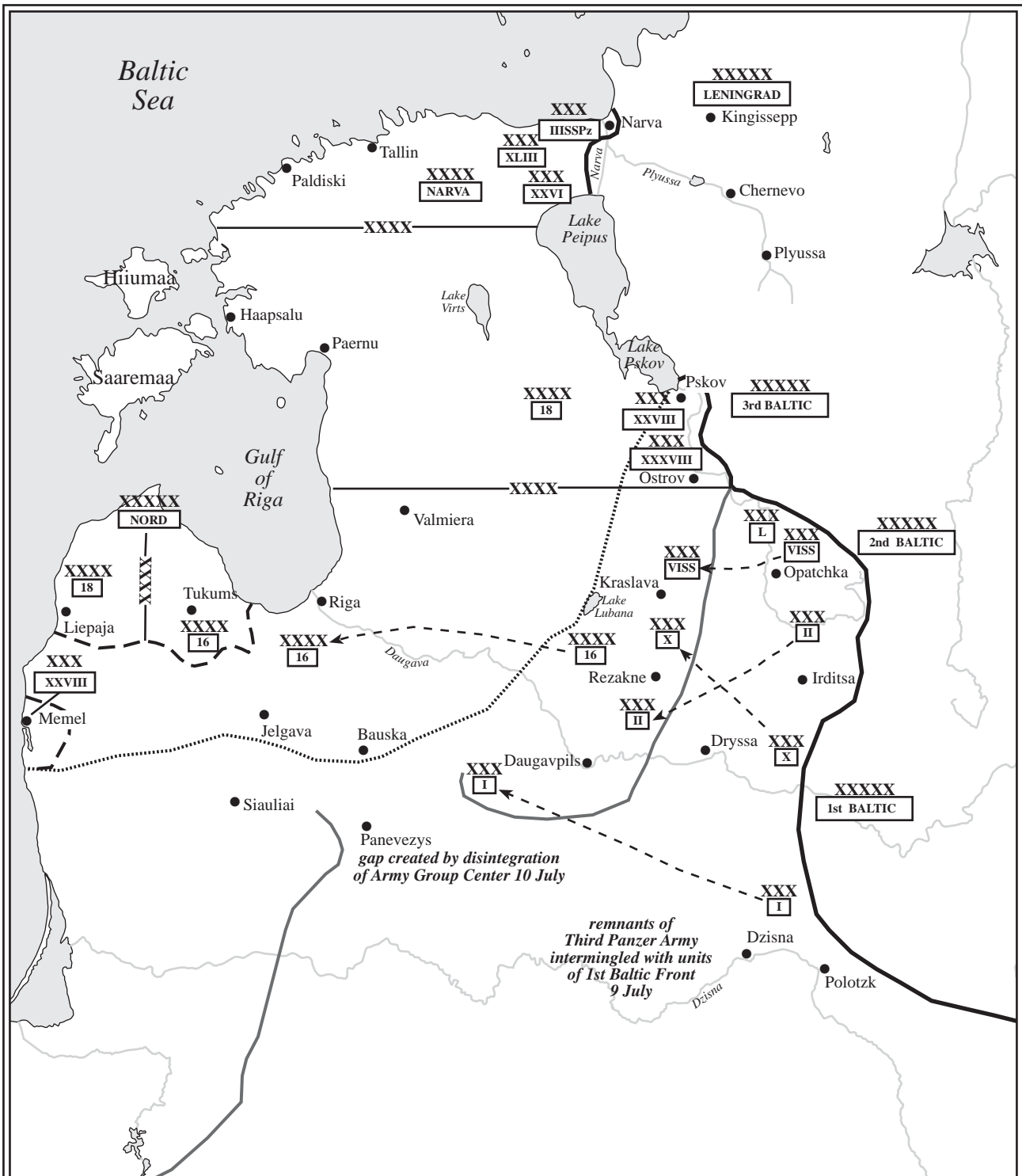
After five weeks, the Red Army had advanced almost 360 miles while destroying Army Group Center. The operation ended inside Poland on the Vistula River. Between 23 June to 29 August 1944, along a more than 600-mile-wide front, the Soviets defeated Army Group Center and advanced from 300 to 360 miles. In the process, the Soviets destroyed 17 German divisions and 3 brigades; 50 German divisions lost over half their strength. The German army High Command's official figure of losses was about 300,000 men, or 44 percent of those engaged, but this number may be low. Soviet losses were also high, with more than 178,000 dead and missing (8 percent of the total force involved) and more than 587,000 sick and wounded.

The advance into Belorussia led to advances in other sectors of the front, the Ukraine, and Estonia and Latvia where Army Group North's link to other German forces was temporarily cut. Operation *BAGRATION* was one of the greatest Soviet victories of the war and one from which German forces could never recover.

Arthur T. Frame

See also

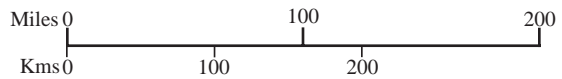
Bagramyan, Ivan Khristoforovich; *BARBAROSSA*, Operation; Busch, Ernst; Eastern Front; Estonia; Kursk, Battle of; Latvia; Lithuania; Moscow, Battle of; Rokossovsky, Konstantin Konstantinovich; Stalin, Josef; Stalingrad, Battle of; Tehran Conference; Vasilevsky, Aleksandr Mikhailovich; Warsaw Rising; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich



Destruction of Army Group Center 1944

Front lines:

- 22 June ····· 31 July
- 10 July - - - - 23 October



**Destruction of Army Group Center
1944**

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Belzec

See Concentration Camps, German.

Beneš, Eduard (1884–1948)

Czech statesman who helped establish the independent state of Czechoslovakia. Born on 28 May 1884 at Kozlany, Bohemia, Eduard Beneš studied at Charles University in Prague, the Sorbonne in Paris, and the University of Dijon, where he earned a doctorate in law in 1908. In 1909, Beneš was appointed professor of economics at the Prague Academy of Commerce, and in 1912, he became a professor of sociology at the University of Prague. There, he met Tomáš G. Masaryk and came to embrace his social and political philosophies. As one of the leaders of the Czech nationalist movement against Austria, Beneš went abroad during World War I, first to Paris, where he worked as a journalist to promote the cause of Czech independence. That same year, he joined the Czechoslovakian National Council, recognized by the Allies in 1918 as the provisional government of Czechoslovakia.

On his return to Prague at the end of the war, Beneš became the first foreign minister of the new state. From 1918 to 1935, he worked to strengthen the security of Czechoslovakia, the cornerstone of which was a 1924 alliance with France. In addition, he worked to cooperate with Romania and Yugoslavia, with the three states signing collective security arrangements that led to the so-called Little Entente. Beneš was also a tireless advocate of the League of Nations, serving as League Council chairman five times. He secured a mutual security pact with the Soviet Union in 1935.

In December 1935, Beneš succeeded Masaryk on the latter's resignation as president of Czechoslovakia. The one intractable problem he could not solve was that of the minorities in his nation. The Czechs were not even a majority of the population of the state, and there were serious problems with the Ukrainians, the Slovaks, and especially the Germans.



Eduard Beneš, president of Czechoslovakia (1935–1938, 1945–1948).

Adolf Hitler pushed the demands of the latter from relief of grievances into annexation by the Reich of those areas in which Germans were a majority. Beneš and his government went as far as they could without actually ceding territory, but at the September 1938 Munich Conference, the British and French agreed to Hitler's dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. A week later, Beneš resigned and went into exile in France.

Beneš became president of the Czechoslovakian government-in-exile in London in July 1940. He hoped to make his country a bridge between the East and the West, and he signed a 20-year treaty of alliance with the Soviet Union in 1943. He returned to Prague on 16 May 1945, stopping first in Moscow to confer with Josef Stalin.

Beneš was reelected president in 1946, but his hopes of nonalignment ran afoul of the Cold War. The Soviets staged a coup d'état in Prague in February 1948, and Beneš was forced to accept Communist control. Rather than agree to a new constitution that would legalize the Communist seizure of power, he resigned on 7 June 1948. He died in Sezimovo Ústí, Bohemia, on 3 September 1948.

Annette Richardson

See also

Czechoslovakia; Hitler, Adolf; Munich Conference and Preliminaries

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Berlin, Air Battle of (November 1943–March 1944)

Between November 1943 and March 1944, the Royal Air Force (RAF) Bomber Command conducted 16 raids on the German capital in an attempt to defeat Germany by destroying Berlin. This effort was the third in a series of campaigns in 1943, with the first levied against German industrial production in the Ruhr Valley from April to July and the second launched against the city of Hamburg late in July.

The largest city in Germany, Berlin covered nearly 900 square miles. Attacking it not only would strike at the seat of power in the Third Reich but also would cripple a major industrial base for the German armed forces. Factories in Berlin contributed one-third of the Reich's electrical components as well as one-quarter of the army's tanks and half its field artillery.

Bolstered by the success of recent air raids, in particular the attack on Hamburg, Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur "Bomber" Harris believed he could do the same with Berlin and force a German surrender. If he could get the Americans to join in, he expected losses to be between 400 and 500 aircraft. However, because of its own recent heavy losses over Germany, the U.S. Army Eighth Air Force would not be able to participate. Despite this setback, Harris received approval in early November 1943 from Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill to begin the bomber offensive. He employed the RAF's new Avro Lancaster heavy bomber, as this four-engine aircraft had the requisite range to strike targets deep in German territory. The first raid, the largest battle Bomber Command had yet fought, occurred on the night of 18–19 November.

Attacking heavily defended Berlin was not an easy task. The city was ringed with a flak belt 40 miles wide and a searchlight band over 60 miles across. The defense centered on 24 128-mm anti-aircraft guns grouped in eight-gun batteries on flak towers. Additionally, the city's extensive subway system

provided underground shelter for the civilians. Only the Ruhr region was more heavily defended.

The British employed Window—strips of foil dropped from aircraft to jam German radar. To counter this, the Germans organized groups of single-engine fighters to attack the bombers as they were caught in searchlights. The Germans called this new tactic *Wilde Sau* (Wild Boar), and the technique helped them until they could develop effective radar. By early 1944, German night-fighter aircraft—primarily Ju-88s, FW-190s, and Bf-109s—were successfully employing bomber-intercept tactics with the help of SN2, an aircraft-based, air-to-air radar that would cause Bomber Command's losses to approach 9 percent for a single raid. To make matters worse for the British, many bombs did not come close to their desired targets, as chronically poor weather over Berlin forced pathfinders to mark targets blindly, relying exclusively on H2S radar; this problem was exacerbated by the fact that the number of experienced pathfinder radar operators dwindled as casualties mounted during the campaign.

The Battle of Berlin came to an end in March 1944 when the bombers passed under the control of the Supreme Allied Command to prepare for the Normandy Invasion. During the offensive, Bomber Command flew 9,111 sorties to the "Big City" and dropped 31,000 tons of bombs. Bomber Command lost 497 aircraft—5.5 percent of the force employed—and more than 3,500 British aircrew were killed or captured. On the German side, nearly 10,000 civilians were killed, and 27 percent of the built-up area of Berlin was destroyed. Harris's goal of defeating Germany was not, however, realized.

M. R. Pierce and John D. Plating

See also

Anti-aircraft Artillery and Employment; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Fighter Tactics; Germany, Air Force; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm

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Berlin, Land Battle for (31 March–2 May 1945)

Berlin, capital of the Reich, was vital to the German war effort. Adolf Hitler spent little time there during the war, but the city was the administrative center of the new German empire and powerhouse of the war effort, the greatest industrial and commercial city in Europe. Berlin was also a vital communi-



A Soviet tank faces the badly damaged Reichstag building in Berlin where the last desperate pocket of German resistance was finally crushed, May 1945. (Photo by Mark Redkin/Slava Katamidze Collection/Getty Images)

cations and transportation hub and a key production center, particularly for electrical products and armaments.

In August 1940, after the bombing of London, Bomber Command of the Royal Air Force (RAF) raided Berlin, but the city enjoyed a respite thereafter until March 1943; then there was another pause. The battle for the city began in earnest in November 1943 with the first in a long series of punishing Allied air raids, with particularly severe attacks in March 1944. Somehow, Berliners managed to carry on amid the ruins.

Hitler returned to Berlin from the Alderhorst (Eagle's Nest), his retreat at Ziegenberg, by train on 16 January 1945, and as the war drew to a close, the city became the ultimate prize, at least for the Soviets. Josef Stalin wanted it desperately. So did British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, but he was overruled by U.S. leaders, who showed little interest in capturing the city, particularly after agreements setting up the postwar occupation placed Berlin deep within the Soviet zone. The supreme commander of Allied forces in the west, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, who was in any case distracted by a phantom Nazi Alpine "National Redoubt," said he had no

interest in the capital. High casualty estimates for taking the city (Lieutenant General Omar Bradley posited a cost of 100,000 men) also deterred Eisenhower. Thus, although U.S. forces, including the 82nd Airborne Division, were readied for such an assault, the task was left to the Soviets.

Stalin concealed the U.S. ambivalence concerning Berlin from his front commanders, Generals Ivan S. Konev and Georgii K. Zhukov. By early February, Zhukov's 1st Belorussian Front and Konev's 1st Ukrainian Front had completed the initial phase of their advance into Germany. Zhukov's troops were across the Oder River, 100 miles from Berlin. The Soviets had surrounded large German troop concentrations at Breslau and Posen. Meanwhile, Soviet forces carried out a horrible revenge on eastern Germany, in which tens of thousands of civilians were murdered. Total casualties ranged into the millions.

Zhukov might then have pushed on to the capital in another several weeks had not Stalin ordered a halt, necessary because of logistical problems resulting from the vast distances the Soviet forces had covered to that point. Mean-

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONTROVERSY

Eisenhower and Berlin

In the midst of the Cold War, with Germany divided and memories of wartime cooperation between the Western powers and the Soviet Union nearly forgotten, many historians questioned whether Supreme Allied Commander General Dwight D. Eisenhower had been correct in choosing not to race Soviet forces to capture Berlin in April 1945. The detractors argued that conquest of the city by the Western Allies would have provided a useful bargaining chip with the Soviets and might have kept them out of Central Europe and thereby changed the course of history. According to this view, there might have been no Berlin crisis in 1948, no Berlin Wall erected in 1961, and no divided Germany. Proponents of the idea criticized Eisenhower for naively focusing on military goals rather than the more important long-term political and diplomatic aspirations.

Chester Wilmot began the debate in 1952 with *The Struggle for Europe*, in which he argued that British forces could have taken Berlin if Eisenhower had unleashed them in early April 1945. Quite predictably, British Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery echoed similar sentiments in his 1958 memoirs and suggested that Eisenhower had forgotten that winning the war militarily hardly mattered if the Allies lost it politically. John Toland in *The Last Hundred Days* (1965) and Cornelius Ryan in *The Last Battle* (1966) offered similar appraisals, although they added that any drive on

Berlin would have encountered strenuous resistance in the city's suburbs.

Eisenhower's defenders, by contrast, claimed that no other decision was practical. By late January 1945, Soviet forces were only 35 miles east of Berlin, whereas Eisenhower's armies were hundreds of miles to the west. The Soviets then regrouped and resupplied their forces for two months while the Allies closed from the west, but even in April, the Red Army had much stronger units in proximity to Berlin than either the Americans or the British. Led by Walter Bedell Smith in *Eisenhower's Six Great Decisions* (1956) and supported by Stephen Ambrose in *Eisenhower and Berlin, 1945: The Decision to Halt at the Elbe* (1967), Eisenhower's supporters also argued that he had to worry about the supposed National Redoubt (an imagined German stronghold in the Alps) in southern Germany, the 100,000 casualties that General Omar N. Bradley estimated it would cost to capture the city, and the fact that Allied agreements regarding the postwar division of Germany placed a jointly occupied Berlin well within the Soviet zone of control. How, they asked, could Eisenhower have defended losing 100,000 men for territory he knew the United States would turn over to the Soviet Union as soon as the war ended?

Since the end of the Cold War, the debate has softened considerably, and most historians now view the Soviet capture of Berlin on 2 May 1945 as the logical mili-

tary conclusion to the war in Europe. U.S. units may have been only 48 miles from Berlin when Eisenhower finally ordered them to halt on 15 April, but the odds on their seizing the city in force in advance of the Soviets were extremely long. In that sense, a bold U.S. or British dash for Berlin was militarily unnecessary, and in light of Allied agreements regarding the postwar division of Germany, it would have been politically foolhardy as well.

Lance Janda

See also

Berlin, Land Battle for; Bradley, Omar Nelson; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Hodges, Courtney Hicks; Marshall, George Catlett; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Stalin, Josef; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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while, Konev's forces threatened the German capital from the southeast. In defense of Berlin, Hitler had only the remnants of his Third Panzer and Ninth Armies, now constituting Army Group Vistula. In March, however, he ordered that the city be held "to the last man and the last shot."

On 8 March, alarmed by the American crossing of the Rhine the day before, Stalin summoned Zhukov to Moscow to discuss an offensive against Berlin. The now rapid progress of the Western Allies eastward set off alarm bells in Moscow, and Stavka (the Soviet High Command) rushed

plans for an offensive to take the German capital. On 31 March, Stalin ordered the offensive to begin. Zhukov would make the principal drive on Berlin, while Konev supported him on the left flank and Marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky's 2nd Belorussian Front on the lower Oder moved on Zhukov's right flank. Altogether, the three fronts had some 1.5 million troops, 6,250 armored vehicles, and 7,500 aircraft. Opposing them, the German Ninth Army and Third Panzer Army had only 24 understrength divisions, with 754 tanks and few aircraft.

Zhukov's frontal assaults on Berlin's defenses from the east failed. On 18 April, Stalin ordered him to go around Berlin from the north, while Konev encircled the city from the south. Hitler, meanwhile, ordered his Ninth Army to stand fast on the Oder, thus facilitating Konev's move.

On 20 April, Hitler's birthday, Konev's tanks reached Jüterbog, the airfield and key ammunition depot south of Berlin. That same day, Hitler allowed those of his entourage who wished to do so to leave the city. He pledged to stay.

The Soviets completed the encirclement of the city on 25 April. Also on that day, Soviet and U.S. forces met on the Elbe River. Hitler attempted to organize the Ninth Army as a relief force for Berlin, but it, too, was surrounded and soon destroyed. Although Lieutenant General Walther Wenck's Twelfth Army tried to relieve the city from the west, it was too weak to accomplish the task. Meanwhile, the defense of Berlin itself fell to miscellaneous German troops unfortunate enough to be pushed back there and by old men and boys hastily pressed into service for the daunting task. On 30 April, with the defenders' ammunition nearly depleted and the defenses fast crumbling and as Soviet troops took the Reichstag (Parliament) building, Hitler committed suicide. On 2 May, Lieutenant General Hans Krebs, chief of the German General Staff, surrendered Berlin.

Given their country's suffering in the war, Soviet soldiers hardly needed encouragement to destroy the German capital, the symbol of Nazism. They also committed widespread atrocities in the city both during and after its fall. Bradley's estimate of the cost of taking Berlin was, in fact, low. According to one source, the "Berlin Strategic Offensive" from April 16 to May 8, involving the 1st Belorussian, 2nd Belorussian, and 1st Ukrainian Fronts, produced a staggering total of 352,475 Soviet casualties (including 78,291 dead)—an average of 15,325 a day.

What is remarkable is how Berlin came back. It survived the destruction of the war and the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, which divided the city into east and west portions. Today, it is once again the capital of a united, powerful, but this time peaceful German state.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Berlin, Air Battle of; Bradley, Omar Nelson; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Konev, Ivan Stepanovich; Rokossovsky, Konstantin Konstantinovich; Stalin, Josef; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Bernadotte of Wisborg, Folke (Count) (1895–1948)

Swedish diplomat and Red Cross official who worked on behalf of prisoners of war. Folke Bernadotte was born in Stockholm, Sweden, on 2 January 1895; his father was a brother of King Gustav V. Although hemophilia limited his activities, Bernadotte served in the Swedish army from 1918 to 1930. His skills were diplomatic rather than military, and he also worked closely with the Swedish Red Cross, of which he became a vice president, organizing prisoner-of-war exchanges.

Bernadotte was also a vice president of the Swedish Boy Scouts, and during World War II, he integrated that organization into neutral Sweden's defense network. He traveled extensively on behalf of the Swedish Red Cross, arranging exchanges of thousands of British and German prisoners in 1943 and 1944, and between 1944 and 1945, he concluded an agreement with Germany whereby Scandinavian prisoners would be transferred to the Neuengamme camp near Hamburg.

Bernadotte visited Berlin in February 1945 to finalize the details of this arrangement with Heinrich Himmler, head of the Schutzstaffel (SS). At that time, Himmler expressed interest in negotiating surrender terms with the Western Allies, under which the Germans would spare those Jews still alive in



Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden. (Bettmann/Corbis)

concentration camps in exchange for Allied concessions. (Bernadotte has sometimes been criticized for a lack of concern about rescuing Jews, but this charge is based on a faked letter purportedly sent from him to Himmler.) In April 1945, Himmler met again with Bernadotte, suggesting that Germany would surrender in the west to Britain, France, and the United States, in exchange for their assistance against the Soviet Union in the east. Bernadotte relayed these suggestions to British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, who passed them on to U.S. President Harry S. Truman, only to have them promptly rejected.

Bernadotte became president of the Swedish Red Cross in 1946. In May 1948, the United Nations appointed him to mediate peace in Palestine. Just four months later, however, on 17 September 1948, terrorists from the Jewish Stern Gang assassinated him in Jerusalem.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Himmler, Heinrich; Prisoners of War; Sweden

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**“Big Week” Air Battle
(20–25 February 1944)**

Name later given by the press to air combat over Germany in Operation ARGUMENT, a series of intensive Allied air strikes at the end of February 1944 against the German aircraft industry’s final-assembly plants, ball-bearing factories, and facilities producing aircraft components. The Allies initiated the operation in order to reduce the effectiveness of Luftwaffe fighters against Allied bombers over Germany and to prepare for the invasion of Normandy. Although the Luftwaffe still maintained significant numbers of aircraft, it could not long



The aircraft factory at Obertraubling, Germany following a raid on 22 February 1944 by planes of the U.S. Fifteenth Air Force. Unfinished ME-109 jet fighters lie among the debris. (Corbis)

survive both sustained losses in the air and attacks on its production facilities.

A period of clear weather allowed the Allies to begin the campaign. Bomber Command of the Royal Air Force (RAF) joined in for nighttime raids, but the bulk of the attacks were made by the U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) in daylight operations. Between 20 and 25 February 1944, some 1,000 bombers and 900 fighters of the U.S. Eighth Army Air Force carried out 13 major attacks against 15 centers of the German aviation industry. In the last four days of the offensive, Fifteenth Air Force, headquartered at Foggia, Italy, joined in.

As the commander of U.S. Strategic Air Forces in Europe, Lieutenant General Carl Spaatz, had predicted, the German fighters contested the raids. Between 20 and 25 February, the Eighth and Fifteenth Air Forces flew a combined total of 3,800 sorties and dropped almost 10,000 tons of bombs. USAAF losses were heavy, with 226 bombers shot down (6 percent of the force engaged). Fighters from other Allied countries flew 3,673 sorties, with only 28 fighters lost (less than 1 percent). The USAAF claimed more than 600 German fighter aircraft were shot down. In the operation, the P-51 Mustang fighter played a notable role; German fighters were no match for it, especially as many were weighed down by heavy armaments designed to destroy the Allied bombers. In the months ahead, the Allied bombers switched over to a concentration on German oil-production facilities.

German fighter losses for the entire month of February came to 2,121, with another 2,115 destroyed in March. Clearly, the days of the Luftwaffe were numbered. “Big Week” was a major defeat for the Luftwaffe and claimed many of its best pilots. This reduction in German air strength was an essential prelude to the successful Normandy Invasion in June 1944.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Spaatz, Carl Andrew “Tooe”; Strategic Bombing

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Bismarck, Sortie and Sinking of (May 1941)

The sinking of the *Bismarck* occurred at the height of German battleship operations in the Atlantic Ocean. The commander of the German navy, Grand Admiral Erich Raeder, expected the new battleship *Bismarck*, which was to be available in the spring of 1941, to provide an opportunity to test the navy’s



The German Navy battleship *Bismarck* shortly before she was sunk.
(Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

“battle group” strategy in support of a war on commerce. Repairs to the battleships *Gneisenau* and *Scharnhorst* forced delays, and the naval command decided to send the *Bismarck* and the heavy cruiser *Prinz Eugen* to sea as soon as possible to attack shipping in the North Atlantic in Operation RHINE EXERCISE. Raeder was determined to demonstrate the value of the battleships to the war effort, and the *Bismarck* was rushed into action with an incomplete antiaircraft control system and equipment scavenged from other ships.

Vice Admiral Günther Lütjens, the fleet commander and task force leader, opposed the “piecemeal approach” and advocated delaying the mission until the other battleships were available, including the *Tirpitz*. His pessimism played a key role in his decisions over the course of the operation.

British intelligence, including ULTRA, alerted the Royal Navy that a major German naval operation was under way, and aircraft spotted the two ships in Bergen on 21 May 1941. The British took countermeasures to patrol the Iceland-Faroes passage and the Denmark Strait to block the German breakout into the Atlantic. On 23 May, the British cruisers *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* spotted the two German raiders in the

Denmark Strait. The persistence of the British cruisers in shadowing the German ships led Lütjens to conclude that the British possessed new radar.

Off Iceland at about 5:55 A.M. on 24 May, in the Iceland Battle or the Battle of the Denmark Strait, British Rear Admiral Lancelot E. Holland's battle cruiser *Hood* and battleship *Prince of Wales* engaged the *Bismarck*. The *Hood* was hit in her magazines by the German battleship's fourth salvo and blew up. Only 3 of her 1,419 crewmen survived. The *Prince of Wales* took seven hits (four from the *Bismarck*) and was damaged.

Although the *Bismarck* had received only three hits, the ship was leaking oil, and her speed was also reduced from flooding in the forward compartments. At about 4:00 P.M., Lütjens detached the *Prinz Eugen* in a vain effort to draw the British off while the *Bismarck* made for the French port of Saint-Nazaire to carry out repairs. In the early morning of 25 May, the *Bismarck* managed to elude her pursuers, but Lütjens was unaware of this in spite of reports from Naval Command Group West. When Lütjens broke radio silence, these messages were picked up by Allied high-frequency direction-finding (HF/DF) receivers. Increased German radio traffic along the French coast suggested that the destination of the *Bismarck* was a French port, which was later confirmed by a British intercept of a Luftwaffe signal. The chief British ships that had been chasing the *Bismarck* in the wrong direction now altered course. In the meantime, Force H with the aircraft carrier *Ark Royal* had departed Gibraltar to provide air reconnaissance off the French west coast.

On 26 May, Swordfish torpedo-bombers from the *Ark Royal* and Coastal Command's patrol bomber (PBY) aircraft regained contact with the *Bismarck*. Late in the day, Swordfish from the *Ark Royal* attacked, and a lucky torpedo hit jammed the German battleship's twin rudder system, making her unable to maneuver. With no air cover or help from the U-boats or other ships available, the fatalistic Lütjens, remembering the reaction to the scuttling of the *Graf Spee* and Raeder's orders to fight to the last shell, radioed the hopelessness of the situation.

At 8:45 A.M. on 27 May, the British battleships *King George V* and *Rodney* opened fire. By 10:00, although hit by hundreds of shells, the *Bismarck* remained afloat. As the heavy cruiser *Dorsetshire* closed to fire torpedoes, the Germans scuttled their ship. Three torpedoes then struck, and the *Bismarck* went down. Reports of German submarines in the area halted British efforts to rescue German survivors. Only 110 of the crew of 2,300 survived. Lütjens was not among them.

A furious Adolf Hitler regarded the sinking of the *Bismarck* as a major loss of prestige and ordered that no more battleship operations be undertaken without his permission. The major German ships were now relegated to the defense of Norway, leaving the brunt of Germany's naval war to the U-boats.

Keith W. Bird

See also

Germany, Navy; Plata, Río de la, Battle of; Raeder, Erich; Signals Intelligence

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Bismarck Sea, Battle of (2–5 March 1943)

Southwestern Pacific naval battle. As General Douglas MacArthur's troops fought to expel the Japanese from New Guinea, it fell to the U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) to interdict Japanese resupply efforts. When Lieutenant General George C. Kenney assumed command of Fifth Air Force in the Pacific in August 1942, he found many of his units operating obsolescent aircraft and using ineffective tactics. Kenney quickly devised two important new tactics. First was the development of skip-bombing, in which medium bombers—A-20 Havocs and B-25 Mitchells—attacked Japanese ships from low altitude and literally "skipped" bombs into the sides of their targets. The bombs used time-delayed fuses so that the explosions would occur either within the ships, should they penetrate the hulls, or below their waterlines, as the bombs sank after hitting the hulls. Second, crews installed additional forward-firing .50 caliber machine guns in medium bombers, designed to either sink small vessels or suppress antiaircraft fire. Also, several squadrons of the Royal Australian Air Force were available to supplement the Fifth Air Force.

In January 1943, Allied forces undertook a major offensive along the New Guinea coast. In response, the Japanese sent additional resources via convoys across the Bismarck Sea. On the night of 28 February 1943, a large Japanese force under Rear Admiral Kimura Masatomi, consisting of eight transports and eight destroyers left Rabaul with 6,900 troops of the 51st Division, bound for Lae, New Guinea.

The Japanese recognized the threat posed by Allied airpower, but Lae was too important to lose. Some 100 fighters (40 navy and 60 army) provided air cover for the convoy. Kenney knew of the Japanese activity through signals intelligence and reconnaissance flights. American B-24s first sighted the Japanese formation on 1 March, but eight B-17s sent to attack it failed to locate the Japanese force because of cloud cover. The following day, another B-24 reacquired the target, and eight B-17s attacked with 1,000-pound demolition bombs, sinking one transport and damaging another. Two of the Japanese destroyers rescued approximately 950 men and rushed ahead to Lae, returning to the convoy early the next morning.

On 3 March, the largest Allied air effort yet seen in the theater assembled to attack the Japanese when the convoy came within range of the medium bombers. At 10:00 A.M., B-17s bombed the convoy to disrupt its formation. Shortly thereafter, Australian Beaufighters, followed by heavily armed B-25s and A-20s, attacked the convoy from an altitude of 500 feet or less, while P-38s engaged Japanese escort fighters. Out of 47 bombs dropped by the attackers, 28 reportedly found their targets. Allied aircraft repeated their assault that afternoon but with less success, as the weather began to interfere.

By the end of the day, all of the Japanese transports and three destroyers had sunk. A fourth destroyer was heavily damaged and was sunk by Allied aircraft the next day. The remaining destroyers collected as many survivors as possible and returned to Rabaul. Over the next few days, aircraft and patrol

torpedo (PT) boats patrolled the area, strafing and bombing any remaining Japanese: this was to prevent any enemy troops from reaching land, where they would pose a threat because they would not surrender. Additionally, Allied pilots sought retribution against Japanese flyers who had machine-gunned an American crew parachuting from their stricken B-17.

The month went down in German naval annals as "Black May," with the loss of 40 U-boats.

In the battle, the Japanese lost some 60 aircraft, 12 ships, and some 3,700 men. The Allied cost was 3 fighters, 1 B-17, and 1 B-25. MacArthur described the victory as "the decisive aerial engagement" in the Southwest Pacific Theater. After the battle, Japanese transports never again sailed within range of Allied airpower. Without reinforcement, the Japanese lost Lae to Australian troops some seven months later.

Rodney Madison

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; MacArthur, Douglas; New Guinea Campaign; Rabaul; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign; Southwestern Pacific Theater

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"Black May" (May 1943)

Defeat of the German U-boats in the North Atlantic. The climactic convoy battles of March 1943 had given a first hint that Allied antisubmarine forces were finally gaining the upper hand in the battle for the North Atlantic sea lines of communication. By early 1943, the fully mobilized American shipyards were producing vast numbers of escort vessels in addition to building more merchant ships than were being sunk by U-boats. Modern, long-range naval patrol aircraft, such as the B-24 Liberator, and escort carrier-based aircraft were closing the dreaded air gap, the wolf packs' last refuge from Allied airpower in the North Atlantic. At the same time, Allied signals intelligence was reading the German U-boat cipher Triton almost continuously and with minimal delay.

On 26 April, the Allies suffered a rare blackout in their ability to read the German cipher, just as 53 U-boats regrouped for an assault on the convoy routes. Miraculously, two eastbound convoys, SC.128 and HX.236, escaped destruction, but ONS.5, a weather-beaten, westbound slow convoy of 30 merchant ships escorted by 7 warships stumbled into the middle of the wolf packs on 4 May. During the next 48 hours, the U-boats sank 12 ships but at an unacceptable cost: escort vessels sank 6 U-boats, and long-range air patrols claimed 3 others. Radar in aircraft and escort vessels had played a decisive role in giving the numerically overmatched escorts a tactical edge in the battle.

The commander of the German U-boat arm, Admiral Karl Dönitz, was aware of the tilting balance, but he urged his U-boat commanders not to relent. Yet many of the vessels did not even reach their areas of operations. The determined antisubmarine offensive in the Bay of Biscay by aircraft of the Royal Air Force Coastal Command destroyed 6 U-boats during May and forced 7 others to return to base.

In the second week of May, the ragged survivors of the North Atlantic wolf packs, which had operated against Convoys ONS.5 and SL.128, regrouped and deployed against HX.237 and SC.129. Only 3 merchantmen were sunk, at the expense of the same number of U-boats. In addition to radar, the small escort carrier *Biter*, which had provided air cover for HX.237 as well as for SC.129, was vital in denying the German submarines tactical freedom on the surface near the convoys. When the U-boats renewed their attacks against Convoy SC.130 between 15 and 20 May, escort vessels sank 2 U-boats, and shore-based aircraft claimed 3 others. SC.130 suffered no casualties. The U-boat offensive failed entirely against HX.239, a convoy with a rather generous organic air cover (aircraft attached to the convoy) provided by the escort carriers USS *Bogue* and HMS *Archer*. Not a single U-boat managed to close with the convoy, and on 23 May, a U-boat

fell victim to the rockets of one of the *Archer's* aircraft. The following day, Dönitz recognized the futility of the enterprise and canceled all further operations in the North Atlantic. During the month to that point, more than 33 U-boats had been sunk and almost the same number had been damaged, nearly all of them in convoy battles in the North Atlantic or during transit through the Bay of Biscay. The month went down in German naval annuals as “Black May,” with the loss of 40 U-boats. At the end of May 1943, the British Naval Staff noted with satisfaction the cessation of U-boat activity. SC.130 was the last North Atlantic convoy to be seriously menaced during the war.

Dirk Steffen

See also

Aircraft, Naval; Aircraft Carrier; Antisubmarine Warfare; Antisubmarine Warfare—A Turning Point? Black May; Atlantic, Battle of the; Aviation, Naval; Convoys, Allied; Convoys SC.122 and HX.229, Battle of; Dönitz, Karl; Radar; Signals Intelligence; Wolf Pack

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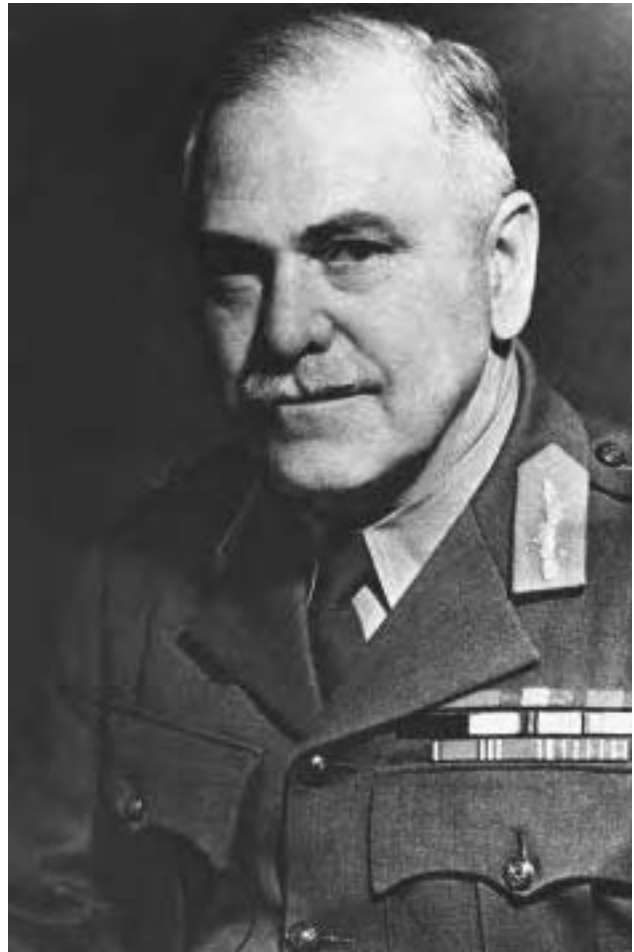
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Blamey, Sir Thomas Albert (1884–1951)

Australian army general, commander in chief of the Australian army during much of World War II, and the first Australian field marshal. Born on 24 January 1884 in Wagga-Wagga, Australia, Thomas Blamey secured a commission through competitive examination in 1906. He made captain in 1910 and attended staff college in India between 1911 and 1913.

During World War I, Blamey served as a staff officer in Egypt, at Gallipoli, and on the Western Front. He rose to the rank of brigadier general in 1918. Following the war, he served on the Imperial General Staff. In 1925, Blamey retired from the regular army and became chief police commissioner in Victoria, Australia, while remaining a general in the militia.

Blamey resigned his police position in 1936 following a minor scandal in which he lied under oath to protect the reputations of two women who were victims of robbery. Shortly after the beginning of World War II, he rejoined the regular army, was promoted to lieutenant general, and was assigned command of I Corps. Serving in Egypt in 1940 under General Archibald P. Wavell, he oversaw the evacuation of Australian troops from Greece following the German invasion of that country in April 1941. Promoted to full general in September 1941, Blamey became commander in chief of Australian forces in March 1942.



British General Sir Thomas Blamey. (Corbis)

Under orders from General Douglas MacArthur, who was concerned about the Japanese occupation of Buna in Papua and a possible invasion of Australia, Blamey took personal command of the ground forces and led them in the recapture of Buna in January 1943. He also held personal command in September 1943 in a campaign that took the city of Lae and liberated the eastern New Guinea coast. Following these actions, Blamey found himself relegated to a background role as MacArthur assumed more control of Allied armies in the theater.

As the Allies island-hopped closer to Japan, Blamey undertook operations against isolated Japanese troops in islands bypassed by MacArthur. These actions, bereft of significant naval and air support, proved costly and were criticized by many as unnecessary, but Blamey believed that it was in Australia's interest that these occupied islands be freed. At the end of the war, he signed the Japanese surrender document as the Australian representative. Discharged in January 1946, he was promoted to field marshal in June 1950. Blamey died at Melbourne on 27 May 1951.

Harold Wise

See also

Australia, Army; Australia, Role in War; Buna, Battle of; Greece Campaign (April 1941); MacArthur, Douglas; New Guinea Campaign; Papuan Campaign; Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival

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Bletchley Park

Secret British decrypting center. Just prior to the beginning of World War II, the British Government Code and Cypher School (GC&CS) purchased a Victorian mansion known as Bletchley Park (BP, also called Station X or War Station), located some 50 miles north of London in Bedfordshire. British code-breakers, some of them veterans of World War I, began moving to Bletchley Park in August 1939. The staff, headed by Alistair Dennison, soon numbered 150 people. Thereafter, BP grew very rapidly. By late 1942, BP personnel numbered around 3,500, a figure that would expand to 10,000 by 1945. BP's overseas stations were the Combined Bureau, Middle East; the Wireless Experimental Centre at Delhi; and the Far East Combined Bureau. Each had its own outposts.

The personnel at Bletchley Park were a mix of mathematicians, cryptographers, engineers, and eccentrics. Among them was Alan Turing, regarded as the father of the modern computer. There were also members of the various British military services, as well as foreign military personnel. At BP, they continued the work begun by the Poles in reading German signals traffic and unlocking the secrets of the German Enigma encoding machine.

To house the growing staff, "temporary" wooden huts were built on the garden grounds. These were numbered, and different types of analysis were conducted in each. Hut 3 decrypted German army and air force codes, Hut 6 focused on German army and air force Enigma cryptanalysis, Hut 4 worked on German naval translating and processing, and Hut 8 handled German navy Enigma cryptanalysis. Others worked on Italian and Japanese codes. The intelligence produced by BP was code-named the **ULTRA** secret.

By 1940, Bletchley Park had come up with additional devices that, given time, could sort through the possible variations of an encoded text. Careless German practices, mostly in the Luftwaffe, gave the electromechanical devices called "bombs" a head start and greatly shortened the delay between receiving and decoding messages. The changeable settings of the Enigma machine meant that most messages

could not be read in real time, but the information was nonetheless invaluable.

The staff at BP was ultimately able to provide an important advantage to the Allies in the war. The Axis powers never learned of the success of the Allied decrypting operations, and the activities at Bletchley Park remained unknown to the public until 1974, when Group Captain F. W. Winterbotham revealed them in his book entitled *The Ultra Secret*.

A. J. L. Waskey

See also

Counterintelligence; Electronic Intelligence; Enigma Machine; Signals Intelligence

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Blitz, The (August 1940–May 1941)

English term for Germany's sustained night air attacks on British cities, chiefly London, from August 1940 to mid-May 1941. The term *Blitz* is taken from the German word *blitzkrieg* (lightning war). Early in the war, the British government undertook preparations to deal with air attacks, especially in London.

The Blitz began as the daylight Battle of Britain, for control of the air over the island, was reaching a climax. The Germans hoped at first to drive the Royal Air Force (RAF) from the skies, and then they sought to destroy the RAF by hitting factories and ground installations; finally, they turned to terrorizing the civilian population by bombing cities. This thrust was, in effect, triggered on the night of 24–25 August when German bombers, which were supposed to target an oil depot at Thameshaven, struck London instead. The German bombers had hardly retired when British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill ordered a retaliatory strike on Berlin. On 5 September, German leader Adolf Hitler issued a directive calling for "disruptive attacks on the population and air defenses of major British cities, including London, by day and night." Such bombing could not have significant military value and was intended primarily to destroy civilian morale.

On 7 September 1940, the German Luftwaffe carried out a major raid that devastated the London's East End. The bombers returned over the next two days, and more than 1,000 people were killed. From the beginning to the middle of November, London was the target. The intensity of raids varied, but with good weather and a full moon, they were mas-



Uniformed woman leads group of boys through bomb-damaged residential area in London during the “Blitz,” 1941. (Library of Congress)

sive. On 15 October, for instance, 538 tons of bombs fell on the city.

British authorities had rejected both the idea of building deep shelters and the concept of using the Underground (subway), for fear of creating a bunker mentality: some actually worried that people would refuse to return to the surface. Londoners forced the issue on 8 September when crowds pushed their way into the subway’s Liverpool Street Station for refuge. The authorities capitulated, and by Christmas, 200,000 bunks were available in the Underground, with that many more ready for installation. A decision to build deep shelters was taken in October, but the Blitz was over before the first was completed. Nonetheless, by February 1941, some 92 percent of Londoners could be sheltered in a combination of public and private facilities.

Initially, the shelters were dismal places. Overcrowding was the rule, and sanitation was primitive at best. In mid-November 1940, the government instituted a food train to supply the hungry and thirsty citizens below ground, and

communities began developing. People returned to the same shelter night after night and slept in the same bunks. Sing-alongs were organized, and professional entertainment was often provided. The authenticity of this sort of camaraderie has been questioned, and some scholars have referred to the “myth of the Blitz.” Certainly, the camaraderie has been exaggerated at times, but Londoners seem to have known that a brave front was expected of them, and they made real efforts to live up to the expectation. The cheerful endurance and determination that was initially claimed and then later rejected as myth was, in fact, real. Of course, it was not universal or without cracks, but Londoners by and large kept daily routines in place with humor and mutual support. Predictions of disruptions proved mostly false. Initial class discontent because working-class areas in the East End were the first targets disappeared as the Germans pounded the rest of the city.

Life was not easy in London during that period. In the first six weeks of major raids, some 16,000 houses were destroyed

and another 60,000 badly damaged, with the result that 300,000 people needed places to stay. By the end of the Blitz, one in six Londoners had been rendered homeless. Many historical sites were also damaged, including Buckingham Palace. Most sites, however, survived and proved to be symbols of defiance. The king and queen remained in London, and Big Ben, despite sustaining some damage, struck every hour. London also got some respite as raids were directed against other cities. There was a major attack on Birmingham on 25 October 1940, and on 14 November, the city of Coventry was hit with a level of intensity beyond all previous efforts. Liverpool, Southampton, Birmingham, and Bristol were also struck.

London passed the Christmas of 1940 in comparative tranquility, and precautions were relaxed. Then, on 29 December, the great fire raid came. It was not the biggest raid ever, but the Christmas complacency among Londoners resulted in a slowed response, and enormous damage ensued. After another respite, March and April 1941 saw the skies again filled with German raiders. The worst nights were 16 and 19 April, which left 2,000 people dead and 148,000 homes damaged. Providers such as the Londoners' Meal Service, which was operating 170 canteens, were strained. Once again, however, there was a relative pause—and again, precautions waned. On 10 May, crowds flooded into London for a football championship match, only to be joined by German raiders. The attack was the worst raid of the war, with more than 3,000 dead or seriously injured, 250,000 books burned at the British Museum, and pilots reporting the glow of fires visible as far away as 160 miles. It was also the last major raid of the Blitz. The British—and Londoners in particular—still had to face occasional raids and the V-1 and V-2 terror weapons at the end of the war, but for the Germans, strategic and tactical plans no longer included massive assaults from the air. Of course, as time passed, their ability to make them also waned.

One of the lessons of the Blitz was that, contrary to German expectations and intent, bombing the civilian population often strengthened its morale and determination, a lesson the Allies themselves failed to learn in their strikes against civilian targets in Germany.

Fred R. van Hartesveldt and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Britain, Battle of; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Great Britain, Home Front; Strategic Bombing

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Blitzkrieg

The so-called *blitzkrieg* (lightning war) doctrine is one of the most enduring myths of World War II. In the early years of the war, however, the swift and stunning German successes in Poland in 1939 and France in 1940 came to be interpreted in the West as the result of some sort of revolutionary new military doctrine that relied on combined-arms operations, with ground and air forces working together as a well-oiled military machine.

Military doctrine has been defined as the fundamental principles by which military forces guide their actions in support of national objectives. But what became known popularly as *blitzkrieg* was not a set of fundamental principles, nor was it written down as an authoritative document. Rather, the term *blitzkrieg* was created for public consumption. It did appear occasionally in the military literature between 1936 and 1940, but the German writers generally used it in reference to a short war, as opposed to the drawn-out trench warfare of World War I. The term became fixed in the public mind after articles appeared in *Time* magazine, one on 25 September 1939 about Germany's invasion of Poland and another on 27 May 1940 about the fall of France.

Immediately following World War I, the leaders of the much reduced German army studied the causes of the defeat in 1918 and concluded that a lack of traditional mobile, maneuverable forces and tactics had resulted in the war of attrition that eventually doomed Imperial Germany on the battlefield. Unlike the French, who determined that better defenses would be the key to winning the next war and hence built the Maginot Line, the Germans concluded that the next war would be of short duration and won by maneuver warfare in the classical sense.

The German field service regulations of 1921, *Führung und Gefecht der verbundenen Waffen* (Command and Combat of the Combined Arms), together with the updated version of 1934, *Truppenführung* (Unit Command), were infantry-oriented documents that cast tank and air assets strictly in an infantry-support role. Although *Truppenführung*, which remained the official doctrine for the German army through 1945, emphasized traditional German thinking on mobility, it did allow for decentralization of control, and it provided considerable latitude for force structure changes. It was also not tied rigidly to specific operational concepts, to the exclusion of all others. Rather than an inflexible tactical cookbook, the manual was a philosophical treatment of the conduct of operations and leadership.

During the interwar years, the German mobility advocates enthusiastically read the works of the leading mobile warfare theorists of the time, J. F. C. Fuller, Charles de Gaulle, and Basil



German motorized detachment riding through the remains of a Polish town during the blitzkrieg of September 1939. (Library of Congress)

Liddell Hart. Younger German officers aggressively advanced the argument that a tank force could alter the outcome of battles. Many of the older officers resisted the notion that the tank could be a decisive combat arm, remembering the grave difficulties armored units experienced in World War I.

After Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933, he quickly made it clear he intended to rearm the nation, and he was interested in the iconoclastic ideas of the younger officers. In June 1934, Colonel Heinz Guderian became the chief of staff of the newly formed Motorized Troop Command. A little more than a year later, the Germans fielded an experimental panzer division. In October 1935, while still only a colonel, Guderian assumed command of one of the three new panzer divisions. He immediately set out to convince the traditionally infantry-oriented German General Staff to accept the concepts of armored warfare. Although Guderian received only limited support from some of his superiors, Hitler encouraged him and his aggressive concepts.

Meanwhile, the fledgling German air force also underwent important changes. Prior to the German intervention in the Spanish Civil War, most Luftwaffe officers saw airpower in the same terms as their peers in most other air forces of the period. The two most essential missions were conducting

long-range strategic bombing and achieving air superiority over the battlefield; the ground-support mission was largely ignored. But the successes of German air-ground operations during the Spanish Civil War convinced a number of high-ranking Luftwaffe officers to reconsider ground support. General Ernst Udet, in charge of Luftwaffe development after 1936, pushed through the development of a dive-bomber, the Ju-87 Stuka. The aircraft was extremely accurate, very mobile, and designed specifically to support ground forces. It became the plane that added the critical air dimension to mobile operations.

The Polish Campaign of 1939 was executed in very short order and had all the outward appearances of a dazzling success of German arms. But the so-called *blitzkrieg* doctrine was never used in that campaign. Rather than being committed in mass, the panzer units were allocated to the various field armies. The Luftwaffe was primarily concerned with establishing air superiority and striking deep at Polish lines of communications. Tank maintenance was a severe problem, and too often, the German system of resupply was unequal to the required tasks. But in the end, Germany crushed Poland very quickly, and that success obscured the serious operational, tactical, and technical problems the Wehrmacht experienced.

Between the end of the Polish Campaign and the start of the attack in the west against France and Britain in May 1940, the German army made some significant changes. The panzer divisions were organized into corps. The number of tanks in the German army increased only slightly, but the number of tanks per division decreased, and thus, the number of panzer divisions grew. Out of necessity rather than doctrinal design, the panzer divisions became combined-arms units, with a balance between tanks, infantry, artillery, engineers, and other arms. Tactical air, especially the Stuka, became an important element in the combined-arms mix because Germany was woefully short of field artillery.

The Germans did not go into France planning for a rapid and overwhelming victory. But they achieved one because of a combination of luck; better leadership and training; superior concentration of forces; and correspondingly poor French leadership, training, and tactics. At first, the Germans were stunned by their success, but they soon fell victim to their own propaganda and began to believe in the myth of *blitzkrieg*.

In June 1941, the Germans invaded the Soviet Union, this time anticipating a rapid campaign. They did not mobilize their economy for the invasion, nor did they accumulate the necessary stockpiles or provide adequately for the long lines of communications or winter conditions. Drawing the wrong lessons from the French Campaign, they believed that their use of tactical airpower had been so successful that it more than compensated for their severe shortage of artillery. That

approach may have worked against the poorly deployed French and British, but against the artillery-oriented Soviets, it was a recipe for disaster. The Germans learned quickly that the Luftwaffe could not be everywhere at the same time over the vast expanses of the eastern battlefields, especially with the onset of poor weather. The Soviets, with their abundant conventional field artillery, seldom lacked direct fire support.

The term *blitzkrieg* described a set of results, unique to a specific place and a specific time. The coordinated use of mobility, communications, and combined arms was not a revolution in military affairs, as it has often been portrayed, but rather a natural evolution of military doctrine that was clearly identifiable in the closing months of World War I. The myth of *blitzkrieg*, however, did obscure serious flaws in the German war machine, including supply, transport, maintenance, artillery, and intelligence. That circumstance proved progressively costly to the Germans as the war advanced and the Allies grew stronger and as the mechanized battlefield became increasingly lethal.

David T. Zabecki

See also

de Gaulle, Charles; Guderian, Heinz; Hitler, Adolf; Infantry Tactics; Maginot Line; Udet, Ernst

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Bock, Fedor von (1880–1945)

German army field marshal and commander on the Eastern Front in 1941 and 1942. Born into an old noble Prussian family at Küstrin, Germany, on 3 December 1880, Fedor von Bock joined the army in 1898. During World War I, he became a major and won the Pour le Mérite.

After the war, Bock remained in the army. Adolf Hitler did not purge him, despite his well-known adherence to the former monarchy. Promoted to colonel general, Bock participated in the German invasions of Poland and France as commander of Army Groups North and B, respectively. He was shocked by the Schutzstaffel (SS) treatment of Jews in Poland, but he decided against making an official protest. In July 1940, he was one of 12 new field marshals created by Hitler.



German Field Marshal Fedor von Bock. (Corbis)

During the invasion of the Soviet Union (Operation BARBAROSSA), Bock's Army Group Center had the task of capturing Moscow. In July 1941, his forces took Minsk, and three weeks later, they reached Smolensk. When Bock was only 225 miles from Moscow, Hitler decided to divert some of his forces to Leningrad and Kiev. Bock was not able to resume his advance before October, and bad weather forced a halt in December 1941. Hitler then dismissed him, but after only a month's rest, he was again sent to the Eastern Front to command Army Group South.

In the 1942 summer offensive, Hitler instructed Bock to destroy Soviet forces west of the Don River, to reach the Volga, and to secure the Caucasus oil fields. Bock enjoyed initial success at Voronezh, but after his progress slowed, Hitler replaced him with General Maximilian von Weichs on 15 July 1942. Bock never returned to command. In 1944, his nephew, Henning von Tresckow, approached him about the possibility of joining the July plot against Hitler. Bock refused as he had in 1941 after being confronted with SS atrocities in the Soviet Union. As an old-style Prussian officer, he was unable to break his oath of office, but he did not pass his knowledge about the plot to overthrow the Führer on to the Gestapo.

Bock continued to press for a return to military service, but his efforts were in vain. He and his wife were killed as the result of an Allied air raid in Schleswig-Holstein on 3 May 1945, during which a fighter pilot fired on their car. Bock died the following day.

Martin Moll

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Eastern Front; Guderian, Heinz; Hitler, Adolf; Minsk, Battle for; Moscow, Battle of; Smolensk, Battle of; Vyazma-Bryansk, Battles for; Weichs zur Glon, Maximilian Maria Joseph von

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Bohr, Niels Henrik David (1885–1962)

Nobel Prize-winning Danish atomic physicist. Born in Copenhagen on 18 November 1885, Niels Bohr earned a doctorate in physics from Copenhagen University in 1911. He then studied in Britain, at Cambridge and Manchester, under the leading physicists J. J. Thompson and Ernest Rutherford. By 1913, Bohr's work on the development of quantum theory was internationally acclaimed. Returning to Copenhagen, he speedily made that university a leading international center of theoretical physics, attracting distinguished scientists from around the world. In 1922, a Nobel Prize recognized his work on quantum theory and atomic structure.

In 1938 and 1939, Bohr visited the United States, warning American scientists that he believed German experiments



Niels Bohr, Danish atomic physicist and 1922 Nobel Prize winner. (Corbis)

proved that the atom could be split and, by implication, that the opponents of Nazi Germany must develop atomic weapons before Germany did so. After Hitler occupied Denmark in 1940, Bohr refused German requests for his scientific collaboration and was active in the anti-Nazi resistance. (In the late 1990s, Michael Frayn's acclaimed play *Copenhagen* provoked a well-publicized historical debate over Bohr's part in dissuading his former student, German scientist Werner Heisenberg, from pressing ahead with a German nuclear bomb project.)

British Secret Service operatives helped Bohr to escape to the United States in 1943, where he joined the MANHATTAN Project's laboratory at Los Alamos, New Mexico, working under its director, his old scientific associate J. Robert Oppenheimer. There, he contributed materially to the secret program developing atomic weapons. With the 1945 atomic explosions over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Bohr hoped that the bomb's destructive potential might eventually force nations to abandon war as unacceptably devastating, a view that influenced Oppenheimer.

When the war ended, Bohr returned to Copenhagen to resume his scientific work. He campaigned for the open exchange of ideas and people among nations as a means of controlling nuclear weapons. One Soviet general has alleged that Bohr deliberately assisted a Soviet physicist with vital atomic information. Bohr died in Copenhagen on 18 November 1962.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

MANHATTAN Project; Nuclear Weapons; Oppenheimer, Julius Robert

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Bonhoeffer, Dietrich (1906–1945)

German theologian and Abwehr counterspy. Born on 4 February 1906, in Breslau, Silesia, Dietrich Bonhoeffer was the son of the prominent neurologist and psychiatrist Karl Bonhoeffer and studied theology at Tübingen, Rome, and Berlin between 1923 and 1927. From 1930 to 1931, he attended classes taught by Reinhold Niebuhr at Union Theological Seminary in New

York City. In 1931, Bonhoeffer began teaching theology at Berlin and was ordained a Lutheran minister. From July 1933 until April 1935, he served two German parishes in London.

After Adolf Hitler came to power in 1933, Bonhoeffer rejected his government's efforts to create a united national Protestant church, the German Christians, that would synthesize National Socialism and Christianity. Instead, he urged evangelical Christians to join the Confessional Church, which opposed Nazism. Bonhoeffer returned to Germany to lead a Confessional Church seminary at Finkenwalde, which was closed by the authorities in October 1937.

In 1938, Bonhoeffer's brother-in-law Hans von Dohnanyi introduced him to Major General Hans Oster, Colonel General Ludwig Beck, and Admiral Wilhelm Canaris of the Abwehr. Bonhoeffer then decided to offer active resistance to the regime, and by 1939, he had become a double agent in Canaris's counterespionage service. As an Abwehr counterspy, he maintained links abroad and held to his pacifist principles.

In Stockholm in 1943, Bonhoeffer secretly saw Anglican Bishop George Bell of Chichester, England, for the Abwehr. This meeting failed to gain Allied support for the German resistance. Bonhoeffer also participated in Abwehr Operation SEVEN to spirit Jews out of Germany.

Arrested by the Gestapo on 5 April 1943 on charges of conspiring to overthrow the regime, Bonhoeffer was held at the Tegel, Buchenwald, and Flossenburg concentration camps. He was hanged at Flossenburg on 9 April 1945. Many Christians consider him to be a martyr.

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See also

Canaris, Wilhelm Franz; Counterintelligence; Hitler, Adolf; Religion and the War; Resistance; Stauffenberg, Claus Philip Schenk von

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Bór-Komorowski, Tadeusz (1895–1966)

Polish army general and commander of the armed underground movement in Poland. Born in Chorobrów, a village in the Brzeżany district of Austrian Poland, on 1 June 1895, Tadeusz Bór-Komorowski joined the Austro-Hungarian army in 1913 and studied at the Military Academy in Vienna. Until 1918, he fought on the Russian and Italian Fronts, attaining the rank of second lieutenant. After 1918, he served in the Polish army, mostly commanding cavalry units, and he was promoted to colonel in 1933.

Komorowski was supervising a cavalry training center in the Polish Corridor (the territory separating East Prussia from the rest of Germany) at the time of the September 1939 German invasion of Poland. Although his unit was forced to surrender at the end of September, Komorowski avoided capture and joined the underground *Związek Walki Zbrojnej* (ZWZ, Union for Armed Struggle) in Kraków.

In May 1940, the commander in Chief of Polish armed forces in exile, General Władysław Sikorski, sent Komorowski to Warsaw as a brigadier general and deputy commander to General Stefan Rowecki, then leader of the ZWZ. When the Gestapo arrested Rowecki in 1943, Komorowski replaced him, under the pseudonym *Bór*, as commander of the armed underground movement, which had become the *Armia Krajowa* (AK, Home Army) in 1942.

On Komorowski's orders, given with the approval of the government-in-exile's delegate in Poland, the Home Army rose against the German occupation in Warsaw on 1 August 1944. Although the Germans were hard-pressed to put down this Polish effort to retake Warsaw, the uprising ended in utter defeat for the Poles after two months of heavy fighting.

After his promotion to commander in chief of the Polish armed forces on 30 September, Komorowski was captured by the Germans in October 1944. Liberated by the U.S. Army on 5 May 1945, he emigrated to London and resigned as commander in chief in 1946. As prime minister of the Polish government-in-exile from 1947 to 1949, Komorowski remained a prominent member of the Polish émigré community until he died in England on 24 August 1966.

Pascal Trees

See also

Anders, Władysław; Poland, Role in War; Sikorski, Władysław; Warsaw Rising

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Bormann, Martin Ludwig (1900–1945)

German official who was head of the Chancellery and Adolf Hitler's private secretary. Born in Halberstadt, Germany, on 17 June 1900, Martin Bormann served in the German army at the end of World War I. He then joined the *Freikorps*, but in 1924, he was sentenced to a year in prison for committing a vengeance murder.



Martin Bormann, Nazi Party secretary and private secretary to Adolf Hitler. (Corbis)

After his release, Bormann joined the National Socialist Party and was attached to the *Sturmabteilungen* (SA, Storm Troops) Supreme Command. From July 1933, he was the chief of staff in the office of Deputy Führer Rudolf Hess. Diligent and efficient, Bormann began his rise to power. He secured Hitler's trust by running his villa, the *Berghof*, at Berchtesgaden. He then began taking over Hess's duties and made himself indispensable to Hitler.

In May 1941, Hess flew to Scotland. Hitler then abolished the Office of Deputy Führer and renamed it the Party Chancellery, choosing Bormann as its head. In April 1943, Bormann was appointed secretary to the Führer. He wrote down all of Hitler's commands, translating them into firm orders, and he controlled access to the Führer. He proved himself a master of intrigue and manipulation. He was virtually Hitler's deputy and, some would argue, the second most powerful man in the Reich.

Skillfully steering Hitler into approving his own schemes, Bormann acquired the inside track for displacing dangerous rivals. Always a guardian of Nazi orthodoxy, he strengthened the Nazi Party and increased his grip on domestic policy. He

advocated radical measures when it came to the treatment of Jews, the conquered peoples, and prisoners of war.

In October 1944, Bormann became executive head of the Volkssturm (militia). He signed Hitler's last will and testament and was present when the Führer committed suicide in the Chancellery bunker on 30 April 1945. Bormann then left the bunker. Most likely, he was killed trying to cross the Soviet lines. Doubts, however, persisted, and numerous sightings of Bormann were reported. He was sentenced to death in absentia at the Nuremberg war crimes trials. Bormann was pronounced dead in 1973 after his remains were found in Berlin and identified.

Martin Moll

See also

Germany, Home Front; Hess, Walter Richard Rudolf; Hitler, Adolf; Holocaust, The; International Military Tribunal: The Nuremberg Trials

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Bougainville Campaign (1 November 1943–15 August 1945)

One of the northern Solomon Islands, Bougainville is approximately 130 miles long and 48 miles across at its widest point. The Allies established and held a bridgehead there beginning in November 1943, in order to help neutralize the nearby Japanese base at Rabaul on New Britain Island.

On 1 November 1943, Allied forces, organized into the I Marine Amphibious Corps under Lieutenant General Alexander A. Vandergrift (after 9 November, under Major General Roy S. Geiger), landed at Empress Augusta Bay about midway up the west coast of Bougainville. Japanese Lieutenant General Hyakutake Haruyoshi's Seventeenth Army defended the island. During the next days, in the Battle of Empress Augusta Bay, U.S. Navy forces turned back an attempt by a Japanese task force to attack the landing force, while Allied air units secured aerial supremacy over Bougainville. Later that month, American destroyers intercepted a Japanese task force bringing reinforcements to nearby Buin Island in the Battle of Cape St. George, sinking two Japanese destroyers and a destroyer transport and halting further Japanese shipment of reinforcements to the Solomon Islands.

Initially, Hyakutake, who had 40,000 troops and 20,000 naval personnel, put up little resistance in the belief that the U.S. landing was a ruse. Moreover, he was hindered in organizing a counterattack by the island's rugged terrain. During the next weeks, the invading Marines expanded their perimeter to the ridges overlooking the bay and established a strong defensive position while construction units built airfields to assist in the defense of the bridgehead and to attack Rabaul. In December 1943, the Marines were withdrawn, and defense of the bridgehead was entrusted to the U.S. Army XIV Corps, commanded by Major General Oscar W. Griswold.

In March 1944, Hyakutake finally launched a major offensive to destroy the bridgehead, hurling 15,000 men against the 60,000 Americans defenders. Fierce battles took place at the "Creeks" area and Hill 700 in the middle of the perimeter and at Hill 260 on the east side. The American positions were too strong, however, and by the end of the month, the Japanese had been repelled, having lost 5,000 killed and another 5,000 wounded.

By this time, Rabaul had been effectively neutralized, and thereafter, Bougainville, which had provided vital air bases for the victory, became a backwater. The Japanese, cut off from outside aid, were content to be contained, and Griswold saw no need to undertake an offensive against them as long as the bridgehead was secure. U.S. forces engaged only in aggressive patrolling to keep the Japanese off balance. At the end of 1944, the Australian I Corps, commanded by Lieutenant General Sir Stanley Savige, replaced the Americans in the bridgehead. Unlike the Americans, the Australians were not content to be garrison troops, and in early 1945, Savige launched an offensive to wipe out the remaining Japanese. Although they were handicapped by disease, starvation, and supply shortages, the Japanese resisted in sustained fighting until the end of the war, losing 18,000 dead to all causes; the Australians suffered 516 killed and 1,572 wounded. Of the 60,000 Japanese on Bougainville when the Americans landed, only 21,000 remained to surrender in August 1945.

John Kennedy Ohl

See also

Cape St. George, Battle of; Empress Augusta Bay, Battle of; Geiger, Roy Stanley; Rabaul; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign; Southeastern Pacific Theater; Vandegrift, Alexander Archer

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U.S. Marine Raiders gathered in front of a Japanese dugout on Cape Totkina on Bougainville, Solomon Islands, which they helped to take, January 1944. (National Archives)

Bradley, Omar Nelson (1893–1981)

U.S. Army general and commander of 12th Army Group. Born in Clark, Missouri, on 12 February 1893, Omar Bradley secured an appointment to the U.S. Military Academy in 1911. He graduated in 1915, a member of what would become known as the “class the stars fell on,” and was commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry.

Assigned to the 14th Infantry Regiment in Spokane, Washington, Bradley saw service along the Mexican border during the 1916 crisis that followed Pancho Villa’s raid on Columbus, New Mexico. Like his classmate Dwight D. Eisenhower, Bradley missed combat in World War I. During the interwar period, his career followed a familiar pattern, with a number of troop commands interspersed with assignments at various military schools, including West Point. His most significant assignment was as chief of the Weapons Section

during Colonel George C. Marshall’s tenure as deputy commandant at the Infantry School at Fort Benning, Georgia.

Bradley graduated from the Army War College in 1934. Following service in General Marshall’s secretariat of the General Staff between 1939 and 1941, he was promoted to brigadier general in February 1941 and assigned command of the Infantry School. Promotion to major general followed in February 1942, and Bradley successively commanded the 82nd Infantry Division and the 28th National Guard Division. In February 1943, Marshall dispatched him to North Africa, where General Eisenhower assigned him as deputy commander of Lieutenant General George S. Patton’s II Corps in the wake of the Kasserine Pass debacle. When Patton assumed command of Seventh Army, Bradley took command of II Corps and led it with great distinction both in Tunisia and in Sicily.

In October 1943, Bradley assumed command of First Army and transferred to England to prepare for the cross-Channel invasion. He commanded U.S. ground forces on D day in



General Omar Bradley, 1950. (Library of Congress)

Operation OVERLORD and during the ensuing Normandy Campaign. On 26 July, First Army broke the German lines outside Saint-Lô in Operation COBRA, Bradley's operational masterpiece. On 1 August 1944, he assumed command of 12th Army Group, which then encompassed General Courtney Hodges's First Army and General George Patton's Third Army.

During the subsequent drive across France, Bradley performed well but not spectacularly. His failure to close the Falaise-Argentan gap reflected poorly on his ability as a strategist and undoubtedly extended the war in the west. When Hitler launched the Ardennes counteroffensive, Bradley was slow to react, but in the subsequent campaign, he renewed Marshall's and Eisenhower's confidence by carefully orchestrating the advance of the American armies on Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery's right flank. By war's end, Bradley had clearly emerged as Eisenhower's most trusted military adviser. As 12th Army Group grew to include four separate armies, the largest purely American military force in history, Bradley was promoted to full general in March 1945, on the eve of Germany's capitulation.

Following the war, Bradley headed the Veterans' Administration, and in February 1948, he succeeded Eisenhower as army chief of staff. In this post, he championed the continued unification of the nation's armed forces. One year later, he became the first chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and was subsequently promoted to the five-star rank of General of the Army in September 1950. During the Korean War, Bradley supported President Harry S Truman's relief of General Douglas MacArthur and opposed expansion of the war. Bradley retired from active military service in August 1953 to become chairman of the board of Bulova Watch Corporation. During the Vietnam War, he served as an adviser to President Lyndon Johnson. Bradley died on 8 April 1981, in Washington, D.C.

Cole C. Kingseed

See also

Ardennes Offensive; COBRA, Operation; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Falaise-Argentan Pocket; France Campaign; Hodges, Courtney Hicks; Kasserine Pass, Battle of; MacArthur, Douglas; Marshall, George Catlett; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; North Africa Campaign; OVERLORD, Operation; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Rhine Crossings; Saint-Lô, Battle of; Sicily, Invasion of; TORCH, Operation; Truman, Harry S; Western European Theater of Operations

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Brauchitsch, Heinrich Alfred Hermann Walther von (1881–1948)

German army field marshal who became chief of staff of the army in 1938. Born in Berlin on 4 October 1881, Heinrich Alfred Hermann Walther von Brauchitsch entered the 3rd Guards Field Artillery Regiment in 1901. He was promoted to captain in 1904, and between 1910 and 1912, he studied at the War Academy and served as a General Staff officer in Berlin. During World War I, he continued as a staff officer in several divisions and then a corps.

Brauchitsch remained in the Reichswehr after the war. In 1921, he commanded an artillery battery, and the next year, he served as a staff officer in the Truppenamt (the secret General Staff), organizing maneuvers to test the employment of motorized troops supported by aircraft. In 1925, as a lieutenant colonel, he commanded a battalion of the 6th Artillery Regiment. Following additional staff work, he was promoted to colonel in 1928. Two years later, he was made General-major (U.S. equiv. brigadier general) and became a department head in the Truppenamt. In 1932, he was inspector of



German General Walther von Brauchitsch. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

artillery, and a year later, he was promoted to Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) and took command of both the Königsberg Military District and the 1st Division. In 1935, he commanded the I Army Corps at Königsberg, and in April 1936, he was advanced to General der Artillery (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general). Brauchitsch was responsible for developing the 88 mm gun, one of the best artillery pieces of World War II, as both an antitank and antiaircraft weapon.

In 1938, when General Werner von Fritsch resigned as chief of staff of the army, Adolf Hitler promoted Brauchitsch to Generaloberst (U.S. equiv. full general) and appointed him to succeed Fritsch. He was an enthusiastic National Socialist, but he opposed Hitler's plans for territorial expansion, although not with the passion of his predecessor. Brauchitsch also believed strongly that the military should maintain a neutral stance in politics, and he felt bound by his soldier's oath to obey Hitler as commander in chief.

Brauchitsch coordinated the early German victories in World War II, in Poland, France and the Low Countries, and the Balkans. He opposed the stop order during the campaign for France that allowed the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) to escape at Dunkerque. Hitler raised Brauchitsch to field

marshal in July 1940, but the German invasion of the Soviet Union, Operation BARBAROSSA, increased tensions between the two men. The general believed Moscow should be the primary target, whereas the Führer ordered a shift toward Leningrad in the north and the Donets Basin in the south. Brauchitsch also opposed Hitler's stand-fast order calling on the army to hold fast in the face of the Soviet counter-offensive, believing the army should withdraw to more easily defended positions. Ultimately, Hitler went so far as to blame Brauchitsch for the failure of the 1941 offensive in the Soviet Union.

On 9 December 1941, Hitler dismissed the general and assumed the post of commander of the army himself. Brauchitsch retired from the army 10 days later. Listed as a major war criminal and in poor health, he testified at the International War Crimes Tribunal at Nuremberg. He died in a British military hospital at Hamburg-Barmbeck while awaiting trial, on 18 October 1948.

Gene Mueller and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Dunkerque, Evacuation of; Halder, Franz; Hitler, Adolf; International War Crimes Tribunal: The Nuremberg Trials; Keitel, Wilhelm

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Braun, Wernher von (1912–1977)

German physicist and rocket scientist who relocated to the United States and helped develop the U.S. space program. Born in Wirsitz, Posen, Germany (now Poland), on 23 March 1912, Wernher von Braun decided as a teenager to become a physicist and pioneer in space rocketry. After graduating from the Berlin Institute of Technology in 1932, he earned a doctorate in physics from the University of Berlin, concentrating on developing liquid-fueled rocket engines.

In 1932, the German military began funding von Braun's work, and after heading a team of 80 engineers building rockets in Kummersdorf, he took over a new, custom-designed facility at Peenemünde in the Baltic, the remoteness of which allowed long-range rocket testing. By 1943, von Braun's team had successfully developed several rockets—the A-2, A-3, and A-4, the last capable of reaching Britain. Von Braun made no secret of his interest in sending rockets to explore space rather than using them as weapons, leading the German Schutzstaffel (SS) and Gestapo to arrest him for frivolous indulgence.



German physicist and rocket scientist Wernher von Braun, with globe. (Photo taken between 1950 and 1970, Library of Congress)

In 1943, as an Allied victory seemed increasingly likely, Adolf Hitler ordered von Braun's group to develop the A-4 as a "weapon of vengeance" to shower explosives on London. Von Braun's colleagues argued that, without him, they could not accomplish this task, so he was freed. The first operational V-2 ("Vengeance") rocket was launched in September 1944.

In early 1945, fearing for his group members' personal safety and the program's future, von Braun stole a train, forged travel documents, and led his production team to surrender to U.S. military representatives in western Germany. The Americans seized V-2s, spare parts, and scientific documents from the Peenemunde and Nordhausen facilities and gave von Braun and 126 of his scientists visas for the United States. The group initially settled at Fort Bliss, Texas, but transferred to Huntsville, Alabama, in 1950, where they shared their knowledge with American scientists and laid the foundations of the U.S. rocketry and space-exploration programs.

Von Braun's well-publicized suggestions that the United States build a space station and launch manned missions to the moon contributed to the establishment of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in 1958, Skylab, and the Apollo space program during the 1960s. Von Braun retired in 1972, and he died at Alexandria, Virginia, on 16 June 1977.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

V-2 Rocket

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Brereton, Lewis Hyde (1890–1967)

U.S. Army Air Forces and U.S. Air Force general who served in numerous theaters and campaigns during World War II. Born on 21 July 1890 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Lewis Brereton attended St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland, for two years before entering the U.S. Naval Academy, where he graduated in 1911. He then gave up his ensign's commission to secure a commission as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army coastal artillery.

In 1912, Brereton transferred to the Aviation Section of the Signal Corps and became a pilot the following year. When the United States entered World War I in April 1917, he was among the first aviators of the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) in France. As commander of the 12th Aero Squadron between March and October 1918, he shot down four German planes and earned the Distinguished Service Cross.

Following occupation duty in Germany, Brereton served as air attaché in Paris from 1919 to 1922. He next was an instructor at Kelly Field, Texas, and Langley Field, Virginia, and commanded the 2nd Bombardment Group. He graduated from the Command and General Staff School in 1927 and then held a succession of assignments. Promoted to temporary brigadier general in 1940, he commanded the 17th Bombardment Wing at Savannah, Georgia. The next year, he advanced to major general and commanded the Third Air Force at Tampa, Florida.

In November 1941, Brereton took command of the Far Eastern Air Force in the Philippines. General Douglas MacArthur refused him permission to launch an immediate strike on Formosa following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, and as a result, nearly half of his planes were destroyed in the Japanese attack of 8 December 1941. Following the fall of the Philippines, Brereton took command of Tenth Air Force in India.

In June 1942, he went to Cairo to command the Middle East Air Force, later designated the Ninth Air Force. He planned the air strikes against the oil refineries of Ploesti, Romania, in August 1943. One year later, as a lieutenant general, Brereton took command of the First Allied Airborne Army, which participated in Operation MARKET-GARDEN, the unsuccessful Allied invasion of the Netherlands. In December 1944, during the Battle of the Bulge, Brereton's planes dropped supplies to the encircled 101st Airborne Division at Bastogne, Belgium, and in March 1945, they dropped troops near Wesel, Germany, in Operation VARSITY to secure a bridgehead over the Rhine.

After the war, Brereton again commanded the Third Air Force at Tampa, Florida. He transferred to the U.S. Air Force in 1947 and was a member of the Military Liaison Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission before retiring in 1948. Brereton published his memoirs in 1946. He died in Washington, D.C., on 19 July 1967.

Zoltán Somodi

See also

Ardennes Offensive; MacArthur, Douglas; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Ploesti, Raids on; Rhine Crossings; Strategic Bombing

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Britain, Battle of (10 July–30 September 1940)

A series of individual engagements between the German Luftwaffe and the British Royal Air Force (RAF) between 10 July and 30 September 1940. The battle was first given its name by Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill during a speech in the British Parliament on 18 June 1940.

Adolf Hitler assigned the Luftwaffe the task of eliminating the RAF and winning control of the skies over Britain, an essential precondition to the German invasion of England (Operation SEA LION). There were additional reasons for the attack as well. Hitler did not particularly want a war with the British and had publicly appealed for an end to the conflict, only to be rebuffed on each occasion. He nevertheless hoped that if the Luftwaffe were to inflict sufficient damage, the British would be forced to sue for peace. Thus, plans went forward, but Hitler expressly forbade Luftwaffe attacks on civilian targets and on London in particular.

The British frantically worked to prepare for a German invasion, although their army had abandoned most of its equipment in France during the Dunkerque evacuation. They did what they could, removing signposts and such; a blackout had been observed from very early in the war. The Germans were expected to attack in strength by parachute, and there was a certain amount of hysteria about fifth columnists (covert enemy sympathizers) and spies. The British also experimented with means of setting the sea on fire, and Bomber Command secretly trained crews in the use of poison gas.

German plans called for the Luftwaffe to establish air superiority over southern England between 8 August and 15 September. To accomplish this, it had to achieve a highly favorable kill ratio in the air or destroy RAF Fighter Command's infrastructure on the ground, while keeping a sufficiently large fighter force intact to protect the German invasion fleet. Although leaders of the Luftwaffe were confident of defeating the RAF in the air, they were concerned about attrition among German aircraft.

Reichsmarschall (Reich Marshal) Hermann Göring had three Luftflotten available to prosecute the battle (for summary see Table 1). Luftflotte 2, based in Belgium and commanded by Feldmarschall (field marshal) Albert Kesselring, was the largest with 1,206 aircraft, over half of them fighters. General Hugo Sperrle headed Luftflotte 3, with 1,042 aircraft, in France, and Feldmarschall Hans-Jürgen Stumpff commanded Luftflotte 5, based in Norway, with only 155 offensive aircraft.

RAF Fighter Command, headed by Air Chief Marshal Hugh Dowding, was organized into four fighter groups with a total of 754 single-seat aircraft (for summary see Table 2). Air Vice Marshal Sir Quintin Brand commanded 10 Group, covering the southwestern United Kingdom. It bordered 11 Group, headed by Air Vice Marshal Keith Park, which was in the southeast and thus likely to bear the brunt of the German attack. Air Vice Marshal Trafford L. Leigh-Mallory commanded 12 Group in the Midlands, and Air Vice Marshal Richard Saul headed 13 Group, covering northern England and Scotland. Of the four group commanders, Keith Park was probably the most capable.

A significant advantage held by Dowding was that his force had the world's only integrated air defense system. Based on the telephone and teleprinter network, it was very resilient, merging inputs from radar stations and observer corps, filtering friendly or "doubtful" contacts, and devolving responsibility to group and sector levels. Group headquarters (HQs) allocated raids to sectors, which then scrambled fighters and guided them by radio to intercept the attacking aircraft. The system was the product of years of careful thought, and it enabled Dowding to make the most effective use of his scarce resources. The Luftwaffe was, of course, aware that some sort of fighter-direction system was in use but had no idea of its scope or capabilities.

A TURNING POINT? Battle of Britain

The Battle of Britain had important ramifications for the course of World War II. The most immediate of those that aided the Allied cause were the dividends that accrued from the fact that Germany had suffered its first major defeat in the war. The British triumph gave hope to the peoples of occupied countries in Europe and helped feed partisan resistance against German occupation forces. More important, this battle helped convince many in the neutral United States to favor offering greater assistance to Britain. Increasing popular support assisted President Franklin D. Roosevelt in securing passage of the March 1941 Lend-Lease Act, which provided vital war supplies to Britain and to other countries fighting the Axis powers.

In military terms, the Battle of Britain had a tremendous impact on Germany's war effort. The Luftwaffe never fully recovered from its losses in the battle, as Britain then surpassed Germany in aircraft production. Also, because Britain remained in the war, Germany now had to spread its military resources even more thinly, including assisting Italy in combatting British forces in the Mediterranean. Rather than the quick conclusion

of the war that German leader Adolf Hitler and commander of the Luftwaffe Reichsmarschall (Reich Marshal) Hermann Göring had believed was inevitable, the Germans faced a protracted conflict that placed great strain on their limited military resources.

This situation became far worse for Germany with the June 1941 commencement of Operation BARBAROSSA, the German invasion of the Soviet Union. The Battle of Britain played a role even before the opening of hostilities between the Germans and the Soviets. Hitler's decision to conquer the Soviet Union was based on his long-held belief in the need to secure Lebensraum (living space) for the German people, but he also expressed the opinion that a German defeat of the Soviet Union would in turn force Great Britain to surrender. Ultimately, BARBAROSSA resulted in a protracted two-front war in Europe. Following the entry of the United States into the conflict as an Allied power, U.S. military might, as well as substantial American material and military resources provided to Britain and the Soviet Union, presented the Germans with a war that they could not win, for Allied resources far surpassed those available to Germany.

The June 1944 Allied landing in Normandy was the final proof of the importance of the Battle of Britain. This amphibious assault on Hitler's Europe was made possible only because Britain remained a secure base for the assembly of the vast armada needed for the operation. In many respects, the 1940 struggle for mastery of the skies over Britain had changed the entire outcome of World War II in Europe.

Eric W. Osborne

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Britain, Battle of; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Hitler, Adolf

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In terms of aircraft, the German Messerschmitt Bf-109 and the British Supermarine Spitfire were quite evenly matched; the British Hurricane had a lower performance but was more maneuverable. Both RAF fighters benefited from the introduction of constant-speed propellers and 100-octane fuel during the battle. The Bf-110 was shown to be inferior to single-engined fighters, and the German Junkers Ju-87 Stuka dive-bomber was so vulnerable that it was withdrawn partway through the Battle of Britain. The RAF, however, had much to learn about fighter tactics. The Luftwaffe was using flexible, open formations that had worked well in Spain and earlier in the war. Many RAF squadrons were still using close formations that allowed little tactical flexibility.

About 80 percent of the RAF pilots were British, and roughly 10 percent were from Commonwealth countries, the bulk of them New Zealanders and Canadians, with some Aus-

tralian, South African, and Rhodesian. In June 1940, 1 Squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) arrived with its own Hurricanes. Most of the remaining 10 percent were pilots who had escaped from occupied Europe (Poles, Czechs, Belgians, Free French), and complete squadrons of Czechs (the 310 and 312 Squadrons) and Poles (the 302 and 303 Squadrons) were formed as the battle progressed. There were probably about 11 American pilots, but since some of them pretended to be Canadian in order to circumvent U.S. neutrality, it is difficult to be sure.

Beginning on 4 July 1940, a few isolated engagements took place between British and German fighters, and on 10 July, the Germans began the actual battle by mounting their first bombing raid against a convoy in the English Channel. The British had one ship sunk and one Hurricane lost; the Germans lost two Dornier Do-17s, two Bf-109s, and a Messer-

Table 1
Luftwaffe Frontline Attack Aircraft in the Battle of Britain, as of 13 August 1940
(excluding reconnaissance and weather reconnaissance aircraft)

Unit, Commander, and Base Location	Fighter		Dive-Bomber	Bomber		
	Bf-109	Bf-110	Ju-87	Do-17	He-111	Ju-88
Luftflotte 2 Kesselring Brussels	536	119	58	235	207	51
Luftflotte 3 Sperrle Paris	303	112	241	~6	164	216
Luftflotte 5 Stumpff Stavanger	Out of range	32	—	—	61	62

Source: Data from Bungay, Stephen. *The Most Dangerous Enemy: A History of the Battle of Britain*. London: Aurum, 2000.

schmitt Bf-110. Over the next few weeks, the Luftwaffe mounted repeated raids on convoys and coastal targets and attempted to engage British fighters en masse with fighter sweeps, but RAF controllers carefully avoided fighter-versus-fighter combat. Early in the battle, German harbors and shipping became RAF Bomber Command's priority targets; many minelaying and antishipping sorties were made against the massing invasion barges.

On 12 August, the Luftwaffe attacked and temporarily disabled radar stations at Dover, Pevensey, and Rye, and the Ventnor station was out of action for three days, although a dummy signal was sent out while repairs were made. The following day was designated "Alder Tag" (Eagle Day) and

marked the beginning of the German attack on Fighter Command. The Germans' plan for multiple raids was handicapped by bad weather and poor communications. Some of their bombers attacked without escorts and were lucky to escape with relatively few losses. There was very heavy fighting on 15 August, with the Luftwaffe flying over 2,000 sorties against airfields and aircraft factories. Luftflotte 5 attacked from Norway for the first and last time and was badly mauled. The Luftwaffe lost a total of 75 aircraft in exchange for 34 RAF fighters.

Both sides inevitably overestimated the amount of damage they were inflicting and overinflated claims for propaganda purposes. The Germans believed that the RAF was down to 300 fighters, partly because they had badly underestimated

Table 2
RAF Fighter Command Frontline Day-Fighters and Night-Fighters in the Battle of Britain, as of 1 July 1940

Unit, Commander, and Base Location	Day-Fighter			Night-Fighter
	Hurricane	Spitfire	Defiant	Blenheim
10 Group Brand Box (created from 11 Group, 8 July 1940)	24	20	—	11
11 Group Park Uxbridge	194	72	—	28
12 Group Leigh-Mallory Watnall	72	57	12	20
13 Group Saul Newcastle	58	51	14	10

Source: Data from Bungay, Stephen. *The Most Dangerous Enemy: A History of the Battle of Britain*. London: Aurum, 2000.



This picture, taken during the first mass air raid on London, 7 September 1940, describes more than words ever could the scene in London's dock area. Tower Bridge stands out against a background of smoke and fires. (New Times Paris Bureau Collection, USIA, National Archives)

the production rate of British aircraft. In fact, Dowding still had about 600 fighters. However, the high sortie rate (RAF pilots sometimes flew five missions daily) was beginning to take its toll on the aircrews of both sides, and cases of combat fatigue were becoming more common.

Bad weather between 16 and 19 August offered some respite for the defenders. The Germans then heavily escorted subsequent bombing raids in a bid to wear down the last few British fighters. The RAF's 11 Group suffered determined attacks on several airfields, and a dispute broke out between Park, who used squadron-sized attacks, and Leigh-Mallory, who favored use of a "big wing" of five squadrons to deal a crushing blow to the enemy. However, the big wing took so long to assemble that it only contacted the Germans at full strength on three occasions, and the large number of fighters involved led to exaggerated claims that gave a misleading impression of its effectiveness.

Toward the end of August, Dowding was beginning to run out of pilots, in spite of transfers from other commands and the length of the pilot training course being cut. The Poles of 303 Squadron were declared operational and quickly became the squadron in Fighter Command with the highest kill-to-loss ratio, 14-to-1.

Following the inadvertent jettisoning of German bombs over London and subsequent night raids by the RAF on Berlin, the Luftwaffe shifted its focus to London on 7 September. With hindsight, this decision can be seen as a mistake, but the prevailing view in the Luftwaffe was that the RAF had taken heavy damage and had few fighters left. On 15 September, the Luftwaffe launched a large attack protected by many escorts that were progressively engaged by Park's fighters as the force approached London, where the bombers were confronted by Leigh-Mallory's big wing. Many aircraft were



shot down on both sides; the RAF claimed 185 kills, but the Luftwaffe actually lost 56 aircraft against 28 RAF fighters.

On 27 September, Germany's Operation SEA LION was postponed indefinitely. At Benito Mussolini's insistence, however, units of the Italian Regia Aeronautica (the Italian air force) arrived in Belgium in mid-September and began training for attacks in England. They were, however, equipped with obsolete and obsolescent aircraft, and on their only daylight raid, on 11 November 1940, nearly half of the attacking force of two dozen aircraft were shot down, with no loss to the RAF. German daylight raids continued during October but tailed off through November as the emphasis gradually shifted to night attacks.

The Luftwaffe had effectively blunted itself on the most sophisticated air defense system in the world and was never again to be as strong relative to its opponents. In the Battle of Britain, the Luftwaffe had 2,698 experienced aircrew killed or captured, resulting in a shortfall that the German training machine was poorly equipped to make up. The RAF lost 544 fighter pilots and over 1,100 bomber aircrew, but it learned several important lessons and built up a cadre of experienced fighter units.

Andy Blackburn

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Aviation, Ground Attack; Chemical Weapons and Warfare; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Combat Fatigue; Dowding, Sir Hugh Caswall Tremeneere; Dunkerque, Evacuation of; Fighter Tactics; France, Battle for (1940); Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Hitler, Adolf; Kesselring, Albert; Leigh-Mallory, Sir Trafford L.; Park, Sir Keith Rodney; Radar; SEA LION, Operation; Strategic Bombing

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Brooke, Sir Alan Francis (First Viscount Alanbrooke) (1883–1963)

British army general and chief of the Imperial General Staff from December 1941 to January 1946. Born 23 July 1883 in Bagnères de Bigorre, France, Alan Brooke graduated from the Royal Artillery School at Woolwich and was commissioned in the Royal Artillery in December 1902. He served in Ireland and India in the years before World War I. On World War I's Western Front, he rose from captain to lieutenant colonel.



Field Marshal Sir Alan Brooke, Chief of the British Imperial Staff during WWII. (Getty Images)

Between the wars, Brooke was an instructor at the Staff College (1923–1926), commandant of the School of Artillery (1929–1932), and inspector of artillery as a major general by 1935. Early on, it was clear his was one of the strongest intellects in the British army.

On the eve of war (31 August 1939), Brooke was appointed commander of II Corps of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) in France, a position that lasted until his evacuation with many of his troops at the end of May 1940. He briefly returned to France from 12 to 18 June 1940, this time as nominal commander of the BEF. He became commander of the Home Forces on 19 July 1940, working to improve readiness for the expected German invasion.

Brooke was named chief of the Imperial General Staff (IGS) on 25 December 1941 and held the post until 25 January 1946, serving concurrently (from March 1942) as chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee. He was constantly in meetings, including all summit conferences from 1942 through 1945 concerned with the strategic direction of the war. He held off the American desire for a premature cross-Channel invasion while supporting action in North Africa and Italy to spread and destroy German forces prior to an invasion of France.

Brooke's feelings toward Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill varied from admiration to exasperation. Churchill's penchant for late-night meetings, his impetuosity or interference in military affairs, and his focus on detail at the expense of broader strategic thinking constantly tried his patience. Brooke's diaries, first published in highly edited fashion in the mid-1950s (and only made available in their full form in 2001), include some of the first postwar criticism of Churchill. Brooke grew to hate the meetings of the Combined Chiefs of Staff for the constant wrangling that arose—especially given his dim view of the strategic thinking of U.S. military leaders, especially Generals George C. Marshall and Dwight D. Eisenhower. A firm supporter of General Bernard Montgomery, he had little patience for those he believed to be of limited abilities.

Promoted to field marshal in January 1944, Brooke was created a baron (becoming Lord Alanbrooke of Brookborough in September 1945) and a viscount (in January 1946) and was knighted later in 1946. He died on 17 June 1963 at Ferney Close, England.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Marshall, George Catlett

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Broz, Josip

See Tito.

B-29 Raids against Japan (June 1944–August 1945)

The attacks on Japan by the B-29 Superfortresses of the Twentieth Air Force, part of the U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF), began in June 1944 and were key components in the series of shocks that produced the Japanese surrender in August 1945. The bombers burned down cities, mined waterways, destroyed major industrial targets, and eventually dropped two atomic bombs.

Planning for the use of the long-range B-29s against Japan did not begin until early 1943. Operation MATTERHORN,

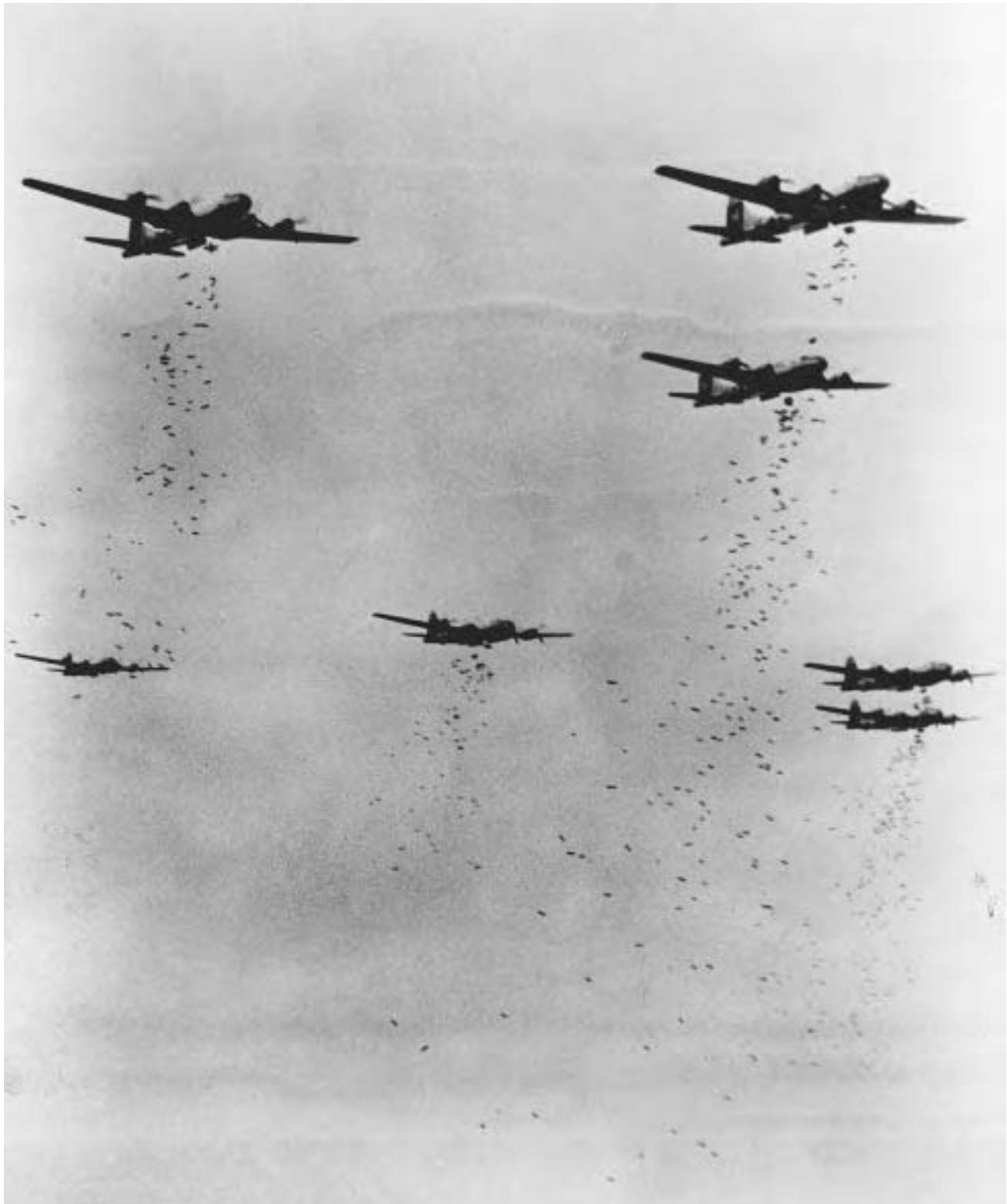
launching these heavy bombers from China, was finally approved at the Cairo Conference in December 1943, and the Combined Chiefs of Staff there also supported basing in the Mariana Islands. In April 1944, General Henry "Hap" Arnold established the Twentieth Air Force, to be commanded out of Washington so he could keep the B-29s under his control. The first aircraft were rushed to the Far East that month.

Primary bases for the XX Bomber Command of the Twentieth Air Force were located in India, with forward operating fields in China. Results were disappointing, even after Arnold sent his best problem-solver and combat commander, Major General Curtis LeMay, to take over the troubled unit. Facilities were austere, supply lines were long, crew training was inadequate, and the hastily fielded B-29s suffered from a host of technical problems, especially with their engines. In 10 months of operations, the XX Bomber Command delivered fewer than 1,000 tons of bombs to Japan, all against targets in Kyushu.

The USAAF had greater hopes for the XXI Bomber Command based in the Marianas, which launched its first attack on Japan in late November. This unit had better logistics and more secure airfields, and it was closer to Japan than the XX Bomber Command. Arnold expected Brigadier General Haywood Hansell, one of the architects of precision-bombing doctrine, to exert decisive airpower against Japan's homeland fortress and prove the worth of an independent air service. But Hansell was unable to put his theories into effective practice. In addition to the same problems faced in MATTERHORN, the XXI Bomber Command ran into a combination of cloud cover and jet stream winds over targets that rendered high-altitude precision bombing almost impossible.

In January 1945, a frustrated Arnold decided to consolidate all B-29s in the Marianas under LeMay, who reorganized the staff, instituted new training, and improved maintenance. After a month of ineffective precision attacks, however, LeMay, on his own initiative, shifted tactics as well. He adopted low-level, night, area, incendiary attacks, designed to cripple key targets by burning down the cities around them and to destroy the Japanese ability and will to carry on the war. The first raid on Tokyo on the night of 9–10 March was a spectacular success militarily, killing more than 90,000 people and incinerating 16 square miles. By the end of the war, B-29s had burned out 178 square miles in some 66 cities and killed many hundreds of thousands of people.

The Superfortresses also performed other missions against the enemy home islands. A psychological warfare campaign to drive panicked civilians out of targeted cities caused over 8 million Japanese to flee to the countryside. Mines dropped in waterways during the last five months of the war sank or damaged over 1 million tons of scarce shipping. And of course, B-29s from the 509th Composite Bomb Group dropped two atomic bombs. Japanese leaders and



Formation of B-29s releasing incendiary bombs over Japan in June 1945. (Library of Congress)

postwar bombing evaluations acknowledged that the B-29s made a significant contribution to ending the war.

Conrad C. Crane

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Arnold, Henry Harley "Hap"; Hiroshima, Bombing of; Incendiary Bombs and Bombing; Nagasaki, Bombing of; Strategic Bombing; Tokyo, Bombing of (1945)

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Buchenwald

See Concentration Camps, German.

Buckner, Simon Bolivar, Jr. (1886–1945)

U.S. Army general and head of the Alaska Defense Command from 1940 to 1944. Born near Munfordville, Kentucky, on 18 July 1886, Simon Buckner Jr. was the son of a Confederate army general and governor of Kentucky. He graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1908 and was commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry. Assignment to the Aviation Section of the Signal Corps kept him in the United States



Major General Simon Bolivar Buckner Jr., commanding general of the Alaska Defense Command, at his headquarters in Alaska, awarding the distinguished service medal to Colonel Benjamin B. Talley, engineering officer who planned and supervised the construction of all army installations in Alaska, 1943. (Library of Congress)

during World War I but made him one of the most air-minded of the army's ground officers. Buckner was an instructor in tactics at West Point between 1919 and 1923. He then completed the Advanced Infantry Course. After graduating from the Command and General Staff School in 1925, he continued there as an instructor from 1925 to 1928. He graduated from the Army War College in 1927, where he would also be an instructor between 1929 and 1932. Buckner returned to West Point as an instructor, and from 1933 to 1936, he was commandant of cadets.

Promoted to colonel in 1937, Buckner commanded the 66th Infantry Regiment in 1937 and 1938. He was then on duty with the Civilian Conservation Corps in Alabama between 1938 and 1939, before serving as chief of staff of the 6th Infantry Division in 1939 and 1940. Buckner was promoted to brigadier general in October 1940 and to major general in August 1941. Between 1940 and 1944, he headed the Alaska Defense Command. His primary responsibility was the construction of defense facilities, but units of his command cooperated with the navy in evicting the Japanese from two of the Aleutian Islands, Attu and Kiska.

A month after being promoted to lieutenant general in May 1943, Buckner went to Hawaii to organize the new Tenth Army. He headed an army review panel that investigated the intraservice dispute over Marine Lieutenant General Holland M. Smith's relief of Army Major General Ralph Smith on Saipan. Buckner commanded the main landings on Okinawa in April 1945. Citing logistical difficulties, he rejected navy pleas that he mount a subsidiary landing on the south end of the island.

On 18 June 1945, just three days before organized Japanese resistance ended, Buckner was killed by a coral fragment sent flying by the explosion of a Japanese shell. He was the highest-ranking American officer killed by enemy fire during the war.

Richard G. Stone

See also

Okinawa, Invasion of; Saipan, Battle of; Smith, Holland McTyeire

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Budenny, Semen Mikhailovich (1883–1973)

Marshal of the Soviet Union and commander of the Red Army Cavalry. Born on 25 April 1883 on a farm near Platoskaya,



Marshal of the Soviet Union Semen Mikhaylovich Budenny. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

Russia, on the Don River, Semen Budenny entered the tsarist army at age 20 and served as a dragoon in the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War. In 1907, he attended cavalry school, graduating with the rank of sergeant. Returning to his regiment, he served as a platoon sergeant during World War I.

In the Russian Civil War in 1918, Budenny joined a partisan cavalry regiment that grew to a brigade and then a division. Given brigade command, he showed great talent as a cavalry commander at the Battle of Tsaritsyn. During the war, Budenny distinguished himself against the best opposing White (counterrevolutionary forces) cavalry generals, and he ended the civil war in command of a cavalry army. Assigned to support the Western Front, he and Kliment Voroshilov—encouraged by political officer Josef Stalin—refused to obey front commander General Mikhail Tukhachevsky's orders, which led to the 1921 defeat of the Red Army in Poland.

Budenny was appointed deputy commander of Cavalry Forces in 1923. When that post was abolished in 1924, Stalin secured Budenny's appointment as inspector of the cavalry. Despite this relatively modest post, he was one of five generals appointed marshal of the Soviet Union in 1935.

During the 1937 military purges, Budenny headed the Moscow Military District and served on the tribunal that con-

demned his colleagues to death. But poor troop performance during the Finnish-Soviet War (1939–1940, Winter War) exposed Budenny's outdated training views, causing his removal from district command and appointment to the honorific post of deputy defense commissar. He held this post when the Germans attacked in 1941.

Given command of the strategic Southern Axis, Budenny became responsible for Kiev, which Stalin ordered not to be surrendered. When it became apparent that the city would fall, Budenny recommended its abandonment, resulting in his relief and transfer to command the Reserve Front behind Moscow.

Unable to organize an effective defense when the German army launched its advance on Moscow, Budenny was replaced by General Georgii Zhukov. In spring 1942, Budenny took command of the strategic North Caucasus Axis but was relieved after the Germans crushed the Crimean Front and raced into the Caucasus. In January 1943, Stalin appointed Budenny commander of the Red Army Cavalry. He held that post until 1953. Budenny died in Moscow on 26 October 1973.

Arthur T. Frame

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Eastern Front; Finnish-Soviet War (Winter War); Kiev Pocket, Battle of the; Moscow, Battle of; Stalin, Josef; Voroshilov, Kliment Efreimovich; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Bulgaria, Air Service

As a defeated Central Power in World War I, Bulgaria was forbidden under the Treaty of Neuilly to maintain an air force. In 1936, however, it illegally reconstituted its air force with German biplanes, adding Polish fighters and German Messerschmitt Bf-109E fighters after 1938. Simultaneous domestic production at the Bulgarian national aircraft factory, Darjavna Aeroplanna Rabotilnitza (DAR), augmented the force. After Bulgaria's declaration of war on Great Britain and the United States in December 1941, the Royal Bulgarian Air Force was further increased through Germany's contribution of a number of ex-Czechoslovakian aircraft. Bulgaria entered the war with 228 fighters, dive-bombers, and medium bombers of German, Polish, and Czechoslovakian design, together with DAR dive-bombers and reconnaissance aircraft.

The Bulgarian air force was largely inactive until mid-1943, when the U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) conducted their first major bombing raid on the Axis-held oil fields of Ploesti,

Romania. The Bulgarians' attempt to engage the U.S. B-24 bombers clearly showed that their air arm was hopelessly obsolete. Most of the fighters could not catch the bombers, and Bulgarian aircraft shot down only 2 B-24s. The Germans then provided the Bulgarians with 120 French Dewoitine D.520 fighters and additional Messerschmitt aircraft.

These additional planes did little to improve the effectiveness of the Bulgarian air force. Between December 1943 and January 1944, Allied bombers sortied virtually unmolested over Bulgaria, and their defensive cover of P-38 fighters shot down 39 Bulgarian fighters with negligible losses of their own. Introduction of the superior P-51 Mustang fighter further reduced the effectiveness of Bulgarian air defenses.

After it was invaded and occupied by the Soviet Union in September 1944, Bulgaria switched sides in the war. Royal Bulgarian Air Force units then provided ground support for the Red Army in Yugoslavia and Hungary.

Eric W. Osborne

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Aircraft, Production of; Balkans Theater; Bulgaria, Navy; Bulgaria, Role in War; Ploesti, Raids on

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Bulgaria, Navy

Bulgaria has never maintained a large navy, but the diminutive size of its naval force by the late 1930s was also the product of treaty restrictions stemming from the country's defeat in World War I and the difficult economic conditions Bulgaria faced during the interwar years. The core of the navy consisted of four obsolete Drski-class torpedo boats. Launched in 1907, they displaced 98 tons, were capable of 26 knots, and mounted 3 × 17.7-inch torpedo tubes. The remaining naval unit, the torpedo gunboat *Nadiejda*, was built in 1898 and displaced 715 tons. She was armed with 2 × 3.9-inch guns and two torpedo tubes and had a maximum speed of 17 knots.

This force was augmented after 1937 when Bulgaria entered into a military assistance agreement with Germany, which eventually yielded five motor torpedo boats of the 1939 Lurssen design. These vessels displaced 57.6 tons at full load and were armed with two torpedo tubes and a 20 mm anti-aircraft gun. Their engines could produce a maximum speed of 37.1 knots. On Bulgaria's entry into World War II in March 1941, Germany also supplied three formerly Dutch motor torpedo boats.

The Bulgarian navy saw little action in World War II. Its principal action came in October 1941, when it and the Romanian navy mined Bulgarian coastal waters. Up until

the time Bulgaria was driven from the war and occupied by the Soviet army in September 1944, the navy's chief duties were escorting coastal vessels in the Black Sea and patrolling the Danube River.

Eric W. Osborne

See also

Balkans, Theater; Bulgaria, Role in War

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Bulgaria, Role in the War

In 1940, Bulgaria had a population of 6,341,000 people. It was ruled by both a tsar and a popularly elected parliament. Tsar Boris III dominated the nation's foreign policy and was

largely responsible for the nation's neutrality on the outbreak of World War II in September 1939. Boris hoped that peace might be quickly achieved in Europe, and he also took note of the fact that although the Bulgarian people were largely pro-Soviet, the officers of the army were pro-German.

The weakness of Boris's policy, however, was the popular desire to attain additional territory in the Balkans. In World War I, Bulgaria had joined the Central Powers in an attempt to recoup territorial losses from the Second Balkan War. The country's defeat in that conflict led to a peace settlement that had further reduced Bulgarian territory. By 1940, the nation remained the only former Central Power that had not regained some of the land lost through the World War I peace treaties. Popular sentiment to redress this situation was high. Germany partially fulfilled these territorial ambitions on 7 September 1940 through the Treaty of Craiova, which granted the area of the southern Dobruja region to Bulgaria.

German interest in Bulgaria was the product of the increased strategic importance of the country. By late 1940, German plans



Tsar Boris III, King of Bulgaria and Adolf Hitler. (Corbis)

for the invasion of Greece and those for the conquest of the Soviet Union rendered Bulgaria much more significant to the Axis cause. On 1 March 1941, Sofia entered into an agreement whereby Bulgaria joined the Tripartite Powers and allowed German troops to move through Bulgarian territory. Unlike governments in other regions of eastern Europe, however, the government of Bulgaria remained autonomous.

Sofia stayed noncommitted militarily until 13 December, when it declared war on the United States and Great Britain; the country never declared war on the Soviet Union. Bulgaria's military participation in World War II was limited to the Balkans and centered on the acquisition of territory. Bulgarian troops did not take an active part in Germany's invasion and conquest of Yugoslavia or Greece, but the army did occupy both the Yugoslav and Greek portions of Macedonia and most of western Thrace.

Beyond these actions, Bulgaria contributed little to the Axis cause and often opposed German requests in both the military and civilian sectors. Military operations were confined to garrison duties in Macedonia and Thrace, despite Berlin's attempts to persuade Sofia to commit troops against the Soviet Union. Boris and his government also compromised little on the issue of the Jews, who formed about 1 percent of the nation's population. By the end of the war, most of Bulgaria's Jews had escaped extermination, although the government had confined them to labor camps to appease Berlin. Boris's opposition to German authority increased after the defeat of Italy, which led him to seek a withdrawal from the war.

Bulgarian fortunes declined after 28 August 1943 with the death of Tsar Boris III. His successor, Simeon II, was a child, and the regency that governed in his stead was less effective than Boris had been. Political unrest was compounded by popular instability due to declining Axis fortunes and a weakening of the Bulgarian home front. On 19 November 1943, Sofia experienced its first heavy attack by Allied bombers, and by late 1943, food and consumer goods were in short supply.

Support for a coalition known as the Fatherland Front and composed partially of Communists subsequently began to rise, as the Soviet Red Army marched toward Bulgaria's northern border in the spring of 1944. Efforts by Sofia to secure a peace settlement with the Americans or the British failed. Amid mounting Soviet pressure for a Bulgarian declaration of war against Germany, a new government acceded to Soviet demands on 8 September after Moscow had declared war on Bulgaria three days earlier. Red Army troops subsequently occupied the country and appointed members of the Fatherland Front to the government.

The new government, eager to please Moscow, committed 450,000 Bulgarian troops to the Red Army for operations in Yugoslavia and Hungary, at a cost of 32,000 killed and wounded. As operations unfolded, Communist officials in

Bulgaria began the process of firmly fixing the country in the Soviet sphere of influence.

Eric W. Osborne

See also

Balkans Theater; Bulgaria, Air Service; Bulgaria, Navy; Germany-Soviet Non-aggression Pact

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Bulge, Battle of the

See Ardennes Offensive.

Buna, Battle of (16 November 1942–22 January 1943)

Key battle in New Guinea in the Kokoda Trail Campaign. In July 1942, Japanese Major General Horii Tomitaro's South Seas Detachment landed at Buna on the northern coast of Papua, New Guinea. During the next weeks, the force moved south on the Kokoda Trail over the Owen Stanley Mountains toward Port Moresby on the southern coast of New Guinea, from which point they could reach Queensland, Australia, by air. Opposed by Australian and local Papuan forces, the Japanese offensive stalled some 30 miles short of Port Moresby, and during September and October, the remaining Japanese retreated back to Buna. There, the Japanese carved out a fortified zone approximately 16 miles long and 7 miles deep. It was manned by 8,000 troops occupying well-camouflaged bunkers and trenches, most in strong points at Gona and Buna villages and Sanananda Point.

Meanwhile, General Douglas MacArthur, commander of the Southwest Pacific Area, was determined to seize Buna as part of the Allied design to neutralize the Japanese base at Rabaul on New Britain Island. During the fall of 1942, troops from the Australian 7th Division and the U.S. 32nd Infantry Division moved by land and airlift to the Buna area. Because of the reluctance of Allied naval commanders to risk exposing their heavy ships to air attack or the treacherous reefs, MacArthur's divisions had no naval gun support and no transports to carry heavy artillery or tanks. Thus, for fire support, these troops had to depend on aircraft, which proved ineffective, and light guns and mortars, the shells of which bounced off the log walls of the Japanese bunkers.

The Allied attack began on 16 November. The Australians made some limited progress in their assaults on Gona and



The bodies of three U.S. soldiers lying on the beach at Buna, New Guinea, killed in fighting for Buna Gona. (Hulton Archive by Getty Images)

Sanananda. But at Buna, the 32nd Infantry Division faced a tactical nightmare and was stopped in its tracks. Lacking sufficient men, forced to cross nearly impassable swamps and jungles, and encountering murderous machine-gun fire, the division made no headway over the next two weeks despite suffering heavy casualties. High humidity and temperatures as well as jungle diseases added to the hardship.

Convinced the troubles at Buna were the result of poor leadership in the 32nd Infantry Division rather than a lack of proper weapons or the strength of the Japanese positions, MacArthur relieved its commander and turned the battle over to the I Corps commander, Major General Robert L. Eichelberger. Many men in the 32nd believed that MacArthur had done little to support them and did not understand the situation at the front. A resourceful commander committed to the welfare of his men, Eichelberger led from the front and came to be regarded as one of the best Allied commanders in the Pacific. He restored Allied morale and improved the logistical situation. In early December, U.S. engineers were able to open an airfield near Buna, significantly improving the Allied supply situation. The Australians moved in some artillery by air, and they also managed to move in light tanks by coastal barges. The tanks, although few in number, proved invaluable. The fighting was bitter, but on 9 December, the Australians took Gona. The more heavily fortified Buna resisted U.S. pressure, but on 14 December, the Americans took Buna

Village. By 2 January 1943, all of the Japanese in the American sector had been eliminated, and on 22 January, the Australians wiped out the last Japanese pocket at Sanananda.

The cost of the Buna operation was high. Almost all of the Japanese defenders were killed, and on the Allied side, the Australians lost 2,000 dead and wounded and the Americans 2,400. Another 2,900 Americans were hospitalized as a result of disease. Yet for the Allies, Buna was a significant victory, for it provided airfields to support additional offenses in New Guinea and also taught valuable lessons about Japanese tactics and jungle fighting.

John Kennedy Ohl

See also

Eichelberger, Robert Lawrence; Horii Tomitaro; Kokoda Trail Campaign; MacArthur, Douglas; New Guinea Campaign; Southwest Pacific Theater

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Burke-Wadsworth Act

See Selective Service Act.

Burma Road

Important route by which the Western Allies sent supplies to China. The Burma Road followed an ancient trail that such legendary warriors and adventurers as Kublai Khan and Marco Polo as well as anonymous spice and tea traders had traveled. In the early twentieth century, Chinese laborers transformed the path into a road. The route was further improved between 1937 and 1938 during the Sino-Japanese War. The completed Burma Road stretched approximately 700 miles from Lashio in Burma, then a British colony, to Kunming, capital of China's southwestern Yunnan Province. Chinese troops shipped military supplies from the Irrawaddy River ports at Rangoon on the railroad to Lashio for transportation to China via the Burma Road. When Japanese forces occupied Indochina and China's coastal areas, the interior Burma route became more heavily traveled.



A look at the Burma Road. (Franklin D. Roosevelt Library (NLFDR))

The narrow, twisting Burma Road crossed through jungle, plateaus, mountainous terrain as high as 11,000 feet above sea level, gorges, rivers, and valleys. Steep grades and plummeting drops challenged those who traveled it.

Allied transportation of military supplies from Burma via the road was disrupted when Japanese forces seized its southern end in April 1942. Hoping to delay a Japanese invasion, Chinese troops destroyed the Salween River Bridge and 25 miles of the adjacent Burma Road passing through the river's canyon. China was now isolated from Allied aid and faced perhaps its gravest crisis of the entire war. The United States responded by initiating cargo flights over the Himalayas; however, the cargo capacity of such flights "over the Hump" was severely limited, and the Western Allies feared that China might use its lack of military supplies as the excuse to conclude a separate peace with Japan. By September, Allied forces gained control of some of the region, and Colonel Leo Dawson of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers had command of road reconstruction. He directed a large group of Chinese engineers and approximately 30,000 local laborers.

In December 1942, U.S. combat engineers began building a road from Ledo in Assam, India, to Burma as an alternate route to bypass the Japanese-controlled sections. As of autumn 1943, Major General Lewis A. Pick directed work on the Ledo Road. By the next summer, builders connected the Ledo and Burma Roads at Mongyu, Burma, and military transport expanded. The two roads, known collectively as the Stilwell Road, were 1,079 miles in length.

Ultimately, some 28,000 U.S. and British engineers and 35,000 Burmese, Chinese, and other ethnic laborers surveyed, cleared, cut rock, widened, and repaired the Burma Road and built bridges. They also built a pipeline paralleling the road. Monsoon winds and the rainy season caused muddy conditions, and workers were plagued by red ants and mosquitoes that transmitted malaria. The strenuous work resulted in more than 1,000 deaths.

The previously Japanese-held parts of the Burma Road were reopened by mid-January 1945, with Pick leading a convoy. By August 1945, 120,000 tons of material and 25,000 vehicles had been transported on the Burma Road.

Following World War II and the Chinese Civil War, parts of the Burma Road fell into disrepair. The road was also altered by the building of more direct routes, and in places, it was improved with easier grades. In some spots, it was widened to as many as six lanes.

Elizabeth D. Schafer

See also

China, Civil War in; China-Burma-India Theater; Pick, Lewis Andrew; Stilwell, Joseph Warren

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Burma Theater (1941–1945)

As part of Japan's southern offensive in the aftermath of its 7 December 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor, its forces landed on the Kra isthmus and moved down Malaysia to take the great British naval base of Singapore. Thereafter, Japan repositioned forces used in the attack on Malaysia and moved into Burma to threaten the British in India. The location and topography of Burma helped determine that it would be a minor theater of action in World War II. As with much of Southeast Asia, the country features mountains and rivers running mostly north and south, and thus, it presented difficult topographical barriers for the Japanese forces advancing from east to west and for the British seeking to move from west to east. Terrain, climate, and disease remained formidable obstacles in the China-Burma-India Theater of War (CBI).

Despite these problems, the Japanese sought to secure Burma in order to cut the so-called Burma Road and further the isolation of China and to bring about an end to the Sino-Japanese War, as well as to stir up nationalist opposition to the British in India. The British government, meanwhile, wanted to keep China in the war and contain Japanese military forces sufficiently to the east to prevent them from encouraging Indian nationalist sentiment.

On 8 December 1941, Japanese Lieutenant General Iida Shōjirō sent the 33rd and 55th Divisions that comprised his Fifteenth Army into Thailand. Then, on 20 January 1942, Iida's reinforced divisions, with air support, crossed into Burma, driving west toward Moulmein and Tavoy. The Japanese had some success in mobilizing Burmese nationalists (notably Aung San) to their cause, promising them independence from British rule. Some uprisings occurred against the British.

The British defenders, initially commanded by Lieutenant General Thomas Hutton, believed the difficult terrain would limit the Japanese to roads and cleared areas. The British suffered early and serious defeats because of this mistaken preconception. On 30–31 January 1942, the Japanese drove Hutton's ill-equipped force—equivalent to two understrength

divisions of British, Indian, and Burmese troops—from Moulmein, inflicting heavy casualties in the process. The faster-moving Japanese then forded the Salween River and outflanked the British left. In the 18–23 February Battle of the Sittang, they nearly surrounded Hutton's entire force, destroying 12 British battalions and virtually all heavy equipment.

On 5 March 1942, Lieutenant General Sir Harold Alexander arrived in Rangoon and took command from Hutton but without markedly different results. Reinforcements from India restored British strength to two small divisions, but Alexander knew he could not hold back the Japanese, and on 7 March, after hard fighting, he abandoned Rangoon and vast storehouses of supplies to the advancing Japanese; Alexander himself barely evaded capture. The Japanese occupied Rangoon the next day.

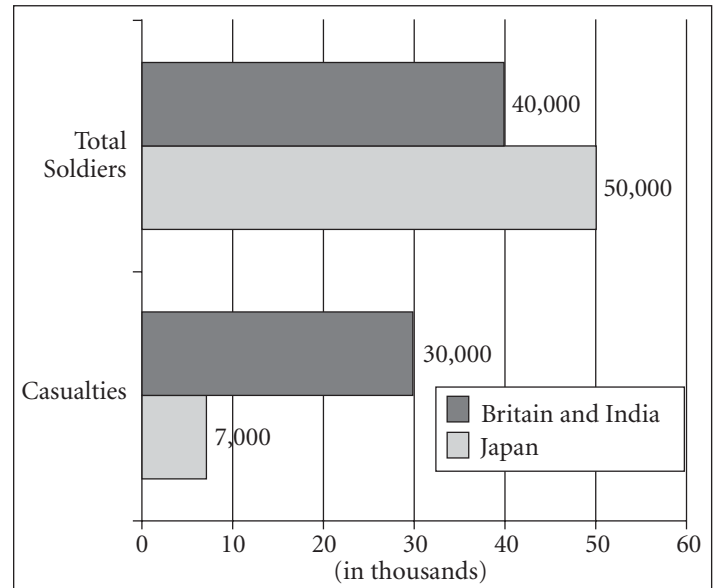
At that point, the understrength Nationalist Chinese Fifth and Sixth Armies, nominally commanded by U.S. Lieutenant General Joseph Stilwell, entered northern Burma along the Burma Road to help the retreating British. The British held the right (southern) side of a rough defensive line across Burma; the two Chinese armies held the center and left. Major General William Slim, who arrived in Burma in mid-March, took command of the Burma Corps, as the British units were titled. Slim turned out to be one of the top field commanders of the war. However, the British continued to move along roads, and the Japanese continued to move through jungle trails and thus were able to outflank and defeat them.

General Iida made plans to attack first at Yenangaung. He intended to occupy the Chinese Fifth Army, leave the Sixth Army to the east alone, and then mass against the Burma Corps at Yenangaung to secure the oil fields there.

On 21 March 1942, the Japanese struck the Fifth Army at Toungoo, cutting off the entire Chinese 200th Division. Chinese counterattacks under Stilwell, supported by Slim's British troops, allowed the 200th Division to fight its way free. Allied forces were slowly driven back, however. Although both Chinese armies at times fought well, they and the British did not cooperate effectively. Both sides were then reinforced, leading to a temporary pause in the fighting. The addition of part of the Chinese Fifty-Sixth Army permitted Stilwell to strengthen his defense of the Rangoon-Mandalay Railroad. Slim and Stilwell now laid plans for a counteroffensive, but Iida had also been reinforced, in the form of two additional divisions freed up by the surrender of Singapore.

The Japanese struck first, attacking the Burma Corps, defending Yenangaung, and holding elsewhere. In the ensuing Battle of Yenangaung (10–19 April 1942), the Japanese temporarily trapped the 1st Burma Division, but British counterattacks, assisted by pressure from the Chinese 38th Division on the Japanese flank, allowed the 1st Division to escape. At this point, the Japanese 56th Division surprised the Chinese Sixth Army in the Loikaw-Taunggyi area and defeated it. On

Casualty Rates in Burma Theater by May 1942

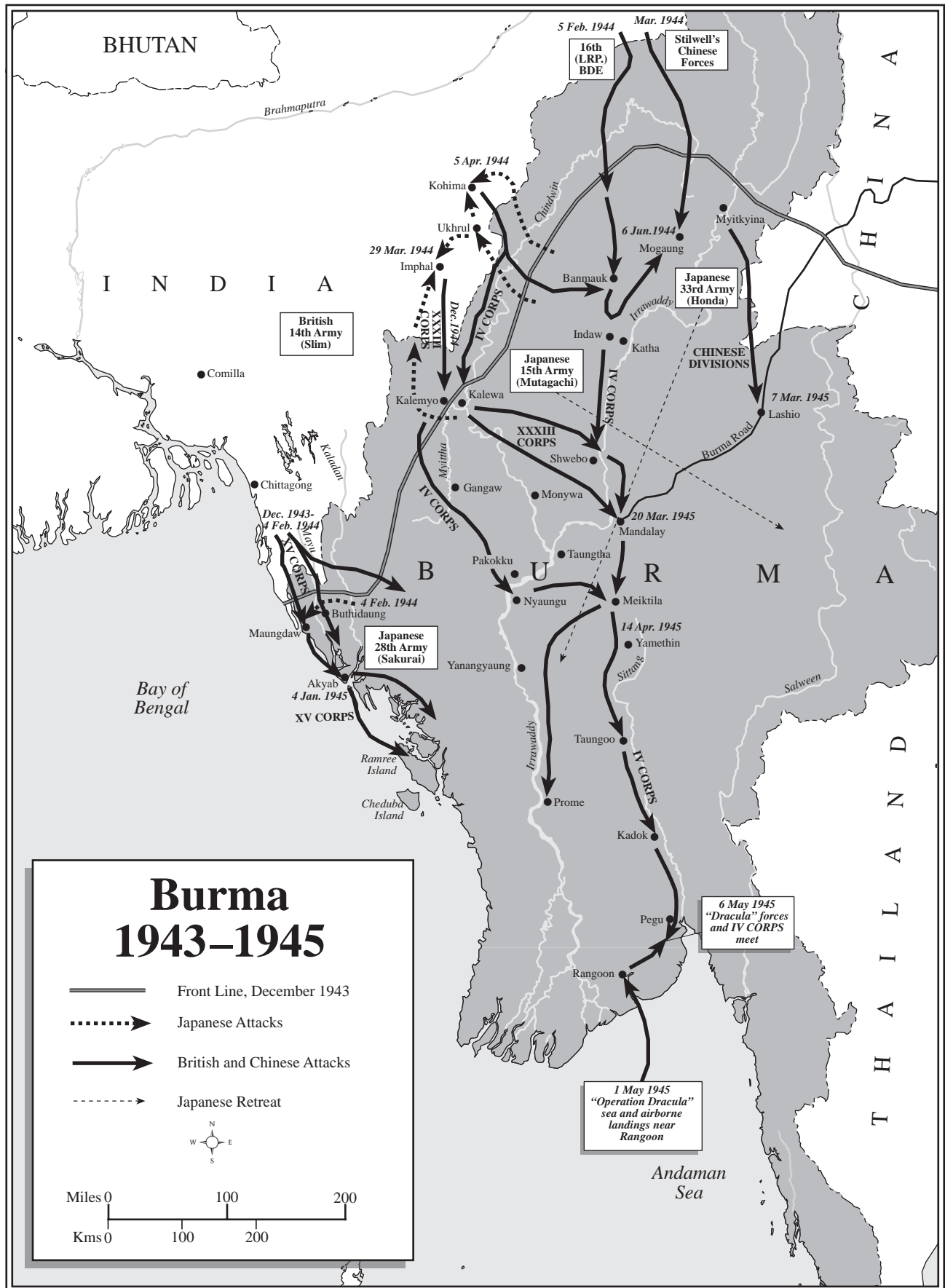


29 April, troops of the Japanese 56th Division entered Lashio and cut the Burma Road to China. Alexander now ordered his troops to withdraw across the Irrawaddy River.

General Slim continued to retreat under heavy Japanese pressure until he reached the Indian border and Imphal, with the Japanese pursuit halting at the Chindwin River. Meanwhile, the Chinese Sixth Army largely disintegrated under Japanese attacks, and other Chinese forces withdrew into Yunnan.

The rainy season beginning in May brought a welcome lull in operations for both sides. The Japanese now occupied four-fifths of Burma and needed time to organize their vast gains there and elsewhere, and the British wanted the respite to prepare a defense of eastern India. The cost of the fighting had been high, particularly for the British. A Japanese army of 50,000 men had beaten 40,000 British and Indian troops and inflicted on them some 30,000 casualties. The Japanese had also defeated 95,000 Nationalist Chinese troops, and only Major General Sun Li-jen's 38th Division withdrew as a fighting unit. At the same time, the Japanese had suffered only some 7,000 casualties themselves.

Allied air support had been largely ineffective. Colonel Claire Chennault's American Volunteer Group (AVG, the Flying Tigers) and Royal Air Force (RAF) fighters did what they could, claiming a high kill ratio against Japanese aircraft. But a surprise Japanese raid on Magwe on 21 March 1941 destroyed most British and American planes there and forced the RAF to withdraw to airfields in India. Although the RAF and Flying Tigers continued to try to assist the withdrawing Allied troops, ground-air communications were poor, and the long distance from their airfields and thus the limited time over target rendered their efforts largely ineffective. The



arrival of long-range Spitfires for the RAF helped somewhat. And in June 1942, with land resupply to China through Burma no longer possible, Stilwell, now commanding the China-Burma-India Theater, began aerial resupply by transport aircraft flying from airfields in northeastern India to Kunming. The planes were forced to fly over the eastern Himalayas, known to the American pilots as “the Hump.”

General Archibald Wavell, now commanding in India, worked to prepare defenses against a possible Japanese invasion of that country from Burma. Wavell realized that it would be a year or more until he would have trained troops and sufficient matériel to assume the offensive, but at the same time, he worried about the effects of inaction on British, Indian, and Burmese morale. As a consequence, he decided to conduct a limited offensive action during the 1942–1943 dry season. Accordingly, in December 1942, the British launched a counterattack by the 14th Indian Division of Indian and British units against Arakan, the northwest coastal province of Burma and an area largely separated from the rest of the country by rugged mountains. Although the Japanese there were badly outnumbered, the 14th Division moved too slowly, allowing the Japanese time to build up their strength and to fortify. Iida rushed in reinforcements, and in March 1943, troops of the Japanese 55th Division went on the offensive and worked their way over the mountains to hit the British in the flank and force their troops back to India by May. The British had again been proven wrong in their assumption that the Japanese would stick to existing roadways.

Meanwhile, Brigadier General Orde Wingate secured Wavell’s approval to try “long-range penetration attacks” with his 77th Indian Brigade, known later as the Chindits (their emblem was a *chintse*, a mythical Burmese beast resembling a lion, and they operated beyond the Chindwin River). This move was a British effort to try to beat the Japanese at their own game in using infiltration tactics. The Chindits would operate deep behind enemy lines in an effort to damage Japanese communications, destroy supplies, and sow confusion. The force of 3,000 Chindits would rely entirely on aerial resupply for food, clothing, medicines, and arms.

The first Chindit raid began with a crossing of the Chindwin River in February 1943. The force managed to cut sections of the Mandalay-Myitkyina and Mandalay-Lashio railroads, and in mid-March, they crossed the Irrawaddy River. This latter move brought major Japanese reaction, forcing a Chindit withdrawal in April. Newspapers in the Allied countries claimed a great victory, but in reality, the raid had been a failure militarily. The damage to Japanese troops and positions was slight, and the raiders lost half of their force.

Although the British fared poorly on land, the Royal Navy continued to control the Indian Ocean, which was immensely important for the long supply lines to the Middle East and to the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, to secure the loyalty of Indian

nationalists, the British held out the promise of eventual sovereignty after the war. The major Allied problems in the Burma Theater remained the nearly complete lack of cooperation between the British and Chinese strategists, the inability to cope with Japanese tactics, and inadequate resources and supplies for a fighting front far down the Allied priority list.

Stilwell now mounted a drive into northern Burma. In February 1943, he committed the American-trained reconstituted Chinese 38th Division in upper Assam on the Burma-India border, where U.S., Chinese, and Indian engineers were building a road from Ledo. The 38th Division drove the few Japanese from the area. In late October, having secured the reluctant support of General Wavell and the agreement of Chinese Nationalist leader Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) to employ his forces to reopen a land route to China, Stilwell committed the 38th Division south into the Hukawng Valley, where it was resupplied entirely by air. At the same time, the Chinese 22nd Division moved up from Ramgarh to Ledo. Meanwhile, Stilwell pushed construction of the road from Ledo.

In late November, Japanese forces struck the 38th and subjected it to punishing attacks, completely cutting off some of its units. U.S. aerial resupply prevented the Japanese from overrunning the troops, however. At the end of December, Stilwell arrived, along with light artillery, and the Chinese then counterattacked, driving the Japanese from the Hukawng Valley.

During January and February 1944, there was stalemate in the Hukawng Valley. Japanese Major General Tanaka Shinichi’s 18th Division halted the advance of the Chinese 38th and 22nd Divisions. The Chinese resumed their advance in late February.

Much of the rest of Burma had remained quiet throughout 1943. In a considerable engineering feat, the Japanese built a 250-mile-long railroad across Burma, in the process employing as slave labor British prisoners captured at Singapore and some American captives. The Japanese utilized the railroad to mass supplies for an attack on eastern India. On 1 August 1943, they also granted Burma its “independence,” although this step did not resonate sufficiently with the Japanese-installed Burmese government to enable Japan to exploit fully Burmese rice and petroleum resources.

The Japanese reorganized their forces in Burma, which were under the overall command of the Southern Resources Area commander, Field Marshal Count Terauchi Hisaichi, in Saigon. In March 1943, Lieutenant General Kawabe Masakazu had assumed command from General Iida of the six Japanese divisions in Burma. Kawabe had direct supervision of the two divisions in southwest Burma; the other four Japanese divisions were in the north under Lieutenant General Mutaguchi Renya. Kawabe directed Mutaguchi to invade eastern India with three of his divisions, and toward that end, the Japanese amassed some 100,000 troops. The Japanese intended to seize the Imphal-Kohima Plain of Manipur, the



A Chinese machine gun crew in their gun pit in the Burmese jungle. (Library of Congress)

logical British staging area for an invasion of Burma from central India. Their second major goal was to take and hold the rail line into Assam that passed through Manipur. Along it flowed most of the supplies that were ferried into China, as well as those destined for Stilwell's divisions in north Burma.

On the night of 3 February 1944, the Japanese attacked in the south, and once again, they surprised the British with the size and speed of the assault. But the now experienced British and Indian troops held their positions even when surrounded and did not surrender their supply dumps, which the Japanese needed to support their advance. British and U.S. aircraft flew supplies to the defenders in Imphal, and other aircraft strafed the Japanese. General Slim also organized a relief column, drove it to Imphal, and broke the siege after 88 days on 22 June. After desperate fighting by both sides, the Japanese, short of supplies and facing the onset of the monsoon season, called off the attack, and Fifteenth Army began to withdraw.

In October 1943, Vice Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten had taken up his post as commander of the new South-East Asia Command, although command ambiguities remained. He and Slim agreed that British forces could not do much

until the next dry season, although they were willing to organize some spoiling attacks to take pressure off a larger offensive sought by General Stilwell for his Chinese units. Wingate, now a major general and enjoying British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill's full support, planned a second and even more audacious raid for his Chindits that would include three brigades supported logistically by the U.S. Army Air Forces. The operation involved 25,000 men, of whom 3,000 were Americans. Led briefly by Brigadier General Frank Merrill, the U.S. force was known as Merrill's Marauders.

The March 1944 raid began with high promise, but the whole venture was doomed from the start because its success rested on the active participation of Chinese divisions. These forces were being husbanded by Jiang Jieshi, who drove his chief of staff, Stilwell (also commanding all U.S. forces in the CBI), to distraction. In secret instructions to his generals, Jiang sharply limited Chinese military involvement, which in any case proved to be ineffectual. Another factor that contributed to the failure of the raid was the death of Wingate in a plane crash in India on 24 March, whereon Stilwell controlled operations. Wingate and Stilwell were much alike—

both eccentric and dynamic—but they seldom disclosed their intentions, and as a result, there were serious failures in planning and staff work. Stilwell, in fact, disliked the British and did not use the Chindits effectively. Nor did he understand the difficulties facing guerrilla forces while dependent on aerial resupply but operating as conventional units.

The Japanese, heavily outnumbered in the air and lacking other modern weapons, fought back with considerable tenacity. Finally, the monsoon rains that began in mid-May slowed the offensive and brought more malaria. By June, the chief Allied enemies were not the Japanese but exhaustion, malnutrition, and disease. Although the raid inflicted 50,000 Japanese casualties against only 17,000 for the British, Allied forces were obliged to withdraw from Burma in July. Since it was ultimately unsuccessful, the 1944 Burma Campaign has remained a controversial subject. Unfortunately for all involved, it had no practical effect on the outcome of the war.

The lack of Chinese support in this operation displeased U.S. leaders, who had hoped that Nationalist armies would tie down the Japanese forces. Jiang, however, seemed more preoccupied with building up his own strength so that he could do battle with his domestic opposition, the Chinese Communists, after the war. Washington's realization that it could not count on Jiang to fight the Japanese resulted in increased support for forces under Admiral Chester Nimitz in the central Pacific and General Douglas MacArthur in the southwest Pacific.

As the Japanese offensive ended, the Allies began their own offensive in October 1944, with the British largely in support of a Chinese attack. Stilwell employed five American-trained and American-equipped Chinese divisions to take Myitkyana. Opposing them was the Japanese Thirty-Third Army, composed of three depleted divisions commanded by Lieutenant General Honda Masaki. Stilwell hoped to be able to trap the Thirty-Third Army between the five divisions in Burma and the Y-Force in Yunnan. However, Stilwell's poor relationship with Jiang and the situation in China after the Japanese attacked to remove the threat of U.S. strategic bombers there led Jiang to demand that Washington replace Stilwell. This change occurred on 18 October, with Stilwell succeeded by Lieutenant General Daniel Sultan. Jiang's recall of two of the Chinese divisions from Burma to help stop the Japanese offensive in south China brought the Chinese offensive against the Japanese in Burma to a halt in December.

By fall 1944, the Allied position in Burma had improved considerably and the Japanese position had weakened, reflecting the relative fortunes of each side in the larger conflict. General Slim followed up his successful relief of Imphal, and in October, the British crossed the Chindwin River. The new Japanese commander in Burma, Lieutenant General Kimura Heitaro, had 10 divisions. He wanted to let the British advance in the center and outrun their supplies; then, he

would counterattack to cut off and surround the British. This approach set the stage for the climactic battles of 1945.

In December 1944, the Allies assumed the offensive in the south (assisted by landing craft no longer needed for the invasions of France), in the center, and from China in the north. The southern advance required crossing many rivers and canals, and the going was naturally rather slow, although the Anglo-Indian forces regained the port of Akyab and Ramree Island as Kimura withdrew. Meanwhile, two Chinese divisions advanced into north Burma, reopened the Burma Road against negligible Japanese resistance, and seized Lashio in early March.

The chief battle took place in central Burma. Slim figured out Kimura's plan, and with great fanfare, he dispatched forces to cross the Irrawaddy River while sending several divisions quietly to the south to outflank the Japanese, cut their line of communications and retreat, and possibly take the entire Japanese force defending central Burma. Advancing on a 140-mile front, the British captured Meiktila on 4 March. They took Mandalay two weeks later, while repulsing a simultaneous Japanese counterattack against Meiktila.

Slim sought to gain Rangoon while the roads and rice paddies were still sunbaked, dry, and hard. On 3 May, a combined amphibious, land, and airborne attack recaptured the capital city, and the fighting largely came to an end. Most Japanese troops fled to neighboring Thailand.

Charles M. Dobbs and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Alexander, Harold Rupert Leofric George; Burma Road; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Hump, The; Iida Shōjirō; Jiang Jieshi; Kimura Heitaro; Merrill, Frank Dow; Mountbatten, Louis Francis Albert Victor Nicolas; Slim, Sir William Joseph; Stilwell, Joseph Warren; Sultan, Daniel I.; Sun Liren; Terauchi Hisaichi; Wingate, Orde Charles

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Byrnes, James Francis (1879–1972)

U.S. politician, wartime "assistant president" to Franklin D. Roosevelt, and secretary of state from 1945 to 1947. Born on 2 May 1879, in Charleston, South Carolina, the son of Irish

immigrants, James Byrnes studied for the law. After qualifying as a lawyer, he won election to Congress in 1910, and in 1930, he became a senator for North Carolina. A longtime friend of President Roosevelt, Byrnes used his considerable negotiating talents to steer New Deal legislation through Congress from 1933 onward. In 1941, Roosevelt appointed him to the Supreme Court.

Sixteen months later, in 1942, Byrnes left the bench to head the new Office of Economic Stabilization. The following year, he became director of the Office of War Mobilization (from 1944, the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion). In domestic policy, Byrnes, often called the “assistant president,” exercised powers second only to those of Roosevelt himself. Responsible for coordinating all domestic war agencies and federal government departments, he worked closely with both Congress and the bureaucracy to devise the most efficient arrangements to implement the war effort.

Passed over as Roosevelt’s vice presidential running mate in 1944, Byrnes, already considered a hard-liner on the Soviet Union, attended the February 1945 Yalta Conference of the “Big Three” Allied leaders. Returning to Washington, he successfully lobbied Congress to support the outcome of Yalta, deliberately glossing over outstanding contentious issues dividing the Soviet Union and its allies. Still disappointed over the 1944 election, he resigned in March 1945.

On Roosevelt’s death one month later, Vice President Harry S Truman became president. Truman immediately appointed Byrnes as head of a top-secret committee on the employment of atomic weapons, then in their final stage of development, whose existence Byrnes recommended be kept secret even from U.S. allies until their first use in combat. He believed U.S. possession of the bomb would make Soviet behavior more malleable.

In June 1945, Truman made him secretary of state. Attending the July 1945 Potsdam Conference, Byrnes hoped the speedy employment of atomic weapons against Japan

would prevent the Soviet Union from entering the Pacific war and enhancing its influence in Asia. He also helped to reach a compromise agreement on German reparations. Returning to Washington, he took part in drafting the Japanese surrender agreement in August, implicitly agreeing to retain the emperor. As Soviet-U.S. relations became more strained after the war, Byrnes sought for several months to negotiate compromise solutions, traveling extensively to meet with other foreign ministers outside the United States. In early 1946, political complaints that he was too conciliatory led Byrnes to assume a harsher rhetorical stance toward the Soviet Union. Even so, at the end of the year, Truman—increasingly irked by Byrnes’s policies, his secretive diplomacy, and his condescending attitude—made George C. Marshall secretary in his stead.

Byrnes returned to South Carolina and wrote his memoirs. In 1948, he broke with Truman over the issue of civil rights; subsequently, he served two terms, from 1951 to 1955, as governor of South Carolina, defending segregationist policies. Byrnes died in Columbia, South Carolina, on 9 April 1972.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Atomic Bomb, Decision to Employ; Marshall, George Catlett; Potsdam Conference; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Truman, Harry S; Yalta Conference

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Cairo Conference (23–26 November and 3–7 December 1943)

Code-named *SEXTANT*, this two-part conference was held in Cairo, Egypt, to discuss military strategy; the primary participants were U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill. The meetings in Cairo took place before and after a conference bringing together Roosevelt, Churchill, and Soviet leader Josef Stalin at Tehran. The Tehran Conference (code-named *EUREKA*) proved necessary after Stalin refused to attend *SEXTANT* because a Chinese delegation, headed by Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), was to participate; since the Soviet Union was not then at war with Japan, Stalin did not want to attend or allow any other Soviet representative to take part in *SEXTANT*. Churchill had had doubts about a meeting with Jiang, too, for he regarded China as a sideshow until the war in Europe was won, but Roosevelt hoped to see China as a fourth great power after the war. In addition to large U.S., British, and Chinese delegations, Lord Louis Mountbatten, supreme commander of the Allied Southeast Asia Command, attended *SEXTANT* with his own delegation.

Roosevelt traveled across the Atlantic on the battleship *Iowa* and met with General Dwight D. Eisenhower in Algeria before flying on to Cairo, where he met with Jiang. At the Cairo Conference, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Jiang restated their determination to fight on until the war was won. Jiang pressed for an amphibious operation in the Bay of Bengal to coincide with Chinese participation in the fighting in Burma. Roosevelt initially agreed to this plan but was forced to withdraw his pledge following discussions at Tehran.

The Allied leaders announced in the Cairo Declaration that after the war, Japan would be reduced to the territories it held before World War I. China would regain Manchuria, the Pescadores Islands, and Formosa, and Korea would, “in due course,” be restored to independence. In the meantime, a joint U.S., Chinese, and Soviet trusteeship would hold sway in Korea, an arrangement that might last for 40 years. The mandated Japanese islands would, in all probability, pass to U.S. control, and it was implied that the USSR would regain South Sakhalin Island (lost in the Russo-Japanese War) and secure the Kuriles (which had never been Soviet territory). Stalin also wanted a warm-water port for the Soviet Union, probably at Dairen, Manchuria.

The second part of *SEXTANT*, which followed the Tehran Conference, included discussions with President Ismet İnönü of Turkey in an effort to draw his country into the war on the Allied side. In addition, Roosevelt informed Churchill of his decision to appoint General Eisenhower to command the Normandy Invasion.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Burma Theater; China, Role in War; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Jiang Jieshi; Mountbatten, Louis Francis Albert Victor Nicholas; *OVERLORD*, Operation; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Tehran Conference; Turkey

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Chinese Generalissimo Jiang Jeishi (Chiang Kai-Shek), U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill during the Cairo Conference, December 1943. (Bettman/Corbis)

Calabria, Battle of (9 July 1940)

Mediterranean air and naval battle fought between the British and Italians off the Calabrian coast of Italy; the Italians and Germans know it as the Battle of Punta Stilo. Beginning on the evening of 6 July 1940, the Italians dispatched a large convoy from Naples to Benghazi. At the same time, the British commander in the Mediterranean, Vice Admiral Andrew B. Cunningham, sent two small convoys with numerous civilians on board from Malta to Alexandria. On 7 July, the Italians learned of the British ship movements and immediately sent naval units from several bases to sea. Vice Admiral Inigo Campioni had command, concentrating the ships in the Ionian Sea. Campioni had the modernized but small battleships *Cesare* and *Cavour*, with

12.6-inch guns; 6 heavy and 10 light cruisers; and 41 destroyers and torpedo boats. Also at sea but scattered throughout the Mediterranean were 25 Italian submarines.

Cunningham planned to cover the convoys with his naval force at Alexandria, consisting of the battleships *Warspite*, *Malaya*, and the unmodernized *Royal Sovereign*, all armed with 15-inch guns; the aircraft carrier *Eagle*; 5 light cruisers; and 23 destroyers. Vice Admiral Sir James Somerville sortied from Gibraltar with Force H as a feint, which resulted in the loss of a destroyer to an Italian submarine and some minor splinter damage from high-altitude bombing.

Following the safe arrival of the Italian convoy at Benghazi, Campioni decided to try to intercept the British convoy and its escorts steaming from Alexandria. He hoped that by the time of the naval encounter, the Italian air force would have been able to damage the British ships as they approached the Italian coast. Indeed, more than 100 Italian

aircraft conducted attacks on the British vessels, but the high-level bombing did little damage: all but one bomb missed. The bomb that hit its target damaged the light cruiser *Gloucester*, and a near miss damaged the *Eagle* sufficiently to keep her from participating in the subsequent air attack on Taranto. The Italian planes also carried out several attacks in error on their own warships, again with no result.

Meanwhile, Cunningham was maneuvering to position his own ships so as to block the Italian ships from returning to Taranto. The *Eagle* launched several air attacks. Although not hitting any Italian ships, these attacks disrupted their movement, and British fighters did shoot down and chase off Italian reconnaissance aircraft. As a consequence, by the morning of 9 July, the Italians were not cognizant of the exact location of the British ships, whereas the British had fairly reliable information on the location of the Italian vessels.

The battle opened on the afternoon of 9 July as the two fleets at last came into contact, and it lasted nearly two hours. The fight was initially a long-range cruiser gunnery duel, resulting in no damage to either side, although the British salvo spreads tended to be much tighter than those of the Italians.

As the Italian battleships came into action, they were opposed by Cunningham's flagship, the *Warspite*, the fastest of the three British battleships. In the ensuing action, three British 6-inch-shell hits on the Italian heavy cruiser *Bolzano* and one 15-inch-shell hit on the *Cesare* slowed both and compelled the Italian main force to retire. The fact that three British battleships had outgunned the entire Italian fleet deeply affected Italian tactics.

As the Italian main force pulled back, both sides ordered their destroyers forward. At long range, the Italians fired torpedoes through their smoke screens but registered no hits. The ships in the Italian fleet then retired to their home ports. The Germans later criticized the Italians for not having launched night torpedo attacks with their numerous destroyers.

On 10 July, the *Eagle* mounted an air strike on Augusta, Italy. An Italian destroyer was sunk but was later raised and repaired, and an oiler was damaged. Meanwhile, the British Malta convoys arrived safely at Alexandria.

The Battle of Calabria raised British morale, for the Royal Navy had successfully engaged a numerically superior enemy force close to its own coast. The Italians' failure could be traced to poor coordination between their air and naval assets, although this situation steadily improved in the course of the war. The Italians also came to realize the ineffectiveness of high-altitude bombing against warships maneuvering at high speed and firing back. The Battle of Calabria demonstrated the fallacy of the decision made by Italian dictator Benito Mussolini and his navy to completely embrace land-based aviation at the expense of aircraft car-

riers. Thereafter, Italian naval leaders were reluctant to commit major naval units beyond the range of their land-based aircraft.

Jack Greene

See also

Cunningham, Sir Andrew Browne; Mussolini, Benito; Somerville, Sir James Fownes; Taranto, Attack on

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Camouflage

The disguising of military personnel, equipment, or installations. With technical advances in long-range aviation and aerial photography, as well as optical sights for weapons systems, camouflage became a regular feature of World War II. It was applied to individual soldiers, to their equipment (such as tanks and warships), and to industrial facilities and airfields.

Camouflage, also called protective concealment, attempts to disguise an object that is in plain sight in order to hide it from something or someone. If an object cannot be concealed—often something large, such as an airfield or a warship—camouflage may succeed merely by preventing an enemy from identifying the object. Camouflaging is normally accomplished by applying disruptive or blending paint or material to the object.

Modern camouflage techniques can be traced back to the French Army's Camouflage Division, established in 1915, when the army gave artists the responsibility for concealing airfields. The term *camouflage* comes from the French word *camoufler*, meaning "to blind or veil."

During World War II, aircraft were often camouflaged, in direct contrast with the practice in World War I, attributed particularly to Germany, of painting some aircraft in bright colors in order to intimidate opposing aviators. World War II aircraft tended to be painted in graduated color schemes, with darker shades on top growing progressively lighter toward the plane's undersection.

This technique served two purposes. The indistinct boundary between colors aided in obscuring the aircraft's silhouette and shape, leaving an opposing pilot unsure if a superior type of plane was about to be engaged. This scheme also allowed for a degree of camouflage both while the plane was in the air and when it was on the ground, particularly when a lightly painted aircraft belly was viewed against a



Not one but two soldiers. The sniper on the left is wearing regular fatigues, and the one on the right is in full battle dress disguised as though he were part of the terrain, ca. 1942. (Library of Congress)

light sky or when the green aspect of the same airplane parked on a grass field was seen from above.

Airfields themselves were camouflaged to avoid enemy air strikes. An advanced airfield, for example, might be obscured by having camouflage netting extend a wheat field onto one of the runways and having another runway appear as a football field delineated by steel-wool “ditches.” Troops might even play sports on the airfield to help deceive enemy reconnaissance.

Although the aim was to avoid detection, obscuring clear identification often might suffice. For instance, the multi-angular paint scheme in varying shades of gray that was applied to many naval vessels during the war served to confuse an enemy’s determination of the vessels’ speed and bearing, rather than to render them invisible. By diminishing torpedo or gunfire accuracy, a ship had a greater chance to avoid being hit.

Army vehicles, routinely painted green, brown, or gray to blend in with fields or urban areas, often had their camouflage augmented by their crews. Camouflage netting was used to break up the distinctive outlines of many vehicles, such that a parked tank might appear like a small tree. Netting, however, worked best with stationary vehicles, artillery pieces, and logistics sites. If used on other equipment or when a vehicle was moving, nets interfered with movement and vision, and they got in the way of effective tank fire.

Deception planners went to great lengths to create mock airfields and ports, complete with phony ships, planes, tanks, and personnel. Camouflage was incorporated into these plans; for example, simulated equipment was camouflaged to make it appear more authentic. Occasionally, such camouflage would intentionally be poorly applied: if it was too effective, the enemy might not have seen the phony equipment at all, negating the deception effort. False sites

drew many German air strikes during the 1940 Battle of Britain.

A form of electronic camouflage was required as radar and radio interception expertise advanced. This type of camouflage normally took the form of maintaining radio silence to avoid detection. However, in the absence of stealth technology, it was easier to deceive radars through electronic camouflage than to conceal the target. In 1944, for example, German radars were tricked into believing Calais was the target of Operation OVERLORD when small, towed barges with electronic emitters gave off the radar reflection of approaching 20,000-ton amphibious ships.

British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, always interested in military gadgetry, was a great supporter of camouflage efforts, though his efforts in this field met with varying degrees of success. For instance, attempts to deny the Germans navigation landmarks by concealing inland lakes with coal dust failed: the dust blew to the edges and outlined the lakes, making them even more prominent. Churchill also insisted that factories be concealed with smoke, a technique that depended largely on wind conditions and adversely affected the workers involved. The Germans also frequently used smoke in an effort to obscure the targets of Allied air raids.

As the war progressed, increasingly technical reconnaissance and surveillance efforts and subsequent countermeasures forced intelligence staffs to confirm reports through more than one information source in their attempts to defeat complex camouflage problems.

Robert B. Martyn

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Deception

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Canada, Air Force

Canada had virtually no air force before World War II, but it developed one quickly. When the war began in Europe in September 1939, the Canadian government agreed to help train Royal Air Force (RAF) pilots, leading to the development of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. Through it, some 130,000 pilots and aircrew from Canada, Britain, and other Allied nations were trained at Canadian



Hawker Hurricane and its Royal Canadian Air Force groundcrew, 1943. (Corel)

airfields built or enlarged with British and, later, American assistance. The Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) itself grew to over 250,000 personnel.

Thousands of Canadian pilots and aircrew served in the RAF, often in fighter or bomber squadrons composed entirely of Canadians. Ultimately, the RCAF sent 48 squadrons and 94,000 personnel overseas. In the European Theater, RCAF squadrons fought in the Battle of Britain, in Malta, in the campaigns of the Western Desert, and over Europe. In the Pacific Theater, two Canadian transport squadrons served in Burma and a squadron of Consolidated PBY Catalina patrol bombers was based at Ceylon. The RCAF also provided air defense for Canada and assisted in the defense of U.S. installations in Alaska.

In June 1941, the RCAF formed its first bomber squadron. Its Number 6 Group of eight squadrons was formed in Britain in January 1943, flying Wellington bombers from Yorkshire and then Lancaster and Halifax bombers. The group flew 41,000 sorties and dropped 126,000 tons of bombs, one-eighth of Bomber Command's total. It suffered 3,500 dead. In all, 17,101 Canadian aircrew died in the war, some 40 percent of Canada's total war dead.

RCAF pilots also played an important role in ferrying American-built aircraft to the British Isles. Air Commodore N. R. Anderson of the RCAF had lobbied for the ferrying of aircraft in April 1940, arguing that it would save valuable shipping space. The idea languished until the British minister of war production, Lord Beaverbrook, gave it his support and insisted on an experimental flight. This flight took place in November 1940, when a group of Hudsons crossed the Atlantic from Newfoundland without loss. Regular transfers continued, slowly at first because of a shortage of pilots and navigators but gaining momentum when increasing numbers of graduates of the Air Training Plan became available. Ultimately, the RCAF delivered more than 9,000 two- and four-engine aircraft to Britain in this manner. Subsequently, the RCAF also supplied Lend-Lease aircraft to the Soviet Union from airfields in northwest Canada. Many of the routes developed in this activity became the first routes of Trans-Canada Airlines after the war.

Terry Shoptaugh

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Aircraft, Naval; Aircraft, Transport; Lend-Lease

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Canada, Army

Surmounting serious difficulties, Canada raised a substantial army that earned distinction in heavy fighting during World War II. In July 1939, the Permanent Active Militia, as it was then styled, was a minuscule force of 4,261 soldiers. Reserves, most of them untrained, numbered 51,418. But by 1943, a prodigious effort produced six infantry divisions, two armored divisions, two armored brigades, two army artillery groups, an immense logistics organization, and the Canadian Women's Army Corps—a remarkable achievement for a nation of 11.5 million people.

Initially, the Liberal government of Prime Minister Mackenzie King pursued a strategy that emphasized industrial and agricultural production, air and naval forces, and a small expeditionary ground force of two divisions. This strategy reflected the fundamental antagonism between English and Scottish Protestant Canadians and French Roman Catholic Canadians, with the French minority constituting a quarter of the population. Efforts to impose conscription in 1917, during World War I, sparked serious rioting, proved unenforceable in French communities, and pushed Canada to the brink of civil war. Understandably, the Canadian government in World War II was unwilling to risk such a crisis again. The conflict was sharpened by English and Scottish domination of the armed forces and officer corps.

This limited strategy was shattered by the German conquest of France in June 1940. All Canadian resources were mobilized for total war by the sweeping National Resources Mobilization Act of 17 June 1940. But compulsory military service was restricted to service in Canada; overseas service remained voluntary. Three infantry divisions were stationed on the coasts of Canada. Many French Canadians were willing to defend Canada, but few were willing to fight for Great Britain. Four French Canadian infantry regiments did have sufficient volunteers for overseas service, however.

In July 1940, then Major General Henry Crerar assumed the post of chief of the General Staff. A capable administrator, he organized the framework within which a vastly expanded Canadian army swiftly emerged. By December 1940, two Canadian infantry divisions formed the Canadian Corps in England. In June 1943, the Canadian army in England numbered three infantry divisions, two armored divisions, and two armored brigades.

The Canadian army was organized on the British model, and much of its equipment was also British. Rugged and accurate, the 7.7 mm Lee Enfield No. 4 was the standard bolt-action rifle. Adapted by Enfield from a Czech design, the low-recoil and very accurate Bren 7.7 mm light machine gun

proved effective. By 1942, 60 percent of all Bren guns were manufactured in Canada. The 87.6 mm howitzer—rugged, easily handled, and versatile—and the 140 mm gun, introduced in 1942, were the major artillery weapons. The Canadians did employ the U.S. M-4 Sherman as their tank.

The Canadian army had to contend with serious difficulties. Undermanning was a constant problem, with Canadian units rarely at their established strength, a consequence of the voluntary system. Training suffered from the rapid pace of expansion and the lack of experience among senior officers. In addition, training in unit-level maneuvers was poor, and the army was slow to develop a common system of tactics.

An early tragedy of the war involved the Canadian garrison in Hong Kong. Caught up in the sweep of the opening Japanese offensive, 1,975 soldiers waged a forlorn defense in December 1941, suffering 800 casualties and the death of their commander. The Canadians also sustained heavy losses in the 19 August 1942 raid on the French seaport of Dieppe. A total of 4,963 Canadians from the 2nd Division took part and encountered well-planned German defenses. Only 2,110 of these men returned to England; 65 percent of the Canadian troops were killed or wounded and/or taken as prisoners.

On 10 July 1943, 1st Canadian Infantry Division and 1st Army Tank Brigade were committed to the invasion of Sicily, operating as part of the British Eighth Army. On 3 September, the Canadians crossed the Straits of Messina to Italy and fought their way up the Adriatic coast. In November, they were joined by the 5th Armoured Division and formed the I Canadian Corps. Initially, the corps was led by General Crerar, but he returned to England and assumed command of First Army in March 1944. The Canadian First Army fought within the framework of 21st Army Group, commanded by Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery. The able Lieutenant General E. L. M. Burns then took command of Canadian forces in Italy.

In the heavy and often frustrating fighting of the Italian Campaign, the Canadians acquitted themselves well. In May 1944, Canadian forces in the Liri Valley participated in the Allied offensive that broke through the Gustav Line. In August 1944, a Canadian thrust near the Adriatic created an opportunity to move into the Po River valley, but the British moved too slowly, and the chance was lost.

In the Normandy Invasion of 6 June 1944, the Canadian 3rd Infantry Division and 2nd Armoured Brigade landed on Juno beach as part of the British Second Army. Joined by the 2nd Infantry and 4th Armoured Division, they formed the Canadian II Corps on 11 July, commanded by Lieutenant General Guy Simonds. He had led both infantry and armored divisions in Italy. On 23 July 1944, the Canadian First Army was activated, led by General Crerar. It also included British I Corps and the Free Polish 1st Armoured Division.

The Battle for Normandy was a crucible of fire for the Canadians. They and the British were deployed in the eastern sector of the beachhead, terrain reasonably favorable for German armored operations. To thwart offensives in this area, most German armor fought the British and Canadians. Canadian forces proved well trained and skilled in combat and played a key role in the defeat of a formidable German opponent. In Lieutenant General Guy Simonds, the Canadian army found an outstanding leader who showed himself to be an innovative and exacting commander. Crerar and Simonds were good partners, with Crerar the manager and Simonds the battlefield leader.

After Normandy, First Army proceeded along the French coast taking seaports. On 4 September 1944, the British 11th Armoured Division captured the vital port of Antwerp, with the Belgian Resistance saving all its port facilities and docks from German destruction. However, Antwerp could only be reached by the 45-mile-long Scheldt estuary, and swift action was imperative to prevent German deployment of defenses along the Scheldt. At this critical juncture, British Field Marshal Montgomery halted his forces, preferring to concentrate his troops for a thrust into northern Germany, Operation MARKET-GARDEN. This decision gave the Germans time to establish strong defenses along the Scheldt and at its mouth.

After the British defeat at Arnhem in late September, the strategic focus returned to ousting German forces from the Scheldt and opening Antwerp. This daunting task fell heavily on the Canadian First Army. On 26 September, Crerar had departed to England for treatment of complications from dysentery, and Simonds assumed his command.

The Scheldt Campaign was a nightmare, fought on sodden mud flatlands bereft of cover and intersected by canals and dikes ideally suited for defense. Montgomery assigned the Canadians the lowest priority for supplies, and only a direct and explicit order on 9 October from General Dwight D. Eisenhower to clear the Scheldt compelled Montgomery to furnish the Canadians (including their British corps) the supplies they needed. Throughout October, bitter fighting raged as Canadian and British soldiers slowly overcame tenacious German resistance. Amphibious tanks and tracked amphibious landing vehicles proved useful. Equipped for amphibious operations, the 52nd Lowland Scottish Division joined the Canadians in this battle.

The assault on Walcheren Island was the climax of the campaign. Commanding the mouth of the Scheldt estuary,

The Battle for Normandy was a crucible of fire for the Canadians.



A Canadian soldier receives attention from a medical orderly next to a burning overturned German tank amid heavy rubble, while Allied forces attempt to trap the German Seventh Army in nearby Falaise, France. (Library of Congress)

Walcheren's defenses included heavy coastal artillery. Royal Marines and Commandos joined Scots and Canadians to capture Walcheren on 9 November. Minesweepers cleared the channel, and Antwerp was finally opened on 28 November 1944. The Scheldt Campaign cost the Allies 12,873 casualties, half of them Canadian.

In December, a shortage of infantry replacements compelled the Canadian government to extend conscription for overseas service to troops already in home service. This move aroused a furor, but only 16,000 of 63,000 eligible soldiers were sent overseas. When Crerar returned to lead First Army, he was entrusted with an Allied force of 475,000 men dedicated to winning control of the Rhineland. In a series of massive operations in February and March 1945, Crerar demonstrated his skill in logistics. German forces were eliminated between the Maas and Rhine Rivers, a loss of more than 90,000 men. In the closing months of the war,

I Canadian Corps was transferred from Italy to the Netherlands and completed the liberation of the latter.

The Canadian army made a substantial contribution to the Allied victory. The men of this overwhelmingly volunteer force had fought with courage and tenacity in many hard battles. But they also paid a heavy price, for 22,917 Canadians were killed and 52,679 wounded.

Sherwood S. Cordier

See also

Canada, Role in the War; Crerar, Henry Duncan Graham; Dieppe Raid; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Hong Kong, Battle of; Italy Campaign; King, William Lyon Mackenzie; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Rhineland Offensive; Scheldt, Battles; Sicily, Invasion of; Simonds, Guy Granville

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Canada, Navy

At the outbreak of World War II, the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) had only 6 destroyers and 5 minesweepers. By 1945, it had grown to include 2 light carriers, 2 light cruisers, 15 destroyers, 60 frigates, 118 corvettes, and many other ships. The third-largest Allied fleet, the Canadian navy mustered a total of 363 vessels, most of which were built in Canadian shipyards. From 3,165 men in 1939, the RCN expanded to 89,000 men and 6,700 women by 1945.

In the gale-swept seas of the North Atlantic, the Canadian fleet played a crucial role in the long struggle against German submarines. Having expanded so rapidly, the RCN suffered from poor training and a dearth of advanced equipment. Early in 1943, Canadian corvettes and frigates were sent to English bases, where they were fitted with new radar, sonar, and high-frequency direction-finding detection gear. In addition, the crews underwent intensive training in anti-submarine tactics and warfare. Of particular value was the Western Approaches Tactical Unit established in Liverpool in February 1942, which trained escort captains and commanders in a common doctrine of convoy defense. Practical training was provided by exercises against Royal Navy submarines. As a result, by mid-1943, the Canadians fought much more effectively in the Atlantic arena.

They organized the massive convoys that set out from Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. As radio interception and the breaking of German codes assumed major roles in the war against the submarines, the RCN Operational Intelligence Centre proved a key Canadian capability. And by 1944, most close escort in the North Atlantic was performed by the Canadian fleet. In all, the RCN provided eight mid-Atlantic support groups and escorted more than 25,000 merchant ships laden with 180 million tons of cargo from North America to Great Britain.

Built to a British design stressing mass production, the *Flower*-class corvette was the mainstay of the escort fleet. Displacing 1,245 tons at full load, the vessel was armed with a 4-inch gun and 40 (later 70) depth charges. The *Flower*-class ships proved to be miserable seaboats, however, taking

on water and rolling furiously, and at 16.5 knots, they were too slow for offensive operations.

A far more effective escort was the *River*-class frigate, weighing 1,920 tons at full load. The *River*-class vessel could make 21 knots and mounted two 4-inch guns, a Hedgehog mortar, and 126 (later 150) depth charges.

The Canadian navy was also active in surface warfare operations. The RCN secured four large British *Tribal*-class destroyers that proved especially effective in Canadian service. At full load, the *Tribals* weighed 2,519 tons and easily made 36 knots. Formidably armed in terms of guns, they mounted 6 × 4.7-inch cannon, 2 × 4-inch dual-purpose guns, and 4 × 40-mm antiaircraft weapons. Four torpedo tubes were also fitted. Canadian *Tribals* saw heavy action, especially in spring 1944 in the English Channel against German destroyers and heavy torpedo boats (900-plus tons). In the course of these battles, the *Athabaskan* was lost on 29 April 1944.

The RCN played a considerable part in the Normandy Invasion. Ten thousand sailors and 109 warships participated in Operation NEPTUNE and landed 45,000 troops on the beaches. The Canadian array included 15 destroyers, 11 frigates, 19 corvettes, 16 minesweepers, and 30 landing craft.

In the course of the war, 2,024 men of the RCN were killed and 24 ships were sunk. At the same time, however, the Canadian navy played an important role in the Allied victory by destroying or capturing 42 surface warships and helping to sink 33 submarines.

Sherwood S. Cordier

See also

Antisubmarine Warfare; Atlantic, Battle of the; Canada, Role in the War; Normandy Invasion and Campaign

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Canada, Role in the War

Arguably the greatest contributor, militarily and economically, of the “small” Allied powers in World War II, Canada put 10 percent of its population—slightly over 1 million men and women—into uniform and provided the fourth-largest output of war matériel.

Canada entered the war superficially united, but French Canadian support was lukewarm, and the specter of overseas conscription, which had been so divisive in World



Production of 500-pound bombs in Canada. (Library of Congress)

War I, loomed. Since Canada's military contribution could not be decisive, conscription remained a political issue, and its potential for wrecking national unity could not be overestimated.

Prewar isolationism had left Canada virtually disarmed, but when Canadian leaders declared war a week after Britain had (a pointed display of their country's status as a completely self-governing dominion), they were confident that a military effort on the scale of World War I would be unnecessary. This time, Ottawa promised to match commitments to resources and make the economic sinews of war, not expeditionary forces, its priority. Predictably, this "limited liabilities" policy did not survive the defeat of France. Thereafter, for Canada, it would be total war.

On the economic front, after some faltering steps, the results were magnificent. Underutilized capacity, the country's bane during the depression, aided the government in its task of mobilizing the war economy. Coming up with the staggering sums to pay for it all proved an equal challenge. American neutrality—and Britain's precarious economic

and financial position—greatly complicated Ottawa's task, a situation finally resolved by the Hyde Park agreement signed with the United States in April 1941. By 1944, the gross national product (GNP) had more than doubled, with 50 percent of that figure being war production. Although foodstuffs and vital raw materials such as nickel and aluminum dominated Canada's wartime exports to the United States and Britain, the production of armaments—including close to 1 million motor vehicles—was also very significant. Sound management and the advantages of virtual economic integration with the United States ensured that Canada, alone among the Allies, avoided having to seek Lend-Lease assistance; it even launched its own generous Mutual Assistance Program, with Britain the chief beneficiary.

Given these very significant contributions to the common cause, Canadian officials aspired to play a role in Allied decision making. Canada more than earned its appointment to the Combined Food and Production and Resources Boards in 1943, but when it came to grand military strategy, vague hopes of "sitting at the table" went unfulfilled. Grace-

fully, if somewhat reluctantly, Ottawa accepted its status as a junior partner.

From the outset, Prime Minister Mackenzie King's focus had been to help Britain, an approach the great majority of Canadians embraced. Doing so necessitated close cooperation—especially economic cooperation—with the United States. The presumption that Canada could serve as a linchpin between Washington and London was a Canadian conceit, although certainly, a neutral United States could materially assist Britain by helping Canada. Once the United States entered the war, however, direct engagement with the British rendered Canada's erstwhile diplomatic role superfluous. For reasons of mutual benefit, Canadian-American ties deepened steadily. As leading Canadian historian J. L. Granatstein has aptly concluded, "Britain's weakness forced Canada into the arms of the United States," but it generally went willingly and certainly profitably. With a war to win, few Canadians worried about the long-term implications of this shift in regard to their sovereignty.

In military terms, Canada boasted the fourth-largest air force and third-largest navy among the Allies by 1945, as well as an expeditionary force of nearly six divisions. In keeping with the country's "Atlanticist" orientation, Ottawa committed virtually the entire force to Europe. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say the Pacific war, save for some panic after Pearl Harbor, hardly touched the Canadian consciousness.

Nationalism dictated that the government follow a "Canadianization" policy whereby the armed forces would, as far as possible, fight in recognizable national units under national command. At the same time, the English Canadian majority's undiminished emotional attachment to Britain, not to mention practical considerations, guaranteed that these forces would operate under overall British command and fight in British campaigns—in other words, the military-political relationship formalized in 1917 and 1918 would continue. Unfortunately, Canadianization would prove a mixed blessing. On one hand, it satisfied (and encouraged) national pride and unquestionably aided the voluntary enlistment system. On the other, the limited availability of experienced Canadian commanders—and, particularly in the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) and Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF), the inability of domestic industry to produce technically sophisticated armaments in a timely fashion—exacerbated the enormous growing pains experienced by the rapidly expanding armed forces. Finally, until mid-1943, nationalism also dictated that the army not be split up, a decision that denied the army necessary combat experience.

Canada's military role was that of willing subordinate. Building armed forces in wartime guarantees a steep learning curve, and Canada's experience in the war bears this out. In 1939, the Canadian regular forces numbered 10,000. At peak

strength in 1944, 780,000 Canadians were in uniform: 80,000 in the RCN, 210,000 in the RCAF, and the remainder in the army. The achievements of the army in Italy, Normandy, the Scheldt, and the liberation of Holland; of the RCAF's administration of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan as well as participation in 6 Group and throughout RAF Bomber Command; and of the RCN in convoy operations in the Battle of the Atlantic all materially contributed to the Allied victory, at a cost of 42,000 Canadian dead.

Canada's role in the war, both militarily and economically, was far more significant than non-Canadians have credited over the years. That said, the major impact of Canadian participation was on Canada itself. The war rebuilt the Canadian economy, witnessed the implementation of overdue socioeconomic reforms, and greatly strengthened the sense of nationhood and national self-confidence. Isolationism gave way to internationalism, and the country emerged from the conflict well placed to do more than its share in the immediate post-war years to rebuild and defend Western Europe.

Patrick H. Brennan

See also

Canada, Air Force; Canada, Army; Canada, Navy; King, William Lyon Mackenzie

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Canaris, Wilhelm Franz (1887–1945)

German navy admiral and head of German military intelligence during World War II. Born in Aplerbeck, Westphalia, Germany, on 1 January 1887, Wilhelm Franz Canaris entered the German navy in 1905. Serving aboard the cruiser *Dresden* off the South American coast at the beginning of World War I, he established an intelligence network to track Allied movements. On 14 March 1915, the British attacked the *Dresden* at Valparaiso, Chile, but Canaris escaped Chilean internment and returned to Europe in October. From November 1915 until October 1916, he was in Spain



Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, head of German military intelligence (*Abwehr*) during WWII. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

on an intelligence mission. In April 1918, he became a U-boat commander in the Mediterranean.

After the war, Canaris, an ardent conservative and nationalist, was active in covert operations to rebuild the German military, working in Japan with German designers to build submarines. He then resumed his naval career, increasingly in intelligence activities. Promoted to captain in 1931, he took command of the battleship *Schlesien* the next year. He was named to head military intelligence—the *Abwehrabteilung* (*Abwehr*)—in January 1935 and was promoted to Konteradmiral (U.S. equiv. rear admiral) in April. One of his first successes was to convince Adolf Hitler to intervene on the side of the Nationalists in the Spanish Civil War in July 1936.

The Fritsch Affair in 1938, when untruthful allegations of homosexual activities destroyed the career of Colonel General Werner von Fritsch, disillusioned Canaris, and shortly thereafter, the *Abwehr* became tied to anti-Nazi elements in Germany. Canaris opposed Hitler's policies, predicting they would lead to war and inevitable defeat. Despite the admiral's reticence, Hitler personally liked him, and the *Abwehr* did provide much useful information, all of which gave Canaris

some protection as he aided a limited number of Jews and covertly undermined German attempts to involve Spain in the war. He was promoted to full admiral in January 1940.

Canaris resisted Reinhard Heydrich's efforts to take over the *Abwehr*, but his position was threatened when Heydrich uncovered evidence that he had committed treason. Heydrich's assassination in May 1942 provided a brief reprieve for the admiral, and it was not until February 1944 that Hitler removed him from his post. Shortly thereafter, he was placed on the navy's inactive list; he lived under a loose but comfortable house arrest at Burg Lauenstein until June, when Hitler recalled him to Berlin as head of mercantile warfare.

Implicated in the July 1944 bomb plot against Hitler (though he did not take an active role), Canaris was arrested afterward. Initially, there was no evidence against him, but discovery of his secret diaries led to his trial and conviction. Canaris was hanged at Flossenbürg Prison on 9 April 1945.

Rodney Madison

See also

Germany, Navy; Heydrich, Reinhard Tristan Eugen; Hitler, Adolf; Resistance

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Cape Esperance, Battle of (11–12 October 1942)

Second of five surface actions fought off Guadalcanal. The battle occurred 8 miles west-northwest of Savo Island as both U.S. and Japanese forces maneuvered to protect their own reinforcements moving toward Guadalcanal.

Rear Admiral Norman Scott led Task Force 64, consisting of two heavy cruisers, two light cruisers, and five destroyers. Scott's mission was to protect transports carrying the U.S. Army's 164th Infantry Regiment to Guadalcanal by searching for and attacking Japanese ships. Scott's crews had just undergone three hard weeks of night training, and the admiral was fully prepared to engage in a night action, in which the Japanese had hitherto enjoyed superiority. Scott had developed simple tactics and rehearsed them, keeping his crews at station from dusk to dawn. His ships operated in a single column, with destroyers forward and aft of his cruisers.

Japanese Rear Admiral Goto Aritomo commanded a bombardment group, Cruiser Division 6, composed of three heavy cruisers and two destroyers. It protected Rear Admiral Joshima Takagi's two seaplane carriers and six destroyers, transporting some 700 men and artillery belonging to Lieu-

tenant General Hyakutake Haruyashi's Seventeenth Army to Guadalcanal. Goto planned to shell Henderson Field to neutralize the U.S. air threat while Joshima landed the reinforcements off the northwestern cape of Guadalcanal.

American aircraft tracked Goto's force as he approached, although communication fumbles aboard the U.S. ships nearly rendered that advantage moot. Goto and Joshima did not expect opposition, and preoccupied with navigation and preparations for the Henderson Field bombardment, they ignored indications that U.S. vessels were nearby. Lacking radar, the Japanese blundered into the Americans. Their lookouts did spot the American ships and identify them as enemy, but Goto believed they were friendly and flashed recognition signals.

At 11:25 P.M. on 11 October, U.S. radar from the light cruiser *Helena* first picked up the Japanese, but Scott, on the flagship heavy cruiser *San Francisco*, did not learn of this before he ordered his ships to turn at 11:30. Eight minutes later, while his formation was still in some mild disorder from the turn, Scott received his first radar warning. Fortunately for him and the Americans, the turn inadvertently allowed the U.S. ships to cross the T of Goto's approaching ships. The Americans opened fire at 11:46 P.M. at less than 5,000 yards. Surprise was total. Goto believed that Joshima's ships were shooting at him.

American 8-inch, 6-inch, and 5-inch guns pounded the Japanese ships. Among the casualties was Goto, who was mortally wounded. Before his death, he ordered his force to withdraw, and a running gunfire duel followed. The heavy cruiser *Furutaka* and the destroyer *Fubuki* were sent to the bottom. The heavy cruiser *Aoba* was badly damaged and would require four months to repair. In an associated action on 12 October, Henderson Field aircraft sank the destroyers *Murakumo* and *Natsugumo*, which were searching for survivors. On the American side, the destroyer *Duncan* was sunk, the cruiser *Boise* was heavily damaged, the cruiser *Salt Lake City* was lightly damaged, and the destroyer *Farenholt* was damaged. Meanwhile, Henderson Field had been spared Japanese shelling, and American morale soared, especially as some on the U.S. side put Japanese losses at up to three cruisers, five destroyers, and a transport.

Despite their tactical defeat, the Japanese did land their troops and supplies safely, as did the Americans on 13 October. Because Japanese torpedoes had not been successfully employed in the Battle of Cape Esperance, the Americans discounted their effectiveness. U.S. Navy leaders also incorrectly concluded that using the single-column formation and gunfire was the way to fight at night. This approach slighted the destroyers' main battery, the torpedo, and effectively tied the destroyers to the cruisers' apron strings. The Americans deployed this way in another night action on 13 November, much to their chagrin.

John W. Whitman and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Guadalcanal, Land Battle for; Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Radar; Savo Island, Battle of; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign; Torpedoes

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Cape Matapan, Battle of (28 March 1941)

Naval battle between the British and Italians in the eastern Mediterranean Sea. Despite its crippling fuel shortages and at the urging of its German allies, the Italian navy set out on 26 March 1941 to attack British convoys around Crete. Under Vice Admiral Angelo Iachino, the force included the battleship *Vittorio Veneto*; the heavy cruisers *Trieste*, *Trento*, *Bolzano*, *Zara*, *Fiume*, and *Pola*; the light cruisers *Luigi di Savoia* and *Garibaldi*; and 17 destroyers. On 27 March, combined Royal Navy forces under Vice Admiral Andrew B. Cunningham (Force A) and Vice Admiral Henry D. Pridham-Wippell (Force B), alerted by key radio intercepts to the Italian movements, steamed from Alexandria and the Aegean, respectively, in search of the Italian force.

With neither side entirely certain of the other's precise order of battle or position, despite aerial reconnaissance, elements on each side sighted their opponents south of Crete on the morning of 28 March, and they exchanged fire off the island of Gaudo. When he learned of the presence of an aircraft carrier (the HMS *Formidable*) from his radio decrypters, Iachino reasoned that a more powerful British force lay beyond the several cruisers currently engaged by his flagship, *Vittorio Veneto*. Having lost the advantage of surprise—and now expecting imminent air attacks—he turned the Italian force northwest toward home.

In steady pursuit behind him followed Cunningham's Royal Navy task force, composed of the *Formidable* and the battleships *Warspite*, *Valiant*, and *Barham*, together with 4 cruisers and 13 destroyers, bolstered by British aircraft operating from nearby shore bases. The Italian force received little useful air cover from its own air force or its German allies and suffered accordingly. Despite withering antiaircraft fire from *Vittorio Veneto* and escorting ships,

attacking British planes managed to torpedo the battleship at midafternoon on 28 March.

Cunningham judged that the progress of the Italian force, now drawn in around its wounded flagship, would likely be slow, and he plotted it at about 12 knots. But despite having shipped 4,000 tons of water and making way on only two of four propellers, the *Vittorio Veneto* worked up to a speed of 19 knots and thus moved its formation farther along than expected on the run toward home waters.

With night falling, however, Iachino received the unwelcome news that the heavy cruiser *Pola* had been stopped dead by an aerial torpedo attack. Believing that the British were still some 170 miles astern, he instructed the cruisers *Zara* and *Fiume* (with four destroyers) to turn back and tend to their sister ship. In fact, from a distance of less than 50 miles, Cunningham was closing as fast as his flagship, the old battleship HMS *Warspite*, and her sister ships *Valiant* and *Barham* could make way.

By 8:30 P.M., radar sets aboard the vanguard cruisers *Ajax* and *Orion* had picked up the derelict *Pola*, about 6 miles distant; it was presumed to be the *Vittorio Veneto*. As the main British force drew closer and prepared to attack the *Pola*, an in-line formation of six more unknown ships (the *Zara*, *Fiume*, and their escorts) was suddenly detected at 10:25 P.M. at 4,000 yards, which shifted the British targeting and drew a wall of concentrated fire from the British battleships' main and secondary batteries at nearly point-blank range. The *Zara* and *Fiume* were reduced to flaming wrecks within several minutes; the *Fiume*, along with the destroyers *Alfieri* and *Carducci*, sank within an hour. The *Zara* and *Pola* remained afloat until early the following morning, finally dispatched by scuttling charges and by torpedoes from British destroyers. Some 40 miles ahead, the main body of the Italian force pressed onward, arriving in Taranto on the afternoon of 29 March after evading the renewed chase given by Cunningham.

Using radar, which the Italians still lacked, and vastly superior air cover to great advantage, Cunningham had, in the Battle of Cape Matapan, established Royal Navy primacy in the Mediterranean. The loss of five valuable warships and 2,300 lives would call Iachino's judgment into question, and the Italian navy would not again venture from its harbors in force until the first Battle of Sirte Gulf in December 1941.

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See also

Battleships; Cunningham, Sir Andrew Browne; Great Britain, Navy; Italy, Navy; Radar; Sirte, First Battle of

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Cape St. George, Battle of (25 November 1943)

Naval battle in the Pacific Theater. This final surface action in the Solomons area was brought on by Japan's attempt to reinforce its garrison at Buka in northern Bougainville on the night of 24–25 November 1943. The transport group under Captain Kagawa Kiyoto was made up of three destroyer-transport: the *Amagiri*, *Uzuki*, and *Yugiri*—with the destroyers *Onami* and *Makinami* as escorts.

The Allies had long been reading the Japanese naval code, however, and Captain Arleigh Burke and the 23rd Destroyer Squadron of five destroyers arrived just after midnight and took up station athwart the direct Buka-Rabaul route to intercept the Japanese on their return trip. The night was dark, with low-hanging clouds that produced occasional rainsqualls. The sea was calm.

Burke's plan was for his division—the *Charles F. Ausburne* (flag), *Claxton*, and *Dyson*—to launch a torpedo attack while Commander B. L. Austin's division of the *Converse* and *Spence* covered with its guns; then the two squadrons would reverse roles. The action unfolded nearly as Burke had hoped. At 1:40 A.M. on 25 November, the two unsuspecting Japanese escorts appeared, and Burke, closing the range quickly, launched 15 torpedoes at 1:56, then turned hard right to avoid any Japanese torpedoes coming his way. None did. Both Japanese escorting destroyers were mortally stricken. The *Onami* went down quickly; the *Makinami* somehow managed to stay afloat until the *Converse* and *Spence* could sink her with gunfire.

Burke then set out in pursuit of the three transports that had turned north and were trying to make good their escape to Rabaul. In the running fight, the Japanese spread out. Burke went after the *Yugiri* and at 3:28 A.M. sank her with gunfire.

Burke continued the chase until 4:04 A.M., and then, with only two hours of darkness remaining to shield him from the Japanese air bases at Rabaul, he turned for home. He had fought a near perfect action, sinking three enemy destroyers at no cost except for the oil and munitions expended. For the Japanese, however, the battle rang down the curtain on the costly war of attrition they had tried to wage in the Solomons. Their misfortunes continued; in mid-May, they lost the submarines *I-176* and *I-16* while they were attempting to supply the Buka garrison.

Ronnie Day

See also

Bougainville Campaign; Empress Augusta Bay, Battle of

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Capra, Frank (1897–1991)

Hollywood filmmaker who produced a series of inspirational movies during the war years. Born on 19 May 1897, at Bisacquino, Sicily, Frank Capra immigrated to the United States with his family in 1903. After a stint in the army during World War I, he made a career as a director, emphasizing stories of ordinary Americans who overcame corruption, greed, or cynicism. His films included *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936), *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939), and *Meet John Doe* (1941).

When the United States entered World War II, Capra was making *Arsenic and Old Lace*. Putting the project on hold until 1944, he rejoined the army as a major and was assigned to the Morale Branch in February 1942. The army's chief of

staff, General George C. Marshall, ordered Capra to “make a series of documented, factual-information films—the first in our history—that will explain to our boys in the Army why we are fighting, and the principles for which we are fighting.” After studying Leni Riefenstahl’s *Triumph of the Will* and other German propaganda films, Capra produced a series of seven movies entitled *Why We Fight*. The first of these documentaries was released in October 1942. The films were shown not only to the troops but also in war plants starting in April 1943 and then to the general public by the end of May 1943. They were designed to be educational, inspirational, and recreational. Each examined what was seen as a totalitarian conspiracy to take over the free world.

After the last of these movies, subtitled *War Comes to America*, was released in 1945, Capra returned to civilian life to form Liberty Films. He continued to make movies until 1961. Capra died in La Quinta, California, on 3 September 1991.

T. Jason Soderstrum

See also

Art and the War; Film and the War; Marshall, George Catlett; Propaganda; Riefenstahl, Leni



Colonel Frank Capra, U.S. Army Signal Corps (right) consults Major Hugh Stewart about the first official film record, “Tunisian Victory.” (Bettmann/Corbis)

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Caroline Islands Campaign (15 February–25 November 1944)

A series of air attacks, naval bombardments, and amphibious assaults during the U.S. Navy's 1944 drive across the Central Pacific. A chain of 680 islands, islets, and atolls stretching across the Pacific between the Marianas and New Guinea, the Caroline Islands were part of the German Empire prior to World War I. In the peace settlement following the war, the victorious powers gave Japan the Marshall Islands and all of the Marianas save Guam.

These acquisitions dramatically increased Japanese power in the Pacific and created a potential major problem for the United States, as the Carolines straddled the searoutes between Hawaii and both the Philippines and China. Indeed, Japanese control of the Carolines caused so much concern that it spurred development of the amphibious warfare doctrine of the U.S. Marine Corps during the interwar period, a process that accelerated after Japan fortified Ponape, Truk, Yap, and Peleliu in the 1930s.

Following the entry of the United States into World War II in 1941, Japanese units in the Solomons and Gilberts were gradually destroyed or isolated by U.S. forces pushing across the Central Pacific. Kwajalein Atoll fell on 7 February 1944, and U.S. Fifth Fleet forces under Admiral Raymond A. Spruance accelerated preparations to capture Eniwetok Atoll as part of an overall plan approved by the Combined Chiefs of Staff in December 1943. The plan called for the seizure of key islands in the Marianas as bases to support a strategic bombing campaign against Japan and for selected attacks to support the South Pacific forces of General Douglas MacArthur.

To cover the Eniwetok landings, however, certain bases in the Carolines first had to be neutralized. Between 15 and 26 February 1944, B-24 Liberator bombers from Major General Willis H. Hale's Seventh Army Air Force struck Ponape. The Eniwetok landings took place on 17 February, and on that day and the next, aircraft carriers from Vice Admiral Marc A. Mitscher's Task Force 58 launched more than 30 raids on Truk, which served as the major forward Japanese fleet anchorage and base in the Central Pacific. Each of the raids included at least 150 planes, and together, they destroyed more than 250 Japanese aircraft and some 200,000 tons of ships, including 2 light cruisers, 1 destroyer,

2 submarine tenders, 1 aircraft ferry, 6 tankers, and 17 merchant ships.

Eniwetok fell on 22 February, and Mitscher's airmen carried out more attacks on Truk on 29 and 30 April. Those attacks, combined with significant shore bombardment by Spruance's battleships, destroyed another 100 Japanese planes. The cumulative effect was so great that the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) chose to bypass Truk and move westward, isolating the substantial Japanese garrison there.

Between June and August, U.S. forces fought the Battle of the Philippine Sea and seized Saipan, Tinian, and Guam in the Marianas, then continued west to attack the Philippines. To cover the initial Philippine landings on Mindanao and Morotai, U.S. planners intended to capture both Peleliu and Yap in the Carolines for use as air bases and forward staging areas. Those plans changed, however, following the September 1944 raids on the Philippines by Mitscher's Task Force 38 of Admiral William F. Halsey's Third Fleet. Halsey found Japanese defenses so weak that he recommended bypassing Morotai, Mindanao, Yap, and Peleliu and moving ahead with the attack on Leyte in October. The JCS agreed but decided to launch the landings on Peleliu and Morotai anyway because the troops for those attacks were already embarked.

Morotai fell on 15 September, the same day that Marines of the 1st Division landed on Peleliu and began one of the most grueling and perhaps unnecessary campaigns of the war. For the first time, the Japanese chose not to defend the beaches of an island under assault. Instead, the 5,300 defenders burrowed into the coral and prepared a main line of defense well inland. They counterattacked frequently; made use of underground tunnels, bunkers, and caves; and fought a battle of attrition in heat that sometimes reached more than 120 degrees. By the time the Peleliu Campaign ended on 25 November, more than 1,950 U.S. troops had been killed, and a regiment of the Army's 81st Division had been brought in as reinforcements. Whether the island needed to be taken and whether it materially aided the capture of the Philippines is extremely doubtful.

And yet, if Peleliu was a mistake, U.S. forces compensated by performing brilliantly throughout the rest of the Carolines. A regimental combat team of the 81st Division took Ulithi Atoll on 23 September, and in less than two weeks, the U.S. Navy was utilizing its splendid large anchorage for attacks against Formosa. The rest of the 81st Division took Angaur (in Palau, near Peleliu) from 1,600 Japanese defenders on 23 October, and with that, the Caroline Campaign came to a close.

Although no decisive battles were fought during the campaign, it was a vital stepping stone toward victory in the Battle of the Philippine Sea and in the conquest of the Marianas and the Philippines. Ulithi became the major U.S. forward fleet anchorage for the duration of the war and played a critical role in the eventual defeat of Japan. Moreover, the strat-



Japanese Nakajima B6N Tenzan (“Jill” in the Allied code name) flying through hail of AA fire to attack the USS Yorktown during the U.S. Navy raid on Truk in the Caroline Islands. (Official U.S. Navy photo, Library of Congress)

egy of island-hopping reached maturity in the Carolines, as did the evolution of the U.S. Navy’s fast-attack carrier groups and the concept of refueling and replenishing at sea. In these and other subtle ways, the campaign played an integral if underappreciated role in the final outcome of the war. One measure of the success of the U.S. strategy may be found in the experience of the British naval squadron that returned to raid Truk in June 1945. By then, that island had been so pummeled by U.S. attacks and its garrison so emaciated by isolation and lack of supplies that the British had no targets worthy of the name. Truk was little more than a prison for its defenders.

Lance Janda

See also

Amphibious Warfare; Central Pacific Campaign; Eniwetok, Capture of; Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Kwajalein, Battle for; MacArthur, Douglas; Mitscher, Marc Andrew; Naval Gunfire, Shore Support; Nimitz, Chester William; Peleliu, Battle of; Philippine Sea, Battle of the; Spruance, Raymond Ames; Truk

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Carpet Bombing

The tactical application of strategic area bombing, originally used to direct a “carpet” of bombs to obliterate a target.

Carpet bombing was first employed by the Germans at Guernica in April 1937 during the Spanish Civil War, in what they called “a controlled vivisectional experiment in modern bombing tactics.”

By 1944, Allied carpet bombing involved heavy bombers dropping thousands of tons of relatively small bombs in an effective preparatory assault prior to a land attack. In this sense, the tactic was first utilized against Monte Cassino, Italy, on 15 February 1944. Waves of heavy and medium bombers dropped 435.5 tons of high explosives and reduced the local abbey to ruins. Ironically, the Germans, who had not previously garrisoned the abbey, now moved into the rubble and strengthened their defensive lines.

Following the June 1944 Normandy Invasion, Allied planners envisioned using fleets of bombers to blow holes in the German defenses, through which Allied armor and mechan-

U.S. bombers dropped 4,169 tons of bombs as part of the effort to support the breakout from Normandy.

nized forces could then pour. The British tried using heavy bombers in close-air support during Operation CHARNWOOD in early July. The attempt failed largely because of poor target selection and the fact that the bombing ended hours before the British ground attack, allowing the Germans to

reorganize their defense. In Operation GOODWOOD in mid-July 1944, British and American bombers tried again. After the carpet bombing, Allied ground forces met with initial success, but they foundered against a German antitank gun line that had not been a major target during the bombardment.

Operation COBRA on 24–25 July 1944 was another such effort and the most significant example of carpet bombing. U.S. bombers dropped 4,169 tons of bombs on the Saint-Lô area as part of the effort to support the breakout from Normandy. The bombers struck a box that was 7,000 yards wide and 2,000 yards deep. During the first day, many of the bombs fell short, hitting U.S. frontline troops and inflicting hundreds of friendly casualties. Among the dead was Lieutenant General Lesley J. McNair, chief of staff of Army Ground Forces. The second day’s attacks were highly successful, helping Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley’s forces to break out from the bocage, or hedgerow, country.

The use of strategic bombers for tactical missions such as carpet bombing met with strong resistance from leaders of the U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF), who believed that army ground commanders were misusing airpower. They argued that the effects achieved at the tactical level were slight compared to those that could be achieved at the strategic level. However, the lack of priority afforded to tactical-strike sup-

port and interdiction finally forced the hand of the ground commanders. Beginning in April 1944 and lasting until September, General Dwight D. Eisenhower was given the authority to control the use of the USAAF’s strategic bombers.

Although the sight of an armada of bombers was awe-inspiring and the simultaneous impact of hundreds of bombs was similar to an earthquake, the actual effect on tactical operations was mixed. The bombers lacked precision, and their bombs produced craters and rubble that impeded a rapid advance by attacking forces. The destruction of Caen in July 1944, for instance, was so complete that wheeled and tracked vehicles could not make it through the bombed areas. Although carpet bombing in support of offensive operations raised the morale of attacking ground troops, it was a poor substitute for effective tactical air support.

C. J. Horn

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aviation, Ground-Attack; Brereton Lewis Hyde; Cassino/Rapido River, Battles of; COBRA, Operation; Collins, Joseph Lawton; GOODWOOD, Operation; McNair, Lesley James; Quesada, Elwood Richard “Pete”; Strategic Bombing

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Carrier Raids, U.S. (January–March 1942)

The series of offensive strikes initiated by U.S. naval forces of the Pacific Fleet almost immediately after the Japanese surprise attack on its base at Pearl Harbor. Despite the slim resources available following the Pearl Harbor attack, the newly appointed commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet, Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, and the commander in chief of the U.S. Fleet, Admiral Ernest J. King, agreed that a passive defense was out of the question. King directed Nimitz to guard the important Hawaii–Midway–Johnston Island triangle in the eastern Pacific and to protect the vital sea line of communications from Hawaii via Line Islands, Samoa, and Fiji to New Zealand and Australia.

Almost immediately, Nimitz began to plan for carrier raids against Japanese holdings in the Gilbert and Marshall Islands in an effort to take some pressure off the American-British-Dutch-Australian Command (ABDACOM, more commonly known as ABDA), whose area included Burma, Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, western New Guinea, northern Australia, and, nominally, the Philippines. In planning the raids, Admiral Nimitz found his thinking in opposition to that of many of his senior subor-



An Army B-25 Mitchell bomber takes off from the deck of the carrier *Hornet* on its way to take part in first U.S. air raid on Japan, April 1942. (National Archives)

dinates in the Pacific Fleet, who considered the use of carrier forces against heavily defended land bases much too risky unless complete surprise could be assured. Siding with Nimitz, however, was Vice Admiral William F. “Bull” Halsey, the fleet’s senior carrier admiral, who offered to lead the attacks.

The first offensive raid was planned against the Japanese outpost on Wake Island at the end of January 1942. Vice Admiral Wilson E. Brown’s Task Force 11, formed around the carrier *Lexington*, was assigned the mission until the Japanese torpedoed the oiler attached to his group and the mission was scrubbed. On 25 January, Admiral Halsey’s Task Force 8, centered on the carrier *Enterprise*, raided Japanese bases at Kwajalein, Wotje, and Taroa in the northern Marshall Islands while Task Force 17, formed around the carrier *Yorktown* and commanded by Rear Admiral Frank Jack Fletcher, struck at bases in the southern Marshalls. Although they were mere pinpricks in terms of the damage and delay they caused the Japanese offensive, the raids raised morale in the fleet and provided the carrier air groups with valuable practice.

On 24 February 1942, Halsey’s task force, now redesignated Task Force 16, sailed back into the fight with a raid on

Wake Island. From there, he moved on to strike Marcus Island, barely 1,000 miles from the Japanese home islands. At the same time, Admiral Brown’s Task Force 11 was sent south to attack the recently captured Japanese base at Rabaul on the island of New Britain, northeast of New Guinea. While still at a considerable distance from Rabaul, Brown’s task force was spotted by Japanese air patrols and subsequently attacked by Japanese bombers without fighter protection. In the ensuing fight, the *Lexington*’s fighters nearly wiped out the attacking bombers, while only sustaining light losses themselves.

Brown withdrew temporarily and requested support in the attack on Rabaul from Nimitz and was quickly joined by Fletcher’s task force. By the time it arrived, however, more lucrative targets appeared nearer at hand when, on 8 March, the Japanese landed forces at Lae and Salamaua on the eastern peninsula of New Guinea. Sailing into the Gulf of Papua on the opposite side of the peninsula on 10 March, Brown and Fletcher launched 104 aircraft and sent them over the rugged Owen Stanley Mountains. The aircraft emerged undetected to find unprotected Japanese ships unloading troops and supplies at the two locations. The attacking

Americans sank a large minesweeper, a transport, and a converted light cruiser. Nine other ships were damaged before they could escape to the open sea. Only one U.S. plane and one aviator were lost. This attack was the greatest U.S. naval success in the war to that point, but even more important, it convinced the Japanese that successful operations against New Guinea would require the protection of aircraft carriers.

Although the actual destruction of Japanese assets was minimal, these carrier raids led the Japanese High Command to make several momentous decisions. The Naval General Staff feared that Australia would become a major base from which Allied counteroffensives could be launched and decided that it should be attacked and seized. The Army General Staff, staggered by the great distances involved in the attack, countered with a proposal to capture Port Moresby in southeastern New Guinea and use it for attacks on

“We came, we listened, and we were conquered.”

—Major General Albert Wedemeyer at the Casablanca Conference

northern Australia to check Allied advances from that direction. This decision led to the Battle of the Coral Sea in May 1942.

The most dramatic American carrier operation early in the war came on 18 April 1942, when 16 U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) B-25 bombers lifted off the deck of the carrier *Hornet*, part of Halsey’s Task Force 16, and attacked Tokyo,

Nagoya, Osaka, and Kobe. Known as the Doolittle raid for the commander of the B-25s, Lieutenant Colonel James H. Doolittle, the attack did little physical damage but caused psychological shock among the Japanese leadership.

Jarred by these raids, members of the Imperial Naval Staff concluded that something had to be done about the American carrier threat. As a result, they suspended operations in the southeastern region (the Bismarcks, Solomons, eastern New Guinea, Papua, New Caledonia, Fiji, and Samoa), pulled air assets back to defend the Japanese home islands, and threw their support to the Combined Fleet’s Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku’s previously unpopular plan to seize the island of Midway.

Arthur T. Frame

See also

Aircraft Carriers; Coral Sea, Battle of the; Doolittle, James Harold “Jimmy”; Fletcher, Frank Jack; Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; King, Ernest Joseph; Nimitz, Chester William; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Tokyo, Bombing of (18 April 1942); Yamamoto Isoroku

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Casablanca Conference (14–24 January 1943)

Important U.S.-British strategic planning conference held in Morocco. Following the successful Allied landings in North Africa and the breakout of the British Eighth Army at El Alamein, British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill and U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Combined Chiefs of Staff met at Casablanca, Morocco, between 14 and 24 January 1943. Soviet leader Josef Stalin was invited but declined to attend, citing the pressure of military operations.

The principal topic of discussion at the conference—which was code-named *SYMBOL* and took place in a hotel complex in Anfa, a suburb of Casablanca—was strategic military options once North Africa had been cleared of Axis troops. The British, who arrived at the meetings far better prepared than the Americans, made a strong case for invasions of Sicily and then the Italian peninsula. The Americans, who preferred concentration on a cross-Channel invasion of France, reluctantly acceded. “We came, we listened, and we were conquered,” remarked Major General Albert Wedemeyer, one U.S. attendee.

The Allied leaders at Casablanca took another important step in deciding to launch a combined bomber offensive against Germany. On the day the conference opened, the survivors of a special convoy from Trinidad arrived at Gibraltar. The convoy’s devastating losses to German U-boats—77 percent—forced the two Allied leaders to assign priority to winning the Battle of the Atlantic. They agreed to divert to that struggle additional convoy escorts, escort carriers, and aircraft assets (including the VLR [very long range] Consolidated B-24 Liberator, which would, for the first time, be based at Newfoundland to close the Greenland air gap).

But the Casablanca Conference is chiefly remembered for Roosevelt’s surprise announcement that the Allies would insist on “unconditional surrender.” Churchill, who had not been informed that the announcement would be made,

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONTROVERSY

Unconditional Surrender—A Hindrance to Allied Victory?

On 16 January 1943, at the close of the Casablanca Conference, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt informed the press that peace would be achieved only with the total elimination of German and Japanese military power, which would necessitate the unconditional surrender of Germany, Italy, and Japan. Roosevelt was thinking of the end of World War I, when an armistice concluded hostilities, allowing German leaders to say that their nation had not been defeated militarily. The British—and Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, in particular—did not appear comfortable with Roosevelt's remarks, although Churchill immediately announced his support publicly. He later said that he would not have used those words. He remained convinced that such an absolute and categorical expression of policy would stiffen Axis resolve. Certainly, the Allied demand for unconditional surrender became a handy propaganda instrument for the Axis powers.

Over the years, some have argued that the insistence on unconditional surrender actually prolonged the war. B. H. Liddell Hart, for example, asserted that the demand for unconditional surrender strengthened German resolve and was skillfully exploited by Joseph Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry, especially when it could be coupled with alleged scenarios such as the "Morgenthau Plan" to convert postwar Germany into a primarily agricultural and pastoral country. According to Liddell Hart, implacable German resistance in the last two years of the war was, in part, the consequence of the unconditional surrender policy.

Albert Speer, Germany's minister of armaments, lent credence to the argument that demands for unconditional surrender hardened German resistance. He suggested that Adolf Hitler entertained no illusions about the seriousness of the Allied position on Germany's surrender and that the Führer realized the Nazis had burned all their diplomatic bridges. He repeatedly told his cohorts that there was no turning back. This information implies that the Germans might otherwise have overthrown the Hitler regime, but it is doubtful that many Germans would have been attracted to this course by Allied assurances of moderation. Hugh R. Trevor-Roper dismissed the controversy as "much ado about nothing." Terms could only be made with holders of power or alternative power brokers. Some German military leaders might have been ready to bargain with the Allies, but conditions that included abolition of the Wehrmacht would probably not have been acceptable to them. In fact, German military opposition to Hitler failed, and the German democratic opposition was badly fragmented and often a will-o'-the-wisp. To be sure, Allied leaders were in concurrence on the point that the war would have to end with Axis surrender. Historian Gerhard Weinberg noted that the difference between surrender and unconditional surrender was merely a matter of nuance.

The demand for unconditional surrender had another advantage for the Western leaders. Both the British and U.S. governments sought to assure the Soviet

Union that they were in the conflict for the duration and hence would not consider an arrangement with the Germans at Moscow's expense. In emphasizing the diplomatic aspects of the unconditional surrender policy, Vojtech Mastny suggested that the latter was, in part, intended to reassure the Kremlin. Stalin displayed substantial skepticism, in public at least, about the British and American determination to remain in the war and assumed that, given the chance, they would negotiate with Germany behind his back. After all, he himself had approached the Germans on several occasions about a deal. Until the winter of 1943, Stalin portrayed the war as an exclusively Russian-German conflict that, by implication, could be settled in a mutually advantageous manner between two belligerents.

David M. Keithly

See also

Casablanca Conference; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Hitler, Adolf; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Speer, Albert; Stalin, Josef

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nonetheless immediately supported it. Some have charged that this decision needlessly prolonged the war by preventing negotiations with factions in the German resistance to Adolf Hitler that might have led them to topple his regime. Certainly, the declaration was a windfall for the German propaganda machine. In making the announcement, Roosevelt had in mind World War I and the way the German Right had

utilized the November 1918 armistice to spread the myth that Germany had not been defeated militarily. That outcome had been a powerful assist in Hitler's rise to power.

Another aspect of the Casablanca Conference concerned relations with the French. General Charles de Gaulle, leader of the Free French, was not informed of the meeting beforehand; Churchill simply ordered him to Morocco, which was



The unconditional surrender announcement at the Casablanca Conference at Casablanca, French Morocco, Africa. President Franklin Roosevelt, with Prime Minister Winston Churchill at his side, addressing the assembled war correspondents. (Library of Congress)

then still a French protectorate. Roosevelt and Churchill pushed de Gaulle into a partnership with General Henri Giraud, who had been spirited out of France by submarine. De Gaulle, already upset because Britain had undermined the French position in Syria and Lebanon, was eventually able to elbow the politically inept and equally stubborn Giraud into the shadows. However, the whole affair affected de Gaulle's attitude toward Britain and the United States.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Combined Chiefs of Staff; de Gaulle, Charles; El Alamein, Battle of; Giraud, Henri Honoré; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Strategic Bombing; TORCH, Operation; Wedemeyer, Albert Coady

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Cash-and-Carry (November 1939)

U.S. program to allow states that were victims of aggression to purchase arms to fight the Axis powers. In July 1936, civil war broke out in Spain, and a year later, the Sino-Japanese War began. Then, in May 1937, the U.S. Congress passed the Neutrality Act, which committed the nation to "permanent neutrality." The act revamped existing neutrality legislation to include a prohibition on the sale of arms or munitions to either side in a civil war as well as a declared war between states. Travel by U.S. citizens on belligerent ships was made illegal, no longer just cautioned against as something undertaken at the passenger's risk. Well aware of the financial impact of trade, Congress provided that the president would draw up a list of certain strategic raw materials, such as oil,

that were to be paid for on delivery and then transported on ships belonging to the belligerent power. Thus was born the phrase *cash-and-carry*. These provisions were to last for two years.

In September 1939, Germany invaded Poland, beginning World War II. Public sentiment in the United States demanded that the country stay out of the conflict, but it also generally favored assistance to the states fighting Germany and Japan. In any case, the cash-and-carry provisions of the 1937 act had expired in May 1939, with the consequence that U.S. merchant vessels were free to sail into the war zones, albeit with the possibility that they would be sunk and the United States drawn into war. At the same time, the Western democracies could not purchase arms in the United States.

On 27 October 1939, the U.S. Senate voted 63 to 31 to repeal the embargo on arms to belligerents, and a week later, the House of Representatives followed suit, with a majority of 61 votes. Under the November 1939 act, cash-and-carry remained in effect. The United States could sell war materials to belligerents provided that they could pay cash for the goods and transport them in their own vessels. This act was, in fact, a compromise: the noninterventionists yielded on the arms embargo in order to secure the provision preventing U.S. ships from sailing into the war zones, and the repealists accepted the latter in order to secure an end to the ban on arms sales.

The terms of the act were intentionally crafted to favor the Atlantic sea powers that possessed merchant and naval forces to transport the material. To remain within the legal bounds of American neutrality, cash-and-carry was extended to all belligerents, both Axis and Allied, that could meet the specific requirements of the act. Japan was thus able to take advantage of its provisions—until the U.S. government embargoed war goods and froze Japanese assets in 1941, precipitating Tokyo's decision to launch an attack on the United States.

British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain informed U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt that he thought the November 1939 act would have a “devastating effect upon German morale,” but that was hardly the case, as U.S. factories were only just beginning to produce quantities of weapons. The act also opened up the dilemma of how to allot the few weapons that were being produced. U.S. rearmament was barely under way at that point, and the armed services would have to compete with the Western democracies for American weapons. Many Americans also opposed the act because it provided assistance to the Soviet Union, and the legislation became an issue in the 1940 presidential campaign.

James T. Carroll and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Armaments Production; Chamberlain, Arthur Neville; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; United States, Home Front

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Cassino/Rapido River, Battles of (1944)

A series of engagements between the Allies and Germans for control of Monte Cassino, a massif strategically located at the entrance of the Liri Valley in Italy. The site of a Benedictine abbey established in A.D.529, Monte Cassino formed an important part of the German Gustav Line, a set of defensive positions stretching across the Italian peninsula and blocking the Allied approach to Rome.

Following up on the Allied success on Sicily in July and August 1943 (Operation HUSKY), the American Fifth Army landed at Salerno, a city on the western coast of Italy, on 9 September 1943 (Operation AVALANCHE) and began to push north. With rugged mountain ranges, heavy rains, and stiff German resistance barring the advance, Allied progress was slow. In late 1943, having broken through the Volturno Line (a German defensive line anchored on the Volturno River), the Allies found themselves up against the Gustav Line. To force the German commander, Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, to fight in two directions (west and south), the Fifth Army's commander, Lieutenant General Mark Clark, planned Operation SHINGLE, an amphibious landing at Anzio/Nettuno, north of and behind the Gustav Line. By landing at Anzio/Nettuno with a corps, Clark believed it would be possible to turn Colonel General Heinrich von Vietinghoff's Tenth Army out of the Gustav Line, thus opening the Liri Valley and the routes to Rome.

To prepare for the landing of Major General John Lucas's American VI Corps and its subsequent linkup with Fifth Army, Clark ordered attacks by the British X Corps and the U.S. II Corps. In order to seize key heights to protect the southern flank of II Corps as it began its attack up the Liri Valley, Lieutenant General Richard McCreery's X Corps assaulted across the Garigliano River on 17 January 1944. Failing to cross the river, the British attacked once more two days later but did not achieve their objectives. As a result, Major General Geoffrey Keyes's II Corps would assault across the Rapido River with its left flank exposed.

Keyes's plan to attack across the Rapido River and into the Liri Valley was simple. The 36th Infantry Division would move forward, with two regiments abreast, roughly 3 miles downstream from the town of Cassino; the 34th Infantry Division would attack with three regiments abreast north of Cassino. Beginning their strike on 20 January, the Americans



The town of Cassino burns during tremendous allied air assault, 15 March 1944. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

immediately encountered stiff resistance from General der Panzertruppen (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) Fridolin von Senger und Etterlin's German XIV Corps.

Throughout the night of 20 January, the Americans struggled to find their way through minefields, cross the river in rubber rafts and canvas boats, and erect footbridges. Sunrise the next morning exposed the Americans to accurate German artillery and rocket fire. Concerned with his losses, the 36th Infantry Division commander, Major General Fred Walker, prevailed on Keyes to delay a renewed effort until after dark. Attacking again on the evening of 21 January, the 36th Infantry Division suffered heavy losses without establishing a lodgment on the far side of the Rapido. Against Keyes's wishes, Clark authorized Walker to halt the attack on the morning of 22 January.

With the 36th Infantry Division stalled, Clark now intended to envelop Cassino from the north. Attacking on 25 January with the 34th Infantry Division and units of General Alphonse Juin's French Expeditionary Corps, the Allies soon ground to a halt. Once again, the soggy ground, a strong current, and determined German resistance frus-

trated Clark's efforts to capture Cassino. Over the next several days, the 34th Infantry Division, including the Nisei 100th Infantry Battalion, inched its way up and over the heights north of Cassino but was unable to capture the abbey or the town. By 11 February, the II Corps attack was spent, and the task for opening the Liri Valley fell to Lieutenant General Bernard Freyberg's New Zealand II Corps.

Believing the only way to capture Cassino was to eliminate the abbey from the commanding heights above the town, Freyberg received permission to bomb it, and on 15 February, waves of bombers dropped 435.5 tons of high explosives, reducing the abbey to ruins. Although the Germans had not previously garrisoned the abbey, its destruction allowed them to position troops amid the rubble and to strengthen their lines. Launching Operation AVENGER on 15 February, Freyberg's subordinates, facing the same problems as the Americans had earlier, fought with little success to capture Monte Cassino. Frustrated by his lack of progress, Freyberg ordered a halt to AVENGER after three days of fighting.

Freyberg set the next attack for 24 February. Called Operation DICKENS, the attack comprised two infantry divisions

and a tank regiment. Believing a direct approach would prove more effective, Freyberg planned to attack frontally into the town of Cassino, but heavy rains delayed the operation until 15 March. Following the Italian Campaign's first massive carpet bombing, Freyberg's troops engaged in heavy fighting within the town and on the surrounding heights. For the next 10 days, II New Zealand Corps fought in close combat amid the ruins of Cassino with little effect. Because Freyberg failed to commit his reserves in a decisive manner, his conduct of the operation resulted in the heavy casualties he had hoped to avoid. By 24 March, the II New Zealand Corps attacks had halted, with the Germans still in possession of portions of Cassino and the abbey's ruins.

By mid-April, the Polish II Corps, commanded by Lieutenant General Władysław Anders, began to move into the line opposite Cassino. As part of an Allied deception plan, activity along the Gustav Line almost completely ceased. On 11 May, the Allies attacked with Fifth Army and the British Eighth Army, and although the offensive caught the Germans by surprise, casualties among the Poles were still high. Fifth Army's progress south of Cassino in the Liri Valley, however, rendered Monte Cassino unimportant to the Germans' defense. On the evening of 17 May, the defenders withdrew, and the next day, the Polish II Corps occupied Monte Cassino, completing a four-month battle for the heights. Casualties for the Allies numbered some 120,000; the Germans suffered almost 130,000.

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See also

Anders, Władysław; Anzio, Battle of; Clark, Mark Wayne; Freyberg, Bernard Cyril; Italy Campaign; Japanese Americans; Juin, Alphonse Pierre; Kesselring, Albert; Lucas, John Porter; Sicily, Invasion of; Vietinghoff gennant Scheel, Heinrich Gottfried von; Wilson, Henry Maitland

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Casualties

World War II exacted a heavy toll on the combatant nations and the world community as a whole. Although figures vary widely based on the source employed, perhaps 50 million servicemen and civilians were killed in the course of the conflict. World War II is thus the most destructive war in human history (see Table 1).



American casualties aboard a landing craft being removed from Munda Point, New Georgia Island, July 1944. (National Archives)

In terms of combat losses for the principal Allied powers, the Soviet Union had 8,668,400 military personnel killed. The majority of these were in the army, as the Soviets bore the brunt of the fighting on land against Germany. By the end of the war, the Chinese had 1,324,516 soldiers killed, a number of whom became casualties as early as the 1937 Japanese invasion. The United States, Great Britain, and France suffered far fewer losses, although in relative terms, given their smaller populations, the impact was still high. Of these powers, Great Britain's armed forces had 397,762 men killed. This figure includes losses incurred by imperial and Commonwealth forces: Canada sustained 37,476 deaths, India 24,338, Australia 23,365, New Zealand 10,033, and South Africa 6,840. The United States suffered 292,129 battle deaths, and the French lost 213,324 servicemen. The latter figure includes Free French forces.

Smaller Allied powers also lost heavily in comparison to their populations. Poland had 320,000 killed, and Greece lost 73,700. The Netherlands lost 6,238 servicemen. Belgium's armed forces lost 7,760 men. The dead of Norway totaled 4,780, and Denmark's losses were 4,339, a figure that includes merchant sailors in the service of other Allied navies.

Table 1
Casualty Figures for World War II

	Battle Deaths	Wounded	Missing in Action	Civilian Dead
Allied Powers				
Australia	23,365	39,803	32,393	—
Belgium	7,760	14,000	—	76,000
Canada	37,476	53,174	10,888	—
China	1,324,516	1,762,006	115,248	1,000,000
Denmark	4,339	—	—	1,800
France	213,324	400,000	—	350,000
Great Britain	397,762	348,403	90,188	92,673
Greece	73,700	47,000	—	325,000
India	24,338	64,354	91,243	—
Netherlands	6,238	2,860	—	200,000
New Zealand	10,033	19,314	10,582	—
Norway	4,780	—	—	7,000
Poland	320,000	530,000	420,760	3,000,000
South Africa	6,840	14,363	16,430	—
Soviet Union	8,668,400	14,685,593	4,559,000	14,012,000
United States	292,129	670,846	139,709	6,000
Axis Powers				
Bulgaria	10,000	21,878	—	10,000
Finland	79,047	50,000	—	11,000
Germany	2,049,872	4,879,875	1,902,704	410,000
Hungary	147,435	89,000	170,000	285,000
Italy	259,732	77,494	350,000	146,000
Japan	1,506,000	500,000	810,000	500,000
Romania	300,000	—	100,000	200,000

Note: Dashes indicate figure is unknown.

Sources: Data from Bullock, Alan, *Hitler and Stalin: Parallel Lives*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992; Dupuy, Richard Ernest, *World War II: A Compact History*, New York: Hawthorn Books, 1969; Keegan, John, *The Second World War*, New York: Penguin, 1989; Keegan, John, ed., *The Times Atlas of the Second World War*, New York: Harper and Row, 1989; Krivosheev, G. F., *Soviet Casualties and Combat Losses in the Twentieth Century*, London: Greenhill Books, 1993; and Sorge, Martin K., *The Other Price of Hitler's War: German Military and Civilian Losses Resulting from World War II*, New York: Greenwood, 1986.

The principal Axis powers had significantly fewer casualties than did the Soviet Union, but their populations were also much smaller. Germany, which waged a two-front war, suffered the most, with 2,049,872 dead. Japan sustained 1,506,000 deaths, and Italy lost 259,732 men. This number includes some 17,500 men killed in battle after that nation declared itself a cobelligerent of the Allies.

The other Axis powers endured heavy losses as well. Romania suffered greatly with 300,000 deaths, most of these incurred while the country was an Axis power but a small number being deaths suffered after it joined the Allies late in the war. Hungary lost 147,435 men, and Finland's dead numbered 79,047 soldiers, sailors, and airmen. Bulgaria, initially an Axis power, suffered 10,000 deaths, with some

of these individuals being in the service of the Allies late in the war.

Civilian deaths greatly increased the human toll, as the age of total warfare embraced the civilian sector, too. Including battle deaths, total Soviet deaths in the war may have reached 27 million. Germany was second in terms of civilian losses. Most of these were the result of Allied bombing raids, which claimed the lives of some 410,000 civilians. Air attacks on the home fronts of other nations also carried a heavy cost. In Japan, about 500,000 people lost their lives, whereas Great Britain suffered 92,673 deaths.

Adding to civilian figures were atrocities committed against civilians. Chief among these was the Holocaust, the German campaign to exterminate Europe's Jewish popula-

tion. The Holocaust claimed an estimated 6 million Jews. Half of this number were Polish citizens, and some 1.2 million came from the Soviet Union. Hungary's figure for Jewish deaths was 450,000, and Romania's total reached 300,000. The Baltic states lost 228,000 of their citizens. Germany itself sent 210,000 of its own people to their deaths.

The aftermath of World War II claimed additional victims. Some of these losses were the result of efforts by the Soviet Union and other Eastern and Central European governments to drive out their German minorities. Perhaps 2 million of the 14 million ethnic Germans who had been living in Eastern Europe died in the course of this expulsion. The final legacy of the war was an estimated 11 million people displaced by the conflict, some of whom perished from simple lack of food or shelter.

In addition to the death totals, large numbers of people were wounded, many of them seriously. These casualties, too, imposed a heavy financial toll on all combatant states after the war. Finally, it should be noted that death tolls in the war would have been much higher save for new miracle drugs and blood plasma.

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See also

Holocaust, The; Military Medicine

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CATAPULT, Operation (July 1940)

Operation carried out by the British navy, beginning on 3 July 1940, to neutralize, seize, and if necessary destroy French navy warships, which the British feared would fall into German hands. In 1940, the French navy was the second most powerful in Europe and had many modern warships. With the defeat of France and the German capture of its Atlantic ports, a number of French warships ended up in British harbors; by 3 July, these included the old battleships *Courbet* and *Paris*, a super destroyer leader, two destroyers, six torpedo boats (called light destroyers by the French), and numerous other small warships. Many more vessels remained in French ports, however.

When the French entered into armistice talks with the Germans, Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill and the War Cabinet became concerned over the final disposition of

the French fleet. Although the French navy commander, Admiral Jean Darlan, had promised the British government that France would scuttle the fleet rather than see it fall into German hands, Britain's leaders were not certain that would be the case. And with the threat of a German invasion of Britain looming, Churchill was determined to secure the French fleet. Such a dramatic action on the part of his nation would also demonstrate to the Americans that Britain was determined to continue in the war.

The armistice terms did indeed allow the French government to retain control of the fleet, but it was to be disarmed, mostly at the French navy base of Toulon and also at colonial French ports. At that time, a majority of the French ships were in North Africa, at the ports of Mers-el-Kébir, Oran, Algiers, Bizerte, Alexandria, or elsewhere overseas. The almost completed and powerful battleships *Richelieu* and *Jean Bart* had escaped France and were at Dakar and Casablanca, respectively. At Mers-el-Kébir, there were the two fast battleships *Dunkerque* and *Strasbourg*; the two older, modernized battleships *Provence* and *Bretagne*; the seaplane tender *Commandant Teste*; and some large destroyers and miscellaneous warships. Oran served as base to seven destroyers, and Algiers had six modern light cruisers.

Over some opposition and at Churchill's insistence, the War Cabinet approved Operation CATAPULT to carry out the "simultaneous seizure, control or effective disablement or destruction of all the accessible French Fleet." French naval commanders were offered a series of options: they could join Britain and continue the fight, they could sail their ships to a neutral port and be disarmed there, or they could scuttle their ships. If French commanders rejected these options, the British naval commanders were under orders to open fire and sink the French ships themselves.

The plan, which unfolded on 3 July, met with considerable success in those areas under British control. At Portsmouth, the British seized the old French battleship *Courbet*, along with other small vessels. At Plymouth, they secured the battleship *Paris*, two destroyers, a torpedo boat, and three sloops. There, also, they took the *Surcouf*, the world's largest submarine. Three submarines and other craft were secured from the ports of Falmouth and Dundee. In their home ports, the British secured almost 200 small warships, including minesweepers, tugs, submarine chasers, and trawlers. The vessels were taken at a cost of three sailors killed, two British and one French. Later, 3,000 of the ships' 12,000 officers and sailors joined the Free French. Also seized were French merchant ships and their crews.

CATAPULT was also successful in the West Indies. Prolonged talks involving the British, French, and Americans led to the internment of the aircraft carrier *Béarn* and two light cruisers at Martinique. At Alexandria, Vice Admiral Sir Andrew Cunningham negotiated with Vice Admiral René Émile Godfroy,



French ship being scuttled at Toulon, 27 November 1942. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

who commanded a French squadron consisting of the rebuilt World War I-era battleship *Lorraine*; the heavy cruisers *Duquesne*, *Tourville*, and *Suffren*; the light cruiser *Duguay-Trouin*; three destroyers; and one submarine. In deft negotiations, Cunningham managed to secure an agreement that the French ships would be disarmed and their fuel emptied. Some of the sailors were also repatriated to France.

The operation was not so effective farther west in the Mediterranean. At Mers-el-Kébir, the French refused to yield and fought a battle with Vice Admiral James Somerville's newly formed Force H from Gibraltar. In the action, the French battleship *Bretagne* blew up and sank. The *Provence* was also badly damaged and beached herself; the battleship *Dunkerque* ran aground. In this battle, 1,297 French seamen died; another 351 were wounded. Later, on 5 July, the *Strasbourg*, *Commandant Teste*, and a few destroyers broke free and escaped. There was also fighting at Dakar, where a small British squadron built around the tiny aircraft carrier *Hermes* damaged the battleship *Richelieu* on 8 July.

Because of CATAPULT, the Vichy French government severed diplomatic relations with Britain. The German govern-

ment also lifted demobilization requirements for the French fleet and elements of its air force, and the French then mounted several largely ineffectual air strikes against Gibraltar. On 26 July, London declared a blockade of metropolitan France and French North Africa, although it was never heavily enforced.

Those who had opposed CATAPULT believed it would drive a wedge between the two former allies; they also expected France to honor its pledge to Britain to scuttle the fleet if necessary. In these beliefs, they were quite correct. Despite their sharp animosity toward Britain for launching CATAPULT—an animosity that lingers to this day—the French honored their pledge. In November 1942, following the Allied landings in North Africa (Operation TORCH), the French scuttled their ships when the Germans tried to secure them at Toulon. Operation CATAPULT was one of the most tragic aspects of the war.

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See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Cunningham, Sir Andrew Browne; Dakar, Attack on; Darlan, Jean Louis Xavier François; Mers-el-Kéber; Somerville, Sir James Fownes; TORCH, Operation

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Catholic Church and the War

The Catholic Church's record in World War II, particularly its assistance to Jews and resistance to the Holocaust or lack thereof, has generated intense controversy. Individual Catholics certainly acted with considerable bravery in opposing Nazi agendas. Archbishop Galen of Münster condemned Germany's euthanasia program in 1941, which led Adolf Hitler to suspend mass killings (although so-called mercy killings continued on a smaller scale). Other Catholics hid Jews and served bravely in the Resistance in France or as chaplains at the front (more than 3,000 in the U.S. Army alone). Yet the Vatican refused to issue official statements condemning the Holocaust. Meanwhile, in an exercise in bad timing, the Vatican extended diplomatic relations to Japan early in 1942, at the high tide of Japanese aggression in Asia and the Pacific.

In part, nationalist loyalties constrained the Vatican and proved more powerful, if not more resilient, than supranational Catholicism. In the Nazi puppet state of Croatia, Franciscan monks and ultranationalist priests lent their moral authority to the murder of tens of thousands of Jews and Orthodox Serbians in 1941. A few bloodthirsty priests even joined in the killing. Meanwhile, anti-Bolshevism drove many European priests to support the Nazi "crusade" against the Soviet Union, and traditional expressions of biblical anti-Semitism and consistent opposition to Zionism tended to inhibit sympathy for Jews.

Ultimately, Pope Pius XII was responsible for exercising and enforcing the church's moral authority, and evidence indicates he was a Germanophile. As a cardinal, he had negotiated the 1933 concordat between the Vatican and Nazi Germany that gave the Holy See tighter control over independent-minded German Catholics. It also gave Hitler important international recognition and a freer hand in Germany, as it led to the dissolution of Germany's Catholic Center Party.

In the invasion of Poland in September 1939, the Nazis revealed their murderous nature. Polish priests were either murdered or deported to concentration camps. In the Warthegau region alone, the Nazis killed more than 300 priests. Apparently concluding that official condemnations

would goad the Nazis to further excesses, Pius XII remained silent. And after failing to protest the mass murders of priests, it was not surprising that the pope, who knew of the mass murders of the Jews by mid-1942, nevertheless refused to condemn these crimes officially.

Pius XII was too cautious, and his well-intentioned attempts at behind-the-scenes diplomacy proved ineffectual. Critics have cited his reluctance to identify the Jews as victims (he preferred the pusillanimous term *unfortunate people*) to suggest that he was an uncaring anti-Semite. Such accusations are unjust, however. Guided more by concerns about the preservation of the church hierarchy and the physical survival of Rome, Pius XII failed to lead morally and speak authoritatively. Exaggerated caution, not anti-Semitism, accounted for his reluctance to remonstrate against Nazi war crimes.

In March 1998, John Paul II issued a document entitled "We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah." Although it called for Catholics to repent if they had known about the Holocaust yet failed to act, this document absolved Pius XII of blame and praised him for resolute diplomacy that reputedly led to the salvation of hundreds of thousands of Jews. Controversy nevertheless continues today on whether Pius XII should be beatified and made a saint or vilified as "Hitler's pope." Yet a middle ground does exist between hagiographers, on the one hand, and scandalous and carping caricaturists, on the other.

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See also

Holocaust, The; Pius XII, Pope; Religion and the War

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Caucasus Campaign (22 July 1942–February 1943)

German campaign, dubbed Operation EDELWEISS, to capture the rich Caspian oil fields. Although the offensive was unsuccessful, the territory taken in this operation represented the farthest points to the east and south reached by the German army during the war.

The great German summer offensive, Operation BLAU (BLUE), opened on 28 June. General Erich von Manstein had

argued for a concentration in the center of the front. He believed that Soviet leader Josef Stalin would commit all available resources to save Moscow and that this approach offered the best chance of destroying the Red Army; it would also result in a more compact front. Adolf Hitler rejected this sound approach and instead divided his resources. In the north, he would push to take Leningrad, still under siege, and link up with the Finns. But the main effort would be Operation *BLAU* to the south, in which the Caucasus oil fields located near the cities of Baku, Maikop, and Grozny would be the ultimate prize. Securing these areas would severely cripple Soviet military operations, while at the same time aiding those of Germany.

Hitler ordered Field Marshal Fedor von Bock's Army Group South to move east from around Kursk and take Voronezh, which fell to the Germans on 6 July. Hitler then reorganized his southern forces into Army Groups A and B. Field Marshal Siegmund List commanded Army Group A, the southern formation; General Maximilian von Weichs had charge of the northern formation, Army Group B.

Hitler's original plan was for Army Groups A and B to cooperate in a great effort to secure the Don and Donets Valleys and capture the cities of Rostov and Stalingrad. The two could then move southeast to take the oil fields. The Germans expected to be aided in their efforts there by the fact that most of the region was inhabited by non-Russian nationalities, such as the Chechens, whose loyalty to the Soviet government was suspect.

On 13 July, Hitler ordered a change of plans, now demanding that Stalingrad, a major industrial center and key crossing point on the Volga River, and the Caucasus be captured simultaneously. This demand placed further strains on already inadequate German resources, especially logistical support. The twin objectives also meant that a gap would inevitably appear between the two German army groups, enabling most Soviet troops caught in the Don River bend to escape eastward.

On 22 July, Army Group A's First Panzer and Seventeenth Armies assaulted Rostov. Within two days, they had captured the city. A few days later, the Germans established a bridgehead across the Don River at Bataysk, and Hitler then issued Führer Directive 45, initiating *EDELWEISS*. He believed that the Red Army was close to defeat and that the advance into the Caucasus should proceed without waiting until the Don was cleared and Stalingrad had fallen. The operation would be a case of strategic overreach.

Securing the mountain passes of the Caucasus region between the Black and Caspian Seas was crucial in any operation to take the oil fields. To accomplish this task, Army Group A had special troops trained for Alpine operations, including Seventeenth Army's XLIX Mountain Corps. Sup-

porting Army Group A's eastern flank was Army Group B's Fourth Panzer Army.

At the end of July, List had at his disposal 10 infantry divisions as well as 3 Panzer and 2 motorized divisions, along with a half dozen Romanian and Slovak divisions. Hitler expected List to conquer an area the size of France with this force. Despite these scant German and allied forces, the Soviets had only scattered units available to oppose the German advance. On 28 July, the Soviets created the North Caucasus Front, commanded by Marshal Semen Budenny, and Stalin ordered his forces to stand in place and not retreat. But even reprisals failed to stem the Soviet withdrawal before Army Group A's rapid advance, which had all the characteristics of a blitzkrieg. Indeed, the chief obstacles to the German advance were logistical, created by the vast distances involved and terrain problems. The Germans used aerial resupply where possible and also horses and camels to press their advance.

By 9 August, the 5th SS Panzer Division had taken the first of the Caucasus oil fields at Maykop. To the west, infantry and mountain formations of the Seventeenth Army had made slower progress, but on 9 August, they took Krasnodar, capital of the rich agricultural Kuban region. They then moved in a broad advance into the Caucasus Mountains, with the goal of taking the Black Sea ports of Novorossiysk, Tuapse, and Sukhumi. Soviet forces, meanwhile, continued to fall back into the Caucasus. As Budenny's North Caucasus Front prepared to defend the Black Sea ports, the Soviets sabotaged the oil fields, removing much of the equipment and destroying the wellheads. So successful was this effort that there would be no significant oil production from the region until after the war.

By the end of August, the German advance had slowed to a crawl. For the Seventeenth Army, the problems were terrain and a stiffening Soviet resistance. Bitter fighting occurred in Novorossiysk, beginning on 18 August when the Germans threw six divisions against the city. It fell on 6 September, although the Soviets managed to evacuate their defending marine infantry by sea.

To the east, the advance of the First Panzer Army, pushing toward the oil fields at Grozny, also slowed. Problems there were largely logistical, with a serious shortage of fuel impeding forward movement. In addition, Hitler was gradually siphoning off First Army's strength, including two divisions, some of its artillery, and most of its air support (diverted north to the cauldron of Stalingrad). Weather now became a factor, with the first snowfall in the mountains on 12 September. Displeased with the progress of his forces in the Caucasus and despite List's objections, Hitler assumed personal control of Army Group A on 10 September and sacked List.



Hitler's plan was far too ambitious for the assets committed. The weather had become a critical concern, as did continuing German logistical problems. The Soviets, meanwhile, were able to feed additional resources into the fight. On 14 October, the Germans suspended offensive operations in the Caucasus, except for the Seventeenth Army efforts on the Terek River and around Tuapse. The Germans took Tuapse several days later but then called a halt to offensive operations on 4 November.

Events at Stalingrad now took precedence. By the end of November, Soviet forces had encircled the German Sixth Army at Stalingrad, and Soviet successes there placed the Axis forces in the Caucasus in an untenable situation. Then, on 29 November, the Soviet Transcaucasus Front launched an offensive of its own along the Terek. The Germans repulsed this attack, but on 22 December, German forces began a withdrawal from positions along the Terek River. At the end of December, with the situation to the north growing more precarious daily, Hitler reluctantly ordered Army Group A to withdraw. This movement began in early January, with Soviet forces unable seriously to disrupt it. By early February, German forces had withdrawn to the Taman Peninsula, from which Hitler hoped to renew his Caucasus offensive in the spring. In October 1943, however, German forces there were withdrawn across Kerch Strait into the Crimea.

Germany's Caucasus Campaign turned out to be a costly and unsuccessful gamble. Ultimately, by splitting his resources between Stalingrad and the Caucasus, Hitler got neither.

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See also

Bock, Fedor von; Budenny, Semen Mikhailovich; Crimea Campaign; Hitler, Adolf; Paulus, Friedrich; Sevastopol, Battle for; Stalin, Josef; Stalingrad, Battle of; Weichs zur Glon, Maximilian Maria Joseph von

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Censorship

The practice of suppressing and/or manipulating information and news, often by a government agency. Every nation involved in World War II applied censorship to some degree. But exactly what was censored and how it was censored varied from country to country. Totalitarian Germany and the Soviet Union generally manipulated the news by completely controlling the newspapers and radio stations: citizens normally knew only what their governments decided they should know. German Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels, for example, rigidly controlled the flow of news to the German people. The governments of Italy and Japan held similar powers and used them frequently, but there were also surprising instances when newspapers were able to criticize those governments without severe repercussions. Still, the Japanese people at large knew nothing about their navy's great defeat in the June 1942 Battle of Midway. In Great Britain, the wartime government preferred to enforce censorship through prior restraint by creating a detailed censorship code and having government employees enforce it by carefully reviewing the contents of all news before it could be published or broadcast. Most of the Commonwealth nations followed suit, creating censorship codes and enforcing them as Britain did.

The U.S. system of wartime censorship also employed written censorship codes, but the government enforced these codes in a less intrusive way. This unique system of "voluntary self-censorship" was created just after Pearl Harbor. President Franklin D. Roosevelt decided that American censorship should begin with separate spheres for military information and domestic news. Thus, the U.S. Army and Navy kept control of their information by such traditional expedients as editing the mail of military personnel (the extent varied widely from unit to unit) and issuing very general press releases. In the field, the army and navy required American correspondents to agree to specific rules or be banned from combat theaters. Military censors also reviewed the copy written by correspondents, which had to be approved before it could be transmitted to their home offices.

For the most part, correspondents accepted military censorship without protest. At one point, virtually the entire press corps in Sicily voluntarily suppressed the story about Lieutenant General George S. Patton slapping two soldiers. Writer John Steinbeck, who spent about five months in Europe as a war correspondent, remembered that he and his colleagues censored themselves more vigorously than did the military censors.

CBI

See China-Burma-India Theater.



Page of notebook of Robert C. Miller, United Press correspondent, which had parts blacked out when passing through Naval censorship, 1942. (Library of Congress)

For domestic news, Roosevelt created the Office of Censorship. This body was similar to the Creel Committee of World War I, which had developed a general censorship code that the media then pledged to follow. However, knowing how American reporters and editors had resented George Creel's heavy-handed approach, Roosevelt shrewdly selected Byron Price, lead editor of the Associated Press, to head his new office. Price, in consultation with a censorship operating board composed of representatives of several federal agencies, handled the press fairly by applying the new censorship codes for the press and for radio news in a consistent manner.

Neither of the codes was very long, and the details were deliberately somewhat vague. Price preferred to ask editors to guide their own actions by asking themselves, "Is this information I would like to have if I were the enemy?" This appeal to patriotism worked well, for throughout the war, editors tended to censor their agencies' stories so heavily that Price's staff and the volunteer monitors who reviewed local newspaper stories for the office often suggested that deleted information could be returned to the text.

The most serious challenge to censorship came in June 1942, when Stanley Johnston, a reporter for the *Chicago Tribune*, gained access to a confidential navy communiqué based on the navy's ability to read Japan's naval codes. From this information, Johnston wrote a story revealing that the U.S. Navy had advance information about the

Japanese attack on Midway. This scoop, which the *Chicago Tribune* published without submitting it to Price's censors, threatened to expose U.S. code-breaking operations. Outraged at the harm this could have done to the war in the Pacific, the Department of Justice prepared a case against the newspaper for violating the Espionage Act. In the end, however, the government dropped the matter, partly because the story had not contravened the existing censorship code but largely because a public trial would only further jeopardize the code-breaking secret. Fortunately for the Allies, the Japanese apparently were not aware of the story.

The censorship code was then revised and reissued with greater restrictions. The main impact of the incident seems to have made most editors even more cooperative in censoring their own stories. By 1944, a few reporters had picked up gleanings about the purpose of the top-secret MANHATTAN Project, yet all of them kept quiet about the knowledge that America was building an atomic bomb. The fact that one of these reporters was the notorious whistle-blower Drew Pearson only underscores how readily the media accepted the need for wartime censorship.

Throughout the war, most of the Office of Censorship's 15,000 employees were not battling with the press but instead were monitoring the vast amount of mail, cables, and telephone calls that went overseas, seeking to keep information from falling into the wrong hands. As had the media, American citizens accepted this censorship without great protest. Indeed, few Americans seemed to complain about censorship at all, which was very different from the way they grouched about rationing, taxes, shortages, or many of the other restrictions that the war had placed on their freedoms.

Even after 1945, there was remarkably little criticism of wartime censorship, in marked contrast to the complaints that followed the war in Britain and elsewhere. These attitudes shed light on popular American views of the emergency in the early months after Pearl Harbor. They also suggest that Byron Price had been right when he told President Roosevelt that he would get more cooperation from Americans by asking them to help him rather than telling them what to do.

Terry Shoptaugh

See also

Goebbels, Paul Josef; Journalism and the War; MANHATTAN Project; Midway, Battle of; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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Central Pacific Campaign

The U.S. Navy's overarching strategy for defeating the Japanese by making a thrust through the Central Pacific had its roots in a long-standing concept for a maritime war with Japan. WAR PLAN ORANGE dated to 1898, and though modified many times, the basic scheme remained consistent. PLAN ORANGE called for marshaling the main battle fleet in the eastern Pacific, then steaming to the Philippines, where a decisive Mahanian-style battle fleet engagement would occur. Simultaneously, the navy would relieve the beleaguered Philippine army garrison. Faced with catastrophic defeat and total American command of the sea, Japan would presumably surrender.

The successful Japanese strike on Pearl Harbor completely disrupted PLAN ORANGE and the Central Pacific thrust. With all Pacific Fleet battleships sunk or damaged and only five aircraft carriers available in the Pacific, the navy was in no condition to execute PLAN ORANGE, defeat the Imperial Japanese Navy in a decisive battle for command of the sea, or even reinforce or evacuate the Philippine defenders. Consequently, for almost two years, the navy engaged in peripheral operations against the Japanese defensive perimeter, supporting the Marines and the army in the Solomon Islands and New Guinea and repelling Japanese main strike forces at the Battles of the Coral Sea and Midway.

By mid-1943, with *Essex*-class fleet carriers coming on line from the "two ocean" Naval Expansion Act of 1940 and fast battleships of the *North Carolina*- and *South Dakota*-classes for antiaircraft support and shore bombardment, the commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet, Admiral Chester Nimitz, stood ready to launch the Central Pacific assault against the Japanese Empire.

The dual-pronged Pacific strategy that emerged in 1943 represented a compromise between the services. The ABC Conference (between Britain, Canada, and the United States in March 1941) established Pacific operational areas, which the Joint Chiefs of Staff reconfirmed in March 1942. The agreement gave the navy operational control over the Central and South Pacific areas; the army had responsibility for the southwest Pacific. The army area commander, General Douglas MacArthur, advocated an advance up the New Guinea coast along the New Guinea-Mindanao axis to isolate the Japanese base at Rabaul and drive to the Philippines. The navy, meanwhile, pressed for a Central Pacific thrust. In March 1943, the Joint Chiefs agreed on a compromise plan whereby both services would advance along their preferred routes while simultaneously supporting each other. The results of this dual-pronged strategy

formed from compromise were devastating for Imperial Japan.

To face two simultaneous threats, the Japanese, unable to concentrate against a single-threat axis, had to stretch their air, naval, and ground forces perilously thin. By adopting a "leap-frogging" operational mode in both the Central and southwest Pacific, U.S. forces could attack strategic points, such as islands with airfields, while simply bypassing and isolating large Japanese garrisons, such as Truk and Rabaul. These latter then withered on the vine.

Another component of the Central Pacific strategy was the submarine offensive against Japanese shipping. This offensive further reduced Japan's capability to reinforce and sustain isolated garrisons as U.S. forces advanced key island by key island, beginning with Operation GALVANIC against the Gilbert Islands in November 1943. In the interwar years, the Marine Corps had made great strides in amphibious operations, and Guadalcanal had been a useful test of amphibious doctrine. Nimitz and his chief of staff, Vice Admiral Raymond Spruance, had originally conceived of the first thrust going against the Marshall Islands; however, the Gilberts were closer to Hawaii and within range of land-based air cover.

The Central Pacific thrust offered a number of advantages. The many islands and atolls provided a target-rich environment that prevented the Japanese from determining the precise route of advance and forced them to defend all points. The size of the islands and atolls discouraged the establishment of large garrisons. The long distances between islands mitigated mutual support, and American carrier airpower inhibited supply and reinforcement. Further, the line of communications from Pearl Harbor and the mainland United States would be shorter than that to the southwest Pacific. The Central Pacific also offered a more healthful climate than the jungles of New Guinea. And an advance through the Central Pacific would cut off and isolate Japanese forces in the South Pacific.

There were, of course, some disadvantages to a Central Pacific thrust. These included the requirement for overwhelming naval and air superiority, which could not be achieved until late 1943 and necessitated the defeat of the main Japanese battle fleet (which occurred in the Battle of Midway). The U.S. plan would also rely on successful amphibious operations, which had not been totally proven.

Operation GALVANIC commenced in late autumn 1943 with landings on Tarawa Atoll (the primary objective being Betio, with its airfield) and Makin Atoll. The joint army, navy, and marine force employed overpowering numbers, with more than 200 ships and 35,000 troops under Rear Admiral Richmond K. Turner, commander of V Amphibious Force. Task Forces 52 and 53 assaulted the atolls on 20



Marines storm Tarawa in the Gilbert Islands, November 1943. (National Archives)

November 1943. Six fleet carriers and five light carriers, escorted by six battleships, provided overwhelming firepower, naval gunfire support, and air cover. Additionally, several hundred army, navy, and marine aircraft participated from the base at Ellice Island. Despite Japanese air attacks from the Marshalls, the air threat proved negligible. On Tarawa, strong fortifications, bunkers, hidden obstacles, and barbed wire slowed the advance—a prelude to future Japanese defensive schemes—and with orders to fight to the last man, the garrison staunchly resisted. Very few Japanese survived, another indicator of the bitter struggle unfolding in the Central Pacific Campaign. U.S. forces suffered a 17 percent casualty rate and encountered other problems as well, including faulty beach and surf intelligence, the inability of landing craft to negotiate shallow atoll waters, inadequate landing craft, too little advance shore bombardment, and poor communications. The Gilberts experience provid-

ed many valuable lessons for the U.S. Navy and Marines on how to conduct future operations.

The Marshall Islands were next. Despite a dearth of transports, Operation *FLINTLOCK* finally commenced on 31 January 1944. Eniwetok and Kwajalein (the world's largest coral atoll) succumbed to overwhelming force and the pounding from Vice Admiral Marc Mitscher's Fast Carrier Task Force 58. The Americans had learned from the Gilberts experience, and casualties among the assaulting forces were much lighter. With the capture of the Marshalls by March, 10 weeks ahead of the established timetable, the navy bypassed several heavily fortified Japanese-held islands and turned its attention to the Mariana Archipelago.

The assault on the Marianas, Operation *FORAGER*, aimed at taking Guam, Saipan, and Tinian Islands. From these bases, the Japanese home islands would be within striking distance of the B-29 Superfortress heavy bombers. The assault on

Saipan commenced on 13 June 1944, with landings on 16 June. Determined to halt the advance by interdicting the supporting naval forces, Vice Admiral Ozawa Jisaburo mounted an assault on the Americans in the Battle of the Philippine Sea. However, the assault, which commenced on 19 June, turned into disaster as the better-trained and better-equipped U.S. Navy pilots decimated the inexperienced Japanese airmen in what came to be called the “great Marianas turkey shoot.” Ozawa lost 325 of 375 attacking aircraft; Japanese naval airpower disappeared in a day, never to play any significant role in the war thereafter except in desperate suicide attacks in the last months.

Saipan was taken by 13 July. The Marines landed on Tinian on 24 July and secured it on 2 August. Guam, the last of the major islands, was struck on 21 July and was finally declared secured on 10 August.

With the loss of the Marianas, the Japanese defensive perimeter had been decisively breached. U.S. strategic bombing of the Japanese home islands now began in earnest and ended in the atomic bomb attacks launched from Tinian a year later. From the Marianas, the two prongs of the Pacific strategy came together again with the invasion of the Philippines in October 1944.

Tenacious Japanese defenders and their fortifications did cause heavy American casualties, and the difficulties inherent in staging such massive invasion efforts presented formidable challenges to U.S. operations. Nonetheless, the Central Pacific Campaign succeeded decisively. The Imperial Japanese Navy’s hitherto deadly air arm had been utterly destroyed, and the stage was set for the final Allied thrust through the Philippines, Iwo Jima, and Okinawa and on toward the Japanese home islands.

Stanley D. M. Carpenter

See also

Amphibious Warfare; Gilbert Islands Campaign; Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Guam, Battle for; Iwo Jima, Battle for; Kwajalein, Battle for; MacArthur, Douglas; Makin Island, Battle of; Mariana Islands, Naval Campaign; Marshall Islands, Naval Campaign; Mitscher, Marc Andrew; New Guinea Campaign; Nimitz, Chester William; Ozawa Jisaburo; Philippines, U.S. Recapture of; Saipan, Battle of; Southwest Pacific Theater; Tarawa, Battle of; Tinian, U.S. Invasion of; Two-Ocean Navy Program

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Chaffee, Adna Romanza, Jr. (1884–1941)

U.S. Army general, regarded as the father of the armored branch. Born in Junction City, Kansas, on 23 September 1884, the son of the second chief of staff of the U.S. Army, Adna Chaffee graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1906.

Chaffee was commissioned in the cavalry and served with the 15th Cavalry Regiment in Cuba until 1907. Between 1907 and 1911, he was assigned to the Mounted Services School at Fort Riley, Kansas. There, he commanded the mounted detachment supporting students and staff at the Army War College. After attending the French Cavalry School at Saumur (1911–1912), Chaffee returned to teaching at Fort Riley. In 1914 and 1915, he served with the 7th Cavalry Regiment in the Philippines. Chaffee was then assigned to West Point, where he was senior cavalry instructor for the Tactical Department until 1917.

Following the U.S. entry into World War I, Chaffee attended the staff school at Langres, France, and then was an instructor there. Thereafter, he was assigned as a staff officer with the 81st Division and fought with it in the St.-Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne offensives. He ended the war as a temporary colonel.

Following occupation duty in Germany as a staff officer of III Corps, Chaffee reverted to his permanent rank of captain in 1919. He was then an instructor at the Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. He was promoted to major in 1920. After various assignments, he served as the G-3 of the 1st Cavalry Division at Fort Bliss, Texas, between 1921 and 1924. Chaffee graduated from the Army War College in 1925, and from then until 1927, he commanded a squadron of the 3rd Cavalry Regiment. He next served on the War Department General Staff. Promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1929, he was charged with developing mechanized and armored forces for the army. A staunch supporter of mechanized warfare, Chaffee was probably the leading proponent of a separate armored force. In 1931, he joined the new 1st Cavalry Regiment (Mechanized) at Fort Knox, Kentucky, as its executive officer.

Between 1934 and 1938, Chaffee was chief of the Budget and Legislative Planning Branch of the War Department. He then returned to Fort Knox to command the 1st Cavalry Regiment. In November 1938, he was promoted to brigadier general and received command of the 7th Mechanized Brigade, which he led during the maneuvers at Plattsburgh, New York, in 1939 and in Louisiana in 1940, both of which had significant impact on U.S. Army mechanized doctrine.

Chaffee received command of the new Armored Force in June 1940 and thus had charge of the development of the 1st and 2nd Armored Divisions. In October 1940, he took com-

mand of the I Armored Corps as a major general, but by that point, he was already ill from cancer. The disease took his life in Boston, Massachusetts, on 22 August 1941. In 1945, the army named its new light tank, the M-24, in his honor.

Mark A. Buhl

See also

Armored Warfare; Tanks, All Powers

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Chamberlain, Arthur Neville (1869–1940)

British politician, leader of the Conservative Party, and prime minister from 1937 to 1940. The son of a distinguished political family, Neville Chamberlain was born on 18 March 1869 in Birmingham, England, and graduated from Mason College, Birmingham. He administered a family plantation in the Bahamas and later ran a metals business, becoming lord mayor of Birmingham in 1915. He was elected to Parliament in December 1918 and achieved cabinet rank quickly, serving as minister of health (1923, 1924–1929, and 1931) and becoming an important reformer in that post. After serving as chancellor of the exchequer (1923–1924, 1931–1937), he was clearly in line to be prime minister.

Chamberlain assumed that post on the retirement of Stanley Baldwin on 28 May 1937. Intellectually arrogant and convinced his opinions were correct in all things, he rarely sought advice from a generally weak cabinet, listening only to his confidant, Sir Horace Wilson. He was woefully ignorant of foreign affairs, and his policy through most of the 1930s was to cut defense spending while appeasing those who appeared to pose threats. In April 1938, he abandoned Royal Navy bases in Ireland. Until his final weeks in office, however, he enjoyed strong support in Parliament and from the establishment British press.

Chamberlain is remembered most for his dogged efforts to appease Adolf Hitler in order to avoid war, culminating in the shameful Munich Agreement of 30 September 1938, which gave the Sudeten portion of Czechoslovakia to Germany (without any Czech participation in the decision) to avert a threatened German invasion. At home, Chamberlain was widely praised for bringing “peace in our time.” He ignored the tiny parliamentary minority led by Winston L. S. Churchill, who argued that Britain had to rearm. And he virtually forced Anthony Eden to resign as foreign secretary on 19 February 1938 when they disagreed about discus-



Neville Chamberlain served as prime minister of Great Britain during 1937–1940. He is most remembered for his pursuit of appeasement. (Hilton Archive by Getty Images)

sions with the Italian government. He only reluctantly repudiated appeasement when Germany occupied the remainder of Czechoslovakia on 10 March 1939.

Finally pushed hard by members of his own cabinet, Chamberlain issued an ultimatum to Hitler after Germany’s invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939. Receiving no answer, he took his nation to war two days later and directed Britain’s effort for the first eight months of the conflict. His War Cabinet now included Churchill, back as first lord of the Admiralty. Although much of the period passed as the so-called Phony War, April and May 1940 saw Germany’s disastrous invasion and occupation of Norway and Denmark and its invasion of the Low Countries and France.

By then, Chamberlain had lost his support in the House of Commons, and after several days of emotional debate, he was replaced by Churchill on 10 May 1940, with a multiparty national government. Chamberlain became lord president of the council (he remained head of the party) and a member of the War Cabinet until 30 September 1940, when he resigned due to ill health. He died of cancer on 9 November 1940, in Heckfield, England.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Eden, Sir Robert Anthony; Hitler, Adolf; Munich Conference and Preliminaries; Mussolini, Benito; Origins of the War

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Chang-Ku-feng

See Zhanggufeng.

Channel Dash (11–13 February 1942)

Passage of the German battleships *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* and the heavy cruiser *Prinz Eugen* through the English Channel from Brest, France, to Wilhelmshaven, Germany, in February 1942. In March 1941, the *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* had arrived at Brest, on the French Atlantic coast, after a commerce-raiding voyage, and they were joined by the *Prinz Eugen* in June 1941. Though vulnerable to British bombing, the ships constituted a standing threat to Allied convoys in the Atlantic. However, by late 1941, Adolf Hitler was convinced that the British were planning to invade Norway, and against the advice of his naval commanders, he demanded that the *Scharnhorst*, *Gneisenau*, and *Prinz Eugen* return to Germany for deployment in Norwegian waters.

In early 1942, when British intelligence strongly suggested a possible German breakout and passage through the Straits of Dover, preparations for aerial and naval attacks, already under way for nearly a year, were accelerated. The British assumed that the German ships would transit the narrowest part of the Channel at night, but the Germans planned Operation CERBERUS to conceal the ships' departure from Brest and to run the straits in daylight, counting on surprise to prevent a timely British concentration of adequate resistance.

Exceptional cooperation between German naval and air commands combined with failures in British technology and communications to bring the Germans almost complete success. At 10:45 P.M. on 11 February, the three big ships and an escort of six destroyers, with Vice Admiral Otto Cili-

ax commanding, cleared Brest harbor. Not until 11:09 A.M. on 12 February, when the Germans were less than an hour from the straits and had been reinforced by torpedo boat squadrons from French ports, did the British identify the ships. By noon, the German vessels were in the Dover narrows, and although attacked by British coastal artillery, torpedo boats, and the Fleet Air Arm, they passed through unscathed. Later attacks along the Belgian and Dutch coasts by destroyers and by Royal Air Force fighters and bombers were no more successful. Although the *Gneisenau* struck one mine and the *Scharnhorst* hit two (the second one seriously slowing her and separating her from the rest of the flotilla), all the German ships were safely in the Elbe estuary by 10:30 A.M. on 13 February.

Amid German euphoria and British humiliation, thoughtful minds on both sides realized that this German tactical success in the Channel represented a self-inflicted strategic defeat in the Atlantic. Even the sense of victory was short-lived, for the mine damage to the *Scharnhorst* took six months to repair, the *Prinz Eugen* was torpedoed on 23 February by a British submarine in the North Sea, and the *Gneisenau* was irreparably damaged during air raids on Kiel on 26 and 27 February.

John A. Hutcheson Jr.

See also

Germany, Navy; Great Britain, Navy; Naval Warfare

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Chelmo

See Concentration Camps, German.

Chemical Weapons and Warfare

Poison gas had been utilized with considerable effect by the major belligerents in World War I. In the course of the conflict, the combatants had deployed about 113,000 tons of chemicals, and some estimates indicate over 1 million soldiers were injured by poison gas during the war, 10 percent of them fatally.

In the interwar period, the major powers discussed outlawing the use of poison gas, but they also continued to pro-



A supervisor inspects mustard gas warheads at an unidentified U.S. arsenal. President Roosevelt made it clear that the United States would only employ the gas in retaliation to use of chemical warfare by the Axis Powers. (Bettmann/Corbis)

duce it. Prior to World War II, more than 40 nations signed the Geneva Protocol of 1925 banning the offensive use of chemical weapons in warfare. All of the main combatants in World War II save the United States and Japan ratified the protocol, which went into force in August 1928. Although the United States had first proposed the treaty, isolationist sentiment blocked its ratification in the Senate. Japan feared giving away any advantage in case of a conflict with the far more populous China. The signatory powers, however, reserved the right to utilize chemical weapons in a retaliatory attack and to employ them against a country that had not signed the protocol.

Chemical weapons are categorized by their effects on human beings, animals, and plants. Lung irritants, such as phosgene, make victims choke or suffocate, with symptoms usually delayed for several hours after contact. Vesicants, such as mustard gas, cause the skin to blister and the eyes to swell, sometimes with loss of sight. The symptoms of vesicants can be delayed up to 48 hours. Lacrimators are tear gases, such as chloracetophenone and brombenzylcyanide, which irritate the eyes and cause difficulty with breathing.

The warring powers also produced irritant smoke (such as sneezing gases or adamsite), screening smokes, and incendi-

aries. A new and very deadly chemical agent, nerve gas, was developed during the war. Nerve gases take effect quickly, producing symptoms in 10 to 30 minutes, depending on whether they are inhaled or absorbed through the skin.

Chemical weapons can be launched in a variety of forms: through shells and bombs that explode and disperse the chemicals into the air in drops or small particles, from containers with vaporized solids that infiltrate the air as a smoke, and through liquids released from airplanes as drops or mist. Chemical weapons can be more useful than conventional weapons, since their effects are longer lasting, sometimes persisting for days or weeks. The most desirable chemical agents have many of the same characteristics in common. They are effective in small concentrations, difficult to protect against, quickly and cheaply manufactured, made from easily obtainable raw materials, heavier than air, easily and safely transportable, effective against multiple parts of the body, and not easily detectable.

Three of the most common means used to deploy chemical agents by the end of World War I were the portable gas cylinder, the Livens Projector, and the chemical mortar. But these delivery systems were obsolete by the time of World War II, given the greater mobility of infantry troops. Accordingly, the size of chemical mortars was increased as was their range (to 1,400 yards), and the Livens Projector was replaced by 100 mm caliber, mobile rocket launchers. During the interwar years, governments also experimented with using airplanes to deliver chemical weapons, through cluster bombs and spraying. By the time World War II began, aerial bombardment with chemical weapons was the most common deployment mechanism. It is also possible to deploy chemical weapons, particularly mustard gas, in land mines and grenades. German leaders debated the feasibility of combining missiles and chemical weapons, but production of such mechanisms did not occur.

In stark contrast to the situation in World War I, chemical weapons were used only sparingly in World War II. The major powers were reluctant to employ them. This was, in part, because they were convinced that their opponents had extensive stockpiles of poison gases and because their own populations were not adequately prepared to withstand a retaliatory attack. They also did not wish to be the first to violate the Geneva Protocol. Several key leaders were hesitant to authorize the use of chemical weapons. Adolf Hitler, who had been gassed at Ypres in 1918, had a strong aversion to the use of gas as an offensive weapon, and President Franklin D. Roosevelt also opposed the use of chemical weapons. For the European powers in particular, the threat of retribution against cities and large-scale civilian suffering was a major deterrent. The shipping of chemical weapons and equipping friendly troops for chemical attacks also presented logistical difficulties. Lastly, fighting in World War II, marked as it was

by rapid movement, was dramatically different from the trench warfare of the previous conflict. Early in the war, the Axis powers scored a succession of quick victories and did not need to resort to poison gas.

The fate of the SS *John Harvey* illustrated the difficulty of shipping poison gas. The ship sailed from the United States to Italy in 1943, carrying 2,000 bombs loaded with mustard gas. Each bomb held 60 to 70 pounds of the gas. The ship docked at Bari on 28 November 1943. Four days later, German aircraft attacked the port. Their 20-minute assault sank 17 ships and badly damaged 8 others. Racked by explosions, the *John Harvey* sank, and some of the mustard gas in the bombs in her hold was released. It mixed with the oil and smoke and rolled across the water. More than 1,000 Allied soldiers and Italian civilians died as a result, and hundreds were blinded, some permanently. The death rate was particularly high because no one knew of the cargo until several weeks had passed.

Yet such difficulties did not preclude the use of poison gas in the war. The Italians, for example, utilized mustard gas and tear gas grenades in their 1935–1936 conquest of Ethiopia. They employed it to protect their flanks by saturating the ground on either side of the advancing columns. They also targeted Ethiopian communications centers and employed mustard gas against Ethiopian military personnel. In fact, the Italians deployed more than 700 tons of gas against the local population, either as bombs (each container contained about 44 pounds) or sprayed from aircraft. Their use of chemical weapons was indiscriminate, targeting both military and civilian areas. One-third of all Ethiopian military casualties in this conflict resulted from exposure to chemical agents.

The Italian decision to employ chemical weapons on a large scale in Ethiopia prompted other nations to renew their production of such weapons and to plan for protecting their armed forces and civilian populations. France began production at a phosgene facility at Clamency in 1936. The U.S. government reopened mustard gas and phosgene plants in New Jersey the following year. The Soviet Union opened three new chemical weapons production plants. And in November 1938, after the Munich Conference, the British government issued tens of thousands of gas masks to civilians and mandated a minimum level of production of 300 tons of mustard gas per week, with 2,000 tons held in reserve.

At the beginning of World War II, Germany held a commanding lead in the stockpiling of chemical weapons, but its government officials did not know this. German stockpiles in 1939 are estimated at 10,000 tons, as compared with 500 tons in Great Britain, 1,000 tons in the United States, and 2,000 tons in Japan.

During World War II in the European Theater, chemical weapons were never deliberately employed on a large scale. In June 1940, British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill

discussed with his cabinet the idea of using poison gas to repel a German invasion of either Great Britain or Ireland. Although many of the senior military staff opposed this notion, the cabinet approved it. The British government also considered the use of poison gas to combat the German V-1 and V-2 rockets later in the war. By 1944, Germany's production capacity was 10,000 tons of poison gas per month; in addition, myriad delivery systems were available, including grenades filled with hydrogen cyanide and machine guns capable of firing bullets faced with tabun or sarin. The Luftwaffe had more than 480,000 gas bombs, ranging in size from 33 to 1,650 pounds.

In the Pacific Theater, the Japanese were also involved in massive production of poison gas and had been since the later portion of World War I. By 1937, Japan was daily producing up to 2 tons of lewisite, a virulent form of mustard gas. In their invasion and occupation of China from 1937 to 1945, the Japanese employed a wide variety of poison gases, including phosgene, hydrogen cyanide, mustard gas, and Lewisite. Since the Chinese population, both military and civilian, was completely unprotected against chemical warfare, the effects were devastating.

The Japanese deployed the chemicals weapons by aerial bombardment and artillery shells. They also designed rockets capable of holding 10.5 quarts of a chemical agent and traveling up to 2 miles; flamethrowers that propelled hydrogen cyanide; and a handheld antitank weapon that employed hydrogen cyanide. The Japanese also utilized gas grenades during the Imphal Campaign in 1944. The United States considered using poison gas during the invasion of Iwo Jima and the proposed invasion of the Japanese home islands, but the former was never ordered and the latter proved unnecessary.

The deadliest form of chemical warfare at that time, nerve gas, was never used in battle. A German scientist, Gerhard Schrader, employed by I. G. Farben in 1936, discovered tabun while he was trying to create a more powerful insecticide. Tabun can be absorbed directly into the body and is colorless and odorless. It stops the nervous system from producing a key enzyme, acetylcholinesterase, that allows contracting muscles to relax. If this enzyme is not active, important muscles, such as the heart, contract and begin to spasm. As all the body's muscles contract, the person suffocates. Tabun is 100 to 1,000 times more deadly than chlorine gas and 10 to 100 times more deadly than mustard or phosgene gas. Later, Schrader discovered a second and even more toxic nerve gas, which he named sarin. It is almost 10 times more lethal than tabun. In 1944, a still more deadly nerve gas, soman, was discovered, but it was never mass-produced during the war. Great Britain also manufactured sarin and soman.

Germany's leaders chose not to deploy tabun, since they lacked the ability to protect their own population against

this nerve gas and no known antidote existed. The Germans did test their nerve gases on unwilling inmates of concentration and prisoner-of-war camps. At the Natzweiler concentration camp, tests with both mustard and phosgene gases were also conducted on unwilling prisoners. Germany moved its storage of nerve gas in 1944 in anticipation of Allied advances in the west, but their production facility in Silesia fell into Soviet hands.

The German government also used a poison gas, namely, Zyklon B, against prisoners in concentration camps and in its killing centers in Poland. Zyklon B was developed in the 1930s by Deesch, a subsidiary of I. G. Farben that was experimenting with more powerful insecticides. Zyklon B, also known as Prussic acid, is hydrogen cyanide—a powerful, toxic, volatile, and colorless liquid. In order to transport the gas, it was absorbed by wood circles or small cubes because of its great volatility.

Zyklon B was dropped into gas chambers and caused suffocation, as well as feelings of fear and dizziness and vomiting. The Germans constructed gas chambers to use Zyklon B in their camps at Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, Neuengamme, Majdanek, Mauthausen, Stutthof, Lüblin, Gross-Rosen, Ravensbrück, and Treblinka. In Auschwitz alone, more than 2.5 million people were murdered through the use of Zyklon B between May 1940 and December 1943. At other concentration camps and killing centers, prisoners were killed by carbon monoxide poisoning.

By 1945, the major combatants as a group had stockpiled more than 500,000 tons of chemical weapons, led by the United States with 110,000 tons. This amount was five times the total amount of gas employed in World War I. Although poison gases were never used in large-scale attacks during World War II, the threat was present throughout the conflict. Given their deadly nature, the updated deployment systems, and the large stockpiles, chemical weapons could have played an enormous role in World War II.

Laura J. Hilton

See also

Concentration Camps, German; Holocaust, The; Imphal and Kohima, Sieges of; Incendiary Bombs and Bombing; Strategic Bombing

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Ch'en I

See Chen Yi.

Ch'en Yi

See Chen Yi.

Chen Yi (Ch'en Yi/Ch'en I) (1901–1972)

Chinese military leader and People's Republic of China marshal. Born in Lezhi (Lochih), Sichuan (Szechuan) Province, to a well-to-do family on 16 August 1901, Chen Yi (Ch'en Yi/Ch'en I) studied at both Shanghai University and Beijing (Peking) College of Law and Commerce before traveling to France in 1919 on a work-study program. During his stay in France, he met Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) and became politically active. In 1921, he was deported from France for involvement in protests by Chinese exchange students. On his return to China, Chen joined the Nationalist Party—the Guomindang, or GMD (Kuomintang, or KMT)—in 1921 and the Communist Party in 1923, which were then loosely allied in the struggle to reunify China. Following study at the Sino-French University of Beijing between 1923 and 1925, Chen became a political instructor at the Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy in 1925. He then served on the staff of General Ye Ting's (Yeh T'ing) 24th Division at the beginning of the Northern Expedition, the Nationalist-led reunification campaign launched in the summer of 1926.

In 1927, the alliance between the Communists and Nationalists collapsed, and civil war ensued. Chen participated in the abortive Communist Nanchang Uprising of Jiangxi (Kiangsi) Province in August 1927. In January 1929, he joined Zhu De (Chu Teh) in the Communist enclave of Jiangxi and commanded the 12th Division of the Red IV Corps fighting Nationalist forces under Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek). He did not join Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) in the epic Long March of 1934 and 1935 but instead stayed behind to organize guerrilla forces in south-central China, which eventually became part of the New Fourth Army.

Following the outbreak of war with Japan in 1937, he fought with the New Fourth Army against the Japanese along the Changjiang (Yangtze) River. After the Japanese inflicted a sharp defeat on the New Fourth Army in January 1941, Chen, who had been a sector commander, took command of the entire army. From that point until 1945, his New Fourth Army greatly expanded the area of Communist

control in central China by conducting a highly effective guerrilla campaign characterized by rapid maneuver.

After Japan's surrender, Chen was formally assigned command of the New Fourth Army. In the 1946–1949 Chinese Civil War, he encircled the Nationalist 2nd and 7th Army Groups, destroying them in the Huai-Hai Campaign between November 1948 and January 1949; after that, he advanced to take Nanjing (Nanking) in Jiangsu (Kiangsu) Province in April and both Wuhan in Hubei (Hupeh) Province and Shanghai in Jiangsu Province in May. Chen was then mayor of Shanghai and commander of the East China Military Region (1949–1956) and vice premier (1956). He was promoted to marshal of the People's Liberation Army in 1955 and served as China's foreign minister from 1956 to 1968. Attacked by Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution, he died in Beijing on 6 January 1972.

John M. Jennings

See also

China, Civil War in; China, Role in War; Jiang Jieshi; Mao Zedong; Zhou Enlai; Zhu De

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Chennault, Claire Lee (1893–1958)

U.S. Army Air Forces general and leader of the Flying Tigers. Born in Commerce, Texas, on 6 September 1893, Claire Chennault was raised in rural Louisiana. He taught English and business at a number of southern colleges until August 1917, when he became a second lieutenant in the army reserve. He remained in the United States during World War I, transferring to the Signal Corps and completing pilot training in 1920.

An accomplished airman, Chennault then held a number of assignments, among them command of the 19th Pursuit Squadron in Hawaii between 1923 and 1926. He developed into an outspoken advocate of fighter aircraft in a period when prevailing military thought subscribed to the doctrines espoused by Italian airpower theorist Giulio Douhet and their underlying assumption that “the bomber will always get through.” While serving as an instructor at the Air Corps Tactical School in 1935, Chennault wrote *The Role of Defensive Pursuit*, an important but controversial book at the time because it pointed out the need for fighter aircraft. In 1937, the army removed him from flying status because of a serious hearing loss and forced him into medical retirement as a captain.



U.S. Army Air Forces General Claire Chennault. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

In May 1937, Chennault went to China as aviation adviser to the Nationalist government of Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek). When the Japanese attacked China that September, he became a colonel in the Chinese air force and began testing his tactical theories. In late 1940, Chennault was allowed to recruit American military pilots for service in China, despite the strong opposition of the State, War, and Navy Departments. His American Volunteer Group (AVG), popularly known as the Flying Tigers, consisted of some 200 ground crew and 100 pilots flying semiobsolete Curtiss P-40B fighters. The AVG entered combat for the first time on 20 December 1941. By the time the unit disbanded in July 1942, it claimed 296 Japanese aircraft shot down, with only 12 of its own planes and 4 of its pilots lost.

In April 1942, Chennault was recalled to active duty with the U.S. Army as a colonel. A few months later, he was promoted to brigadier general and put in command of the newly formed China Air Task Force (CATF), a subordinate command of the U.S. Tenth Air Force in India. In March 1943, the CATF became the Fourteenth Air Force, with Chennault promoted to major general.

The CATF and the Fourteenth Air Force were economy-of-force organizations in a tertiary theater and therefore always operated on a shoestring. Utilizing Chennault's theories, however, both organizations achieved combat effectiveness far out of proportion to their size and resources. By 1945, the Fourteenth Air Force had destroyed some 2,600 Japanese aircraft and thousands of tons of supplies.

During his time in China, Chennault conducted a long-running and public feud with Lieutenant General Joseph Stilwell, the equally stubborn and irascible U.S. commander of the China-Burma-India Theater. Chennault engineered Jiang's demand for Stilwell's recall, but Chennault himself was removed from command and forced into retirement for a second time on 1 August 1945.

After the war, Chennault remained in China. He established and operated the Civil Air Transport (CAT) airline, which supported Jiang's Nationalist government in its civil war with Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) and his Communists forces. In 1950, Chennault sold his interest in CAT to the Central Intelligence Agency, but he remained the chairman of the airline's board until 1955. He died at Walter Reed Army Hospital in Washington, D.C., on 27 July 1958. Only days before his death, Chennault was promoted to lieutenant general.

David T. Zabecki

See also

China, Civil War in; China-Burma-India Theater; Jiang Jieshi; Mao Zedong; Stilwell, Joseph Warren

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Chiang Kai-shek

See Jiang Jieshi.

Children and the War

During World War II, millions of men and women around the world served in the armed forces of their respective nations. Millions of others contributed to the war effort by maintaining vital services and laboring in war-related industries. And children went to war as well. Even those far



Chinese soldier, age 10, with heavy pack, who is a member of a Chinese division boarding planes at the North Airstrip, Myitkyina, Burma, bound for China, 5 December 1944. (National Archives)

removed from the fighting were affected by the war. They collected scrap metal and other materials that would be vital to the war effort, participated in austerity programs, left school to work on farms, grew vegetables in urban plots, and suffered from the same shortages and wartime prohibitions as did their parents.

In many lands, children experienced the horrors of war firsthand, both as combatants and victims. Children were the most vulnerable part of the population, and many perished from starvation, malnutrition, or disease. Others fell victim to Nazi Germany's euthanasia programs. Some 1.2 million Jewish children throughout Europe died in the Holocaust.

Many children perished as a direct result of Soviet policies as well. Polish authorities estimated that about 140,000 Polish children were uprooted from their homes in the Soviet-occupied portion of Poland. Of these, perhaps 40,000 simply disappeared. In the Far East, Chinese children suffered along with their parents in the Japanese reprisal campaigns. Children were also the innocent victims of the indiscriminate bombing of cities conducted by both sides, beginning with German air attacks on Warsaw and ending with the atomic bombs dropped by the United States on Hiroshima and



English children in a bomb dugout. (British Information Service, Library of Congress)

Nagasaki. To avoid such bombings, many children in most nations under air attack were sent into the countryside to live with relatives or even with strangers. A number were also sent abroad, separated from their parents for years and, in many cases, forever; examples include the British children sent to North America and the Finnish children sent to Sweden.

In the Soviet Union, children helped patrol their neighborhoods at night to make certain that blackouts were being enforced. They filled sandbags and water buckets to prepare against incendiary bomb attacks and were enlisted to help in constructing antitank defenses before Moscow in the summer of 1941. Children were also actual combatants. They fought with partisan units in the Soviet Union and in Yugoslavia, among other nations. They also helped collect intelligence on Axis occupying forces. And in the last desperate fighting of World War II in Europe, Adolf Hitler pressed many young German boys into the army.

After the war, conditions were desperate in many parts of the world. In Vietnam, perhaps a million people perished in famine, including many children. Conditions were equally desperate in other states. Large numbers of people were displaced by the war, left homeless and hungry. There were perhaps 13 million abandoned European children at the end of World War II. Poland claimed a million orphans and France 250,000.

Adults were changed by the war, but so were the children who survived it. As they aged, their childhood experiences remained a reference point for their adult lives and served as a benchmark with which to measure future generations.

John Morello and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Hiroshima, Bombing of; Holocaust, The; Nagasaki, Bombing of; Strategic Bombing

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with Japan for almost four years. Beginning in 1932, trainers, pilots, and aircraft from the United States, Italy, Germany, and the Soviet Union had all played a part in building the Nationalist Chinese air element and the small air arms of several Chinese warlords. In July 1937, the CAF had three air groups, with a mix of U.S. and Italian fighters and bombers. Fewer than 100 of the more than 600 aircraft in the Chinese inventory were combat ready, however, and pilots had varying levels of competence and experience. Available forces immediately went into action to support the Nationalist army units in their defense of Shanghai, Jiangsu (Kiangsu) Province, in early August and to assist in the fighting withdrawal of Chinese forces into central China. From 1937 until the German invasion of the USSR in June 1941, the Soviets were the major supplier of aircraft, pilots, and trainers to China. The CAF was decimated in the late 1930s by the well-trained and well-equipped Japanese forces.

In April 1937, retired U.S. Army Air Corps officer Claire Chennault arrived in China to serve as an aviation adviser to the Nationalist government of Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek). Chennault organized and led the American Volunteer Group (AVG) of the CAF, known as the Flying Tigers. In September 1941, Washington dispatched the American Military Mission to China (AMMISCA) to “advise and assist” in rebuilding the Nationalist forces. Providing aircraft to the CAF and its AVG was a high priority, and the creation of a Chinese military capable of taking the war to the Japanese was the mission of Lieutenant General Joseph Stilwell. Prior to the general’s arrival in Asia in March 1942, Washington had decided to try to build up and maintain a CAF of 500 operational aircraft, including the Lockheed P-38 Lightning; the Curtiss P-40 Warhawk; the Republic P-43 Lancer; the Vultee P-66 Vanguard; and later, the North American P-51 Mustang fighters and the North American B-25 Mitchell and Consolidated B-24 Liberator bombers. With the closing of the land line of communication through Burma, the United States also promised the Chinese Curtiss C-46 Commando and C-47 Skytrain transport aircraft. From 1941 to V-J Day, Washington allocated 1,568 U.S. aircraft for China.

When the line of communication with Burma closed, everything had to be flown over “the Hump” (the Himalayas) to bases in southwestern China. Chennault, who rose to major general commanding the U.S. Fourteenth Air Force in March 1943, wanted to concentrate air assets on the destruction of Japanese air forces in China and build a bomber force capable of hitting critical targets in eastern China and the Japanese home islands. The United States also continued training the CAF and supplying equipment and aircraft to it and to its logistic arm, the China National Aviation Corporation. However, the U.S. Tenth and Fourteenth Air Forces required most aircraft delivered to the China-Burma-India

China, Air Force

In December 1941, at the beginning of the Pacific war, the Nationalist China Air Force (CAF) had already been at war

Theater simply to keep the air bridge open and to support Allied offensives in Burma.

At the end of the war, U.S. aircraft were transferred to the CAF. When the Chinese Civil War began, Jiang's Nationalist forces had a competent air arm of nearly 500 aircraft and more than 5,000 trained pilots, aircrew, and maintenance personnel.

J. G. D. Babb

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Aircraft, Transport; Chennault, Claire Lee; China, Army; Flying Tigers; Hump, The; Jiang Jieshi; Lend-Lease; Sino-Japanese War; Stilwell, Joseph Warren

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China, Army

The armed forces of China before and during World War II reflected the deep political divisions of that nation. Each major faction maintained its own military organization. In addition to conventional forces controlled by the principal political factions in the country, various warlords had their own regional forces, the loyalties of which shifted according to the circumstances of the moment. Alongside these, at the local level, village defense forces struggled to protect their inhabitants against bandit gangs that roamed large stretches of the countryside.

Civil war between the Nationalists and Communists and the Nationalists and warlords had been raging intermittently in China since 1927. Following the Japanese takeover of Manchuria and incursions into north China, these two factions arranged an uneasy truce, but underlying the Chinese military effort during the war was the realization of the prominent role played by the military in Chinese politics. Then too, by the end of 1942, Chinese leaders, including Nationalist leader Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) and Communist leader Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), believed that the United States and its allies would defeat Japan. Given this belief and their own ardent conviction that a powerful military establishment would be essential in winning the postwar political struggle for power that was bound to follow, they planned (or rather, did not plan) their military moves accordingly. This approach meant, for the most part, avoiding contact with powerful Japanese forces, much to the exasperation of such individuals as Jiang's army commander, U.S. Army Lieutenant General Joseph W. Stilwell.

The Nationalist Army

The army had always been central to the power of the Nationalist Party—the Guomindang, or GMD (Kuomintang, or KMT). The National Military Council (NMC) controlled the military establishment; Jiang was its chairman, with complete power over the NMC, and as such, he directed all Nationalist military forces. At the beginning of the war, these numbered about 1.5 million men.

In the 1930s, the German government had sent military advisers to China to help train the Nationalist Army. In consequence, the Nationalist Central Armies were patterned more or less along German lines. Throughout the period, these were the best trained of the Nationalist forces, although still inferior to Japanese or Western forces. At the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the Central Armies numbered about 300,000 men. Included in this body was “the Generalissimo's Own,” a force of some 80,000 men: armed with German weapons, it was the elite force of Jiang's military establishment. In addition to these relatively well-trained formations, there were some 1.2 million men in other units of indifferent training and capability. Though Nationalist senior leaders were often corrupt and not well educated, the middle ranks—trained at the Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy in Guangzhou (Canton), Guangdong (Kwangtung) Province—were capable. Most Nationalist soldiers, however, were conscripts, dragooned into service, and of low quality.

In the summer of 1941, the United States extended Lend-Lease aid to the Nationalist government, although the bulk of the early assistance went toward improving transport to China over the Burma Road from India. This route was cut off when the Japanese invaded Burma in force in early 1942, and it was not reopened until 1945. In the meantime, much of the U.S. military aid to China was flown in over the Himalayas (“the Hump”). Tonnages by air gradually increased, but heated arguments occurred over the allocation of these still inadequate resources. Not until January 1945 was the Ledo Road (later known as the Stilwell Road) opened to China.

By the end of the war, the Nationalist Army numbered some 300 divisions. Although each supposedly had 10,000 men, some were seriously undermanned. Much military assistance, in the pipeline, continued to flow into China after the war, and the bulk of this ended up in Nationalist hands. The result was an army that was large in size and relatively well equipped but of limited capability and with indifferent leadership and inadequate training.

Chinese Communist Army

According to the agreement whereby the Nationalists and Communists would make common cause against the Japanese, Chinese Communist forces in north China came to be



Camouflaged Chinese soldiers repel a charge by Japanese troops along the Salween River near Burma, June 1943. (Franklin D. Roosevelt Library (NLFDR))

designated the Eighth Route Army, authorized to a strength of three divisions. In 1938, the Nationalists also authorized formation of the smaller New Fourth Army in the lower Changjiang (Yangtze) River region.

The Chinese Communists refused to allow any Nationalist political authority in areas they controlled and denied the Nationalist side their military resources. Communist military forces were controlled by the Military Affairs Committee, which was responsible to the Communist Party Central Committee. Through the war, Mao chaired this committee.

Although the Communists' equipment was not on a par with that available to the Nationalists, their military leadership and training were both superior, and their morale was significantly higher. Unlike the Nationalist forces, in which many of the men taken into the service were removed to other areas and forcibly kept there, Communist forces remained in their own areas and were seen by the people as a positive force, even helping them with crops and looking after their welfare.

Meanwhile, Communist forces grew far beyond the numbers authorized by the Nationalists, although little expansion occurred after midwar, both because the Communists endeavored to improve the quality of their forces and because of Japanese "pacification" campaigns and Nationalist military actions. Nonetheless, at the end of the war, Mao could claim an army of about 1 million men, with reserves and local-level militia forces numbering an additional 2 million.

Collaborationist Armed Forces

The Japanese also organized collaborationist armed forces in the areas of China occupied by their troops. These highly unreliable forces were drawn from a variety of sources under a wide range of motivations. Some local commanders obeyed whichever side seemed ascendant at the moment. Nominally at least, many of these forces belonged to the Nationalist side. In the early 1940s, collaborationist forces might have numbered some 900,000 men.

Nationalist forces suffered most heavily in the first year of fighting the Japanese, especially in three months of struggle for Shanghai and the subsequent effort to defend Nanjing (Nanking) in Jiangsu (Kiangsu) Province. The Chinese lost perhaps a million dead, wounded, or missing in the first year of the war alone. The Nationalists then withdrew into the interior, relocating the capital to Chongqing (Chungking) in Sichuan (Szechwan). The Chinese then transformed the war into a struggle of attrition, which Japanese forces, despite their superior mobility, could not win.

Although the Communist forces conducted operations against the Japanese rear areas and some large-scale conventional offensives, the brunt of the fighting that then occurred was borne by the Nationalist Army and warlord forces loyal to Jiang. In the eight years of fighting through 1945, the Nationalists suffered more than 3 million casualties, while inflicting up to 2 million casualties on the Japanese. They were never able to gain a decisive victory over their antagonist, but the Chinese tied down significant numbers of Japanese forces until the end of the war.

In January 1941, the Chinese united front was severely damaged when the Nationalists attacked the Communist New Fourth Army. Open war now broke out between the Nationalists and the Communists. The fighting in China was henceforth a three-way contest. The Nationalists were no longer able to launch major offensives against the Japanese, but they were in a relatively secure position in central China. The Communists had also been weakened in fighting against the Nationalists and the Japanese, but they maintained control of large areas in north-central China. The Japanese, with a great expenditure of troops and material, were only in control of the line of communications and were dangerously overextended in China even as they widened the war by attacking the United States.

Aside from grudgingly providing a small portion of their troops to General Stilwell to assist in the Allied recapture of Burma, Nationalist forces did not conduct any major actions from 1942 until forced to defend against Japan's August 1944 ICHI-GŌ Offensive. That offensive was precipitated by the establishment of U.S. air bases from which the United States could conduct strategic bombing raids on the Japanese home islands. The real battles for the Nationalist and Communist forces came in 1945 over Manchuria and marked the beginning of the Chinese Civil War.

J. G. D. Babb and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

China, Air Force; China, Navy; Hump, The; ICHI-GŌ Campaign; Jiang Jieshi; Lend-Lease; Mao Zedong; Shanghai, Battle of; Sino-Japanese War; Stilwell, Joseph Warren

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China, Civil War in (1945–1949)

Interneine conflict between China's governing Nationalist Party—the Guomindang, or GMD (Kuomintang, or KMT)—and supporters of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which began immediately after World War II and brought the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC).

The roots of the Chinese Civil War went back as far as the late 1920s. After the foundation of the CCP in 1921, the Soviet Comintern (Communist International) advised its members to collaborate with other political groups supporting the Chinese Revolution, especially the GMD. The Guomindang had been founded by Sun Yixian (Sun Yat-sen), the revered revolutionary leader who was elected provisional president of the new Republic of China in 1911. After Sun's death in 1925, military leader Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) won power within the GMD and began to eliminate all potential rivals. In 1926, Jiang, alarmed by abortive but bloody Communist uprisings in several industrial cities, began to purge Communist Party members from the Guomindang institutions in which they had previously been prominent and to suppress them elsewhere. In mid-1927, he made the Communist base in Jiangxi (Kiangsi) Province of south-central China the new target of the Northern Expedition he had launched the previous year against northern warlords, and he suppressed several further Communist insurrections.

Led by Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) and fortified by several former GMD military units whose commanders defected to the Communists, this rural base developed into the Jiangxi Soviet Republic, whose military forces numbered 200,000 by 1933. Chinese Communists also mounted several further urban and rural insurrections, and Jiang regarded them as the greatest threat to his government—even more serious a threat than the Japanese troops who established the client state of Manzhouguo (Manchukuo) in Manchuria in 1932 and who constantly sought to enhance Japan's influence in north China. Between 1930 and 1934, Jiang waged annual campaigns against the Ruijin (Juichin) base in Jiangxi. In the last of these campaigns, he succeeded in forcing Communist supporters to retreat 6,000 miles to the remote northwestern province of Shaanxi (Shensi) in the famous Long March.

In 1935 and 1936, Jiang ordered troops commanded by his loyal ally, Manchurian warlord Zhang Xueliang (Chang Hsüeh-liang), to attack and, he hoped, eliminate the few

thousand remaining Communists. The soldiers rejected his orders, arguing that all Chinese should unite to fight the Japanese, not each other. In the December 1936 Xi'an (Sian) Incident, Zhang kidnaped Jiang and forced him to form a united anti-Japanese front with the Communists. The GMD-CCP relationship remained strained, as Communists developed their own military forces—the Eighth Route Army, commanded by Zhu De (Chu Teh), and the New Fourth Army, under Lin Biao (Lin Piao)—and retained control of northern Shaanxi.

The following year, a minor clash between Chinese and Japanese troops at the Lugouqiao (Lukouch'iao) Marco Polo Bridge, near Beijing (Peking) in Hebei (Hopeh) Province, quickly escalated into full-scale warfare between the two countries. Over the following 18 months, Jiang gradually retreated to Chongqing (Chungking) in the far southwestern province of Sichuan (Szechwan), abandoning northern and eastern China to protracted Japanese occupation. The Communists controlled northwestern China. For three months in late 1940, the Communists launched the “Hundred Regiments” Campaign against Japan, but their eventual defeat by the better-equipped Japanese convinced them to switch to tactics of establishing guerrilla bases behind Japanese lines in north and central China. This policy provoked ferocious Japanese reprisals against Communists and civilians alike, but it proved effective in disrupting Japanese control and in enhancing both the Communists' reputation as dedicated opponents of Japanese rule and their postwar political position. It did not suffice, however, to defeat Japanese rule.

By 1940, Mao was already making plans for a postwar Communist government of China. By this time, both sides anticipated a fierce postwar struggle for power and sought to position themselves advantageously for it. In late 1941, GMD forces attacked and defeated the Communist New Fourth Army in the lower Changjiang (Yangtze) Valley, an episode marking the fundamental breakdown of CCP-GMD collaboration, though an uneasy alliance continued until 1944. GMD forces possessed superior equipment and funding, but Jiang's abandonment of much of China to Japanese rule and his reliance on a protracted strategy of attrition, together with the corruption that characterized many top officials of his regime, eroded his hold on popular loyalties. Communist morale was high: their idealistic rhetoric, the spartan living conditions at their Yan'an (Yenan) base in Shaanxi, their attractive and charismatic leaders, and their dangerous though small-scale partisan operations all caught the popular imagination and impressed many visiting Western journalists and officials.

The war ended in August 1945 with Japanese occupation forces still in place throughout China. CCP membership had reached 1.2 million people, plus military forces of 900,000, and the Communists controlled an area whose population

numbered 90 million. In Manchuria, despite Jiang's objections, entering Soviet forces facilitated the surrender of Japanese troops and equipment to Communist units. U.S. leaders, especially Ambassador Patrick J. Hurley in late 1945, sought to strengthen Jiang's regime; to promote reform from within; and to encourage Nationalist-Communist reconciliation and the formation of a coalition government in which Communists would have some influence, albeit as junior partners.

The most sustained such effort was the 13-month (December 1945–January 1947) mission to China of the former U.S. Army chief of staff, General George C. Marshall. In January 1946, he arranged a temporary cease-fire in the developing civil war; it was broken later that spring when, as Soviet units withdrew, GMD forces attacked Chinese Communist troops in Manchuria, winning control of that region in late May. That same month, the Communists rechristened their military forces the People's Liberation Army (PLA). It proved impossible to devise any further agreements acceptable to both sides.

Full-scale civil war resumed on 26 June 1946, when Nationalist units launched an offensive against Communist-held areas in Hubei (Hupeh) and Henan (Honan) Provinces. The United States continued to provide massive loans and quantities of military hardware to the GMD government but prudently refused to commit American troops. As the Cold War rapidly developed, Soviet and American officials clearly backed different parties in the evolving Chinese Civil War, but neither was prepared to run great risks to assist its favored candidate.

By 1947, as inflation and corruption both ran rampant, Chinese businesspeople and the middle class began to desert the GMD, and many fled overseas. As they had against the Japanese, the Communists frequently employed guerrilla tactics against Nationalist forces. Their introduction of land reform persuaded many peasants to support them. These tactics supplemented the full-scale military campaigns they soon had the strength to launch. In mid-May 1947, Lin and the New Fourth Army opened a major offensive in northeastern China, and six weeks later, another large army, commanded by Liu Bocheng (Liu Po-ch'eng), moved southwest across the Huang He (Hwang Ho) (known to Westerners as the Yellow River) into Shandong (Shantung) Province. In September 1948, Lin began a massive campaign in Manchuria, capturing Shenyang (Mukden) in Liaoning Province in November shortly after 300,000 GMD troops surrendered to him. In north-central China, the Communist Huai River Campaign ended victoriously on 10 January 1949 after PLA troops surrounded 66 regiments, representing one-third of the existing GMD military forces. In January 1949, the GMD government fled to Taiwan, and that same month, Beijing, China's symbolic capital, fell to

Lin's troops. The southern city of Guangzhou (Canton) in Guangdong (Kwangtung) fell the following October, as Communist forces gradually consolidated their hold over the entire country. On 1 October 1949, Mao proclaimed the new People's Republic of China.

The Chinese Civil War and American support of the GMD government—which, even after its move to Taiwan, continued until the 1970s—left a lasting legacy of distrust and suspicion that divided the United States and mainland China for several decades. American officials viewed the establishment in China of a Communist government sympathetic to the Soviet Union as a major Cold War defeat, a perception enhanced by China's November 1950 intervention in the Korean War. For at least two decades, Chinese leaders in turn regarded the United States as their country's most significant international adversary, a perspective that only began to change after President Richard Nixon moved to reopen relations with China in the early 1970s.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Chen Yi; Chennault, Claire Lee; China, Army; China, Role in War; Jiang Jieshi; Lin Biao; Mao Zedong; Marshall, George Catlett; Zhou Enlai; Zhu De

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China, Eastern Campaign (April–November 1944)

Japanese offensive in China during World War II. In late 1943, the Japanese High Command decided to launch its first major offensive in China since 1939. There were several goals. One was to seize the airfields in eastern China that were being used by the U.S. Fourteenth Air Force to attack shipping on the Changjiang (Yangtze) River and along the China coast, especially since these airfields potentially could be used by long-range Boeing B-29 bombers against the Japanese homeland. A second goal was to capture the Hunan-Kwangsi, Canton-Hankow, and Peking-Hankow railroad lines in order to secure the land transportation link

between the Japanese stronghold in northern China and Japanese forces in Southeast Asia. A third goal was to destroy several large bodies of Chinese Nationalist troops and further the deterioration of the regime of Nationalist Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, perhaps even to the point of collapse.

The offensive, code-named ICHI-GŌ (Operation NUMBER ONE), began on 17 April 1944 when 100,000 troops from the North China Area Army pushed south along the Peking-Hankow railroad. Spearheaded by tanks, the Japanese easily brushed aside the poorly equipped Chinese, many of whom were provincial troops commanded by generals who once had been opponents of Chiang. By June, the Japanese had gained control of the railroad and dispersed more than 300,000 Chinese, at a loss of 1,000 of their own dead. Having long experienced onerous taxation, conscription, and mismanagement by Chiang's regime, many peasants aided the Japanese and even attacked groups of retreating Chinese.

The second phase of the campaign began at the end of May when 250,000 troops from the China Expeditionary Army moved south across the Changjiang River. Over the next weeks, despite heavy bombing by Fourteenth Air Force pilots, the advancing Japanese seized the vital rail centers of Changsha and, after a fierce 47-day siege, Hengyang. Following a lull in which they regrouped their forces into the Sixth Area Army, the Japanese resumed the offensive in late August. By the end of November, they had forced the evacuation of many Allied airfields and joined up with other units that had driven north from Canton and Indochina to complete the corridor between northern China and Southeast Asia. The Japanese successes sent a wave of panic through Nationalist China, and for a time, Allied leaders feared the Japanese would drive to the west and take Chungking, the Nationalist capital. The Japanese, however, had no plans to advance to Chungking. Their supply line was overextended, and they were increasingly concerned about a possible U.S. threat to the China coast.

Their 1944 Eastern Campaign was a major victory for the Japanese. They occupied an area inhabited by 100 million people and took control of most of the Nationalists' granary and industrial base, devastating their economy. In addition, the Japanese gained the railroad connection they had sought, inflicted 700,000 casualties on the Chinese, and weakened the U.S. air war in China. Even more important for the long term, the campaign demonstrated the weaknesses of Chiang's ability to wage war, costing him badly needed popular support in his ongoing struggle with the Chinese Communists.

John Kennedy Ohl

See also

Chennault, Claire Lee; China, Role in War; ICHI-GŌ Campaign; Jiang Jieshi; Sino-Japanese War



Boy injured during the flight of thousands of Chinese civilians from the Japanese onslaught in Eastern China. (Bettmann/Corbis)

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China, Navy

In the 1920s, Germany assisted the Nationalist government of China in establishing a naval academy at Mamei in Fujian (Fukien) Province, and in 1927, the Nationalist leaders also set up the Chinese Naval General Headquarters. However, the vast bulk of resources went into the army and air forces. When war with Japan began in July 1937, the Nationalist

navy consisted of a few old gunboats, some small coastal vessels, and river craft. The navy also maintained a few naval stations inland on the major rivers and a facility that manufactured mines and naval explosives.

The Japanese quickly destroyed the larger Chinese naval craft during and after the August 1937 Battle of Shanghai in Jiangsu (Kiangsu) Province. Nonetheless, throughout the war, elements of the Chinese navy conducted sabotage attacks against Japanese ships and shore bases in China.

In early 1942, the U.S. Navy sent to China a small detachment known as the Sino-American Cooperative Organization (SACO) or the “Rice Paddy Navy,” under the joint command of Nationalist General Dai Li (Tai Li) and U.S. Navy Captain Milton E. “Mary” Miles. Its mission was to establish and man weather stations and communications facilities, gather intelligence, and conduct sabotage and guerrilla operations in the coastal areas and along the inland rivers of China. In 1943, Miles was promoted to commodore and assigned as commander, Naval Group China.

At the end of the war, there was a significant interservice battle over the type of navy China should maintain, who would control it, and how it would be equipped. Disputes slowed the effort to build a postwar Nationalist navy. In any case, however, Nationalist leaders did not see maritime forces as critical in the coming battle with the Communists.

J. G. D. Babb

See also

China, Air Force; China, Army

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China, Role in War

China, one of the four major Allied powers of World War II, fought Japan alone for four years and throughout the war tied down over a million Japanese troops. The war strengthened the position of the Chinese Communists and helped to precipitate the eventual downfall of the governing Nationalist Party—the Guomindang, or GMD (Kuomintang, or KMT)—of President Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek).

For China, war began in July 1937, when long-standing hostilities with Japan, provoked by the latter country's effective annexation of Manchuria in 1931 and a continuing series of territorial, economic, and political incursions in other areas, caused a small skirmish near the Lugouqiao (Lukou-ch'iao) Marco Polo Bridge, close to Beijing (Peking) in Hebei (Hopeh) Province, to escalate into full-scale warfare. The Chinese invariably called the conflict "the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression." Until December 1941, when China formally declared war on Japan and thereby aligned itself with the Western Allies after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Japan dismissively referred to the Chinese conflict as the "China Incident"; after that date, it became part of the "Greater East Asia War."

For much of the 1930s, the Chinese Nationalist government effectively acquiesced in Japanese demands. Although President Jiang believed that war with Japan would probably become inevitable in time, he sought to defer this until, with the help of German military advisers, he had successfully modernized China's armed forces. In the early 1930s, his first priority was to eliminate the GMD's major political rival—the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) led by the

charismatic and innovative Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), against whose forces Jiang mounted annual campaigns every year from 1930 to 1935. Only after December 1936—when another leading Chinese politician, the Manchurian warlord Zhang Xueliang (Chang Hsueh-liang), captured Jiang and made his release conditional on the formation of a united Nationalist-Communist anti-Japanese front—did Jiang reluctantly and temporarily renounce his deeply rooted anti-Communist hostility.

The two camps never trusted each other, and political factionalism within the GMD also continued throughout the war, hampering Jiang's freedom of action and his ability to wage effective warfare against Japanese forces. Communist and GMD forces remained essentially separate, mounting independent operations. From late 1938 onward, the GMD government, headed by Jiang and based in Chongqing (Chungking) in Sichuan (Szechwan) Province, controlled southwest China. The Communists held sway over northwest China from their base in Yan'an (Yenan) in Shaanxi (Shensi) Province.

In its early stages, China's war with Japan was one of rapid movement and military disaster. In late July 1937, Japanese troops took over the entire Beijing-Tianjin (Tientsin) area of north China. They inflicted a series of major defeats on Jiang's military, wiping out most of his modernized units and, over the following 18 months, successively taking Shanghai and Nanjing (Nanking), Guangzhou (Canton), and Wuhan, China's provisional capital after Nanjing fell. Chinese troops had occasional triumphs—notably, the April 1938 Battle of Taierzhuang (Hsieh Chan T'ai-Erh-Chuang)—but these were rarely followed up. Japanese leaders assumed Jiang would sue for peace before the end of 1938, but to their frustration, he refused to do so.

Jiang adopted a strategy of "trading space for time," based on the assumption that by retreating, the Chinese could force the Japanese to overextend themselves, making them vulnerable to a lengthy war of attrition. This prediction proved substantially correct, as by 1940, Japanese forces were bogged down in an inconclusive war in mainland China, occupying vast tracts of territory without fully controlling them. Even so and despite the scorched-earth policy Jiang followed, the regions he ceded to Japanese rule—from March 1940 exercised through the puppet regime of renegade Chinese politician Wang Jingwei (Wang Ching-wei)—included most of China's leading cities, its major industrial areas, and its most fertile and densely populated agricultural regions. Jiang's early, dogged resistance to Japanese invasion won him great national prestige, but his subsequent protracted abandonment of most of northern and eastern China to Japanese occupation eventually damaged his standing and weakened his authority.

From 1931 onward, Jiang sought assistance against Japan from Western powers and the League of Nations, but



Japanese troops enter Tianjin (Tientsin), China. (Bettmann/Corbis)

effectual aid was rarely forthcoming. The league restricted itself to nonrecognition of Manzhouguo (Manchukuo) and moral condemnation of Japan's policies, together with the imposition of limited economic sanctions on Japan—restrictions that only some of its member states observed. In 1938, the U.S. government extended limited economic assistance to China, making a loan against its tung oil supplies.

By the late 1930s, the growing demands of Germany and Italy in Europe preoccupied most Western nations, and the Sino-Japanese War remained a distant sideshow, albeit one with implications for the European powers' colonial positions in Asia. In summer 1940, the German conquest of most of western Europe brought Japanese demands that Britain, France, and the Netherlands forbid the sale or transit of war supplies to China through their Asian colonies; France's Vichy government was also forced to open air bases in Indochina to Japanese warplanes. In autumn 1940, Japan formally joined Germany and Italy in the Tripartite

Alliance of the Axis powers. These actions brought additional U.S. economic and military assistance for China, including the dispatch of American warplanes, and in 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt drastically tightened economic sanctions on Japan and repeatedly demanded the withdrawal of Japanese troops from China.

When Japan attacked American forces at Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, simultaneously declaring war on Great Britain and swiftly annexing British, Dutch, and American territories in East and Southeast Asia, China finally formally declared war on Japan. Chiang was named supreme commander of the Allied China Theater, receiving substantial amounts of military aid under the American Lend-Lease program. Even so—and despite his Western-educated wife's skillful dissemination in the United States of an image of China as a heroic, democratic, and modernizing state—Chiang's relations with other Allied leaders were poor.

Jiang's single-minded focus on Chinese interests, regardless of the impact on the broader Allied coalition, annoyed Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill. Nonetheless, it sometimes paid dividends. At the 1943 Cairo Conference, Allied leaders agreed that China should regain all territories annexed by Japan since 1895. Jiang also sought to end foreign extraterritorial privileges and concessions in China and, less successfully, to regain the British colony of Hong Kong. And at the autumn 1944 Dumbarton Oaks meeting, China was one of the five great powers awarded permanent Security Council seats in the new United Nations. At the February 1945 Yalta Conference, however, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Soviet leader Josef Stalin agreed (in Jiang's absence) that, in return for joining the war against Japan from which it had remained aloof, the Soviet Union should regain the special rights tsarist Russia had exercised in Manchuria before 1905.

The continuing Chinese inability or reluctance to mount an aggressive campaign against the Japanese occupiers irritated British and American officials, especially U.S. Lieutenant General Joseph W. Stilwell, American commander of the China-Burma-India Theater and Jiang's chief of staff. Stilwell hoped to modernize the Chinese army and lead it in such a venture—an undertaking Jiang opposed as impractical, probably motivated in part by fears that this would weaken his own control of the Chinese military and his postwar position vis-à-vis the Chinese Communists. Over Jiang's opposition, Stilwell also sought to supply weapons to all anti-Japanese forces in China, including the Communists. Ultimately, at Jiang's insistence, Roosevelt withdrew Stilwell in 1944. Many Allied officials and journalists also deplored the pervasive corruption of the Nationalist regime that Jiang, though personally honest, tolerated.

Such shortcomings among the Nationalists enhanced the image of the Chinese Communists. Since 1937, they had supposedly been Jiang's partners against Japan, even though both the Nationalists and Communists believed that civil war was ultimately inevitable and sought to strengthen themselves for the anticipated confrontation. The Communists' Eighth Route Army, created in 1937, and the New Fourth Army built up by Lin Biao (Lin Piao) fought largely behind Japanese lines in central China and the northern Hebei and Shanxi (Shensi) Provinces, working closely with local guerrilla and partisan forces and building up bases that would potentially enhance the postwar Communist position. Communist forces adopted this strategy after their defeat in the "Hundred Regiments" Campaign of August to November 1940, in which Japanese rail and road networks in north China were attacked. CCP-GMD cooperation largely ceased after the 1941 New Fourth Army Incident, when Nationalist troops attacked and defeated that unit in the lower Chanjiang (Yangtze) Valley.

Despite the Chinese Communists' undoubted ruthlessness, their reputation far surpassed that of the Guomindang government. Idealistic young students and intellectuals flocked to join the Communists. Their selfless dedication and austere lifestyle and the charm and ability of their top leaders, especially Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai), later China's premier, impressed Western journalists and officials who visited their Yan'an base, including the young diplomats of the 1944 U.S. "Dixie Mission." Nonetheless, despite their disillusionment with GMD leaders, senior American officials never endorsed the Chinese Communists.

When the war ended in August 1945, Japanese troops were still in occupation throughout China. In Manchuria, despite objections from Jiang, Soviet forces turned over to Communist Chinese units arms and equipment captured from the Japanese. American leaders, especially Ambassador Patrick J. Hurley in late 1945, were concerned about Communist inroads in China and sought to strengthen Jiang's regime, to promote reform, and to encourage GMD-CCP reconciliation and the formation of a coalition government in which Communists would have limited influence. Between December 1945 and January 1947, the former U.S. Army chief of staff, General George C. Marshall, was in China endeavoring to secure an accommodation between the two sides. In January 1946, he arranged a temporary cease-fire, but it was broken later that spring when, as Soviet forces withdrew, GMD forces attacked Chinese Communist troops in Manchuria. No further agreement acceptable to both sides could be brokered, and civil war continued until the Communists secured military victory. The GMD government retreated to the island of Taiwan, and on 1 October 1949, Mao proclaimed the new People's Republic of China. From then onward, China would play a major role in the Cold War that succeeded and grew out of World War II.

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See also

Burma Theater; Cairo Conference; Chennault, Claire Lee; China, Civil War in; China-Burma-India Theater; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Japan, Role in the War; Jiang Jieshi; Lend-Lease; Lin Biao; Mao Zedong; Marshall, George Catlett; Sino-Japanese War; Stilwell, Joseph Warren; Yalta Conference; Zhou Enlai

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China-Burma-India (CBI) Theater

General geographic reference for the immersion of East Asia, Southeast Asia, and South Asia in the war against Japan. China-Burma-India (CBI) also refers to an Allied military command structure in the Pacific Theater that was established early in the war. At the December 1941 ARCADIA Conference in Quebec, British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill and U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt agreed to set up the American-British-Dutch-Australian Command (ABDA) under General Sir Archibald Wavell in India. Separate from but nominally equal to the ABDA was the China Theater under Generalissimo Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) as supreme commander, in recognition of China's role in fighting Japan since at least the start of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. Lieutenant General Joseph Stilwell, who had more experience in China than any other senior U.S. Army officer and spoke Chinese fluently, became the senior Allied officer in the region. His two titles were "commanding general of the United States Army Forces in the Chinese Theater of Operations, Burma, and India" and "chief of staff to the Supreme Commander of the Chinese Theater" (Jiang Jieshi). The chain of command was confusing because American forces in China came under the authority of Wavell's ABDA Command. Wavell also commanded forces in Burma, whereas Stilwell was to have direct command of Chinese forces committed to Burma (initially, three armies of up to 100,000 men). From the beginning, Stilwell and Jiang did not get along, and Stilwell was repeatedly handicapped by Jiang's interference in military matters.

In February, following the loss of most of the Netherlands East Indies, the ABDA Command was done away with. From that point forward, the Pacific became an American responsibility, with the British assuming authority from Singapore to Suez. Jiang continued to control the China Theater, and Wavell, headquartered in India, had authority over India and Burma. At the same time, Stilwell formed a new headquarters, the American Armed Forces: China, Burma, and India. The command included the small prewar U.S.

military advisory group and Major General Claire Chenault's American Volunteer Group (AVG, known as the Flying Tigers), later a part of Tenth Army Air Force.

This command structure continued until the August 1943 Quebec Conference, when Churchill and Roosevelt agreed on the establishment of the more integrated South-East Asia Command (SEAC), with British Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten as commander and Stilwell as his deputy. Operations in Burma were separated from those in India, now under command of General Claude Auchinleck, commander in chief there since June 1943.

Designed to improve Allied military operations in the region, the new command structure did not achieve that end. Conflicts and different goals remained, with Jiang being the chief problem in Allied cooperation. But the British and Americans also had different priorities. The British were mainly concerned with the defense of India and preventing the Japanese military from exerting an influence on growing Indian nationalism. London saw defeating the Japanese in Burma as the chief means to bring about that end, rather than as a means to channel supplies to China. British military efforts in Burma would thus ebb and flow. The United States was primarily interested in building up China's military strength, and Burma would be a chief route for these supplies to reach China; indeed, President Roosevelt saw China taking its rightful place as a major world power at war's end. U.S. military planners also saw China as a potential location for heavy bombers to be used in the strategic bombing of Japan. These conflicting views were exacerbated by the personalities involved. Stilwell continued to feud with Jiang, and he also held that the British were more interested in defending their Asian empire than in fighting Japan. Stilwell wanted to recover Burma, and he worked hard to improve the fighting ability of those Chinese army units he could influence. The only way to get substantial military heavy equipment to China—which was essential if its fighting ability was to improve dramatically—was by way of Burma, and so construction of the so-called Ledo Road there became imperative. In the meantime, the United States undertook a massive logistical air supply operation to China from bases in India over "the Hump" of the Himalaya Mountains, the highest in the world. The ubiquitous C-47 (DC-3) aircraft was the workhorse for much of this campaign.

Construction of the 478-mile-long Ledo Road to connect the old Burma Road from Ledo, India, to Bhamo, Burma, took 25 months. The new road ran through jungles, over mountains, and across 10 rivers. U.S. Army Brigadier General Lewis A. Pick had charge of this vast project, one of the major engineering accomplishments of the war.

Meanwhile, Jiang refused to yield operational command of the growing Chinese military establishment to General Stilwell. Jiang saw the Chinese forces as much as a means to

defeat the Communists in China after the war as to destroy the Japanese forces in the current conflict. Stilwell fervently believed that, properly trained and equipped, Chinese soldiers could be the equal of any in the world, but all of his efforts to eradicate corruption, weed out ineffective leaders, and end political interference in the Chinese military were rebuffed by Jiang. The Chinese Nationalist leader repeatedly promised reforms but delivered only sufficient compliance to keep up the flow of U.S. military aid.

General Chennault and airpower advocates believed that Japan might be bombed into submission from bases in eastern China. Stilwell dismissed such views and pointed out that the Japanese could simply carry out an offensive to wipe out the bases. Nonetheless, the first production B-29 Superfortresses were sent to China from India, and an ambitious base-construction program was undertaken. Although a few air bombing missions were carried out, the Japanese responded by mounting a great ground offensive, the ICHI-gō Campaign, in mid-1944, during which all the bases were captured without significant Chinese ground resistance. The B-29s were shifted from CBI to the Marianas in the Central Pacific. Roosevelt now applied heavy pressure on Jiang to carry out the reforms advocated by Stilwell and place an American general, preferably Stilwell, in command of the Chinese army. Frustrated by its inability to turn China into a major theater of war, the United States increasingly used its massive naval strength to invest in the highly productive “leap-frogging” strategy of securing important islands as stepping stones toward Japan across the Central Pacific. As a result, China was more and more marginalized and downgraded to a minor theater of war, chiefly important for its role in tying down a million Japanese troops.

Stilwell, now at wit's end, reached an impasse with Jiang and was recalled to Washington in October 1944. He was replaced by U.S. Army Major General Albert Wedemeyer, a far more tractable individual bent on getting along with Jiang. The demands for reforms in the Chinese military came to an end. In effect, CBI ended in October 1944 when it was divided into two spheres of command, India-Burma and China. Stilwell's deputy, General Daniel L. Sultan, became the commander of U.S. forces in India-Burma and directed the Allied military effort in northern Burma.

The CBI featured unique air, guerrilla, and logistical operations. Among innovative military and air tactics originating in the CBI was the establishment of Long-Range Penetration Groups, more popularly known as Wingate's Chindits and Merrill's Mairauders. Utilizing air assets, British and U.S. commanders projected ground troops far behind Japanese lines, their communication and supply provided by air. Here and elsewhere, guerrilla operations were developed and intelligence and insurgency operations

carried out. William Donovan and the Office of Strategic Services were active in the theater.

Finally, the CBI was a major scene of postwar confrontation. Early in the war, Japan had conquered and overrun much of China and most of the European and U.S. colonies in the Pacific. The arrival of Japanese forces in Indochina was a great blow to French influence, and the defeat of the British at Singapore had an even more powerful impact on British prestige. President Roosevelt envisioned the end of colonization after the war, but with the arrival of the Soviet threat, new U.S. President Harry S. Truman was less sympathetic. Although the Philippines, India, Burma, and some other states gained independence just after the war, the process of decolonization was actually delayed in some areas, resulting in costly wars in the Netherlands East Indies and French Indochina. As for China, American efforts by Roosevelt's inept ambassador to China, Patrick J. Hurley, to mediate between the Chinese Nationalists and Communists came to naught; that vast country soon disintegrated into civil war. The United States, which had already committed to Jiang, found itself unable to adopt a neutral stance and paid the price in influence when the civil war ended in a Communist victory in 1949.

Eugene L. Rasor and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Auchinleck, Sir Claude John Eyre; Burma Road; Burma Theater; China, Role in War; Chindits; Donovan, William Joseph; Hump, The; Jiang Jieshi; Mountbatten, Louis Francis Albert Victor Nicholas; Office of Strategic Services; Singapore, Battle for; Sino-Japanese War; Stilwell, Joseph Warren; Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival; Wedemeyer, Albert Coady

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Chindits

Name applied to irregular forces raised by British Brigadier General Orde Wingate for special operations in Burma in 1943 and 1944. The term, selected by Wingate himself, was derived from the Burmese word *Chinthe*, the name of a mythical, griffinlike creature, stone effigies of which guard the entrance to Burmese temples.

In early 1942, Wingate was transferred to India at the request of General Archibald Wavell, who commanded Allied forces in the Far East. Wavell had known Wingate since service in Palestine and respected his innovative thinking, especially in the use of irregular forces. Wingate

was tasked to apply this ability against the Japanese in Burma, who had seemed invincible up to that time. To accomplish this mission, he developed the concept of long-range penetration operations, which consisted of semi-independent guerrilla forces operating deep in the rear of Japanese forces. These forces would be resupplied by air.

Under cover as 77th Brigade, Wingate formed what he called the “Chindits” out of disparate elements of Gurkhas, the Burma Rifles, and British units, and he conducted strenuous training in central India through 1942. On 16 February 1943, this force of about 3,000 men with 1,000 pack animals crossed the Chindwin River into northern Burma, thereby launching the first Chindit operation (Operation LONGCLOTH). The force was organized into six columns, the nucleus of



Chindits (members of General Orde Wingate's Allied commando force) moving through jungle in Burma. (Hulton Archive by Getty Images)

each being an infantry company, and given the objectives of disrupting communications (notably, by cutting the Myitkyina-Mandalay railway line) and creating general havoc through ambushes and other small-unit operations. LONGCLOTH, which ended in late April, achieved mixed success and took heavy casualties. Only 70 percent of those who had crossed the Chindwin in February returned, and of these, only about 28 percent would be fit for future active service.

Nevertheless, in a theater where all had been doom and gloom previously, the campaign's limited achievements were widely heralded. British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, in particular, seized on the publicity and promised Wingate his personal support for future operations, even taking him along to the Quebec (QUADRANT) Conference in August 1943. Plans now commenced for a larger, more ambitious campaign. Using the cover of 3rd Indian Division, six brigades and a U.S. air contingent were trained for an operation that was to be coordinated with a push south from northern Assam by a joint Sino-American force under General Joseph Stilwell. Wingate expanded his concept to include "strongholds," semipermanent bases from which operations could be conducted. Each was to be built around an airstrip and include other support facilities.

On 5 March 1944, the second Chindit operation (Operation THURSDAY) began. One brigade having already begun to move by foot into the area of operations the previous month, two additional brigades, preceded by glider-borne pathfinder teams, were flown into strongholds deep inside Burma. The remaining brigades were held in reserve. Once again, there were some successes. The railway line was again interrupted, the town of Mogaung was briefly captured, and the Japanese response appeared generally confused. Unfortunately, Wingate was killed in a plane crash on 24 March. Without his inspired, if unorthodox, leadership, the operation slowly began to lose momentum. Eventually, it would collapse from both exhaustion and outside intervention.

In early April, the Chindits were put under Stilwell's operational control. Stilwell distrusted the Chindit concept (and the British), and despite their specialized training, the Chindits were turned into regular infantry formations. In August, they were withdrawn from combat and at the beginning of 1945 disbanded.

In concrete terms, the achievements of the Chindits seemed small and their cost-effectiveness questionable. However, Japanese Fifteenth Army commander General Mutaguchi Renya would write after the war that Chindit operations, especially Operation THURSDAY, were an important reason why his forces were unable to invade India. In any case, the Chindits served as a morale booster at a critical time and were a pioneering concept for special operations brought to fruition by a determined and imaginative Wingate in the face of significant opposition.

See also

Burma Theater; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Mountbatten, Louis Francis Albert Victor Nicholas; Slim, Sir William Joseph; Stilwell, Joseph Warren; Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival; Wingate, Orde Charles

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Choltitz, Dietrich von (1894–1966)

German army general who commanded the Greater Paris area in 1944. Born on 9 November 1894, in Wiesegefährlich, Upper Silesia, Germany, Dietrich von Choltitz was a fourth-generation professional soldier. A page in the Saxon court, he was educated at various cadet schools and began his military career as a senior officer cadet in the 107th Infantry Regiment in 1914; he fought in that unit during World War I as a company commander and adjutant. Choltitz served in the cavalry in the 1920s and early 1930s and then transferred to the air-transportable 16th Infantry Regiment of the 22nd Infantry—later, air-landing—Division. He was promoted to major in 1937 and to lieutenant colonel in April 1938. He took command of the 3rd Battalion of the 16th Regiment on 1 September 1939 and the entire regiment 10 days later.

Choltitz's regiment fought in Poland in September 1939, and he was with the element that attacked Rotterdam in May 1940. He was promoted to colonel in April 1941. His regiment participated as a part of the Eleventh Army of Army Group South in Operation BARBAROSSA, the invasion of the Soviet Union, in actions along the Prut, Dniester, and Bug Rivers and in the assault on the fortress of Sevastopol in the autumn of 1941, where it suffered heavy losses. Choltitz was involved in the summer 1942 assault on the fortress and on 28 June 1942 his men crossed North Bay in rubber boats and helped lead a surprise attack in the rear of the fortress city, which surrendered on 2 July 1942.

Choltitz took command of the 260th Infantry Division in August 1942. He remained engaged in southern Russia and held a variety of positions, some of them only briefly. He was deputy commander of the crack XLVIII Panzer Corps in November 1942, acting commander of XVII Corps (December 1942–March 1943), commander of the 11th Panzer Division (March–May 1943), and again acting commander again of the XLVIII Panzer Corps (May–August 1943).



German General Dietrich von Choltitz surrenders the city of Paris to Allied forces in August 1944. Choltitz disobeyed Hitler's orders to burn Paris rather than hand it over to the Allies. (Corbis)

On 12 June 1944, General der Artillerie (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) Erich Marcks, commanding the LXXXIV Corps of Colonel General Friedrich Dollman's Seventh Army in the Cotentin Peninsula of Normandy, was mortally wounded in an attack by an Allied fighter bomber. On 15 June, Choltitz arrived to replace Marcks. Units of the command were hard hit by the Saint-Lô carpet bombing of 25 July 1944, and much of the command was destroyed. Choltitz made maximum use of the limited resources at hand to slow the American advance. Field Marshal Günther von Kluge, however, unjustly sacked him on 28 July 1944 for the Normandy debacle.

Adolf Hitler promptly reassigned Choltitz, promoting him to General der Infanterie (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) and appointing him commander of the Greater Paris area on 7 August 1944. Choltitz had few available resources to stop the advance of the Western Allies, however, and he resolutely refused to allow aircraft and artillery attacks in defense of Paris. Receiving orders from Hitler on 23 August

to begin demolishing parts of the city, he refused and ensured a relatively orderly turnover of the city, with little damage to its public buildings and monuments, via negotiations with the French Resistance. Swedish Consul General Raoul Nordling served as one intermediary. Choltitz formally surrendered on 25 August 1944 and became a prisoner of war. Three days later, Field Marshal Walther Model asked the president of the Reich Military Tribunal to open criminal charges against Choltitz.

While in captivity, Choltitz contributed two monographs to the German Military History Program. Following his release in April 1947, he retired in Baden-Baden. Choltitz wrote a short monograph entitled *Brennt Paris? (Is Paris Burning?)*, published in 1950. He also published his memoirs, *Soldat unter Soldaten (Soldier among Soldiers)*, in 1951. Choltitz died in Baden-Baden on 5 November 1966, probably better remembered in France than in Germany.

Jon D. Berlin

See also

COBRA, Operation; France Campaign; Guderian, Heinz; Kluge, Günter Adolf Ferdinand von; Manstein, Fritz Erich von; Model, Walther; Paris, Liberation of; Saint-Lô, Battle of; Sevastopol, Battle for

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Chou En-lai

See Zhou Enlai.

Chu The

See Zhu De.

Chuikov, Vasily Ivanovich (1900–1982)

Marshal of the Soviet Union who took the surrender of Germany's Berlin garrison in 1945. Born in the village of Serebryanye Prudy in the Moscow region on 12 February 1900, Vasily Chuikov left home and became a mechanic at age 14. He joined the Red Army four years later. By 1919, he had risen to command a regiment, and during the Russian Civil War, he fought in Siberia and in the western Ukraine. He also fought in the 1920 Russo-Polish War. Chuikov graduated from the Frunze Military Academy in 1925 and was assigned to China two years later, fighting in the battle for the Chinese Eastern Railroad in 1929. He served in the Special Red Banner Far Eastern Army until 1932 and managed to survive the purge of the officers in the Far East in the late 1930s.

Chuikov served in the Soviet invasions of Poland (1939) and Finland (1939–1940), commanding Fourth and Ninth Armies, respectively. He was promoted to lieutenant general in June 1940 and returned to China for a third tour, serving as a military attaché beginning in December 1940. But he was recalled in March 1942 to become deputy commander and then commander of the newly formed Sixty-Fourth Army (22 July 1942). A protégé of Georgii Zhukov, Chuikov then took command of Sixty-Second Army on the west bank of the Volga at Stalingrad, which he defended at tremendous



Marshal of the Soviet Union, Vasily Chuikov. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

cost. His determination was a major factor in enabling the Soviets to hold until they could mount a counteroffensive.

Assigned to the Southwestern Front in March 1943, the Sixty-Second Army was redesignated the Eighth Guards Army. Chuikov led his troops in spearheading the liberation of Ukraine and Belorussia from German forces and was promoted to colonel general in October 1943. In mid-1944, Eighth Guards Army was transferred to Konstantin Rokossovsky's 1st Belorussian Front. The unit then distinguished itself in operations in eastern Poland, taking Lublin and Lodz. The Vistula-Oder operation between January and February 1945 opened the way to Berlin, and Chuikov's tanks spearheaded the final assault on Berlin in a front-wide night attack; on 2 May 1945, Chuikov's headquarters took the surrender of the German Berlin garrison on behalf of the Red Army High Command.

Chuikov was promoted to General of the Army after V-E Day and served as deputy commander and then commander of Soviet occupation forces in eastern Germany (1946–1953). Promoted to marshal of the Soviet Union in 1955, he served as commander of the Kiev Military District (1953–1960) and as commander of Soviet Ground Forces (1960–1964). He was chief of civil defense from 1961 to 1972, after which he served

in the general inspectorate of the Ministry of Defense. Chuikov died in Moscow on 18 March 1981.

Claude R. Sasso

See also

Berlin, Land Battle for; Rokossovsky, Konstantin Konstantinovich; Sokolovsky, Vasily Danilovich; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Churchill, Sir Winston L. S. (1874–1965)

British political leader, cabinet minister, and prime minister and minister of defense, from 1940 to 1945. Born at Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire, on 30 November 1874, Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill was the eldest son of Lord Randolph Churchill, third son of the duke of Marlborough and a rising Conservative politician, and his wife, Jennie Jerome, an American heiress. Educated at Harrow and the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, from 1895 to 1899, Churchill held a commission in the British army. He visited Cuba on leave and saw active service on the Afghan frontier and in the Sudan, where he took part in the Battle of Omdurman. Captured by South African forces in 1899 while reporting on the Boer War as a journalist, he made a dramatic escape from Pretoria and went to Durban, winning early popular fame.

Churchill emulated his father—who attained the position of chancellor of the exchequer before resignation, illness, and premature death cut short his political career—by entering politics in 1900 as a Unionist member of Parliament. In 1904, his party's partial conversion to protectionism caused him to join the Liberals, who made him president of the Board of Trade (1908–1910) and home secretary (1910–1911) after they returned to power.

As first lord of the Admiralty (1911–1915), Churchill enthusiastically backed the campaign of First Sea Lord John "Jackie" Fisher to modernize the British navy with faster battleships and more efficient administration. One of the few initial cabinet supporters of British intervention in World War I, Churchill soon took the blame for the disastrous 1915 Dardanelles expedition against Turkey, which prompted his resignation. He spent the six months up to

May 1916 on active service on the Western Front but regained high political office in July 1917, when Prime Minister David Lloyd George made him minister of munitions in his coalition government.

In December 1918, Churchill moved to the War Office, where he unsuccessfully advocated forceful Allied action against Russia, in the hope of eliminating that country's new Bolshevik government. In late 1920, he became colonial secretary. Two years after Lloyd George's 1922 defeat, Churchill returned to the Conservatives, who made him chancellor of the exchequer in November 1924, a post he held for five years. He reluctantly acquiesced in Britain's return to the gold standard, and his determination to suppress the 1926 General Strike won him the lasting enmity of much of the labor movement.

By 1928, Churchill believed that the postwar peace settlement represented only a truce between wars, a view forcefully set forth in his book *The Aftermath* (1928). When Labour won the 1929 election, Churchill lost office, but he soon began campaigning eloquently for a major British rearmament initiative, especially the massive enhancement of British airpower, to enable the country to face a revived Italian or German military threat. From 1932 onward, he sounded this theme eloquently in Parliament, but Conservative leaders remained unsympathetic to his pleas. Throughout the 1930s, although Churchill held no cabinet position, he nonetheless continued to the campaign for rearmament. He also became perhaps the most visible and vocal critic of the appeasement policies of the successive governments of Prime Ministers Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain, who effectively tolerated German rearmament, Chancellor Adolf Hitler's deliberate contravention of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, and Germany's and Italy's territorial demands on their neighbors.

When Britain declared war on Germany in September 1939, Churchill resumed his old position as first lord of the Admiralty. Despite the German attacks on the British aircraft carrier *Courageous* and the battleship *Royal Oak*, as well as the responsibility he himself bore for the Allied disaster in Norway during April and May 1940, he succeeded Chamberlain as prime minister on 10 May 1940, the day Germany launched an invasion of France and the Low Countries. Over the next three months, repeated disasters afflicted Britain, as German troops rapidly overran the Low Countries and France, forcing the British Expeditionary Force to withdraw in disarray that June from the Dunkerque beaches of northern France, abandoning most of its equipment. Throughout the summer of 1940, during the Battle of Britain, German airplanes fiercely attacked British air bases, an apparent prelude to a full-scale cross-Channel invasion.

Churchill responded vigorously to crisis. Although he was 65, he still possessed abundant and unflagging energy; his



Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain, giving victory sign.
(The Illustrated London News Picture Library)

vitality was fueled by his habit of an afternoon siesta, after which he normally worked until two or three the next morning. His fondness for sometimes fanciful and questionable strategic plans often exasperated his closest advisers, as did his attachment to romantic individual ventures—such as those launched by the Special Operations Executive intelligence agency, whose creation he backed enthusiastically. Even so, Churchill was an outstanding war leader. On taking office, he delivered a series of rousing and eloquent speeches, affirming Britain's determination to continue fighting even without allies and voicing his conviction of ultimate triumph. Churchill also followed a demanding schedule of morale-boosting personal visits to British cities, factories, bomb targets, and military installations, which he continued throughout the war.

Besides rallying the British people to endure military defeat in France and the bombing campaign Germany soon launched against Britain's industrial cities, Churchill's speeches, which caught the international imagination, were designed to convince the political leaders and people of the United States—the only quarter from which Britain might

anticipate effective assistance—of his country's commitment to the war. U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt responded by negotiating the “destroyers-for-bases” deal of August 1940, whereby the United States transferred 50 World War I–vintage destroyers to Britain in exchange for naval basing rights in British Caribbean Islands and North America.

Since the war began, Britain had purchased war supplies in the United States on a “cash-and-carry” basis. By December 1940, British resources were running low, and Churchill addressed a letter to Roosevelt, who had just won reelection, requesting that he provide more extensive U.S. aid to Britain. Roosevelt responded by devising the Lend-Lease Act that was passed by Congress the following spring, which authorized the president to provide assistance to countries at war whose endeavors enhanced U.S. national security. In August 1941, Churchill and Roosevelt met for the first time at sea, in Placentia Bay off the Newfoundland coast, and agreed to endorse a common set of liberal war aims—the Atlantic Charter—and to coordinate their two countries' military strategies. Churchill also agreed to allow British scientists to pool their expertise in nuclear physics with their American counterparts in the MANHATTAN Project, a largely U.S.-financed effort to build an atomic bomb; the project reached fruition in summer 1945.

Churchill was relieved by Japan's December 1941 attack on the American naval base of Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, and the subsequent German and Italian declarations of war on the United States because these actions finally brought the United States fully into the war and, from his perspective, guaranteed an ultimate Allied victory. In the interim, as 1942 progressed, he needed all his talents to sustain British resolution through various disasters, including Japan's conquest of Hong Kong, Malaya, Singapore, and Burma and British defeats in North Africa.

After Germany invaded the USSR in June 1941, Churchill also welcomed the Soviet Union as an ally, though his relations with Soviet leader Josef Stalin were never as close as those with Roosevelt. Churchill made repeated visits to the United States and met Roosevelt at other venues. In addition, all three leaders gathered at major international summit conferences at Tehran in November 1943 and Yalta in February 1945, and Churchill also met Stalin separately on several occasions. He traveled abroad more than any of the other Allied leaders, often at substantial personal risk.

Stalin resented the Anglo-American failure to open a second front in Europe until June 1944, a decision due in considerable part to Churchill's fear that, if Britain and the United States launched an invasion of western Europe too soon, the campaign would degenerate into bloody trench warfare resembling that between 1914 and 1918. Meeting Roosevelt in May 1943 in Washington, he finally succumbed

to American pressure to open the second front the following summer. Churchill also resented intensifying U.S. pressure for the phasing out of British colonial rule, a prospect made increasingly probable by Britain's growing international weakness.

As the war proceeded and Soviet forces began to push back German troops, Churchill feared that the Soviet Union would dominate postwar Eastern Europe. Soviet support for Communist guerrillas in occupied countries and for the Soviet-backed Lublin government in Poland reinforced his apprehensions. In October 1944, he negotiated an informal agreement with Stalin whereby the two leaders delineated their countries' respective spheres of influence in Eastern Europe. At the February 1945 Yalta Conference, Churchill and Roosevelt both acquiesced in effective Soviet domination of most of that region. The three leaders also agreed to divide Germany into three separate occupation zones, to be administered by their occupying military forces but ultimately to be reunited as one state. In April 1945, Churchill unavailingly urged American military commanders to disregard their existing understandings with Soviet forces and take Berlin, the symbolically important German capital. Despite the creation of the United Nations in 1945, Churchill hoped that close Anglo-American understanding would be the bedrock of the international world order, a perspective intensified by his continuing fears of Germany.

In July 1945, the British electorate voted Churchill out of office while he was attending a meeting at Potsdam, replacing his administration with a reformist Labour government. Churchill was still, however, honored as "the greatest living Englishman" and the war's most towering figure. He used his prestige to rally American elite and public opinion in favor of taking a stronger line against Soviet expansionism in Europe and elsewhere, a position he advanced to enormous publicity in his famous March 1946 "Iron Curtain" speech at Fulton, Missouri. Churchill's six best-selling volumes of memoirs, *The Second World War*, presented a somewhat roseate view of Anglo-American wartime cooperation, and they were carefully designed to promote the continuing alliance between the two countries, which had become his most cherished objective. From 1951 to 1955, Churchill served again as Conservative prime minister. Declining health eventually forced him to resign from office. A House of Commons man to the core, he consistently refused the peerage to which his services entitled him. Churchill died in London on 24 January 1965. For many, his death marked the symbolic final passing of Great Britain's imperial age. Churchill received the first state funeral for any British commoner since the death of the duke of Wellington over a century before. An idiosyncratic political maverick whose pre-1939 record was, at best, mixed, Churchill rose to the occasion to become the greatest

British war leader since the earl of Chatham in the eighteenth century.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Atlantic Charter; Britain, Battle of; Cash-and-Carry; Chamberlain, Arthur Neville; Churchill-Stalin Meeting; Cold War, Origins and Early Course of; Destroyers-Bases Deal; Dunkerque, Evacuation of; Great Britain, Home Front; Hitler, Adolf; Lend-Lease; MANHATTAN Project; MOSCOW Conference; Placentia Bay; Quebec Conference (1943); Quebec Conference (1944); Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Special Operations Executive; Stalin, Josef; Tehran Conference; Yalta Conference

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Churchill-Stalin Meeting (TOLSTOY, 9–10 October 1944)

Meeting in Moscow that determined spheres of influence in eastern Europe. Concerned particularly about issues involving postwar Poland, Greece, and the Balkans, Winston L. S. Churchill originated this meeting, code-named TOLSTOY. Josef Stalin would not travel from the Soviet Union, so on 27 September 1944, Churchill asked him to receive a small British delegation to discuss these and related issues, including the entry of the Soviet Union into the war against Japan.

Facing imminent national U.S. elections, President Franklin D. Roosevelt could not attend. (Churchill had just seen him in Quebec but informed him about this proposal only two days *after* sending his note to Stalin.) Roosevelt saw the meeting as a preliminary for the forthcoming summit at Yalta and asked that U.S. Ambassador Averell Harriman observe, although in the end, Harriman was not present for some crucial two-man talks.

Stalin agreed to the meeting, and Churchill, Foreign Minister Anthony Eden, and Chief of the Imperial General Staff General Alan Brooke flew to Moscow, where they stayed

from 9 to 18 October 1944. British Ambassador Clark Kerr also joined the delegation.

Churchill's primary concern was to gain freedom of action in the difficult Greek political situation, which teetered on civil war. This he proceeded to get. During dinner conversation with Stalin, he produced a half sheet of paper (terming it a "naughty document") and wrote out proposed spheres of postwar influence: Romania, 90 percent Soviet; Greece, 90 percent British; Yugoslavia and Hungary, both to be evenly divided between the USSR and the Western Allies; and Bulgaria, 75 percent Soviet. Stalin checked and approved the page and gave it back to Churchill. Though the numbers may seem somewhat arbitrary at first glance (with the exception of those for Greece, where the issue was very much in doubt), they merely reflected the reality of a surging Red Army and understated it in regard to both Yugoslavia and Hungary. Although Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov and Eden dickered about some of the percentages the next day, nothing was changed. All parties present concurred that they were guidelines for discussion and nothing more.

Churchill and Stalin agreed to put off decisions about Poland until Roosevelt could be present. Still, there was considerable argument over the "London" versus "Lublin" Poles and how they might share power after the war. The head of the London Poles, Stanislaw Mikołajczyk, joined the conference briefly but disagreed with Lublin's representatives and with most of what was proposed as to border adjustments and governance.

Extensive discussions of military plans also took place, and regular reports were sent to Roosevelt in Washington by Churchill and Harriman and to the War Cabinet in London by Churchill. The meeting laid some of the groundwork for the subsequent Yalta Conference, but it also cleared the way for firm British action in Athens in December 1944, designed to put down Greek Communist guerrillas. The Soviets, true to the TOLSTOY discussions, did not intervene.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also

Brooke, Sir Alan Francis; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Eden, Sir Robert Anthony; Harriman, William Averell; Mikołajczyk, Stanislaw; Molotov, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich; Quebec Conference (1944); Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stalin, Josef; Yalta Conference

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Ciano, Galeazzo (Conte di Cortellazo) (1903–1944)

Italian diplomat and foreign minister under Benito Mussolini. Born at Livorno (Leghorn), Italy, on 18 March 1903, Galeazzo Ciano was the son of World War I naval hero Admiral Costanzo Ciano. Dabbling in theatrical criticism and journalism and earning a law degree by 1925, he was propelled by his father (by then a prominent Fascist) into the foreign service of Italy's new regime. Posted to South America and then Asia, the young socialite found diplomatic life and its connections most agreeable, particularly when his 1929 posting to the Holy See returned him to Rome, where he met and married (in April 1930) Edda Mussolini, Il Duce's daughter.

In June 1933, Ciano was the delegate to the World Monetary and Economic Conference in London, and by June 1935, he was made minister for press and propaganda, a position he left two months later to lead a bomber squadron in the Ethiopian War. Less than a month after Ciano's return to Italy, on 9 June 1936, Mussolini appointed him foreign minister, a move that made both men targets of disapproval from near and far. Loyal Fascists decried the elevation of an opportunistic nepotist, whereas the diplomatic corps in Italy and beyond expected only the worst from a ministry formed in Ciano's dilligentist image.

Ciano's foreign ministry undertook a mix of standard Fascist foreign policy initiatives (such as Italy's withdrawal from the League of Nations, Balkan incursions, and military intervention in the Spanish Civil War) with proposals for regional alliances that sought to curb Germany's hegemony by linking Italy with, variously, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Yugoslavia. Ciano's diaries reveal his antipathy for Germany and detail his September 1939 forging of a "nonbelligerency" policy designed to forestall Italy's entry into the war.

With the Italian declaration of war on 10 June 1940, Ciano resumed bomber pilot duty over Greece, repatriating in April 1941 to find his minister's portfolio reduced to mere courier status. Eventually, he was fired in a February 1943 cabinet shift, and after participating in the Fascist Grand Council's no-confidence vote on Mussolini's rule on 25 July 1943, he unsuccessfully sought asylum in Spain. Cynically (or guilelessly) arranging his family's passage to Germany instead that August, Ciano, not surprisingly, was made a prisoner of Il Duce's new Italian Social Republic after the September 1943 armistice. Receiving no mercy from Mussolini despite Edda Ciano's pleas, he was tried and condemned on a charge of treason and was executed by a firing squad at Verona on 11 January 1944.

Gordon E. Hogg



Galeazzo Ciano, son-in-law of Benito Mussolini and author of an important World War II diary. (Hulton Archive by Getty Images)

See also

Greece Campaign (28 October 1940–March 1941); Italy, Home Front; Mussolini, Benito

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Clark, Mark Wayne (1896–1984)

U.S. Army general who received the surrender of German forces in Italy. Born at Madison Barracks, New York, on 1 May 1896, Clark graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1917 and was wounded during action in France in 1918. He graduated from the Infantry School in 1925, the Command and General Staff School in 1935, and the Army War College in 1937.

Made a brigadier general in August 1941, Clark was working on army expansion when the war began. He was promoted to major general as chief of staff of Army Ground Forces the following April. He rose to lieutenant general in November 1942 and was named deputy supreme com-

mander for the Allied invasion of North Africa, Operation TORCH, under Lieutenant General Dwight D. Eisenhower. Clark met secretly with Vichy French officials in October 1942 prior to the Allied invasion to seek their cooperation, and he negotiated a cease-fire with the French authorities two days after the landings.

Given command of Fifth Army, Clark led the invading U.S. troops at Salerno, Italy, in September 1943. However, Fifth Army's slow advance up the western side of the Italian peninsula led to harsh criticism of Clark's abilities. His troops suffered heavy casualties in the attempt to penetrate the Gustav Line, and the bombing of the monastery on Monte Cassino plagued his reputation; heavy casualties at the Rapido River prompted a Senate investigation. The Anzio landings in January 1944 did little to speed up Fifth Army's advance, and the assault failed to lead, as was hoped, to a quick capture of Rome. Fifth Army finally liberated Rome on 4 June 1944, but Clark was roundly criticized for his determination that U.S. troops be the first to liberate the Eternal City, which allowed the German Tenth Army to escape encirclement and reach the Gothic Line to the north.

As the cross-Channel invasion of France became the chief focus of Allied efforts in Europe, the Italian theater gradually became secondary. In December 1944, Clark succeeded Sir



Lieutenant General Mark Clark, commander of the U.S. Fifth Army in Italy. (Library of Congress)

Harold Alexander as commander of the multinational 15th Army Group, and in March 1945, he became the U.S. Army's youngest full general. He led the Allied offensive that breached the Gothic Line, crossed the Po River, and entered Austria just as the war in Europe ended. On 4 May 1945, he personally received the surrender of all German forces in Italy.

After the war, Clark commanded U.S. occupation forces in Austria (1945–1947), Sixth Army (1947–1949), and Army Field Forces (1949–1952). He succeeded General Matthew Ridgway as commander of U.S. forces in the Far East and of United Nations Forces in Korea (May 1952–October 1953) and chafed at restrictions placed on his command. Clark wrote two memoirs, *Calculated Risk* (1950) and *From the Danube to the Yalu* (1954). On his retirement from the army in 1954, he served as president of The Citadel (1954–1960). He died in Charleston, South Carolina, on 17 April 1984.

Thomas D. Veve

See also

Alexander, Sir Harold Rupert Leofric George; Anzio Beachhead; Cassino/Rapido River, Battles of; Darlan, Jean Louis Xavier François; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Italy Campaign; Ridgway, Matthew Bunker; Salerno Invasion; TORCH, Operation

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Clay, Lucius DuBignon (1897–1978)

U.S. Army general who served as military governor in Germany. Born on 23 April 1897 at Marietta, Georgia, Lucius Clay graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1918 as an army engineer. He was an instructor at West Point between 1924 and 1928. He also served on General Douglas MacArthur's staff (1937); had charge of the construction of the Red River Dam near Denison, Texas (1938–1940); and headed the Civil Aeronautics Authority Defense Airport Program (1940–1941). In the latter position, he oversaw the expansion and improvement of 277 airports and the construction of 197 new ones.

In March 1942, Clay was promoted to brigadier general (the youngest in the army) and appointed assistant chief of staff for matériel. Rising to major general that December, he oversaw both military procurement and production. In November 1944, General Dwight D. Eisenhower called him to Europe to take on the herculean task of rejuvenating for Allied supply the French port of Cherbourg, which the Ger-



U.S. Army Major Lucius Clay. (Library of Congress)

mans had destroyed. On leave from the army, he was next deputy chief of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconstruction in Washington (December 1944 to April 1945).

Clay returned to Europe at the end of the war as a lieutenant general and Eisenhower's civilian affairs deputy, and in March 1947, he became U.S. military governor in Germany. In that position, he played a key role in rebuilding western Germany. When the Soviet Union imposed a blockade of Berlin in 1948, Clay recommended the Western Allies attempt an airlift, which President Harry S Truman approved. Days after the blockade ended in May 1949, Clay retired. He was one of the few occupying generals to have a street named after him (Clay Allee in Berlin). Clay was then chairman of the board of the Continental Can Corporation, although he carried out several special governmental assignments as well. He died in Chatham, Massachusetts, on 16 April 1978.

T. Jason Soderstrum

See also

Eisenhower, Dwight D.; MacArthur, Douglas

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CO

See Conscientious Objector.

COBRA, Operation (25–31 July 1944)

U.S. Army breakout from the Normandy Peninsula in July 1944. The success of the Allied invasion of 6 June 1944 dissipated to frustration when the tenacious German defense of the Cotentin Peninsula stifled efforts to expand beyond the initial beachheads. The supreme commander of the Allied Expeditionary Forces, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, had grown impatient with the disrupted timetable as General Sir Bernard L. Montgomery failed to take Caen and Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley's First U.S. Army remained stalled in the *bocage*, or hedgerow, country. To break the deadlock, two offensive plans were developed. Operation GOODWOOD, led by British Lieutenant General Miles C. Dempsey, would fix the German attention on British forces as they moved to capture Caen. Meanwhile, Bradley developed Operation COBRA, a mobile ground attack to break out of the Cotentin Peninsula, drive west into Brittany, and culminate in a wide sweep to the southeast to stretch German defenses to the breaking point.

Tactical command for COBRA fell to aggressive VII Corps commander Major General J. Lawton Collins. Collins would have six divisions and almost 100,000 men for the attack. The plan hinged on a concentrated strike by heavy bombers to destroy a significant portion of the German lines. After the bombardment, an overwhelming ground attack by the U.S. 9th, 4th, and 30th Infantry Divisions would penetrate the disrupted German defenses and hold open a corridor for the exploiting mobile divisions. Opposing Collins was the German LXXXIV Corps, which had experienced heavy fighting and had many understrength units, such as the Panzer Lehr Division, which could muster only 3,200 troops along a 3-mile front.

A key element in the COBRA plan was to locate a point of penetration where there were sufficient parallel roads in the direction of the attack to allow follow-on forces into the breach. The most controversial aspect of the operation was the "carpet bombing" by strategic bombers. Bradley desig-

nated a rectangular target box 2,500 yards wide and over 7,000 yards long, and his IX Tactical Air commander, Major General Elwood "Pete" Quesada, met with Air Chief Marshal Sir Trafford Leigh-Mallory to coordinate the air attack. However, the competing needs for dropping maximum bomb tonnage, maintaining tactical positions for the infantry, and placing 1,500 bombers in the milewide corridor in a single hour could not be entirely reconciled.

COBRA was scheduled for 24 July, but overcast skies led Leigh-Mallory to call off the carpet bombing. Unfortunately, Eighth Air Force bombers were already in flight, and they approached the target from a perpendicular direction, causing bombs to fall short of the target and into the 30th Infantry Division, killing 25 and wounding 131. The attack postponed and the surprise lost, an infuriated Bradley was told that another attack would follow the next day.

On 25 July, bombers dropped 4,400 tons of bombs. The Germans, alerted from the previous attack, had dug in. Despite this, the Panzer Lehr Division was left in shambles, with 70 percent of its soldiers suffering shock and several battalion command posts destroyed. The Americans, in exposed positions and ready to move, suffered in "shorts" (bombs that fell short of their targets, landing on friendly forces) another 111 men killed, almost 500 wounded, and psychological trauma for 200 more. Among the U.S. dead was Lieutenant General Lesley J. McNair, commander of Army Ground Forces, who was visiting the front to observe the attack.

In spite of this tragedy, VII Corps immediately attacked, although strong pockets of German resistance limited the advance to only a mile or two. The next day, Collins made a bold decision to commit his armored and motorized forces, even though no U.S. unit had reached its planned objectives. The disrupted German command-and-control network failed to react when U.S. armored divisions sliced through the lines on 26 July. The next day, Collins's mobile units exploited their success deeper into the German rear areas, which led Bradley to order VIII Corps through the breach to seize Avranches.

According to the plan, once forces moved toward Brittany, the Third U.S. Army, commanded by Lieutenant General George S. Patton Jr., would be activated. To facilitate this transition, Bradley gave Patton immediate command of the VIII Corps, which he drove hard to capture Avranches on 31 July and mark the end of COBRA. In just six days, the entire German Front collapsed, enabling the Allies to carry out their own operational blitzkrieg deep into France.

Steven J. Rauch

See also

Bradley, Omar Nelson; Carpet Bombing; Collins, Joseph Lawton; Dempsey, Miles Christopher; France Campaign; GOODWOOD, Operation; Leigh-Mallory, Sir Trafford L.; McNair, Lesley James; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Quesada, Elwood Richard "Pete"

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Cochran, Jacqueline (ca. 1906–1980)

American aviatrix who commanded the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP). Abandoned at birth, Jackie Cochran was born sometime between 1905 and 1908 near Muscogee, Florida. Growing up with a foster family in extreme poverty in Florida and Georgia, she received only two years of formal education. She worked at a variety of jobs in various settings, from cotton mills to beauty parlors. In 1932, Cochran earned her pilot's license, and in 1934, she won her first air race. She married Keith Odom, a wealthy businessman, in 1936. Two years later, Cochran was the first woman to win the Bendix Trophy and was recognized as the leading female pilot in the world.

When the United States entered World War II, Cochran attempted to change the U.S. Army Air Corps policy of not allowing women pilots to fly its planes. Seeing that the matter was hopeless, she took a group of women pilots to England to fly with the Royal Air Force's Air Transport Auxiliary. During her absence, the Air Transport Command organized the Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron (WAFS), a civilian command for women to ferry aircraft throughout the contiguous United States. Nancy Harkness Love took command of the unit.

Cochran returned to the United States, angry that the WAFS had been formed without her. As a peace offering, the chief of staff of the U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF), General Henry H. Arnold, authorized Cochran to organize, in November 1942, the Women's Flying Training Detachment (WFTD) to train future ferry pilots. In August 1943, the two women's groups were merged under Cochran's command and renamed the Women's Air Force Service Pilots. Seeing this as a chance for women to prove themselves as military pilots, Cochran pushed for missions beyond simple ferrying. In addition to ferrying every type of military aircraft in the U.S. inventory, the WASPs performed flight checks, towed anti-aircraft targets, trained male pilots, and worked as test pilots.

Despite Cochran's efforts to secure military status for the unit—and Arnold's support for that designation—Congress failed to approve it, and the women remained civilians throughout the war and did not secure veteran's status until 1978. In 1945, Cochran was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal.

Following the war, Cochran continued to fly. In 1953, she became the first woman to break the sound barrier, and she also campaigned for female astronauts. In 1960, she was the



Jackie Cochran, center, pushed the WASPs beyond simple ferrying of aircraft. (Library of Congress)

first woman to launch from and land on an aircraft carrier. Awarded the Legion of Merit by the U.S. Air Force in 1970, she was the first woman enshrined in the Aviation Hall of Fame, in 1971. By the time of her death in Indio, California, on 9 August 1980, Cochran held more aviation records and "firsts" than any other aviator.

Pamela Feltus

See also

Arnold, Henry Harley "Hap"

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Cold War, Origins and Early Course of

Even before World War II ended in Europe, there were ominous signs portending future difficult relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. In what Washington and London regarded as a clear violation of their pledges at

Yalta, the Soviets refused to allow the establishment of genuinely democratic governments in Poland and in other parts of eastern and central Europe liberated by the Red Army. There was also sharp disagreement between the Western Allied powers and the Soviet Union over the occupation and future governance of Germany and Japan. From these uneasy beginnings, the “Cold War” (the phrase was coined by Truman administration adviser Bernard Baruch in 1947) began soon after the end of World War II. The Cold War was the single most momentous development of the postwar world, and it dominated international relations around the globe for nearly half a century.

The Cold War’s roots can be traced back to the years before World War II. Following the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia in November 1917, the Western Allies, including the United States, had supported the White forces that sought to overthrow the new regime. They and Japan even dispatched expeditionary forces to Russia. Although these troops were soon withdrawn, much ill will had been sown. On its side, Moscow did its best to undermine democratic governments and bring about Communist revolutions in Germany, Hungary, and elsewhere.

The Soviet Union remained largely an outlaw state, and in the 1930s, international events occurred largely as if it did not exist. The mistrust between the West and the Soviets prevented the formation of an effective coalition against Germany before the outbreak of World War II. Soviet dictator Josef Stalin had no love for either the Fascist or the Western nations, and he was prepared to deal with whichever side could offer him the most. Soviet security, rather than ideology, was his motivation.

The Western governments were dismayed when, on 23 August 1939, the Soviet and German governments signed a nonaggression pact in Moscow that allowed German leader Adolf Hitler to begin World War II without fear of Soviet intervention. Stalin, for his part, gained space (which France and Britain had been unwilling to grant) and time with which to rebuild his military, which he had devastated in the Great Purges of the late 1930s. The Western governments were even more dismayed when they learned of secret protocols in the pact that awarded eastern Poland and the Baltic states to the Soviet Union. Between September 1939 and June 1941, Germany gained much from the agreement with the Soviet Union. The secret provisions also included a trade agreement that was of the greatest advantage to Germany in fighting Britain and France.

Nonetheless, immediately following the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, Stalin called on Britain to open a “second front” in order to draw off some of the German ground and air forces overrunning the western part of his country. From June 1941, Germany consistently committed three-quarters or more of its ground strength on the

Eastern Front. Stalin claimed to be deeply frustrated and suspicious that the Western Allies were so slow to invade Europe and instead fought only on the periphery—first in an invasion of French North Africa in November 1942, then Sicily in July 1943, and finally Italy in September 1943—with the invasion of France not occurring until June 1944. Stalin claimed his Western allies were content to watch from the sidelines as the USSR “fought to the last Russian.” Throughout the war, he took massive amounts of Lend-Lease aid, but he never came to trust the United States and Britain as much as he had trusted Hitler; indeed, he regarded the leaders of these Western powers with the deepest suspicion.

Distrust deepened over the postwar fate of Poland. Twice in the twentieth century, Poland had served as an invasion route to Soviet territory, and Stalin was determined to secure Soviet hegemony over that country. He demanded the eastern half of prewar Poland, which had, in any case, been awarded to Russia by the Curzon Commission set up by the Paris Peace Conference following World War I (the so-called Curzon Line). He also recognized an exile regime of pro-Soviet Poles, known as the Lublin government, rather than the legitimate Polish government-in-exile in Britain, called the London Poles. Stalin was well aware of the weaknesses and vulnerability of his own society. As the West had used the new states of eastern Europe as a *cordon sanitaire* (buffer zone) after World War I to prevent the spread of Bolshevism, so Stalin was determined to use the Soviet occupation of these same states as a buffer against the Western powers and the spread of their ideas into his empire.

British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill was comfortable with the world of power politics and was more willing to bargain with the Soviet Union, trading primacy in one country for that in another. But domestic politics and international diplomacy mixed uneasily in the United States, and the Roosevelt administration was influenced by the votes of millions of Polish Americans. Indeed, U.S. President Harry S. Truman, who took office in April on Franklin D. Roosevelt’s death, informed Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov that Poland had become a symbol of American foreign policy. Stalin refused to see the logic in this approach, protesting that he had not insisted on the postwar fate of North Africa or Belgium—why, then, should America insist on the postwar fate of Poland? Although Stalin did agree to broadly “representative governments” and “free and unfettered elections” in the case of Poland and other states in Eastern and Central Europe, such phrases were merely window dressing that could be interpreted as the Soviets wished.

The real stumbling block was the future of Germany. At the Potsdam Conference in July 1945, Stalin spelled out the heavy reparations he expected to extract from Germany. He was also determined that Germany would never again

threaten the Soviet Union. His wartime partners in the West were concerned about destabilizing the most powerful economy in Europe and about having to pay the cost of the reparations themselves, albeit indirectly. They wanted a unified Germany with a true democratic government. Meanwhile, since the Allies could not agree on the amount of reparations, the Soviets began dismantling factories and portable items in their occupation zone and shipping them back to the Soviet Union.

There were divisive Asian issues as well. At Yalta, Stalin had agreed to join the war against Japan two to three months after the end of the war in Europe. In return, the Soviet Union was to receive south Sakhalin Island and the Kuriles (which had never been Soviet territory). At Potsdam, Stalin reiterated his pledge of Soviet intervention in the war against Japan, but he sought a zone of occupation in Japan proper, which Truman refused. The Red Army subsequently overran Manchuria and occupied the northern half of the Korean Peninsula (agreed to by the Allies for the purposes of taking the Japanese surrender, which U.S. forces took in southern Korea). But the government established in North Korea, led by veteran Communist Kim Il-sung, refused to allow free elections and rebuffed efforts to reunify the two Koreas.

In Manchuria, Soviet forces stripped the province of its industry, sending the factories back to the USSR. Some Western observers were also convinced the Soviet Union was supporting the Communist guerrillas of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) in the resumption of the Chinese Civil War, although that was, in fact, not the case. Soviet troops did turn over much captured Japanese equipment to Mao's forces.

In February 1946 from Moscow, U.S. Chargé d'Affaires George Kennan sent to his superiors in Washington what became known as the "Long Telegram" (of 8,000 words), explaining the factors behind the conduct for Soviet foreign policy. Kennan urged that the United States should seek to "contain" the Soviet Union from further expansion. Soon thereafter, on 5 March 1946, Churchill, by then the former British prime minister, spoke at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, and declared that "from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent." Churchill called for Anglo-American cooperation to withstand Soviet expansionism, but his appeal failed to draw a U.S. policy response.

In early 1947, the British government informed a surprised Truman administration that it was no longer able to bear the burden of shoring up the Greek and Turkish governments. Truman stepped into the breach, and on 12 March, he asked the U.S. Congress for \$400 million to help the Greek government resist communist guerrillas and the Turkish government to withstand Soviet pressure to secure unfettered access through the Dardanelles. Truman's call

for U.S. aid to free peoples seeking to resist outside or internal pressures came to be known as the Truman Doctrine.

At the same time, the economic situation in Europe continued to deteriorate. Europe had not recovered from the devastation of the war, and the harsh 1946–1947 winter was particularly damaging. Relief costs, borne chiefly by the United States, were high, and there appeared to be no end in sight. On 3 June 1947, in a speech at Harvard University, Secretary of State George C. Marshall described the difficult situation and made clear that the United States had much to lose if the European economy collapsed. He called on Congress to fund a vast economic aid package, based on recovery plans submitted by the European governments. This program became known as the Marshall Plan. Immensely successful, it helped Europe recover, improved the ability of Western European countries to resist communism, and, not incidentally, helped the American economy prosper. The plan was deliberately designed to force European cooperation, and the Soviet Union rejected this program; it refused to participate and denied permission for its Eastern European satellites as well. The Soviet Union would form its own feeble counterpart, the Molotov Plan. Clearly, two mutually antagonistic blocs were forming.

Meanwhile, with the Allies unable to cooperate, the situation in Germany worsened. To cut financial costs, the British and American governments combined their occupation zones economically in what became known as Bizonia (the French later merged their zone, making it Trizonia). Also, because a common currency for all four zones was merely underwriting the Soviets, the three Western governments moved to establish a separate occupation currency. They also promised free elections. The Soviets viewed these moves as threatening and walked out of the Allied Control Council meeting in early 1948. In April, claiming technical reasons, they temporarily closed surface access routes to the western occupation zones in Berlin to military traffic. When this did not result in a change of Anglo-American policy toward Germany, the Soviets instituted a complete blockade of surface access routes into the city. The Truman administration responded with the Berlin Airlift and flew in not only food and medical supplies, for example, but also fuel to heat homes and factories. In May 1949, the Soviets ended the blockade, but the division of Germany into eastern and western halves seemed complete.

As the Berlin blockade drew to a close, the final chapter was taking place in the long Chinese Civil War. The uneasy wartime truce between the Nationalist Party—the Guomindang, or GMD (Kuomintang, or KMT)—and the Communists was broken in 1947 when Nationalist leader Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) attempted to secure Manchuria. Despite massive amounts of U.S. aid, the Nationalists were defeated and fled to Taiwan (Formosa) in 1949 as Commu-

nist leader Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) announced the establishment of the People's Republic of China on 1 October 1949. The situation also seemed to worsen when the Soviet Union detonated an atomic device in August 1949, ending the U.S. nuclear monopoly.

Then, on June 25, 1950, the Cold War turned hot as North Korean forces, supported by the Soviet Union and China, invaded South Korea. The Truman administration responded. In what Truman said was the most difficult decision he had to make as president, he authorized U.S. forces to intervene. At that point, the Cold War became enshrined in American foreign policy, and in November 1950, the Truman administration approved a national security policy statement (NSC 68/4) calling for a real policy of containment. Opposing what it perceived to be Soviet expansionism and aggression became a defining characteristic of U.S. foreign policy until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Charles M. Dobbs and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact; Hitler, Adolf; Jiang Jieshi; Mao Zedong; Marshall, George Catlett; Molotov, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich; Potsdam Conference; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stalin, Josef; Truman, Harry S; Yalta Conference

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Collaboration

Literally “cooperation” or “unity of effort” but interpreted during World War II to mean working actively with the enemy, implying treasonable activity. The issue is a complex one, for collaboration could run from selling the occupier agricultural produce to rounding up Jews and actively

assisting in the prosecution of military activities. Collaboration could be military, political, economic, social, or cultural. In any case, such activities implied treason (in varying degree, of course) on the part of the collaborator. One point that must be made, however, is that one side’s “collaborator” was the other side’s “ally,” “loyalist,” or “assistant.” Collaboration with enemy occupying forces occurred on both sides during the war.

Western and Northern Europe

France presents a complicated picture. Following their defeat of France, the Germans dictated armistice terms that saw them occupy about two-thirds of the country to the north and west. The French were allowed to establish an “independent” government in the remainder of the country, with its capital at Vichy. The term *collaboration* was actually first used in the course of a meeting between Vichy head of state Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain and German leader Adolf Hitler at Montoire-sur-Loire on 24 October 1940. Pétain and his supporters concluded that Germany had won the war and that, for the foreseeable future, that nation would dominate the Continent. The marshal therefore informed the French people that he accepted “in principle” the idea of “collaboration” with Germany.

Despite Pétain’s pronouncement, the French population was bitterly divided, and a small minority at first rallied to the Resistance led by young Brigadier General Charles de Gaulle in London (he had been condemned to death in absentia by the Vichy government as a traitor). Germany had very direct sources of pressure on Vichy, including heavy “administration costs” that amounted to more than 60 percent of French national income, control over traffic across the armistice demarcation line, possession of a million French prisoners of war (POWs), and exploitation of the press.

Following the Allied invasion of French North Africa, the Germans occupied the remainder of France. While de Gaulle established his position in North Africa and the French Empire in general, Vichy Premier Pierre Laval became increasingly open about collaborating with Germany within continental France, including active participation in the rounding up and deportation of Jews and the hunting down of partisans by the Milice, the 30,000-man-strong Vichy militia force. Meanwhile, as the fortunes of war shifted, de Gaulle’s influence in France grew.

Certainly, a large number of French men and women collaborated with the Nazi regime, and many made sizable fortunes in the process. In addition, little was done after the war to punish such war profiteers. The carefully nurtured myth in postwar France of a nation of resisters was totally false, although thousands of French men and women did risk their all for the Allied cause.



German Führer, Adolf Hitler (center left) and Italian Dictator, Benito Mussolini (center right). (Library of Congress)

Occupation arrangements varied in other western European countries. Belgium experienced a rather harsh German military rule, whereas the Netherlands and Norway had civil administrations, and Denmark was able to retain sovereignty until August 1943. After the war, the Belgian government punished, in varying degree, some 53,000 men and women adjudged to have collaborated with the German occupiers.

Vidkun Quisling of Norway was one of the most notorious collaborators, his name becoming synonymous with the term *traitor*. In February 1942, Quisling became minister president of Norway, but his effort to Nazify his country was ardently resisted by most of the population. Anton Mussert was his Dutch counterpart and founder of the Netherlands Nazi Party. The party membership was 30,000 at the start of the war, increasing to a peak of 50,000.

Eastern Europe

Although Poles prided themselves after the war on offering little collaboration with the hated German and Soviet occupiers, collaboration did take place in their country. In the General Government set up by the Germans, units of Polish

police operated under German command, as did Jewish police in the ghettos established by the Germans. Even during the Holocaust, the Germans discovered those individuals who would collaborate in the concentration camps—the Kapos, or trustees, who worked for the German guards in the Sonderkommando. When Soviet forces invaded eastern Poland, they mobilized large numbers of Poles to fight for them against Germany; many Poles regarded these soldiers as collaborators.

In the rest of central and eastern Europe, experiences varied. Bulgaria, nominally an Axis power, hardly participated in the war. Its government did send troops to occupy Thrace and Macedonia in Greece, but it steadfastly rejected Hitler's demands that it dispatch troops to the Eastern Front. Hungary and Romania both supplied troops for the German invasion of the Soviet Union, suffering heavy losses in the process. They also actively participated in rounding up Jews to be sent to the extermination camps. In both Greece and Yugoslavia, there was active resistance to the Germans, although the government of newly independent Croatia, carved from Yugoslavia, was highly supportive of Berlin and its policies.

The Soviet Union

Many inhabitants of the eastern portions of the Soviet Union, such as the Baltic states and Ukraine, openly welcomed the German army as their liberator and collaborated fully with it, until they discovered that German occupation policies were even more repressive than Soviet rule had been. In 1943 alone, as Soviet troops moved westward, the Soviet secret police, or NKVD, arrested more than 931,000 people for questioning. Hundreds of thousands of Soviet minorities—most notably the Crimean Tartars but also Turks and Chechens, among others—were simply deported en masse to the eastern USSR as a consequence of their wartime collaboration with the Germans. General Andrei Vlasov, a Hero of the Soviet Union, agreed to head the German-sponsored Russian Liberation Army, although Hitler refused to allow it any real function. Hundreds of thousands of Soviet prisoners worked in the German army in nonmilitary roles, as cooks, drivers, and the like. Much of their motivation came from the simple desire to stay alive, as millions of Soviet soldiers perished from starvation in German POW camps.

One tragic episode following the war resulted from the decision by the Western powers to hand over to the USSR millions of Soviet citizens, many of whom had lived in the West for decades and had played no wartime collaborative role. Nonetheless, they were shipped off to work at hard labor in the gulags.

Far East

In the Far East, Japan's occupation of its conquered territories was generally quite harsh. Paradoxically, as the war dragged on, Japan encouraged independence from colonial rule in some areas, especially in those lands that had been European or U.S. colonies. A notable example of the latter was the Netherlands East Indies, where indigenous peoples were treated comparatively well, in contrast to Europeans, and where the postwar independence movement was effectively encouraged. There as elsewhere, there was considerable popular support for Tokyo's efforts to eliminate the influence of the European colonial masters. One component of the Japanese theme of a "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" was to grant independence to Asian states. But the phrase *Asia for the Asians* actually meant that Asian peoples were to be subordinate to Japan.

In French Indochina, the Japanese allowed the French colonial administration to remain in place for purposes of expediency, for Indochina could thus be held with fewer Japanese troops. In March 1945, however, with the war almost certainly lost for Japan, the French plotted to liberate Indochina themselves. The Japanese then took control and granted Vietnam its "independence." The Vietminh, diehard Vietnamese nationalists led by Ho Chi Minh, reject-

ed collaboration, fought both the French and the Japanese, and appealed to Washington for support.

Much to the surprise of the Japanese, most Filipinos remained loyal to the United States. But under heavy Japanese pressure, the Philippine government did accept the principle of collaboration and even declared war on the United States. Following the liberation of the islands, however, few Filipino collaborators were punished, and the Philippines received independence. Burma had its share of collaborators. A number of Burmese regarded the Japanese as liberators, and the Burmese Independence Army actively fought on their side.

Throughout its long occupation of much of China, Japan sought collaborators. Wang Jingwei (Ching-wei), a founding father of the Nationalist Party, grew disillusioned with Nationalist leader Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) and his failure to make peace with the Japanese. In March 1940, the Japanese installed Wang as head of the puppet Reorganized Nationalist Government in Nanjing (Nanking). However, Wang's hopes of presenting himself as a credible alternative to Jiang were dashed on the rocks of Japanese military domination. Wang died in Japan in November 1944 while undergoing medical treatment.

After the Allied victories in Europe and the Pacific in spring 1945, collaborators were variously punished. Many individuals were simply executed on the spot by soldiers and civilians. In France, women who had fraternized with the Germans had their heads shaved, among other indignities. Some key political leaders, such as Quisling, were tried and executed. In France, the aged Marshal Pétain was tried and sentenced to death, but de Gaulle remitted that sentence in recognition of his World War I services, and the marshal spent the remainder of his life in prison.

Arthur I. Cyr and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

China, Role in War; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Concentration Camps, German; de Gaulle, Charles; France, Role in War; France, Vichy; Hitler, Adolf; Ho Chi Minh; Holocaust, The; Jiang Jieshi; Laval, Pierre; Partisans/Guerrillas; Pétain, Henri Philippe; Quisling, Vidkun Abraham Lauritz Jonsson; Resistance; Vlasov, Andrei Andreyevich; Wang Jingwei

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Collins, Joseph Lawton (1896–1987)

U.S. Army general who executed Operation COBRA. Born on 1 May 1896 in New Orleans, Louisiana, Joseph Collins graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1917. Although he did not take part in combat in World War I, he commanded a battalion during the occupation of Germany between 1919 and 1921.

Collins was then an instructor at West Point (1921–1925) and at the Infantry School at Fort Benning, Georgia (1925–1931). He also served in the Philippines and was an instructor at the Army War College (1938–1941). Shortly after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Colonel Collins was named chief of staff of the Hawaiian Department and made a brigadier general. In May 1942, he was promoted to major general and took command of the 25th Division, which relieved the 1st Marine Division on Guadalcanal in December 1942. Collins earned the nickname “Lightning Joe” from his men for his aggressiveness on Guadalcanal.

Collins then led the 25th Division during the successful operations on New Georgia in the summer of 1943. Transferring to Europe in January 1944, he received command of VII Corps, the post he held for the remainder of the war. On D day, spearheaded by its 4th Division, VII Corps landed on Utah Beach. It seized the vital port of Cherbourg on 27 June. VII Corps is probably best remembered for Operation COBRA, the breakout from the Normandy beachhead at Saint-Lô on 25 July, an operation largely planned by Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley but executed by Collins. VII Corps then repelled the German counterattack at Mortain, which led to the creation of the Falaise-Argentan pocket.

Collins led VII Corps at Aachen; at the Battle of the Bulge, where the corps held the northern shoulder of the bulge; at Cologne; in the Ruhr pocket; and, as the war ended, in the Harz Mountains. In April 1945, he was promoted to lieutenant general. One of the war’s best corps commanders, Collins is remembered as an officer who led from the front and enjoyed the full confidence of General Dwight D. Eisenhower and Omar Bradley.

Collins served as vice chief of staff of the army from 1947 to 1949. Promoted to full general, he was the U.S. Army chief of staff from 1949 to 1953 and special representative to the Republic of Vietnam between 1954 and 1955. Collins retired from the army in March 1956. He died in Washington, D.C., on 12 September 1987.

Thomas D. Veve

See also

Ardenne Offensive; Bradley, Omar Nelson; COBRA, Operation; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Falaise-Argentan Pocket; Guadalcanal, Land Battle for; New Georgia, Battle of; Normandy Invasion and Cam-



U.S. Army Lieutenant General Joseph Collins. (National Archives/Corbis)

paign; OVERLORD, Operation; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Rhine Crossings; Ruhr Campaign; Saint-Lô, Battle of

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Colmar Pocket, Battle for the (20 January–9 February 1945)

Colmar pocket was the German bridgehead west of the Rhine River and south of the city of Strasbourg, held by Colonel General Friedrich Wiese’s Nineteenth Army of eight divisions (some 50,000 men). On 7 January 1945, the Germans launched a major attack out of the Colmar pocket, gaining very little ground. But the Allies wanted to remove the pocket, and the task was assigned to General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny’s First French Army of 6th Army Group.

On 20 January, de Lattre’s troops attacked the Colmar pocket. The French I Corps led off by attacking the southern flank. On the night of 22–23 January, II Corps assaulted the



Two smiling French soldiers fill the hands of American soldiers with candy, in Rouffach, France, after the closing of the Colmar pocket, 5 February 1945. (Still Picture Records LICON, Special Media Archives Services Division (NWCS-S), National Archives)

northern flank. The objective was to envelop the pocket by converging on Neuf-Brisach and the Rhine Bridge at Breisach. Deep snow along with German mines, machine guns, tanks, and artillery kept the attacks from gaining much ground.

The U.S. 3rd Infantry Division, which was attached to the French, then crossed the Fecht and Ill Rivers. The Germans counterattacked, but the 3rd held them off and reinforced its bridgehead. Severe shortages of French troops led to the eventual attachment to the operation of the entire U.S. XXI Corps, composed of the 3rd, 28th, and 75th Infantry Divisions. Major General Frank Milburn commanded XXI Corps.

Milburn's XXI Corps took over the right of the French II Corps zone and the main effort to envelop the Colmar pocket from the north. The II Corps guarded its left, clearing that area to the Rhine.

The attack continued. The 28th Division arrived at Colmar on 2 February, and the 75th entered the outskirts of Neuf-

Brisach in the rear of the pocket. The U.S. 12th Armored Division was then added to the attack. On 3 February, it drove south through the 28th. Pockets of German resistance held up one arm of the attack, but the other, driving down the main road, captured Rouffach on 5 February. Other task forces surrounded the town and met the 4th Moroccan Division from the I Corps. This maneuver split the pocket.

On 5 February, leading elements of the U.S. 3rd Division arrived outside the walled town of Neuf-Brisach. Early the next morning, as the Americans prepared to attack the city, they encountered a Frenchman who took them to a 60-foot tunnel that led into the town from the dry moat. An American platoon entered through this tunnel and found only 76 German soldiers, who surrendered without a fight. Before leaving the town, their officers had told them to fight to the finish.

French forces finished off the pocket on 9 February. In the entire operation, the Allies had sustained about 18,000

casualties and the Germans between 22,000 and 36,000. Only the 708th Volksgrenadier Division, evacuating the pocket on 3 February, escaped reasonably intact. The German 2nd Mountain Division had 1,000 battle casualties and 4,700 men taken as prisoners. Only 500 members of the German 198th Infantry Division and 400 men of the German 338th Infantry Division managed to escape. The Germans also abandoned 55 armored vehicles and 66 field pieces.

Uzal W. Ent

See also

Alsace Campaign; Lattre de Tassigny, Jean Joseph Marie Gabriel de

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Combat Fatigue

Combat fatigue—also known as battle fatigue, war neurosis, exhaustion, or shell shock—is a variable group of symptoms including excessive fatigue, an exaggerated startle response, tremors, violence, nightmares, delusions, hallucinations, withdrawal, and catatonia. Herodotus described combat-induced mental illness in the Athenian army during the Battle of Marathon in 490 B.C., but the diagnosis was relatively infrequent prior to the twentieth century. The Russians established the first military psychiatric service during the Russo-Japanese War. The problem became widespread in World War I, during which it was termed *shell shock* under the mistaken theory that explosive concussions caused small brain hemorrhages leading to cerebral dysfunction. By World War II, it was widely understood that the symptoms were psychiatric in nature, were similar to traumatic neuroses seen in the civilian population, and were not caused by identifiable anatomic brain damage.

In spite of an early British emphasis on battlefield psychiatry and an American attempt to exclude men with psychiatric illness from military service, mental illness remained a major cause of combat disability, with about 30 percent of Allied combat zone casualties being psychiatric. Although physicians in World War I had learned that treatment close to the front lines made it possible to return a number of psychiatrically disabled soldiers to combat, the lesson was forgotten. Early in World War II, patients with combat fatigue were routinely evacuated to rehabilitation hospitals, and most were discharged. As manpower became scarce, more of these men were placed in pioneer or labor details in the rear area, but few returned to combat.

Captain Frederick R. Hanson, an American neurologist and neurosurgeon who had joined the Canadian army early in the war and participated in the landing at Dieppe, transferred to the U.S. Army and developed what became a successful and widely employed treatment for what the British now termed *exhaustion* or *combat fatigue*. The essential parts of the regimen included sedation, brief periods of rest, and treatment in a facility close to the front, where the patients and staff continued to wear combat clothing. Hanson realized that treating these patients as if they were mentally ill and physically separating them from their units made it unlikely that they would return to duty. Using his treatment protocols, the British and American armies were able to return 70 to 80 percent of combat fatigue victims to their units, and only 15 to 20 percent of patients requiring evacuation to the zone of the interior were psychiatric.

Shortly after the Italian invasion, the U.S. Army established the post of division psychiatrist, and Hanson produced a manual for internists so nonpsychiatrists could use his methods. As the war went on, Allied military psychiatrists became convinced that no soldier was immune from combat fatigue. They hypothesized that any man subject to continuous combat for a long enough time would become nonfunctional and estimated that 200 days of constant action was about the maximum a soldier could be expected to tolerate. The British adopted a system of unit rotation to give their men regular periods of rest and were able to stretch the tolerable period to close to 400 days, but the Americans, except in the U.S. Army Air Forces, adopted a more haphazard approach of rotating individuals with the longest periods of service rather than entire units. It was not until later wars that regular unit rotation became standard.

Military physicians, mindful of the heavy clinical and financial burden of long-term psychiatric illness after World War I, correctly warned that the true cost of combat fatigue would not become evident until after the soldiers returned to civilian life.

Jack McCallum

See also

Military Medicine

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Combined Chiefs of Staff

Ad hoc organization, composed of the British and American military chiefs of staff, that coordinated combined strategic



U.S. Army General George C. Marshall and the Combined Chiefs of Staff hold a conference while photographers and cameramen stand behind them, Cairo, Egypt. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

planning and conduct of World War II. The ground work for military collaboration developed at least a year and a half before the United States was drawn into the war. The U.S. Navy Department established a permanent observer mission in London to discuss naval cooperation and information exchange. U.S. Army observers only went to London on special missions until the War Department set up permanent liaison in the spring of 1941. In early 1941, agreements called for the exchange of military missions, and the British established its Joint Staff Mission, representing the British chiefs.

The Combined Chiefs of Staff (CCS) was formally established by the two powers in January 1942 shortly after the ARCADIA Conference made the Anglo-American alliance a fact. The organization was to consist of the British chiefs of staff and their opposite numbers in the United States. But since there were no opposite numbers established in the United States at that point, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) was formed, consisting of the army chief of staff, General George C. Marshall; the deputy army chief of staff for air and commanding general of the army air forces, Lieutenant General Henry H. Arnold; the chief of naval operations, Admiral Harold R. Stark, and the commander in chief of the U.S. Fleet, Admiral Ernest J. King. In March 1942, Stark's and King's positions were combined under King, and Stark went on to command

U.S. Naval Forces in Europe, headquartered in London. In July, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, acting in his capacity as commander in chief of the armed forces, brought out of retirement the former chief of naval operations, Admiral William D. Leahy, and appointed him chief of staff to the president.

The British Chiefs of Staff (BCS) organization included the chief of the Imperial General Staff, General Sir Alan Brooke; the first sea lord, Admiral Sir Dudley Pound; and the chief of the air staff, Air Chief Marshal Sir Charles Portal. These men met with their American counterparts only at infrequent military-political conferences, but in the interim, they were represented at the permanent body in Washington by the Joint Staff Mission. The original members of that mission were Lieutenant General Sir Colville Wemyss, Admiral Sir Charles Little, and Air Marshal A. T. Harris. In addition, Field Marshal Sir John Dill sat as a member of the Combined Chiefs representing Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill.

The CCS were to formulate and execute policies and plans related to the strategic conduct of the war, to include war requirements, allocation of munitions, and transportation requirements. Combined planning was done by the staffs of the JCS and BCS, the Joint Planning Staff—patterned after the British design—and the Joint Planners. Actual planning of the respective national staffs would work its way through the JCS or BCS for coordination by the Combined Planners, the CCS planning staff, which was more a coordinating than an originating body. This system worked surprisingly well during the war, as the United States and Britain closely integrated their war efforts.

Arthur T. Frame

See also

ARCADIA Conference; Arnold, Henry Harley "Hap"; Brooke, Sir Alan Francis; Dill, Sir John Greer; Joint Chiefs of Staff; King, Ernest Joseph; Leahy, William Daniel; Marshall, George Catlett; Portal, Sir Charles Frederick Algernon; Pound, Sir Alfred Dudley Pickman Rogers; Stark, Harold Raynsford "Betty"; Tehran Conference

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Commando Order (18 October 1942)

Order issued by German leader Adolf Hitler to counter British commando raids. On 18 October 1942, Hitler issued

order 003833/42g.Kdos.OWK/Wst, known historically as the Commando Order. In addition to this order, a directive from army headquarters (Number 551781/42G.K) stated that only commanders of units involved were to see the Commando Order. The order was issued in 12 copies only, and headquarters required that in no circumstances was it to fall into Allied hands and that both documents were to be destroyed immediately following their reading and comprehension.

Hitler claimed that the Allied commando raids were a violation of the Geneva Convention, and he ordered, "From now on all enemies on so-called commando missions in Europe or Africa challenged by German troops, even if they are in uniform, whether armed or unarmed, in battle or in flight, are to be slaughtered to the last man." In his supplementary directive, he explained to his commanders the reason for the order. Because of Allied successes, Hitler noted,

I have been compelled to issue strict orders for the destruction of enemy sabotage troops and to declare noncompliance with these orders severely punishable. . . . It must be made clear to the enemy that all sabotage troops will be exterminated, without exception, to the last man.

This means that their chance of escaping with their lives is nil. . . . Under no circumstances can [they] expect to be treated according to the rule of the Geneva Convention. . . . If it should become necessary for reasons of interrogation to initially spare one man or two, then they are to be shot immediately after interrogation.

Despite Hitler's order, Allied commando raids persisted until the end of the war.

Berryman E. Woodruff IV

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Hitler, Adolf; Mountbatten, Louis Francis Albert Victor Nicholas

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Commandos/Rangers

Specialized, highly skilled, elite troops. Rangers were often the first to fight, and generally conducted raids and other specialized tasks, frequently in advance of an amphibious assault. But because of their training, commando troops were often employed in patrolling and sniping after a landing and on occasion served as bodyguards for prominent figures. All rangers and commandos were trained in

infantry skills as well as close-quarter battle techniques. They were adept with rifles, knives, grenades, and blunt instruments. Their fitness was paramount, and they were conditioned through long training to make their way across many miles of terrain to reach their objectives. They were self-reliant, resourceful, and aggressive.

Britain formed its first commandos in southern England in June 1940, just after the evacuation of the British Expeditionary Force from France. A designated British commando unit was the equivalent of a battalion and consisted of 10 troops of 50 men each. On formation and during their initial training, the first commando troops were given a ration allowance and billeted in local houses, where they were responsible for their own discipline and were made to rely on their initiative and self-motivation. In October 1940, Number 3 Commando, with a total of 475 officers and men, moved to the Combined Training Centre at Inverary in Scotland. Other commando units were also forming at the time.

The first British commando operation took place in March 1941 against German installations on the Lofoten Islands of Norway. Later commandos raided South Vaagso, also in Norway, and they conducted operations against the Channel Islands, were landed by submarine off Sicily before Operation HUSKY, and were responsible for many other operations against German coastal installations. Commandos were again in the forefront of the landings in France in Normandy in June 1944, and they took on an infantry role as they advanced inland, despite the fact that commando troops were not line infantry but special forces. On 6 June 1944, commandos mounted an attack on the German battery at Merville overlooking the invasion beaches; the battery was destroyed.

When the United States entered World War II, Brigadier General Lucian Truscott, U.S. Army liaison to the British General Staff, convinced Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall of the need for an American commando unit. On 26 May 1942, the army authorized formation of the 1st Ranger Battalion, which was activated on 19 June. During the war, the United States formed six ranger battalions. The first through fifth served in the North African and European Theaters, whereas the sixth served in the Pacific.

For training, the U.S. 1st Ranger Battalion was sent to the British Army Command's Training Centre in Scotland. For several weeks, the American rangers were tested to their limits by the Commando Centre trainers. Eighty-five percent of those who began the course graduated.

On 19 August 1942, 50 American rangers were added to a British and Canadian commando raid on the French port city of Dieppe. Three rangers died and five were captured, but the Americans won high praise for their efforts. Rangers subsequently took part in raids on Norway while attached to British commandos units. They also fought in Sicily and



British commandos who landed in Normandy on 6 June set out to capture a German gun site protected by snipers. (Hulton Archive by Getty Images)

participated in the landings in Italy at Salerno and Anzio. As raiding forces, they were only lightly equipped, but they were subsequently employed as infantry troops nonetheless. The 1st and 3rd Battalions led the attack on Cisterna but were almost wiped out. The remaining 4th Battalion took heavy casualties while trying to rescue the first two. Of 1,500 men in the three battalions, only 449 remained.

During the Allied invasion of France, the U.S. 2nd Ranger Battalion landed on the west flank of Omaha Beach with A Company of the 116th Infantry Regiment and moved up to the village of Vierville-sur-Mer to secure the coastal road to Pointe du Hoc, destroying the German positions and radar station along the way. Meanwhile, the 5th Ranger Battalion received the important task of disabling a battery of six 15 cm German coastal artillery pieces at Pointe du Hoc. These guns would be capable of hitting almost any Allied ship supporting the U.S. landing. The rangers successfully scaled the cliffs, but much to their surprise, they found that the

German artillery had already been removed from Pointe du Hoc. The rangers then pushed inland, destroying some of the pieces behind the beaches.

A joint U.S.-Canadian brigade-sized unit, known as the First Special Service Force, also took part in the Aleutian Campaign, in the fighting in Italy, and in the August 1944 landings in southern France. In subsequent European fighting, rangers continued to lead the way and were some of the first units to counter the German Ardennes Offensive in December 1944. In 1945, ranger units established bridgeheads across the Rhine River into the heart of Germany.

Elite formations also served in the Pacific Theater. During the Quebec Conference of August 1943, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill agreed to have a U.S. ground unit spearhead the Chinese army with a long-range penetration mission behind Japanese lines in Burma. Its goal would be to destroy Japanese communications and supply lines and to play

havoc with Japanese forces while an attempt was made to reopen the Burma Road.

A presidential call for volunteers for “a dangerous and hazardous mission” elicited some 2,900 volunteers. Officially designated as the 5307th Composite Unit (Provisional)—code-named *GALAHAD*—the unit later became popularly known as Merrill’s Marauders after its commander, Brigadier General Frank Merrill. Organized into combat teams, two to each battalion, the Marauder volunteers came from various theaters of operation. Some came from state-side cadres; some from the jungles of Panama and Trinidad; and the remainder were veterans of campaigns in Guadalcanal, New Georgia, and New Guinea. In India, some Signal Corps and Air Corps personnel were added, as well as pack troops with mules.

Following training, undertaken in great secrecy in the jungles of India, about 600 men were detached as a rear-echelon headquarters to remain in India to handle the soon to be vital airdrop link between the six Marauder combat teams (400 men to a team) and the Air Transport Command. In units designated by color-coded names—Red, White, Blue, Green, Orange, and Khaki—the remaining 2,400 Marauders began their march up the Ledo Road and over the outlying ranges of the Himalaya Mountains into Burma.

The Marauders, with no tanks or heavy artillery support, moved overland some 1,000 miles through extremely dense and almost impenetrable jungles and came out with glory. In 5 major and 30 minor engagements, they defeated units of the veteran Japanese 18th Division, the conquerors of Singapore and Malaya who vastly outnumbered them. Moving in the rear of the main Japanese forces, they disrupted supply and communication lines and climaxed their operations with the capture of Myitkyina Airfield, the only all-weather airfield in Burma. The unit was consolidated with the 475th Infantry on 10 August 1944.

The 6th Ranger Battalion was activated at Port Moresby, New Guinea, in September 1944. Commanded by Colonel Henry “Hank” Mucci, it was the first American force to return to the Philippines. Its mission was to destroy Japanese coastal defense guns, radio, and radar stations on the islands of Dinegat and Suluan off Leyte. Landing three days in advance of the main Sixth Army invasion force on 17–18 October 1944, the 6th Battalion swiftly killed or captured some of the Japanese defenders and destroyed all their communications. The unit took part in the U.S. landings on Luzon, and several behind-the-lines patrols, penetrations, and small unit raids served to prime the rangers for what was to become universally known as one of the most daring raids in U.S. military history.

On 30 January 1945 in the Cabanatuan raid—led in person by Colonel Mucci—C Company, supported by a platoon

from F Company, struck 30 miles behind Japanese lines to rescue some 500 emaciated and sickly prisoners of war, many of them survivors of the Bataan Death March. The rangers, aided by Filipino guerrillas, killed over 200 members of the Japanese garrison, evaded two Japanese regiments, and reached the safety of American lines the following day. Intelligence reports had indicated the Japanese were planning to kill the prisoners as they withdrew toward Manila. Effective reconnaissance work by Filipino scouts contributed to the success of the raid.

Later commanded by Colonel Robert Garrett, the 6th Battalion played an important role in the capture of Manila and Appari. At the end of the war, it was preparing to take part in the invasion of Japan. The unit received the Presidential Unit Citation and the Philippine Presidential Citation. It was inactivated on 30 December 1945, in Kyoto, Japan. It and other elite units from the World War II era gave rise to the special forces of today’s military establishments.

David Westwood

See also

Airborne Forces, Allied; Airborne Forces, Axis; Ardennes Offensive; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Commando Order; Dieppe Raid; Makin Island Raid; Marshall, George Catlett; Merrill, Frank Dow; Myitkyina, Siege of; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Philippines, U.S. Recapture of; Rhine Crossings; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Sicily, Invasion of; Truscott, Lucian King, Jr.

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Commissar Order (13 May 1941)

Order issued to the German army by Adolf Hitler on 6 June 1941, two weeks before the start of Operation *BARBAROSSA*, the German invasion of the Soviet Union. In early March 1941, Hitler addressed his generals and informed them of what would later be known as the “Commissar Order.” It called on the German military to execute any captured Soviet commissars, the Communist Party officials assigned to military units. This order contravened all international conventions governing the treatment of prisoners of war. In remarks to his commanders, Hitler justified his order on the grounds that the commissars were “the bearers of ideologies directly opposed to National Socialism.” He also said that German soldiers guilty of breaking international law would be “excused.” Although Field Marshal Erich von Manstein and some other German generals refused to obey the order, it was widely carried out.

Craig S. Hamilton

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Commando Order; Hitler, Adolf; International Military Tribunal: The Nuremberg Trials; Manstein, Fritz Erich von

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Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies (1940–1941)

The most prominent pro-Allied lobbying organization in the United States prior to American intervention in World War II. Established in May 1940 at the prompting of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Committee to Defend America (CDA) was a private organization dedicated to assisting Britain and France by providing American support, both moral and material. The committee developed from an earlier 1939 lobbying group that had helped to bring about changes in American neutrality legislation permitting Allied purchases in the United States. Headed by William Allen White, a prominent Kansas journalist, the CDA's organizing committee included Clark Eichelberger and Frank Boudreau, Thomas W. Lamont, and Frederic R. Coudert. White requested 650 prominent Americans to join and form local committee chapters, and eventually, around 600 such groups existed nationwide, their estimated membership totaling between 6,000 and 20,000 people.

Some CDA members favored outright intervention in the war, but publicly, the organization sought only to aid the Allies, short of going to war—a circumspect stance that was made particularly politic in the bitterly fought 1940 presidential election, in which foreign affairs and peace were major issues. As interventionists became more prominent within the organization, White resigned in January 1941, and in November, Eichelberger succeeded him.

Supposedly “one step ahead” of the Roosevelt administration, CDA leaders worked closely with pro-Allied officials, including Roosevelt, Secretary of War Henry Lewis Stimson, and Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox. Indeed, measures that CDA representatives proposed to the government—for example, increased American naval protection for convoys bound for Britain, enhanced material aid, and extended wartime protective zones—often originated within the administration. These tactics enabled the government to claim it was responding to popular pressure. CDA officials also rallied popular and

congressional support for government initiatives, including the 1940 destroyers-for-bases deal with Britain, the introduction of Selective Service conscription, and 1941 Lend-Lease legislation. By mid-1941, with the election past, Roosevelt increasingly took executive action on foreign issues, which decreased the CDA's significance. After Pearl Harbor, the CDA disbanded. Eichelberger and other CDA activists subsequently campaigned prominently for the creation of the United Nations.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Destroyers-Bases Deal; Lend-Lease; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Selective Service Act; Stimson, Henry Lewis

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COMPASS, Operation (7 December 1940–7 February 1941)

British campaign against Italian forces in North Africa. On 13 September 1940, three months after Italy entered World War II, Italian dictator Benito Mussolini ordered the commander of Italian forces in Libya, Marshal Rodolfo Graziani, to invade Egypt with General Mario Berti's Tenth Army. Graziani's nine ill-equipped divisions of 250,000 men vastly outnumbered the 36,000 British, New Zealand, and Indian troops of Lieutenant General Richard O'Connor's Western Desert Force (WDF) in Egypt. But Graziani made no attempt to advance after crossing the Egyptian-Libyan border and instead settled in a chain of fortified camps around Sidi Barrani. The British commander in chief, General Archibald Wavell, therefore conceived a plan to throw Graziani off balance while he dealt with the Italians in East Africa. Because of a shortage of transport in particular, Wavell envisaged not a sustained offensive but a swift, large-scale raid lasting no more than five days.

Operation COMPASS began on 7 December with a two-day, 70-mile march by British forces across the desert. After passing through a gap between the Italian camps, Major General Noel Beresford-Peirse's 4th Indian Division stormed Nibeiwa camp from the rear, with 50 Matilda infantry tanks of the 7th Royal Tank Regiment at the spearhead. The British surprised the Italian garrison and took 4,000 prisoners, almost without loss.

British forces also stormed Tummar East and West camps that same day, and overran the camps around Sidi Barrani the next day. On the third day, Major General Michael Creagh's 7th Armoured Division—the famous Desert Rats—swept

westward to the coast beyond Buq Buq and cut the Italian line of retreat. In three days, the British captured 40,000 Italian troops and 400 guns; the remnants of the Italian army took refuge in Bardia, the first town inside Libya, and were rapidly surrounded.

These astonishing results were unforeseen and caused immense problems. The Indian 4th Division was recalled for dispatch to Sudan, as previously planned, leading to the unusual spectacle of British troops withdrawing eastward just as the Italians fled west. The Australian 6th Division, commanded by Major General Iven Mackay, was transferred from Palestine, but the shortage of trucks and the need to feed and evacuate huge numbers of prisoners led to a three-week delay before the operation could be resumed. The ingenious development of field supply dumps in the desert alleviated the problems of transporting supplies across long distances, but the operation's success was only possible because of the capture of large numbers of Italian trucks.

Generale di Corpo (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) d'Armata Annibale "Electric Whiskers" Bergonzoli signaled to Mussolini, "In Bardia we are and here we stay." The Australian infantry, supported by British battleship gunfire support, began the assault on 3 January 1941. After three days, the Italian garrison of 45,000 men surrendered, with 462 guns and 129 tanks. The Matilda tanks, which were almost invulnerable to the Italian guns, were again the key to the rapid success, and the Australian commander claimed that each tank was worth an entire infantry battalion.

Even before the fighting concluded, 7th Armoured Division drove west to encircle and isolate Tobruk, which was attacked on 21 January. Although just 16 of the precious Matildas were still running, they once again made the vital penetration, and the fortress fell the next day, yielding 30,000 Italian prisoners, 236 guns, and 87 tanks.

Tobruk's large port allowed supplies to be delivered by sea direct from Alexandria, and O'Connor intended to allow XIII Corps, as the WDF was known from 1 January 1941, to recuperate. On 3 February, however, intelligence revealed that the Italians were preparing to abandon Cyrenaica and withdraw beyond the El Algeila bottleneck. O'Connor immediately planned a daring initiative and sent his depleted tanks from Mechili across almost 100 miles of the roughest country in North Africa in just 33 hours to cut off the fleeing Italians at Beda Fomm late on 5 February. In a fitting climax, the miniscule British force of no more than 3,000 men and 39 Cruiser tanks held off Italian attempts to break out until the morning of 7 February when, completely demoralized, 20,000 Italians surrendered, with 216 guns and 120 tanks.

In a scant 10 weeks, the Commonwealth force of two divisions advanced more than 700 miles and captured 130,000 Italian prisoners, more than 380 tanks, 845 guns, and well over 3,000 vehicles at the relatively slight cost of 500 killed,

1,373 wounded, and 55 missing. O'Connor far exceeded all expectations, but he was confident that he could continue his advance to Tripoli and completely clear Africa of all Italian forces. Historians have since argued that a golden opportunity to finish the war in Africa was wasted, but recent research has shown that, without an operational port at Benghazi to maintain an advance, supply difficulties would have proven impossible. Nevertheless, British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill had already directed Wavell to halt the advance at Benghazi in favor of the campaign in Greece and leave only a minimum force to hold Cyrenaica against the recently arrived German general Erwin Rommel.

Paul H. Collier

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Egypt; Graziani, Rodolfo; Mussolini, Benito; North Africa Campaign; O'Connor, Richard Nugent; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival

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Concentration Camps, German (1933–1945)

Concentration camps are most often associated with Nazi Germany, but the modern concentration camp is generally thought to have originated with Spanish General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau in 1896 during the Cuban insurrection against Spain. Weyler sought to concentrate the civilian population near army installations, isolating these *reconcentrados* from the guerrillas. In Cuba at that time—and also in the Philippines during the 1899–1902 Philippine-American War and in South Africa during the 1899–1902 Boer War—large numbers of civilians died in such camps as a consequence of overcrowding, disease, and inadequate supplies.

During World War II, Germany established a number of different types of concentration camps. They may be grouped as penal, transit, labor, or extermination centers. Most served more than one purpose; that is, they were typically both penal and labor. But all of the camps saw brutality and merciless loss of life, whether as the result of disease, starvation, torture, exposure to the elements, forced labor, medical experiments, or outright execution. All major camps had subcamps that were sources of slave labor. Collectively, the camps numbered in the thousands.

The Nazis opened their first concentration camp at Dachau, near Munich, in March 1933, only two months after

Adolf Hitler came to power. This camp was the model for the many others to follow. It operated continuously until April 1945, when the U.S. Army liberated the inmates. Originally intended for the temporary detention of political prisoners, the camps became permanent institutions manned by the Schutzstaffel (SS) Totenkopfverbände (Death's Head detachments). In these camps, the more sadistic guards, of whom there was no shortage in the SS, were more or less free to inflict indescribable cruelties on the inmates without fear of disciplinary action. The camp system gradually evolved from penal camps to the infamous death mills of Auschwitz, Belzec, Chelmno, Maidanek, Sobibor, and Treblinka.

At first, the camps housed political enemies. Foremost were Communists and Social Democrats. Jews were initially targeted insofar as they belonged to these other groups, but they were considered “spoilers of German blood” and quickly became the primary victims. In time, Gypsies, Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, and the mentally ill all fell prey to the Nazis and their collaborators. By 1939, seven large camps existed, with numerous subcamps. These seven large camps were Dachau, Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, Neuengamme, Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, and Ravensbrück. As the war spread, forced labor became more and more a part of war production, and prisoner exploitation expanded. In the end, the camps stretched from the Pyrenees to eastern Europe, and literally millions of people had perished in them. Some camps, notably Drancy in France and Westerbork in the Netherlands, were primarily transit facilities, where Jews were herded together for onward shipment via railroad to the dreadful death mills.

No one will ever know just how much the people in the surrounding communities knew about the internal workings of the camps, but the Nazis had accomplices wherever camps existed. There were penal, work, or transit camps in all countries occupied by or allied with Germany. In western and eastern Europe, including the Baltic states, indigenous troops augmented the SS in the camps. In southern Europe, local forces operated their own camps or executed their victims rather than ship them to the death mills of eastern Europe. One glaring case was the Jasenovac camp operated by the Nazi puppet of Croatia. There, the Croatian Fascists, the Ustaše, killed tens of thousands of Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, and political enemies.

All the camps were very much alike. In them, the guards did whatever they could to strip every bit of human dignity from the inmates. Those who could do so were forced to work at hard manual labor 11 to 12 hours a day. Those who could not were encouraged to die. The sign over the camp gate reading *Arbeit macht Frei* (work brings freedom) meant the work of slave labor and freedom only in the release of death.

On arrival at a concentration camp, men and women were segregated and taken off for “medical inspection.” There, they were forced to strip naked and were deloused. Heads were shorn, the hair retained to use for manufacturing mattresses and upholstering furniture. Following a cursory medical inspection, those pronounced fit to work were given clothes, had numbers tattooed on their arms, and were assigned to barracks where they would exist until they became too weak to work any longer. Those judged unfit to work were taken off in another direction to be executed.

For those who passed the medical inspection, life in the camp was defined by deliberate degradation, with every effort expended to break them physically, mentally, and morally. Barracks were so overcrowded that there often was not enough room for everyone to lie down at once. Buckets were frequently the only sanitary facilities provided, and there were never enough of these. Barracks were unheated, and in many, there was no cover provided, even in winter.

At dawn each morning, men and women lined up in front of their respective barracks for roll call, standing in their thin rags even in winter. This dreaded *zählappell* (roll call) occurred at 3:00 A.M. and was repeated 5:00 P.M. It lasted for hours each time, until the guards could make an official and complete count. Every form of disease was present in the camps, with little or no medical treatment provided. Nourishment was totally inadequate. Breakfast usually consisted of a cup of ersatz coffee and a small portion of stale or moldy bread. Lunch was typically a cup of poorly fortified soup. And dinner routinely consisted of a small serving of bread, perhaps some potatoes or cabbage, and putrid tea.

Punishment in the camps was frequent and brutal, and it often occurred without justification: it had to be especially horrific if it was to exceed the brutality of daily life in the camps. Regulations in some camps required that beating with an axe handle was to be restricted to 25 blows at a time and that a week had to pass before a second beating could be given, but the guards seem not to have paid much attention to such rules. Often, the inmates were assembled to witness punishments and executions, and prisoners were sometimes placed in solitary confinement in total darkness in cells where they could neither stand nor sit nor lie for days or weeks. At Buchenwald, Belsen, and elsewhere, medical experiments were carried out on unwilling victims, who, if they survived, were often maimed for life. Such experiments

The Nazis opened their first concentration camp at Dachau, only two months after Adolf Hitler came to power in 1933.



Inmates of the Ampfing concentration camp in Germany liberated by U.S. Third Army Signal Corps. (U.S. Army, Library of Congress)

investigated, among other things, the effects of rapid compression and decompression, how much cold and exposure a person could stand before he died, and how best to revive a victim of freezing.

A number of German industries—such as I. G. Farben, the giant chemical firm that also manufactured the Zyklon B gas employed in the death camps—were attracted to Auschwitz and other camps with the promise of cheap slave labor. At Auschwitz, I. G. Farben built an enormous factory to process synthetic oil and rubber in order to take advantage of the slave labor available. This facility was the largest plant in the entire I. G. system, and it was built largely by slave labor. Work was physically exhausting, and beatings for any breach of the rules were common. I. G. claimed it provided a “special diet” for its workers, which nonetheless resulted in a weight loss of six to nine pounds a week for the prisoners. Death usually came after three months. As an I. G. physician’s report noted, “The prisoners were condemned to burn up their own body weight while working and, providing no infection occurred, finally died of exhaustion.” Slave labor became a consumable raw material. At least 25,000 people were worked to death at I. G. Auschwitz.

All inmates had to wear insignia (colored triangles) revealing the reason for their incarceration. There were variations, but typically, Jews wore two superimposed triangles that formed a yellow star. Common criminals wore green. Political prisoners had red. Persons considered asocial (e.g., Gypsies and vagrants) wore black. Homosexuals wore pink and Jehovah’s Witnesses purple.

Prisoners had to observe a definite hierarchy of prisoner officials, as well as the SS guards. The average prisoner had to answer to fellow prisoners at work or in the barracks. The most despised fellow prisoner was the Kapo, typically a heavy-handed supervisor willing to beat prisoners for the slightest infraction. The prisoners’ work assignments and records were in the hands of other prisoners known as scribes and elders. These prisoner officials could make an inmate’s life miserable—or even end it. Likewise, they could make life somewhat easier, and it often behooved ordinary prisoners to make note of this situation. Prisoner officials received better treatment in exchange for their cooperation. But comforts were rare indeed for the victims of this brutal process. The Nazi concentration camp system took the lives of millions and was the principal instrument of the Holocaust.

Dewey A. Browder

See also

Allied Military Tribunals after the War; Eichmann, Karl Adolf; France, Vichy; Germany, Home Front; Heydrich, Reinhard; Tristan Eugen; Himmler, Heinrich; Hitler, Adolf; Holocaust, The; International Military Tribunal: The Nuremberg Trials; Jewish Resistance; Latvia; Lithuania; Poland, Role in War; Prisoners of War; Wannsee Conference

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Conolly, Richard Lansing (1892–1962)

U.S. Navy admiral who commanded forces in almost all of the largest amphibious operations of the war. Born in Waukegan, Illinois, on 26 April 1892, Richard Conolly was commissioned in the navy on his graduation from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1914. He served in destroyers in the Atlantic, winning the Navy Cross for his part in rescuing a transport vessel damaged by a German submarine attack. Between the wars, Conolly earned a master of science degree at Columbia University, served as an instructor at the Naval Academy, and captained several destroyers.

From 1939 to 1942, Conolly served in the Pacific Theater, successively commanding 6th and 7th Destroyer Squadrons and providing the destroyer screen for the April 1942 raid on Tokyo. Promoted to rear admiral in July 1942, he spent several months on the staff of the chief of naval operations and commander in chief of the U.S. Fleet, Admiral Ernest J. King.

From March to October 1943, Conolly served with the Atlantic Fleet Amphibious Force and took part in the invasions of Sicily, where he earned the nickname “Close-in Conolly” for the naval fire support his ships provided the ground forces. That September, he commanded the amphibious component that landed the British 46th Division at Salerno, Italy. Again, he used his destroyers and cruisers to provide close gunfire support.

Conolly then transferred to the Pacific, using his amphibious landing expertise in operations at Kwajalein, Wake, and Marcus Islands. In 1944 and 1945, he commanded Group 3 of the Pacific Fleet Amphibious Force, leading the July 1944 landing on Guam and the January 1945 landing on Lingayen Gulf (Leyte), and Okinawa. He participated in six of the seven largest amphibious operations of World War II, missing only Normandy.

Conolly was the U.S. naval representative at the 1946 Paris Peace Conference. Promoted to full admiral, he subsequently commanded the Twelfth Fleet for four months and then U.S. Naval Forces, Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean Fleet from 1947 to 1950. He then spent three years at Newport, Rhode Island, as president of the Naval War College. Conolly retired in November 1953 to become president of

Long Island University, where he remained until he and his wife died in a commercial air crash at La Guardia Airport in New York, on 1 March 1962.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Guam, Battle for; King, Ernest Joseph; Kwajalein, Battle for; Leyte, Landings on and Capture of; Okinawa, Invasion of; Sicily, Invasion of; Tokyo, Bombing of (1942)

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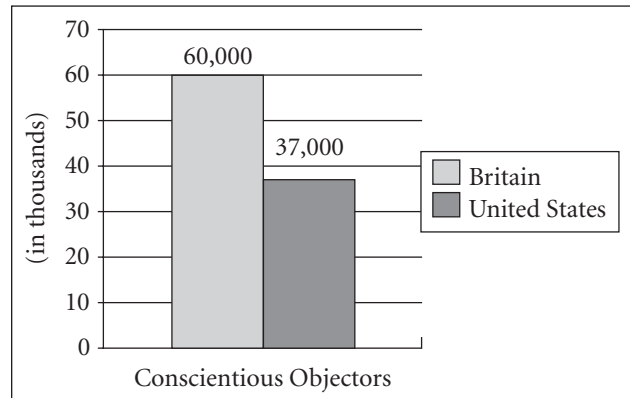
Conscientious Objector (CO)

An individual who seeks exemption from military service based on matters of conscience; in this regard, the conscientious objector (CO) differs from the “draft dodger.” The first COs were members of small Protestant religious denominations, notably the Mennonites. Although their members were not forced to bear arms, even by Germany and Russia, such groups were generally taxed or required to perform alternative service. During World War I, a number of the democratic nations made provisions for conscientious objection. In Britain, preference was accorded on religious grounds, but CO status was also extended to those who opposed the war on political and ethical grounds. This generous government view was, however, often tempered by local boards, which chose to interpret the law more narrowly.

Perhaps surprisingly, given the rampant pacifism of the 1920s that followed the great bloodletting of World War I, COs were too few in number in World War II to have any impact on the war effort of their respective countries. The Axis states refused to recognize CO status, as did the Soviet Union and many others of the warring states.

Conscientious objector status was most honored in North America, Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian states. In the United Kingdom during World War II, CO status was granted on a more fair basis than it had been in World War I. Unconditional exemptions were granted to 6.1 percent of COs there, and alternate service was allowed in civilian jobs.

Conscientious Objectors in Britain and U.S.



Fewer than 10 percent of British COs were jailed, compared to 33 percent in World War I. The United Kingdom had 60,000 COs, or 1.2 percent of the number drafted, compared with 0.125 percent in World War I.

The United States also widened its interpretation of CO status in World War II. At the time Congress was about to vote on the Selective Service Act in 1940, there was uncertainty about how the draft would treat men who wanted to be exempted from military service on grounds of conscientious objection. A third of all Americans had indicated in polls that they favored either jailing COs or forcing them to fight in combat units, but Congress instead adopted a plan conceived by religious groups and known as Civilian Public Service (CPS).

The exact details of the CPS program were not worked out until early 1942, but it put COs to work on a variety of domestic tasks. Representatives of the Society of Friends (Quakers), the Brethren, and the Mennonites supervised those in CPS, and the costs of the program were paid by these three church organizations at the rate of \$35 per month for each CO. CPS members sometimes received a few dollars a month for expenses from church groups but were otherwise not paid. Those seeking to obtain CO status had to file a special document, Form 47, along with their draft information. Local draft boards could and often did reject these requests, but an appeals procedure existed for such cases.

In all, about 37,000 American men obtained CO status. Most were Quakers, Mennonites, and Brethren. There were also Jehovah's Witnesses, socialists, communists, and others who professed pacifism. An additional 6,000 men who either did not receive CO status or turned it down were prosecuted for refusing to be inducted into the military and served some time in prison.

In many parts of the country, COs took up tasks that previously were assigned to members of the New Deal's Civilian Conservation Corps, such as reforestation, road building, and repairing drought damage. Other COs performed excel-



Conscientious objectors work at Wyeth, Oregon during World War II. (Bettmann/Corbis)

lent service in mental hospitals. A few volunteered as guinea pigs for medical research, and some valuable advances in battling malaria and other tropical diseases came from these experiments. Although Major General Louis Hershey, head of the Selective Service, testified before Congress that, overall, COs were making valuable contributions in the nation, they generally were not welcome in most localities.

Some COs did enter the military and served overseas in noncombat roles, including the dangerous job of combat medic. Among them was Desmond Doss, a CO who declined a chance to be in the CPS program and entered the U.S. Army as a medic. Private First Class Doss landed on Okinawa with the 77th Infantry Division. There, on 2 May 1945, he pulled as many as 70 wounded soldiers off an escarpment while under heavy fire, for which he was awarded the Medal of Honor.

After the war ended, COs returned to civilian life, and their wartime status was generally forgotten. The CPS program,

however, served as the model for subsequent objector programs during the Korean and Vietnam conflicts.

Terry Shoptaugh and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Hershey, Louis Blaine; Okinawa, Battle of; United States, Home Front

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Continuation War

See Finnish-Soviet War (25 June 1941–4 September 1944).

Convoy PQ 17 (27 June–7 July 1943)

Disastrous Allied Arctic convoy to Murmansk in the USSR. From August 1941 through May 1945, the Western Allies sent some 4 million tons of supplies to the northern Soviet Union via the Arctic. A total of 811 ships in convoy sailed east, of which 58 were sunk. A large percentage of these losses occurred in one convoy, PQ 17. It sailed from Iceland on 27 June 1942, with 36 merchantmen protected by 4 corvettes, 2 antiaircraft ships, and 4 antisubmarine trawlers. At the same time, eastbound Convoy QP 13, made up of 35 merchantmen, sailed from Kola Inlet. British Rear Admiral L. H. K. Hamilton commanded a covering force to protect both convoys, consisting of 2 British and 2 U.S. heavy cruisers, plus 1 British and 2 American destroyers. En route, British Commander J. E. Broome joined them with 6 destroyers to provide additional protection. Distant cover was provided by the Home Fleet under Admiral Sir John Tovey. He commanded a mixed British and U.S. force, consisting of 2 battleships, 1 aircraft carrier, 2 cruisers, and 14 destroyers.

Tovey was under strict orders to steer clear of the German airfields in northern Norway, where the Luftwaffe had massed 103 bombers, 42 torpedo-bombers, 20 dive-bombers, and 89 reconnaissance aircraft to block any convoy's passage. The Germans also had 10 U-boats on station, so their tactical reconnaissance advantage was formidable. The Allies hoped to trump this with strategic intelligence gleaned through ULTRA decrypts; however, a change in German Enigma cipher settings on 3 July led to an intelligence blackout. Political pressure from Washington and Moscow compelled leaders to insist that the convoy proceed, and it sailed blindly into a German trap.

The British first sea lord, Admiral of the Fleet Sir Dudley Pound, agonized over the choices of action available to him. He could not recall the convoy, and he would not allow the Home Fleet to close with it and risk an overwhelming German air and submarine attack. Allied intelligence also assumed that German navy surface units in Norway would attempt an attack. These forces consisted of the battleship *Tirpitz*, the pocket battleships *Scheer* and *Lützow*, the heavy cruiser *Hipper*, 10 fleet destroyers, and 2 oceangoing torpedo boats.

Even before PQ 17 sailed, Pound informed Tovey that if he believed a German surface attack was imminent, he would order the convoy to scatter. Tovey pointed out in no uncertain terms to Pound that this was contrary to all recent British experience. In any case, at 9:00 P.M. on 4 July, Pound, incorrectly assuming that the Germans' big ships were on their way to intercept the convoy and would reach it early the next day, began sending signals ordering PQ 17 to scatter and its cruisers and fleet destroyers to withdraw toward

the Home Fleet, as they were too weak to face the German squadron that he believed to be at sea. Although scattering was the logical precaution when a convoy was under surface attack, it was a suicidal move when made against aircraft and submarines.

Of the 34 merchant ships still with the convoy when the order to scatter was given, only 13 reached Murmansk. The Allies had suffered one of their worst maritime defeats of the war, the tragedy of which was deepened by the fact that it need not have happened. Convoys to Murmansk were then suspended for the summer, as perpetual Arctic daylight and German strength made them untenable.

James Levy

See also

Convoys, Allied; Pound, Sir Alfred Dudley Pickman Rogers; Tovey, John Cronyn

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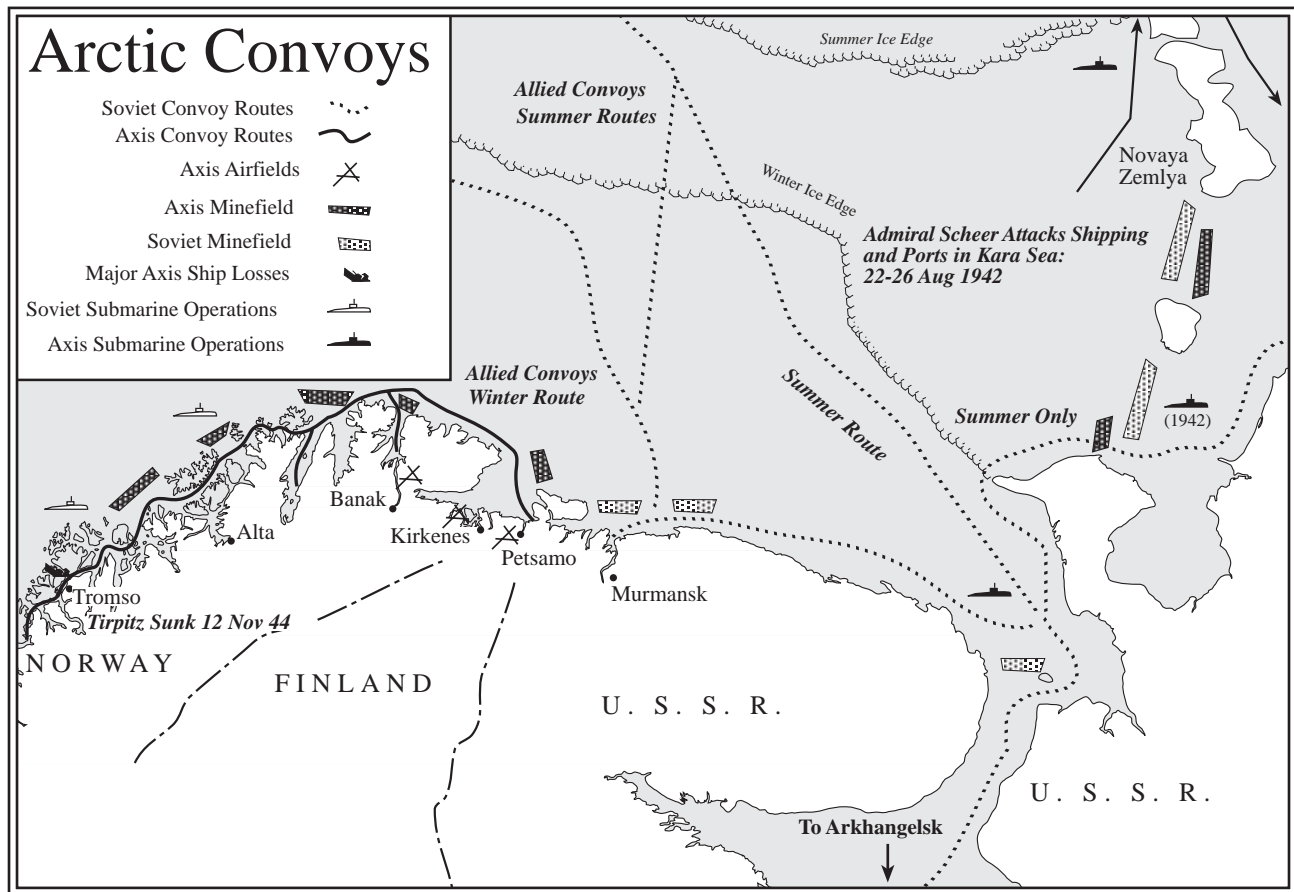
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Convoys, Allied

Organized groups of merchant vessels escorted by warships to defend against Axis attack. As a result of its experience in the latter stages of World War I, Britain was quick to set up the conveying of merchant vessels at the beginning of World War II. There was some initial hesitation because of the feared detrimental effect convoys could have on the efficient employment of shipping, but that would change after the liner *Athena* was torpedoed and sunk on 3 September 1939, indicating that Germany had commenced an unrestricted campaign of submarine warfare against merchant vessels. The first convoy—eight tankers sailing from Gibraltar to the Persian Gulf via the Cape of Good Hope—actually departed on 2 September with a cruiser escort for fear of a possible Italian entry into the war. Regular east coast convoys between the Firth of Forth and the River Thames started on 6 September, as did outbound transatlantic convoys from Liverpool two days later.

Operational convoys were set up to cover the movement of merchant vessels chartered by the government to transport and supply the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) across the English Channel. Subsequent convoys carried troops to Norway and supported operations in North Africa, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, the Far East, and all the other theaters of operations.

A special category of convoys included the series that carried cargo and war materials to the Soviet Union and the



smaller series that ran to resupply the island of Malta. These operations were unusual in that, in addition to the strong naval close escorts that normally covered convoys, they often also featured substantial distant cover by heavy units of the main fleet. Between August 1941 and May 1945, 42 convoys were undertaken to the northern USSR, and there were 36 return convoys. A total of 835 ships sailed outbound, losing 60 of their number; 710 returned, with a loss of 37 ships. The Malta convoys included a series of major fleet operations from both the eastern and western ends of the Mediterranean to assist the passage of supplies for the island. Between November 1940 and August 1942, 82 merchant ships took part in these convoys, of which 29 were sunk, and there were substantial losses among their naval escorts as well.

Trade convoys were required for regular commercial traffic on those passages most at risk of air or submarine attack. The initial series operated along the east coast, from London down the English Channel, and outbound from the west coast across the Atlantic and to Gibraltar. The east coast convoys and those to Gibraltar were escorted throughout their passage, whereas escorts accompanied those outbound into the Atlantic only until they were just beyond the

expected operating area of German submarines. At that point, the convoy dispersed, each ship proceeding individually to its destination. Depending on their destination, some vessels might detach from an outbound convoy prior to its dispersal. Inbound convoys assembled at Halifax, Gibraltar, Freetown, and—for a short period—at Kingston, Jamaica. These convoys were escorted by cruiser or armed merchant cruisers until they reached the limit of U-boat operations, where antisubmarine escorts took over. A heavily escorted convoy series also operated between Scotland and Bergen, Norway, commencing in November 1939.

The end of the so-called Phony War in May 1940, with the invasion of France and the Low Countries, brought major changes to the convoy system. The German attack on Denmark and Norway in April 1940 abruptly ended the Norwegian convoys, and the collapse of France in June brought even more substantial changes. From French bases, German aircraft operated against shipping in the Channel and far into the Atlantic, and the operational range of the U-boats increased dramatically. Convoys along the Channel accommodated local traffic only, and all oceanic traffic from the east coast now sailed north around Scotland. A series of interlocking convoys running both clockwise and counter-



Convoy of Allied trucks moving through the ruins of Valognes, France, 1944. (Library of Congress)

clockwise provided escort for all coastal shipping. To accommodate the need for more transatlantic convoys, a second series of slower convoys originating from Sydney, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, was initiated. The increased threat of attack led to the provision of escort throughout the voyage for all convoys to and from Freetown. Finally, Italy's simultaneous entry into the war terminated all commercial traffic in the Mediterranean save for very heavily escorted operational convoys to carry supplies into Malta.

The dispersal point for westbound transatlantic convoys and the pickup point for escort groups meeting eastbound shipping gradually moved westward as the range of the escorts was increased. In mid-1941, the United States imposed its "neutrality zone" on the western Atlantic and began escorting British convoys in conjunction with Royal Canadian Navy escorts, operating from Argentia in Newfoundland. North Atlantic convoys now were escorted throughout their passage by antisubmarine vessels.

The German declaration of war on the United States on 10 December 1941 brought a major westward expansion of U-boat operations against shipping. A disastrous period followed while the U.S. Navy struggled to secure the escorts and crews required to convoy the enormous volume of merchant traffic along the East Coast of the United States; it also struggled with the very concept of convoy itself. Nevertheless, by mid-1942, an elaborate and comprehensive system of interlocking convoy routes and sailings was established for the East Coast of North America and in the Caribbean. As the commander of German submarines Admiral Karl Dönitz became aware that the convoy system had been extended to a specific area, he shifted U-boat operations to another area where unescorted traffic still operated. Consequently, the scope of the U.S. Navy's convoy system gradually expanded to encompass almost all traffic between Rio de Janeiro and Halifax.

Landing operations in North Africa and the Mediterranean brought about some changes. Apart from the signif-

icant number of operational troop convoys, the opening of the Mediterranean introduced a series of convoy routes within that sea, and a British shortage of fuel oil also led to a series of fast tanker convoys between the Caribbean and the United Kingdom. In 1944, Allied military successes in France began to allow a gradual reduction in the scope of convoy. The reduction occurred because U-boats were forced to make more extended passages to their patrol areas as their home ports moved farther from the Atlantic and because German aircraft no longer had quick access to British coastal waters. All these trade convoys sailed at regular intervals, regardless of the number of ships waiting at the departure port. Changes in the interval or convoy cycle could be made but only after careful consideration of the impact on the efficiency of the limited escort force and on trade patterns.

Efficient use of both escorts and shipping required that the employment of convoy be extended or contracted in response to perceived threat levels. Because the U-boats' maximum surface speed was about 16 knots in ideal conditions and much less in the open ocean, ships capable of 15 knots or more sailed independently. Between November 1940 and June 1941, this minimum was lowered arbitrarily to 13 knots, and losses among vessels sailing independently almost tripled; the upper speed limit was then reinstated. For oceanic convoys, a minimum speed of 7.5 knots soon became the norm, with slower vessels obliged to proceed independently. Ships in coastal convoys, however, could be appreciably slower.

To make the danger zone as a convoy passed a submarine as small as possible, the standard convoy formation, except while transiting cleared channels through minefields, was always a broad front. The most common formation had from 6 to 12 columns in the convoy, each with up to 6 ships. Some of the very large convoys that ran during the spring of 1944, when a shortage of escorts forced planners to consolidate convoys, had as many as 19 columns with 9 or 10 ships each, but this was far in excess of the normal size. Ships in each column steamed at 400-yard intervals until mid-1943, when the growing number of less experienced captains forced an increase to 600 or even 800 yards. Columns were initially spaced 600 yards apart during daylight and 1,000 yards apart at night, but scientific analysis determined that the wider spacing was preferable from a "hit statistic" perspective, and later convoys standardized on the broader spacing. Early in the war, smaller convoys of no more than 35 ships were considered easier to protect, but again, analysis demonstrated that larger convoys made more efficient use of available escorts, so the convoy size increased to 60 ships or more.

Convoy most certainly diminished the efficient use of shipping assets to some extent, and the simultaneous arrival

of large numbers of vessels caused significant bottlenecks in the unloading process. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt as to the efficacy of convoy in protecting merchant vessels from attack during World War II, as the dramatic reduction of sinkings after the introduction of convoy on the East Coast of the United States demonstrated.

Paul E. Fontenoy

See also

Aircraft Carriers; Antisubmarine Warfare; Atlantic, Battle of the; Depth Charges; Dönitz, Karl; Germany, Air Force; Germany, Navy; Great Britain, Air Force; Great Britain, Navy; Hunter-Killer Groups; Liberty Ships; Sonar; United States, Army Air Forces; United States, Coast Guard; United States, Navy; Wolf Pack

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Convoys, Axis

When war began in September 1939, Germany essentially abandoned any attempt to maintain its oceanic trade. Those vessels beyond easy reach of the homeland endeavored to reach neutral ports, where they were interned, and closer vessels broke for home, with the navy providing cover for those carrying important cargoes.

Norwegian and Swedish ore traffic was the most important sector in Germany's European trade, and securing it became the principal focus of the navy's trade protection efforts throughout the war. After the successful German invasion of Norway, the navy introduced the convoy of merchant shipping along the Norwegian coast late in 1940. Convoys generally were small—three to six ships—and escorted by a few torpedo boats, trawlers, and light craft. British submarines and aircraft were the principal threats. As the war progressed and British air attacks became more effective, the Germans added defensive coastal antiaircraft batteries and antiaircraft escorts. In addition to ever increasing strikes by shore-based Royal Air Force Coastal Command aircraft, the Royal Navy mounted periodic carrier strikes against German coastal shipping in 1942 and 1943, culminating over the next two years with more concentrated assaults using escort carriers that came close to paralyzing this traffic.

When war with the Soviet Union began, the Soviet navy's Northern Fleet submarines initiated attacks on German shipping around northern Norway and were soon joined by British submarines operating from Kola Bay. Joint operations continued until 1944, when the British crews were sent home and the submarines were turned over to the Soviet navy. Substantial numbers of Soviet naval aircraft also joined the attack against German convoys from 1943. This assault against the northern Norwegian convoys cost the Germans some 500,000 tons of shipping, a relatively small amount considering annual traffic was well in excess of 6 million tons.

War with the Soviet Union also brought the threat of attack on the Swedish ore traffic, primarily by Soviet submarines at first. The Germans endeavored to keep shipping within Swedish territorial waters as far as possible, escorting vessels for the final leg of their passage behind the protection of defensive minefields and net barriers. During 1942 and 1943, Soviet submarines succeeded in sinking only about 20 ships for a total of some 40,000 tons of shipping, out of over 1,900 vessels in convoy representing well over 5.6 million tons of shipping. During 1944, the Soviet army's advances and the defeat of Finland meant that aircraft played a greater role in antishipping operations, but German losses remained relatively light. The collapse of German positions on the Baltic coast early in 1945 required the evacuation by sea of more than 2 million troops and others. Despite some spectacular successes (the sinking of the *Wilhelm Gustloff* and *General Steuben* with but 1,200 survivors from the more than 9,000 passengers aboard, for example), Soviet attacks were remarkably ineffective; the Germans lost only about 20 ships with a total of some 100,000 tons of shipping.

The Italian navy began convoying traffic carrying supplies to its forces in Libya almost as soon as it entered the war, for British submarines and aircraft immediately began an interdiction campaign. The navy's responsibilities expanded as Italy undertook campaigns in Yugoslavia and Greece in 1941 and increased still further when Germany took on a larger role in the Balkans and North Africa. During 1941, Italy also began convoying shipping along the Libyan coast. Italian convoys generally were small—three to six merchant vessels, with two or three escorting destroyers or torpedo boats. As British surface forces operating from Malta began attacking Libya-bound shipping, the Italian navy had to deploy heavier covering forces, often including cruisers and eventually battleships, to support particularly valuable convoys. In this struggle over shipping, the British possessed two great advantages: radar, which vastly enhanced the night-attack capabilities of its aircraft and surface ships, and signals intelligence, especially ULTRA, which consistently gave them advance convoy routing information.

Axis fortunes in this campaign fluctuated greatly. From mid-1941, Axis forces in North Africa required approxi-

mately 100,000 tons of supplies each month. But in March 1942, for example, only 47,588 tons got through, whereas in April, 150,389, tons arrived. Overall, the Italian navy succeeded in bringing about 80 percent of all convoyed shipping through to its destination.

Despite its direct experience of successful convoy operations by its destroyers in the Mediterranean during World War I, the Imperial Japanese Navy was very slow to introduce convoying of merchant shipping after the Pacific war began. The navy possessed very few suitable escort vessels at the outbreak of war, which reflected the overwhelming emphasis it placed on planning for the decisive fleet action that was the centerpiece of its operational strategy. Japan's response to the burgeoning unrestricted submarine campaign conducted by the United States against its shipping was to increase aggressive surface and air patrols and continue to eschew defensive convoy of its traffic. Not until the later part of 1944, by which date its merchant fleet had been devastated by American submarines, did the navy begin limited convoy, especially of the crucial tankers carrying fuel from the Dutch East Indies, but by then it was too late.

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See also

Antisubmarine Warfare; Germany, Navy; Italy, Navy; Japan, Navy; Signals Intelligence; *Wilhelm Gustloff*

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Convoys SC.122 and HX.229, Battle of (14–20 March 1943)

Largest North Atlantic convoy battle of World War II. March 1943 was the high-water mark of the German U-boat campaign against Allied convoys in the North Atlantic. Between 10 and 20 March, Allied signals intelligence suffered a temporary blackout in its operations against the German U-boat cipher Triton. At the same time, the German signals intelligence service was able to decipher the rerouting instructions for two eastbound convoys: SC.122 and HX.229.

The German U-boat command had an unprecedented concentration of U-boats in the North Atlantic at that time, and on 14 March, it set about forming three large packs from boats that had been operating against the convoys

SC.121 and HX.228. Groups Raubgraf (8 boats) and Stürmer (18 boats) were to operate against SC.122, and group Dränger (11 boats) was deployed against HX.229.

On 16 March, the first U-boat made contact with HX.229. Both convoys were sailing close to each other, and HX.229 was closing on the slower SC.122, which had already passed the Raubgraf patrol line undetected. The Raubgraf boats, as well as 11 boats of the Stürmer group, were thus deployed against HX.229 in the mistaken belief that it was SC.122. Inadequately defended by only 2 destroyers and 2 corvettes, HX.229 suffered a heavy mauling by the packs during the night of 16–17 March. The same night, U-boats of the Stürmer group made contact with SC.122. Realizing that the two convoys were about to merge, the German U-boat command committed the remainder of its 40 available U-boats within range to the battle. Throughout 17 March, long-range B-24 Liberator bombers from Iceland and SC.122 escorts with high-frequency direction-finding (HF/DF) equipment succeeded in fending off the contact-keeping boats. Only 1 U-boat managed to close for an attack, sinking 2 ships out of SC.122 on that day.

On 18 March, air cover provided by the Liberators of the Number 120 Squadron again prevented 21 of the 30 U-boats deployed against HX.229 from reaching the scene, and again, only 1 U-boat succeeded in closing for a daylight attack. A reinforcement of the surface escort group prevented serious losses during the night of 18–19 March, in which the U-boats claimed only 2 further ships before intensified air cover, now flying out of the British Isles, forced them to desist. Two U-boats were damaged and 1 was sunk before Grossadmiral (grand admiral) Karl Dönitz called off the operation on 20 March.

The tally of 21 Allied ships sunk, totaling 141,000 tons of shipping, as well as 1 destroyer lost during this largest convoy battle of the war was impressive, yet it was also deceptive. It had been achieved primarily because the sheer numbers of U-boats had saturated the convoy defenses. Nevertheless, only 16 of the 40 U-boats deployed against both convoys had actually been able to make contact, and owing to the diligence of the convoys' hard-pressed air and sea escorts, only 9 succeeded in torpedoing ships. Of the 39 U-boats that survived the battle, 16 subsequently required more than 40 days of maintenance due to damage sustained during the battle. Committing virtually all available North Atlantic boats to four convoys—SC.121, SC.122, HX.228, and HX.229—also meant that the other four eastbound North Atlantic convoys in March 1943 made their passage entirely unmolested.

Dirk Steffen

See also

Aircraft Carrier; Aircraft, Naval; Antisubmarine Warfare; Atlantic, Battle of the; Aviation, Naval; Convoys, Allied; Dönitz, Karl; Radar; Signals Intelligence; Wolf Pack

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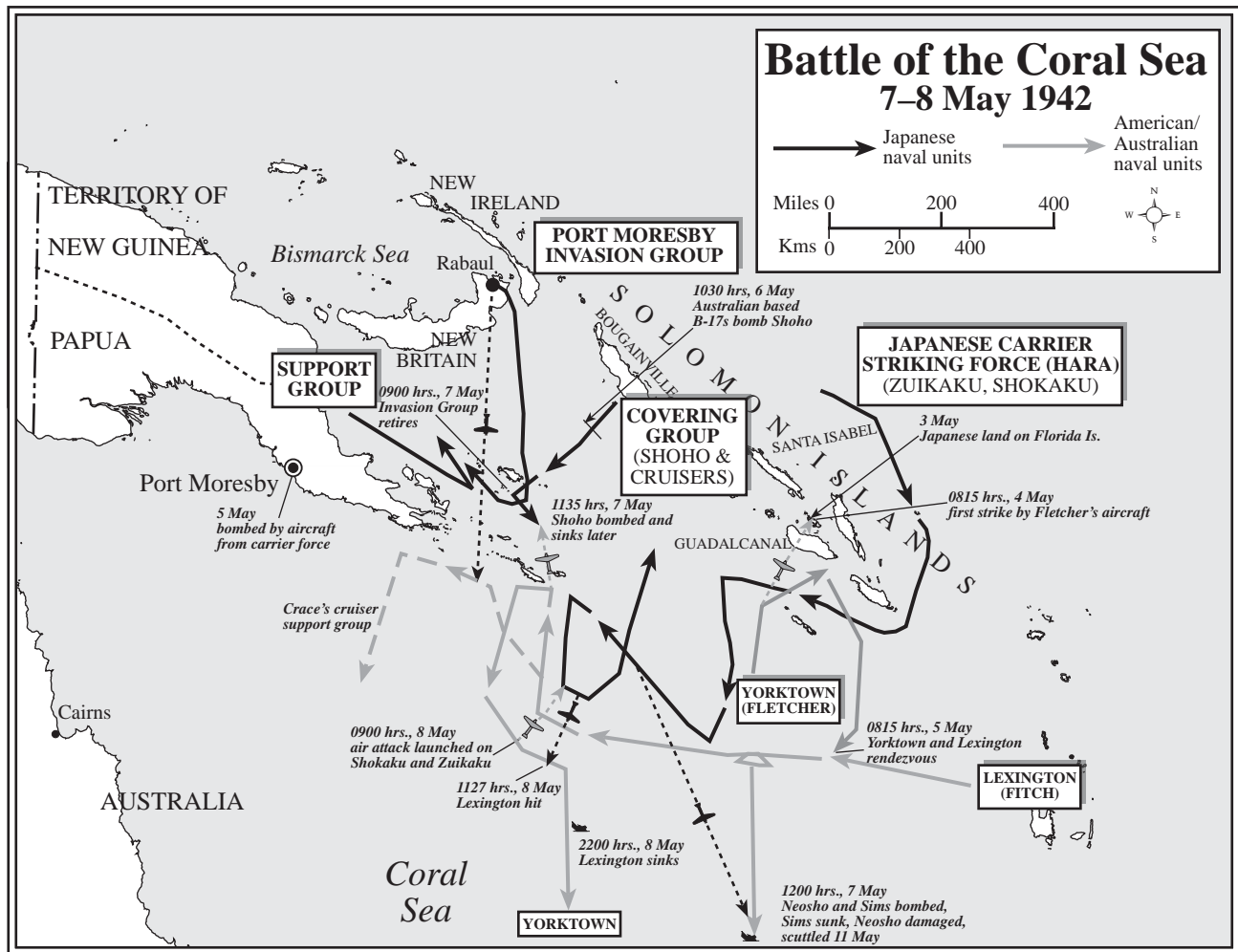
Coral Sea, Battle of the (7–8 May 1942)

World War II battle fought by U.S. Pacific Fleet and Japanese carrier forces as the United States attempted to prevent a Japanese landing at Port Moresby on New Guinea. The Battle of the Coral Sea was the first naval engagement in history in which two fleets fought without opposing surface ships making visual contact.

Following their successful attack on Pearl Harbor and early military triumphs, Japanese leaders were reluctant to continue with their original strategy of shifting to a defensive posture. They feared the adverse impact this might exert on their forces' fighting spirit and believed that it would work to Japan's disadvantage by allowing the Western powers time to regain their strength.

Japanese naval leaders in particular were anxious to occupy the Hawaiian Islands and Australia, the two chief points from which U.S. forces might mount offensive operations. U.S. carriers were operating out of Pearl Harbor, still the headquarters of the U.S. Pacific Fleet. If Japanese forces could take the Hawaiian Islands, it would be virtually impossible for the U.S. Navy to conduct long-range Pacific naval operations. Also, securing the islands to the north and east of Australia—the Solomons, New Caledonia, and Samoa—would enable the Japanese to establish bases to cut the Allied lifeline from the United States to Australia. Japanese long-range bombers would then be able to strike targets in Australia itself, preparatory to an invasion and occupation of that continent.

The Japanese army was not enthusiastic about either proposal. Most of its assets were tied down in China, and the Guandong (Kwantung) Army continued to garrison Manchuria. Invading Australia and occupying even the populated areas would require significant military resources that the army could not spare. The Army Ministry and General Staff in Tokyo therefore advocated holding the gains already achieved in the southern advance and shifting resources to China. The army formally vetoed the navy plan in early April 1942, but in effect, it was dead by the end of January. Japanese navy leaders hoped, however, that a



success either eastward toward Pearl Harbor or southwest toward Australia might overcome army opposition.

Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku and the Combined Fleet Staff favored taking Midway Island, 1,100 miles west of Pearl Harbor, as a preliminary step before invading Hawaii. Yamamoto expected this move would provoke a strong U.S. naval reaction, enabling him to set a trap for and destroy the U.S. aircraft carriers. The Japanese Naval Staff, however, preferred the southeasterly drive to isolate Australia. By the end of March, the Japanese had already advanced from Rabaul into the Solomon Islands and along the northern coast of New Guinea. The Japanese Imperial General Staff searched for a strategy to follow up their successes. Initially, the Naval General Staff favored assaulting Australia, fearing an Allied buildup there could lead to a counteroffensive against the Japanese defensive perimeter. The army rejected an Australian operation because of long distances, insufficient troops, and inadequate transportation. In January 1942, both agreed on a less demanding joint invasion of Lae and Salamaua in New Guinea; the seizure of Tulagi in the

Solomons; and the capture of the Australian base of Port Moresby in Papua, New Guinea.

On 8 March 1942, American carriers, sent to beleaguer the Japanese base at Rabaul northeast of New Guinea, interdicted Japanese landing operations at Lae and Salamaua on the Papuan peninsula of eastern New Guinea. Two carrier task forces, one built around the carrier *Lexington* under Vice Admiral Wilson E. Brown and Rear Admiral Frank Jack Fletcher's task force centered on the carrier *Yorktown*, sailed into the Gulf of Papua on the opposite side of the peninsula. Together, on the morning of 10 March, they sent 104 aircraft across the high Owen Stanley Mountains to emerge undetected and find Japanese ships discharging troops and supplies at the two villages. The attacking American aircraft sank three Japanese ships, including the converted light cruiser *Kongo Maru*, at a cost of only one plane and one aviator lost.

The action caught the Japanese operational commander, Vice Admiral Inouye Shigeyoshi, by surprise and convinced him that conquest of New Guinea would have to be postponed until he could secure fleet carriers for protection.

That opportunity came only after the return of the carriers from the Japanese raids into the Indian Ocean.

In early April 1942, the attention of the Imperial Naval General Staff was on southeast operations (seizure of strategic points in New Guinea, New Caledonia, the Fiji Islands, and Samoa) to isolate Australia. However, the April 1942 (Doolittle) raid on Tokyo refocused their attention on the destruction of the U.S. carriers and forced an earlier date for the Tulagi and Port Moresby operations, with the New Caledonia, Fiji, and Samoa operations to follow after Midway.

Admiral Inouye, commanding the Fourth Fleet and Operation MO, as it was designated, broke his forces into five groups: two invasion groups to land army and naval forces at Tulagi and Port Moresby; a support group to establish a seaplane base in the Louisiade Archipelago off New Guinea; a small covering group with the light carrier *Shoho*; and the main striking force of two fleet carriers, *Shokaku* and *Zuikaku*, plus escorts. This striking force, commanded by Vice Admiral Takagi Takeo, was to support both landings and protect the entire force from American carriers.

At Pearl Harbor, Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, determined from intercepts that the Japanese would probably attack Port Moresby on 3 May, and on 29 April, he ordered Rear Admiral Frank Jack Fletcher, commanding the *Yorktown* group, to operate in the vicinity of the Coral Sea beginning on 1 May. Rear Admiral Aubrey Fitch's *Lexington* group and the American-British-Dutch-Australian Command (ABDACOM) combined naval force of two Australian cruisers, the American heavy cruiser *Chicago*, and two U.S. destroyers under Rear Admiral John Crace, of the Royal Navy, were also placed under Fletcher's tactical command. The two carrier groups and Crace's force formed Task Force 17 (TF 17) when they rendezvoused on 1 May some 250 miles off the New Hebrides. While the *Lexington's* group refueled, Fletcher sailed the *Yorktown's* group north on 2 May to reconnoiter, having received reports of approaching Japanese naval forces.

On 3 May, the Japanese Tulagi invasion group began landing forces without opposition. Learning of the landings, Fletcher decided to strike Tulagi the next morning without



The Battle of the Coral Sea—fires rage on the U.S. Navy aircraft carrier *Lexington*. (Library of Congress)

waiting for the *Lexington* to join him. He sent his fleet oiler and its escorts to inform Fitch and Crace of his change of plans and to order them to join him 300 miles south of Guadalcanal on 5 May. The *Yorktown* then closed on Tulagi undetected on 4 May and launched three air strikes that met little resistance. Admiral Takagi's carrier striking force had been delayed and was nowhere near Tulagi. Inexperienced as they were, the American attackers were ineffective, only damaging a destroyer to the point that she had to beached and sinking three small minesweepers and four landing barges. They also shot up some grounded aircraft. However, even this small success was enough to send the rest of the Tulagi force steaming back to Rabaul.

Withdrawing southward, Fletcher rejoined Fitch and Crace as scheduled on 5 May. TF 17 then moved northwest, expecting to catch Japanese forces as they emerged from the Jomard Passage into the Coral Sea. Although sightings were made by both sides on 6 May, essentially ineffective reconnaissance led to little significant action by either.

Before dawn on 7 May, the opposing fleet carriers passed within 70 miles of each other. At dawn, both sides sent out search planes over the Coral Sea. The Japanese sighting of an American "carrier and cruiser" led to the sinking of the destroyer *Sims* and the severe mauling of the oiler *Neosho*. At about the same time, an American scout reported two Japanese carriers north of the Louisiades. After the *Lexington* and *Yorktown* launched their aircraft, Fletcher discovered that his forces had been sighted by a Japanese scout plane. The action prompted by the American sighting turned out to be a wild goose chase, but the *Lexington* and *Yorktown* pilots stumbled on the light carrier *Shoho* and sank her.

Early the next morning, the two carrier forces found each other. The American planes concentrated their attack on the fleet carrier *Shokaku* but hit her with just three bombs, causing only modest damage. The fleet carrier *Zuikaku* escaped attack by hiding in a rainsquall. The *Shokaku*'s damage was sufficient to prevent launch-and-recovery operations, and when the Americans withdrew, she turned north toward Japan.

Meanwhile, planes from the *Shokaku* and *Zuikaku* found the *Lexington* and *Yorktown*. Diving out of the sun, torpedo planes hit the *Lexington* twice on the port side, and dive-bombers scored two minor hits. The *Yorktown* was hit by only one bomb, which did no major damage. Confident they had sunk the *Saratoga*, the *Lexington*'s sister ship, and the *Yorktown*, the Japanese pilots withdrew. Neither ship sank, however, until gasoline vapors aboard the *Lexington* reignited fires that eventually became uncontrollable; as a result, she was abandoned, with Fletcher ordering her scuttled by torpedoes from a nearby destroyer.

Both sides hailed their achievements in the Coral Sea and scored themselves a win. Tactically, the Japanese came out ahead. The Americans were hurt most by the loss of the *Lex-*

ington, one of its largest carriers, whereas the Japanese lost only the light carrier *Shoho* and suffered severe damage to the large carrier *Shokaku*. However, though the Japanese scored a tactical win, the Americans had finally blunted a Japanese offensive thrust, preventing the occupation of Port Moresby and thus winning the strategic victory. In addition, significant losses in aircraft, aircrew, and repairs to the *Shokaku* prevented both Japanese carriers from taking part in the critical Battle of Midway a month later.

Arthur T. Frame

See also

Aircraft Carriers; Carrier Raids, U.S.; Doolittle, James Harold "Jimmy"; Fletcher, Frank Jack; Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Inouye Shigeyoshi; King, Ernest Joseph; Nimitz, Chester William; Tokyo, Bombing of (1942); Yamamoto Isoroku

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Corregidor, Battle of (April–May 1942)

Known officially as Fort Mills, Corregidor was the final bastion of U.S. and Filipino forces in the Philippines. The largest of the islands off the entrance to Manila Bay at 2.74 square miles, Corregidor is shaped like a tadpole. The island's chief installations included the post headquarters, a huge barracks, and coastal batteries. Contained within the tail of the island was a vast underground network known as Malinta Tunnel, which measured 1,400 feet in length and 30 feet in width, with 25 400-foot laterals branching from it. The tunnel was the administrative and operational heart of the island fortress. Kindley Airfield was situated on the extremity of the tail on the second-highest point of the island. The island also had batteries with an array of 18 12-inch and 10-inch coastal guns and 24 12-inch mortars, plus antiaircraft guns and machine-gun positions. Almost all of the armament on the island was obsolete in 1942, but as long as the troops on Corregidor held the island, they could effectively keep the Japanese fleet from using Manila Bay. This was the basic mission of the troops on Corregidor in War Plan Orange.



Surrender of American troops at Corregidor, Philippine Islands, May 1942. (Still Picture Records LICON, Special Media Archives Services Division (NWCS-S), National Archives)

On the departure of General Douglas MacArthur and his staff to Australia, Major General Jonathan M. Wainwright assumed command of these forces from 12 March 1942. The Japanese had bombed and shelled the island constantly since February, but they did so with growing intensity starting in April. For 27 days, from 9 April to 6 May, the Japanese daily increased the shelling. By 5 May, the beach

defenses had been destroyed, the huge seacoast guns had been silenced, and the anti-aircraft batteries had been reduced to scrap. All wire communication had been destroyed, and every attempt to restore it was in vain. Even the geography of Corregidor had changed; the island lay scorched, leafless, and covered in the dust of thousands of explosions.

By the beginning of May, the 9,400 men on Corregidor knew a Japanese attack was imminent. The island's defenders had sustained 600 casualties since 9 April, and those men who had not been injured were beginning to succumb to malnutrition and malaria. General Wainwright wrote on 4 May that there was only enough water to last for four days and that the fortress' power supply would only hold out for one week at most.

Late in the night of 5 May, the long-awaited Japanese attack began, following a particularly intense artillery bombardment directed against the tail end of the island. Shortly before 10:00 P.M., as Japanese landing craft steamed toward the eastern end of the island, an order went out for all able-bodied troops to resist the landing.

The fight for Corregidor lasted only 10 hours. Japanese troops cut across the island, then turned west toward Malinta Tunnel. Most of the fighting during the night and the early morning of 6 May took place at Battery Denver, on a ridge near the east entrance of the tunnel. U.S. troops, including coast artillerymen and a battalion of 500 sailors, fought bravely. At 8:00 A.M., after the Japanese had taken tanks and artillery ashore for a frontal assault, General Wainwright committed the last of his reserves on the island. The final blow to the defenders came when the Japanese sent three tanks into the action. The first sight of armor panicked the defenders and caused some to flee from the lines.

By 10:00 A.M., the situation was critical, with the defenders having no means of stopping the Japanese tanks. Already, 600 to 800 U.S. troops had been killed and another 1,000 wounded. Every reserve had been thrown into the battle, and the Japanese had destroyed all defensive artillery. The Japanese were planning to mount an attack on the other side of the island and would reach Malinta Tunnel, with its 1,000 wounded, in a few hours. Fearing a slaughter, Wainwright decided to surrender. By 12:00 noon on 6 May, all weaponry larger than .45 caliber had been destroyed; all codes, radio equipment, and classified materials had been burned; and the surrender message had been broadcast to the Japanese. The U.S. flag was lowered and burned, and a white flag was hoisted. Wainwright then communicated to President Franklin D. Roosevelt that he had made the decision to surrender. It had taken the Japanese five months to seize the island, instead of the two months they had originally estimated. U.S. forces retook Corregidor in February 1945.

Frank Slavín III

See also

Bataan, Battle of; MacArthur, Douglas; Philippines, Japanese Conquest of; Wainwright, Jonathan Mayhew

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Counterintelligence

Organized activities initiated to counter an opponent's intelligence operations. Counterintelligence operations may include blocking an enemy's sources of information, deceiving the enemy, and working to prevent enemy sabotage and the gathering of intelligence information.

When World War II began, electronic warfare had matured considerably since the end of World War I. In 1939, unlike in 1914, many nations had functioning cryptological departments, and virtually all nations during the war broke codes of the other side. Circumstances in 1939 varied widely, however. Great Britain, for example, had a solid organization, centered on the Government Code and Cypher School at Bletchley Park. Such operations played key roles in counterintelligence on both sides.

Communications technology did not solve all counterintelligence issues, as the British discovered soon after the fall of France in 1940 when an influx of refugees from the Continent began arriving on their shores. Before long, an average of 700 aliens were entering the country per month, and the Travel Section of MI-5 (Security Service) knew that each person needed to be interrogated so that spies could be identified before they could do much harm. A pedestrian approach was required. Near the Clapham Junction Railway Station was the empty Royal Victoria Patriotic School (RVPS), built to educate the children of Crimean War veterans. The students of RVPS and the nearby Emanuel School, an old and excellent London public school, had been evacuated to the country for the duration of the war. The RVPS, later known as the London Reception Center (LRC), became MI-5's principal interrogating facility. Some 33,000 aliens were inspected at LRC during the war, but only three enemy agents were passed through undetected. The agent at large for the longest period, from November 1940 to April 1941, was Dutch parachutist Engleburtus Fukken. He was found dead in a Cambridgeshire air-raid shelter, a suicide. In the early days, a proven German agent might be hanged at the RVPS, next to the faculty common room. Eventually, after 27 July 1940, those aliens held at the LRC were sent to Ham in west London for further study and interrogation. Under the command of Colonel R. W. G. "Tin Eye" Stephens, Camp 020 was the interrogation center of last resort. It should be remembered that 020 functioned in 1940 under fear of the planned German invasion of the British Isles, Operation SEA LION.

As the war progressed, more and more German agents arrived, not via the refugee route but by parachute or coastal



Lieutenant Commander Ewen Montagu, who proposed Operation MINCEMEAT. (Bettmann/Corbis)

landing at night from German small craft or even U-boats. On capture—and MI-5 was good at that—these persons could not claim to be refugees. Some did not wait for apprehension but turned themselves in and volunteered to work for the Allies. Under the chairmanship of Sir John Masterman, an Oxford don who had the distinction of spending all of World War I interned in Germany, the XX (Doublecross) Committee came into being to develop a deception plan to utilize these possible double agents. Composed of representatives of MI-5, MI-6 (Secret Intelligence Service), the Special Operations Executive (SOE), and other organizations, the committee set up a phony radio situation that fed doctored information mixed with some real facts back to German controllers. The ruse became more successful than most members of the XX Committee ever thought it would or could be.

The Germans were also active in counterintelligence operations, one of which worked specifically against SOE. ENGLANDSPIEL was a German operation set up in the Netherlands by Major Herman Giske of the Abwehr and Colonel Josef Schreide of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA, the Reich Main Security Office) to break up British espionage rings in Holland. The Abwehr, the military secret service under Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, contained many anti-Nazi elements. The RSHA, which was anything but anti-Nazi, was under Schutzstaffel (SS) chief Heinrich Himmler. The two organizations did not greatly appreciate each other. ENGLANDSPIEL worked something like the XX Committee in reverse. The Germans “turned” several SOE parachutists who then asked SOE to send monetary, material, and human assistance to the espionage rings in Holland. That

the British did. ENGLANDSPIEL lasted until two agents escaped from Haaren Prison and made their way to Switzerland; they then exposed the German operation. The operation had ended by the beginning of April 1944, but it had been quite successful. The British carried out 190 aircraft drops of people and equipment. Of 54 captured agents, 47 were executed. The Germans took 3,000 Sten guns, 5,000 revolvers, 2,000 hand grenades, 500,000 rounds of ammunition, 75 radio transmitters, and 500,000 Dutch guilders. ENGLANDSPIEL was probably the greatest Allied espionage defeat of World War II.

Mention must also be made of the Germans’ deception plan for Operation BARBAROSSA, their 22 June 1941 attack on the Soviet Union. For such a momentous military action, there was virtually no attempt at deception. The Abwehr and other organizations merely stated that the transfer of troops from west to east was (1) intended to aid Italy’s faltering campaign against the Greeks, and (2) a deception for British consumption designed to signal that Operation SEALION had been abandoned. Soviet leader Josef Stalin received as many as 100 warnings and ignored all of them, dismissing them as deliberate Allied disinformation.

The Western Allies also had a great success in Operation MINCEMEAT, their unique deception campaign preceding the Sicily landings in July 1943. This operation was developed to convince the Germans that the Greek islands and Sardinia were the next Allied targets after North Africa, instead of the more logical Sicily. Lieutenant Commander Ewen Montagu (1901–1985), British navy liaison to the XX Committee, proposed disguising a dead body as a British officer and floating it ashore in Spain, with appropriate evidence on the body. The corpse selected was that of a man (as yet unidentified) who had died of pneumonia, which produced symptoms similar to a death by drowning. The plan worked to perfection, causing the Germans to shift their assets to Greece and Sardinia. In 1953, Montagu revealed the whole saga in his book *The Man Who Never Was*, a best-seller later made into a successful motion picture.

The most significant Allied deception of the entire war was Operation FORTITUDE, which had two aspects. FORTITUDE NORTH was designed to convince Adolf Hitler that the Allies were planning to invade Norway from Scotland. FORTITUDE SOUTH was to convince Hitler that the main Allied invasion of France would come through the Pas de Calais area. By October 1943, the Germans had seriously begun to strengthen their West Wall defenses, and the Pas de Calais was the shortest route across the English Channel. The Allies wanted as many German divisions as possible around the Pas de Calais and in Norway, to be kept there as long as possible so that they themselves might consolidate their lodgment in Normandy. The Allies therefore created a fictitious army and “stationed” it in southeastern England. Identified as

the 1st Army Group (FUSAG), it was equipped with every material object Shepperton Movie Studios could devise, including inflatable rubber tanks, trucks, artillery, and landing craft, all suitably camouflaged. Movie-type sets abounded, and an oil storage facility and large dock were built near Dover. As the crowning touch, U.S. Lieutenant General George S. Patton, whom the Germans expected to command any Allied invasion of the Continent, was placed in command.

Although the primary emphasis on the bogus performances was the Pas de Calais, Norway got its share of the focus as well. The British Fourth Army, commanded by General Sir Andrew Thorne, was a force of 350,000 fictitious soldiers “assembled” in Scotland. It, too, had the false rubber and cardboard creations that characterized the operation in the south. The British increased aerial reconnaissance of the Norwegian coast, released portions of the Grand Fleet from Scapa Flow for a cruise along the Norwegian coast, and made electric plaintext and coded inquiries about bridges and snow levels in Norway. FORTITUDE NORTH ultimately tied down some 400,000 German troops.

German controllers contacted their spies in Britain, not realizing that all were under XX Committee control. The Germans naturally wanted their agents to ferret out any information available about the expected invasion of the Continent. Their two best people—Dusko Popov, code-named TRICYCLE, and Juan Pujol, code-named GARBO—had been under XX Committee control for some time, and they simply substantiated, if not enhanced, the deception. GARBO’s material was directly accessed by Hitler’s personal intelligence staff, and the agent actually received medals from both sides during the war.

Meanwhile, the SOE and its U.S. counterpart, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), as well as French partisans scheduled various tasks for D day: a bridge blowing, railway cuttings, pylon and wire destruction, and more. The deception plan worked out better than expected. Hitler held German units in place along the Pas de Calais. Indeed, some were still there a month after the Normandy landings.

Ernest M. Teagarden

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Bletchley Park; Camouflage; Canaris, Wilhelm Franz; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Coral Sea, Battle of the; Deception; Electronic Intelligence; Enigma Machine; FORTITUDE, North and South, Operations; Himmler, Heinrich; Jiang Jieshi; MANHATTAN Project; Maquis; Midway, Battle of; MINCEMEAT, Operation; Nimitz, Chester William; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Office of Strategic Services; OVERLORD, Operation; Partisans/Guerrillas; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; SEA LION, Operation; Signals Intelligence; Special Operations Executive; Stalin, Josef; Stimson, Henry Lewis; Turing, Alan Mathison; Yamamoto Isoroku

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Crerar, Henry Duncan Graham (1888–1965)

Canadian general and commander of the First Canadian Army in northwest Europe between 1944 and 1945. Born on 28 April 1888, at Hamilton, Ontario, Henry Crerar served with distinction in the artillery during World War I, ending the war as counterbattery staff officer for the Canadian Corps. During the interwar years, he remained in the small Permanent Force (regular army), primarily in staff appointments, and attended both the British Staff College (1923–1924) and Imperial Defence College (1934–1935).

A brigadier at the war’s outset, Crerar was promoted to major general in January 1940 and appointed chief of the Canadian General Staff six months later. In that capacity, he played a central role in dispatching two ill-trained Canadian battalions to Hong Kong—and Japanese captivity—in 1941, but he also built up a solid training establishment. Crerar, promoted to lieutenant general in November 1941, was ambitious, ruthless, and jealous of rivals. Posted overseas to command I Canadian Corps that year, he spent much of his time intriguing against Lieutenant General Andrew McNaughton and had a major role in planning the disastrous Dieppe raid. He subsequently commanded I Canadian Corps in Italy from November 1943 until he was recalled to England in March 1944 to lead the First Canadian Army in the Normandy Invasion. With that appointment, Harry Crerar had reached the pinnacle for a Canadian officer.

Although historians have acknowledged his obvious administrative abilities, the excessively cautious and uninspiring Crerar was, at best, a pedestrian field commander. Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery, under whose command he served in the campaign in northwest Europe, had little confidence in him. His bitter rivalry with the abler Lieutenant General Guy Simonds was unjustified on any military grounds, and there is little doubt, for this and other reasons, that the latter would have replaced him had the war



The commanders of British & Canadian forces in France, Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery and Lieutenant General Henry Crerar (right), plan strategy. (Corbis)

continued much longer. Operation VERITABLE, the assault on the Reichswald region in Germany in February 1945, was Crerar's battlefield masterpiece, characterized by thorough preparation and the accumulation of vast resources.

Crerar deserves much credit for effectively representing Canadian interests in Allied councils and for building an overseas headquarters. He retired from the army in 1946 and died in Ottawa on 1 April 1965.

Patrick H. Brennan

See also

Canada, Army; Dieppe Raid; Falaise-Argentan Pocket; Hong Kong, Battle of; McNaughton, Andrew George Latta; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Rhineland Offensive; Simonds, Guy Granville

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Crete, Battle of (May 1941)

Largest airborne assault of the war up to May 1941. This German victory, however, also marked the end of major German airborne operations. Between 20 and 26 April 1941, British forces evacuated Greece. Crete had become a vital British base for logistical use, and many of the troops evacuated from Greece were landed there.

This fact alone would have made the island a target for the Germans, but there were other good reasons for a German assault. Crete was a key to the Aegean Sea. It could be used as an air base for attacking British positions in North Africa and for protecting Axis Mediterranean shipping, especially oil supplies. It might even become a stepping stone on the route to the Suez Canal. More important, Adolf Hitler saw its capture as necessary to secure his vital southern flank against air attack (especially on the oil fields of Ploesti) before he launched Operation BARBAROSSA, the invasion of the Soviet Union.



Lord Louis Mountbatten waves to the crews of the remaining ships of the fifth flotilla from the bridge of the *Kipling* as she enters Alexandra Harbor the day after the Battle of Crete. (Hulton Archive by Getty Images)

British Major General Bernard Freyberg commanded the British corps on Crete, centered on the 2nd New Zealand Division. The Allied garrison numbered some 27,550 men and was, in fact, a mixed group of British, Australian, New Zealander, and Greek forces. Most had only recently arrived, and the defenders were hardly a cohesive force. Equipment—even basic weaponry—was in short supply. Air support was provided by several dozen aircraft only. Unlike the Germans, the British did not have air bases within fighter range of the island, which left the Luftwaffe free to operate virtually unopposed, especially since the defenders had few anti-aircraft guns.

The German plan for the invasion, code-named Operation MERKUR (MERCURY), centered on parachute drops on the three main airfields of Máleme, Hēráklion, and Rétimo. The Germans planned to hold these and local beaches, especially Suda Bay, until reinforced. Freyberg had been alerted by ULTRA intercepts as to the German invasion plans, and he established defensive positions at these obvious targets, but lack of transport meant his divided forces could not provide

support for one another. The ULTRA information also worked against the defenders, as Freyberg did not know that the naval assault was only a small one, easily turned back by the Royal Navy, and he therefore allocated considerable assets to protect against that threat—assets that would have been used to far better purpose to defend the vital airfields.

On 20 May 1941, the Germans launched MERKUR. The operation ultimately involved some 22,000 soldiers—paratroops and mountain forces—and was supported by more than 500 combat aircraft, 700 transport planes, and 80 gliders. The Royal Navy halted the seaborne invasion. Airborne forces at Rétimo were crushed by the few tanks available to the British, and the landings at Hēráklion were also defeated. The key to the battle, however, proved to be at Máleme and nearby Canea and Suda.

Luftwaffe bombing at Máleme was particularly effective, and the attackers arrived before the defenders had regained their equilibrium. The British were also surprised by the use of gliders, which landed significant numbers of troops. The fight-

ing was desperate and in some doubt for a time, but the Germans were able to bring in just enough resources to beat off the British counterattacks; the Luftwaffe then ferried in additional supplies to the German troops. Suda Bay became untenable for the British, and the Germans began to land reinforcements. On 24 May, Freyberg informed London that German seaborne landings could not be stopped without completely unacceptable naval losses that would put the entire eastern Mediterranean at risk. Three days later, with the Germans expanding their area of control and Italian troops landing at Sitia on the eastern end of the island, the British ordered an evacuation.

The Royal Navy was able to evacuate almost 18,000 men, at a cost of 2,011 casualties. In naval operations around Crete, however, the Royal Navy lost three cruisers and six destroyers and had a number of additional ships significantly damaged, including an aircraft carrier. Allied personnel losses were 1,742 dead, 2,225 wounded, and 11,370 captured. The Germans won a victory but at high cost. They lost 220 aircraft and had another 150 damaged, and their casualties totaled some 6,700 (3,300 dead), although certain British sources reported much higher totals.

The German attack on Crete was audacious and innovative. Hitler, however, refused pleas by Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) Kurt Student that the airborne forces next assault Malta; indeed, he removed Student from command of operations on Crete during the battle. In effect, the Battle of Crete was Germany's last real airborne operation of the war, for the German forces that participated were used as elite infantry thereafter. Ironically, the Allies then embraced paratroop operations.

Fred R. van Hartesveldt

See also

Airborne Forces, Axis; BARBAROSSA, Operation; Crete, Naval Operations off; Freyberg, Bernard Cyril; Löhr, Alexander; Parachute Infantry; Student, Kurt

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was defeated and subsequently evacuated from Greece between 24 and 30 April 1941, many of these troops were then relocated to the Greek island of Crete. Adolf Hitler's decision to send forces to conquer the island in order to shore up his southern flank prior to invading the Soviet Union led to an epic confrontation between airpower and seapower.

Allied radio intercepts and ULTRA intelligence revealed the broad outlines of the German plan, which consisted of airborne assaults and a sea invasion. They did not reveal the relative strength of these attacks, however. Particularly serious for the British forces was the lack of air assets. By 18 May, German air attacks on Crete had left the defenders with only a dozen aircraft, and Britain's one aircraft carrier, the *Formidable*, began the battle with only four serviceable planes. While patrolling the island to prevent a German seaborne landing, Royal Navy sailors, exhausted from their role in the evacuation from Greece, were exposed to the full weight of the Luftwaffe's 700 combat aircraft operating from bases in Greece, as well as occasional Italian air strikes.

The German assault on Crete, Operation MERKUR (MERCURY) began on 20 May. German air superiority forced the Royal Navy's warships to retire south of Crete during the day, and the defenders rarely managed to put more than a dozen planes in the air at any one time. Long-range bombing of the Luftwaffe's bases in Greece by British aircraft based in Malta and Egypt failed to affect German air operations in any material way.

On the night of 21–22 May, British warships intercepted two lightly escorted troop convoys, each composed of 20 small, overloaded coastal vessels packed with troops and escorted by a single Italian torpedo boat. In one-sided engagements, British cruisers and destroyers sank 10 ships in one convoy and 2 in the other. Only the British squadron's need to retire south before daybreak to protect it from Axis air attack saved the second convoy from total destruction. The surviving ships of both convoys returned to Greece. Some 400 German soldiers were lost in this effort, and Germany thereafter relied entirely on air supply and reinforcement in its invasion.

Despite the best efforts of the Royal Navy and the defenders on the ground, it became impossible to defend the island once German troops had captured Málème Airfield. On 26 May, with the situation hopeless, island commander Major General Bernard Freyberg ordered an evacuation. Once again, the Royal Navy rushed to rescue Commonwealth and Allied soldiers (wags said that BEF stood for "Back Every Fortnight").

The long distances involved and the Luftwaffe's complete control of the air made the evacuation particularly difficult, but the British commander in the Mediterranean, Admiral Andrew B. Cunningham, ordered his ships to continue the

Crete, Naval Operations Off (21 May–1 June 1941)

British naval activity first to defend and then to evacuate the island of Crete. After the British Expeditionary Force (BEF)

evacuation regardless of cost. Despite constant German air attack, they managed to evacuate almost 18,000 of Crete's 32,000 defenders, but the Royal Navy suffered very high losses itself in the process. In the weeklong operation, German air attacks sank three cruisers, six destroyers, and several smaller vessels and inflicted serious damage on the *Formidable*, the battleships *Barham* and *Warspite*, three cruisers, and numerous other warships. Few British warships escaped without damage, and some 2,000 British sailors died, along with a similar number of evacuated soldiers. In the course of the fight, many ships completely exhausted their antiaircraft ammunition. The Luftwaffe lost only a few dozen aircraft.

Stephen K. Stein

See also

Crete, Battle of; Cunningham, Sir Andrew Browne; Freyberg, Bernard Cyril; Great Britain, Navy; Hitler, Adolf

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Crimea Campaign (April–May 1944)

Two-month campaign in April and May 1944 that resulted in the Soviet liberation of the Crimean Peninsula, an area that dominates the northern Black Sea and is connected with Ukraine by the 4-mile-wide Perekop isthmus. As Soviet operations around Kursk drew to an end, Generals of the Army Fedor I. Tolbukhin and Rodion Malinovsky received instructions to prepare an offensive for mid-August 1943 to clear the Donets Basin region of German troops.

By the winter of 1943, German Army Groups South and A (together numbering 93 divisions) still held a line along the Dnieper River. The German Seventeenth Army held the Crimea but had been isolated from other Wehrmacht units north of it since October. The isolation of the Seventeenth Army was accomplished by Major General Nikolai I. Trufarov as commander of the Soviet Fifty-First Army of Tolbukhin's 4th Ukrainian Front, which was at Perekop and along the Sivash, and General of the Army Andrei Yeremenko's Independent Coastal Army in Kerch. Indeed, the plight of German forces in the south was such that Army Groups South and A had to be reformed. On 5 April 1944, they were redesignated as Army Groups North Ukraine and South Ukraine, respectively.

Malinovsky's 3rd Ukrainian Front recaptured Nikolaiev on 28 March and then drove toward Odessa, which it retook on 10 April. Meanwhile, on 22 March, Romanian dictator General Ion Antonescu had flown to Berlin in an effort to persuade Adolf Hitler to allow his Romanian forces to withdraw from the Crimea. As might have been expected, the mission was futile. Hitler was determined to hold the Crimea, for in Soviet hands, it would serve as a base from which Soviet aircraft could attack the Romanian oil fields at Ploesti.

Tolbukhin's 4th Ukrainian Front was assigned the task of destroying Colonel General Erwin Jänecke's Seventeenth Army, a mixed force of 11 German and Romanian divisions, totaling some 150,000 men. In March, Tolbukhin had been summoned to meet with Soviet dictator Josef Stalin and the chief of the General Staff, Marshal Aleksandr Vasilevsky, to discuss the plan. The Crimean operation would involve the 4th Ukrainian Front, the Independent Coastal Army, the Azov Flotilla, and the Black Sea Fleet. Tolbukhin would attack across the Perekop isthmus and through the Sivash lagoon using Lieutenant General Georgii F. Zakharov's Second Guards Army and Lieutenant General Iakov G. Kreizer's Fifty-First Army. Follow-up attacks would target Simferopol and Sevastopol. Simultaneously, General Yeremenko would establish a bridgehead on the Kerch Peninsula and block the German escape route as well as German attempts to reinforce against Tolbukhin. Colonel General T. T. Khryukin's Eighth Air Army would support Tolbukhin, and Colonel General Konstantin A. Vershinin's Fourth Air Army would back Yeremenko. In all, the operation would involve 450,000 Soviet personnel.

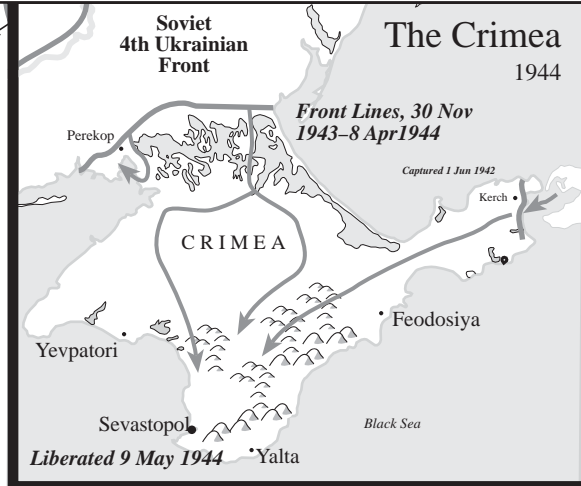
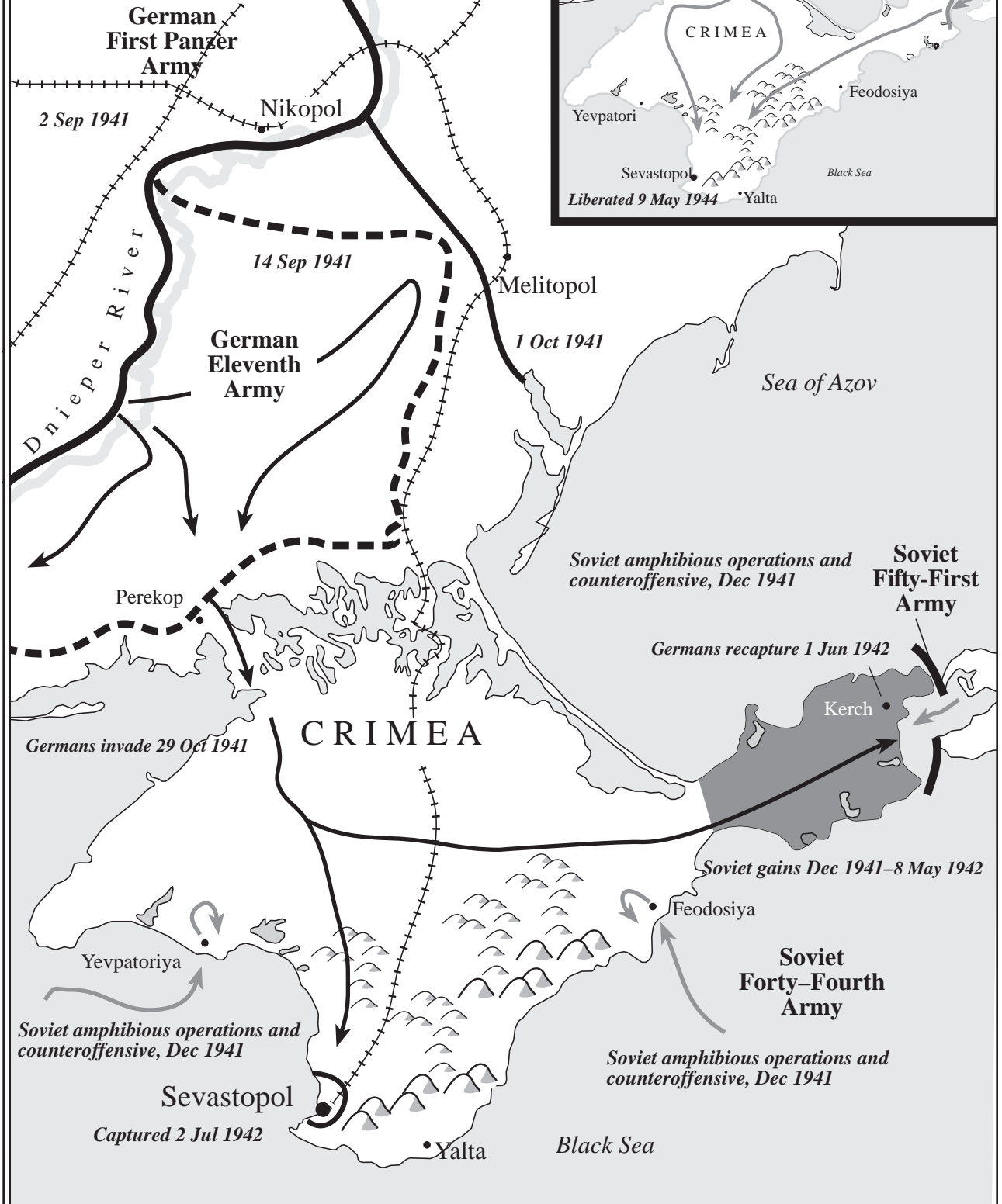
On 8 April, Tolbukhin's artillery opened the attack at Perekop, followed by an artillery barrage at Sivash. Soviet engineers, working waist-deep in icy water, constructed a pontoon bridge. The next day, Yeremenko attacked from Kerch. On 11 April, Soviet forces reached the railroad junction at Dzhankoy, behind the Perekop isthmus.

On 12 April, Jänecke ordered his divisions to retreat toward Sevastopol from two prepared lines of defense stretching some 20 miles. This step occurred without Hitler's formal approval. Jänecke's forces reached Sevastopol in surprisingly good order, and he hoped to hold there until his forces could be evacuated by sea. By 13 April, Tolbukhin's troops had captured Simferopol, and Yeremenko had secured Feodosia and Yalta.

In the meantime, from 18 April, the Soviets built up their forces and artillery in preparation to storm the fortress defenses of Sevastopol, which stretched some 25 miles. These preparations were completed by 5 May, the starting date of the final battle to liberate the Crimea. At the end of April, Hitler had decided that Sevastopol had to be held, but its defenses were much weaker than they had been in 1941 when the Germans had attacked there. Also, Jänecke had only five weak divisions and little equipment. Because of

The Crimea

1941-1942



Germans invade 29 Oct 1941

Soviet amphibious operations and counteroffensive, Dec 1941

Sevastopol
Captured 2 Jul 1942

Soviet amphibious operations and counteroffensive, Dec 1941

Germans recapture 1 Jun 1942

Soviet gains Dec 1941-8 May 1942

Soviet amphibious operations and counteroffensive, Dec 1941

Soviet
Forty-Fourth
Army

Soviet
Fifty-First
Army

Black Sea

Sea of Azov

CRIMEA

CRIMEA

The Crimea
1944



Soviets troops in the fight for Sevastopol, May 1944. (Yevgeny Khaldei/Corbis)

Jänecke's repeated requests that his forces be evacuated, Hitler replaced him on 2 May with General der Infanterie (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) Karl Allmendinger.

On 5 May, the Soviet Second Guards Army attacked from north of Sevastopol via the Belbel Valley. This attack was, however, diversionary; the main Soviet attack occurred on 7 May, pitting the Fifty-First Army and the Independent Coastal Army against Sapun Ridge separating Sevastopol from the Inkerman Valley. Soviet forces broke through the German lines, forcing the defenders from the old English cemetery. The Germans then retreated to the Chersonese subpeninsula.

Only on 9 May, with both the city and harbor in Soviet hands, did Hitler authorize an evacuation. The remnants of the German-Romanian force attempted to hold a dock at Kherson. However, any German hopes for a final evacuation by sea were dashed by Soviet air and naval operations. Consequently, on 13 May, the remaining Axis troops surrendered to the Red Army. Soviet authorities put total German losses in the Crimea Campaign at 50,000 killed (most all of them Germans) and 61,000 taken prisoner (30,000 of them at Chersonese). The Germans admitted to having 60,000 men lost; regardless, another German army had been destroyed.

Neville Panthaki

See also

Amphibious Warfare; Antonescu, Ion; Hitler, Adolf; Malinovsky, Rodion Yakovlevich; Ploesti, Raids on; Sevastopol, Battle for; Stalin, Josef; Vasilevsky, Aleksandr Mikhailovich; Yermenko, Andrei Ivanovich

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Cruisers

Class of warships that in the World War II era possessed moderate armor and armament and were capable of high speed. These vessels were the successors of the eighteenth-century frigates in the age of sail. Frigates were primarily employed as reconnaissance ships for the main battle fleet. They also served in commerce protection, commerce raiding, surface combat against enemy vessels of similar strength, and blockades. Technological innovations in the mid-nineteenth century, such as steam power and iron

armor, led to the development of the first modern cruiser, the U.S. Navy's *Wampanoag*, commissioned in 1867. By World War I, the major naval powers of the world had produced six different types of cruisers, charged with the tasks formerly assigned to frigates. They also were given a new task that resulted from technological change—protecting the capital ships of the fleet from torpedo attack. These warships were primarily armored cruisers, protected cruisers, light cruisers, and scouts. Also in production was the battle cruiser—a warship that incorporated battleship armament on a cruiser-sized hull and was capable of high speed. This vessel, however, was viewed largely as a capital ship rather than a cruiser. The final type was the armed merchant cruiser, a civilian-owned merchant ship or passenger liner converted to carry weapons in time of war.

In the years immediately following World War I, most of the armored, protected, and scout cruisers were considered obsolete and scrapped. The major maritime powers, primarily Great Britain, also largely discarded battle cruisers because their light armor did not adequately protect them against heavily armed enemy warships. Britain kept three (the *Hood*, *Renown*, and *Repulse*; the *Tiger* was discarded in 1930), whereas Japan had four *Kongo*-class ships.

The interwar years produced many of the cruisers that participated in World War II. Military and diplomatic developments directly affected their design, although technologically, they were almost the same as those of World War I. Many naval officials viewed the continued construction of cruisers as a dubious endeavor, partly because of the increasing ability of aircraft to perform reconnaissance, the primary duty of cruisers up to that time. Construction, however, did not diminish, as the major maritime powers still desired a warship that was capable of protecting trade routes and providing support for amphibious operations—a relatively new role that had surfaced in World War I. These vessels also proliferated as part of a new, worldwide naval arms race.

Following World War I, the great powers attempted through international agreements to prevent an arms race in warships, which many politicians believed had been a factor in the tensions that had led to war. The resulting 1922 Washington Naval Conference produced the situation that diplomats had sought to avoid when it placed restrictions on the tonnage of cruisers but not on the numbers allowed to each naval power. The nations that signed the 1922 agreement tried to correct this problem at the 1930 London Conference, which separated cruisers into two basic types: those mounting 8-inch guns and those with 6-inch or smaller guns. Building ratios between the signatory powers based on total tonnage of cruisers restricted the numbers of each type, and a clause from the Washington Treaty, stating that no warship could displace more than 10,000 tons or carry

guns larger than 8 inches, governed their size. Even so, cruisers continued to be the largest surface warships built, as restrictions on battleship construction that had been set out at the Washington Naval Conference remained in place.

The 8-inch-gunned cruisers, known as “heavy cruisers,” were built primarily in the years before the 1930 London Conference because most of the world's major maritime powers had already built up to the tonnage limit set for these ships by the Washington agreement. Although the United States and France managed to produce some vessels that were well-balanced designs, the majority were generally unsatisfactory, as armor was sacrificed in order to meet the 10,000-ton restriction of the Washington Treaty. An example of this imbalance was the American heavy cruiser *Portland*. This vessel measured 610' × 66', displaced 10,258 tons, and mounted a primary armament of 9 × 8-inch guns. She had a maximum speed of 32.5 knots, but the ship's armor protection consisted of a belt only 2.5 inches thick and an armored deck that was 2.5 inches deep. This armor was generally effective only against opposing destroyers armed with 5-inch guns. Larger shells could easily penetrate the protection.

Japan and Italy, each of which had signed one or both of the treaties, built heavy cruisers that solved this problem of protection through subverting the terms of the agreements. Germany, which was restricted by the Treaty of Versailles, also built heavy cruisers that violated its agreement: the heavy cruisers of the Prinz Eugen-class and the more powerful Deutschland-class. The latter class of ships mounted 6 × 11-inch guns and displaced 11,700 tons, in contravention of the 10,000-ton limit set out in the treaty.

The naval powers also produced large numbers of 6-inch-gunned, light cruisers, particularly after the 1930 London Conference as each built up to the construction limit for the type. Many of these vessels also suffered from inadequate armor protection as a result of the restrictions of the naval treaties. An example was the British light cruiser *Arethusa*, which measured 506' × 51' and displaced 5,270 tons. She mounted 6 × 6-inch guns and was protected primarily by an armored belt with a maximum thickness of 3 inches that only covered her machinery and ammunition spaces.

These vessels were charged with the same duties as the cruisers of the World War I era, with the notable exception of reconnaissance, as airplanes now fulfilled that role. For the cruisers, reconnaissance duty was replaced by a new task, resulting from the threat posed by airplanes to surface warships. Most interwar cruisers, particularly light cruisers, were built with large batteries of antiaircraft guns to protect battleships and aircraft carriers against enemy aerial attack. Some light cruiser designs were also purpose-built for this specific role. In 1937, Great Britain built the first units of the *Dido*-class, which became known as antiaircraft cruisers.



The HMS *Cumberland*, a British heavy cruiser. (Corbis)

These vessels mounted 10×5.25 -inch guns in dual-purpose turrets that could either be trained on surface targets or elevated to an extreme angle for use against aircraft.

By the beginning of 1940, four months after the start of World War II, interwar cruiser construction, in combination with some battle cruisers retained from World War I, had created a large world cruiser force. Great Britain maintained 3 battle cruisers, 18 heavy cruisers, and 50 light cruisers; the United States had 18 heavy and 19 light cruisers; Japan operated 4 battle cruisers (by then rebuilt and reclassified as battleships), 28 heavy cruisers, and 38 light cruisers; Italy had 7 heavy cruisers and 12 light cruisers; France maintained 2 battle cruisers, 10 heavy cruisers, and 7 light cruisers; Germany operated 2 battle cruisers, 6 heavy cruisers, and 6 light cruisers; and the Soviet Union possessed 9 light cruisers. These numbers were augmented by wartime construction.

Cruisers in World War II fulfilled all of the roles that naval officials in the interwar years believed to be important. These ships were particularly valuable on the outbreak of the war in Europe in September 1939. The German navy, being much smaller than it had been in World War I, was not powerful enough to face the British Royal Navy in open combat. As a result, it was given the task of waging a com-

merce war on Great Britain's overseas trade routes in an effort to deny that country war materials and supplies. British cruisers were consequently used to protect against these raiders. This situation resulted in the 13 December 1939 Battle of Río de la Plata (River Plate), the first naval engagement between German and Allied warships in the conflict. The battle pitted the German pocket battleship *Admiral Graf Spee* against one British heavy cruiser and two light cruisers. As a result of the encounter, the German vessel retreated to Montevideo, Uruguay, where its commander scuttled his ship rather than renew battle. British cruisers also served in the 1941 hunt for the German battleship *Bismarck* and heavy cruiser *Prinz Eugen*, which had been dispatched into the Atlantic to prey on shipping. Although commerce warfare by surface warships declined somewhat after the sinking of the *Bismarck* due to Adolf Hitler's loss of confidence in the navy, British cruisers continued to guard merchant convoys in the Atlantic Ocean against the occasional sortie of German warships.

In June 1940, with Italy's entry into the war, this duty expanded to the Mediterranean. British cruisers guarded against Italian cruisers attempting to disrupt supply lines that led through the Mediterranean Sea to the British home

islands. Allied cruisers also performed commerce protection duties in the Arctic Ocean following Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941. Armed merchant cruisers on the Allied side were involved in blockade duty as well from the opening days of the war in the Atlantic. However, this effort was not very effective because after occupying Norway and France in 1940, the Germans had access to goods beyond those from the Soviet Union.

Cruisers also provided gunfire support for amphibious invasions not only in the Atlantic, Mediterranean, and Arctic Theaters but also in the Pacific Ocean, following the U.S. entry into the war in December 1941. Germany employed cruisers in the 1940 invasion of Norway, and the Allies utilized them during the 1942 amphibious assault in North Africa and the invasions of Sicily and Italy in 1943. They were also used to bombard and to direct fire during the 1944 invasion of Normandy, France, in Operation OVERLORD. The role of cruisers in supporting amphibious invasions proved particularly important in the Pacific, where mostly American cruisers bombarded Japanese island possessions in preparation for the landing of amphibious forces.

Arguably the greatest use of cruisers in the Pacific Theater was in their new role as antiaircraft protection for battleships and aircraft carriers. Throughout the conflict, cruisers received upgrades to their antiaircraft weaponry, as a response to the extreme threat of air attack. New anti-aircraft light cruisers augmented this force. Allied cruisers provided vital cover in operations across the Pacific Theater: in the 1945 battle for Okinawa, for instance, cruisers formed part of the defensive screen to prevent Japanese suicide aircraft, known as kamikazes, from crashing into Allied ships.

The valuable duties performed by cruisers in World War II resulted in a heavy toll of ships sunk. Japan lost 39 light and heavy cruisers. Great Britain had 27 vessels sunk, and Italy and the United States lost 13 and 12, respectively. France lost 10 cruisers, the majority scuttled in order to prevent their capture by the Germans following the surrender of France in 1940. And the Germans lost 7 cruisers, the majority of these sunk early in the war in commerce raiding or during the invasion of Norway.

Eric W. Osborne

See also

Atlantic, Battle of the; Battle Cruisers; *Bismarck*, Sortie and Sinking of; Caroline Islands Campaign; Central Pacific Campaign; Destroyers; Gilbert Islands Campaign; Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; *Indianapolis*, U.S. Cruiser, Sinking of; Kamikaze; Leyte, Landings on and Capture of; Mariana Islands, Naval Campaign; Marshall Islands, Naval Campaign; Narvik, Naval Battles of; North Cape, Battle of; OVERLORD, Operation; Plata, Río de la, Battle of; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign; Southeast Pacific Theater; Southwest Pacific Theater

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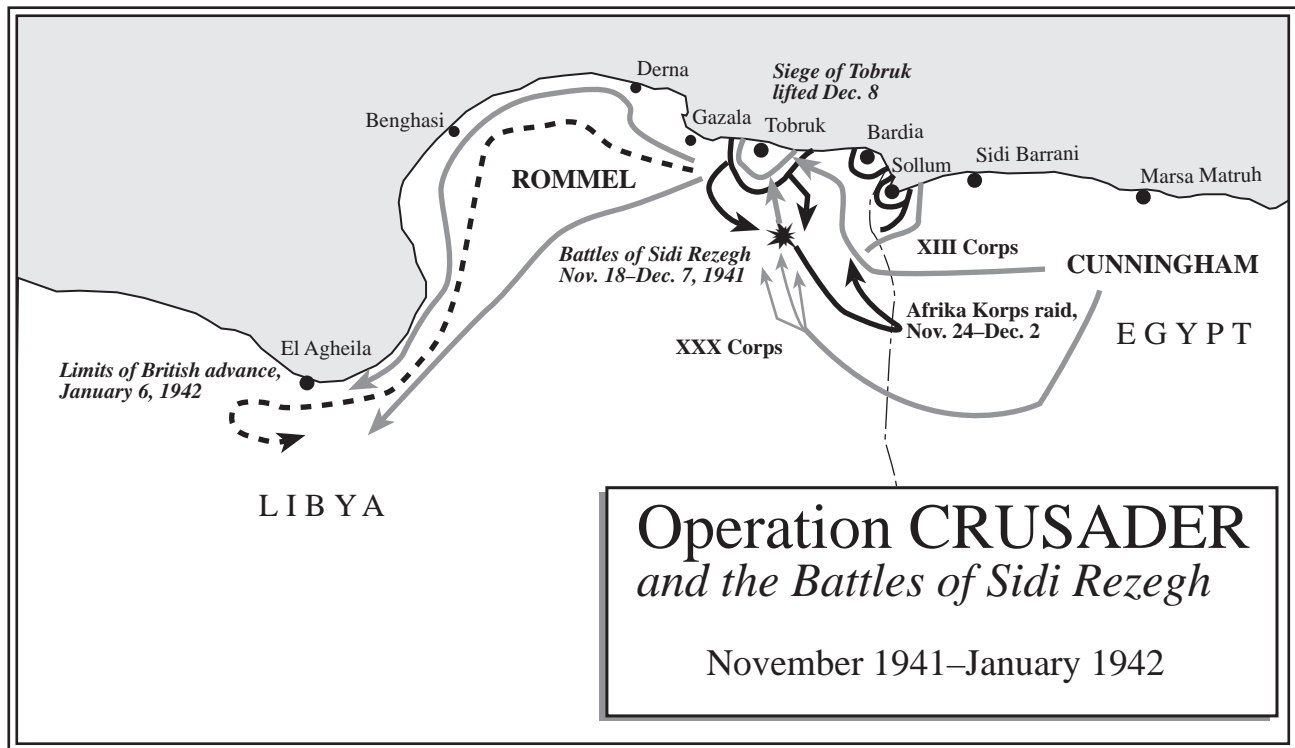
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CRUSADER, Operation (18 November–30 December 1941)

The failure of Operations BREVITY and BATTLEAXE, the British efforts in Libya during the summer of 1941 to relieve the siege of Tobruk, spurred British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill's determination to gain a decisive victory over General Erwin Rommel in North Africa. Disregarding advice to improve the defense of the Far East, particularly the British garrison in Singapore, Churchill rushed reinforcements to Egypt.

By November 1941, Lieutenant General Alan Cunningham's Eighth Army was significantly stronger than Rommel's Panzer Gruppe Afrika in every category. It had more than 700 tanks plus 500 in reserve and in shipment, as compared with Rommel's 174 German and 146 obsolete Italian tanks; it also had almost 700 aircraft, against 120 German and 200 Italian aircraft on Rommel's side. Moreover, Rommel had not received any German reinforcements, and the Italian infantry divisions that had been transferred to Africa lacked any inherent transport of their own, which seriously restricted their movement in desert conditions. Rommel had, however, received large numbers of 50 mm antitank guns, which significantly improved his antitank capability. He had carefully husbanded all his supplies and planned to launch another offensive to capture Tobruk, but he was preempted by General Claude Auchinleck, commander in chief for the Middle East, who launched Operation CRUSADER on 18 November.

Auchinleck planned for Lieutenant General A. R. Godwin-Austin's XIII Corps to pin down the Axis outposts on the Egyptian frontier at Bardia and Sollum, while Lieutenant General Willoughby Norrie's XXX Corps, comprising the mobile armored regiments, would sweep south of these fortified positions through the desert "to seek and destroy" Rommel's armored force. Auchinleck firmly believed that the backbone of Rommel's army had to be destroyed before Eighth Army linked up with the Tobruk garrison, which itself would break out from the fortress. From the outset, therefore, the two corps would be operating independently.



A huge storm the night before the attack turned the desert into a quagmire and grounded Luftwaffe reconnaissance flights. The element of surprise was soon wasted, however, as the British attack became disjointed and the armored brigades became involved in piecemeal battles. The majority of the fighting took place around the escarpment of Sidi Rezegh, with the Italian-built road on which Rommel's supplies were transported at the bottom and a German airfield on top. But in a repeat of the summer offensives, the British again failed to combine their armor in a concentrated blow.

The first phase of the battle, from 18 to 23 November, saw hard, confused fighting in which British and German tank formations were habitually intermingled in the highly fluid battle and often found themselves behind what would have been the enemy's lines had they existed. Events culminated on Sunday, 23 November, aptly known in the German calendar as Totensonntag, or "Sunday of the Dead"—the name by which the Germans remember this battle. Up until that day, Rommel's skillful tactics had decimated the attacking British force, which had just 70 tanks remaining in the end. But in a concentrated attack launched by Rommel on 23 November, he lost 70 of his remaining 160 tanks.

At the end of this phase of the battle, Rommel believed that the British armor had been smashed and was spread in disorganized chaos across the desert. But despite the fact that he was thus far victorious on the battlefield, he knew that the British were able to sustain greater losses because

they had a large reserve from which they could replenish their strength. He therefore decided to exploit the British confusion by striking at their vulnerability—their supplies and lines of communication. By launching a lightning thrust to the frontier, he also planned to strike at the morale and the confidence of the British troops and their commanders, as he had successfully done in the past.

Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) Ludwig Cruewell, commander of Deutsches Afrika Korps, suggested that it would be better to reorganize and salvage the vast stocks of German and British matériel abandoned on the battlefield. But on 24 November, ignoring this sound advice, Rommel personally led the deep thrust with the mobile 15th, 21st, and Ariete Armored Divisions to the frontier and into the rear of the Eighth Army; he hoped this action would cause panic, result in the capture British supplies, and relieve his garrisons on the border. Rommel's "dash for the wire" very nearly succeeded, as he almost overran the two main British supply dumps and created a stampede among the British. Cunningham pessimistically sought permission to withdraw from the battle, but Auchinleck held command with a firm grip and replaced him as commander of Eighth Army with Major General Neil Ritchie on 26 November.

Rommel managed to link up again with his forces surrounding Tobruk, and he inflicted additional heavy losses on XIII Corps, which itself had advanced in an attempt to relieve Tobruk. But his losses and the strain on his supplies became too great, and on 7 December, he began to with-

draw. Ultimately, he had to abandon his garrisons in the frontier outposts at Bardia and Sollum, with the loss of 14,000 troops, yet he withdrew with as much skill as he had shown on the battlefield and escaped, with his army still intact, from Cyrenaica back to El Algeila, where he had started nine months earlier.

For the first time in the war, the British had defeated the German army. They achieved much success in the battle, finally raising the siege of Tobruk and inflicting 33,000 casualties at a cost of only 18,000 British and Commonwealth casualties. But most of the Axis losses were Italian troops or German administrative staff who surrendered in mid-January in the border posts, whereas the British casualties were predominantly highly experienced, desert veterans who could not be easily replaced. Moreover, the British had failed in their principal objective of destroying Rommel's armored forces, and he was again recuperating on secure supply lines while the British attempted to prepare for the next offensive over extremely long lines of communication.

The concurrent resurgence of Axis naval power in the central Mediterranean enabled the Italians to send more supplies and reinforcements to Rommel. With additional tanks and fuel, he launched an attack on 21 January 1942, and the next day, his force, which now included more Italian divisions, was renamed Panzer Armee Afrika. Rommel's probing raid again precipitated a hasty British withdrawal, and he recaptured Benghazi, but his forces were still too weak to advance beyond the British defensive positions on the Gazala Line, which ran from Gazala (35 miles west of Tobruk) and 50 miles southward into the desert to Bir Hacheim. There, both sides paused, recuperating and preparing for the next round of the "Benghazi Handicap" in the North African Campaign.

Paul H. Collier

See also

Afrika Korps; Auchinleck, Sir Claude John Eyre; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Cunningham, Sir Alan Gordon; Egypt; Gott, William Henry Ewart "Strafer"; North Africa Campaign; Ritchie, Sir Neil Methuen; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Tobruk, Second Battle for

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Cunningham, Sir Alan Gordon (1887–1983)

British army general who served as a commander in Operation CRUSADER. Born on 1 May 1887 in Dublin, Alan Cunningham was the younger brother of a future admiral, Andrew Browne Cunningham. He was commissioned in the army on graduation from Sandhurst in 1906. Decorated for his service in World War I as a member of the Royal Horse Artillery, Cunningham was a General Staff officer at the Straits Settlements in Southeast Asia between 1919 and 1921. As a brigadier general, he commanded the 1st Division of the Royal Artillery from December 1937 until September 1938, when he took command of the 5th Antiaircraft Division.

For most of 1940, Cunningham commanded, in succession, the 66th, 9th, and 51st Infantry Divisions in Britain before assuming command of forces in Kenya in October. He was assigned the task of conquering Italian Somalia from the south with his 11th and 12th African Divisions and the 1st South African Division. Cunningham invaded Somalia in January, taking Kismayu on 14 February and Mogadishu on 25 February 1941. He then drove northward to Harar and on to the capital of Addis Ababa, which fell on 6 April. Cooperating with General William Platt's forces from the Sudan, he pinned the Italian forces at Amba Alagi and forced their surrender. The campaign was a great success for Cunningham, who was then transferred to command the British Eighth Army in Egypt on 10 September 1941.

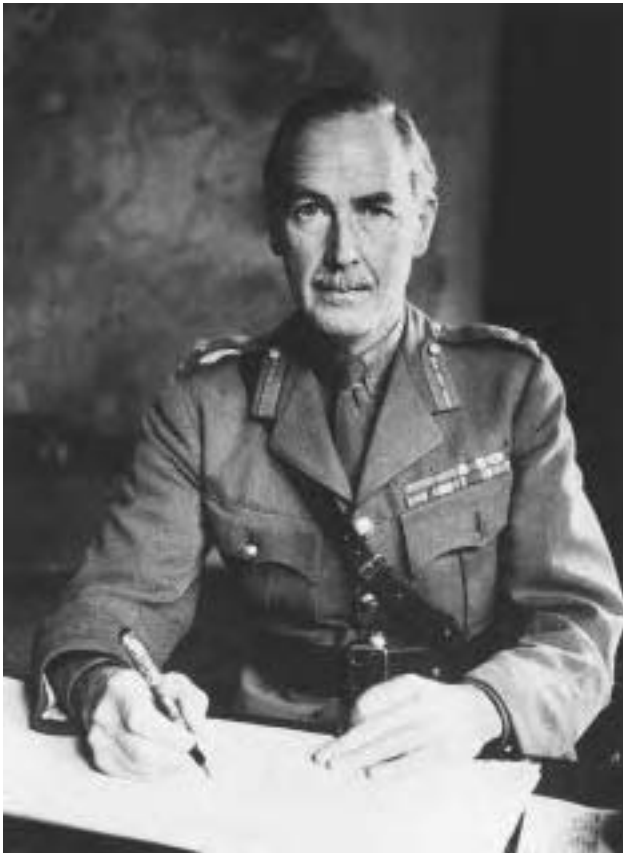
Beginning on 18 November, Eighth Army launched Operation CRUSADER, General Claude Auchinleck's offensive to relieve the siege of Tobruk. With scant time to prepare and as a stranger to armored warfare, Cunningham found himself outmaneuvered by the Afrika Korps (Africa Corps) commander, General Erwin Rommel, at Sidi Rezegh, 20 miles from Tobruk. In what became known as the Battle of Totensonntag, British forces suffered heavy losses, and Cunningham himself was forced to evacuate by plane. On 26 November, Auchinleck relieved him and replaced him with General Neil M. Ritchie.

Cunningham then commanded the Staff College at Camberley (1942–1943) and the Eastern Command (1944–1945). Promoted to full general, he retired in October 1946. Between 1945 and 1948, he served as the last British high commissioner to Palestine and Transjordan. Knighted on his return to Britain, Cunningham died on 30 January 1983.

Harold Wise

See also

Auchinleck, Sir Claude John Eyre; North Africa Campaign; Ritchie, Sir Neil Methuen; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Somalia; Tobruk, Second Battle for



British General Sir Alan Cunningham, Palestine High Commissioner. (Bettmann/Corbis)

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Cunningham, Sir Andrew Browne (First Viscount Cunningham of Hyndhope) (1883–1963)

British Admiral of the Fleet and first sea lord from 1943 through 1945. Born in Dublin on 7 January 1883, Andrew Cunningham enrolled at Stubbington House near Portsmouth to prepare for entry into the Royal Navy. Rated a midshipman in 1898, he saw action with the Naval Brigade in the 1899–1902 South African War. Although he later served in a variety of warships, he was happiest in destroyers and torpedo boats. In 1911, Cunningham took command of the destroyer *Scorpion*, remaining with her until early 1918 and spending most of World War I in the Mediterranean, the theater that became inseparably identified with his career. Promoted to captain in 1920, he thereafter held staff posi-

tions in the Baltic, Mediterranean, and West Indies. After being made rear admiral in 1934, he commanded the destroyer flotilla in the British Mediterranean Fleet from 1934 to 1936. He then commanded the battle cruisers squadron and was second in command of the Mediterranean Fleet in 1937 and 1938. From September 1938 until June 1939, he was deputy naval chief of staff. Promoted to vice admiral and universally called “ABC,” Cunningham became commander of the Mediterranean Fleet in June 1939.

The collapse of France militarily and Italy’s entry as an Axis belligerent in June 1940 prompted his first significant actions in World War II—the peaceful neutralization of the French fleet at Alexandria and an engagement with the Italians on 9 July 1940 off Calabria; in the latter, he pursued a powerful force returning from North Africa into Italian home waters, damaging its flagship. Four months later, on 11 November 1940, with his fleet strengthened by the addition of the carrier *Illustrious*, Cunningham launched a night air attack on the Italian base at Taranto, sinking three battleships, two of which were later raised and repaired. On 28 March 1941, he fought the Italians off Cape Matapan, sinking three heavy cruisers and two destroyers and damaging a battleship. Soon afterward, however, British armies in Greece and Crete required evacuation, and Cunningham’s full support of them brought severe losses to his ships from German air attacks.

In June 1942, Cunningham became the Admiralty’s representative to the Combined Chiefs of Staff in Washington. Promoted to Admiral of the Fleet, he became Allied naval commander in chief in the Mediterranean in October 1942. Cunningham oversaw Operation TORCH, the Allied landings in North Africa in November 1942, and the Allied assaults on Sicily in April 1943 and at Salerno five months later, followed by Italy’s surrender and internment of the Italian fleet at Malta.

When First Sea Lord Sir Dudley Pound died in October 1943, Cunningham succeeded him, serving in the post for the rest of the war. Often at odds with Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, he also faced growing American naval dominance and a very different war in the Pacific. Ennobled in September 1945, he retired in June 1946, recognized as one of the last British admirals in the Nelson tradition. Cunningham died in London on 12 June 1963.

John A. Hutcheson Jr.

See also

Calabria, Battle of; Cape Matapan, Battle of; Crete, Naval Operations of; Great Britain, Navy; Italy, Navy; Pound, Sir Alfred Dudley Pickman Rogers; Salerno Invasion; Sicily, Invasion of; Taranto, Attack on; TORCH, Operation

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British Admiral of the Fleet Andrew Browne Cunningham, commander of Allied naval forces in the Mediterranean. (Corbis)

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Curtin, John Joseph (1885–1945)

Australian politician and prime minister from 1941 to 1945. Born at Creswick, Victoria, Australia, on 8 January 1885, John Joseph Curtin became a printer and trade union activist. During World War I, he was imprisoned for his activities as secretary of the Anti-conscription League. In 1917, Curtin switched to journalism, editing the Perth-

based weekly *Westralian Worker*. Eleven years later, he was elected as the Labour member of Parliament for the seat of Fremantle, a position he held with only one break, between 1931 and 1934, until his death; he also became head of the Labour Party in 1935.

In the internationally crisis-ridden late 1930s, Curtin's party split over foreign policy, but he favored extensive rearmament and moving closer to the United States for protection. When World War II began, he refused to join the coalition government headed by Sir Robert Menzies but pledged his party's support for war. On 3 October 1941, Curtin became prime minister; he remained in that post until his death almost four years later. He emphasized his country's growing autonomy from Britain by making a separate Australian declaration of war on Japan following that country's attack on Pearl Harbor. Curtin infuriated both Winston L. S. Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt by refusing to allow Australian troops returning from the Middle

East to divert to Burma. He called for greater Australian reliance on the United States and, from spring 1942, worked closely with the U.S. commander in the South Pacific, General Douglas MacArthur, in demanding more British and U.S. resources for the Pacific Theater. Curtin nonetheless resented Australia's exclusion from many critical wartime decisions, and he sought to develop a Commonwealth secretariat. A heavy smoker, Curtin died of lung congestion at Canberra, Australia, on 5 July 1945.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Australia, Role in War; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; MacArthur, Douglas; Menzies, Robert; Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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Czechoslovakia

In 1938, the Republic of Czechoslovakia had the highest standard of living and was the only democracy in central Europe. It also had an intractable minorities problem that made it vulnerable to neighboring states, especially Germany. Czechoslovakia numbered about 15 million people in all, but only about 7 million—not even a majority of the population—were Czechs. Three million were Germans, 2.5 million were Slovaks, and 1 million were Hungarians. In addition, there were about a half million Ukrainians living in Ruthenia and also a number of Poles.

Czechoslovakia had been formed at the end of World War I from a union of Bohemia and Moravia, which had long been part of Austria, and Slovakia, which had been part of Hungary. The 1919 Paris Peace Conference awarded it Ruthenia, in order to provide a land connection with Romania. With Romania and Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia formed the so-called Little Entente. In addition, the Czechs had a firm alliance with France as well as one of Europe's most important arms-manufacturing centers in the Skoda Works at Pilsen, and it had an excellent, 400,000-man army. These facts, however, counted for little when the French and British, under heavy pressure from German leader Adolf Hitler at the September 1938 Munich Conference, forced the Czech government headed by President Eduard Beneš to yield the Sudetenland, with a largely German population, to

Germany. This area contained the natural defenses of the new state. Hungary and Poland also seized territory.

Then, on 15 March 1939, Hitler broke his pledge to respect what remained of Czechoslovakia and gathered the remainder of the state into the Reich. Acquiring it was a tremendous boost to the Germans militarily, for thirty-five highly trained and well-equipped Czech divisions disappeared from the anti-Hitler order of battle. Hitler had also eliminated the threat from what he had referred to as "that damned airfield," and the output of the Skoda arms complex would now supply the Reich's legions. In Bohemia and Moravia, the Wehrmacht absorbed 1,582 aircraft, 2,000 artillery pieces, and sufficient equipment to arm 20 divisions. Indeed, any increase in armaments that Britain and France achieved by March 1939 was more than counterbalanced by German gains in Czechoslovakia. There, the Germans secured nearly a third of the tanks they deployed in the west in spring 1940, and between August 1938 and September 1939, Skoda produced nearly as many arms as all British arms factories combined.

The Germans organized their new acquisition as the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia. The Slovak lands became the Republic of Slovakia, a vassal state of Germany ruled by the Slovak People's Party, which was headed by Roman Catholic priest Monseigneur Jozef Tiso. Slovakia had declared its independence from the remainder of Czechoslovakia on 14 March. The eastern province of Ruthenia (Trans-Carpatho-Ukraine) was ceded to Hungary.

The Germans immediately disbanded the Czech military, allowing President Emile Hácha only a small ceremonial guard. Although long-term German plans for the protectorate included the removal of the Slavic population and its replacement by Germans, initial German occupation policies were much more lenient than in the remainder of central and eastern Europe, inspired by the goal of exploiting Czech industry and resources without inciting revolt. The initial occupation period was peaceful. This fact is explained by several factors: the area's proximity to the Reich proper, disillusionment with the West following the Munich Agreement, lenient German policies, and the lack of coordinated Czech resistance. Student protests against German rule in October 1939 on the anniversary of the independence of Czechoslovakia did, however, bring closure of the universities and the execution of nine students.

On 16 April 1940, Baron Konstantin Hermann Karl Neurath became Reich protector of Bohemia-Moravia, after the departure of the military governor, Generaloberst (U.S. equiv. full general) Johannes von Blaskowitz. However, Berlin became dissatisfied with Neurath's lack of harsh measures to curb protests, and on 27 September 1941, he was replaced by the head of the Reich Security Office, Reinhard Heydrich. The latter declared martial law and carried



German troops entering Waldhaeusl in Czechoslovakia, 3 October 1938. (Hulton Archive)

out a series of arrests that destroyed the leadership of the student protesters and other Czech national opposition.

On 27 March 1942, a group of British-trained Czech commandos ambushed Heydrich's car in Prague and mortally wounded him; he died on 4 June. The Gestapo then instituted a wave of terror during a period of martial law that lasted until July and included the destruction of the villages of Lidice and Lezaky and the deaths of most of their inhabitants. On 20 August 1943, Wilhelm Frick was appointed Reich protector. However, Hans Frank, Reich minister of state for Bohemia and Moravia, exercised real authority. The level of active Czech resistance remained relatively low and consisted chiefly of providing intelligence information.

President Beneš had gone abroad in October 1938, and he established a Czech government-in-exile, first in Paris and then in London. In the summer of 1942, he secured official British and Free French repudiation of the 1938 Munich Agreement. But Beneš stressed accommodation with the

Soviet Union, and he traveled to Moscow to sign a formal treaty of alliance with the Soviets on 18 July 1941. He sought a democratic, independent Czechoslovakia that would be a bridge between East and West.

During the war, the Czech government-in-exile contributed an armored brigade to the Allied cause—some 5,000 men who fought with British forces in the Normandy Campaign. Czech pilots participated in the 1940 Battle of Britain, and four Czech squadrons (three fighter and one bomber) served with the Royal Air Force during the war. Czech military units were also formed on Soviet territory, including, by the summer of 1943, the 1st Czechoslovak Parachute Brigade of some 2,500 men. The 2nd Czechoslovak Parachute Brigade was formed in 1944, and it participated in an uprising in Slovakia against the government there in August 1944. Czech military units in the Soviet Union ultimately established the I Czechoslovakian Corps, which distinguished itself in the fighting to cross the Carpathian Mountains. The Soviets also formed the 1st

Czechoslovakian Fighter Regiment, which evolved into the 1st Czechoslovakian Air Division by the end of the war.

On 5 May 1945, a general uprising occurred in Bohemia and Moravia against the Germans, centered on a rising in the city of Prague as Soviet Marshal Ivan Konev's 1st Ukrainian Front approached from the east and U.S. Lieutenant General George S. Patton's Third Army drove on the capital from the west. The Czech government-in-exile appealed to Supreme Commander of Allied Expeditionary Forces General Dwight D. Eisenhower for assistance, but he refused to allow Patton to intercede. The Germans reinforced with two divisions, but they had no tanks or artillery and were halted by General Andrei Vlasov's 1st Division, which had deserted from the Germans. On 9 May, Vlasov's troops cleared the remaining Germans from Prague, taking some 10,000 prisoners. The next day, Konev's troops entered the city. The Germans formally surrendered on 11 May. During the war, an estimated 350,000 people in the protectorate died as a result of the German occupation.

Meanwhile, Tiso's Slovak People's Party ruled Slovakia. Tiso's wartime independent Slovak government was dominated by fascist, anti-Czech, anti-Semitic elements, represented by personalities such as Karol Sidor and Alexander Mach, who were supported by a paramilitary organization known as the Hlinka Guards. The war stimulated economic growth in Slovakia, and on 24 November 1940, Slovakia signed the Anti-Comintern and Tripartite Pacts. Its military commitment to the Axis was two divisions, comprising some 50,000 men. Slovakia adopted a resettlement program for its

Jewish population in August 1940, and it enacted a Nuremberg-type Jewish code on 10 September 1941. An uprising by Slovaks against the Tiso government was crushed by German military intervention in the form of 40,000 troops by October, the Soviets being unable to provide military assistance to the resistance. At the end of the war, Tiso's government retreated with German forces into Austria in April 1945, and Tiso surrendered there to U.S. forces on 8 May 1945. Beneš's cherished hopes of an independent democratic Czechoslovakia after the war were not realized. In 1948, the Communists seized power in the country.

Neville Panthaki and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Beneš, Eduard; Collaboration; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Frick, Wilhelm; Heydrich, Reinhard Tristan Eugen; Konev, Ivan Stepanovich; Lidice Massacre; Munich Conference; Partisans/Guerrillas; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Resistance; Tiso, Josef; Vlasov, Andrei Andreyevich

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D

D Day

See Normandy Invasion and Campaign.

Dachau

See Concentration Camps, German.

DAK

See Afrika Korps.

Dakar, Attack on (23–25 September 1940)

Vichy-held West African port. Following the defeat of France by the Germans in June 1940, the new Vichy government assumed control of most of the French colonial empire. In late August, Free French leader General Charles de Gaulle convinced French Equatorial Africa to continue the fight against Germany under his leadership. De Gaulle next turned to French West Africa and its capital, Dakar. Located in the most westerly part of Africa, Dakar boasted an excellent deep-water port and was equidistant from Europe and Brazil. The British feared that the Germans might pressure the Vichy French to allow them to use Dakar as a base from which to launch air and

naval attacks against British shipping. De Gaulle pushed for an attack—eager to expand his power base in Africa, to show himself a key Allied figure, and to encourage other Vichy-held African territories to rally to his cause. The resulting joint British–Free French plan was named Operation *MENACE*.

Previously, on 8 July, British aircraft flying from the carrier *Hermes* had attacked and immobilized the modern French battleship *Richelieu* at Dakar. This operation followed the British attack on the French fleet at Mers-el-Kébir in Algeria on 3–4 July and gave ample warning to the Vichy French forces that the British were willing to attack their former allies. Despite this aggressive move, both British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill and de Gaulle hoped for a bloodless victory at Dakar.

Operation *MENACE* involved 23 warships, including the battleships *Barham* and *Resolution*, the aircraft carrier *Ark Royal*, 4 cruisers, and 11 destroyers. These warships escorted 11 transports carrying 7,900 men, 3,600 of whom were Free French. The Allies hoped that the authorities at Dakar would rally to the Free French. Failing that, the French troops would go ashore; the British troops were to be employed only in an emergency.

Operation *MENACE* was plagued with problems from the beginning. The Allies lacked a clear picture of the strength of the Dakar defenses, which were to include three Vichy French cruisers and three destroyers. These ships arrived at Dakar just in advance of the Allied ships.

On 23 September, the French administrator at Dakar, Pierre Boisson, refused to talk to the Free French negotiators. The negotiators went ashore, and the French coastal batteries at Dakar opened fire on the Allied ships. The Allied ships



Soldiers in the ruins of a government building after an air attack at Dakar. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

returned fire. Over the next several days, the exchange of fire included both the French shore batteries and ships, especially the 15-inch guns of the immobilized *Richelieu*. The Vichy submarine *Beveziers* damaged the battleship *Resolution* with a torpedo, and several other British ships were hit by shell fire. The lack of adequate naval support combined with foggy conditions led the Allies to abandon the operation on 25 September.

The failure of Operation *MENACE* was a blow to British and Free French prestige and demonstrated British inexperience in combined operations. It also revealed the hatred felt by many French for the British and severely damaged the relationship between de Gaulle and Churchill. In addition, it profited the Vichy French government, which trumpeted it as a great naval victory. On 24 and 25 September, in response to the Dakar attack, Vichy bombers carried out three raids against Gibraltar—dropping some 600 tons of bombs, sinking a destroyer, and damaging the battle cruiser *Renown* and a submarine, but causing little damage to shore facilities. As a result of *MENACE*, Adolf Hitler saw some utility in Vichy France's assistance. He also had proof that Vichy would defend French Africa against the Free French. Admiral Jean F. Darlan then entered into talks with the Germans to allow them to use French air bases in Syria.

C. J. Horn

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Darlan, Jean Louise Xavier François; de Gaulle, Charles; Mers-el-Kébir

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Daladier, Édouard (1884–1970)

French politician and premier. Born on 18 June 1884, at Carpentras (Vaucluse), Édouard Daladier was educated at the École Normale and at the Sorbonne before becoming a history teacher at the Lycée Condorcet in Paris. He served in the French army during World War I and fought at Verdun.

In 1919, Daladier was elected to the Chamber of Deputies from the Vaucluse as a Radical Socialist. He was minister of colonies in 1924 and premier from January to October 1933. Daladier formed another cabinet in January 1934 but resigned the next month over the Stavisky Scandal.

Daladier helped bring the Radicals into the leftist Popular Front coalition with the Socialists and Communists for the 1936 national elections. On the collapse of the Popular Front, he again became premier in April 1938. Under heavy pressure from British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain and despite France's treaty obligations to Czechoslovakia, Daladier agreed at the September 1938 Munich Conference to Adolf Hitler's demands for the cession of the Sudetenland to Germany. Unlike Chamberlain, he had no illusions that the agreement had secured peace.

Daladier then did what he could to prepare France for war. On the German invasion of Poland in September 1939, he led France into war against Germany. Angered by the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact of 23 August 1939, he reacted by outlawing the Communist Party and arresting its leaders. Daladier was criticized for France's military inaction during the so-called "Phony War" and its failure to assist Finland in Finland's war against the Soviet Union. He was forced to resign on 20 March 1940 and was replaced by Paul Reynaud. Daladier remained in the cabinet, however, as minister of war until the defeat of France in June 1940.

On 21 June 1940, Daladier and other cabinet ministers sailed from Bordeaux for North Africa in an effort to set up a



Édouard Daladier, French premier (1933, 1934, 1938–1940). (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

government in exile, but new chief of state General Henri Pétain ordered them arrested. Daladier was among those brought to trial at Riom in 1942 by the Vichy government on charges of having caused the French defeat. The trial was suspended, but Daladier remained in custody. In 1943 he was removed as a prisoner to Germany. Released in April 1945, Daladier was one of the few leaders of the Third Republic to continue in politics during the Fourth Republic. Reelected a deputy, he served in the National Assembly from 1946 until 1958. Daladier died at Paris on 10 October 1970.

William L. Ketchersid and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Chamberlain, Arthur Neville; France, Role in War; German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact; Munich Conference and Preliminaries; Pétain, Henri Philippe; Reynaud, Paul

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D'Aquino, Iva Ikuko Toguri

See "Tokyo Rose."

Darby, William O. (1911–1945)

U.S. Army officer credited with creation of the elite force the Rangers. Born on 9 February 1911 at Fort Smith, Arkansas, William Darby graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1933 and was commissioned a second lieutenant of field artillery. Over the next seven years, he held several routine assignments and was promoted to captain in October 1940. He then commanded an artillery battery of the 99th Field Artillery Regiment (1941–1942).

In June 1942, Brigadier General Lucian K. Truscott Jr. selected Darby to put together an elite force similar to the British commandos. The name "Rangers" derived from the force of the same name led by Major Robert Rogers during the French and Indian War. Promoted to temporary major,



Lieutenant Colonel William O. Darby (right) congratulated by Lieutenant General George S. Patton. Gela, Sicily, August 1943. (Photo by Bob Landry/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Darby trained his men at Achnacarry, Scotland, under the guidance of British commandos. The Rangers were seen as elite troops to be employed on hit-and-run commando raids. A charismatic person, Darby believed in leadership by example from the front. Officially, Darby commanded only the 1st Ranger Battalion, but he also trained and led the 3rd and 4th Battalions. In December 1943, Darby was promoted to colonel and given command of all three battalions.

Darby's Rangers, as his force came to be known, were first employed in combat during the ill-fated August 1942 raid on Dieppe. In November 1942, six companies performed well in Operation TORCH, the Allied invasion of French North Africa then under Vichy control. The companies also participated in Operation HUSKY, the invasion of Sicily. In the invasion of Italy at Salerno, four U.S. Ranger battalions and the 41st British Commandos secured the coast at Maiori. After the destruction of the 1st and 3rd Battalions at Anzio, Darby was assigned to the Operations Division of the War Department's General Staff.

Darby returned to Italy in March 1945 and managed to secure a posting as executive officer of the 10th Mountain Division. On 30 April 1945, only a week before the end of the war in Europe, Darby was struck and killed in northern Italy by a German shell fragment. Darby was posthumously promoted to brigadier general.

Roy B. Perry III

See also

Anzio, Battle of; Dieppe Raid; Salerno Invasion; Sicily, Invasion of; TORCH, Operation; Truscott, Lucian King, Jr.

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Darlan, Jean Louis Xavier François (1881–1942)

French navy admiral. Born on 7 August 1881 in Nérac (Lot-et-Garonne), France, Jean Darlan graduated from the École Navale in 1902. A specialist in naval gunnery, he served in the Far East on cruisers and then in the Mediterranean. Promoted to commander in 1912, he was then an instructor on the training cruiser *Jeanne d'Arc*. During World War I, he commanded heavy naval artillery on land. He was promoted to commander in July 1918 and took charge of the Rhine Flotilla.

Promoted to captain in August 1920, Darlan was assigned to the Far East, where he commanded cruisers. He was advanced to rear admiral in November 1929 and played an important role in the reorganization of the navy. He next commanded naval forces in Algeria and then a cruiser divi-

sion in the Mediterranean. Promoted to vice admiral in December 1932, he took charge of the Atlantic Squadron during 1934–1936. He was then chief of the French naval staff.

Darlan was promoted to admiral of the fleet in June 1939 and took command of the French Navy. Following the June 1940 defeat of France, he joined the Vichy government of Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain as navy minister. In February 1941 he also became vice premier and minister of the interior, and in August 1941 he was made minister of defense. He was also Pétain's designated successor.

Darlan was an Anglophobe, especially after Operation CATAPULT and the killing of French sailors at Mers-el-Kébir. He hoped to win concessions for France through military agreements with the Germans. His May 1941 meeting with Adolf Hitler led to an agreement with German ambassador Otto Abetz. In the so-called Paris Protocols, France granted major concessions to Germany in Africa and the Middle East, but the Germans gave little in return.

By April 1942, rival Pierre Laval forced Darlan to relinquish his cabinet posts, save that of commander of the armed forces. Darlan traveled frequently to North Africa and was in Algiers when, on 8 November, the Allies invaded in Operation TORCH. Darlan agreed to cooperate with the Allies and to order a cease-fire on 10 November in return for recognition of his authority. The deal was confirmed on 11 November



French Navy Admiral Jean Darlan. (Corbis)

with U.S. Major General Mark Clark and Ambassador Robert Murphy. President Franklin D. Roosevelt approved the agreement, although some Allied leaders denounced it as an “immoral act” that gained little.

Many people including Allied leaders wanted to see Darlan removed, and on 24 December 1942, 20-year-old French royalist Fernand Bonnier broke into Darlan’s office and shot him twice with a pistol. Darlan died two hours later. Bonnier was captured, tried, and executed two days afterward. The assassination of Darlan is shrouded in mystery and has been variously attributed to the United States, Britain, the Free French, French monarchists, and even the Germans.

William P. Head and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

CATAPULT, Operation; France, Navy; Pétain, Henri Philippe; TORCH, Operation

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Darwin, Raid on (19 February 1942)

First direct Japanese attack against Australia during the war. Into early 1942, Japanese forces moved inexorably down through the Philippines and Malay Peninsula and into the Netherlands East Indies. To secure Java and protect landings at Timor, the Japanese High Command decided to attack Darwin, a port city on Australia’s north coast used by the Allies to ferry aircraft, troops, and equipment to the East Indies. Commander Fuchida Mitsuo planned the raid, centered on the four aircraft carriers of Vice Admiral Nagumo Chūichi’s First Air Fleet and a covering force of two battleships and three heavy cruisers under Vice Admiral Kondō Nobutake. It was the most powerful Japanese strike force since the attack on Pearl Harbor.

In two waves on 19 February 1942, the Japanese carriers in the Timor Sea launched approximately 188 aircraft against Darwin. Fifty-four land-based bombers joined them. A U.S. Navy PBV Catalina radioed a warning of the first wave but was then shot down. News reached Darwin just as 10 U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) P-40s of 33rd Squadron returned following an aborted attempt to reinforce Java. Five P-40s remained airborne to face the Japanese. The remaining 5 attempted to take off just as the Japanese planes arrived at about 10:00 A.M. Japanese Zeros claimed 9 of the P-40s in the air; the survivor landed with severe damage. The second raid



Aftermath of attacks by Japanese bombers during their first raid on Darwin, 10 February 1942. (Bettmann/Corbis)

occurred 2 hours later. In all, the Japanese destroyed approximately 18 Allied aircraft and demolished air base facilities. The Japanese sank 8 ships, including the U.S. destroyer *Peary*, and damaged a further 9. Wharves and jetties suffered extensive damage, and 18 Allied aircraft were destroyed. The human toll was also high: some 500–600 people were killed or wounded. The Japanese accomplished all this at a cost of only 10 aircraft. This raid succeeded in its objective of assisting the Japanese conquest of the Dutch East Indies. Japanese attacks on Darwin continued during the next several months.

Rodney Madison

See also

Australia, Air Force; Fuchida Mitsuo; Kondō Nobutake; Nagumo Chūichi; Netherlands East Indies

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Davis, Benjamin Oliver, Jr. (1912–2002)

U.S. Air Force general. Born on 18 December 1912 in Washington D.C., Benjamin Oliver Davis Jr. was the son of Benjamin O. Davis, the first U.S. African American active-duty general officer. The younger Davis attended Western Reserve University and the University of Chicago. He then secured an appointment to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, where he endured four years of isolation because of racial discrimination. He graduated in 1936 and was commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry. In July 1941 as a captain, Davis was one of the first members of a new pilot training program for African Americans at Tuskegee, Alabama. He completed training in March 1942. Tuskegee graduates formed the basis for Lieutenant Colonel Davis's 99th Pursuit Squadron, which flew P-40s. Following four months of combat in the Mediterranean Theater, Davis returned to the United States to assume command of the 332nd Fighter Group with P-51s, which he led in Italy in January 1944. Davis flew 60 missions and won promotion to colonel in March 1944.

After the war, Davis returned to the United States to command the racially troubled 477th Composite Group at Godman Field, Kentucky. In 1949, Davis attended the Air War College, and he was then assigned to Washington, D.C., as deputy chief of operations in the Fighter Branch. In October 1954, Davis was promoted to brigadier general, the first African American U.S. Air Force officer to hold that rank. He served as vice commander, Thirteenth Air Force, and then headed Twelfth Air Force in Germany from 1957 to 1959. Promoted to major general in June 1959, Davis returned to Washington in July 1961 as director of Manpower and Organization. In April 1965, Davis was promoted to lieutenant general and became chief of staff of U.S. forces in Korea and the United Nations Command. He then became deputy commander of the U.S. Strike Command.

Davis retired in February 1970. In 1971 he became assistant director of the Department of Transportation to establish the Sky Marshals program until 1975. He then served on various corporate boards. Promoted to general on the retired list in December 1998, Davis died at Washington, D.C., on 4 July 2002.

Troy D. Morgan

See also

Davis, Benjamin Oliver, Sr.; United States, Air Force

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Brigadier General Benjamin O. Davis Sr. watches a Signal Corps crew erect poles in France, 8 August 1944. (National Archives)

Davis, Benjamin Oliver, Sr. (1877–1970)

U.S. Army general and first African American general in the U.S. military. Born 1 July 1877 in Washington D.C., Benjamin O. Davis enrolled at Howard University in 1897 but left school the next year to join the Eighth U.S. Volunteer Regiment. As a lieutenant during the Spanish-American War, he saw no action, but in 1899 he enlisted as a private in the regular army. Davis was commissioned a second lieutenant in the 10th U.S. Cavalry in 1901. He was military attaché to Liberia (1909–1911), professor of military science at Wilberforce University (1906–1911, 1915–1917, 1929–1930, and 1937–1938), supply officer for the 9th Cavalry in the Philippines (1917–1920), instructor with the Ohio National Guard (1924–1928), and professor of military science at Tuskegee Institute (1921–1924 and 1931–1937).

At the beginning of World War II, Davis was one of only two African American officers in the combatant arms of the U.S. Army. The other was his son, Benjamin O. Davis Jr. In October 1940, on the recommendation of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Davis was promoted to brigadier general. He was the first African American to obtain the rank in U.S. military history.

Davis retired from the army in 1941 but was recalled to active duty as an assistant to the Inspector General of the Army, serving in the European Theater of Operations as an adviser on race relations. At the same time, he fought to end segregation and discrimination within the armed forces. Davis remained in the Inspector General's office until his final retirement in 1948. He continued to speak for desegregation in the military, which was achieved when President Harry S Truman ordered full integration of the U.S. armed forces.

In the years following his retirement from the military, Davis served on numerous civilian boards and the Battle Monuments Commission. He died in Chicago on 26 November 1970.

Nicholas W. Barcheski

See also

Davis, Benjamin Oliver, Jr.; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Truman, Harry S

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leader Benito Mussolini, who replaced him in November 1935 with his rival Pietro Badoglio. De Bono demanded and received promotion to marshal immediately thereafter.

Serving ignominiously in largely ceremonial or honorary posts for the remainder of his career, De Bono soured on Mussolini, decrying Italian-German war plans, and eventually joined in the Fascist Grand Council's July 1943 ouster of Il Duce, for which he was arrested by the German occupation 4 October 1943. Tried at Verona, the old general was sentenced to death with, among others, Mussolini's son-in-law Galeazzo Ciano, whom he joined before a firing squad on 11 January 1944.

Gordon E. Hogg

See also

Badoglio, Pietro; Ciano, Galeazzo; Mussolini, Benito

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De Bono, Emilio (1866–1944)

Italian marshal and government figure. Born on 16 March 1866 at Cassano d'Adda, Emilio De Bono graduated from military schools in nearby Milan and in 1883 began a long army career, which is chronicled in many diaries. A self-styled "warrior," De Bono sought challenging commands in the 1911–1912 Italo-Turkish War and during World War I. He was promoted to major general and twice decorated for valor in 1916. Friction with a superior led to an inactive posting in Albania until he was recalled to corps command in Italy. He turned back an Austrian attack at Grappa in 1918.

Restive after the war, De Bono, who had never evinced attention to or interest in politics, was tempted by the bombast of Gabriele D'Annunzio's nationalistic expedition to occupy Fiume in 1919 to join that campaign. However, ambivalent careerist instincts held him in check. Still lacking any warrior role or prospects, by 1921 De Bono settled for membership in the Fascist Party as a vehicle for self-promotion. Although his military skills were pivotal in organizing the October 1922 March on Rome, they did not advance him politically despite his appointments as chief of public security in November 1922 and commander of the Fascist militia in January 1923.

After his perceived failure to prevent the June 1924 murder of socialist leader Giacomo Matteotti by the militia, De Bono was indicted but refused to implicate his superiors. Acquitted in 1925 and rewarded with the governorship of Tripolitania, by 1928 De Bono was planning the eventual war with Ethiopia. He had some success early in that war, including a victory at Adowa, but his recalcitrant pace irked Italian

de Gaulle, Charles (1890–1970)

French Army general, leader of Free French Forces, and the president of France. Born on 22 November 1890 in Lille, Charles de Gaulle demonstrated from an early age a keen interest in the military. He graduated from the French Military Academy of Saint-Cyr in 1913 and was commissioned a lieutenant in the army.

De Gaulle's first posting was with Colonel Henri P. Pétain's 33rd Infantry Regiment. During World War I, de Gaulle was promoted to captain, and he demonstrated a high degree of leadership and courage. Wounded twice, he was captured by the Germans at Verdun in March 1916 after being wounded a third time. Later he received the Legion of Honor for this action. Despite five escape attempts, he remained a prisoner of war until the end of the war.

After the war, de Gaulle returned to teach history at Saint-Cyr, and in 1920 he was part of the French military mission to Poland. He returned to France to study and teach at the École de Guerre. De Gaulle then served as an aide to French army commander Marshal Pétain, but the two had a falling-out, apparently because Pétain wanted de Gaulle to ghost-write his memoirs. De Gaulle also became an important proponent of the new theories of high-speed warfare centered on tanks. In his 1934 book *Vers l'armée de métier* (published in English as *The Army of the Future*), de Gaulle proposed formation of six completely mechanized and motorized divisions with their own organic artillery and air support.



General Charles de Gaulle. (Library of Congress)

Another book, *Le fil de l'épée* (*The Edge of the Sword*) revealed much about de Gaulle's concept of leadership and his belief that a true leader should follow his conscience regardless of the circumstances.

Promoted to major and then to lieutenant colonel, de Gaulle served in the Rhineland occupation forces, in the Middle East, and on the National Defense Council. Although he was advanced to colonel in 1937 and had important political friends such as future premiere Paul Reynaud, de Gaulle's views placed him very much on the outside of the military establishment.

When World War II began, de Gaulle commanded a tank brigade. His warnings about the German use of tanks in Poland fell on deaf ears in the French High Command. De Gaulle commanded the 4th French Tank Division in the 1940 Battle for France. Although the division was still in formation, he secured one of the few French successes of that campaign. Promoted to brigadier general on 1 June 1940, five days later de Gaulle was appointed undersecretary of defense in the Reynaud government. De Gaulle urged Reynaud to fight on, even in a redoubt in the Brittany Peninsula or removing the armed forces to North Africa. De Gaulle's resolve won the admiration of British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill.

De Gaulle and Jean Monnet visited London and suggested to Churchill a plan for an indissoluble Anglo-French union that the French government had rejected. Returning to Bordeaux from the mission to London, de Gaulle learned that the defeatists had won and France would sue for peace. On 17 June, he departed France on a British aircraft bound for England. The next day, this youngest general in the French army appealed to his countrymen over the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) to continue the fight against Germany. From this point forward, de Gaulle was the most prominent figure in the French Resistance. With Churchill's support and because no prominent French politicians had escaped abroad, de Gaulle then set up a French government-in-exile in London and began organizing armed forces to fight for the liberation of his country. The Pétain government at Vichy declared de Gaulle a traitor and condemned him to death in absentia.

Initially, de Gaulle's position was at best tenuous. Most French citizens did not recognize his legitimacy, and relations with the British and Americans were at times difficult. De Gaulle insisted on being treated as head of state of a major power, whereas American leaders, especially President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and even Churchill persisted in treating him as an auxiliary and often did not consult with him at all on major decisions.

The British attack on the French fleet at Mers-el-Kébir further undermined de Gaulle's credibility. Relations with the United States were not helped by a Free French effort to secure Saint-Pierre and Miquelon off Canada. The United States recognized the Vichy government and continued to pursue a two-France policy even after the United States entered the war in December 1941.

Over time, de Gaulle solidified his position as leader of the Resistance in France. Bitter over British moves in Syria and Lebanon and not informed in advance of the U.S.-British invasion of French North Africa, de Gaulle established his headquarters in Algiers in 1943, where he beat back a British-French effort to replace him with General Henri Giraud. His agent, Jean Moulin, secured the fusion of Resistance groups within France. The French Resistance rendered invaluable service to the British and Americans in the June 1944 Normandy Invasion, and French forces actually liberated Paris that August.

De Gaulle then returned to Paris and established a provisional government there. Full U.S. diplomatic recognition came only with the creation of the new government. De Gaulle secured for France an occupation zone in Germany and a key role in postwar Europe. But with the return of peace the former political parties reappeared, and hopes for a fresh beginning faded. De Gaulle's calls for a new constitutional arrangement with a strong presidency were rejected, and he resigned in January 1946 to write his memoirs.

A revolt among European settlers and the French Army in Algeria, who feared a sellout there to the Algerian nationalists,

brought de Gaulle back to power in 1958. A new constitution tailor-made for de Gaulle established the Fifth Republic. De Gaulle's preservation of democracy was his greatest service to his country, but he also brought an end to the Algerian War, and he worked out a close entente with Konrad Adenauer's Federal Republic of Germany. De Gaulle was also controversial, removing France from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's military command, creating an independent nuclear strike force, encouraging Quebec to secede from Canada, and lecturing the United States on a wide variety of issues. He remained president until 1969, when he again resigned to write a new set of memoirs. Unarguably France's greatest twentieth-century statesman, Charles de Gaulle died at his estate of Colombey-les-Deux-Églises on 9 November 1970.

Thomas Lansford and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Armored Warfare; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Dakar; France, Battle for; France, Free French; France, Vichy; France Campaign; Giraud, Henri Honoré; Maginot Line; Mers-el-Kébir; Moulin, Jean; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; OVERLORD, Operation; Pétain, Henri Philippe; Reynaud, Paul; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; TORCH, Operation

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de Lattre de Tassigny, Jean Joseph-Marie Gabriel

See Lattre de Tassigny, Jean Joseph-Marie Gabriel de.

Deception

Deception is a long-established and often essential element of warfare. It consists of actions designed to deliberately mislead enemy decision-makers as to one's capabilities, intentions, and operations. Deception causes the enemy to take specific actions that will contribute to the accomplishment of the friendly mission and weaken the enemy's strategic or tactical position. All major participants carried out deception operations during World War II.

Deception supports military operations by causing adversaries to misallocate resources in time, place, quantity, or effectiveness. A deceptive operation generally appears to be real to make the enemy believe that pretended hostile activities are genuine. By inducing a false sense of danger in one area, an enemy is forced to strengthen defenses there, weakening them where the real assault is intended to occur.

Deception theorists cite these overarching principles: the decision-maker is the target, the deception must cause a specific action (simply having an enemy believe something is not sufficient), centralized control avoids self-confusion and conflict with other friendly operations, security is required so that the enemy does not discover the ruse, timeliness is key as an enemy requires time to collect and analyze the deception-supporting signs, and friendly intelligence must confirm the desired enemy actions. Finally, integrating the deception with an actual operation adds credibility and enemy uncertainty.

A cover operation is a form of deception that leads the enemy to decide genuine hostile activities are harmless. Cover induces a false sense of security by disguising the preparations for the real attack, so that when it comes the enemy will be taken by surprise. A rumor campaign suggesting to the enemy that troops embarking to invade a tropical country are in fact bound for the Arctic is a simple example of a cover operation.

At the other end of the complexity spectrum, a deceptive plan may involve months of careful preparation and the movement of thousands of troops, hundreds of aircraft, and scores of warships—all to convince an enemy that a major assault is being mounted. For example, if an enemy believes an amphibious assault is planned against beachhead A, gathering ships within striking distance of beachhead A will reinforce this perception, while the ships are also within range of the true objective at beachhead B. A cover plan may be on the same scale, designed to conceal real preparations for a massive assault.

Preparations for the Normandy Invasion were surrounded by an extensive and detailed deception operation plan. The overall deception scheme, known as BODYGUARD, consisted of 36 subordinate plans designed to convince Adolf Hitler that the Allies were going to continue with peripheral attacks until at least July 1944, beyond the actual invasion date. The key sub-operation FORTITUDE SOUTH was intended to draw attention away from NEPTUNE, the actual Normandy Invasion. Operation FORTITUDE NORTH suggested an invasion of Norway by combined American, British Commonwealth, and Soviet forces, which kept 27 German divisions in Norway and idle. Once it became obvious that France, not Scandinavia, was the objective, Operation FORTITUDE SOUTH was designed to convince the Germans that the Allied invasion of northern France would come in the Pas de Calais area. This required the creation of a fictitious 1st Army Group in the Dover region under

Lieutenant General George S. Patton, with sham radio traffic, dummy equipment, and supporting hearsay evidence.

Operationally, the deception included more actual aerial bombardment of Calais than the of actual target. Little was beyond the scope of the deception planners. On one occasion before the Normandy Invasion, for example, Lieutenant Clifton James, a British Army Pay Corps officer who bore a striking resemblance to General Bernard Montgomery, met with troops in Gibraltar and Algeria so that German intelligence would believe the real field marshal was in the Mediterranean instead of in London.

Large-scale defensive decoys were also employed during the war, particularly in Britain during the 1940 Battle of Britain and thereafter. These decoys fell under the purview of the Air Ministry's Colonel J. F. Turner under the anonymous name "Colonel Turner's Department" or CTD. Thirty-six daytime airfield decoys called "K sites," with mowed runways, wood and canvas aircraft, and dummy trenches, each a decoy for a particular Royal Air Force (RAF) station, were completed by the summer of 1940. However, a German reconnaissance plane shot down in October 1941 contained a map that identified 50 percent of the decoy sites, and they were all subsequently closed by June 1942.

In tandem with K sites, nighttime Q sites were constructed using deceptive airfield lighting that was occasionally augmented by hand-moved lights to simulate taxiing aircraft. Q sites proved much more successful. Eventually, 171 Q sites were constructed throughout Britain, with 359 of 717 Luftwaffe bomber attacks targeting these decoys by 1942. The success of the Q sites led to variations: QL sites (*L* for lighting) simulated the presence of marshaling yards, naval installations, armament factories, and so on. Various devices emitted sparks to resemble electric train flashes; orange lights shone down onto sand, conjuring furnace glows; doors opened and closed. QF sites (*F* for fire) were created in response to the knowledge that a fire in the target area often drew more bombers to it. Thus, several important factories were provided with their own deceptive decoy installation. "Oil QF," an effort to protect oil reserves by simulating a refinery fire, foundered under the combined difficulties of excessive oil consumption (up to 2,500 gal of oil per hour were needed to keep the fires going realistically) and lack of support by the oil companies, which believed the decoys would attract bombers.

After the German raid on Coventry, large urban decoys called "Starfish sites" appeared. These were the war's largest and most sophisticated decoys. Assorted fire-producing decoys were produced, soaked variously with boiling oil, paraffin, or creosote to create convincing fire effects. Depending on the fires' color and intensity, burning houses, factories, and power stations were accurately simulated. The Starfish sites were immediately successful, and by January 1943 more than 200 had been built. By June 1944, British

decoy sites had drawn 730 attacks that otherwise would have killed British people or destroyed valuable infrastructure.

The Soviets routinely emphasized deception in military operations and often in political operations. The military staffs incorporated the complementary concepts of *maskirovka* (deception and camouflage) and *khitrost* (cunning and stratagem) into all planning levels. Although deception had been doctrinally accepted since the early 1920s, the shock of the rapid German advance to the outskirts of Moscow and Leningrad painfully reinforced its practical utility.

The Soviets crudely but successfully hid the creation and deployment of three small armies during their Moscow counteroffensive, although this was due more to poor German intelligence and bad weather than skillful deception operations. However, the Soviets soon learned the requirements of integrating tactical deception (such as having individual tank units adhere to radio silence) with operational deception (such as moving several units to an unexpected front, creating new corps to attack where no Soviet formations had been reported). By 1944, deception planning had evolved so that strategic capabilities were possible. For example, by conducting numerous operations toward western Ukraine, the Soviets habituated the Germans into believing that the USSR's strategic axis was through Ukraine into southern Poland and Romania. Spring 1944 saw an elaborate *maskirovka* operation that concealed the redeployment of actual forces while surreptitiously creating forces for the major offensive through Byelorussia, progressing against German Army Group North and eventually dislocating the entire front. By this point, Soviet use of secrecy, ruses, and disinformation provided the USSR with an operational advantage for the remainder of the war. Even when the Germans did detect the deception, it was usually too late to counter the Soviet moves.

Deception was not limited to the European Theater. The Japanese supported their initial strategic campaign through deception. Before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Allied military attachés and other sources were shown only antiquated aircraft and were intentionally misinformed regarding pilot proficiency at night flying and shallow-water torpedo attacks. The depicted incompetencies readily reinforced preconceptions that western attachés and intelligence analysts held regarding the Japanese.

Early Japanese parachute operations, such as the capture of Menado airfield on the Celebes on 11 January 1942, succeeded superbly, but these actions informed the Allies of Japanese paratroop procedures and allowed the Allies to develop ways to counter Japan's weaker airborne forces. The Japanese responded with deception. Thus, the Japanese 21 February airborne assault on Timor commenced with a feigned paratroop assault several miles from the actual drop zones. With the Dutch defenders reacting to the deceptive

attack, the main body of paratroops easily secured and held the Allied communications lines.

The United States routinely used deception in the Pacific Theater. For example, before the United States attacked Tinian Island on 24 July 1944, two dozen warships of Carrier Task Force 58 targeted Tinian Town and nearby road junctions with naval gunfire. This misled the Japanese as to the actual amphibious sites, allowing the assault ashore with greatly reduced casualties. Such deception operations played a major role in World War II.

Robert B. Martyn

See also

Britain, Battle of; Camouflage; FORTITUDE, North and South, Operations; Menado, Battle for; MINCEMEAT, Operation; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Pearl Harbor, Attack on

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Declaration on Liberated Europe (February 1945)

Declaration issued by leaders of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union—the “Big Three”—during the February 1945 Yalta Conference. At Yalta, the bargaining position of the western Allies was weak. They had recently suffered a major embarrassment in the German Ardennes Offensive (Battle of the Bulge), and the Soviet armies were poised to drive on Berlin. Soviet leader Josef Stalin seemed to hold all the cards, at least as far as eastern and central Europe were concerned. Soviet troops occupied most of that territory, including Poland. Stalin sought to secure control of a belt of East European satellite states, both to provide security against another German invasion and to protect a severely wounded Soviet Union against the West and its influences.

British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill pointed out at Yalta that the United Kingdom had gone to war to defend Poland, and U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt was influenced by the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations Declaration but also by a large Polish constituency at home. Roosevelt pressed Stalin to agree to applying the Atlantic Charter to the limited area of “liberated Europe.” This, of course, excluded both the British Empire and the Soviet Union.

Stalin agreed to the resulting Declaration on Liberated Europe. It affirmed the right of all peoples “to choose the gov-

ernment under which they will live” and called for the “restoration of sovereign rights and self-government” to peoples who had been occupied by the “aggressor nations.” The Big Three pledged that in the liberated nations, they would work to restore internal peace, relieve distress, form governments that were “broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population,” and ensure that there would be “free elections” that were “broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population” as soon as possible. But such lofty phrases were subject to different interpretations.

No institutional arrangement was established to enforce the ideas embodied in the declaration. As it transpired, the Soviets chose to regard “democratic elements” as meaning all Communist and pro-Communist factions and “free elections” as excluding all those they regarded to be fascists. The result was Soviet control over much of eastern and central Europe—at first indirect and, with the development of the Cold War, direct. The Soviet Union did pay a price for the declaration in the court of world opinion, as Stalin’s promises to respect human rights were proven utterly false

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Atlantic Charter; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stalin, Josef; United Nations Declaration; Yalta Conference

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Dempsey, Miles Christopher (1896–1969)

British army general. Born in New Brighton, Cheshire, on 15 December 1896, Miles Dempsey graduated from the Royal Military College at Sandhurst in 1915. He saw action on the Western Front and in Iraq in World War I. He served at Sandhurst from 1923 to 1927. Dempsey was then on the staff of the War Office from 1932 to 1934 and at Aldershot from 1934 to 1936. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1938.

In 1940, Dempsey commanded the 13th Infantry Brigade (Royal Berkshires) in France as an acting brigadier general, leading it with distinction during the retreat to and evacuation from Dunkerque. Dempsey then helped train new British forces, was promoted to major general in January 1941, and



General of the British Army Miles Dempsey. (Corbis)

received command of the 42nd Armoured Division. In December 1942, at the request of Lieutenant General Bernard Montgomery, Dempsey took command of XIII Corps of the British Eighth Army and was advanced to lieutenant general. Dempsey helped plan Operation HUSKY and the invasion of Sicily, and he then commanded his corps in the assault. Dempsey also directed the assault crossing to Italy of the 1st Canadian Infantry and 5th Canadian Armoured Divisions.

By January 1944, Dempsey had returned to Britain to command the British Second Army, and, with his staff he helped develop the OVERLORD plan for the invasion of northern France. In the fall of 1944, the Second Army participated in the breakout from the Normandy beachhead, raced through France and Belgium, liberated Brussels and Antwerp, and penetrated into Holland in Operation MARKET-GARDEN. Dempsey had opposed the Eindhoven-Arnhem route, preferring instead an offensive closer to the First Army near Aachen. King George VI knighted him for his role in MARKET-GARDEN. In March 1945, the Second Army crossed the Rhine and then pushed to the Baltic. Dempsey personally took the surrender of Hamburg on 3 May 1945.

Dempsey kept close control of his subordinates, often placing his tactical headquarters close to theirs and keeping reserves under his own control in the early phases of a battle. He sought to avoid high casualties, arranging the maximum fire support and emphasizing the use of tactical air power. Many scholars consider Dempsey's influence in the war to be minimal, dismissing him as Montgomery's cipher. Dempsey's introverted nature and his shunning of both publicity and self-promotion aid this impression. The close working relationship between Montgomery and Dempsey obscures the authorship of operational decisions, as does their shared tendency to rely on verbal orders. They worked together for so long that they thought along similar lines and anticipated each other's reactions and decisions. During the Normandy Campaign, Dempsey is credited mainly with the decision and planning of operation GOODWOOD.

In August 1945, Dempsey succeeded General Sir William Slim as commander of the Fourteenth Army for the reoccupation of Singapore and Malaya. He followed Slim again as commander in chief of Allied Land Forces in Southeast Asia. Dempsey was promoted to full general on leaving that post and was commander in chief in the Middle East in 1946 and 1947. He then retired at his own request in July 1947 and entered the private sector. Dempsey died in Yattendon, Berkshire, on 5 June 1969.

Britton W. MacDonald

See also

Dunkerque, Evacuation of; GOODWOOD, Operation; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; OVERLORD, Operation; Sicily, Invasion of; Slim, Sir William Joseph

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Denmark, Role in War

The small nation of Denmark with a population of some 5 million people had since 1815 sought security in neutrality, and indeed the country was neutral during World War I. As additional insurance, it signed a nonaggression pact with Germany in the spring of 1939. Although Denmark's chief trading partner was Great Britain, which received Danish exports of dairy products, it was clear that Denmark lay within Germany's sphere of influence. Its conquest by Germany was a natural extension of Operation WESERÜBUNG, Adolf Hitler's plan to take Norway in April 1940. German occupation of Denmark was essential if Germany was to control Norway.

At the time of the German invasion, Denmark had an army of 14,000 men, 8,000 of whom had been recently drafted. The small navy had only 3,000 men and 2 coast defense warships (built in 1906 and 1918). The air force, split between the army and navy, had 50 obsolete aircraft. The German invasion, mounted before dawn on 9 April 1940, was over in only 2 hours. The government ordered a cease-fire after the occupation of Copenhagen, leaving insufficient time for the government or King Frederik IX to get abroad.

Germany initially employed a soft approach in Denmark, reaching an accord with the Danish government wherein most governmental functions remained under Danish control. Denmark provided important military bases to Germany and exported essential foodstuffs, such as dairy products and meat, to Germany. Indeed, these latter amounted to some 10 percent of German requirements. This arrangement worked well for three years, 1940–1943, with only sporadic resistance. The official Danish policy was to collaborate with Germany to the extent necessary, a policy supported by most of the population.

Danish collaboration was predicated on the assumption that the Germans would honor their pledge not to interfere in Danish internal affairs, but time and again the Germans broke the agreement, demanding certain military equipment and insisting on the removal of specific government officials. The Germans also demanded that Denmark make a greater contribution to the German war effort, and Danish authorities urged some 100,000 of Denmark's citizens to work in Germany to prevent them from being conscripted.

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union, the Germans forced the Danish government to ban the Communist Party and accept German recruitment of a Danish Free Corps to fight on the Eastern Front. In November 1941, Germany insisted that Denmark join the Anti-Comintern Pact.

There were Danes who took up cause against Germany from the beginning. On the German conquest of Denmark, 232 Danish merchant ships were at sea with some 6,000 seamen. Most of the latter helped to crew ships in the Atlantic and Arctic convoys. Ultimately, 1,500 of these men lost their lives, and 60 percent of the fleet was lost. By 1944, Danes formed the crews of two British minesweepers. Another thousand Danish nationals served with various Allied forces fighting the Axis powers.

In 1940, a Danish Council was formed in London, which in 1942 became the Free Danish Movement. Henrik Kauffmann, Danish ambassador to the United States, disassociated himself from the Danish government and signed a treaty in 1941 granting the United States military bases in Greenland. British forces also occupied the Faeroe Islands, another Danish possession, in April 1940. In May 1940, the Allies also occupied Iceland, which declared itself independent in 1944.

In the spring of 1942, Berlin appointed Werner Best as Reich commissioner for occupied Denmark. A hard-line Ger-



Cheering Danes gather in Copenhagen around British soldiers, one of whom has climbed on the hood of a military vehicle, following the liberation of the city, May 1945. (Library of Congress)

man officer Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) Hermann Hanneken took command of German troops in Denmark and was encouraged by Hitler "to rule with an iron hand." Such actions infuriated the Danes and led to an uprising in August 1943. The changing German military fortunes, British radio broadcasts, and the Danish illegal press all helped shift public opinion away from collaboration to support for resistance. The occupying Germans did not confiscate radio sets, and many Danes listened to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) daily. The August demonstration and associated strikes demanded an end to collaboration. Attempts by Danish authorities to crush the demonstrations ended in fatalities and were unsuccessful. There were also violent clashes between Danes and German soldiers in some provincial cities. Consequently, the Germans declared a state of emergency on 29 August, arrested most members of the Danish military, and in effect took over rule of the country.

In September 1943, the Gestapo arrived in Denmark and initiated a Nazi reign of terror that lasted to the end of the war. Some 6,000 Danes were sent to concentration camps, and hundreds more were executed outright. Many Danes sought refuge in Sweden. The Danish Freedom Council became the de facto clandestine government, an underground army was formed, and more than 2,000 acts of sabotage were carried

out, some 30 percent of these in Copenhagen. The Danish Freedom Council divided the nation into six regions, exercising central authority through its Command Committee. By the end of the war, the Danish Resistance numbered about 40,000 people. The sabotage acts had little effect on the German war effort, although news of them had a positive psychological impact on the Danish population as proof that Denmark was no longer collaborating with Germany.

Danes of all walks of life actively resisted German efforts to round up Jews. Although Best ordered the arrest of all Jews in Denmark, more than 7,000 escaped the Nazi net; 5,500 were transported to Sweden by boat. Only 472 were caught and sent to Theresienstadt. Danes did not forget those who had been sent there; they regularly sent packages of foodstuffs and clothes, and only 52 of the Jews there perished.

The Germans surrendered Denmark on 4 May, and the Danish Resistance took control of the country the next day. On 5 May, a company of the British 13th Airborne Battalion arrived in Copenhagen by plane along with Major General R. H. Dewing, head of the Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF) mission to Denmark. British infantry troops marched into Denmark on 7 May. The following day, troops from the British 1st Parachute Brigade took the formal surrender of all German forces. When the German commander on the island of Bornholm refused to surrender, Soviet aircraft on 7 and 8 May bombed the towns of Rønne and Neks, causing great damage but few deaths. On 9 May, Soviet ships arrived at Rønne, and the Germans there surrendered. However, Soviet troops occupied the island until April 1946. Following the war, the Danish government ordered the arrest and punishment of some 34,000 Nazi collaborators.

After the war, the Danes would have preferred establishing a league of armed neutrality with Norway and Sweden, but they reluctantly followed Norway into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In 1951, the Danes agreed without particular enthusiasm to having U.S. naval and air bases in Greenland. Whatever hesitancy the new Danish policy might have indicated, it was a major switch from prewar neutrality and the feeling that no amount of military preparation on their part would deter their much more powerful neighbors.

Gene Mueller and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Anti-Comintern Pact; Denmark Campaign; Himmler, Heinrich; Hitler, Adolf

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Denmark Campaign (9 April 1940)

Code-named Operation WESERÜBUNG SUD (WESER EXERCISE SOUTH), the German invasion of Denmark began at approximately 4:15 A.M. on 9 April 1940. It formed an integral part of the much larger German assault on Norway (Operation WESERÜBUNG) that began the same day. German units quickly overran the Danish Peninsula, abrogating a nonaggression pact signed between Germany and Denmark in May 1939.

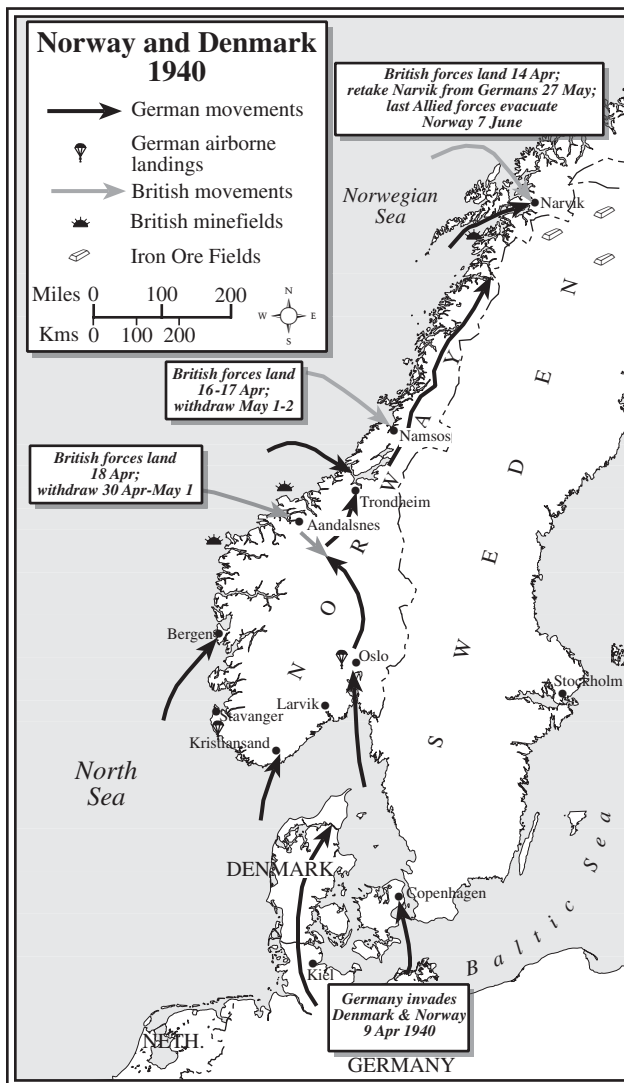
Although Danish intelligence learned of the German plans to invade as early as 4 April, the accounts were contradictory, and in any case were not believed. Certainly, the Danes had no chance whatsoever of defeating the German invaders. The poorly trained and inadequately equipped Danish army numbered only some 14,000 men, 8,000 of whom had enlisted within 8 weeks prior to the German attack. The Danish navy consisted of just 2 small vessels and approximately 3,000 men. The navy surrendered without going on alert, allowing a German troopship to arrive at Copenhagen. The Air Force had only 50 obsolete planes and a handful of pilots, no match for the vaunted Luftwaffe.

On 9 April, German seaborne forces moved into the capital of Copenhagen and secured the city by 6:00 A.M. Meanwhile, German paratroopers conducted the first airborne operation of the war when they seized the undefended fortress of Madnesø and, shortly thereafter, the airport at Aalborg in north Jutland. At the same time, German army units raced across the Jutland Peninsula in motorized columns. Although Danish Army units briefly contested the Germans in north Schleswig, the outcome was never in doubt.

German minister to Denmark Cecil von Renthe-Fink presented an ultimatum to the Danish government, demanding surrender and threatening the destruction of Copenhagen by Luftwaffe squadrons already en route if it refused. There was absolutely no chance of victory over the Germans, and eager to avoid further loss of life, King Frederik IX and Premier Thorvald Stauning believed they had no choice but to order surrender at 7:20 A.M. The campaign for Denmark was over. Danish casualties amounted to 26 dead and 23 wounded; the Germans lost 20 dead and wounded.

The German invasion provided the excuse for the Allied occupation of Iceland, which belonged to Denmark. Allied possession of strategically located Iceland proved vital in the Battle of the Atlantic. German forces occupied Denmark until the end of the war in May 1945.

Lance Janda

**See also**

Airborne Forces, Axis; Denmark, Role in War; Norway, German Conquest of

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Depth Charges

Explosive devices designed to sink a submarine by detonating in its vicinity when triggered by water pressure, by the target's magnetic or acoustic signature, or by a variety of timers. From 1916 until 1943, well into World War II, the depth charge was the principal antisubmarine weapon of all navies,

after which more sophisticated weapons with greater range came to the fore.

In 1939, most navies used weapons similar to the British Type D Mark III (which entered service in 1916). The Mark III had a charge of approximately 200 lb and a sink rate of 6–10 ft per second and was triggered hydrostatically to explode at depths between 25 and 300 ft. Such charges had a lethal radius of 20 ft, and exploding at 40 ft, they could force a submarine to surface. Antisubmarine vessels discharged depth charges from roll-off racks and mortars (throwers) that projected them some 40 yards to the side. At the beginning of the war, the normal procedure for antisubmarine attacks was to use depth charges in patterns of five—three dropped in a line using gravity from the roll-off racks at the stern and two fired (one to each side) by throwers to produce a diamond-shaped pattern intended to bracket the target submarine.

Development during World War II concentrated on four main areas: larger charges, faster sink rates, greater fused depths, and more effective patterns. More powerful explosives such as Minol and Torpex, which were 50 percent more effective than TNT, replaced guncotton, and charges also increased in size. The U.S. and British navies introduced weapons with 600-lb explosive charges in 1941. In 1942, the Royal Navy introduced the massive Mark X weapon with a 2,000-lb charge. It was so large it was fired from 21-inch torpedo tubes retained on destroyers and escorts for this specific purpose. Sink rates rose to 22–50 ft per second, either by adding weights to conventional charges (“heavy charges”) or by streamlining the cases. Modified fuses also allowed depth charges to explode deeper, doubling the maximum depth to 600 ft (at 50-ft intervals). The modified Mark X* sank faster because one buoyancy chamber was deleted and could be fused to explode down to 900 ft, while the Mark X** (which did not enter operational service) could be set to explode as deep as 1,200 ft.

Equally important were more effective dropping patterns. Modified casings resulted in more reliable and predictable underwater trajectories, newer projectors increased surface ranges to 150 yards, and mathematical analysis generated patterns having greater kill probabilities. First, the addition of another thrower on each beam allow use of a 7-charge pattern in the form of a hexagon, increasing the danger zone. Mixing standard and heavy charges created a new, highly effective 10-charge pattern that layered two diamond-shaped 5-charge patterns one above the other. The final development was a 3-layer 14-charge pattern using 4 throwers on each side and 6 charges dropped from the stern racks. Operational experience, however, demonstrated that, although the pattern was theoretically much more lethal than the 10-charge pattern, in practice the explosion of the first charges countermanded the later charges and rendered them ineffective.



Sailors on the deck of the U.S. Coast Guard cutter *Spencer* watch the explosion of a depth charge that resulted in the 17 April 1943 sinking of U-175. (Still Picture Records LICON, Special Media Archives Services Division (NWCS-S), National Archives at College Park)

Therefore, the antisubmarine force reverted to the 10-charge pattern and replaced the additional throwers with stowage for extra charges.

Air-dropped depth charges played an important role during and after World War II. First designs were modifications of existing surface types, which limited their efficacy, since their weight reduced the number that could be carried and they were also subject to restrictions on dropping height and speed. The purpose-designed types that followed were lighter and less subject to dropping restrictions. Scientific analysis of attack camera records contributed mightily to the effectiveness of air-dropped depth charges. Scientists learned that charges were dropped too low and with depth fuse settings that were too deep to be effective. The ultimate fuse setting for aerial depth charges of 25 ft and new bomb sights and tactics transformed the weapons' effectiveness.

During 1944, newer weapons such as Hedgehog, Squid, and homing torpedoes surpassed depth charges in killing submarines. Nevertheless, the depth charge was still an important antisubmarine weapon until after the war's end.

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See also

Antisubmarine Warfare; Hunter-Killer Groups; Sonar

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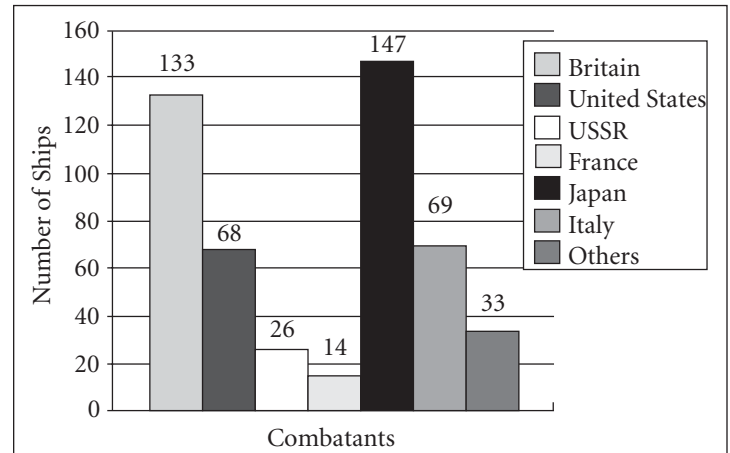
Destroyers

Small warships that are lightly armed and protected and capable of high speed. The destroyer originated in connection with the self-propelled torpedo, which was introduced in the late 1860s, and the consequent construction in the following decade of torpedo boats to carry the new weapon. These small, inexpensive warships offered the potential to destroy battleships, which were the most powerful and most costly vessels afloat. Most naval powers of the age, as they based their fleet strength on the battleship, endeavored to devise a defense against the torpedo boat. In 1893, Great Britain produced an answer in the *Havock*, the first modern torpedo-boat destroyer. Torpedo-boat destroyers were essentially enlarged torpedo boats that carried light guns and torpedoes. They were to hunt down and destroy enemy torpedo boats before the latter could launch their weapons against the capital ships of a battle fleet. Development in all maritime nations yielded vast improvements over the first torpedo-boat destroyers. By World War I, there were more of these warships (known by this time simply as destroyers) than of any other ship type in the world's navies.

The role of destroyers changed because of their increasing design capabilities in the years before World War I and from wartime experience. Destroyers became superior in all respects to the torpedo boats they were designed to destroy. As a result, naval powers in the prewar years largely discontinued the production of torpedo boats in favor of destroyers. The destroyer assumed the offensive role of torpedo boat while retaining the role of defending against torpedo attacks launched by enemy destroyers. World War I added extensively to the duties of these vessels. By the end of that conflict, destroyers had acted not only in the roles envisioned for their type, but also as surface combatants and bombardment ships in amphibious operations. More important than these uses, however, was their use by Great Britain, France, and later the United States as escorts for merchant convoys to defend against submarine attack. Destroyers were particularly effective in this capacity after the wartime introduction of depth charges and underwater listening devices such as hydrophones and sonar.

World War I demonstrated the importance of destroyers, and the same basic types continued during the interwar years. Great Britain had such large numbers of the craft that fresh designs were not initiated immediately after the close of the war in 1918. However, destroyer construction in Italy led France to respond, as French politicians and naval officials viewed Italy as France's principal naval competitor in the Mediterranean. In 1923, France built large vessels that began a trend toward "superdestroyers" in the world's navies. Great Britain and Japan returned to destroyer pro-

Destroyers Lost by Combatants in World War II



duction in the late 1920s; the United States did not initiate new construction until the early part of the next decade. Germany, although restricted by the Treaty of Versailles after World War I, began building new vessels at the same time as the United States.

This destroyer construction took place in an era of naval disarmament as the world's great powers sought to limit production as a means to prevent future wars. Unlike most other warships, few restrictions were put on the design and number of destroyers during the naval disarmament talks of the period. The 1930 London Conference limited destroyers to a maximum displacement of 1,850 tons and their guns to 5 inches or smaller, but these stipulations meant little. Until the late 1930s, the largest and most heavily armed designs met these requirements, and the limit was increasingly ignored after 1934 when the Japanese withdrew from the Washington Treaty and declared that they would not support future arms limitations discussions.

The American Somers-class is an example of destroyer design in the years immediately before the outbreak of World War II. Completed in 1937, the *Somers* measured 381' × 36' 11" and displaced 2,047 tons. She had exceptionally heavy armament: 8 × 5-inch guns, 8 × 1.1-inch guns, 2 × .5-inch weapons, and 12 × 21-inch torpedo tubes. The *Somers* had no armor protection and could steam at a maximum speed of 37 knots. Destroyers belonging to other naval powers loosely approximated the size, displacement, and armament of this vessel. France remained the exception as it continued to design destroyers that sometimes dwarfed those of other nations. The *Mogador*, launched in 1937, measured 451' 1" × 41' 7", displaced 2,884 tons, and carried no armor protection. It was armed primarily with 8 × 5.5-inch guns and 10 × 21.7-inch torpedo tubes and was capable of 39 knots. Despite the increase in the size and armament of destroyers, they were in most respects technologically the same as their World War I predecessors, although in some destroyer classes the largest

guns were mounted in gun houses rather than open mounts to provide protection for crews. A further difference from the past was the incorporation of anti-aircraft guns to fend off air attack.

By 1940, as during World War I, destroyers were the most numerous warships in the world's navies. Great Britain operated 247 destroyers of varying types and ages. The United States counted 149, and Japan had 116. Italy operated 90 destroyers. The other naval powers of the world also possessed large fleets: France maintained 66; the Soviet Union had 62; and Germany, through a naval policy that had violated the Treaty of Versailles, possessed 37.

World War II proved the continued importance of destroyers and introduced a new vital duty, convoy escort.

World War II proved the continued importance of the roles destroyers had performed in the previous world conflict and introduced a new vital duty. In the Atlantic Theater, the primary task of British and Canadian destroyers was as

convoy escort to guard against attack of merchant vessels by German submarines. This effort proved so important that the destroyer formed the basis for one of the first diplomatic agreements between Great Britain and the United States during the war. The 1940 Destroyers-Bases Deal transferred 50 aging World War I-era American destroyers to Great Britain in return for basing rights in the Western Hemisphere. Throughout the war, destroyers fought and helped to win the Battle of the Atlantic. Despite heavy losses in merchant vessels, ultimate Allied success in this effort allowed Great Britain to continue in the war. In addition, it enabled the transport of American troops to the European and Mediterranean Theaters after 1941.

Destroyers were also used as surface combatants, support for amphibious operations, troop transports, and resupply ships. An example in the Atlantic Theater of the first three of these roles is Germany's April 1940 invasion of Norway. Destroyers not only bombarded areas earmarked for the landing of troops, but they also attempted to fend off attacks from opposing British warships, and they transported a portion of the German ground force. The same roles existed for destroyers in the Mediterranean, where Allied vessels bombarded enemy positions during Operation TORCH, the November 1942 Allied invasion of North Africa. British vessels also acted as resupply ships for both the Allied troops in North Africa and the garrison on Malta, the principal British outpost in the Mediterranean.

These same roles were prevalent in the Pacific Theater, involving largely the forces of the United States and Japan. The Japanese used the destroyers both as surface combatants and as resupply vessels. Destroyers armed with the Long Lance torpedo were a key element of Japanese tactical operations and proved their effectiveness, especially in early night actions. The best example of a resupply effort was the famous Tokyo Express, which resupplied Japanese troops during the 1942–1943 contest for Guadalcanal. Destroyers were well suited for this resupply role as they were fast enough to make the voyage to Guadalcanal and depart still under cover of darkness. Early U.S. deficiencies in night-fighting were overcome, and American destroyers soon matched their Japanese counterparts in surface combat. In the August 1943 Battle of Vella Gulf, American destroyers sank three Japanese destroyers with no losses. The Japanese also used destroyers to protect convoys that supplied the home islands with war matériel.

In addition, use of destroyers in an anti-aircraft role was widespread in the Pacific Theater. Both the Japanese and the United States sought ways to effectively defend their most important capital ships, the aircraft carriers. Destroyers partly filled the need for anti-aircraft defense. This critical duty was reflected in the significant increase in the anti-aircraft gun batteries of both Japanese and American destroyers during the war. The 12 Japanese Akitsuki-class vessels, launched between 1941 and 1944, mounted only 4 × 25-mm guns in addition to their primary armament of 8 × 3.9-inch guns, which could be used against surface targets or elevated and used against aircraft. By the end of the war, the complement of 25 mm guns had risen to 40–51 each for the surviving ships of the class. American destroyers showed the same shift to greater anti-aircraft armament over the course of the war based on combat experience. By 1944, the 58 vessels of the Allen M. Sumner-class mounted a primary armament of 6 × 5-inch guns that could be used for surface combat or against aircraft and a smaller battery of 12 × 40-mm guns specifically devoted to anti-aircraft defense.

The large number of critical roles performed by the destroyers and their consequent frequent use led to wartime construction that yielded an additional 633 destroyers among the principal naval combatants. The vast majority of these vessels were produced in the United States and Great Britain, which completed 392 and 165 ships, respectively. An example of wartime construction is the 150-ship U.S. Navy Fletcher-class. Launched between 1942 and 1944, these vessels measured 376' 5" × 39' 7", displaced 2,325 tons, and were protected by light side and deck armor. They were armed with 5 × 5-inch guns, 4 × 1.1-inch weapons, 4 × 20-mm guns for anti-aircraft defense, and 10 × 21-inch torpedo tubes. They could make 38 knots.

The necessity for vessels to fulfill convoy escort roles also led to the production of a new type of destroyer that was



USS *Cassin*, one of the three destroyers sunk at Pearl Harbor, during the Japanese attack of 7 December 1941. (Hulton Archive)

cheaper and faster to build. Known as the destroyer escort, this ship was an essentially smaller, less capable destroyer with greater antisubmarine warfare capability. An example is the American TE-class escort, which measured 306' × 37' and displaced 1,432 tons. These were armed with 3 × 3-inch guns and an assortment of antisubmarine weaponry.

During the war, the belligerent powers constructed 915 destroyer escorts. The United States and Great Britain accounted for the majority of this production with 499 and 349 ships, respectively. The design of both the destroyers and destroyer escorts of the Allies and Germany and Italy benefited from the incorporation of radar, which was retrofitted to vessels produced before the war.

World War II exacted a heavy toll in terms of destroyers lost. By the end of the conflict, the belligerents had suffered a combined loss of 490 destroyers of varying types: among these, Japan lost 147; Great Britain suffered 133 sunk, largely in the Battle of the Atlantic; Italy lost 69 vessels; the United States counted 68 destroyers sunk; the Soviet Union lost 26; and France lost 14.

Eric W. Osborne

See also

Atlantic, Battle of the; Central Pacific Campaign; Convoy PQ 17; Convoys, Allied; Convoys, Axis; Depth Charges; Destroyers-Bases Deal; France, Navy; Germany, Navy; Great Britain, Navy; Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Hunter-Killer Groups; Italy, Navy; Japan, Navy; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; Mariana Islands, Naval Campaign; Marshall Islands, Naval Campaign; Narvik, Naval Battles of; Norway, German Conquest of; Radar; *Reuben James*, Sinking of; Savo Island, Battle of; Sonar; Southeast Pacific Theater; Southwest Pacific Theater; TORCH, Operation; Torpedoes; United States, Navy; Vella Gulf, Battle of

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Destroyers-Bases Deal (2 September 1940)

An agreement between U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill in 1940

that provided Great Britain with World War I–vintage U.S. destroyers, in return giving the United States access to British bases in North America and the Caribbean.

Following the evacuation of the British Expeditionary Force from Dunkerque, Britain was virtually naked militarily, and the nation now awaited a German attack. When Churchill appealed to Roosevelt for military assistance, the U.S. reaction was immediate and extraordinary. Within days, 600 freight cars were on their way to U.S. ports filled with military equipment to be loaded aboard British merchant ships. These included half a million rifles and 900 old 75 mm field guns.

On 15 June, Churchill directly appealed to Roosevelt for 35 old U.S. destroyers. With Germany controlling both the Channel ports and Norway, Britain faced the prospect of defending against German invasion with but 68 destroyers fit for service, a stark contrast to the 433 destroyers possessed by the Royal Navy in 1918. Britain's shipping lanes were even more vulnerable to German submarines with the fall of France, and Italy's entry into the war had made the Mediterranean an area of difficult passage. As Churchill put it to Roosevelt, "We must ask therefore as a matter of life or death to be reinforced with these destroyers." Over the next days and weeks, as the number of these British warships continued to dwindle, Churchill's appeal grew to 50–60 destroyers. Roosevelt's insistence on proceeding with the aid went against the advice of Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall and Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Harold Stark, who believed that Britain was doomed and that such a step would strip America bare militarily before new production could materialize.

With American public opinion strongly against U.S. intervention, Roosevelt masked the transfer in a deal announced in an executive order on 3 September 1940 that was not subject to congressional approval. Britain received 50 World War I–vintage destroyers from the United States, in return granting the United States rights of 99-year leases to British bases in North America and the Caribbean Islands. The United States claimed that the agreement did not violate American neutrality because the British were providing access to naval bases and facilities deemed essential for American defense, including those in Newfoundland, Bermuda, British Guiana, Jamaica, Saint Lucia, and Trinidad. The Roosevelt administration maintained that the deal was an important step in ensuring national security and preventing the spread of the European war to the Americas.

Actually, the United States got far more than it gave. The destroyers were in wretched condition; some barely made it across the Atlantic. But the deal gave a tremendous boost to British morale at a critical juncture, and Churchill viewed this as another step by the United States toward outright participation. Privately, German leader Adolf Hitler saw this in much the same light. Anxious to unleash Japan in Asia to

occupy the United States, he ordered talks opened with Japan that culminated in the Tripartite Pact of 27 September. The long war, a clash involving continents that would give advantage to nations with superior sea power, drew closer to realization. One of the destroyers, HMS *Campbeltown* (formerly the USS *Buchanan*) played a major role in the British destruction of the dry dock at Saint Nazaire, France, on 28 March 1942.

James T. Carroll and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Dunkerque, Evacuation of; Hitler, Adolf; Marshall, George Catlett; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Saint Nazaire, Raid on; Stark, Harold Raynsford "Betty"; Tripartite Pact

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Devers, Jacob Loucks (1887–1979)

U.S. Army general. Born on 8 September 1887 in York, Pennsylvania, Jacob Devers graduated from the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, in 1909 and was commissioned a second lieutenant of artillery. In 1912, he returned to West Point as an instructor.

During World War I, Devers was at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. In 1919, he served in the occupation of Germany and attended the French Artillery School at Treves before again teaching at West Point. Devers graduated from the General Staff College (1925) and the Army War College (1933). From 1936 to 1939 he was at West Point, where he was advanced to colonel.

After World War II began in Europe in 1939, Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall ordered Devers to place the Panama Canal Zone on a wartime footing. The next year, Devers was promoted to brigadier general. Following staff duty in Washington, he commanded the 9th Infantry Division at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. Supervising the rapid expansion of this base, he earned promotion to major general.

Known for his ability to train troops, Devers in July 1941 took command of the Armored Force at Fort Knox, Kentucky, and there he supervised the rapid expansion of U.S. armored forces. He soon became an enthusiastic advocate of mobile combined-arms warfare. Devers was promoted to lieutenant general in September 1942.

In May 1943, Devers took charge of U.S. Army ground forces in the European Theater of Operations (ETOUSA). He supervised the rapid U.S. buildup in Britain and hoped to lead the cross-Channel invasion. Instead, he was sent at the end of 1943 to the Mediterranean as deputy supreme Allied com-



Lieutenant General Jacob L. Devers, deputy commander in the Mediterranean Theatre, inspects a Punjab regiment 28 April 1944. (Hulton Archive)

mander there, replacing General Dwight D. Eisenhower. On 15 September 1944, Devers finally received the combat command he had long sought: the Sixth Army Group of 23 divisions, consisting of Lieutenant General Alexander Patch's Seventh Army and General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny's First French Army, which had invaded southern France in Operation DRAGOON. In March 1945, Devers was promoted to general and that same month his Sixth Army Group crossed the Rhine and drove into southern Germany and Austria, where he accepted the surrender of German forces on 6 May.

Devers commanded U.S. Army Ground Forces from 1945 to 1949 and retired in September 1949. He died in Washington, D.C., on 15 October 1979.

Brent B. Barth Jr.

See also

DRAGOON, Operation; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Lattre de Tassigny, Jean Joseph Marie Gabriel de; Marshall, George Catlett; Patch, Alexander McCarrell, Jr.

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Dewey, Thomas Edmund (1902–1971)

U.S. politician and twice Republican Party candidate for president. Born on 24 March 1902 in Owosso, Michigan, Thomas Dewey graduated from the University of Michigan in 1923, received his law degree from Columbia University in 1925, and in 1926 was admitted to the New York bar. Dewey launched his government career five years later as chief assistant to the U.S. attorney for the southern district of New York. Dewey became U.S. attorney for the southern district of New York in 1935. Between 1935 and 1937, he garnered national attention as special prosecutor in an investigation of organized crime in New York, securing 72 convictions out of 73 prosecutions of long-established racketeers.

Dewey was district attorney of New York County in 1937 and 1938. Unsuccessful as the Republican candidate for governor of New York in 1938, Dewey won the state office for three successive terms beginning in 1942. As governor, he earned a reputation for political moderation and administrative efficiency, putting the state on a pay-as-you-go basis for capital building, reorganizing departments, and establishing the first state agency to eliminate racial and religious discrimination in employment.

The Republican nominee for U.S. president in 1944, Dewey was not able to overcome the enormous prestige of incumbent President Franklin D. Roosevelt, nor had he been expected to. Dewey refused to make an issue of the Pearl Harbor disaster of December 1941, but he charged the Democrats with inefficiencies in rearmament, an antibusiness stance, extravagance, and corruption. He also condemned Roosevelt's support of the Soviet Union. Roosevelt won the 1944 election with 25,606,585 popular votes and 432 electoral votes to Dewey's 22,321,018 popular votes and 99 electoral votes.

Dewey ran again for the presidency in 1948 against Roosevelt's successor, incumbent Harry S Truman. Although the pollsters predicted victory for Dewey, Truman won. Dewey then returned to private law practice. He died on 16 March 1971 in Bal Harbor, Florida.

John A. Komaromy

See also

Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Truman, Harry S; United States, Home Front

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Dieppe Raid (19 August 1942)

First major European amphibious operation of World War II. On 19 August 1942, a landing force of 5,000 Canadian and 1,000 British troops plus a token force of 60 U.S. Army Rangers raided the German-held French port of Dieppe on the English Channel. The raid, which was undertaken at the instigation of Chief of Combined Operations Lord Louis Mountbatten, was launched as a demonstration to the Soviet Union of Allied resolve and as a rehearsal for a subsequent major cross-Channel invasion. An assault, even a small one, could demonstrate to the people of occupied Europe that they were not forgotten and that eventual liberation was on the way.

Dieppe was selected because it was within range of fighter support from Britain and because wide beaches adjacent to the

town provided good prospects for landing troops. German defenses were formidable. They included coastal artillery, an offshore minefield, nearby airfields, and the close proximity of troops who could rapidly reinforce the city's garrison.

Operation JUBILEE, as the raid was called, began before dawn on 19 August and ran into trouble early. The assault boats were discovered as they approached the landing site, and they then were fired on by five armed German trawlers. All hope for surprise was lost as the German defenders established a deadly crossfire on the beach in the predawn darkness. By 9:00 A.M. carnage reigned supreme, and the British commanders decided to withdraw the surviving troops. Allied destroyers escorted the rescue boats in under murderous German fire to extract the survivors.

By early afternoon, the rescue boats were headed back to England with the remnants of the Dieppe raiders, leaving 24 officers and 3,164 men behind who had been either killed or captured. The overall Allied personnel casualty rate was more than 40 percent, the highest of the war for any major offensive involving all three services. The Canadians suffered the worst; with 4,963 men, they made up 80 percent of the attackers, and



Allied soldiers stand guard over blindfolded German prisoners captured during the raid on Dieppe, France, in August 1942. (Library of Congress)

3,367 were casualties (907 killed). Some Canadians have called it the worst military disaster in their history. During the battle, 33 landing craft and 30 tanks were lost. Additionally, a destroyer was sunk by the Germans during the evacuation effort. The British lost 106 aircraft shot down; the Germans lost only 48.

The lessons of the failed operation, however bitter, were very important—both on the general points of how difficult it is to capture a defended port and how crucial is a preliminary bombardment to the more detailed lessons relating to equipment for beach landings. Equipment, organization, and command structure were all found sadly deficient. However, historians differ concerning the impact of these lessons on the planning and preparation for the subsequent North African landing in November 1942 and later Allied invasion of Normandy in June 1944. In any case, the Dieppe raid did bury the myth that a cross-Channel invasion would be possible in 1942, and it cast grave doubts for the success of such an operation even in 1943. It did not intimidate the Germans or cause them to transfer forces from the Eastern Front. Quite the contrary, it starkly demonstrated the pathetic state of Allied preparations to open a second front. The Dieppe raid was more than a political setback. Its most telling consequence was to dissuade Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill and the British chiefs of staff from any commitment to cross-Channel operations.

James H. Willbanks

See also

Amphibious Warfare; Canada, Army; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Mountbatten, Louis Francis Albert Victor Nicholas; Normandy Invasion and Campaign

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In early 1940, Dietrich received command of the Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler (LSSAH), which became a panzer-grenadier division in 1942. With it he took part in the invasions of France, Greece, and the Soviet Union. When the western Allies landed in Normandy in June 1944, Dietrich commanded the 1st SS Panzer Corps, and in September Hitler gave him command of the Sixth SS Panzer Army. Dietrich was awarded the Reich's highest decoration, the Diamonds to the Iron Cross, and in August 1944 he was promoted to the rank of Oberstgruppenführer. His army played an important part in the December 1944 Ardennes Offensive, but it was unable to realize Hitler's far-reaching expectations.

Dietrich then fought on the Eastern Front. His last offensive, which was in Hungary during March 1945, failed. Dietrich, to that point the prototype of the National Socialist soldier, lost Hitler's confidence because he questioned Hitler's directives and ordered the retreat of his exhausted troops.

After the war, Dietrich was found guilty of being responsible for the execution of U.S. prisoners of war (the Malmédy trial) and was sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment. Dietrich served only 10 years, but he was later arrested again and charged for murders committed in 1934. He was sentenced to only 18 months in prison. Dietrich died at Ludwigsburg on 21 April 1966.

Martin Moll

See also

Allied Military Tribunals after the War; Ardennes Offensive; France, Battle for; France Campaign; Greece Campaign; Hausser, Paul "Papa"; Himmler, Heinrich; Hitler, Adolf; Malmédy Massacre; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Peiper, Joachim; Waffen-SS

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Dietrich, Josef "Sepp" (1892–1966)

German Schutzstaffel (SS) general and commander of Leibstandarte, a bodyguard unit responsible for Adolf Hitler's personal safety. Born on 28 May 1892 in Hawangen, Bavaria, Josef Dietrich volunteered for the army in 1914 and became a crewman in one of Germany's first tanks. After the war, Dietrich was active in the Freikorps before joining the National Socialist Party and the SS in 1928. He was selected as one of Hitler's bodyguards and was in charge of the buildup of the Leibstandarte. In the Blood Purge of July 1934, Dietrich led an execution squad in the elimination of the leadership of the Sturmabteilung (SA, Storm Troopers).

Dill, Sir John Greer (1881–1944)

British Army field marshal, chief of the Imperial General Staff (IGS), and member of the Combined Chiefs of Staff (CCS). Born in Belfast, Ireland, on 25 December 1881, Dill was commissioned in the British army on graduation from the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst in 1901. He fought in the latter stages of the 1899–1902 South African (Boer) War.

On the outbreak of World War I, Dill was a student at the Staff College of Camberley. He then held staff positions with units on the Western Front, but he also saw action and was wounded. Considered an exceptional staff officer, Dill was transferred to the operations branch, general headquarters,



Gen. Josef Dietrich, former commander of the Sixth SS Panzer Army (11); Gen. Fritz Kraemer, chief of staff to Dietrich (33); and Lt. Gen. Herman Priess, former commanding general of the I SS Panzer Corps of the Sixth Panzer Army (45) and others on trial at Dachau for the massacre of American troops at Malmédy, Belgium. (Bettman/Corbis)

and he ended the war as the head of that branch and a temporary brigadier general.

Dill served in a variety of posts after the war. In 1930 he was promoted to major general, and the next year he was appointed to head the Staff College. In 1934, he became director of operations and intelligence at the War Office. At the outset of World War II, Dill received command of I Corps but did not see action. In April 1940, he was appointed vice chief of the Imperial General Staff and succeeded Field Marshal Sir Edmund Ironside as CIGS in late May 1940. His term as CIGS was a rough one. He presided during the British military withdrawal from continental Europe and the Battle of Britain, when the United Kingdom seemed on the brink of destruction. He never got along well with Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, who regarded him as too cautious. In November, the government announced that Dill would retire the next month when he reached age 60 and would be named governor-designate of Bombay, India. In recognition of his

services, he was promoted to field marshal. This was done to make room for General Alan Brooke to become CIGS. As CIGS, Brooke was Dill's staunch supporter and friend. He convinced Churchill in a meeting on 11 December 1941 that Dill should accompany the prime minister to the United States and then remain for duty with the British Joint Staff Mission.

As the Combined Chiefs of Staff were formed in January 1942, Dill became the available man to chair the British Joint Staff Mission in Washington, a new strategic organization charged with coordinating British and American strategy and logistics within the CCS. Despite his poor health, Dill soon found his way into the hearts and minds of his American colleagues, and he succeeded in a demanding assignment. He got along well with U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall. Dill became the resilient link—and the buffer—between two nations joined in a sometimes uneasy partnership at war.

Dill died in Washington on 4 November 1944 and was buried in Arlington National Cemetery, the only foreign officer ever afforded that distinction. The U.S. Congress honored him with a joint resolution in December 1944. On 1 November 1950, a magnificent equestrian statue of Dill was dedicated in Arlington Cemetery. He was awarded the American Distinguished Service Medal posthumously and had been knighted in 1937 by his own nation.

John F. Votaw

See also

Brooke, Sir Alan Francis; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Combined Chiefs of Staff, Dunkerque, Evacuation of; Marshall, George Catlett; Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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Displaced Persons (DPs)

The term *displaced person* (DP) was often used for refugees who at the end of the war in Europe were living outside their prewar national boundaries and needed assistance. In 1942, Great Britain and the United States solicited support from the other Allied powers for help in dealing with the expected masses of slave laborers, prisoners of war, and political prisoners in Germany and its conquered territories. These efforts culminated in November 1943 when 44 nations signed the Agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), the first international organization created to help to wartime refugees. As the United States would be contributing about 40 percent of UNRRA's budget, an American, former New York governor Herbert Lehman, became its first director.

UNRRA planned to provide DPs with housing, food, clothing, and other necessities until each person could be "repatriated" to his or her home nation. This did not take into account the fact that many DPs, especially Jews and ethnic Germans from eastern Europe, could not safely return home. Others, particularly Poles and Czechs, did not want to return to home nations occupied by the Soviet army. The estimated two-year time frame for UNRRA to carry out its tasks was also wildly optimistic.

UNRRA field teams for dealing with DPs were made up of multinational groups of about a dozen men and women per team. They were selected for language skills and backgrounds

in administration, social work, medicine, or various mechanical abilities. In 1944, these teams began to assume administration of refugee camps that Allied military forces had established in North Africa and Italy. Teams had to rely on the Allied military for additional personnel, transportation, and assistance in enforcing the UNRRA regulations at the camps. Some local commanders were quite helpful; others were indifferent or even hostile to UNRRA. This problem lessened somewhat when the Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF) named U.S. Major General Allen Gullion, former provost marshal general of the army and an efficient organizer, as the head of its own displaced persons branch.

By the end of the war in Europe, SHAEF and UNRRA had identified more than 10 million refugees in and around Germany. Others in Soviet-controlled areas were never accurately counted. Most DPs, primarily the former prisoners of war and slave laborers from western Europe, were repatriated before the end of 1945. But nearly 800,000 others remained and were housed in DP camps across occupied Germany.

DP camps were built from German army barracks, depots, and even some former concentration camps. In some areas, neighborhoods and entire villages became "DP towns." UNRRA organized most camps by nationality, having learned that mixed camps too often led to violence. Since DPs were permitted to move freely, over time camps took on specific national and cultural identities. This ethnic concentration was reinforced by the practice of allowing each camp to elect a governing council and maintain its own police force.

UNRRA and the military enforced occupation regulations against black marketing and the like. Throughout 1946, the DP population fluctuated; many Poles and others returned to their home countries. There were still several hundred facilities housing DPs in 1947, when the International Refugee Organization replaced UNRRA as the administrator of refugee matters. Conditions in the camps were crowded, an average of 100 sq ft or less of space allotted to families of five or more people. Food remained scarce, and daily diets in the camps seldom exceeded 2,000 calories and were often less. Packages of food from America and the International Red Cross helped somewhat. As the Cold War intensified, DP populations grew again when individuals and families fled Poland and the other eastern European nations for the west.

Finding permanent homes for these masses of men, women, and children taxed the energies of Europe and the world well into the 1950s. At first, nations such as Belgium, Australia, and Canada accepted only single men who were willing to work in mining, forestry, and other heavy-labor jobs. Great Britain, albeit with some reluctance, permitted Jewish survivors of the Holocaust into Palestine and made room at home for Polish soldiers who had fought with the United Kingdom during the war.



German displaced persons, carrying their few belongings as they wait in Berlin's Anhalter Station to leave the German capital in 1945. (Library of Congress)

The United States moved slowly in passing legislation to accept DP immigrants. The resulting 1948 law had long waiting periods, quotas, and other restrictions similar to those of the 1930s, but through it increasing numbers of former DPs came to the United States. Ethnic Germans obtained a plurality of American visas because they received considerable help from American church groups. Ultimately, more than 580,000 DPs settled in the United States between 1949 and 1957—more than half of the total number of DPs who went to some 113 countries by the end of the 1950s. The last DP camp closed in 1957. Those who had not found a home elsewhere, mostly the old and infirm, then became the responsibility of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The DP program was an extraordinary experiment in international cooperation to salvage wrecked lives. At the camps, many refugees received the first decent treatment they had known in years. Some were able to take advantage

of educational opportunities and learn new trades that increased their chances for immigration. Most of these men, women, and children eventually found new homes somewhere in the world. But it took far longer to achieve this than the originators of the program had expected, and by then new struggles had been ignited in the Middle East and in Korea that produced new refugee populations. These made it clear that the world had not seen the end of the problem of displaced persons.

Terry Shoptaugh

See also

Holocaust, The

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Dixie Mission to Yan'an (Yenan) (July 1944–March 1947)

U.S. Army Observer Group sent to Yan'an (Yenan), China, to establish a liaison with Chinese Communist forces. The Dixie Mission began in July 1944 when a nine-man U.S. Army team flew to the headquarters of Chinese Communist leader Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) at Yan'an in Shaanxi (Shensi) Province in north central China. Colonel David D. Barrett, a "China hand" who had studied the language and served as a military attaché to China, headed the mission, which would continue through 1947. It included officer and enlisted personnel from all three services as well as representatives of the U.S. State Department. Barrett's mission was to collect information about Japanese and their "puppet" Chinese forces order of battle and operations. He was also to determine the extent of the Communist military effort in the war against Japan and to coordinate the search and rescue of downed Allied pilots in Communist-controlled areas.

A U.S. military mission to the Communists had first been suggested in mid-1943. Lieutenant General Joseph Stilwell's political adviser, John Paton Davies, believed strongly that U.S. advisers to Mao's headquarters could make a difference by coordinating with Chinese Communists who were fighting the Japanese. Davies drew parallels to the effort of the Allies to assist the Partisans of Tito (Josip Broz) in Yugoslavia. Fearing that American supplies and equipment would be diverted to the Communists and that U.S. leadership might develop a more favorable view of the Chinese Communist movement and operations in the territories held by them, Generalissimo Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) strongly opposed the mission to Yan'an. For the next year, the United States continued to pressure Jiang to allow this mission to go forward, but not until after the June 1944 visit of U.S. Vice President Henry A. Wallace could sufficient pressure be exerted on Jiang to allow the liaison mission to begin.

Communist official representative to the national government at Chongqing (Chungking) Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai), who saw potential in a future collaboration between the United States and the Red Army in the fight against the Japanese, supported an increase in American presence and the liaison effort. By August 1944, Barrett and a team that eventually numbered more than 20 people, including State Department officials John S. Service and Raymond P. Ludden, began to meet with the most senior political and military leadership of the Communist movement and to gather information about the Japanese and their allies as well as the Chinese Communists. The mission also provided the opportunity in November for Major General Patrick J. Hurley, in his capacity as a special emissary of U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, to

begin an effort to get the two Chinese factions to focus their efforts on fighting the Japanese rather than each other. During the course of the mission, the Dixie group secured the rescue and return of more than 100 American pilots.

The mission served perhaps its most important function after the war as a bridge between the United States and the Chinese Communists. A mission headed by General George C. Marshall brought the two sides to the negotiating table in an effort to secure a solution to the infighting in China that had been going on for decades. The collapse of the Marshall mission in January 1947 led to the end of the observer mission.

J. G. D. Babb

See also

China, Civil War in; China, Role in War; Jiang Jieshi; Mao Zedong; Stilwell, Joseph Warren; Zhou Enlai

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Djugashvili, Iosif Vissarionovich

See Stalin, Josef.

Dodecanese Islands

The islands of the southern Aegean Sea off the southwest coast of Anatolia were known through much of their history as the eastern or southern Sporades ("scattered"). The islands include Rhodes, Karpathos, Kassos, Haliki, Kastellorizo (Castlerosso), Alimia, Tilos, Symi (Simi), Nissyros, Kos (Cos), Pserimos, Astypalea, Kalymnos, Telendhos, Leros, Lipsi, Patmos, Arki, and Agathonissi. Early in the twentieth century, the Young Turks revoked the historic privileges enjoyed by the islanders, who were part of the Ottoman Empire. Twelve islands (*dhodkeka nisia*) joined in a failed protest against the loss of these privileges, and the name of *Dodecanese* stuck as a term for all these islands, even though they exceeded 12 in number.

In 1912, as a consequence of the Italo-Turkish War, the Dodecanese Islands passed to Italian control. In 1941, the Germans joined their Italian allies in garrisoning the islands, which were inhabited chiefly by Greeks. The Italians had

naval and air bases on Rhodes, the strategic key to the area. There was also an airfield on Kos, a seaplane base and naval batteries at Leros, and an air base on Scarpanto.

When Italy surrendered on 8 September 1943, the Dodecanese were occupied by two poorly equipped Italian divisions totaling 37,000 men; Italian morale was very low. The Germans had one division of 7,000 men, which was well equipped with tanks and artillery. The local Greek population was excited at the prospect of liberation by the Allied powers.

British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill ordered that operations be conducted against the Dodecanese Islands. He believed that success there would open the way to the Dardanelles and the Balkans. He also sought to induce Turkey to join the war and to remove the stain of Britain's defeat in World War I at Gallipoli. The original plan for an invasion of the Dodecanese, prepared by the Middle East Command, was known as Operation MANDIBLES, but it was subsequently renamed Operation ACCOLADE. Churchill appealed to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and to General Dwight D. Eisenhower for aid to liberate the Dodecanese. The Americans, who were preparing a landing on the Italian peninsula at Salerno, rebuffed him. Roosevelt also suspected that the British hoped to open a new front in the Balkans. Coincidentally, the Combined Chiefs of Staff meeting in Quebec ordered most of the landing ships in the Middle East to the Indian Ocean, which starved the operation of needed assets.

When Italy surrendered on 8 September 1943, three British operatives led by Major Lord George Jellicoe parachuted onto Rhodes. They contacted Italian authorities there and urged them to take the Germans prisoner. However, Admiral Inigo Campioni, commander of Italian forces in the Aegean, hesitated. The Germans, meanwhile, acted swiftly and soon subdued the Italians.

The British nonetheless proceeded with some landings, and by October 1943—with a force of 5,000 men and a small flotilla—they secured several islands, among them Kos, Samos, Patmos, and Leros. They were not able, however, either to gain air superiority or take Rhodes, and as long as the Germans were secure at Rhodes, the British could not hold the Dodecanese.

On 3 October 1943, the Germans went on the offensive, attacking Kos. Heavy bombing of the island by Stuka aircraft reduced the British defenses, and soon the British force there surrendered. Churchill refused to consider a withdrawal, instead ordering that Leros and Samos be held at all costs. Indeed, the British reinforced Leros. On 12 November, the Germans attacked Leros with overwhelming force, taking it four days later. The British troops remaining in the Dodecanese then withdrew.

Among British units involved were the Long Range Desert Group, the Special Boat Squadron, the Raiding Forces' Lev-

ant Schooner Flotilla, the King's Own, the Royal Irish Fusiliers, and the Durham Light Infantry. The Greek navy provided 7 destroyers to assist the more numerous British vessels. In the offensive, the British lost 4 cruisers damaged and 2 submarines, 6 destroyers, and 10 small coastal vessels and minesweepers sunk. The Royal Air Force flew 3,746 sorties and lost 113 aircraft out of 288 involved. The British army lost in all about 4,800 men, while the Italians lost 5,350. German casualties totaled some 1,184 men, 35,000 tons of shipping (between late September and late November 1943), and 15 small landing craft and ferries. The operation failed as a consequence of Campioni's hesitation, German aggressiveness, noncooperation by the Americans, and the inadequacy of British resources. Holding the islands, however, stretched German resources, ultimately tying down some 60,000 Germans who might have been better employed elsewhere.

After the war, the British governed the Dodecanese until 1947. The islands were then turned over to Greece.

A. J. L. Waskey

See also

Cephalonia Island; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Ismay, Hastings Lionel; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Wilson, Henry Maitland

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Dönitz, Karl (1891–1980)

German navy admiral who commanded the U-boats and later the full Kriegsmarine and then succeeded Adolf Hitler as head of the Third Reich. Born in Gruenau-bei-Berlin on 16 September 1891, Karl Dönitz joined the German navy in 1910. During World War I, he served on the cruiser *Breslau*, but he transferred to U-boats in 1916, commanding several submarines in the Mediterranean. In October 1918, his *U-68* attacked an Allied convoy, sinking one of the ships. His sub-



The commanding officer of the U-boats, Admiral Karl Dönitz (left), congratulating German U-boat sailors upon their return to port, May 1942. (Library of Congress)

marine was forced to the surface when it developed mechanical problems, and Dönitz was taken prisoner.

Dönitz continued in the navy after World War I. He held a variety of shore and sea assignments including command of a torpedo-boat flotilla, during which he experimented with tactics he would later develop into the *Rudeltaktik* (wolfpack) concept. German Chancellor Adolf Hitler named Dönitz commander of the fledgling German submarine force in 1935. Kapitän zue See und Kommodore (captain and commodore) Dönitz sought to build additional submarines to expand the fleet to 300 boats, a number he believed would be decisive in winning the next war. Dönitz's passionate advocacy of submarines led to friction between him and the commander of the navy, Grand Admiral Erich Raeder, who preferred to allocate scarce naval resources to a long-range program of conventional large surface ships. Their differences became moot when World War II began before either type was fully ready for decisive employment.

Promoted to Konteradmiral (U.S. equiv. rear admiral) in October 1939, Dönitz struggled to overcome the problems of insufficient numbers of U-boats and ineffective torpedoes,

difficulties that nearly wrecked his operations. To combat Allied convoys, Dönitz implemented wolf pack tactics: centralized control over groups of U-boats that struck Allied convoys at night in surface attacks. In January 1943, Hitler, frustrated by the performance of his surface navy, removed Raeder and replaced him with Dönitz as head of the navy. Dönitz endeavored to continue the U-boat war, but during "Black May" in 1943, his U-boats were essentially defeated through Allied antisubmarine countermeasures including aircraft, convoys, searchlights, radar, sonar, and the ability to read Germany's encoded radio messages.

Unlike virtually all other senior German military officers, Dönitz managed to retain Hitler's confidence and favor. Dönitz's final military success was the evacuation of hundreds of thousands of Germans from the Baltic states by sea. As the Allied armies entered Germany on 15 April 1945, Hitler appointed Dönitz as commander of all forces in northern Germany. On 30 April, the day that Hitler committed suicide, Dönitz was informed that Hitler had appointed him to serve as president of the Reich and supreme commander of the armed forces. Dönitz then led the crumbling Third Reich, hoping to

delay Soviet advances to allow millions of German troops and civilians to flee westward to British and U.S. lines to avoid falling into Soviet hands. Dönitz surrendered Germany unconditionally to Allied representatives on 7 May 1945.

The British arrested Dönitz on 23 May. Tried by the International War Crimes Tribunal at Nuremberg, Dönitz was found guilty of crimes against peace and violation of the rules of war and was sentenced to 10 years in Spandau Prison. He was released in 1956 and later wrote several books about his career and about submarine warfare. Unrepentant about his role in the war, Dönitz died in Aumuhle, Federal Republic of Germany, on 24 December 1980.

Steven J. Rauch

See also

Atlantic, Battle of the; Germany, Navy; International Military Tribunal: The Nuremberg Trials; Raeder, Erich; Wolf Pack

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Director of the OSS, William Joseph Donovan. (Library of Congress)

Donovan, William Joseph (1883–1959)

Head of the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS). Born on 1 January 1883, in Buffalo, New York, William Donovan graduated from Columbia University with a law degree in 1907 and afterward practiced law in Buffalo. He also served as a captain in the New York National Guard. He was stationed along the Mexican border in 1916 when the guard was called up to assist in the unsuccessful effort to capture notorious Mexican bandit and revolutionary leader Pancho Villa.

After the United States entered World War I, Donovan was sent to Europe with the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF). As a major, he commanded 1st Battalion of the 69th New York Infantry Regiment in the 45th Infantry Division. Donovan took part in the September 1918 Saint Mihiel offensive. Then a lieutenant colonel, he was wounded but refused evacuation and stayed to lead his men. His actions brought him the Medal of Honor and the nickname of “Wild Bill.”

After the war, Donovan returned to Buffalo to practice law. From 1924 to 1929, he was an assistant U.S. attorney general. He ran unsuccessfully for state political office and in 1929 moved to New York City. Much interested in international affairs, Donovan undertook several overseas missions for the Rockefeller Foundation and the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration. Donovan tried to convince Roosevelt and others that the United States needed an intelligence-gathering organization similar to that run by the British. His

efforts finally led to his appointment in July 1941 as head of the Office of Coordinator of Information, which after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor became the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). It gathered intelligence, conducted propaganda and sabotage, and assisted partisans.

After World War II, Donovan lobbied President Harry S Truman to set up a permanent intelligence organization. Truman initially rejected this step, but the coming of the Cold War led in 1947 to the formation of the Central Intelligence Agency, loosely modeled on the OSS. Donovan’s hope of heading the CIA was not realized, although he briefly returned to government service as ambassador to Thailand during 1953 and 1954. Donovan died on 8 February 1959 at Walter Reed Army Medical Center, Washington, D.C.

Graham Carssow

See also

Cold War, Origins and Early Course of; Partisans; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Truman, Harry S

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Doolittle, James Harold "Jimmy" (1896–1993)

U.S. Army Air Forces (later Air Force) general. Born on 14 December 1896 in Alameda, California, James Doolittle grew up in Nome, Alaska. He attended Los Angeles Community College and the University of California, but he left school following the entry of the United States into World War I and enlisted as a flying cadet in the Signal Corps Reserve. He attended flight school, became a pilot, and was commissioned a second lieutenant. He then served as a flight-gunner instructor at Rockwell Field in San Diego, California. His request for assignment to France was denied because of the armistice of November 1918.

In 1920, Doolittle secured a Regular Army commission, and on 4 September 1922, he made the first transcontinental flight in less than 24 hours. He then studied at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he received master's and Ph.D. degrees in aeronautical engineering. A leader in advances in both military and civilian aviation, Doolittle helped develop horizontal and directional gyroscopes and pioneered instrument flying.

Doolittle gained prominence through stunt flying, racing, and demonstrating aircraft. In 1930, he left the army to become aviation manager for Shell Oil, where he helped develop new high-octane aviation fuels that greatly benefited the United States in World War II. He won the Harmon (1930) and Bendix (1931) trophies, and in 1932 he broke the world airspeed record.

In July 1940, Doolittle returned to the army as a major. Following U.S. entry into World War II, in January 1942 he was promoted to lieutenant colonel. On 18 April 1942, Doolittle commanded the first American air strike on the Japanese mainland. The raid was a great fillip for U.S. morale, and for it he was awarded the Medal of Honor and promoted to brigadier general.

In July 1942, Doolittle took command of the Twelfth Air Force in England, which he led in Operation TORCH in North Africa. In November 1943, he was given command of the Fifteenth Air Force in the Mediterranean Theater, directing it in raids against German-held Europe. In January 1944, he assumed command of the Eighth Air Force in the European Theater, and that March he was promoted to temporary lieutenant general. On Germany's surrender in May 1945, Doolittle moved with the Eighth Air Force to Okinawa, although the Eighth arrived in the Pacific Theater too late to see much action.

In May 1946, Doolittle returned to the civilian sector as a vice president for Shell Oil, and later he became its director. He also served on the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, the Air Force Science Advisory Board, and the Presi-



Major General James "Jimmy" Doolittle, who led the audacious April 1942 bombing raid on Japan. (Hulton Archive)

dent's Science Advisory Committee. In June 1985 by act of Congress Doolittle was promoted to general on the retired list. He died on 27 September 1993 in Pebble Beach, California.

Sean K. Duggan

See also

Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Okinawa, Invasion of; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Strategic Bombing; Tokyo, Bombing of (18 April 1942)

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Douglas, William Sholto (First Baron Douglas of Kirtleside) (1893–1969)

British air chief marshal. Born on 23 December 1893 at Headington, Oxfordshire, William Douglas was raised in London. He attended Oxford University but left to join the Royal Field Artillery at the start of World War I. Douglas soon transferred

to the Royal Flying Corps, where he qualified as a fighter pilot. By the end of the war he rose to squadron commander.

In 1919, Douglas left the military to become a test pilot with the Handley Page Aircraft Company. He was dissatisfied with civilian life and returned to the Royal Air Force (RAF) in 1920 as a squadron commander. He attended the Imperial Defense College. In 1936, Douglas was named director of staff studies at the Air Ministry; he was the only fighter pilot on the senior staff. Advanced to air vice marshal, in 1938 he became assistant chief of the air staff with responsibility for training.

Douglas was a leading critic of the tactics employed by head of Fighter Command Air Chief Marshal Hugh Dowding. On 25 November 1940, Douglas succeeded Dowding as head of Fighter Command as air marshal. Among his innovations was the Big Wing concept of large formations of fighters employed in massive sweeps. He also encouraged development of night-fighting equipment and techniques. Although his new tactics enjoyed some success, critics complained that they left much of the British homeland unprotected.

In December 1942, Douglas was promoted to air chief marshal and assigned to the Middle East Air Force (MEAF)

as deputy to Air Marshal Arthur Tedder. With the reorganization of Allied air forces in April 1943, Douglas assumed command of the MEAF. During the June 1944 Allied landings in Normandy, Douglas was chief of Coastal Command and commander of British Expeditionary Air Force with the mission of securing control of the English Channel.

With the return of peace, Douglas commanded the British Air Forces of Occupation and was knighted. Promoted to marshal of the RAF, in June 1946 he followed Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery as commander of British forces in Europe and military governor of the British occupation zone in Germany.

Douglas retired from active duty in 1948 and was awarded a peerage as First Baron Douglas of Kirtleside. He assumed a seat in the House of Lords and served on the boards of the two British state airlines. After completing two autobiographies, William Sholto Douglas died in Northampton on 29 October 1969.

Pamela Feltus

See also

Air Warfare; Britain, Battle of; Dowding, Sir Hugh Caswall Tremenhore; Fighter Tactics; Great Britain, Air Force; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Tedder, Sir Arthur William



Royal Air Force Air Chief Marshal William Sholto Douglas, 24 November 1940. (Photo by Central Press/Getty Images)

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Douhet, Giulio (1869–1930)

Italian air force general and pioneer of strategic air doctrine. Born on 30 May 1869 in Caserta, Italy, Giulio Douhet was commissioned in the Italian Army in 1892. An early advocate of military aviation, he led Italy's first air bombardment unit during the Italo-Turkish War (1911–1912). During World War I, his unbridled criticism of Italy's General Staff led to Douhet's court-martial and dismissal. Recalled to active service after the defeat at Caporetto, which vindicated much of his comment, he took charge of the Central Aeronautical Bureau (1918). After the war he retired and in 1921 he wrote *Il dominio dell'aria* (*Command of the Air*), a seminal work on airpower strategy. That same year he became a brigadier general. A strong supporter of fascism, Douhet won appointment in 1922 from Benito Mussolini as chief of Italy's aviation program.

Having witnessed Italy's costly and futile World War I campaigns on the Isonzo and the bitterness of land combat in the Alps, Douhet argued that strategic bombing attacks by heavily armed and armored "battleplanes" promised quick and decisive victories in future wars. Such a thrusting and offensive-minded approach conformed well to fascist beliefs. The fascist Douhet believed that civilian populations would panic under sustained attack; the seemingly inherent fragility of democracies proved a seductive chimera to him.

Disregarding the legality and morality of sneak attacks or the utility of graduated approaches to warfare, Douhet called for all-out preemptive air strikes to destroy an enemy's air force and bases, followed by concerted attacks on industry and civilians. A combination of high-explosive, incendiary, and poison-gas bombs, Douhet concluded, would generate psychological uproar and social chaos, fatally weakening the enemy's will to resist.

In arguing that airpower was inherently offensive and uniquely efficacious, Douhet dismissed friendly escort planes as superfluous, enemy interceptors as ineffectual, and interservice cooperation as unnecessary since battleplanes would render navies and armies obsolete. Results of the Allied Combined Bomber Offensive, however, proved Douhet wrong. He had exaggerated the destructive power and accuracy of bombing, the ability of bombers to fight their way unescorted to targets, and the fragility of democratic popula-

tions, who proved resilient under attack. Nevertheless, Douhet's call for independent air forces and offensive-minded strategic bombing proved influential, especially in Britain and the United States.

Douhet died in Rome on 15 February 1930.

William J. Astore

See also

Air Warfare; Mussolini, Benito

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Dowding, Sir Hugh Caswall Tremenheere (First Baron Dowding) (1882–1970)

British air force marshal. Born 24 April 1882 in Moffat, Scotland, Hugh Dowding was educated at Winchester and the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. Commissioned a second lieutenant of artillery in 1900, he then served in India and the Far East. He attended the Royal Staff College, Camberley (1910–1912), and learned to fly. Dowding was dubbed "Stuffy" for his seemingly aloof manner. He switched to the Flying Corps in 1914, rose to become a squadron commander in World War I, and was promoted to brigadier general.

After the war and command of No. 1 Group in south England (1922–1925), Dowding served in the Middle East. Promoted to vice air marshal in 1929 and air marshal in 1933, Dowding from 1930 to 1936 was a member of the Air Council, which was concerned with supply and research (including fighter aircraft design and planning for radar installations). He became the first chief of Fighter Command in July 1936 and worked from his Bentley Priory headquarters to integrate fighter pilots, radar, and ground control facilities. Scheduled for retirement in June 1939, Dowding stayed on when his designated successor was injured.

Air Chief Marshal Dowding's fighter aircraft were heavily outnumbered by the German Luftwaffe when active fighting began in France and the Low Countries on 10 May 1940. Dowding stoutly resisted calls by the French and Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill to send additional fighter squadrons to support the doomed Allied effort to halt the German invasion, knowing they would soon be needed for the defense of Britain itself. Thus when the Battle of Britain



British Air Chief Marshal Sir Hugh Dowding. (Library of Congress)

began in earnest in July 1940, he was able to maintain the narrow margin of air superiority over the British Isles that prevented implementation of the planned German invasion, Operation SEA LION.

Dowding tried to overcome a growing conflict between his two most important commanders, Keith Park at 11th Fighter Command Group in the southwest of England and Trafford Leigh-Mallory at 12th in the Midlands. Leigh-Mallory favored the Big Wing concept of using fighters to overpower the Germans, whereas Park and Dowding insisted on smaller group formations and more flexible tactics. At the same time, Luftwaffe attacks on British airfields, radar, and manufacturing centers were taking a growing toll on the thinly spread defense forces. Dowding was fortunate when Adolf Hitler turned the Luftwaffe against London (and thus away from the Royal Air Force [RAF] ground facilities) in reprisal for an RAF bombing raid on Berlin. By the end of October the battle was largely over, won by Dowding's "few" for "so many."

Dowding was now well past normal retirement age. He was relieved of command (in a poorly handled fashion, at which he felt understandably aggrieved) in November 1940 and replaced by Sholto Douglas. Dowding retired in 1942 and

was made a baron the next year. He died at Tunbridge Wells, England, on 15 February 1970.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also

Britain, Battle of; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Douglas, William Sholto; Hitler, Adolf; Leigh-Mallory, Sir Trafford L.; Park, Sir Keith Rodney; Radar; SEA LION, Operation

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DOWNFALL, Operation

U.S. plan for the invasion of Japan. On 25 May 1945, the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington provided a general outline of a plan to invade Japan but left the details to the two Pacific Theater commanders, General Douglas MacArthur and Admiral Chester W. Nimitz. MacArthur issued his plan, code-named DOWNFALL, three days later. It foresaw two operations. The first, to be initiated following "extensive air preparation," had the codename OLYMPIC. It consisted of a landing on southern part of the island of Kyushu by the 14 to 17 U.S. divisions already available in the Pacific Theater. The second invasion, code-named CORONET, would begin with a landing on the main island of Honshu and have as its objective the capture of Tokyo and the Yokohama areas as a base for further operations.

X day, the invasion of Kyushu, Operation OLYMPIC, was scheduled for 1 November 1945 and was to involve some 766,700 men lifted in 1,315 amphibious vessels. Sixth Army would be the principal ground element. For the invasion of southern Kyushu, MacArthur envisioned four corps of three divisions each. The follow-on force would add another two divisions. Three other divisions would be the strategic reserve. Nimitz saw aircraft carriers as the principal naval strike weapon and envisioned using 16 fleet and 6 light carriers of the U.S. Navy and 6 fleet and 4 light carriers of the British Pacific Fleet, both embarking some 1,914 aircraft. Once southern Kyushu was secured, MacArthur planned to turn it into a gigantic naval and air base for 40 air groups with approximately 2,800 aircraft.

Both OLYMPIC and CORONET faced daunting problems. The invasion of Kyushu was predicated on the assumption that the invaders would encounter only three Japanese divisions in southern Kyushu and three more in the northern part of the island. Yet ULTRA signal intercepts by early summer 1945 revealed that the Japanese were substantially reinforcing Kyushu. MacArthur dismissed out of hand intelligence esti-

mates based on ULTRA intercepts of a higher Japanese troop strength on Kyushu. He claimed such evidence was “erroneous” and suggested that the Japanese had managed to hoodwink ULTRA. Historian Edward Drea has pointed out that MacArthur routinely dismissed ULTRA evidence that “failed to accord with his own preconceived strategic vision.” The last estimate by MacArthur’s intelligence chief, Lieutenant General Charles Willoughby, of Japanese troop strength on Kyushu was 195,000 men (up from an initial estimate of 137,400), whereas actual Japanese strength was 287,000.

Y day, the invasion of Honshu in Operation CORONET, was scheduled for 1 March 1946. MacArthur planned to command CORONET in person. The invading force would consist of the Eighth and Tenth Armies with a total of 14 divisions, 3 of which would be Marines. The First Army of 10 divisions from Europe would be the follow-on force. MacArthur planned to hold one airborne division of his own, presumably the 11th, in strategic reserve, augmented by a corps of three divisions deployed from Europe. In all, CORONET was projected to involve 1,036,000 personnel. As the date for the projected invasions drew closer, plans changed. For example, the Tenth Army, formed for the conquest of Okinawa, was dropped from CORONET and replaced by the First Army.

Estimates of casualties from the invasions, had they gone forward, vary considerably. Historian Ray Skates has concluded that Operation OLYMPIC alone would have taken two months and resulted in 75,000 to 100,000 U.S. casualties. This estimate, which approximates the figure presented by MacArthur based on casualties taken in the securing of Luzon in the Philippines, may have been low. Others then and since have postulated a much higher figure on the basis of the Battle of Okinawa, in which 130,000 Japanese defenders inflicted some 66,000 casualties on attacking American forces, not counting Allied naval personnel losses to kamikazes. In addition to the much higher troop strength on Kyushu than on Okinawa, Japanese authorities were assembling thousands of kamikaze aircraft and water craft and mobilizing the civilian population for a fanatical defense. It would seem logical that the Japanese would have fought even more fiercely for their home islands than they did for Okinawa. Although heavy U.S. losses would not have affected the ultimate outcome of the war, they might have brought some modification in U.S. conditions for peace.

MacArthur’s revised plan of 15 August for CORONET also would have faced problems. It called for an assaulting force of 20 divisions, including 2 armored and 3 Marine. Five divisions would be in immediate reserve, with 3 others in the Philippines in strategic reserve. The total troop commitment came to 1,171,646 men. But even this revised plan faced problems. The assault would be beyond the range of most land-based aircraft, and MacArthur estimated defending forces of

7 army divisions, 160,000 naval troops, and supporting units and civilian volunteers. But the contemporary Joint Intelligence Committee estimated actual Japanese forces at perhaps double that figure, or 560,000 men.

In any case, MacArthur’s plans were never tested. Operation DOWNFALL proved unnecessary, for on 15 August 1945 Emperor Hirohito announced to the Japanese people the decision to surrender.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Atomic Bomb, Decision to Employ; Hirohito, Emperor of Japan; Kamikaze; MacArthur, Douglas; Nimitz, Chester William

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DPs

See Displaced Persons.

Drancy

See Concentration Camps, German.

DRAGOON, Operation (15 August 1944)

Allied amphibious operation in southern France originally intended to support and coincide with the June 1944 invasion of northern France—Operation OVERLORD—although it could not be mounted until 15 August 1944. Operation DRAGOON had its genesis under the code name ANVIL during strategic planning in 1942 as the Allies considered operations to invade continental Europe. Tied to operation SLEDGEHAMMER, the cross-Channel plan for 1942, ANVIL was to be a diversionary attack on the Mediterranean coast of France to either draw German forces there or, at a minimum, hold those



Allied troops landing in the southern French town of Saint-Tropez during Operation DRAGOON, August 1944. (AFP/Getty Images)

already there so they could not reinforce the defense against an attack on the Channel coast.

Operation DRAGOON was also entangled in European strategic discussions related to Allied planning: the direct route across the Channel pressed by the Americans, or the peripheral approach through North Africa and southern Europe urged by the British. When British Eighth Army forces were defeated in June 1942 in the Battle of Gazala in Libya and their forces at Tobruk were forced to surrender, pressure built to act against the immediate threat, and the western Allies decided on Operation GYMNAST (later renamed TORCH,) the Allied assault on North Africa. This decision canceled SLEDGEHAMMER and delayed planning and consideration for operation ROUNDUP, the autumn 1943 cross-Channel operation with which ANVIL was still loosely associated.

Debate continued between the Americans and British over the timing and even the feasibility of a cross-Channel attack into northwest France, to which ANVIL always was linked. As operations first in Sicily and then in Italy evolved from TORCH and Operation ROUNDUP gave way to OVERLORD, debate continued as the British pressed to reinforce Italian operations at the expense of ANVIL and delay OVERLORD. Finally, at Com-

bined Chiefs of Staff discussions in the Cairo Conference in late November 1943 in preparation for the Allied Conference in Tehran, the decision was made to take Soviet views into account.

At Tehran, Soviet leader Josef Stalin came down in favor of a cross-Channel attack against Germany in northwest France. Stalin believed that ANVIL, considered a diversionary attack in southern France by the western Allies, was an integral part of the overall pincer movement against German forces. When British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill suggested that operations in the eastern Mediterranean might take immediate pressure off the Soviets even if it meant delaying OVERLORD, Stalin replied that it was not worth scattering British and American forces. Before leaving Tehran, the Allies committed themselves to mounting OVERLORD with a supporting operation against southern France during May 1944. The problem then became how to conduct both OVERLORD and ANVIL with the resources available.

As planning for OVERLORD and ANVIL proceeded, it became apparent that the limiting factor would be the shortage of landing craft. Seizing the opportunity, the British again pushed for cancellation of ANVIL, not only to provide landing craft for

OVERLORD but to divert manpower to the Italian Campaign, which had bogged down. So severe was the landing-craft shortage that Supreme Commander, Allied Expeditionary Forces General Dwight D. Eisenhower found himself in favor of at least postponing ANVIL until after OVERLORD. This weakened the U.S. argument that ANVIL was necessary to divert German troops away from Normandy's beaches, but the British argument for needing additional forces in Italy evaporated with the Allied liberation of Rome. The Americans still argued they required the major Mediterranean port of Marseille to bring resources ashore for the drive against Germany.

On 10 August, the British reluctantly agreed to give ANVIL the go-ahead. Renamed because of security problems, DRAGON (Churchill said the name was apt because he had been dragooned into agreeing to it) began five days later on 15 August 1944. Vice Admiral H. Kent Hewitt, commander of the Eighth Fleet, had charge of the landing, and four naval task forces supported the invasion. Participating ships included 5 battleships (the *Lorraine*, *Ramilles*, *Texas*, *Nevada*, and *Arkansas*), 24 cruisers, 7 escort carriers, and numerous smaller ships from the British, U.S., French, and Greek navies. A total of 881 ships took part, along with 1,370 landing craft. In the skies, 4,056 Allied aircraft provided support.

At dawn, contingents of three American divisions—the 3rd, 45th, and 36th—and a French armor task force came ashore on beaches between Saint-Tropez and Cannes on the French Riviera, while a combined British and American airborne task force landed to seize bridges and cut roads inland. U.S. Seventh Army commander Lieutenant General Alexander M. Patch Jr. led the Allied force. Major General Lucian Truscott Jr., VI Corps commander, was the ground force commander. Seven Free French divisions under General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny came ashore the next day and headed west to seize the ports of Toulon and Marseille.

Although DRAGON was dwarfed by the Normandy Invasion two months earlier, the Allies nonetheless ultimately landed 250,000 American and French ground troops. German forces in southern France amounted to no more than 210,000 troops in eight and two-thirds divisions, and these were mostly second-rate formations. By the end of the first day, all three Allied divisions had secured their beachheads, and 86,000 men, 12,000 vehicles, and 46,000 tons of supplies had come ashore.

By 17 August, the Allied advance had reached 20 miles inland. Facing the possibility of substantial Germany army units being trapped in France, German leader Adolf Hitler ordered Army Group G commander General Johannes Blaskowitz to withdraw, leaving sufficient troops behind to deny the major ports to the Allies. The most serious fighting took place at the two ports of Toulon and Marseille, but within two weeks on 28 August, both fell to the French divisions of General de Tassigny's newly designated First French Army.

Operation DRAGON cost the Allies more than 13,000 casualties (more than half of them American) but resulted in a 400-mile advance that liberated virtually all of southern France. It also hurried the introduction of Free French troops into combat and opened additional ports for supporting the drive across France into Germany. It also netted 79,000 German prisoners and sped the collapse of the Third Reich.

Arthur T. Frame

See also

Brooke, Sir Alan Francis; Cairo Conference; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Falaise-Argentan Pocket; France Campaign; Gazala, Battle of; Hewitt, Henry Kent; Hitler, Adolf; Italy Campaign; Lattre de Tassigny, Jean Joseph Marie Gabriel de; Marshall, George Catlett; OVERLORD, Operation; Patch, Alexander McCarrell, Jr.; Stalin, Josef; Tehran Conference; Truscott, Lucian King, Jr.

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Dresden, Air Attack on (13–15 February 1945)

Allied strategic bombing raid against the German city of Dresden. This operation, conducted 13–15 February 1945, has become the most commonly evoked image to illustrate the excesses and horror of conventional bombing of cities. The firestorm caused by Royal Air Force (RAF) Bomber Command on the night of 13 February rivaled that of the raid on Hamburg of 27 July 1943. The immediate controversy about the raid contributed to the end of Allied strategic bombing. Cold War rhetoric and sensationalist presentations in history books and movies have clouded the facts ever since.

At the Yalta Conference on 4 February 1945, the Soviets asked for Allied air attacks on communication centers to prevent the shifting of German troops to the Eastern Front. They specifically mentioned Berlin and Leipzig, but Allied planners also identified Dresden and Chemnitz as appropriate objectives to meet Soviet needs. On 8 February, Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF) instructed RAF Bomber Command and the U.S. Strategic Air Forces to prepare an attack on Dresden because of its importance in relation to movements of military forces to the Eastern Front. Contrary to later reports,



View of the wreckage of Dresden, Germany, after it was firebombed by the Allies in 1945. The bombing, which targeted the civilian population, was one of the most devastating aerial raids in history. (Library of Congress)

Dresden did contain many important industrial and transportation targets, and it was defended, although many of its guns had been sent east to fight the Soviets. The allocation of effort was also shaped by the prodding of British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, although he later tried to distance himself from the operation and the atmosphere engendered by the pursuit of Operation THUNDERCLAP. The latter was a British plan to break German morale with a massive Allied assault on the German capital, Berlin, and refugee centers. The attack on Berlin was conducted on 3 February over the protests of U.S. Eighth Air Force Commander James Doolittle. Other Americans in the U.S. Strategic Air Forces headquarters and in Washington were also uneasy over concentrating on cities such as Dresden, but that did not stop the operation.

The operation opened on the night of 13 February with two separate British raids. The first blow was delivered by 244 Lancasters dropping more than 800 tons of bombs. This attack was moderately successful. The inhabitants of the city were surprised with a second attack three hours later, this time by 529 Lancasters delivering a further 1,800 tons of bombs. The

concentrated accuracy of the bombing against so many wooden structures and during ideal weather conditions produced a terrible conflagration. The smoke and flames made aiming very difficult the next day for the more than 300 American B-17s attempting to drop another 700 tons of bombs on the city's marshaling yards. Obscuration of the target area was even worse for a similar attack on 15 February.

When news of the destruction of Dresden reached Britain, there was considerable public outcry over the destruction of such a beautiful city when the war seemed to be virtually won. American air leaders were worried by similar reactions in the United States, especially after careless remarks by a SHAEF briefing officer inspired such nationwide newspaper headlines as "Terror Bombing Gets Allied Approval as Step to Speed Victory." Secretary of War Henry Stimson ordered an investigation of the "unnecessary" destruction but was satisfied by the resulting report explaining the background of the operation. Public reaction in the United States was muted. The controversy contributed to the Allied decision to suspend strategic bombing in April.

The casualty figures reported by German fire and police services ranged between 25,000 and 35,000 dead. However, thousands more were missing, and there were many unidentified refugees in the city. It is probable that the death total approached the 45,000 killed in the bombing of Hamburg in July–August 1943. Some careless historians, encouraged by Soviet and East German propaganda, promulgated figures as high as 250,000. Although David Irving later recanted his claim of 135,000 dead, one can still find that number cited in many history books.

Public impressions of the excesses of Dresden were reinforced by Kurt Vonnegut's novel *Slaughterhouse Five* and the movie it inspired. More than 50 years later, when critics of U.S. air operations against Iraq or Yugoslavia needed a metaphor to condemn conventional bombing attacks on cities, almost invariably they cited Dresden in 1945.

Conrad C. Crane

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Doolittle, James Harold "Jimmy"; Hamburg, Raids on; Strategic Bombing; Tokyo, Bombing of (9–10 March 1945)

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Driscoll, Agnes Meyer (1889–1971)

U.S. cryptographer. Born in Geneseo, Illinois, on 24 July 1889, Agnes Meyer graduated from Ohio State University in 1911 with a triple bachelor's degree in mathematics, languages, and music. She taught math and music in Amarillo, Texas, at the Lowry Philips Military Academy from 1911 to 1917. She enlisted in the U.S. Navy as a chief yeoman, serving from July 1917 to September 1919. Meyer's fluency in German, French, and Japanese and her mathematical skills proved invaluable to the process of cryptography, and she was asked to remain in the Code and Signal section of the Department of Naval Communication as a civilian clerk.

From 1921 to 1922, Meyer worked at the Riverham Laboratories in Chicago in the Cipher Department and probably attended training at the "Black Chamber" at New York Laboratories. She helped to invent a cipher machine in 1922 with U.S. Navy Lieutenant William Gresham, for which she was later paid \$15,000. During 1923 and 1924, Meyer acted as liaison to the navy and technical adviser to the Hebern Electrical Code Company. When that company went bankrupt, she returned to the Cryptographic Research Desk (OP-20-G) under U.S. Navy Lieutenant Lawrence Safford. Meyer married lawyer Michael Bernard Driscoll in 1924.

Driscoll, known as "Miss Aggie," was the instructor who trained many of the U.S. Navy's top cryptanalysts. She also excelled at breaking Japanese ciphers, in 1925 accomplishing the initial solution of the "Red Book" codes used for Japanese fleet maneuvers until 1930. In 1931, she used IBM machines to crack the "Blue Book," a breakthrough that revealed Japanese battleship speed in 1936 as well as the identities of two Pacific Fleet moles working for the Japanese, Harry Thompson and John Farnsworth.

In 1940, Driscoll's recognition that the Japanese code JN-25 was generated by a machine (M-1) gave the U.S. a head start in building its own decryption machine (M-3). Although briefly assigned to the Enigma codes, Driscoll concentrated on Japanese cipher traffic throughout World War II, providing crucial information in the days leading to the Battle of Midway and training most of the U.S. Navy's cryptographers.

Driscoll moved to the Armed Forces Security Agency in 1949 and to the National Security Agency in 1957, from which she retired in 1959. She died in Fairfax, Virginia, on 16 September 1971.

Margaret Sankey

See also

Signals Intelligence

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Drum, Hugh Aloysius (1879–1951)

U.S. Army general. Born 19 September 1879 at Fort Brady, Michigan, Hugh Drum was attending Boston College at the time his father, an army captain, was killed in the 1898 Spanish-American War. Drum left school that year and joined the army. He was commissioned from the ranks and served in the Philippines.

Drum graduated from the General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1912 and then saw service on the Mexican border. In May 1917, he joined General John J. Pershing's staff in the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) in France, assigned to the Operations Division. In July 1918, Pershing named Drum, then a major, chief of staff of the nascent American First Army. For his outstanding performance, Drum was advanced to temporary brigadier general.



U.S. Army General Hugh A. Drum (Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

After the war, Drum reverted back to his regular grade as major. In 1922, he was promoted to permanent brigadier general. He then commanded an infantry brigade and the 1st Infantry Division (1927–1930). Instructor general of the army in 1930 and 1931, he was promoted to major general in December 1931. Drum commanded the First Army from 1931 to 1933. He was deputy chief of staff of the army (1933–1935) and then commanded both the Hawaiian Department (1935–1937) and the Second Army (1937–1938). He next resumed command of the First Army, which was headquartered on Governor's Island, New York. He was advanced to lieutenant general in August 1939. Drum was the peacetime army's highest-ranking officer, and as such he expected to have field command of the army if the United States entered World War II. Offered the post of adviser to the Nationalist government of China, he declined (the post ultimately went to Lieutenant General Joseph Stilwell). His refusal and his criticism of his superiors, notably of Generals George C. Marshall and Lesley J. McNair, led to Drum remaining on Governor's Island and his retirement from the army in October 1943.

After his retirement, Drum headed the New York National Guard until 1948. He was also president of the Empire State Corporation, which owned and operated the Empire State Building, and he served as military adviser to Thomas E. Dewey during Dewey's 1944 presidential campaign. Drum died in New York City on 3 October 1951.

Derek J. Brown

See also

Marshall, George Catlett; McNair, Lesley James; Stilwell, Joseph Warren

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DRUMBEAT, Operation (13 January–19 July 1942)

German U-boat offensive conducted off the U.S. East Coast, in the Caribbean, in the Gulf of Mexico, and off Brazil.

Commander of German U-boats Vizeadmiral (vice admiral) Karl Dönitz welcomed the entry of the United States into the war in December 1941 as an opportunity to widen the U-boat offensive in the Atlantic. In planning Operation PAUKENSCHLAG (DRUMBEAT), Dönitz intended to operate against the United States and into the Caribbean larger Type IX U-boats with greater operational range. He would employ shorter-range Type VII U-boats off Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, which were much closer to his U-boat bases. Dönitz requested 12 Type IX boats from the Naval War Command for the oper-

ation but was informed on 10 December that he would have only 6. Although submarine construction had accelerated, there were still too few U-boats available. Bad weather in the Baltic had also disrupted U-boat training, and the Naval War Command insisted on maintaining a large number of U-boats in the Mediterranean to assist Axis operations in North Africa. In the end, Type IX vessel *U-128* was not ready at the start of the operation, so Dönitz had less than half the force he had requested.

Operation DRUMBEAT began with only five Type IX U-boats from the Gulf of Saint Lawrence to Cape Hatteras, North Carolina. Seven Type VII U-boats went to Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. All were in place by mid-January 1942, and DRUMBEAT never involved more than a dozen German submarines at any one time. To keep the Americans off balance, a month after DRUMBEAT was launched Dönitz switched its focus to the Caribbean, where several Italian submarines joined operations.

The first victim of DRUMBEAT, the British freighter *Cyclops*, fell victim to *U-123*, a Type IX boat, on 12 January 1942. Other sinkings quickly followed. The United States was totally unprepared for the U-boat attacks. Coastal cities were ablaze with lights at night, silhouetting the merchant ships plying the coast and making them easy targets. There were also few escort vessels available, and merchant ships sailed independently in the hundreds because Chief of Naval Operations Ernest King refused to institute a convoy system, believing that an inadequately protected convoy system was worse than none. All this meant that through April 1942, German submarines sank 216 vessels aggregating 1.2 million tons in the North Atlantic, the vast majority of these in waters for which the U.S. Navy was responsible.

This so-called “second happy time” or “the American turkey shoot” for German submarines finally came to an end through a mandatory blackout of coastal U.S. cities, the instigation of convoys and antisubmarine training schools, the relocation of air assets to antisubmarine duties, and the addition of antisubmarine warships. Not only did merchant shipping losses drop off, but increasing numbers of U-boats were sunk.

On 19 July 1942, Dönitz withdrew his last two U-boats from the East Coast of the United States, relocating his submarine assets back to the mid-Atlantic and signaling an end to the campaign. American unpreparedness had come at a high price. Operation DRUMBEAT was arguably Germany's most successful submarine operation of the entire war, resulting in the sinking of some 3 million tons of shipping. Undoubtedly, Dönitz would have enjoyed even greater success had he been able to employ more U-boats at the offset of the campaign.

Berryman E. Woodruff IV and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Atlantic, Battle of the; Dönitz, Karl; Germany, Navy; King, Ernest Joseph; NEULAND, Operation; United States, Navy

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Dumbarton Oaks Conference (21 August–7 October 1944)

Conference held in Washington, D.C., to decide on specifics in connection with the creation of a postwar international security organization. In the last half of 1944, as the Allies began to anticipate victory in the relatively near future, representatives of 39 nations met in the U.S. capital to devise detailed plans for creation of the United Nations, a security

organization the assorted states opposing the Axis powers had committed themselves to forming. In recognition of the fact that the Soviet Union had not yet entered the Far Eastern war against Japan, the conference took place in two stages. From 21 August to 28 September 1944, Soviet delegates attended, but for the final 10 days, 28 September to 7 October, the Soviets left the gathering, yielding their place to a Chinese delegation.

The Big Three Allied powers—the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain—dominated the conference as they did the wartime coalition. This was reflected in the blueprint for the new United Nations that the meeting produced. The draft proposals were heavily influenced by the view of U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, which British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill and Soviet Premier Josef Stalin effectively shared, that agreement among the Big Four Allied powers (“the four policemen”) must be the foundation of postwar international security. In obeisance to international public opinion and to adhere to their more idealistic pronouncements about the rights of all nations and peoples to



Chinese delegation standing with other delegates at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in Washington, D.C. (Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

determine their own governments, the conferees nonetheless decided on a scheme that showed some respect for more idealistic visions of a world in which all powers, great and small, enjoyed equal status and protection.

After lengthy deliberations, the Dumbarton Oaks delegates agreed to create a bipartite United Nations organization modeled on the earlier League of Nations but reserving ultimate authority to the dominant Allied states. All member states were entitled to representation in the General Assembly, which would debate, discuss, and vote on issues that came before it. Executive authority rested with the 11-member Security Council, which had 5 permanent members: Great Britain, France, the United States, the Soviet Union, and China. The remaining Security Council representatives, selected from among other member states of the United Nations, served two-year terms in rotation. The 5 permanent Security Council members therefore enjoyed far greater continuity of power and could effectively dominate the new organization, and their position was enhanced by the organization's dependence on their financial contributions. Besides providing an international security mechanism to mediate and settle disputes among member states, the United Nations was also expected to promote international cooperation on economic, social, and humanitarian issues.

The Dumbarton Oaks conference left several important issues still unsettled, largely because these were so sensitive that they were deferred for personal decision by the Big Three leaders, Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill. Among such matters were Soviet requests for independent representation in the General Assembly for Byelorussia and the Ukraine and a Soviet suggestion that each separate permanent Security Council member should enjoy veto power over any United Nations decision. Dumbarton Oaks also neglected to establish appropriate mechanisms to administer former League of Nations mandatory territories and those areas seized from the Axis powers, an omission likewise repaired at Yalta, where the Big Three agreed to establish a trusteeship system for the purpose. Existing colonies of Allied nations fell outside this mechanism's purview unless the imperial power itself chose to hand the colonies over to United Nations administration.

From May to July 1945, the Allies held another conference at San Francisco, which drafted the actual charter of the United Nations. Although this gathering made some minor modifications granting slightly more power to small nations, the Dumbarton Oaks conference had already effectually settled the fundamental operational structure of the new international organization.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Atlantic Charter; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Hull, Cordell; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; San Francisco Conference; Stalin, Josef; United Nations, Formation of; Yalta Conference

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Dunkerque (Dunkirk), Evacuation of (Operation DYNAMO, 26 May–4 June 1940)

Extraction of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) and some French forces from the English Channel port of Dunkerque, France. After the German invasion of France and the Low Countries and the rapid collapse of Allied forces, contingency planning was begun in Britain on 19 May 1940 under the supervision of Vice Admiral Bertram Ramsay, naval commander of Dover, for the possible evacuation of British forces from France. By 25 May, the Germans had already taken the French port of Boulogne, leaving only Dunkerque and Calais among the Channel ports from which an evacuation might be attempted. Calais fell the next day. Naval planners hoped they might be able to extract 40,000 members of the BEF, but in Operation DYNAMO they actually evacuated 364,628 troops, of whom 224,686 were British.

On 26 May, as the German armored thrust from the south was closing in on Dunkerque, commander of German army Group A General Karl Gerd von Rundstedt ordered it halted, believing the panzers were overextended. Hitler made this into a hard-and-fast order and kept the panzers in place until 29 May to allow the German infantry to join them. Hitler's stop order was critical, allowing the BEF to escape and Britain to continue in the war. Head of the Luftwaffe Marshal Hermann Göring, who believed the German air force had not received sufficient credit for its role in the war to date, then secured Hitler's permission to destroy the British forces on the ground with his dive-bombers. He even requested that the panzers be moved back several miles.

As it turned out, the dive-bombing was not effective; the German bombs burrowed deep into the soft sand before exploding. Meanwhile, Operation DYNAMO began. All manner of vessels, many of them manned by civilian volunteers, participated in the evacuation. Royal Air Force (RAF) fighter pilots flying from bases in southern England did what they could to protect the evacuation and disrupt the Luftwaffe, and they probably made the evacuation possible.



British prisoners at Dunkerque, France, 1940. (Still Picture Records LICON, Special Media Archives Services Division (NWCS-S), National Archives)

Among the evacuation ships, British and French destroyers rescued the most men, but they were also the chief targets for Luftwaffe attacks. By the fourth day of the evacuation, 10 destroyers had been sunk or put out of action. This led the Admiralty to take the difficult decision to remove all of its modern destroyers from the operation. The same reasoning limited the number of fighter aircraft that were available. In addition, head of Fighter Command Air Marshal Hugh Dowding refused to sacrifice valuable aircraft in a battle already lost, believing the planes would soon be required for the defense of Britain, which was certain to be the next target.

The Dunkerque evacuation was assisted by bad weather and fires from burning equipment on the beaches that inhibited Luftwaffe operations. The BEF lost more than 2,000 men during DYNAMO itself. RAF Fighter Command lost 106 aircraft and 80 pilots, and Bomber Command lost an additional 76 aircraft. Of 693 British vessels of all types that took part in the operation, one-third (226) were sunk, including 6 destroyers; 19 other destroyers were put out of action. Other nations also participated; France provided the most vessels (119), and Belgium, Norway, Poland, and the Netherlands also provided assistance. The other Allies lost 17 of their 168 vessels taking part. The BEF lost 30,000 men, including prisoners, to the Germans, and it was forced to abandon virtually all of its equipment in France. The 50,000-man French First Army had played a key role, holding the advancing Germans from the beaches and allowing the British to get away. The French contested every bit of ground, and ultimately between 30,000 and 40,000 men of their troops were forced to surrender.

The evacuation of Dunkerque was hardly a victory, but it did sweep away the half-heartedness that had marked the British war effort to that point. It also elevated the stature of Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, who in a speech to Parliament on 4 June as the last British troops were being evacuated vowed that come what may, Britain would continue the fight.

David M. Grilli and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Dowding, Sir Hugh Caswal Tremehere; Hitler, Adolf; Ramsay, Sir Bertram Home; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von

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Dunkirk

See Dunkerque, Evacuation of.

Dutch East Indies

See Netherlands East Indies.

DYNAMO Operation

See Dunkerque, Evacuation of.

Dzugashvili, Iosif Vissarionovich

See Stalin, Josef.

E

Eaker, Ira Clarence (1896–1987)

U.S. Army Air Forces general who assumed command of the Mediterranean Allied Air Forces (MAAF) in 1944. Born on 13 April 1896 at Field Creek, Texas, into modest circumstances, Ira Eaker graduated from Southeastern State Normal School in Durant, Oklahoma, in 1917 and enlisted in the army. He completed officer training camp and was commissioned a second lieutenant in 1918. He then transferred to the Signal Corps and underwent aviation training. From 1919 to 1922, he was stationed in the Philippines.

In 1923, Eaker received permission from the army to attend law school. He studied law at Columbia University while also serving as post adjutant at Mitchell Field, Long Island, New York. In 1926, he was selected as 1 of 10 pilots to fly on a goodwill tour of South America.

Eaker took a leading role in the development of a long-range bomber for the army. In 1928, he made a record-breaking flight from Texas to the Panama Canal Zone in the new P-12. During these early years, he also became friends with Henry “Hap” Arnold and Carl A. “Tooey” Spaatz. In January 1929, Captain Eaker flew in the Fokker C-2A *Question Mark* with Major Spaatz, mission commander, Second Lieutenant Elwood Quesada, and two others to set a world endurance record. The next year, Eaker piloted the first transcontinental flight to be refueled in the air.

From 1933 to 1935, Eaker commanded the 34th Pursuit Squadron. Promoted to major in 1935, he graduated from the Air Corps Tactical School, Maxwell Field, Alabama, in 1936 and from the Command and General Staff School, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1937. As a colonel, he commanded the

20th Pursuit Group from 1940 to 1941. He was then sent to England to report on the Royal Air Force.

In February 1942, Eaker was promoted to brigadier general and sent back to England to command VIII Bomber Command of Lieutenant General Spaatz’s Eighth Air Force and was soon conducting strategic bombing of German-occupied France. On 17 August 1942, he led the first mission in person, against Rouen, France. The attempt to conduct daylight precision bombing did not go as well as hoped, but Eaker’s B-17s struck vital targets. Promoted to temporary major general, he took command of Eighth Air Force in December and directed attacks against Schweinfurt and Regensburg in August 1943. Publicity over high casualty rates in such raids, caused by a lack of long-range fighter protection, led to his reassignment. Promoted to temporary lieutenant general, Eaker took command of the Mediterranean Allied Air Forces, consisting of the U.S. Twelfth and Fifteenth Air Forces, in January 1944. He led MAAF with great success in a variety of missions.

At the end of the war, Eaker returned to Washington to become deputy commander of the U.S. Army Air Forces. He retired in August 1947 after helping to plan the formation of an independent air force. He was then a consultant for Douglas Aircraft, and in 1972, he became president of the U.S. Strategic Institute. Eaker remained active in the promotion of airpower through numerous books and lectures. In 1985, he was promoted to full general on the retired list by an act of Congress. Eaker died on 6 August 1987, at Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland.

Ruth J. Jun



U.S. Army Air Forces Brigadier General Ira Clarence Eaker.
(Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

See also

Arnold, Henry Harley "Hap"; Schweinfurt and Regensburg Raids;
Spaatz, Carl Andrew "Tooey"; Strategic Bombing

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East Africa Campaign (January–May 1941)

British Commonwealth campaign to defeat Italian forces in East Africa. Italian East Africa was formed after the 1936 Italian conquest of Abyssinia (Ethiopia), which combined with the colonies of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland into a single entity. When Italy entered the war on 10 June 1940, the governor-general of Italian East Africa, Amedeo Umberto di Savoia, Duca d'Aosta, commanded some 350,000 troops, vastly outnumbering the 40,000 British levies from among the local population. Aosta captured British outposts on the bor-

ders of Sudan and Kenya, and in August, he occupied British Somaliland, the first British colony to fall into Axis hands.

Brigadier General William J. Slim's counterattack from Sudan on 6 November was beaten back, but Aosta was demoralized by a lack of supplies and Italian defeats in the Western Desert. He was also occupied suppressing Abyssinian rebels, known as the Patriots. At the moment of Britain's greatest weakness, he failed to take the initiative and unwisely adopted a defensive posture.

On 19 January 1941, Major General William Platt launched an offensive into Eritrea with the 4th and 5th Indian Divisions, aided by ULTRA intelligence from broken Italian army and air force codes. Platt captured Keren on 27 March after hard fighting, in what proved to be the decisive battle of the campaign. He entered Massawa on 8 April. There, the Italians scuttled one destroyer, and five others sortied into the Red Sea for an attack on Port Sudan. In the ensuing actions, the Italians had four of their destroyers sunk; the fifth was scuttled.

Meanwhile, on 11 February, Lieutenant General Alan Cunningham drove into Italian Somaliland from Kenya using the 11th and 12th African and 1st South African Divisions with startling success. After capturing Mogadishu, the capital of Italian Somaliland, on 25 February, he struck north and took Harar in Abyssinia on 26 March. A small force from Aden also captured Berbera on 16 March and quickly reoccupied British Somaliland with little opposition, to shorten the supply line, and then joined with Cunningham's force to capture Addis Ababa on 6 April. In just eight weeks, Cunningham's troops had advanced over 1,700 miles and defeated the majority of Aosta's troops, at a cost of 501 casualties.

Even more spectacular were the achievements of Lieutenant Colonel Orde Wingate, who commanded a group of 1,600 Patriots that he christened "Gideon Force." Through a combination of brilliant guerrilla tactics, great daring, and sheer bluff, he defeated the Italian army at Debra Markos on 6 April and returned Emperor Haile Selassie to his capital, Addis Ababa, on 5 May. British troops pressed Aosta's forces into a diminishing mountainous retreat at Amba Alagi until he finally surrendered on 16 May, ending Italian resistance in that theater, apart from two isolated pockets that were rounded up in November 1941.

The campaign in East Africa was important because, for the first time, a country occupied by the Axis had been liberated, another 230,000 Italian and colonial troops were captured, and British forces were released for vital operations in the Western Desert. It was also the first campaign in which ULTRA and the code-breakers at Bletchley Park played a decisive role, providing an invaluable lesson on the effective contribution that intelligence could make to the successful outcome of an operation. Success in East Africa also had an important strategic consequence, since U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt was able to declare, on 11 April, that the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden were no longer war zones.

U.S. ships were thus able to deliver supplies directly to Suez, relieving the burden on British shipping.

Paul H. Collier

See also

Bletchley Park; Cunningham, Sir Alan Gordon; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Selassie, Haile, Emperor of Ethiopia; Signals Intelligence; Slim, Sir William Joseph; Somalia; Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival; Wingate, Orde Charles

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Eastern Front

On 22 June 1941, German forces invaded the Soviet Union in Operation BARBAROSSA. The two states then became locked in a death struggle raging on a front of more than 1,800 miles, involving millions of men and thousands of tanks, artillery pieces, and aircraft and resulting in the deaths of many millions of combatants and civilians.

In the fall of 1940, following the Luftwaffe's failure to drive the Royal Air Force from the skies over Britain, Adolf Hitler ordered plans drawn up for an invasion of the Soviet Union. He postulated a quick, three-month-long campaign. "You have only to kick in the door," he told Field Marshal Karl Gerd von Rundstedt, "and the whole rotten structure will come tumbling down." Defeat the Soviet Union, he reasoned, and Britain would have to sue for peace.

Overconfidence marked German planning. The Germans had little accurate intelligence on the Soviet Union, including few adequate maps. They also had little concern for the impact on the fighting of winter weather and little understanding of the influence of the great distances and how these would render blitzkrieg, at least as it was practiced in Poland in 1939 and against France and the Low Countries in 1940, wholly impractical.

German resources were certainly inadequate for the task that lay ahead, and in the Soviet Union, Hitler's strategic overreach at last caught up with him. On 22 June 1941, the German army deployed 205 divisions, but 60 of these were in garrison or fighting elsewhere: 38 in France, 12 in Norway, 1 in Denmark, 7 in the Balkans, and 2 in North Africa. This left just 145 divisions available for operations in the east. The Germans invaded the Soviet Union with 102 infantry divisions, 14 motorized divisions, 1 cavalry division, and 19 armored divisions. In addition, they deployed 9 divisions to maintain lines of communication as the invasion progressed. There was virtually no strategic reserve. Finland, Romania, and Hungary supplied perhaps 705,000 men in 37 divisions.

The disparity in military hardware was even more striking. The Luftwaffe, still waging operations against Britain and also supporting the Afrika Korps (Africa Corps) in North Africa, was forced to keep 1,150 combat aircraft in these theaters, leaving only 2,770 combat aircraft available for use against the Soviet Union. By contrast, the Soviets had 18,570 aircraft, 8,154 of which were initially in the west. The bulk of these were tactical aircraft. Germany had some 6,000 tanks, the Soviets 23,140 (10,394 in the west), and even in 1941, the Soviets possessed some of the best tanks of the war. Their T-34 was the top tank in the world in 1941.

The German invasion plan called for three axes of advance. Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt's Army Group South of four armies (one Romanian) and one panzer group would drive on Kiev and the Dnieper in order to destroy Soviet armies between the Pripet Marshes and the Black Sea. Field Marshal Fedor von Bock's Army Group Center of two armies and two panzer groups was to strike east, taking Smolensk and Moscow. Field Marshal Wilhelm Ritter von Leeb's Army Group North of two armies and one panzer group would thrust north, capture Leningrad, and pin the Soviet forces there against the Baltic Sea. Finland would act in concert with the Germans, reentering the war to reoccupy the Karelian isthmus and threatening Leningrad from the north. Farther north, German Colonel Nikolaus von Falkenhorst's Norway Army would carry out an offensive against Murmansk in order to sever its supply route to Leningrad.

Hitler had intended to invade in May, but circumstances caused him to put off the attack until late June. In the spring of 1941, German forces invaded Yugoslavia, went to the rescue of Italian troops in Greece, and drove British forces from Crete. In the process, Hitler secured his southern flank against the possibility of Allied air strikes during the German invasion of the Soviet Union. Historians have argued about the impact of this on delaying the invasion of the Soviet Union. In any case, rainy weather and appalling road conditions in the western USSR imposed delay. The tanks required firm, dry ground.

The invasion began at 3:00 A.M. on 22 June 1941, the longest day of the year, with only two hours of total darkness. The Germans and their allies moved into the Soviet Union along a 2,000-mile front and achieved complete surprise. The bulk of the Red Army's western forces were in forward positions, where they were cut off and surrounded. On the first day alone, 1,200 Soviet aircraft were destroyed, most of them

"You only have to kick in the door and the whole rotten structure will come tumbling down."

—Adolf Hitler



German soldier on a motorcycle in the snow on the Eastern Front. He is wearing his gas mask to protect his face from the bitter cold. (Library of Congress)



on the ground. Within two days, 2,000 Soviet aircraft had been lost. Within five days, the Germans had captured or destroyed 2,500 Soviet tanks. And within three weeks, the Soviets had lost 3,500 tanks, 6,000 aircraft, and 2 million men, including a significant percentage of the officer corps.

Army Group North broke through frontier defenses, wheeled left to trap and destroy many Soviet divisions against the Baltic, and appeared to have an open route to Leningrad. Meanwhile, Army Group Center, with the bulk of German tanks, attacked north of the Pripet Marshes, completed two huge encirclements, and destroyed vast amounts of Soviet war matériel while taking hundreds of thousands of prisoners. But unexpectedly strong Soviet defenses slowed the advance of Army Group South to Kiev, the Crimea, and the Caucasus.

This development revealed a great problem in German invasion planning. The chief of the General Staff, Colonel General Franz Halder, and many senior generals wanted to concentrate German resources in the center for a drive on Moscow, with supporting movements to the north and south. A thrust there would mean a shorter front, and its advocates believed that Moscow was so important that Soviet dictator Josef Stalin would commit many troops to its defense and thus make it easier for the German army to locate and destroy the remaining Soviet military formations before the onset of winter. But Hitler was fixated on taking Leningrad and, more important, the vast resources of the Ukraine. The compromise solution was to make a decision after the pause in August to refit and rest.

German military intelligence, meanwhile, underestimated Soviet military strength. In December 1940, it had estimated 150 Soviet divisions in the western USSR; by June 1941, that estimate had grown to 175; and now, in late summer, German intelligence concluded the Soviets still had 250 divisions, despite huge losses in the fighting. Moreover, Soviet soldiers did not give up when surrounded. Nazi racism and German violence made them realize that capture meant death, and so, many Soviet troops fought to the last bullet and attempted to break free rather than surrender. And the vast distances and onset of a severe winter posed tremendous logistical challenges for German army planners because their army had only a small mechanized/motorized force and largely relied on human and animal muscle power. While leaders at home prepared for the Soviet collapse, troops on the front lines gained a grudging respect for their Soviet adversaries.

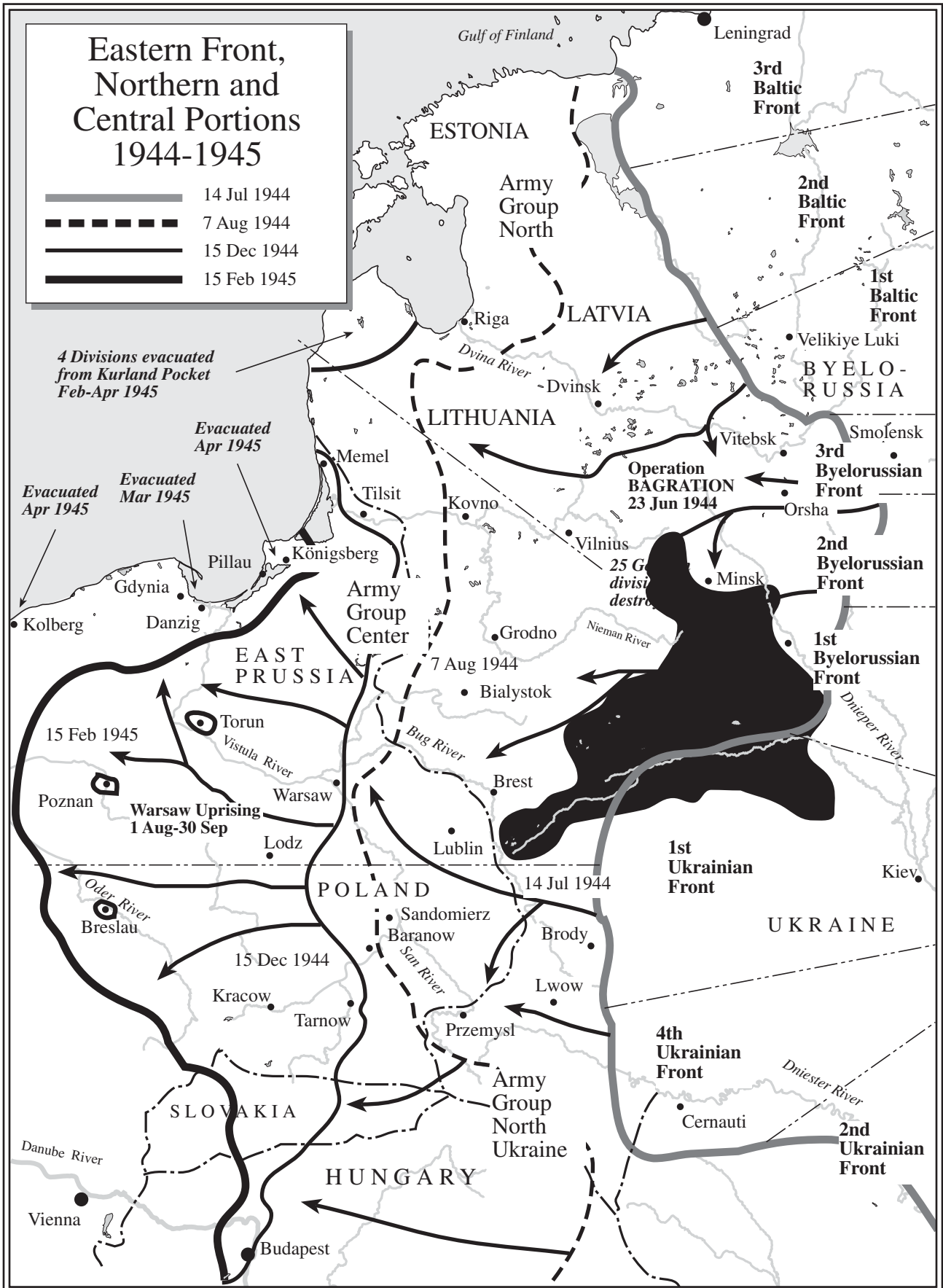
In August, the Germans paused, and Hitler ordered the tank units of Army Group Center to help with the attack on Leningrad and to complete the encirclement of Soviet forces defending Kiev. Finally, in October, Army Group Center began Operation *TYPHOON*, the attack on Moscow. By November, it had come close to success, but few tanks were still operational. There was little fuel, and the men lacked winter clothing in one of the coldest Soviet winters of the twentieth century.

During the fall campaigning, Stalin prepared to defend Moscow. While troops defended a series of lines on the way to the capital, Moscow's citizens were organized to construct antitank ditches and concentric defenses. Secure in the information that Japan would not take advantage of Soviet weakness and intended to move into South Asia, the Red Army brought divisions from Asia and, having studied German tactics, prepared a counterblow against Army Group Center. On 5 December 1941, the Soviet attack began, stunning the tired, cold, and hungry German troops. Some German generals wanted to retreat all the way to the preinvasion borders, but Hitler insisted the troops remain in place, and his resoluteness and the limited capacity of Soviet logistics helped stem the Soviet winter offensive. Then came the spring thaw and a temporary lull in the fighting.

The relative force ratio had changed in a year of fighting. A summer, fall, and winter had weakened the German army to the point that it no longer had the striking power it possessed a year before. Meanwhile, the Red Army, encouraged by its winter victories, was preparing to take the offensive in 1942.

Hitler believed the Soviet state could not afford another year of manpower losses like those in 1941. He believed that if German forces could drive a wedge between the Dnieper and Don Rivers, using the Volga River as a shoulder, they could interrupt Soviet supplies moving up that great and broad transit way and fight their way to Soviet oil resources in the Caucasus region and the Caspian Sea. The German army's High Command estimated it would need 80 new divisions to replace losses and to provide the striking power for a summer offensive, but Germany could only supply 55 divisions. Hitler promised 80 divisions and obtained troop contributions from reluctant Romanian, Hungarian, and Italian allies, but it was unclear how these troops would perform in the desperate fighting conditions of the Eastern Front. To meet the requirements for mechanized equipment, the German army refitted Czech tanks taken in 1938 and French tanks seized in 1940. Consequently, the German supply system had to carry spare parts for literally hundreds of truck models and tens of tank models, greatly complicating logistics. The Soviets had no such problems. Finally, the panzer units had to move fast enough to fight around defenders and once again surround and capture huge numbers of Soviet troops. Otherwise, the Germans would have to travel as much as 1,200 miles from the offensive's jumping-off point to reach the most productive oil-producing area around Baku.

The Soviets struck first. The Red Army launched an attack in the southern front that coincidentally exposed its flank to Germans massed for the drive to the southeast. Stalin initially refused to end the attack, and losses were heavy. The German summer offensive that finally began in late June 1942 never captured the vast numbers of Soviet soldiers as in 1941.

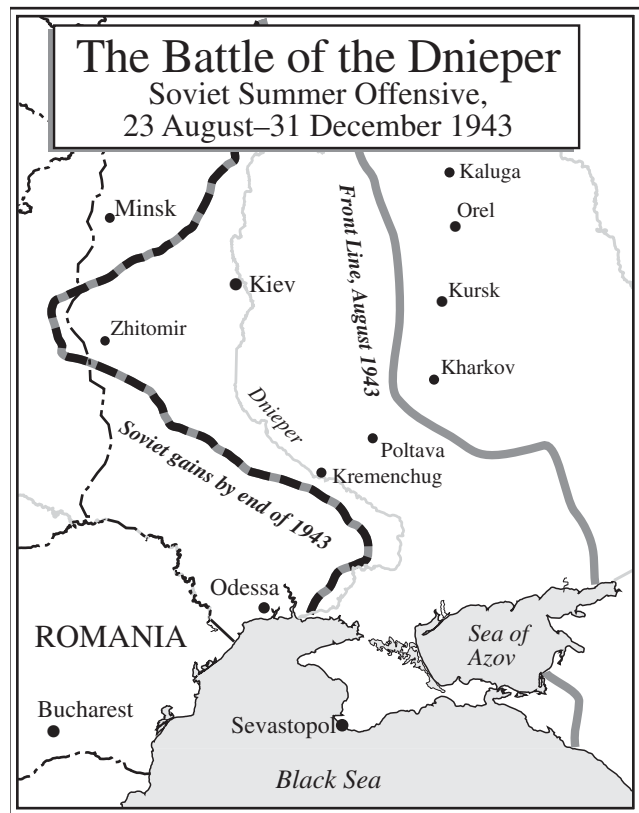


Moreover, Hitler kept reassigning units and thereby violating the principles of mass and economy of force. He sent key elements of the Eighteenth Army on the Crimean Peninsula north to Leningrad; he routed and rerouted the Fourth Panzer Army; and by September, when it was clear that Germany could not achieve its overarching goal of seizing the Soviet oil fields, he ordered the Sixth Army to batter its way against three defending armies into Stalingrad.

The desperate battle for control of Stalingrad, a major industrial city on the Volga, captured the world's imagination. Stalin was as determined to hold his namesake city as Hitler was to take it. The fighting was a block-by-block, house-by-house, and room-by-room affair, with the Soviets sometimes defending from across the river. As Lieutenant General Vasily I. Chuikov's Sixty-Second Army held, the Soviets prepared a massive counterstroke, building up armies of troops and many tanks and artillery pieces against the weakly defended flanks held by Romanian and Hungarian troops. On 19 November, in Operation URANUS, the Soviets attacked and quickly broke through. Within days, the Soviet pincers met at Kalach, and more than 300,000 German troops were trapped. The German commander, Field Marshal Friedrich Paulus, did not attempt to break out, and Field Marshal Erich von Manstein failed to break through and relieve Sixth Army. With only three divisions, Manstein managed to get within 35 miles of the trapped Sixth Army but could move no farther. German troops held on until the end of January, when 90,000 survivors marched off into captivity. The long battle did at least provide time for the Germans to extricate forces that had penetrated deep into the Caucasus.

The Soviets then followed this great victory with a winter offensive, but eventually, their goals outran their logistical capacity, and there was the typical pause forced by the spring thaw in 1943. As summer approached, Hitler approved a plan to pinch off a huge bulge in German lines north of Kharkov near Kursk, destroy Soviet armies trapped there, and restore the balance on the Eastern Front.

The Germans postponed the attack on the Kursk salient, Operation CITADEL, again and again into May, June, and eventually early July. Hitler wanted more of the new models of heavy German tanks, especially the Tiger, but as Germany delayed, the Soviets acted, bringing up reinforcements and constructing extensive, deep defenses, including wide belts of minefields, that were up to 60 miles deep. They also positioned reserve armies on the shoulders of the bulge and additional tanks and artillery behind them. Finally, on 5 July, the long-awaited attack began. Although German units made little progress in the north, the attacking force from the south bludgeoned its way forward. But on 10 July, British and American forces invaded Sicily, clearly threatening to drive Italy from the war. This invasion forced Hitler to end the offensive at Kursk—the greatest tank battle in history.



Within a few weeks, the Soviets began their late summer offensive in the south, which they followed up with a winter offensive that drove German forces out of the eastern Ukraine and trapped German troops on the Crimea. As the spring mud in 1944 brought the usual pause in operations, the German lines stretched from near Leningrad in the north, and along the southern edge of Army Group Center, the lines curved inward. The Soviets achieved a great tactical surprise, as they fooled the Germans into expecting a summer attack against positions in the Ukraine. The Soviets then repositioned their tanks and artillery and prepared for a massive offensive against Army Group Center in Operation BAGRATION, which would coincide with the Allied invasion of France. On 20 July 1944, the Soviets struck, and within weeks, they had largely destroyed Army Group Center. The Soviets followed this up with attacks to end the siege of Leningrad and to expel German troops from all Soviet territory. Pausing in the center before Warsaw—which allowed the Germans to destroy the Polish underground army that had joined the fighting—Soviet forces moved into the Balkans, as Romania and Bulgaria desperately sought to avoid Soviet vengeance.

The end was drawing near, and the Soviets continued to advance. One axis aimed at Berlin while the other struck through Hungary. By January 1945, the Soviets had secured most of East Prussia, and in the south, they were at the gates of Budapest. In April, they brought up supplies and reserve

troops for the final drive into Germany proper. The Germans conducted a desperate defense of Berlin, using old men and young boys, and the Soviets took huge casualties as Marshal Georgii Zhukov and Colonel General Ivan Konev fought for the honor of liberating the city. In late April, Soviet and American troops met at Torgau on the Elbe, and several days later, Soviet forces occupied Berlin while Hitler committed suicide in his underground bunker. Finally, on 7 May 1945, Germany signed a surrender document that went into effect on all fronts the next day. The Eastern Front had absorbed the lion's share of German military resources from 1941 onward, and the Soviet ability to stave off defeat and then achieve victory there was critical to the war's outcome.

Charles M. Dobbs and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Bock, Fedor von; Chuikov, Vasily Ivanovich; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Halder, Franz; Hitler, Adolf; Kursk, Battle of; Leeb, Wilhelm Franz Josef Ritter von; Manstein, Fritz Erich von; Moscow, Battle of; Paulus, Friedrich; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von; Stalin, Josef; Stalingrad, Battle of; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Eastern Solomons, Battle of the (22–25 August 1942)

Naval battle fought off Guadalcanal. Henderson Field, captured by the Marines following their surprise landing on Guadalcanal on 7 August, was the only U.S. air base in the Solomon Island chain. The Japanese were determined to retake the field, and they subjected the Marines to ground attacks and to frequent night bombardment from destroyers offshore. Japanese Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku devised Operation KA, a plan to land reinforcements on Guadalcanal and at the same time eliminate the defending U.S. carriers. As in the Battle of Midway, however, Japanese forces failed to concentrate on a single objective.

On 19 August, the Japanese launched a major ground attack against Henderson Field but failed to take it. The next day, Rear Admiral Raizo Tanaka dispatched to Guadalcanal a convoy from Rabaul with 1,500 reinforcements, escorted by

the light cruiser *Jintsu* and six destroyers. To provide air cover for the landing, Yamamoto ordered Admiral Kondō Nobutake to steam from Truk with a task force centered on the fleet carriers *Shokaku* and *Zuikaku* and the light cruiser *Ryujo*. Also on 20 August, the Marines at Henderson Field received 31 aircraft from the escort carrier *Long Island*.

Although the Japanese had changed their codes after Midway, their radio traffic indicated something was in the offing, and on 21 August, Admiral Chester Nimitz, commander in chief of U.S. forces in the Pacific (CINCPAC), ordered Vice Admiral Frank Fletcher, commanding the *Wasp*, *Saratoga*, and *Enterprise* task forces, to contest the Japanese. On 22 August, U.S. patrol bomber (PBY) Catalina aircraft spotted Japanese submarines, prompting an air strike from the *Saratoga*, which failed to locate the Japanese fleet. The following day, Nimitz received faulty intelligence indicating that the Japanese attack force remained at Truk, and Fletcher released the *Wasp* to refuel.

On 24 August, a PBY spotted the Japanese light carrier *Ryujo*, and Scout Bomber Douglas (SBD) dive-bombers from the *Enterprise* reported 15 Zeros and six Kate torpedo planes from the carrier headed toward Guadalcanal. The *Saratoga* then launched a strike on the *Ryujo*. The American SBDs located the carrier and scored three hits, setting her on fire. During the attack, a PBY located the main Japanese task force, centered on the *Shokaku* and *Zuikaku* under Vice Admiral Nagumo Chūichi. Fletcher then ordered the planes attacking the *Ryujo* to strike instead the larger Japanese carriers, but this message never reached the attacking aircraft, which went on to sink the *Ryujo*. They also badly damaged the Japanese heavy cruiser *Tone*, a specially modified aircraft cruiser armed with 8 × 8-inch guns and carrying eight seaplanes.

Meanwhile, U.S. radar revealed the incoming strike of aircraft from the *Shokaku* and *Zuikaku*, heading toward the American carriers. The *Enterprise* and *Saratoga* were operating independently, and the Japanese first located the *Enterprise*, which launched its F-4 Wildcat fighters in defense. Soon, 30 Japanese Val dive-bombers began attacks on the *Enterprise*. Their bombs pierced her flight deck in three places, seriously damaging her. Fires soon raged below deck, and the crew of the *Enterprise* fought valiantly to save their ship. The *Saratoga* escaped, in part thanks to highly effective antiaircraft fire provided by the battleship *North Carolina*.

On 25 August, Tanaka's convoy bound for Guadalcanal came under attack by U.S. B-17 bombers from Espiritu Santo and aircraft from Henderson Field. U.S. dive-bombers scored two hits on one of the transports, which later sank. For the first time in the campaign, the B-17s also scored a hit on a Japanese escorting destroyer and sank it. The convoy, far from its objective and vulnerable, now returned to Rabaul.

The Battle of the Eastern Solomons was a U.S. victory, securing, for the time being, the American position on Guadalcanal. The Japanese lost 1 light carrier, 1 light cruiser, and 1 transport



Explosion resulting from a Japanese bomb striking the flight deck of the U.S. Navy aircraft carrier *Enterprise* during the battle of the Eastern Solomons on 24 August 1942. The photographer was killed while taking this picture. (National Archives)

along with 75 aircraft, and the United States lost 25 planes. The *Enterprise* returned to Pearl Harbor and was repaired within a month. Fletcher was slightly wounded, and Nimitz selected Vice Admiral William Halsey to replace him. One of the great “what-ifs” of the Pacific war involves Yamamoto’s failure to employ the giant battleship *Yamato* off Guadalcanal. She was available, and her guns might have made a difference in the fight for Henderson Field, but Yamamoto was unwilling to risk such a powerful national symbol.

Robert W. Serig

See also

Fletcher, Frank Jack; Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Kondō Nobutake; Midway, Battle of; Tanaka, Raizo; Yamamoto Isoroku

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Eben Emael (10–11 May 1940)

Belgian frontier fort and site of a German special operation to seize the Belgian frontier defenses at the opening of Germany’s campaign in the west on 10 May 1940. FALL GELB (Operation YELLOW) involved three army groups poised to split the British, Belgian, and French forces and gain the Channel coastline for continuing operations against Great Britain.

Eben Emael was a reinforced, concrete-and-steel bunker system located on the Albert Canal at its junction with the Meuse River north of Liège, Belgium, and about 3 miles south

of Maastricht in the Netherlands. The fort's plateau top was wedge-shaped, 1,100 yards long on its north-south axis, and 800 yards wide across the southern baseline. The entrance was at the southwest corner at casemate number 3. The fort guarded the bridges over the canal and the routes to the interior of the Low Countries and France beyond. At the time of the attack on 10 May, about 700 soldiers manned the fortress bunkers, which were designed for a detachment of 1,200. Belgian regular army officer Major Jean Fritz Lucien Jottrand had command. The garrison of Fort Eben Emael had been alerted to activity across the German border shortly after midnight on 9–10 May, but it took several hours to put things in order. Alerts were common, and the troops were quartered in villages near the fort.

The Germans, already skilled in assault tactics from their World War I experiences, had developed special teams to reduce fortifications. The secret operation against the fort, code-named GRANITE, had Adolf Hitler's personal interest. Captain S. A. Koch, an officer in Major General Kurt Student's airborne forces, was chosen to lead the attack. Artillery preparations cratered the ground around the fort to provide cover for the advancing German troops, and they suppressed the fire of the fort's guns.

The glider attack was to occur at the same time as other events on the ground, but flight problems required the Ju-52 tow planes to penetrate Dutch airspace to get to the required release altitude. The Dutch were alerted and began anti-aircraft fire.

On the early morning of 10 May, 10 DFS-230 gliders, each carrying a squad of seven or eight men, landed silently on top of the fort. Lieutenant Rudolf Witzig's command glider had prematurely disconnected and landed in a field near Köln (Cologne). Sergeant Helmut Wenzel took charge, until Witzig's arrival at 6:30 A.M.

The assault force used shaped-charge explosives to penetrate the casemates and cupolas. Throughout the afternoon and night of 10 May, the Germans and Belgians fought inside the dank passageways of the fort. Rubber assault boats and the employment of flamethrowers helped the attack group to cross the canal and close on the fort. While the engineers of the assault detachment kept the bunker garrison occupied, Captain Koch's other airborne forces attacked the bridges over the Albert Canal. The next day, a German division arrived to complete the capture of the remaining bridges and forts. Lieutenant Witzig's assault force suffered only 26 casualties in its successful mission. Major Jottrand and his captured Belgian soldiers, after resisting for just over one day, were marched off to a prison camp in Germany to sit out the war. Vital bridges at Veldwezelt and Vroenhoven were also secured, and the German Sixth Army was able to advance. Its tanks took Liège the next day.

John F. Votaw

See also

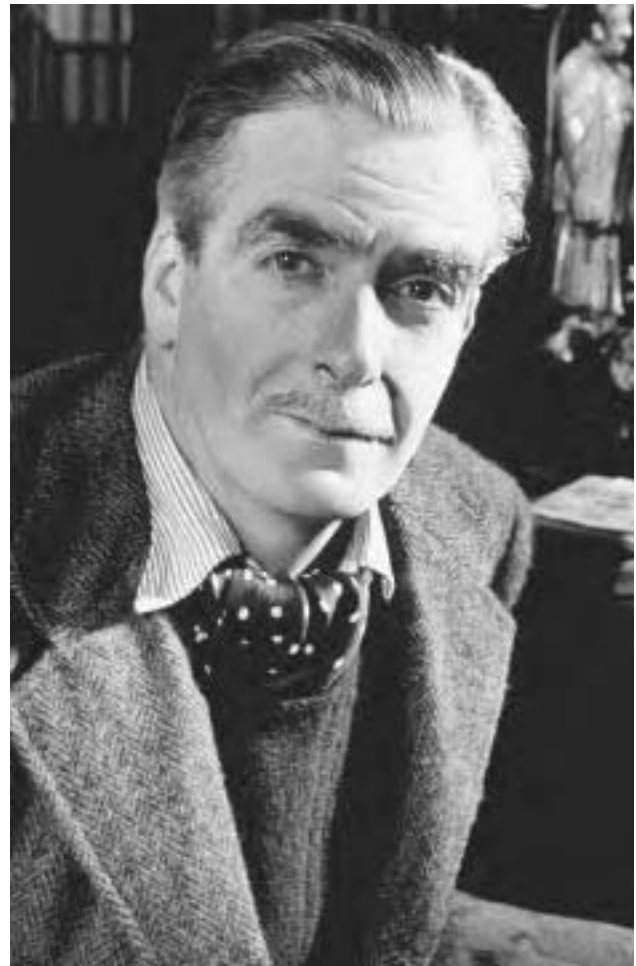
Airborne Forces, Axis; Belgium, Army; Belgium Campaign; Engineer Operations; Flamethrowers; Parachute Infantry; Student, Kurt

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Eden, Sir Robert Anthony (First Earl of Avon) (1897–1977)

British politician and foreign secretary who served as a cabinet minister during World War II. Born in Windlestone, England, on 12 June 1897, Eden served in France during World War I, rising to brigade-major, and then took a degree in Oriental languages at Cambridge. He entered Parliament in 1924 and became Stanley Baldwin's foreign secretary at age 38 in December 1935. A staunch supporter of the League of Nations, Eden resigned in February 1938 in disagreement



Sir Anthony Eden, British foreign secretary (1935–1938, 1940–1945, 1951–1955) and Prime Minister (1955–1957). (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

over Neville Chamberlain's appeasement of Benito Mussolini's policies.

With the outbreak of war, Eden returned to Chamberlain's cabinet as Dominions secretary (3 September 1939) and helped to develop the Empire Air Training Scheme that trained thousands of pilots and aircrew in Canada and Africa. When Winston L. S. Churchill became prime minister, he named Eden war minister (10 May 1940); shortly thereafter came the disastrous British Expeditionary Force (BEF) and its Dunkerque evacuation, as well as British setbacks in the Middle East.

Eden again became foreign secretary (on 23 December 1940) and attended virtually all the Allied wartime conferences. Patient and urbane, he was a superior diplomat who effectively represented British interests to the other Allies—especially the often difficult Charles de Gaulle, whose Free French cause Eden often defended. Churchill appointed Eden leader of the House of Commons in November 1942, a role he played well but at a cost to his health. Churchill also named Eden, by now part of his inner circle, as his designated successor in the event of his own death. Eden worked hard on the formation of the United Nations, and he left office only when the Labour Party won the British elections (27 July 1945). However, he retained his own seat in the House of Commons

Eden served a third time as foreign secretary in Churchill's second government (1951–1955) but never fully recovered from abdominal surgery in 1953. He was knighted in 1954, and on Churchill's retirement, he served as prime minister (6 April 1955–9 January 1957), resigning after the mishandled Suez Crisis. He was made the earl of Avon in 1961 and died on 14 January 1977, in Alvediston, England.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also

Chamberlain, Arthur Neville; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; de Gaulle, Charles; Dunkerque, Evacuation of; Hitler, Adolf; United Nations, Formation of

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Egypt

Strategically located in northeast Africa, Egypt was vital to the British effort in World War II to protect the Suez Canal and lines of communication to Middle East oil fields. In 1939, Egypt had a population of about 16 million people.

The British had taken control of Egypt in 1882 to secure the Suez Canal. Supposedly, they had intervened to “restore order,” but the British stayed. London ended its protectorate in 1922 and granted Egypt independence as a constitutional monarchy with adult male suffrage, but it did not relinquish authority in key areas. Great Britain retained control over defense, imperial communications (the Suez Canal), protection of foreign interests and minorities, and the Sudan. In August 1936, the same year King Farouk came to the throne, Britain signed a treaty with Egypt whereby it retained the right to defend the Suez Canal until the Egyptian army could do so. The Egyptian government also agreed that, in the event of war, it would grant full use of Egyptian facilities to the British.

Throughout World War II, Port Said and Alexandria remained major British bases for operations in the eastern Mediterranean. As headquarters of the Middle East Supply Center, the Egyptian capital of Cairo was the transit point for half a million British and Commonwealth troops. Cairo was also the headquarters of the Middle East Command, and the city remained a haven for agents and spies. Egyptian nationalists were active, with many Egyptians, including Farouk and Prime Minister Ali Mahir, hoping for an Axis military victory in the war and full independence for Egypt.

Although Farouk was the constitutional monarch, British Ambassador Miles Lampson exercised real power. At the beginning of the war, the British insisted on the imposition of martial law and strict censorship and the arrest of German nationals. The Egyptian government ended diplomatic relations with Germany, but Egypt did not declare war against Germany or, later, Italy. Only reluctantly did Ali Mahir allow the confiscation of Italian property in Egypt. He also refused permission for border guards to fire on Italian troops. In June 1940, the British insisted that Farouk replace Ali Mahir. His replacement was Hasan Sabri, a moderate.

On 17 September 1940, Italian forces invaded Egypt. Despite a pledge that it would declare war if this happened, the Egyptian government merely declared a state of nonbelligerency. In November 1940, Prime Minister Sabri died and was replaced by Husayn Sirry, who headed a coalition government. Axis air attacks on Cairo in June 1941 killed some 600 people, but Egyptian sentiment remained heavily anti-British. That winter, conditions in Egypt worsened with severe shortages of many goods, including food. Bread riots occurred in Cairo in January 1942. With General Erwin Rom-



A column of Axis prisoners captured in Libya nearing the massive walls of the Citadel of Cairo, showing the Mohamed Ali Mosque (above) and the Mosque of Sultan Hassan. (Library of Congress)

mel's forces closing on Cairo, nationalist demonstrations in the capital occurred in favor of an Axis victory, and Sirry resigned in early February. The British then insisted that Farouk appoint as prime minister Mustafa Nahas, the pro-British head of the Wafd nationalist party. When Farouk hesitated, British armored cars and troops surrounded the palace, and Lampson demanded his abdication. Farouk then acquiesced, and Nahas formed a government.

Throughout 1942, pro-Axis sentiment remained strong, even among the elites and the Egyptian army. Following the November 1942 Battle of El Alamein, both the Axis threat to Egypt and British authority subsided. Despite Farouk's repeated efforts to remove him from office, Nahas remained as prime minister until October 1944, when the British allowed Farouk to replace him with Saadist leader Ahmad Mahir. The new prime minister secured Egyptian declarations of war against Germany and Japan, but he was assassinated shortly thereafter, in February 1945. The declarations of war were formally proclaimed on 26 February 1945, allowing Egypt to become a founding member of the United Nations.

As elsewhere in Africa and the Middle East, World War II heightened nationalism and anticolonialism. Following Farouk's abdication in 1952, the last British troops departed

the country in 1954. Egypt did not gain its full sovereignty, however, until 1956 and the Suez debacle.

Robert W. Duvall, Jack Vahram Kalpakian, and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

El Alamein, Battle of; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; United Nations, Formation of

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Eichelberger, Robert Lawrence (1886–1961)

U.S. Army general and commander of the Eighth Army in the Pacific Theater. Born 9 March 1886 in Urbana, Ohio, Robert Eichelberger attended Ohio State University for two years before attending the U.S. Military Academy, where he graduated in 1909. He served in a variety of assignments before becoming assistant chief of staff of the Siberian Expeditionary Force (1918–1919), where he was promoted to temporary lieutenant colonel.

Eichelberger served in the Philippines and in China and then on the War Department General Staff (1921–1924). He graduated from the Command and General Staff School (1926) and the Army War College (1930). Eichelberger then served at West Point (1931–1935), where he was promoted to lieutenant colonel (1934). He became secretary to the General Staff (1935–1938), and after being made colonel (1938), he commanded the 30th Infantry Regiment. Promoted to brigadier general, he was appointed superintendent of West Point (1940).

In March 1942, Eichelberger became a temporary major general and took command of the 77th Infantry Division. He commanded XI Corps and then I Corps, in Australia. He led I Corps in New Guinea in September 1942. Promoted to temporary lieutenant general the next month, he directed the successful assault of Buna-Gona (November 1942–January 1943) and then operations in New Guinea and New Britain (January 1943–July 1944).

Eichelberger took command of Eighth Army in September 1944 and led it to Leyte Island in the Philippines that December. He directed operations on Luzon (January–April 1945), including the liberation of Manila, and his forces also liberated the southern Philippine Islands, including Mindanao. He was entrusted with command of all Philippine operations in July. His Eighth Army carried out 14 major and 24 smaller landings.



U.S. Army Brigadier General Robert Eichelberger. (Library of Congress)

Between 1945 and 1948, Eichelberger commanded Eighth Army in Japan. He returned to the United States in September 1948 and retired from the army. Two years later, he published a book entitled *Our Jungle Road to Tokyo*. During the Korean War, he was briefly a special adviser in the Far East. He was promoted to full general in July 1954 and died in Asheville, North Carolina, on 26 September 1961.

Alexander D. Samms

See also

New Britain Island; New Guinea Campaign; Philippines, U.S. Recapture of

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Eichmann, Karl Adolf (1906–1962)

German Schutzstaffel (SS) lieutenant colonel and key figure in the destruction of European Jewry during World War II. Born on 19 March 1906 in Solingen in the Rhineland, Germany, Karl Adolf Eichmann moved with his family to Linz, Austria, in 1914.

He left the Linz Higher Institute for Electro-Technical Studies after two years and became a salesman. In 1932, he joined the Austrian National Socialist movement, but he fled to Germany in 1934 when it was outlawed. Sent to Berlin, he joined the SS Sicherheitsdienst (Security Service, SD) and was assigned to its Jewish Office. There, he became the Nazi expert on Jewish affairs and handled negotiations concerning the emigration of German Jews to Palestine, which he visited briefly in 1937. Following the Anschluss (union) with Austria and absorption of Bohemia and Moravia, he headed the Office for Jewish Emigration.

With the beginning of World War II, Eichmann transferred to the Gestapo and created the Reich Central Emigration Office to handle the relocation of European Jews to Poland. That office was then combined with the Jewish Affairs Office to form Department IV-A-4B, known as the Dienststelle Eichmann (Eichmann Authority). He helped organize the Wannsee Conference of January 1942 that developed the mechanics of the “final solution” and was put in charge of the transportation of Jews to the death camps of Poland. Eichmann later told an associate that he would “die happily with the certainty of having killed almost six million Jews.”

After the war, Eichmann lived in various places under aliases until he escaped to Argentina, where he lived and worked near Buenos Aires in obscurity under the name Ricardo Klement. On 11 May 1960, Israeli Secret Services captured him and smuggled him from the country illegally to stand trial in Israel. Eichmann claimed he was only following orders



Adolf Eichmann, on trial in Jerusalem, during trial cross-examination, standing in booth in front of microphones between two officers in courtroom. (Library of Congress)

and in any case could be accused only “of aiding and abetting” the annihilation of the Jews, not killing them. Found guilty by an Israeli court on 15 December 1961, he was sentenced to death. Unrepentant, he was hanged at Ramleh Prison on 31 May 1962. His body was then cremated and the ashes scattered.

Douglas B. Warner

See also

Holocaust, The; Wannsee Conference

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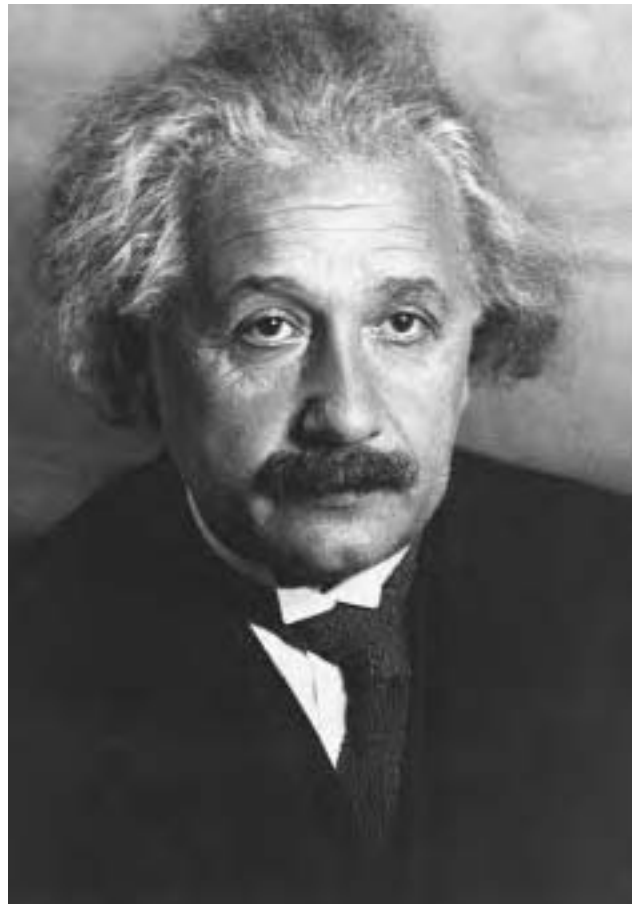
Einstein, Albert (1879–1955)

Physicist, Nobel laureate, and pacifist who urged the United States to begin research into the feasibility of constructing atomic bombs. Born in Ulm, Germany, on 14 March 1879, Albert Einstein renounced German citizenship in 1896 and became a Swiss citizen in 1901. While working as a patent clerk, he developed his special theory of relativity and the famous equation $E = mc^2$ that demonstrated the equivalency of mass and energy. With the rise of Nazism and Jewish persecution, he left Berlin in 1933 for the Institute of Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey.

In 1939, leading physicists, including Hungarian émigrés Leo Szilard and Eugene P. Wigner as well as Italian expatriate Enrico Fermi, concluded that Germany was working on an atomic bomb. Szilard approached Einstein with a letter for President Franklin D. Roosevelt, urging that the U.S. government begin an atomic bomb project of its own to deter Adolf Hitler (assuming German efforts succeeded).

Einstein was apotheosized as perhaps the world’s greatest physicist since Isaac Newton, and his signature on this letter carried considerable weight and authority. Dated 2 August 1939, it warned that it was now likely that scientists would establish and sustain a chain reaction in uranium, which could lead to the construction of “extremely powerful bombs of a new type.” Einstein urged the president to form a partnership among government officials, industry specialists, and scientists to conduct feasibility studies; he also recommended securing supplies of uranium ore.

Alexander Sachs, economist and presidential confidant, delivered the letter on 11 October 1939. Sufficiently alarmed by Sachs’s précis of its contents, Roosevelt appointed the Uranium Committee to begin preliminary studies, which



Albert Einstein. (Corbis)

became the basis for the MANHATTAN Project organized in 1942 to build atomic bombs.

Einstein’s letter served as the catalyst for the MANHATTAN Project, but Einstein himself was excluded from the project. His pacifism, Zionism, and a supposedly lackadaisical attitude regarding military secrecy made him suspect to army intelligence. After the war, he campaigned unsuccessfully for a “world government” consisting of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union that would restrict further development and construction of atomic weapons. Einstein died in Princeton, New Jersey, on 18 April 1955.

William J. Astore

See also

Atomic Bomb, Decision to Employ; Fermi, Enrico; Groves, Leslie Richard; MANHATTAN Project; Oppenheimer, Julius Robert

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Eisenhower, Dwight D. (1890–1969)

U.S. Army general and supreme commander, Allied Expeditionary Forces, European Theater of Operations (ETO). Born in Denison, Texas, on 14 October 1890, Dwight David “Ike” Eisenhower grew up in Abilene, Kansas. Graduating from the U.S. Military Academy in 1915 as a member of the “class the stars fell on,” he was commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry. His first posting after West Point was Fort Sam Houston, Texas.

Eisenhower commanded the fledgling tank corps training center at Camp Colt outside Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, during World War I. Following service in Panama, he graduated first in his class at the Command and General Staff School, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1926. He also graduated from the Army War College in 1928. During the inter-war period, Eisenhower served under a number of the

army’s finest officers, including Generals Fox Conner, John J. Pershing, and Douglas A. MacArthur. Following his return from the Philippines in 1939, he served successively as chief of staff of the 3rd Infantry Division, IX Corps, and Third Army, where he was promoted to temporary brigadier general in October 1941 and captured Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall’s attention for his contributions to Third Army’s “victory” in the Texas-Louisiana war maneuvers of 1941.

Summoned to the War Department in the aftermath of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Eisenhower headed the War Plans Division and then the Operations Division of the General Staff before being promoted to major general in April 1942. Marshall then appointed Eisenhower commanding general of the European Theater of Operations, in June 1942. Promotion to lieutenant general followed in July 1942. His appointment was met with great skepticism from senior British military officers because of his lack of command experience.



Dwight D. Eisenhower talking to American paratroopers in England prior to the Normandy Invasion. (Library of Congress)

Eisenhower commanded Allied forces in Operation TORCH in November 1942 (the invasion of northwest Africa) and in Operation HUSKY in July 1943 (the invasion of Sicily). In the interim, he was promoted to full general in February 1943. The efficient operation of his headquarters—Allied Forces Headquarters—became a model of Allied harmony and led to increased responsibilities in the Mediterranean Theater of Operations. In September 1943, his forces invaded the Italian mainland. Eisenhower's generalship during this phase of the war has long been subject to controversy, but his adept management of diverse personalities and his emphasis on Allied harmony led to his appointment as supreme commander, Allied Expeditionary Forces for the invasion of northwest Europe.

As commander of Operation OVERLORD, the Normandy Invasion on 6 June 1944, Eisenhower headed the largest Allied force in history. Following the expansion of the lodgment area, he took direct command of the land battle on 1 September 1944. As the Allied forces advanced along a broad front toward the German border, he frequently encountered opposition from senior Allied generals over command arrangements and logistical support. He displayed increasing brilliance as a coalition commander, but his operational decisions remained controversial. His support of British Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery's abortive Operation MARKET-GARDEN is evidence of his unflinching emphasis on Allied harmony in the campaign in northwest Europe. In mid-December 1944, Eisenhower was promoted to General of the Army as his forces stood poised to strike into the heartland of Germany.

When Adolf Hitler launched the Ardennes counteroffensive on 16 December 1944, it was Eisenhower, among senior Allied commanders, who first recognized the scope and intensity of Germany's attack. Marshaling forces to stem the German advance, he defeated Hitler's last offensive in the west. By March 1945, his armies had crossed the Rhine River and encircled the Ruhr industrial area of Germany. As Soviet armies stood on the outskirts of Berlin, Eisenhower decided to seek the destruction of Germany's armed forces throughout southern Germany and not to launch a direct attack toward the German capital. On 7 May 1945, the mission of the Allied Expeditionary Forces was fulfilled as he accepted the unconditional surrender of Germany's armed forces.

Following the war, Eisenhower succeeded General Marshall as army chief of staff. In February 1948, he retired from the military and assumed the presidency of Columbia University, before being recalled to active field duty by President Harry S. Truman in 1950 to become supreme Allied commander, Europe in the newly formed North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In 1952, Eisenhower resigned from active military service and accepted the Republican Party's nomination for president. Elected by a wide majority in 1952

and again in 1956, he stressed nuclear over conventional forces, supported expanded U.S. military commitments overseas, and warned of the dangers of a military-industrial complex. He left office in 1961 as one of this nation's most popular chief executives, his two administrations marked by unheralded peace and prosperity. In 1961, Eisenhower retired to his farm in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. He died in Washington, D.C., on 28 March 1969.

Cole C. Kingseed

See also

Ardennes Offensive; Bradley, Omar Nelson; Cairo Conference; Falaise-Argentan Pocket; Hitler, Adolf; Italy Campaign; MacArthur, Douglas; Marshall, George Catlett; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; North Africa Campaign; OVERLORD, Operation; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Rhine Crossings; Sicily, Invasion of; TORCH, Operation; Western European Theater of Operations

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El Alamein, Battle of (23 October–4 November 1942)

Major Allied victory against German and Italian forces in Egypt. By the fall of 1942, there were signs that the war in North Africa was turning in favor of the British. Axis forces under Field Marshal Erwin Rommel had failed to break through the British lines at Ruwiesat Ridge in July and Alam Halfa Ridge in September. British Eighth Army commander Lieutenant General Bernard Montgomery gradually built up his strength to strike an offensive blow. Although Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill repeatedly pressed for an earlier attack, Montgomery set the operation, code-named LIGHT-FOOT, to begin on the night of 23–24 October, under a full moon. General Sir Alan Brooke, chief of the Imperial General Staff, and General Harold Alexander, British commander in chief in North Africa, managed to placate Churchill.

By late October, Montgomery's Eighth Army numbered 195,000 men and had 1,029 tanks (including 300 U.S.-built M-4 Sherman mediums), 2,311 artillery pieces, and some 750 aircraft. Ranged against them were 104,000 Axis troops (50,000 Germans and 54,000 Italians), 489 tanks, 1,219 guns, and 675 aircraft. The Germans had, however, faced worse odds and won in North Africa. Rommel's defense was based on some



General Erwin Rommel in the desert at El Alamein, with his troops. (Library of Congress)

450,000 mines laid from the sea to the Qattara Depression, including corridors designed to funnel attackers into traps, although the Afrika Korps (Africa Corps) commander had no confidence he could hold against a determined British attack.

Montgomery planned to feint an attack to the south while Lieutenant General Sir Oliver Leese's XXX Corps delivered the major blow in the north against the strength of the Axis positions. Indeed, the elaborate British deception efforts convinced Axis intelligence that the main blow would occur in the south.

Montgomery planned to use armor to blast his way through the German positions and then carry out an envelopment of Axis forces. However, his own armor commanders, particularly General Herbert Lumsden of X Corps, thought that this was a misuse of tanks. Montgomery adapted his plan so that the armor would cover an initial infantry attack and then seize defensive ground. The infantry would "crumble" the German line, and when panzers moved forward to assist, the British armor would strike.

The attack began at 9:40 P.M. on 23 October 1942, almost totally surprising the Germans (Rommel was in Germany at the time, recuperating from an illness). British air attacks and

artillery fire from 1,000 guns disrupted Axis communications and rained down on a 6-mile-wide front in the Axis lines near the Mediterranean coast. Then, XXX Corps began its attack in the north, while Lieutenant General Sir Brian Horrocks's XXX Corps began the southern attack near the Qattara Depression to fix German forces there.

XXX Corps opened two corridors through the Axis minefields, and Lumsden's X Armoured Corps then moved through them. Italian forces holding this sector fought well, however, and 15th Panzer Division's counterattack almost halted the British advance. Montgomery found that reports of progress had been overly optimistic. The commanders of his armored divisions feared that crossing the key Miteiriya Ridge would expose their tanks to the deadly fire of German 88 mm anti-tank guns, and they had not moved. Meanwhile, the Germans were extending and reinforcing their minefields. An angry Montgomery now halted the southern thrust and concentrated his resources in the north. He also stated that he would relieve commanders who failed to advance. Progress resulted, and by late afternoon on 24 October, the 1st Armoured Division reported one of its brigades on and around Kidney Hill, part of Miteiriya Ridge. Once again, however, reports were overly

optimistic, and the 7th Armoured Division bogged down entirely at Himeirat. Meanwhile, General der Panzertruppen (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) Georg Stumme, Rommel's temporary replacement as German commander, died of a heart attack while visiting the front earlier that day.

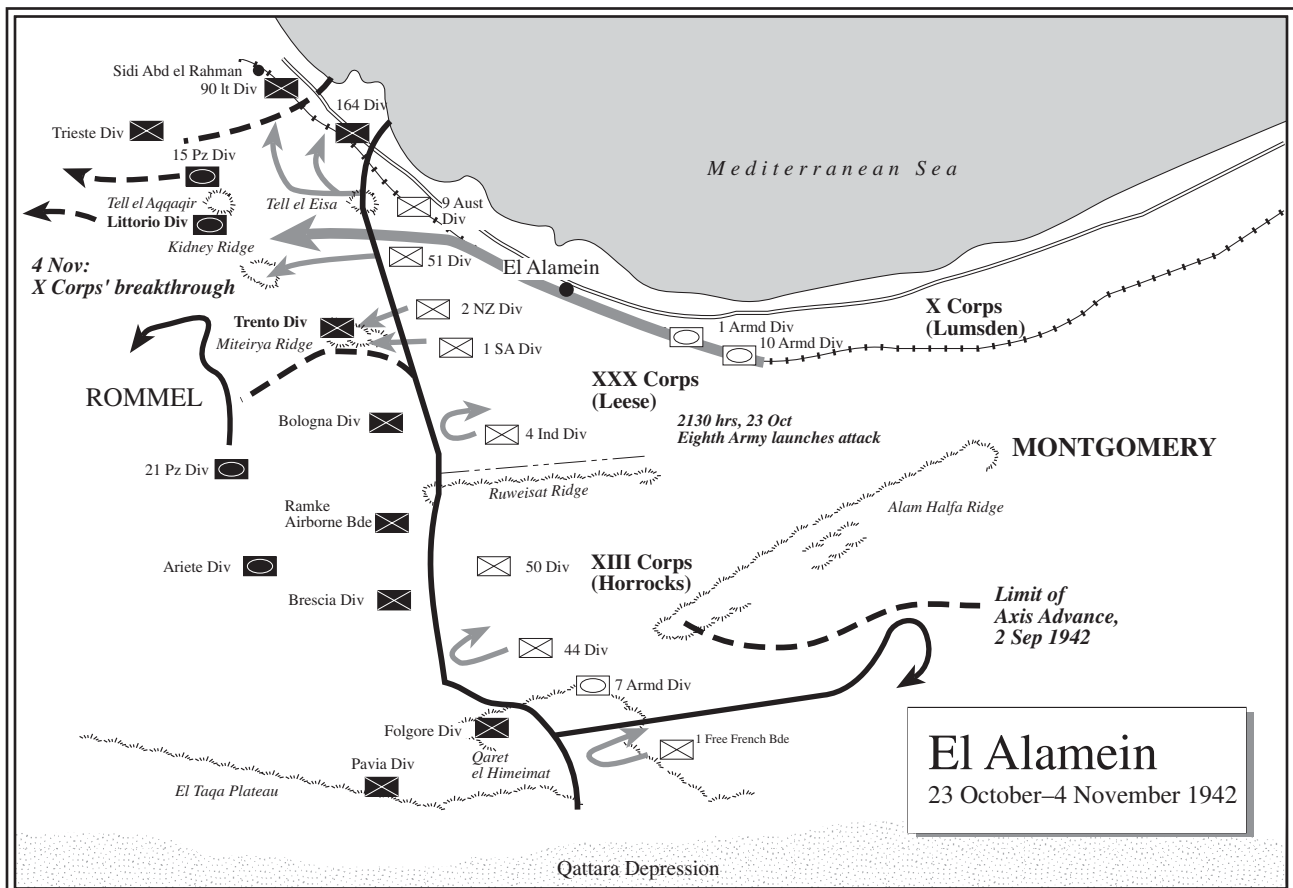
Montgomery was awakened at 2:00 A.M. on 25 October with the bad news and quickly saw his whole plan was threatened. With British forces holding only part of Kidney Hill to the north and making no progress at Himeimat in the south, the Germans would have little reason to launch counterattacks, and thus, the British armor would have no chance to destroy the panzers. Montgomery's infantry, although more successful than the armor, was also taking heavy casualties, and only his Australian division had replacements. Montgomery began to revise his plan again—the first of several changes made over the next few days. Ultimate success came, in part, from his flexibility during the battle.

The first effort was on the British far right at midnight on 25 October, but although the Australian infantry did very well, the 1st Armoured Division again failed to move beyond Kidney Hill. This time, the problems were map reading and failure to coordinate with the artillery. Thus far, Rommel, who had returned earlier on 25 October, continued to hold his ground,

which was what Montgomery wanted. Then, because of casualties, Montgomery shifted the offensive burden to Lumsden's X Corps, which was to move west and northwest from Kidney Hill. Not completely trusting Lumsden, Montgomery stayed in close touch with the operation and found that his corps commander was not keeping his artillery commander informed of plans and operations. Not wishing to risk his armor by leaving it unsupported, Montgomery again changed plans.

His new approach was to create an armored reserve to use for a decisive thrust, although the infantry would have to do the initial fighting with even less shield available than previously. At least Montgomery knew from ULTRA intercepts that, even though Rommel was thinking about breaking off, fuel shortages would not allow the Axis side to seek a battle of movement. Meanwhile, Churchill was more worried about winning a victory over the Afrika Korps before the Allied landings in western North Africa (Operation TORCH). The Vichy French were more likely to stand aside or even cooperate in these attacks if Axis forces in eastern North Africa were on the run. Churchill was thus not pleased to learn that armored units were being withdrawn from the Battle of Alamein.

As the fighting evolved, the target shifted from the northern coast road, where German troops were being brought in,



to the Miteiriya Ridge area, where the attack would hit mostly Italian units. Again, the start was delayed when the armor commanders failed to coordinate plans. The basic idea now called for two regiments of armored cars to drive behind the Axis defenders and envelop them. Early on 2 November, the attack began. And again, the infantry did well, quickly gaining 4,000 yards, but the armor failed to advance. Although slow to react because he was convinced the main attack would come farther north, Rommel organized a full-scale counterattack. This move played into the hands of the British, for their armor and antitank weapons could now take defensive positions and destroy the panzers. By the evening of 2 November, Rommel had only 35 German and 20 Italian tanks capable of combat.

Montgomery, however, had two armored divisions in reserve and spent 2 November gathering infantry reserves. He used this reserve force to break out to the southwest. By the evening of 2 November, Rommel was planning to fall back—news made available to Montgomery via ULTRA intercepts. When Adolf Hitler learned of Rommel's plan, however, he ordered the Afrika Korps to fight to the death. Rommel later claimed that this order resulted in the destruction of his army, but since it reached him more than half a day after his withdrawal started, it had little effect on the outcome. In any case, British attacks continued, and Allied air bombardment added a new destructive element. By the afternoon of 4 November, the victory was clearly won. The Italian XX Corps had been destroyed, and the Afrika Korps on its left had been shattered. On the afternoon of 4 November, Rommel ordered a retreat. Several days later, the Allies landed in western North Africa.

Casualty figures for the Battle of El Alamein vary widely. The British claimed to have inflicted 50,000 casualties, but the actual number is probably closer to 2,300 killed, 5,500 wounded, and 27,900 captured. Rommel had also lost almost all his tanks and artillery. Eighth Army casualties amounted to 4,600 killed and 9,300 wounded. The British also lost 432 tanks destroyed or disabled.

Despite the battle's outcome, historians have been critical of Montgomery for attacking the strength of the Axis line, and his subsequent claim that everything had gone according to plan is simply not true. Nonetheless, although Africa was not cleared of Axis forces for another six months, the end was plainly in sight.

Fred R. van Hartesveldt and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Alam Halfa, Battle of; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Horrocks, Sir Brian Gwynne; Leese, Sir Oliver William Hargreaves; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; North Africa Campaign; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; TORCH, Operation

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Electronic Intelligence

The collection and analysis of electromagnetic emissions that provide insight into an enemy's technological capabilities. The broader category of signals intelligence (SIGINT) includes both communications intelligence (COMINT) and electronic intelligence (ELINT). COMINT encompasses the monitoring of radio and telephone traffic, the decryption of coded messages, and the analysis of the contents of those messages. ELINT is the collection and analysis of electromagnetic emissions, such as telemetry and radar signals, with the expectation that the successful analysis of ELINT will provide information about enemy technology and lead to the development of effective countermeasures.

During World War II, signals intelligence played an important role in strategic decision making. Its best-known successes were in COMINT and included breaking the Japanese and German codes in MAGIC and ULTRA. The Axis powers also had some success in breaking Allied codes, most especially those regarding the Atlantic convoys. Signals intelligence activities during World War II were not limited to intercepting and reading communications, however. ELINT activities during the war included monitoring radar signals to determine the transmitting power, range, and accuracy of the air defense systems built by both the Allies and the Axis powers. In the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, Great Britain and the United States used sophisticated radio receivers to approximate the positions of submarines, merchantmen, and surface warships by means of triangulation (interpreting the strength and point of origin of radio transmissions). As the war progressed, ELINT techniques became more sophisticated. Because of the role played by both COMINT and ELINT in the conflict, World War II has sometimes been referred to as the SIGINT war.

Shannon A. Brown

See also

Signals Intelligence

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Emilia Plater Independent Women's Battalion (1943–1945)

First Polish cohesive, all-female combat unit, consisting of volunteers forcibly resettled in the Soviet Union and ironically named after a leader of an insurrection in 1830 directed against Russia.

Initially attached to the 1st Tadeusz Kościuszko Division, the battalion swore the oath of allegiance on 15 July 1943. It became directly subordinated to the I Polish Corps in August 1943 and to the First Polish Army in July 1944. Unlike women's auxiliary units in the West, the battalion lacked special military regulations. Its command personnel were men, and its political officers were women.

In August 1943, the battalion included five companies (two infantry and one each of fusiliers, machine guns, and handheld antitank grenade launchers) and six platoons (mortar, reconnaissance, signals, medical, engineer, and logistics). In late 1943, one transport platoon was added. Because the battalion also provided basic training to women subsequently assigned elsewhere, its strength fluctuated.

Women subsequently trained at the Infantry Officers' School in Ryzań, and they commanded companies and platoons of the new Polish army because of the drastic shortage of male Polish officers (of whom about 15,000 had been killed at Soviet prisoner-of-war camps in 1940). Among these women was Second Lieutenant Emilia Gierczak, platoon commander of the 10th Infantry Regiment. She distinguished herself in the fighting on the Pomeranian Rampart, while leading an assault group in Kołobrzeg (Kolberg).

About 70 women in the battalion died in the war. In May 1945, its strength of roughly 500 women was only a small percentage of the total of women serving in two Polish armies formed in the Soviet Union, with estimates ranging from 8,500 to 14,000.

Kazimiera J. Cottam

See also

Katyń Forest Massacre; Poland, Army; Poland, Role in War; Women in World War II

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Empress Augusta Bay, Battle of (2 November 1943)

Naval battle between U.S. and Japanese naval forces during the Bougainville Campaign. On 1 November 1943, Major General A. H. Turnage's 3rd Marine Division, which had been reinforced, landed at Empress Augusta Bay, about halfway up the west coast of Bougainville Island in the northern Solomon Islands. The landing was part of Operation CARTWHEEL, which was designed to neutralize the major Japanese air and naval base at Rabaul on New Britain Island to the north.

In addition to air attacks from Rabaul, which were thwarted by Allied fighter aircraft, the Japanese dispatched a scratch naval task force to attack the Torokina beachhead on Bougainville. Commanded by Rear Admiral Omori Sentaro, the force consisted of the heavy cruisers *Myoko* and *Haguro*,



Wounded in the initial invasion at Empress Augusta Bay, Bougainville, this American is hoisted aboard a Coast Guard–manned transport off shore, November 1943. (Still Picture Records LICON, Special Media Archives Services Division (NWCS-S), National Archives at College Park)

two light cruisers, six destroyers, and five destroyer transports carrying 1,000 troops who were to be landed on Bougainville. Rear Admiral Ijuin Matsuji commanded the left flank screen with the light cruiser *Sendai* and three destroyers, and Rear Admiral Osugi Morikazu had the right with the light cruiser *Agano* and three destroyers.

The transports turned back late in the evening of 1 November after Omori concluded that the task force had been sighted by American planes. Omori, however, continued to Bougainville with his other ships in the expectation that he could destroy the Allied transports and cargo vessels in a night battle. Unknown to him, the transports had been quickly unloaded and had left Empress Augusta Bay earlier that day.

Learning of Omori's task force from U.S. Army reconnaissance aircraft, Rear Admiral A. Stanton Merrill, whose Task Force 39 had been providing bombardment support for the Bougainville landing force, moved to intercept the Japanese about 20 miles north of Empress Augusta Bay. Task Force 39 was centered on Merrill's Cruiser Division 12, consisting of the light cruisers *Montpelier* (the flag), *Cleveland*, *Columbia*, and *Denver*. Captain Arleigh Burke's Destroyer Division 45 made up the van, and Commander B. L. Austin's Destroyer Division 46 comprised the rear. Merrill hoped to engage the Japanese ships at long range to avoid a torpedo attack while making use of his radar-controlled, 6-inch guns.

The two task forces encountered each other at 2:27 A.M. on 2 November and fought a complicated battle that was really three engagements in one: Merrill's cruisers against Omori's cruisers and individual battles waged respectively by the two destroyer divisions. Although the Japanese were superior in gunfire and torpedoes and although Omori thought he had inflicted serious losses on the Americans, he broke off the battle after an hour, at 3:27.

Merrill's cruisers sank the Japanese light cruiser *Sendai*, and Destroyer Division 46 sank the Japanese destroyer *Hatsukaze*, which already had been badly damaged in a collision with the cruiser *Myoko*, Omori's flagship. Task Force 39's losses were limited to damage to two ships; the destroyer *Foote* had her stern blown off by a torpedo. Merrill abandoned pursuit of the Japanese ships at dawn to await the inevitable Japanese air response from Rabaul. It came at about 8:00 A.M. in the form of 100 Japanese aircraft, which were met by a smaller number of Allied fighters. The Japanese inflicted only minor damage, with the cruiser *Montpelier* taking two bomb hits on her starboard catapult. Omori was subsequently relieved of command for failing to carry out his orders.

The Battle of Empress Augusta Bay did not end the Japanese naval threat to the Allied lodgment on Bougainville. However, the prompt U.S. Navy reaction prevented Japanese disruption of the landing, and along with massive air raids

against Rabaul over the next days and the naval battle of Cape St. George on 25 November, it helped ensure the success of the Bougainville Campaign.

John Kennedy Ohl

See also

Bougainville Campaign; Cape St. George, Battle of; Rabaul; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign; Southeast Pacific Theater

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England

See Great Britain.

Enigma Machine

At the 1923 International Postal Congress, Arthur Scherbius, a German, demonstrated his invention of a commercial encoding machine, known as the Enigma device. Enigma resembled a typewriter in appearance with a series of rotors or wheels, the settings of which could be changed. Early versions of the device enabled the operator to encode a plaintext in any of 150 million possible ways.

As with all major military powers, the Germans sought to develop a secure means of military communications and assumed that messages encoded by Enigma were unbreakable. By 1928, the German military was using the Enigma, and Japan and Italy also bought the machine and used it. Other countries, such as the United States, purchased the Enigma machine but did not attempt to unlock its secrets.

The Poles, concerned about a resurgent Germany as a threat to their own security, formed a special cryptography group at the University of Poznan in 1928. They also purchased the commercial model of Enigma, and by 1935, they had broken into the German radio codes, information they largely shared with the British and French in 1938. Late that year, however, the Germans added a sixth rotor, which helped to convince the Poles that the Germans were about to make an aggressive military move. The Poles modified their own machines to keep up with the German advances, and they continued to break into the German codes, but the defeat of their country came too quickly for Enigma to be of use to them.



An Enigma cipher machine, used by the German military in World War II. (Hulton Archive)

After Poland's defeat, the Polish code-breakers and their machines were spirited away to France and England. At Bletchley Park outside of Buckingham, the British assembled a mixed group of experts to continue the work begun by the Poles. Over time, Bletchley Park developed additional devices that could sort through the possible variations of an encoded text, although the Enigma's changeable settings meant that most messages could not be read in "real time." Nonetheless, Enigma proved invaluable in the Allied military effort and undoubtedly shortened the war. Information on ULTRA intercepts was not made public until 1974, when Group Captain F. W. Winterbotham published *The Ultra Secret*. Its revelations forced the rewriting of most earlier histories of the war.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Bletchley Park; Counterintelligence Operations; Electronic Intelligence; Signals Intelligence

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Eniwetok, Capture of (17–22 February 1944)

Eniwetok Atoll lies on the northwestern edge of the Rilik Chain in the Marshall Islands, some 2,000 miles west of Pearl Harbor. Thirty small islands comprise this coral atoll, mostly on the western edge of a circular lagoon. The three major islands are Eniwetok in the south, Parry in the southeast, and Engebi in the north. Following the capture of islands in the Gilbert chain in November 1943, Vice Admiral Raymond A. Spruance took command of operations against the Marshalls.

Because of the rapid success in securing Kwajalein Atoll in the Marshalls, American planners decided to proceed with Operation CATCHPOLE to take Eniwetok. The assault force of just under 8,000 men centered on the 22nd Marine Regiment and soldiers of the army's 27th Division and attached troops. Brigadier General T. E. Watson had overall command, with Rear Admiral Harry W. Hill commanding the landing group. Unlike assaults in the Gilberts, adequate numbers of LVTs (landing vehicles, tracked) were available, and this operation saw the first extensive use of the DUKW amphibious trucks. Initially, fewer than 60 naval personnel defended Eniwetok Atoll, but on 4 January, Major General Bishida Yoshimi's 1st Amphibious Brigade, a veteran fighting unit, arrived, bringing total Japanese strength on the atoll to nearly 3,500 men.

The Eniwetok Expeditionary Group sortied from Kwajalein Lagoon on 15 February, covering the 326 miles to Eniwetok by two different routes. Engebi was the main U.S. objective because it had the atoll's only airfield. Including soldiers of the 27th Division and attached units, there were just under 8,000 men in the assault force. The invasion began at 8:44 A.M. on 17 February 1944, with the 1st and 2nd Battalions of the 22nd Marine Regiment landing on the southeastern beach. The attackers were supported by medium tanks of the 2nd Separate Tank Company. Initial Japanese resistance was light, and the only organized resistance occurred near Skunk Point. By 2:50 P.M., the island was declared secured, although mopping up continued into 18 February.

Operations against Parry and Eniwetok Islands would be more difficult. At 7:19 A.M. on 19 February, U.S. naval gunfire pounded Eniwetok Island, which was defended by 808 Japanese troops. The fire expended was minimal compared with that on the other islands, and few Japanese positions were damaged. At 9:17 A.M., the 1st and 3rd Battalions of the army's 106th Infantry Regiment landed. Things went badly from the start. The terrain prevented many of the LVTs from moving inland, and the Japanese covered the beach with automatic weapon and mortar fire.



These Marines, dirty and weary from two days and two nights of fighting, were typical of the victors of Eniwetok Atoll. (Still Picture Records LICON, Special Media Archives Services Division (NWCS-S), National Archives at College Park)

At midday on 19 February, the Japanese launched a spirited counterattack with 300 to 400 men. The 106th was able to defeat the counterattack but at heavy cost. Shortly after 12:00 P.M., the 3rd Battalion, 106th Infantry was committed, but it failed to influence the course of the battle. An hour later, the 3rd Battalion, 22nd Marines was ordered ashore and directed to support the army's left flank. That night, the American units completed the capture of the western edge of the island and consolidated a defensive line near the beach.

The battle to secure the eastern side of Eniwetok was similar to the western battles. The 3rd Battalion, 106th Infantry landed on Yellow Beach 1 beginning at 9:17 A.M. on 19 February. Many of the Japanese beach defenses had been destroyed by naval gunfire, but once they were inland, the attackers discovered and were delayed by bunkers, pillboxes, and spider holes. Supported by carrier aircraft, the attacking troops secured the island on 21 February.

Parry Island was defended by 1,347 Japanese. Fortunately for the attackers, prisoner interviews and intelligence material captured on Engebi and Eniwetok revealed the Japanese defensive positions and provided U.S. planners a framework for a detailed preinvasion bombardment. Beginning at 10:00

P.M. on 20 February and continuing until the landing two days later, the battleships *Tennessee*, *Pennsylvania*, and *Colorado*, assisted by two heavy cruisers, pounded the island. Aircraft from three escort carriers also joined the assault.

Beginning at 9:08 A.M. on 22 February, the 1st and 2nd Battalions of the 22nd Marines landed abreast and were met by Japanese machine-gun and mortar fire at the water's edge. At 10:00 A.M., the Japanese opened up with 77 mm field guns, which were quickly silenced by naval gunfire. Meanwhile, the 3rd Battalion, 22nd Marines went ashore. The Marines fought to the ocean side of the island and then formed two lines. Each line battled to the opposite end of the island. By 7:30 P.M. that day, Parry was declared secure.

The battles to capture Eniwetok Atoll were the last major battles of the Eastern Mandates Campaign. Although planners expected this effort to be easy, stiff Japanese resistance from well-prepared positions slowed the progress of the U.S. forces. American casualties were 195 killed and missing and 521 wounded. Of the total Japanese force of some 3,431 men, only 64 prisoners were taken. No American ships were lost during the operation, although there was some damage from friendly fire. No Japanese surface ships contested the land-

ing, but four submarines were sunk, along with a number of small supply ships and patrol craft.

Troy D. Morgan and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Kwajalein, Battle for; Marshall Islands, Naval Campaign; Spruance, Raymond Ames

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Estonia

The Baltic state of Estonia received its independence as a consequence of World War I. The smallest and most northerly of the three Baltic states, Estonia feared both Germany, because of dispossessed German landowners, and Russia. On 2 February 1920, however, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic recognized Estonia as an independent country. The Estonian government in Tallinn subsequently negotiated nonaggression pacts with the Soviet Union in June 1932 and Germany in June 1939. In 1939, the country was ruled by the nationalist Peasant Party, headed by K. Päts. Estonia was a member of the League of Nations.

Another nonaggression pact, this one between Germany and the Soviet Union in August 1939, proved to be Estonia's downfall. Arrangements under this pact consigned the country to Soviet influence. After the German invasion of Poland in September, the Soviet Union increasingly encroached on Estonian sovereignty. On 28 September, Estonian officials reluctantly signed a mutual assistance pact with the Soviet Union, which allowed the Soviets to station troops and to establish naval and air bases on Estonian soil. By 17 June 1940, Estonia was occupied by Soviet troops, and the process of Sovietization began.

Soviet officials then managed, through coercion and violence, to secure the election of favorable candidates to the legislature, which then voted to make Estonia a Soviet republic.

On 6 August 1940, the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic was formally admitted to the Soviet Union. The Estonian government also nationalized industry and large banks and collectivized land. It also imposed censorship and restructured the schools. The Soviet regime dealt brutally with any opposition, executing more than 2,000 Estonians and deporting 19,000 others to isolated areas of the Soviet Union.

Adolf Hitler's decision to invade the Soviet Union brought the German occupation of Estonia. German troops were on Estonian soil by 5 July 1941, and they controlled the majority of the country by August. Stiff resistance by Soviet troops in northern Estonia devastated the region.

German efforts to recruit an Estonian Schutzstaffel (SS) division had only limited success, as did attempts to convince Estonians to volunteer for labor in Germany. German racial policies also impacted Estonia: the vast majority of the country's small Jewish population was murdered. Estonians suffered as the Germans requisitioned much of their food and livestock. In addition, the German occupation forces maintained the strict government control over industry and land that had originally been imposed by the Soviets.

The westward advances of the Soviet army in February 1944 again turned Estonia into a battleground, and tens of thousands of Estonians fled to western Europe. During the war, the country lost approximately 20 percent of its prewar population of some 1,136,000 people. After the war, Soviet officials deported around 31,000 others, suspected of opposition to Communist rule. This loss of population was made up by an influx of more than 500,000 Soviet citizens. Estonia did not regain its independence until August 1991.

Laura J. Hilton

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Eastern Front; German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact

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EUREKA

See Tehran Conference.

F

Falaise-Argentan Pocket (August 1944)

Military opportunity in France in which Allied forces failed to trap a significant portion of retreating German forces. In July 1944, U.S. Operation *COBRA* broke the monthlong stalemate in Normandy and shattered the German defensive lines, creating a war of movement. Third Army commander Lieutenant General George S. Patton Jr. envisaged a drive on the Seine River and the liberation of Paris, but a politically less dramatic and strategically more important opportunity soon developed: trapping German forces west of the Seine. If this could be accomplished, the Allied advance east to Germany would be greatly eased and the war shortened.

On 7 August, German forces counterattacked with elements of four panzer divisions at the express order of Adolf Hitler and over the opposition of Field Marshal Günther Hans von Kluge, commander of Army Group B and commander in chief west. Kluge was convinced the attack was doomed from the start. It would drive German forces into the heart of the planned Allied envelopment. Unfortunately for the Allies, it did slow the Canadian push to Falaise.

At this point, however, Allied planning began to break down. Patton suggested a deeper envelopment that would net all the Germans west of the Seine. However, his superior, Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley, commander of 12th Army Group, rejected this and insisted on a shorter hook. On 10 August, Patton then turned units north from Le Mans, and by 12 August he had taken Alençon. The speed of Patton's movements surprised all concerned. The opportunity to close the Falaise pocket seemed in the offing.

Excluding forces in the Brittany peninsula, there were then some 350,000 German troops west of the Seine. About half were caught in the Falaise pocket, their only route of escape the 15-mile-wide Falaise gap. If American forces could close this, the envelopment would be complete.

At this point, with success apparently in hand, the cautious Bradley ordered Patton to hold at Argentan. Officially, this was to avoid a chance head-on meeting between the two converging Allied armies, but Bradley was clearly concerned about Patton's willingness to leave his flanks open. Patton regarded the risk as both limited and worth taking. Continued slow movement by British and Canadian forces from the north left the pocket open. Allied ineptness, more than German courage and skill, was the primary reason the trap was not closed in time.

Primary responsibility for this failure rests with Bradley, 21st Army Group commander General Bernard L. Montgomery, and Supreme Commander, Allied Expeditionary Forces General Dwight D. Eisenhower. Bradley wanted to take no chances, and Eisenhower preferred to let his subordinates work out strategic and tactical decisions on their own. Eisenhower failed to step in and bring the three competing generals—Montgomery, Bradley, and Patton—to consensus or to order a common plan. Montgomery failed to push his subordinate commanders hard enough, but there were also logistical problems. Other Allied military leaders, including commander of the British Second Army Lieutenant General Sir Miles Dempsey, Canadian First Army commander Lieutenant General Henry Crerar, and Free French 2nd Armored Division commander Major General Jacques Leclerc con-



U.S. soldiers pose in front of a wrecked German tank in Chambois, France, the last German stronghold in the Falaise gap area. 20 August 1944. (National Archives)

tributed to the disjointed nature of the Allied operation. A subsequent proposal by Patton to turn from his drive to the east and make a deeper envelopment was slow to reach Bradley, who ultimately rejected it.

In the Falaise pocket, the Germans lost approximately 200 tanks, 300 heavy guns, 700 artillery pieces, 5,000 vehicles, and a great many carts and horses. But the personnel losses were considerably less than hoped for—no more than 10,000 Germans killed and 50,000 captured. Some 115,000 well-trained German troops escaped the pocket. In all, 240,000 German soldiers crossed the Seine in the last week of August and established a solid defensive line protecting the western approaches to Germany. In September, the Allied Operation MARKET-GARDEN, a combined-arms assault to cross the lower Rhine River into Germany, was stymied by German units that had escaped from Normandy.

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See also

Bradley, Omar Nelson; COBRA, Operation; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; France, Free French; France Campaign (1944); Kluge, Günther Adolf Ferdinand von; Leclerc, Philippe de Hautecloque; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Montgomery; Sir Bernard Law; Patton, George Smith, Jr.

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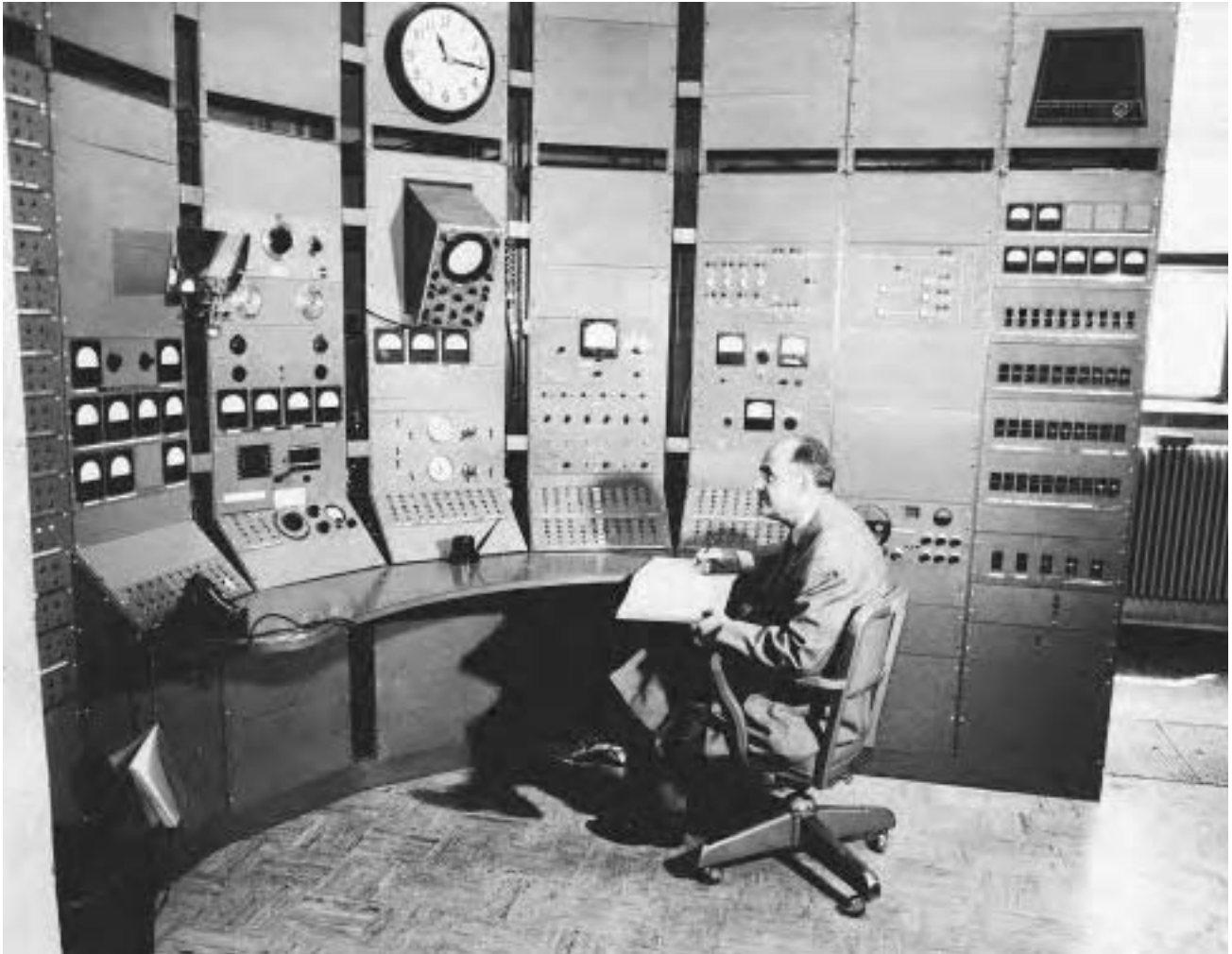
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Fermi, Enrico (1901–1954)

Italian physicist considered by many to be the “father of the atomic bomb.” Born in Rome on 29 September 1901, Enrico Fermi entered the University of Pisa in 1918 and earned his doctorate there in 1922. He developed mathematical models

that led to significant advances in understanding the potential for the atom, and he published papers that placed Italy in the center of theoretical and experimental physics. Fermi held professorships at the University of Florence and the University of Rome. One of the first physicists to expound the importance of nuclear physics and quantum theory, Fermi was awarded the Nobel Prize in physics in 1938 for his



Enrico Fermi seated at control panel of a particle accelerator, the “world’s most powerful atom smasher.” (Library of Congress)

groundbreaking work on neutrons and for identifying a new radioactive element.

After being awarded the Nobel Prize, Fermi left Italy because of his growing concern over the relationship between Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany and to ensure that his wife Laura, a Jew, would not be affected by growing anti-Semitism in Europe. Fermi accepted a professorship at Columbia University in New York City, where he continued to make significant scientific contributions.

In 1942, Fermi moved to the University of Chicago. Here he worked with a group of physicists in the Metallurgical Laboratory and was one of the main architects of the MANHATTAN Project to develop an atomic bomb. Fluent in German, Fermi was aware of the advances made by German physicists in the area of nuclear physics. On 2 December 1942, Fermi’s group at the University of Chicago carried out the world’s first controlled nuclear chain reaction, providing the experimental groundwork for developing a nuclear weapon. In 1944, Fermi and his team moved to New Mexico, where on 16 July 1945

the first atomic device was detonated at Alamogordo. Fermi is considered by many to be the “father of the atomic bomb.” Fermi died in Chicago on 28 November 1954.

James T. Carroll

See also

MANHATTAN Project; Nuclear Weapons

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Festung Europa

“Fortress Europe,” the generic term for the fortifications ring-ing German-occupied Europe, especially the massive defenses erected on the Atlantic coast from Norway to Spain, the so-called Atlantic Wall. Designed to guard against the possibil-

ity of an Allied amphibious invasion, these static defenses stretched from Norwegian outposts on the Arctic Ocean all the way to the more integrated beach and harbor defenses along the Bay of Biscay. In modern military terms, this series of engineering works was an exercise in “force multiplication” in that, by constructing strong defensive works, the Germans expected to be able to use inferior military units to man them, freeing up more capable troops for open warfare elsewhere.

The Germans built the defenses largely by forced and conscripted labor. Under the control and direction of Fritz Todt, German minister of armaments and munitions (and Albert Speer, Todt’s successor after February 1942), hundreds of thousands of workers labored to build the fortified positions. The work began slowly, however, only gaining momentum after the tides of war had definitively shifted against the Germans. The plans originated at the direction of Adolf Hitler himself, who ordered the construction of some 15,000 defensive positions to be defended by 300,000 men.

Although Hitler’s construction objective was never reached, the numbers were nonetheless impressive. By the time of the Allied invasion of Normandy in June 1944, the Germans had placed 6.5 million mines, erected 500,000 beach obstacles, and expended 1.2 million tons of steel to reinforce 13.3 million tons of concrete in the thousands of positions that were completed.

When Field Marshal Erwin Rommel was appointed to command the likely invasion area, he decried the state of the defenses as he found them. Doubling and tripling the workload, Rommel greatly strengthened the defenses. Nevertheless, his professional opinion was that these works would never be sufficient to keep the Allies off the beaches. He believed that if the Allies came ashore and could establish a lodgment, there would be no way to defeat them. Recognizing the threat not only of amphibious assault but also of parachute and gliderborne attacks, Rommel seeded the open fields and meadows behind the beaches that the Allies might use as landing zones with stout iron bars linked with barbed wire. These obstacles became known as “Rommel’s asparagus.” In the end, the static defenses erected by the Germans proved no more effective than the French Maginot Line had been four years earlier.

Robert Bateman

See also

Amphibious Warfare; Maginot Line; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Speer, Albert; Todt Organization

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Fighter Tactics

Methods and procedures for employing fighter aircraft against enemy aircraft. The sky offers extremes of visibility and no natural cover save clouds. The victor in any fight is usually the one who sees his opponent first. Seeing enemy aircraft is generally difficult; visibility from the cockpit of a typical World War II fighter varied from very bad to good, and there was always a blind area to the rear and below. Early war aircraft such as the Messerschmitt Bf-109E had particularly poor cockpit visibility; later aircraft, such as the Typhoon and P-51D, had bubble canopies that afforded better visibility, but their pilots could still be surprised from behind and below.

Assuming that the cockpit framing and bulletproof windscreen didn’t get in the way, individual fighter-sized aircraft could usually be seen perhaps two miles away, four-engine bombers from three or four. A formation or group of aircraft could sometimes be seen six or seven miles away. Visual detection range could be doubled if enemy aircraft were maneuvering. However, aircraft could not be seen by anyone looking directly at or close to the sun, and clouds could provide concealment.

To mount a coordinated attack on a target, it was necessary for a group of fighters to fly in formation. The number of aircraft in the formation and their positions had a relatively large influence on the aircrafts’ effectiveness and survivability.

Before World War II, the basic formation used by many air forces (including the British Royal Air Force [RAF]) was a V or “vic” of three aircraft flying very close together, about a wingspan apart. A squadron was typically composed of four vics. This was fine for air displays and flying in cloud, but its severe disadvantage was that every pilot except the formation leader was concentrating on maintaining formation, leaving little time to look for enemy aircraft. Considering that about 80 percent of all pilots who were shot down never saw their attackers, the folly of using this type of formation can be readily understood. Several instances are recorded of a single enemy plane shooting down two or three aircraft without the rest of the formation noticing anything amiss.

The Luftwaffe had learned from combat experience in the Spanish Civil War, and at the urging of Werner Mölders, a leading German fighter pilot in Spain, it adopted a widely spaced *Rotte* (pair) as the basic tactical unit, the two aircraft flying a few hundred yards apart. Each pilot was then free to search for enemy aircraft without worrying about avoiding collision and could easily check the other’s blind area, making a surprise attack less likely. When the formation leader attacked a target, the wingman’s duty was to guard his leader’s tail. The basic unit of maneuver was two pairs arranged side by side like the four fingers of a hand, with the leaders of the

pairs at positions two and three. When the RAF and most other air forces eventually adopted this formation during 1941 and 1942, it was usually known as the Finger Four.

The U.S. Navy adopted a variation of this in which the pairs flew farther apart (about one turn radius). When either of the pairs was attacked, the two pairs turned toward each other, providing one pair with a head-on shot at the other pair's attacker. This tactic was known as the Thach Weave after its originator, Lieutenant Commander John S. "Jimmy" Thach. A variant was used by the Soviet air force later in the war. The Soviet air force also learned lessons from the Spanish Civil War, but many of the officers who might have been able to make a systematic change were removed in Josef Stalin's purges.

The nature of fighter-versus-fighter combat is such that the greatest chance of success is to be obtained by gaining a position advantage on an opponent, making a single unobserved attack, and then breaking off. This is essentially the technique used by German ace Erich Hartmann on the Soviet Front. There are numerous recorded instances of this technique working for a single attacker against a large formation of aircraft. The fact is that a single aircraft is much more difficult to spot than a formation, and a formation is more difficult to control than a single aircraft.

A position advantage is really any position that allows an aircraft to launch an attack, the precise nature of which will vary depending on the characteristics of the fighter and target aircraft. When attacking single-seaters, this was somewhere in the rear hemisphere of the target, preferably positioned so that the target would have to look into the sun to see the attacker and usually positioned higher so that the fighter could dive on the target with a speed advantage. The fighter would then open fire in the dive or would dive below the target and shoot in a shallow climb. This variation was favored by German ace Adolf Galland. Many aces were good shots; some went very close to their targets—a few yards, in some cases—to be sure of a kill.

The art of air-to-air gunnery is to ensure that the projectiles and target arrive at the same point in space simultaneously. To accomplish this, the pilot must aim some distance in front of the target; this is called the *deflection angle*. This applies only unless the shooter is immediately behind the target or attacking head-on. Some pilots were able to instinctively apply the correct amount of deflection, but most could not. The British introduced the Gyro Gun Sight in 1944, which dramatically increased the number of hits scored by the average squadron pilot.

Having delivered the attack, the pilot could then either break off combat or convert his speed advantage into an altitude advantage and reattack if necessary. This tactic could be particularly effective if the fighter had good dive acceleration and zoom-climb capabilities (e.g., Messerschmitt Bf-109, P-51 Mustang).

The usual counter to a fighter attack was a very hard ("break") turn toward the attacking aircraft to present a difficult firing solution. After the attacker had fired, several possible courses of action were open to the defender—assuming, of course, that the attacker had failed to do significant damage on his first pass. If the attacker was forced to overshoot, a roll reversal back toward the attacker could yield a firing solution for the defender, but this would probably be fatal if the attacker had a wingman. This maneuver could degenerate into what in current terminology is called a "scissors"; in it, each aircraft repeatedly turns hard toward the other to try to force an overshoot. The advantage in this case would usually be with the aircraft that had the lower wing loading, although pilot skill played a part.

Alternatively, if the attacker continued turning in an effort to get a firing solution and was flying a significantly more maneuverable aircraft (e.g., Spitfire IX versus Messerschmitt Bf-109G or Mitsubishi Zero versus Curtiss P-40), the defender's best option was to break off the engagement. The preferred method of doing this varied with the aircraft's relative capabilities. If the attacker did not have a significant top speed or dive advantage, a favored technique was to half-roll and enter a full-throttle vertical dive (the "split-s" or *Abshwung*). This could lose as much as 10,000 ft of altitude, and if the attacker did not also immediately dive, the defender would usually be able to get sufficient separation and speed to break off the engagement. Finally, if the defender had a maneuverability or performance advantage, he could elect to stay and fight it out by turning hard to get onto his opponent's tail. If his aircraft had a significantly lighter wing loading, three or four circles were usually enough to gain a firing position.

If a formation of disadvantaged aircraft were attacked by enemy aircraft, a viable tactic was to form a defensive circle or "Lufbery," named for a famous American World War I fighter pilot. In this tactic, the defenders flew in a circle so that each aircraft covered the one in front. An attacker would then have to fly through the field of fire of the following aircraft to attack any aircraft in the formation. The defensive circle could be a double-edged sword; during the Battle of Britain, Spitfires were able to get inside defensive circles of Messerschmitt Bf-110s flying in the opposite direction and were able to engage each aircraft in turn without exposure to significant enemy fire. In June 1942, German ace Hans Joachim Marseille managed to shoot down six South African P-40 Tomahawks over Libya by making repeated diving and zoom-climb passes inside a defensive circle and shooting at very high deflection angles.

If the target aircraft had a second crew member, the priority was to approach in such a way that the target was not aware of the presence of the fighter. In the case of a two-seater, this usually meant attacking from below and behind out of the field of fire of defensive weapons. If an unobserved approach was

impossible (e.g., for a well-armed four-engine bomber), the choices came down to either approaching from a direction that had poor defensive coverage (e.g., from the beam if the target only had nose and tail weapons) or approaching in such a way as to present a difficult target for defensive weapons (e.g., with a large speed advantage from the rear quarter). If the attacking pilots could shoot accurately, however, the frontal attack was a better and possibly safer option. Bombers usually had fewer and less-effective weapons firing forward, the attackers were exposed to defensive fire for a much shorter period of time, and the bomber's defensive armor was designed to protect from attacks originating from below and behind the bomber rather than from the front.

If the target had defensive armament and was flying in formation, the other aircraft in the formation would be able to contribute defensive fire, and attacking became significantly more hazardous. The effect of defensive fire could be reduced by making multiple simultaneous attacks or by selecting a target on the edge of the formation. Some antibomber weapons (e.g., the German Wgr-21 rocket) were designed to break up formations and allow individual targets to be picked off.

Late in the war, German jet fighters were used against bombers, and the amount of excess speed generated in a dive made sighting extremely difficult. To cope with this, a roller-coaster-type attack was developed whereby the attacking jets approached from the rear of the formation, dived through the fighter screen at speed to a position 1,500 ft below and behind the bombers, and then pulled up into a steep climb to bleed off most of the excess speed before selecting a target and opening fire.

The tactics employed by radar-guided night fighters were concerned more with accurate interception techniques and visual acquisition before firing than with violent maneuvering, although there were exceptions. The tactics were dominated by the target-acquisition performance of onboard radar; the British AIMk IV had an effective range of 3–4 miles at 15,000 ft, degrading to half a mile at 3,000 ft. The minimum usable radar range was usually about 1,000 yards and the maximum visual acquisition range was usually about 1,400 yards, although this varied depending on moon and cloud conditions.

Most home-defense night fighters relied heavily on ground controllers, although both sides had electronic devices that allowed a fighter to home onto a target from many miles away. The Germans had a Flensburg receiver that homed onto the Monica tail-warning radar and Naxos that detected H2S bombing radar; the British had Serrate, which homed onto German airborne radar transmissions and Perfectos that triggered German aircraft IFF (Identification Friend or Foe) equipment.

Ground control and radar operators usually aimed to approach the target from astern and from slightly below so

that the target was silhouetted against the night sky, maximizing the chance of visual acquisition. Very low targets were, however, usually approached from above to maximize radar detection range. German night fighters fitted with *Schräge Musik* (upward-firing cannon) could attack from almost directly below the target and were very effective against RAF bombers until the tactic became known.

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See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Britain, Battle of; Hartman, Erich Alfred; Identification Friend or Foe (IFF); Kondor Legion; Radar

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Film and the War

By the beginning of World War II, the governments of the nations involved certainly had grasped the proven persuasive power of film as well as its potential for motivating or manipulating their populations. Whether employed in narrow focus for military training and indoctrination or more widely as documentaries, newsreels, spectacles, dramas, and comedies produced for mass consumption, the medium played a journeyman role during the war years in promoting and sustaining sentiments of national unity and patriotism.

Men and women in military service on all sides of the conflict received intensive practical training, and as a matter of course they also participated in activities designed to increase morale, unit cohesion, and unity of purpose. For many, this preparation included viewing hours of films both instructional and inspirational. In the United States, for example, training films ran the gamut from featurettes or “shorts” on personal hygiene, literacy promotion, and knowing the enemy to detailed elucidations of artillery, aircraft, or naval component operation and maintenance—even a 1942 U.S. Army series on horsemanship for cavalry recruits. The Disney Studios weighed in between 1942 and 1945 with dozens of animated and live-action educational shorts remembered with varying degrees of fondness by many World War II veterans.

In the years leading to war, film studios in the United States (which led world production) began addressing the larger political environment beyond its borders. Although most of the nation tended toward isolationism, Hollywood, with its influential Jewish contingent, reflected a concern with the growing

Nazi and Fascist threat in Europe. Charles Chaplin portrayed a buffoonish Adolf Hitler-like character in his *The Great Dictator* (1940), and the horrors of life in Nazi Germany were revealed in Sherman Scott's *Beasts of Berlin* (1939), which harked back to a sensationalist World War I-era film, *The Kaiser, Beast of Berlin*. Hollywood also produced heroic nationalist films, such as *Sergeant York* (1941), a movie by Howard Hawks about Alvin York, a U.S. Army icon of World War I. Hollywood's anti-Germany/pro-Britain stance is most clearly seen in Henry King's *A Yank in the RAF* (1941), starring Tyrone Power as an American who joins the Royal Air Force. After the United States entered the war, the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt mobilized Hollywood with creation of the Office of War Information (OWI) in 1942. Directors and movie stars alike assisted the war effort in a wide variety of ways, from production of training films to starring roles in an increasing number of war epics. Director Frank Capra, famous for his screwball comedies, created an important seven-part documentary series intended for both military and civilian audiences, *Why We Fight* (1942–1944). Hollywood stars were also prominently active in bond rallies, United Service Organizations (USO) tours, and Red Cross events. Actress Carole Lombard, returning from a bond-promoting tour, died in an airplane crash near Las Vegas in 1942.

The studios steadily turned out films that portrayed the heroic efforts of the American armed services, including John Farrow's *Wake Island* (1942), Ray Enright's *Gung Ho!* (1943), Lloyd Bacon's *Action in the North Atlantic* (1943), Tay Garnett's *Bataan* (1943), Lewis Seiler's *Guadalcanal Diary* (1943), Delmar Daves' *Destination Tokyo* (1943), Zoltan Korda's *Sahara* (1943), John Stahl's *Immortal Sergeant* (1943), and Mervyn Le Roy's *Thirty Seconds over Tokyo* (1944). The studios also raised American audiences' spirits with patriotic comedies and musicals including Michael Curtiz's *Yankee Doodle Dandy* (1942), Charles Vidor's *Cover Girl* (1944), Bruce Humberstone's *Pin Up Girl* (1944), and George Sidney's *Anchors Aweigh* (1945).

While Disney labored to produce training films, it also released a popular cartoon in 1943 called *Der Fuehrer's Face* or *Donald Duck in Nutzi Land*. Warner Brothers, on the other hand, routinely spiced theater fare from 1939 through 1945 with a cavalcade of propaganda cartoons featuring Bugs Bunny and Daffy Duck. More complex, studied treatment of the war's personal impact was offered in American films such as Curtiz's *Casablanca* (1943) and Alfred Hitchcock's *Lifeboat* (1944). As the war ground on toward its end, grimmer depictions of real combat emerged from Hollywood, among them John Ford's *They Were Expendable* (1945), William A. Wellman's *The Story of GI Joe* (1945), Edward Dmytryk's *Back to Bataan* (1945), and Lewis Milestone's *A Walk in the Sun* (1946).

In Great Britain, the film industry responded to the war in a fashion mirroring its influential American counterpart.

Before 1937, mainstream British cinema addressed little in the way of international politics or foreign policy, but with the onset of war in 1939—and under heavy government censorship via the Ministry of Information—Britain began one of the most aggressive propaganda film efforts of any warring power. Newsreels abounded, and dramatized documentaries such as *Target for Tonight* (1941), *Coastal Command* (1942), *Fires Were Started* (1943), and *Western Approaches* (1944) had widespread and enthusiastic audiences. Feature films such as Penrose Tennyson's *Convoy* (1941), Anthony Asquith's *Freedom Radio* (1941) and *The Demi-Paradise* (1943), Bernard Miles' *Tawny Pipit* (1944), David Lean's *This Happy Breed* (1944), Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger's controversial *The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp* (1943) and the morality tale *A Canterbury Tale* (1944), and Asquith's RAF tribute *The Way to the Stars* (1945) personified the resolute British determination to see the war through to victory. Heroic acts of British warriors—not always in World War II—were portrayed in numerous movies, including Powell's *The Lion Has Wings* (1939), Harold French's *The Day Will Dawn* (1942), Charles Friend's *The Foreman Went to France* (1942), Powell's *One of Our Aircraft Is Missing* (1942), Noel Coward's *In Which We Serve* (1942), Frank Launder and Sidney Gilliat's *Millions Like Us* (1943), Sergei Nolbandov's *Undercover* (1943), Carol Reed's *The Way Ahead* (1944), and Sir Laurence Olivier's *Henry V* (1944), famously scored by composer Sir William Walton.

The Soviet film industry, in the firm grip of Stalinist censors by the mid-1930s, produced a string of propaganda works preceding the war that glorified traditional Russian and Soviet heroes such as Peter the Great, the young Civil War commander Vasilii Chapaev, and socialist-realist author Maxim Gorky, balanced evenly by a stream of purely escapist fare. Director Sergei Eisenstein anticipated the coming war with Germany in his epic *Alexander Nevsky* (1938) and obliquely depicted Josef Stalin's dictatorship in his sprawling, two-part *Ivan the Terrible* (1944–1946); both films were brilliantly scored by composer Sergei Prokofiev. Fridrikh Ermler directed perhaps the most emblematic Soviet narrative of the Great Patriotic War, *She Defends the Motherland* (1943), which, along with Mark Donskoi's *The Rainbow* (1944), celebrated Soviet women partisans. Ukrainian Mark Dovzhenko confined his output to *Battle for Our Soviet Ukraine* (1943) and *Victory in Right-Bank Ukraine* (1945). Eminent director Vsevolod Pudovkin portrayed Catherine the Great's military champion in *Suvorov* (1940), addressed the war with *In the Name of the Motherland* (1943), and labored on the eponymous film biography of the tragic nineteenth-century Russian hero of Sevastopol, *Admiral Nakhimov*, which was released in 1946. Unlike in other major Allied and Axis film industries, wartime Soviet production focused primarily on the war at hand, departing from that



James Cagney (front) performing in *Yankee Doodle Dandy*. (Undated movie still, Bettmann/Corbis)

agenda only to present historical dramas or filmed versions of opera.

French cinema, the most cosmopolitan in Europe just before the war, divided its art between lighthearted fare like Sacha Guitry's *The Story of a Cheat* (1936) and Marcel Pagnol's *The Baker's Wife* (1938) and a darker stratum of melodramas typified by Anatole Litvak's *Mayerling* (1936) and Abel Gance's *Paradise Lost* (1939) and poetic realist films such as Jean Renoir's *The Human Beast* (1938) and Marcel Carne's *Daybreak* (1939). With the German occupation of France in 1940, directors and actors who did not emigrate (many went to the United States) were able to find work in the Vichy-governed free zone or with the German-controlled industry in Paris. Production by the latter rapidly outstripped that of the cash-strapped south. During this period, Pagnol and Gance filmed the trenchant *Well-Digger's Daughter* and *The Blind Venus* (both 1940). Filmmakers were safest, however, producing escapist comedies, musicals, and period dramas such as Carne's *Children of Paradise* (1943–1945), which nonetheless managed to boost the

independent-French spirit. Postliberation film production at first concentrated on documentaries and features detailing the heroic French Resistance. Within several years, however, the war theme became submerged for a time as postwar French film reestablished its place in world cinema.

Italy, like France, endured wartime division, but one of both territory *and* time, marked by the September 1943 armistice and the subsequent military occupation by Germany of its former Axis ally. Since 1926, the Fascist Party had enjoyed a monopoly on the production of documentaries and newsreels, but it displayed ambivalence in using feature films as convenient propaganda vehicles. Only about 5 percent of the more than 700 films produced in Italy between 1930 and 1943 overtly championed Italian accomplishments or adventures in World War I (Goffredo Alessandrini's *Lucio Serra, Pilot* in 1938); in the naval dominion of the Mediterranean Theater (Roberto Rossellini's *The White Ship* of 1941); in the Spanish Civil War (Augusto Genina's 1939 epic *The Siege of Alcazar*); and in the conquest of Africa, glorified in Carmine

Gallone's Roman costume epic *Scipio the African* (1937). The huge body of film not directly concerned with nationalist jingoism was characterized in 1943 by director Luchino Visconti as "a cinema of corpses." Visconti's own *Obsession* (1943) pointed the way out of the Italian morass of Hollywood-inspired "white telephone" features (which, set in opulent surroundings where elegant characters often conversed vacuously on such appliances, obliquely satirized the privileged classes in 1930s Italy) and empty costume dramas toward the postwar achievement of Visconti and his fellow neorealists, whose films offered simple depictions of lower-class life.

As the Nazis consolidated their power during the 1930s, film became the medium of choice for promoting their government's point of view to the German people. By 1937, the National Socialist Party exercised total control over the German film industry, and five years later no private film production companies remained in Germany. Joseph Goebbels took charge of monitoring the film industry, advising executives as to what constituted a "good" film and banning outright several dozen films he believed ran counter to Third Reich values. Of the more than 1,000 films made in Germany under the aegis of the Nazi regime, however, fewer than 15 percent constituted pure propaganda. These were powerfully conceived, such as Leni Riefenstahl's masterful prewar *Triumph of the Will* (1935) and *Olympia* (1938). The ubiquitous newsreels, depicted as Goebbels saw fit, were designed to promote the Nazi Party as Germany headed toward war. Fritz Hippler's overtly anti-Semitic pseudodocumentary *The Wandering Jew* (1940) trumpeted the party's persistent shibboleths; Veit Harlan's *Jew Suss* (1940) couched its message in a costume drama. The numerous dramas and comedies produced for wartime entertainment were not without their political or ideological content: the Prussian spirit was lionized in Wolfgang Liebeneier's *Bismarck* (1940) and Harlan's *The Great King* (1942), the plight of Mary Queen of Scots at the hands of the English was set to music in Carl Froelich's *The Heart of a Queen* (1940), and the nobility of the Afrikaner resisting British dominion in South Africa was celebrated in Hans Steinhoff's *Uncle Kruger* (1941). Eduard von Borsody's *Request Concert* (1940) presented a cavalcade of German musical figures in support of the war effort. As the tide of war turned against the Third Reich, audiences were entertained by outrageous fantasy in Josef von Baky's *Munchausen* (1943). Harlan struggled to film his apocalyptic *Kolberg* during late 1943 and 1944; by the time of its premiere in January 1945, many German theaters had fallen to Allied bombs.

Japan's conquest of China spawned scores of films in the 1930s that lionized the military. As the army grew in power, it acted to control the medium through official means: by 1936 the film industry operated under the Media Section of the Japanese Imperial Army. Strict laws enacted in 1939 governed the production of national policy films designed to portray the

dedication and bravery of Japanese warriors and their supporters on the home front, among them Tomotaka Tasaka's *Mud and Soldiers* (1939), Naruse Mikio's *The Whole Family Works* (1939), Ozu Yasujiro's *Brothers and Sisters of the Toda Family* (1941), Tetsu Taguchi's *Generals, Staff, and Soldiers* (1942), and Yamamoto Kajiro's *The War at Sea from Hawaii to Malaya* (1942). Kurosawa Akira's debut *Sanshiro Sugata* (1943) was followed by his industrial paean *The Most Beautiful* in 1944. Period epics such as Uchida Tomu's *History* (1940) and Kinugasa Teinosuke's *The Battle of Kawanakajima* (1941) bolstered reverence for Japanese tradition, and Uchida's *Earth* (1939) portrayed simple farmers. Kurosawa's *They Who Tread on the Tiger's Tail* (1945) endured criticism from both Japanese and U.S.-occupation censors and was not officially released until 1954. The ravages of sustaining the war had taken a grievous toll: from its pinnacle in the 1930s, Japanese film production had dropped from a yearly output of about 500 releases to a mere 26 by the end of 1945.

Since the war's end in 1945, filmmakers in countries touched directly or indirectly by World War II have examined and reexamined its details and have tried to express its lasting political or personal effects throughout the world. Immediately after the war, films such as William Wyler's *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946) and Fred Zinnemann's *The Men* (1950) depicted the trauma of servicemen returning to civilian life in the United States. Heroism and bravery characterized William Wellman's *Battleground* (1949), Allan Dwan's *Sands of Iwo Jima* (1949), and Henry King's *Twelve o'Clock High* (1949). More complex in tone were Zinnemann's *From Here to Eternity* (1953) and David Lean's *Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957). The 1960s and 1970s brought several epic historical dramas to the screen, including *The Longest Day* (Andrew Marton, Ken Annakin, and Bernhard Wicki, 1962), Otto Preminger's *In Harm's Way* (1965), Annakin's *The Battle of the Bulge* (1965), Franklin Schaffner's *Patton* (1970), and the Japanese-American collaboration *Tora! Tora! Tora!* (Masuda Toshio, Fukasaku Kinji, Ray Kellogg, and Richard Fleischer, 1970). American and British audiences also responded favorably to cinematic war stories such as J. Lee-Thompson's *The Guns of Navarone* (1961), John Sturges' *The Great Escape* (1963), Robert Aldrich's *The Dirty Dozen* (1967), Guy Hamilton's *Battle of Britain* (1969), Brian G. Hutton's *Where Eagles Dare* (1969), Mike Nichols' irreverent *Catch-22* (1970), and Richard Attenborough's *A Bridge Too Far* (1977). As the twenty-first century approached, the horrors of combat in World War II, which has been called "the good war," were startlingly revisited to great realistic effect, notably in Terrence Malick's *The Thin Red Line* (1998) and Steven Spielberg's *Saving Private Ryan* (1999). Overblown and historically inaccurate blockbusters such as Michael Bay's *Pearl Harbor* (2001) have contributed little to the cinematic record of the war.

The Soviet Union's nearly Pyrrhic victory in World War II left an indelible mark on the USSR. Such was the collective trauma of coping with more than 20 million deaths in battle and in the ravaged cities that memorializing the Great Patriotic war soon displaced the great October Revolution as the national touchstone—becoming, in effect, the secular state religion. Film would become indispensable in the solemnization of the immense national loss, but in the immediate postwar period Soviet studios were hamstrung by a general ideological retrenchment that oppressively slowed film production. Emerging from this situation was a film expressing the apotheosis of the Stalinist cult of personality blended with the glory of the recent victory over Germany, Mikhail Chiaureli's two-part *The Fall of Berlin* (1949–1950). In the years after Josef Stalin's death in 1953, a cultural thaw gradually yielded more expressive and complex war films such as Mikhail Kalatozov's *The Cranes Are Flying* (1957), Grigorii Chukhrai's *Ballad of a Soldier* (1959), Andrei Tarkovsky's *Ivan's Childhood* (1962), and Alexander Askoldov's allegory of the October Revolution, *The Commissar* (1967). The stagnant Leonid Brezhnev years of the late 1960s to the early 1980s produced a string of mostly forgettable rote panegyrics to the war's memory, but standing out due to its massive scale, length (five parts), and sheer volume was Iurii Ozerov's epic *Liberation* (1972). This was balanced soberly in 1985 by Elem Klimov's tragic and unrelenting *Come and See*. With the artistic freedom afforded them beginning in the late 1980s by Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika and glasnost, Soviet directors indulged in social and cultural criticism as never before. Yet the war still loomed in Ozerov's *Stalingrad* (1989) and Mikhail Ptashuk's *August 1944* (2000).

France and Italy evinced complex and ambivalent political and artistic landscapes as a result of their war experiences. The war's compromised memory was expressed in haunting films from French director Alain Resnais such as *Hiroshima Mon Amour* (1959) and *Muriel* (1963) and by Italian directors Roberto Rossellini's *Open City* (1945), Carlo Borghesio's satirical *How I Lost the War* (1947), and Rossellini's grim *Paisa* (1946) and nihilistic *Germany, Year Zero* (1948). The urban and economic ruins of postwar Italy informed classics like Vittorio de Sica's *Shoeshine* (1946), *The Bicycle Thief* (1947), and *Umberto D.* (1952). The Fascists and the war receded from mainstream cinematic view until renewed interest was revealed in such varied films as Bernardo Bertolucci's *The Conformist* and *The Spider's Stratagem* of 1970, de Sica's *Garden of the Finzi-Continis* (1971), Federico Fellini's nostalgic *Amarcord* (1973), Ettore Scola's *A Special Day* (1977), Paolo and Vittorio Taviani's *The Night of the Shooting Stars* (1982), and Gabriele Salvatores' *Mediterraneo* (1991). Acknowledgment of the German occupation and the Vichy era emerged in the work of French directors, including Claude Chabrol's *Line of Demarcation* (1966), Marcel Ophuls' *The Sorrow and the Pity* (1969), Louis Malle's *Lacombe Lucien*

(1974), François Truffaut's *The Last Metro* (1980), Malle's *Au Revoir les Enfants* (1987), Ophuls' *Hotel Terminus* (1987), and Chabrol's *The Story of Women* (1988) and *Eye of Vichy* (1993).

Germany and Japan shared in their utter defeat and subsequent occupation by the Allies, and their film industries came under strict censorship. In Japan, copies of more than 200 films on topics forbidden by the Americans were rounded up and burned in 1946; similar German films not already expropriated by the Soviets were likewise confiscated. In East Germany, the base of the film industry, Wolfgang Staudte depicted the postwar situation in *The Murderers Are Among Us* (1946), while Slatan Dudow offered tribute to the new socialist order in *Our Daily Bread* (1949) and Gerhard Klein offered a study of love divided by politics in *Berlin Romance* (1956). West Germans were held to a strict regimen of Allied reeducation, under which depressing melodramas like Josef von Baky's *The Sky Above Us* (1947) found approval, but U.S. imports like *Gone with the Wind* were banned. In West Germany in 1951, Peter Lorre directed *The Lost Man*, Robert Siodmak exposed the Gestapo in *The Devil Strikes at Midnight* (1957), and Bernhard Wicki questioned the war in *The Bridge* (1959). Ichikawa Kon directed moving Japanese war stories in *The Burmese Harp* (1956) and *Fires on the Plains* (1959), Kumai Kei explored Japanese treatment of American prisoners of war in *The Sea and Poison* (1986), and Japan's nuclear trauma was expressed in Imamura Shohei's *Black Rain* (1989). Perhaps the most outstanding film ever produced about submarine warfare was the German film *Das Boot* (1982), directed by Wolfgang Petersen.

Andrzej Wajda of Poland directed significant films about the war: *Generation* (1955), *Kanal* (1957), and *Ashes and Diamonds* (1958). Polish film also addressed the aftermath of Auschwitz in Andrzej Munk's *The Passenger* (1963), and Janusz Zaorski's *Mother of Kings* (1976) examined Poland's history from the period of World War II to Stalinist times. The effects of the war on India were explored in Satyajit Ray's *Distant Thunder* (1973). In presenting the theme of a controversial romance between a Thai woman and a Japanese officer in wartime Thailand, director Euthana Mukdasanit's *Sunset at Chaopraya* (1996) moved almost full circle in echoing the similar tension of Japanese director Fushimizu Osamu's notorious propaganda film of 1940, *China Nights*.

Whether triumphant, tragic, sentimental, dispassionate, or cynical in tone, these postwar films bear witness to the persistence of World War II in collective human memory and the questions the war continues to provoke.

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See also

Goebbels, Paul Joseph; Hitler, Adolf; Propaganda

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Finland, Air Force

In the 1930s, two controversies hindered Finnish aircraft acquisition. The first was the issue of whether fighters or bombers should have priority (the need for fighters seeming paramount). The second was the country from which to purchase aircraft. The head of the Defense Council, Carl Mannerheim, favored Germany, and the air force commander, Colonel Jarl Lundquist (later a lieutenant general), favored Britain. Mannerheim stressed the danger of air attacks on Finnish cities when arguing for more funds for the air force, but he gave priority to air support for ground forces when war came.

In September 1939, the Finnish Air Force (FAF) had only 36 modern interceptors (Dutch Fokker D-XXIs) and 21 bombers (14 Bristol Blenheims and 7 Junkers K430s). Lundquist deployed his limited fighter assets forward to protect the army and defend as much Finnish air space as possible. Following the Soviet invasion of Finland in November 1939, Finnish bombers attacked airfields and supported ground forces. In late December 1939, the FAF was able to purchase additional Fokker fighters, but its best aircraft came in the form of Morane-Saulnier MS-406s purchased from France. The Finns purchased additional Blenheims, U.S. Brewster F2A Buffalos (the Finns enjoyed considerable success with this much-maligned aircraft), Italian Fiat G-50s, and additional MS 406s. Most arrived too late for the war.

During this Finnish-Soviet War of 1939–1940, also called the Winter War, the FAF supposedly accounted for approximately 200 Soviet aircraft, and more than 300 others were destroyed by antiaircraft fire or on the ground. Finnish losses during the war amounted to 62 aircraft.

In 1941, when Finland again went to war with the Soviet Union (the Finnish-Soviet War of 1941–1944, also called the Continuation War), Finland's air force had increased substantially. It possessed 144 modern fighters (a mixture of

U.S., British, French, Dutch, and Italian planes); 44 British and ex-Soviet bombers; and 63 mostly British and German reconnaissance planes. Once the Continuation War began, Finnish access to aircraft from other nations except Germany was cut off. The Finns did have their own aircraft industry, which produced limited numbers of aircraft including the VL Myrsky II fighter.

Finnish Air Force strategy stressed aggressiveness; isolated fighters usually attacked no matter the number of Soviet aircraft. The FAF employed a blue swastika marking (no relation to the Nazi version) for national identification. The Luftwaffe and FAF cooperated in this conflict, although neither could prevent Soviet air raids into Finnish territory nor completely screen the Finnish army from air attacks.

Britton W. MacDonald

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Finland, Defeat of; Finnish-Soviet War (Continuation War); Finnish-Soviet War (Winter War); Germany, Air Force; Mannerheim, Carl G. E. von

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Finland, Army and Navy

In September 1939, Finland had a small military establishment. Finland's war mobilization plan dated from May 1934 and divided the country into nine military regions. Depending on its size and population density, each region had two or three districts. Each district furnished one infantry regiment of three battalions and a field artillery battalion of 12 guns. The more populous districts provided additional support troops or regiments. On full mobilization, Finland could call up some 337,000 men. Carl Gustav Mannerheim, commander of the Finnish armed forces, designed the plan. Despite his best efforts, the military services were constantly underfunded, underequipped, and plagued by a government that insisted on relying on domestic sources that often did not exist.

When the first Finnish-Soviet War (the Winter War) began in 1939, the Finns concentrated their forces in key areas along the Soviet border, much of it impassable wilderness. The army fought hard and well, uninhibited by any rigid military doctrine or tactical theory. It used initiative and guile in exploiting terrain to its advantage—making fierce, sudden attacks according to *motti* tactics (*motti* is the Finnish word for a pile of logs held together by stakes ready to be chopped into firewood) to ambush and destroy road-bound Soviet



Finnish infantry troops in action in World War II. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/CORBIS)

columns. Finnish military thought had stressed encirclement tactics since the 1930s. The Motti tactics were highly successful, involving mobile Finnish ski troops trained to fight in winter conditions who took advantage of their familiarity with the terrain. By February 1940, however, in consequence of Soviet air supremacy, the Finns could hold their lines only by withdrawing during the day and counterattacking at night. Finally, the Finnish army was ground down by vastly superior Soviet numbers and firepower. During the Winter War, the Finnish military sustained 22,425 killed, 1,424 missing, and 43,557 wounded.

On the conclusion of peace, Mannerheim immediately began making plans to rebuild the military. His new mobilization plan provided for 16 divisions with a total strength of 475,000 troops, or 13 percent of the entire population. Because of the limited Finnish economic base, any future war would have to be concluded speedily. Mannerheim also increased the amount of artillery in the army, forming a tank battalion equipped with tanks captured from the Soviets and acquired from Britain plus a heavy-tank platoon and seven independent-tank platoons.

The second Finnish-Soviet War (1941–1944), known as the Continuation War, began in late June 1941. In this war, the

Finns took back their 1939 borders and a slight amount of additional territory. The Soviets fought stubbornly, and the Finns suffered unexpectedly high casualties. After reaching those borders in late September, the Finns advanced into Soviet territory to shorten their three front lines on the Karelian isthmus, but they refused to take part in operations against Leningrad as the Germans wished. A lull in the fighting allowed 20 percent of the troops to be demobilized and returned to industry and agricultural pursuits in the early months of 1942. When the tide of war on the Eastern Front turned decisively against Germany, the Soviets renewed their attacks against the Finns in June 1944, and with vastly superior resources they soon overwhelmed the Finnish positions. Fighting was concluded by a cease-fire in September 1944. During the Continuation War, the Finns suffered approximately 65,000 dead against the Soviets and a further 2,000 against the German forces following the end of fighting with the Soviets.

The Finnish navy was quite small, and its activities were largely limited to minelaying. At the start of the Winter War, Finland had 5 submarines, 2 armored coastal vessels, 4 gunboats, and 10 motor torpedo boats. Operations in the Gulf of Finland halted in the winter when it froze. The Finnish navy cooperated with German naval units during the Continuation

War to confine the Soviet Baltic Fleet to the eastern end of the Gulf, and it mined the Soviet coast. Throughout the Continuation War, Finnish naval strategy was defensive, designed to prevent the Soviets from interfering with trans-Baltic shipping or intervening in the land battles.

Britton W. MacDonald

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Finland, Air Force; Finland, Role in War; Finnish-Soviet War (Continuation War); Finnish-Soviet War (Winter War); Mannerheim, Carl Gustav Emil von

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Finland, Role in War

Finland numbered some 3.6 million people in September 1939. The country had secured its independence from Russia in 1917, but the Finns had to fight to maintain it. Concerned about the growth of German military power, in the late 1930s Soviet dictator Josef Stalin applied pressure on Finland for territory in the Karelian Isthmus and for the naval base of Hango on the Gulf of Finland to provide protection for Leningrad, the Soviet Union's second-largest city. In return, Stalin was prepared to yield more territory than he sought, but it was far to the north. The Finnish leadership, believing the Soviets were bluffing, rejected the demands. The Soviet Union invaded Finland in November 1939, and the first Soviet-Finnish War (known as the Winter War) lasted until March 1940. The governments of both Great Britain and France discussed the possibility of military intervention, in large part to cut Germany off from Swedish iron ore, but both Norway and Sweden denied transit rights to the Allies. Commander of Finnish armed forces Marshal Carl Mannerheim led a spirited Finnish defense. However, the Finns were overwhelmed by sheer weight of Russian numbers and military hardware. On 12 March 1940, the Finns signed the Treaty of Moscow. By the terms of the treaty, which went into effect at noon the next day, Finland lost one-tenth of its territory, including the entire Karelian Isthmus. The country then had to absorb 400,000 refugees, as virtually all the Finns moved out of the surrendered territory rather than live under Soviet rule.

New Soviet pressure angered the Finns, who signed a secret transit agreement with Germany in August 1940 allow-

ing German troops to pass through Finland to northern Norway. Discussions began between the German and Finnish staffs regarding Operation BARBAROSSA, the German invasion of the Soviet Union, but the Germans never told the Finns details of the plan until the invasion was about to commence. The Germans began arms shipments to Finland in 1941, particularly artillery and antitank weapons. By June 1941, the Finnish government of President Risto Ryti committed to the plan but resisted a formal alliance with Germany, maintaining that the Finns were merely fighting a defensive war against Soviet aggression and were a *cobelligerent*. Indeed, the Finns managed to evade every request for such an alliance throughout the war.

Finland never defined war aims for this second Soviet-Finnish War, the Continuation War. Halting offensive military operations 50 to 90 miles beyond the 1939 borders (the additional territory taken for defensive reasons) was the clearest statement of its aims. Carl Mannerheim, commander of Finnish armed forces, hoped that by limiting its advance into Soviet territory, Finland might retain its friendship with the United States and Great Britain. The Finnish government endeavored to convey the impression that Finland had been drawn into the conflict, although this was hard to accomplish with German troops in Finland before the commencement of BARBAROSSA, with naval cooperation between Finland and Germany, and with the German air force flying in Finnish air space and refueling at Finnish airfields. Britain warned Finland at the end of September to advance only to the 1939 frontiers and declared war on Finland on 6 December 1941, the same day Finland halted its advance into Soviet territory.

The front with the Soviet Union was stable from May 1942 until June 1944, when the Soviets launched a powerful offensive with vastly superior manpower and firepower. The Ribbentrop-Ryti agreement between the German foreign minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, and Ryti was signed in late June 1944, promising that Finland would not seek a separate peace in exchange for weapons. Finland had earlier in the year rejected peace terms from the Soviet Union because of their harshness and because Finland hoped that an Allied invasion of Germany would cause the Red Army to race to Berlin. By July, the Red Army was doing exactly that; President Ryti resigned, and Mannerheim assumed office. Mannerheim repudiated Ryti's agreement and negotiated a cease-fire with the Soviet Union. As part of the cease-fire, concluded on 19 September 1944, Finland had to expel or intern all German troops on its soil. This went peacefully until the Germans tried to seize Suursaari Island, which led to bitter fighting there and in Lapland in northern Finland. Although the campaign was virtually over at the end of November 1944 (the date established by the cease-fire agreement for Finnish demobilization), the last German troops did not depart Finland until April 1945.



A Finnish ski patrol looking for Russian troops on the Petsamo front, in northern Finland during the Finnish-Soviet War (Winter War) of 1939–1940. (Library of Congress)

The cease-fire and later armistice with the Soviet Union reaffirmed the 1940 borders, accepted Soviet reparations demands for raw materials and machinery, and limited the Finnish military in numbers and types of weapons. Finland lost in the nearly 92,000 dead (including 2,700 civilians) during World War II. The Soviet Union did not occupy Finland, and Finland's political institutions were left intact—the only eastern enemy of the Soviet Union so treated.

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See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Finland, Air Force; Finland, Army and Navy; Finnish-Soviet War (Continuation War); Finnish-Soviet War (Winter War); Mannerheim, Carl Gustav Emil von; Stalin, Josef

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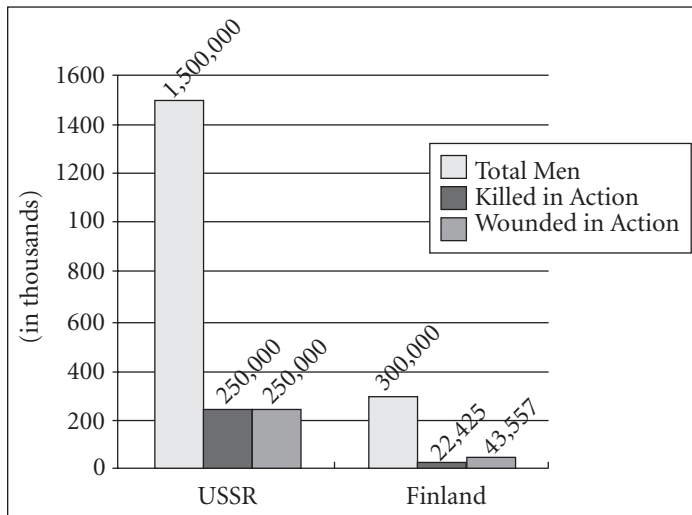
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Finnish-Soviet War (30 November 1939–12 March 1940) (Winter War)

Regional conflict between Finland and the Soviet Union. In late 1939, Soviet leader Josef Stalin was concerned with the sharp increase in German power following the conquest of Poland, and he sought to acquire additional territory to protect portions of the Soviet Union from possible German attack through Finland. He was especially anxious to protect approaches to Leningrad, which was only 20 miles from the Finnish border on the Karelian Isthmus. These security concerns prompted Stalin to demand that Finland cede much of the isthmus, destroy all fortifications there, and cede certain islands in the gulf, as well as to grant the Soviet Union land for a naval base to the west on the Hango Peninsula. Stalin was prepared to grant more territory than he demanded—

Troops Involved in Finnish-Soviet War, 1939–1940



2,134 square miles in return for 1,066—although the Soviet territory Stalin offered was in the less desirable north in East Karelia above Lake Ladoga.

With a population of only 3.6 million people (the Soviet population was 193 million in 1941), Finland hardly seemed in position to reject Stalin's demands. Although the Finns were open to some compromise regarding territory above Leningrad, they were upset about demands for the destruction of their fortifications and a for naval base on the Hango Peninsula. Tough negotiations continued for two months without result. Finnish leaders believed that Stalin was bluffing, but after a contrived border incident on 26 November, Stalin ordered the invasion, which began on 30 November 1939. It was not one of Stalin's finer military exploits. Despite overwhelming superiority in manpower, resources, and equipment, it took the Red Army nearly four months to crush its tiny opponent.

About the only advantages for Finland were the harsh climate, soldiers' familiarity with the area, superior leadership and training, and high morale (the Finns were fighting for their homeland). The abundant forests provided good cover and concealment amid sparse settlements and poor trails. Only the Karelian Isthmus had developed towns and farming areas with roads. This environment worked against mechanized operations and gave the advantage to mobile forces equipped with skis. Marshal Carl Gustav Mannerheim, commander of the Finnish forces, possessed keen insight regarding the strengths and weaknesses of the Red Army, and Finnish commissioned and noncommissioned officers were well trained and exhibited considerable initiative.

In all, the Finns fielded about 300,000 men. They had only 422 artillery pieces, 32 tanks, and a few aircraft. Many independent battalions and separate companies were dispersed throughout the country. The Finns lacked equipment of all

sorts, and what they had was a mixed variety provided from different countries. The soldiers were well acclimated and wore white camouflage uniforms to facilitate swift movement. The Finns also did what they could to strengthen their natural defensive line on the Karelian Isthmus by constructing obstacles, trenches, and bunkers.

For the initial invasion, Stalin employed only 20 Soviet divisions against 16 Finnish divisions, and he must bear responsibility for the initial Soviet military failure in Finland. Fresh from the Red Army's relatively bloodless triumph in Poland, Stalin personally intervened to reject the plan advanced by his chief of staff, Marshal Boris M. Shaposhnikov, which entailed a careful buildup and use of the best Soviet troops, even those from the Far East. Many of the Soviet units were poorly trained and improvised formations. Worse, the Soviet troops were unprepared for winter fighting. Stalin rebuked Shaposhnikov for overestimating the Finns and underestimating the Red Army. The new plan, worked out on Stalin's orders and confirmed by him, led to the fiasco of the early Soviet defeats, leaving Shaposhnikov to remedy the situation.

The Soviet military was in wretched shape; recent purges had decimated the officer corps and left in command unqualified men who were reluctant to take the initiative. The soldiers were poorly trained in winter fighting and breaching fortified lines. The standard Soviet rifle division was well manned and equipped, but the heavy material was not suited to such a primitive operational environment. The Soviets did have an advantage in heavy artillery, but very little coordination had been developed between the arms, so attacks were not synchronized for effectiveness. A severe lack of communications equipment added to the problems of coordination and tactical flexibility. Among the rank and file, morale was poor. These factors mitigated overwhelming Soviet advantages in manpower and quantities of equipment.

In December 1939, the Finns halted the main Russian thrust across the Karelian Isthmus at the so-called Mannerheim Line. The Finns gained an early advantage when they obtained the Soviet tactical codes through the corps level. Thus they could monitor Soviet radio communications and decrypt Soviet units' locations. This intelligence became a force multiplier and helped the Finns to detect, outmaneuver, and defeat far larger Soviet formations. The Finns would cut off the enemy line of communications, separate the road-bound columns into pockets called *mottis* (*motti* is the Finnish word for a pile of logs held together by stakes ready to be chopped into firewood), and then destroy them piecemeal. By moving quickly, firing from concealed positions, and rapidly eliminating Soviet patrols, the Finns produced fear that reduced the ability of Soviet forces to react. The Finns also showed great ability in improvisation (as with the gasoline bomb in a bottle hurled at Russian tanks and dubbed "Molotov cocktail"), by their effec-



tive use of ski troops, and by fitting largely antiquated biplane aircraft with skis so that they could operate in snow.

After decisive tactical defeats destroyed several of their divisions at Tolvajärvi and Suomussalmi, the Soviets brought in new divisions and spent almost a month training intensively in tactics to develop better coordination among infantry, tanks, and artillery. In addition, they focused on better close-air support and the development of mobile reserves to exploit breakthroughs. At the small-unit level, special assault groups were organized to destroy Finnish bunkers efficiently.

Not until February 1940 did Soviet forces mount an effective assault on the Mannerheim Line. They doubled their strength against the Mannerheim Line with the Northwest Front, commanded by Marshal Semyon K. Timoshenko, and concentrated more than 35 divisions, which included heavy artillery and new-model tanks, against the weakened Finns. Sheer weight of numbers enabled the Soviets to break through the Finnish line at Summa on 11 February, and by 8 March they captured part of the key Finnish defensive anchor at Viipuri (Vyborg).

Stalin then dictated a peace settlement. Stalin did not annex Finland, or even Helsinki, but he exacted territorial

concessions well in excess of those sought before the war. The Finns were forced to yield some 25,000 square miles of territory, including the Karelian Isthmus. The war also displaced some 400,000 Finns, for virtually all left the territory ceded to the Soviet Union.

Although Soviet terms were regarded as harsh by the Finns and by Finland's many international supporters, they were mild compared with those the Soviet Union imposed on the other three Baltic countries. In the case of Finland, Stalin may have been deterred by strong anti-Soviet sentiment that the invasion had aroused throughout the world. Indeed, 11,500 volunteers went to Finland to fight against the Soviets. Britain and France actually considered military intervention against the Soviet Union, including bombing strikes against the Caucasian oil fields and an "uninvited landing" in Norway as a preliminary step to sending troops to Finland. Seen in retrospect, such a step would have been disastrous to the Allied war effort. Stalin may also have been restrained by his desire to keep open the option of a possible alliance with the west against Hitler and to minimize the many disadvantages resulting from the Soviet aggression. One consequence for the Soviet Union of its invasion, expulsion from the League of Nations, was not a major blow.

Ultimately, the Soviets threw 1.5 million men (almost half their army in Europe), 3,000 aircraft, and nearly as many tanks against Finland. The Soviets suffered 230,000 to 270,000 dead—many the result of the cold and because of poor Soviet medical services—and a comparable number of wounded. They also lost 1,800 tanks and 634 aircraft. The Finns sustained far fewer casualties (22,425 killed and 43,557 wounded), and 62 of the 162 planes of their largely antiquated air force were lost.

One of the war's most important effects was the damage to Soviet military prestige. Many observers believed that the Soviet Union was incapable of waging a large-scale war. This was a conclusion Hitler was too quick to draw. Another consequence was the Soviet decision to adopt the Finnish automatic sidearm. After the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, Finland waged war against the Soviet Union as a cobelligerent of Germany, a decision that led to it unfairly being branded as an Axis power and to its second defeat in 1944.

Steven J. Rauch and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Finland, Role in War; Mannerheim, Carl Gustav Emil; Shaposhnikov, Boris Mikhailovich; Stalin, Josef; Timoshenko, Semen Konstantinovich

The Soviets threw 1.5 million men, 3,000 aircraft, and nearly as many tanks against Finland.

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Finnish-Soviet War (25 June 1941–4 September 1944) (Continuation War)

Renewal of warfare between Finland and the Soviet Union, also called the Continuation War. The fighting occurred mainly northwest and northeast of the Soviet city of Leningrad.

Finland's rejection of Soviet demands for territory and bases to protect access to Leningrad—including the cession of Viipuri (Vyborg), Finland's second-largest city, and the surrounding Karelian Isthmus—led to the first Finnish-Soviet War, known as the Winter War. The war began in November 1939, and although the Finns fought well, the odds against them were hopeless. In March 1940, Finland was obliged to sue for peace, in which it had to cede even more territory than the Soviets had originally demanded.

Fearing additional Soviet demands and resenting Soviet interference in its policies, Finland aligned itself with Germany. In fall 1940, chief of the Finnish General Staff Lieutenant General Erik Heinrichs held talks in Berlin with German leaders, who requested Finnish assistance during Operation BARBAROSSA, the planned German invasion of the Soviet Union (chiefly of Leningrad and Murmansk). The Finnish government welcomed this as an opportunity to recover territory lost to the Soviet Union in the Winter War. As planning progressed, the Germans and Finns agreed that German forces would secure the nickel-rich Petsamo region and attack Murmansk in the far north, while the Finns would be responsible for operations in the southeast toward Leningrad and Soviet Karelia, centered around Petrozavodsk. General Carl Mannerheim (he was raised to field marshal in 1942) commanded the Finnish forces, as he had in the Winter War of 1939–1940. Mannerheim had 16 divisions: 11 along the frontiers, 1 opposite the Russian base at Hanko, and 4 in reserve.

On 22 June 1941, the Germans launched their massive invasion of the Soviet Union. Finland had already secretly mobilized its forces and declared war on 25 June, but as a cobelligerent of Germany rather than as an ally. The German drive in the far north from Petsamo eastward fell short of both Murmansk and the large Soviet naval base at Polyarny. German forces also had little luck driving east from the northern

city of Rovaniemi, failing to cut the Soviet rail line running from Murmansk south along the White Sea coast. In the south, however, the Finns made much better progress. Preoccupied with the massive German onslaught, Red Army forces north of Leningrad were outnumbered.

General Mannerheim divided his forces into two armies: one drove down the Karelian Isthmus between the Gulf of Finland and Lake Ladoga, and the other marched southeast between Lake Ladoga and Lake Onega toward the Svir River to take Petrozavodsk, capital of Karelia. On 29 June, the Finnish Karelian Army (II, IV, VI, and VII Corps) attacked to the west and east of Lake Ladoga, crossing the Russo-Finnish border of 1940, recapturing Finnish Karelia, and driving on toward Leningrad. Aided by German contingents, Army Group Mannerheim attacked Soviet Karelia. Farther north, combined Finnish and German forces recaptured lost Finnish territory around Salla while the German mountain troops, coming from Norway, reached as far as the Litsa River on their drive toward Murmansk.

The Finns had originally planned to unite their troops with German Army Group North around Leningrad. On 1 September, the Finns reached the old Russo-Finnish border. Despite heavy fighting, the Soviets were able to withdraw, but by late August the Finns had recovered all territory lost to the Soviet Union in the Winter War. The Finnish attacks stalled north of Lake Ladoga in September.

Although the Finns were not eager to take non-Finnish land, they did advance somewhat beyond the pre-November 1939 borders for defensive purposes. Much to Germany's displeasure, however, they refused to cooperate with German troops against the city of Leningrad. Finnish and German commanders disliked each other, and the German air force failed to provide as much air cover as had been promised. German troops did not perform well in the northern part of the front. In the dense forests and swamps that marked the terrain in the north, tanks, heavy artillery, and aircraft were often ineffective. Finnish casualties were not light, and Finland had a small population and insufficient resources for a long war. Given these points, the Finns only undertook those operations that suited them, and that did not include Leningrad. The Finns were nonetheless disappointed that the German army was unable to secure a rapid defeat of the Soviet Union.

After capturing Petrozavodsk and Medveshjegorsk on the western and northern shore of Lake Onega, in December the Finns established a defensive position somewhat inside Soviet territory and about 20 miles from Leningrad. Had the Finns advanced farther, Leningrad would probably have fallen to the Germans, with uncertain consequences for the fighting on the Eastern Front. The Finnish Front remained largely static from early 1942. Despite some Soviet counterattacks toward Petsamo, the battle lines changed very little in the months to follow.

At this point, in August 1942, Moscow offered the Finns extensive territorial concessions in return for a separate peace, but the Finns, confident of an ultimate German victory, refused. In September 1941, London and Washington made it clear to Helsinki that any Finnish effort to advance beyond its prewar frontiers would mean war. Indeed, Britain declared war on Finland in December 1941.

As the war continued into 1942 and then 1943, the Finns lost enthusiasm for the struggle, especially when German military fortunes changed. In January 1944, a Soviet offensive south of Leningrad broke the blockade of that city. With the tide fast turning against Germany, the Finns asked the Soviets for peace terms, but the response was so harsh that Finland rejected it. Not only would Finland have to surrender all its territorial gains, but it would have to pay a large indemnity.

Soviet leader Josef Stalin then decided to drive Finland from the war. The Soviets assembled some 45 divisions with about half a million men, more than 800 tanks, and some 2,000 aircraft. Using these assets, in June 1944 the Soviets began an advance into Finland on both flanks of Lake Ladoga on the relatively narrow Karelian and Leningrad Fronts. While the Finns were well entrenched along three defensive lines, they could not withstand the Soviet onslaught. Viipuri fell on 20 June after less stubborn resistance than during the Winter War. Heavy fighting also occurred in eastern Karelia. Although they failed to achieve a breakthrough, Soviet forces caused the Finns to retreat and took the Murmansk Railway.

After the fall of Viipuri, the Finnish government requested German assistance. The Germans furnished dive-bombers, artillery, and then some troops, but it demanded in return that Finland ally itself firmly with Germany and promise not to conclude a separate peace. President Risto Ryti, who had been forced to provide a letter to that effect to German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop (which bound him, but not his country, to such a policy), resigned on 1 August in favor of Marshal Mannerheim.

On 25 August, Helsinki asked for terms. Moscow agreed to a cease-fire to take effect on 4 September, but Soviet forces actually fought on for another day after that. One of the cease-fire terms was that the Finns should break diplomatic relations with Berlin and order all German troops from Finnish soil by 15 September. German leader Adolf Hitler refused the Finnish request for an orderly departure of his forces and ordered German troops in northern Finland to resist expulsion and, if forced to retreat, to lay waste to the countryside. The German troops followed this order to the letter. Because there were 200,000 Germans in Finland, the damage to Lapland, where they were located, was considerable. During October, the Russian Fourteenth Army threw back German forces at Liza, supported by a large amphibious landing near Petsamo, and by the end of the month the Germans had withdrawn completely into Norway.

The war ended for Finland on 15 October 1944. The Continuation War cost Finland some 200,000 casualties (55,000 dead)—a catastrophic figure for a nation of fewer than 4 million people. Finland also had to absorb 200,000 refugees. Finland agreed to withdraw its forces back to the 1940 frontiers, placed its military on a peacetime footing within two and one-half months, granted a 50-year lease of the Porkkala District, allowed the Soviets access to ports and airfields in southern Finland, and provided the Soviet Union use of the Finnish merchant navy while the war continued in Europe. Finland also paid reparations of US\$300 million in gold over a six-year period. Stalin did refrain from absorbing the entire country, but in the coming decades Western-oriented democratic Finland was obliged to follow policies that would not alienate the Soviet Union.

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See also

Finland, Air Force; Finland, Army and Navy; Finland, Role in War; Finnish-Soviet War (Winter War); Hitler, Adolf; Leningrad, Siege of; Mannerheim, Carl Gustav Emil von; Northeast Europe Theater; Ribbentrop, Ulrich Friedrich Willy Joachim von; Stalin, Josef

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Flamethrowers

Modern flamethrowers were first used by the German army in World War I. A flamethrower is a pressure-operated device that shoots a stream of inflammable liquid. The liquid is ignited as it leaves a nozzle, which can be placed at the end of a hand-held tube or mounted on a tube projecting from an armored fighting vehicle. A flamethrower consists of four elements: the fuel container, a mechanism to force the fuel from the container, a projecting tube and nozzle, and an igniting system that will set the stream of fuel on fire. Ignition systems are based on powder cartridge, electric coil, and electric spark designs.

Flamethrowers can be used in both antimatériel and antipersonnel roles. Typically, they are used in complex terrain with short standoff distances, such as in trench, city, and jungle fighting. They are used against hard targets such as bunkers, pillboxes, and mobile and dug-in tanks. German forces also used flamethrowers as defensive mines. Although these weapons possess combat advantages, the advantages are balanced by disadvantages including short burn times, the fact that the user immediately becomes a priority target, and the vulnerability of their fuel cylinders, which can explode if struck by a bullet or shrapnel.



Men of the 7th Division using flamethrowers to drive Japanese from a block house during fighting on Kwajalein Island, 4 February 1944. (National Archives)

U.S. military forces used the 70 lb M-1 model fielded in 1942 and also used the M1-A1 model. The M-1 could generate a 10 sec stream of fire, carried 4 gal of fuel, and was man-portable. It had a range of 82 ft. The improved M1-A1 model had a range of 131 ft.

The U.S. M1-A1 flamethrower was man-portable and had a range of 131 feet.

In addition to using flamethrowers in infantry assault forces and ad hoc mechanized forces, the U.S. Army created the 713th Flame Throwing Tank Battalion in November 1944. It consisted of 54 M-4 Sherman tanks. Each Sherman was retrofitted with a Ronson flamethrower gun and had a 300 gal fuel capacity and a flamethrowing range of 75–100 yards. The unit saw action during the invasion of Okinawa and was used to kill more than 4,500 Japanese soldiers.

British man-portable flamethrowers were based on the 1940 No. 1 Mk-II “Marsden” and 1942 No. 2. Mk-II “Lifebuoy” models. The Marsden was an 85 lb unit with a 98 ft range. The Lifebuoy (also called the “ack-pak” unit) was a 64 lb doughnut-shaped device with a 131 ft range. The British also fielded a flamethrower tank built on the tank chassis of a Churchill tank. Known as the Crocodile, it carried 10 minutes’ worth of fuel and could tow a trailer holding fuel for an additional 30 minutes. The tactical disadvantage of the trailer was that, if hit by enemy fire, it could explode like a massive bomb, killing the tank crew. Crocodile tanks were organized in three battalions of the 79th Armored Division and operated in platoons attached to other military units.

French flamethrowers were incidental to the war, given France’s early defeat. They were based on the World War I man-portable Schilt model. Early Soviet models were variants of German designs, but the Soviets introduced improved flamethrowers in 1943 with the 50 lb ROKS-2 and 75 lb ROKS-3 man-portable models. They had effective ranges of 115 ft

and 230 ft, respectively. A triple-tank man-portable model known as the LPO-50 also existed. The Russians used numerous armored fighting vehicle-mounted flamethrowers during the war. Typically, they were retrofitted to the turrets and chassis of older tanks.

German forces used a wide variety of flamethrowers. Man-portable systems were the Model 35, Model 40, Model 41, and Model 42. They ranged in weight from 35 to 79 lb and projected a stream of fire about 25–35 yards. A lighter and highly accurate para-flamethrower used by Schutzstaffel (SS, body-guard) troops and a “field gun” trailer flamethrower with a weight of 900 lb also emerged.

The Germans placed flamethrowers on the Sd Kfz 251 3 ton half-track, the Panzerjäger 38 chassis, and the Pz. Kpfw. II and III tank series. Typical fuel capacity was 150 to 200 gal with flame-throwing ranges out to 65 yards. The static flamethrower (Abwehrflammenwerfer 42) was used as a defensive mine and was fired by electrical squibs. It shot a flame 5 yards wide by 3 yards high out to 30 yards.

Italian flamethrowers were the Lanciaflamme models 35 and 40, introduced in 1935 and 1940, respectively. *Guastori* (Italian combat engineers) employed them in fighting in Ethiopia, North Africa, and the Soviet Union. The Italian flamethrowers lacked the range of German flamethrowers, but these manpacks were simple in design and effective. A larger version built for the small Italian L3 tank pulled a fuel wagon.

Japanese flamethrowers were based on the Type 93 and Type 100 man-portable models. The Type 93 had a weight of 55 lb and a range of 25–30 yards. It could shoot a stream of fire lasting 10–12 sec and relied on a revolving 10-cylinder blank cartridge ignition system. The Type 100 was a shorter and lighter variant of the Type 93, with a removable, rather than a fixed, nozzle outlet tip. Flamethrowers were not normally mounted in Japanese armored fighting vehicles.

Robert J. Bunker

See also

Okinawa, Invasion of; Tanks, All Powers

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Fletcher graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1906. Commissioned an ensign in 1908, Fletcher commanded the destroyer *Dale* in the Asiatic Torpedo Flotilla in 1910. Fletcher saw action in the 1914 U.S. intervention at Veracruz, Mexico. For his bravery in moving more than 350 refugees to safety, he earned the Medal of Honor. Lieutenant Fletcher then served in the Atlantic Fleet. Following U.S. entry into World War I in 1917, he won promotion to lieutenant commander and commanded the destroyer *Benham* on convoy escort and patrol operations. Fletcher’s postwar commands included submarine tenders, destroyers, and a submarine base in the Philippines, where he helped suppress an insurrection in 1924.

Fletcher attended both the U.S. Naval War College (1929–1930) and U.S. Army War College (1930–1931). From 1933 to 1936, he served as aide to the secretary of the navy. From 1936 to 1938, Fletcher commanded the battleship *New Mexico* and then served in the navy’s Bureau of Personnel. Following his promotion to rear admiral, Fletcher commanded Cruiser Division 3 in the Atlantic Fleet.

On 15 December 1941, Fletcher took command of the Wake Island relief force centered on the carrier *Saratoga*, but he moved cautiously, and the island fell on 23 December before he could arrive. In January 1942, Fletcher received command of Task Force 17, which was centered on the carrier *Yorktown*. He participated in carrier raids on the Marshall and Gilbert Islands and joined Task Force 11 in attacks on Japanese shipping in the Solomon Islands. Fletcher commanded U.S. forces in the May 1942 Battle of the Coral Sea. Following his return to Pearl Harbor for hasty repairs to the *Yorktown*, Fletcher raced back with her to join the U.S. force near Midway, where he helped orchestrate the dramatic U.S. victory on 3–6 June 1942, in which four Japanese carriers were lost in exchange for the *Yorktown*.

Fletcher then commanded the three-carrier task force supporting 1st Marine Division assaults on Tulagi and Guadalcanal (Operation WATCHTOWER). Unwilling to risk his carriers, Fletcher took the controversial decision to withdraw them before the transports had completed unloading supplies to the Marines, forcing the transports to depart as well. He then committed his forces against the Japanese counter-attack toward Guadalcanal, resulting in the Battle of the Eastern Solomons. Fletcher was wounded when his flagship, the carrier *Saratoga*, was torpedoed, and he returned to the United States.

After his recovery, Fletcher commanded the 13th Naval District and the Northwestern Sea Frontier. Fletcher’s reputation for caution led Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Ernest J. King in 1943 to assign him to command the North Pacific area. Following Japan’s surrender in August 1945, Fletcher oversaw the occupation of northern Honshu and Hokkaido.

Fletcher, Frank Jack (1885–1973)

U.S. Navy admiral. Born in Marshalltown, Iowa, on 29 April 1885, the son of Rear Admiral Thomas Jack Fletcher, Frank



U.S. Navy Vice Admiral Frank Jack Fletcher. (Corbis)

In 1945, Fletcher joined the navy's General Board, which advised the secretary of the navy; he served as its chairman from May 1946 until May 1947, when he was promoted to full admiral and retired. Fletcher died at Bethesda, Maryland, on 25 April 1973.

Stephen Patrick Ward

See also

Aircraft Carriers; Aviation, Naval; Coral Sea, Battle of the; Eastern Solomons, Battle of the; Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Midway, Battle of; Wake Island, Battle for

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Flossenberg (or Flossenburg)

See Concentration Camps, German.

Flying Tigers (American Volunteer Group, AVG)

Group of American volunteer pilots officially named the American Volunteer Group (AVG) who flew for China in the early months of 1942. The Flying Tigers were commanded by Claire Lee Chennault, who, after retiring from the U.S. Army Air Corps as a captain in 1937, went to China as an aviation adviser to Nationalist leader Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek). Chennault also served as a colonel in the Chinese Air Force. Following several frustrating years of trying to build up a Chinese air force while China was fighting one war against Japan



A Chinese soldier guards a line of American P-40 fighter planes, painted with the shark-face emblem of the Flying Tigers, at a flying field in China, circa 1942. (National Archives)

and a civil war against the Communist forces of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), Chennault finally developed a plan to form a volunteer group of American pilots and ground crews to be recruited directly from the U.S. Army and U.S. Navy.

Chennault overcame great hurdles to implement his plan, but China had powerful friends within the U.S. government, including Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox. On 15 April 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued an unpublished executive order authorizing reserve officers and enlisted men to resign from the U.S. military for the purpose of joining the AVG. In another deal, the British government agreed to waive its rights to a production run of 100 almost obsolete P-40B fighters in exchange for guaranteed priority on another order of a later model. The tiger-shark jaws that AVG pilots painted on the noses of their P-40s contributed to their nickname, which was bestowed on them by *Time* magazine in its 27 December 1941 issue.

Members of the AVG signed a one-year contract with the Central Aircraft Manufacturing Company, a U.S. firm that had the contract with the Chinese government to provide

pilots, planes, and crews. Pilots' salaries ranged from \$250 to \$750 per month. Not part of the written contract was an agreement that pilots were also to receive \$500 for each Japanese plane shot down.

The first contingent of AVG pilots departed for China by ship in July 1941. The next month, they commenced training at the British air base in Toungoo, Burma. Training focused on air-combat theories, then somewhat unconventional, that Chennault had developed during his years in the U.S. Army Air Corps and tested in China after 1937. Chennault's tactics were built on the two-plane element and a careful analysis of the relative strengths and weaknesses of the opposing aircraft. Chennault stressed, for example, that his pilots should never try to turn with the more maneuverable Japanese aircraft. Instead, they should take advantage of the P-40's heavier weight to attack from above and then dive to break contact with the enemy. Chennault insisted that his pilots learn their enemy's fighter tactics better than the Japanese pilots knew the tactics themselves.

When the entire contingent arrived in Asia, the AVG was organized into three squadrons: the 1st ("Adam and Eves"),

the 2nd (“Panda Bears”), and the 3rd (“Hell’s Angels”). The AVG first went into combat over Yunnan Province in China on 20 December 1941, almost two weeks after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. The AVG then had 82 pilots and 79 operational P-40s.

As soon as the United States entered World War II, plans were immediately developed to bring the AVG personnel back into the U.S. military. Chennault himself returned to active duty in the U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) on 7 April 1942 as a colonel. The AVG was to be reintegrated by 4 July 1942 to become the 23rd Fighter Group, which would be commanded by Colonel Robert L. Scott, who was newly arrived from India. The 23rd would be part of the larger China Air Task Force (CATF), which would be commanded by Chennault as a brigadier general and subordinate to the U.S. Tenth Air Force in India. The CATF later grew to become the Fourteenth Air Force, commanded by Chennault as a major general.

The pilots and ground crew of the AVG were offered assignments in the USAAF and were strongly encouraged to accept them or face the draft board back home. Many, however, objected to the strong-arm tactics. In the end, only 5 AVG pilots agreed to rejoin the U.S. military and fly for the CATF. Another 19 stayed in China and continued to fly for China National Airways. To help Chennault with the transition, however, 20 pilots and 24 ground crew agreed to serve two weeks beyond 4 July. Two of those volunteer pilots were killed during that period. Other AVG pilots who did not stay in China later made significant contributions in other theaters of war. They included James Howard, who flew with the 354th Fighter Group in Europe, and Gregory Boyington, who flew with the Marines in the Pacific. Both subsequently earned the Medal of Honor.

Although some military experts predicted at the time that the AVG would not last three weeks, it achieved one of the more impressive records in air warfare. In less than seven months in combat, the unit destroyed 299 Japanese aircraft and probably destroyed another 153. The AVG lost only 12 P-40s and 4 pilots killed in air-to-air combat. It lost another 6 pilots to ground fire: 3 were captured and 3 were killed on the ground by enemy bombs. Another 10 pilots died in flying accidents.

Despite the fact that most members of the AVG came from the U.S. military (and many returned to the military to serve in World War II), they were branded as mercenaries for many years following the war. In 1991, a U.S. Air Force panel concluded that all members of the AVG had been fighting for the United States at the time and were eligible for veterans’ benefits on the basis of that service. On 8 December 1996, the air force further recognized the AVG by awarding the Distinguished Flying Cross to the pilots and the Bronze Star Medal to the ground crews.

David T. Zabecki

See also

Jiang Jieshi; Knox, William Franklin; Mao Zedong; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Sino-Japanese War

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Formosa

See Taiwan.

Forrester, James Vincent (1892–1949)

U.S. secretary of the navy and later secretary of defense. Born in Beacon, New York, on 15 February 1892, James Forrester entered Dartmouth College in 1911. The next year he transferred to Princeton, but he left school without graduating in 1914. Two years later, Forrester secured a position with the investment-banking corporation of William A. Read and Company (later known as Dillon Read Company). When the United States entered World War I in April 1917, Forrester enlisted in the navy. Soon afterward, he transferred to the aviation branch; he trained in Canada with the Royal Flying Corps but never saw combat. At the end of the war, he left the navy as a lieutenant and returned to Dillon Read Company, becoming its vice president in 1926 and its president in 1938.

In 1940, Forrester resigned his position to join the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration as undersecretary of the navy. His primary role was in procurement, which was vital in preparing the U.S. Navy for World War II. He worked closely with his army counterpart, Undersecretary of War Robert P. Patterson, to streamline contracting and purchasing policies. Forrester oversaw the rapid expansion of the navy in the early years of the war, including not only number of ships but also facilities and training. On the sudden death of Secretary of the Navy William F. Knox, Forrester succeeded to the post in May 1944 and continued in the position until 1947.

In September 1947, Forrester became the first secretary of defense. In this capacity he is sometimes referred to as the “godfather of the national-security state.” Forrester was a staunch proponent of efforts to halt what he saw as Soviet



James V. Forrestal, ca. 1942. (Library of Congress)

expansionist policies, and he lobbied hard for George Kennan's Containment Doctrine and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). He also supported the concept of a balanced military establishment.

The immense strain of his position weighed on Forrestal and led to irrational behavior. In January 1949, President Harry S Truman informed Forrestal that he was replacing him as defense secretary with Louis Johnson. On 1 March 1949, Forrestal resigned his post. Admitted to Bethesda Naval Hospital, Maryland, for psychiatric care, on 22 May 1949 Forrestal leaped to his death from the sixteenth floor of that facility.

Todd M. Wynn

See also

Cold War, Origins and Early Course of; Knox, William Franklin; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Truman, Harry S; United States, Navy

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FORTITUDE, North and South, Operations (1944)

Deception operations in support of Operation OVERLORD, the Allied invasion of Normandy in June 1944. Operation OVERLORD was a vast operation, impossible to conceal, that involved more than 150,000 troops and 5,000 ships. Operation FORTITUDE was the elaborate deception plan designed to mislead the German defenders as to the timing and location of the Allied invasion.

Operation FORTITUDE had two components: FORTITUDE NORTH and FORTITUDE SOUTH. Operation FORTITUDE NORTH was designed to convince the Germans that the Allies planned to invade Norway in cooperation with a Soviet offensive designed to drive Finland from the war. Operation FORTITUDE NORTH was an attempt to deceive the Germans into thinking the Norwegian invasion would take place prior to an invasion in France. The intent was to cause the Germans to shift divisions from France to Norway or to have these forces in transit so they could not take part in the battle. To achieve this, the British in Scotland employed dummy vehicles, inflatable tanks and aircraft, fake radio transmissions, and dummy subordinate headquarters simulating the Fourth Army Group in "preparations" for an invasion of Norway. German reconnaissance aircraft were allowed to fly over the "assembly points" and report this information to Berlin. Operation FORTITUDE NORTH worked, as the Germans actually reinforced Norway.

As the time for OVERLORD approached, the second component of the deception plan, FORTITUDE SOUTH, became critical. Knowing that the Allied buildup in southern England could not be kept hidden, the British and Americans planned to persuade the Germans that the chief Allied assault would fall in the Pas de Calais (across the English Channel from Dover) rather than in Normandy (the actual landing area). The Pas de Calais was the most obvious choice for a major amphibious operation. It was the closest point on the French coast to England and would minimize the length of Allied supply lines as well as offer an extensive road network that could be exploited in follow-on attacks through the Low Countries toward Germany once the beaches were taken.

The first step was to leak plans of the sham invasion of Calais. This was done, as during FORTITUDE NORTH, through the British secret services, which planted stories and documents with double agents. Incredibly, the British seem to have identified or turned (recruited as a double agent) every German agent in Britain during the war. Double agents were particularly useful for providing small bits of information, which the

Germans could then piece together. The British also arranged to leak sham information through neutral diplomats with Axis sympathies.

To build the desired perception on the part of German intelligence, a fictitious First U.S. Army Group (FUSAG) was portrayed directly across from Calais in Kent and Sussex. Lieutenant General George S. Patton, whose reputation as a hard-driving army leader was very well known by the Germans, was repeatedly identified as FUSAG's commander. This fictitious force was composed of the U.S. Fourteenth Army and Fourth British Army. With the exception of three real British divisions included in the fictitious British army, all of these formations were bogus. The ghost divisions had elaborate stories woven around them to make their existence more believable. The Allies even created shoulder patches for the nonexistent FUSAG and its subordinate divisions. The Allies also had real soldiers wear the ghost division patches in case enemy agents were in a position to report their existence.

Special Allied signal units were used to transmit false radio transmissions from FUSAG and to simulate division, corps, and other army-level communications; these were transmitted in easily breakable ciphers so the Germans could decode the messages. In addition, false references to the fake headquarters were mentioned in bona fide messages.

As in *FORTITUDE NORTH*, dummy tanks and airplanes built of inflatable rubber were placed in realistic looking "camps" where German aerial reconnaissance was bound to see them. The deception was made even more believable by FUSAG troop movements in southeast England. Some were elaborate hoaxes, but in most cases they corresponded to actual preinvasion movements by real British and Canadian divisions. Even though the "real" movements were being made to support the Normandy invasion, they were close enough to the FUSAG area to convince German aerial photo interpreters that they were seeing the imminent invasion of Calais.

A fleet of landing craft deemed unseaworthy but still useable bobbed in British ports across from Calais. Instructions for acts of sabotage were radioed to the French Resistance in the Calais area. In addition, to reinforce the notion that FUSAG would debark on the short route to Calais, the Allied air forces in their program of bombardment prior to *OVERLORD* dropped three times the tonnage east of the Seine as they did to the west.

In all these activities, Allied intelligence, knowing what picture it wanted the Germans to see, had carefully taken apart FUSAG and sent bits and pieces about it where they knew the German intelligence services would pick them up. The Allies relied on the Germans to put the pieces of the puzzle together for themselves.

Soon it became apparent that the deception was bearing fruit. *ULTRA* signals intercepts of German classified message traffic made reference to FUSAG. This was the proof the *FOR-*

TITUDE operators needed. They could not expect to fool the Germans forever, but they hoped to minimize German anticipation of a Normandy landing until it was actually under way—and thereafter to keep alive anxiety that the "real" invasion would follow in the Pas de Calais at a later stage.

German intelligence arrived at the desired conclusion. German army maps captured following the Normandy Invasion indicated the presence of FUSAG in southeast England. Division areas and corps headquarters corresponded almost exactly with the areas indicated by the Allied deception plan. However, Adolf Hitler was only partly deluded. On 4 and 20 March and 6 April, he alluded to the likelihood of a Normandy landing in messages to his senior commanders. Still, apart from allocating Panzer Lehr and 116th Panzer Divisions to Normandy in the early spring, he made no decisive alteration of German defensive dispositions. Indeed, until he allowed divisions to cross the Seine into Normandy from the Pas de Calais at the very end of July, he himself remained prisoner to the delusion of a second "main" invasion in the Calais area throughout the critical weeks following the initial landings at Normandy.

James H. Willbanks

See also

Deception; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Hitler, Adolf; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; *OVERLORD*, Operation; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Signals Intelligence

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Fortress Europe

See Festung Europa.

Fourcade, Marie-Madeleine Bridou (1909–1989)

French Resistance leader. Born in Marseille on 8 November 1909, Marie-Madeleine Bridou married in 1929, had two children, and was divorced by the time World War II began. She sent her children to safety in Switzerland shortly after she became involved in the Resistance movement in June 1940.



Marie-Madeleine Fourcade, who was the head of the French resistance unit Alliance called Noah's Ark during World War II, shown here in 1979. (AFP/Getty Images)

Fourcade was recruited for the French Resistance by Georges Loustau-Lacau, the leader of the Navarre network, which was primarily involved in gathering information for the British. When he was arrested in May 1941, she assumed command under the code name POZ 55. Fourcade was the only woman to run a major resistance network in France during the war. The Navarre network became known as the Alliance. The Germans knew it as Noah's Ark, for its members were assigned animal names. Fourcade's code name was Hedgehog. The Alliance reported German troop movements and monitored submarine activities and German military operations within France. It also published propaganda tracts and journals. Members of the network also helped identify launch facilities for V-1 buzz bombs and V-2 rockets. Under Fourcade's guidance and supported by British money and equipment, the network grew to more than 3,000 members. Arrested by the Gestapo twice, Fourcade escaped each time. The first time she was caught because a wireless operator sent by the British turned out to be a double agent working for the Germans.

In 1941 and 1942, Fourcade's network helped to conceal British airmen who had been shot down and then to smuggle them out to Spain and safety. In July 1943 after 30 months of leading the Navarre network, Fourcade was evacuated by the British along with some of the downed airmen. She continued to run the network from a house in Chelsea until July

1944, when she returned to France. Of more than 3,000 members in her network, 438 were caught and executed.

After the war, Fourcade was active in organizing the Union for the New Republic, the political party of Charles de Gaulle. She also championed recognition for former Resistance members. Fourcade died at Paris on 20 July 1989.

Laura J. Hilton

See also

France, Vichy; Resistance

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France, Air Force

Recriminations over the poor performance of the French air force (*Armée de l'Air*) in 1940 began even before the armistice with the Germans, and they were a key element in the notorious Riom Trial held by the Vichy authorities in 1942 to prosecute the alleged saboteurs of France's war effort. Postwar historiography was scarcely less politically charged, and it is only with the passage of more than half a century that the history of France's wartime air force may be examined with some necessary detachment. Whatever the cause, the air service's accomplishments in the 1940 Battle for France were extremely disappointing, and its contribution to the national catastrophe was significant. Why this should have been so, when France in 1940 boasted an experienced cadre of fighter and bomber pilots and many aircraft comparable in quality to the best fielded by the German *Luftwaffe* and British Royal Air Force, will probably always remain something of a mystery. It can be better understood, however, by looking at the air service's convoluted and often tempestuous development between World War I and World War II.

In many respects, France led the world in aviation technology in the 1920s and 1930s. Its aircraft manufacturers produced many combat machines, and half of the world's airspeed records were set in French-built planes. But the country did not create an independent air service until 1928, and the motivation for its creation was more political than strategic. From its inception, the *Armée de l'Air* was a pawn in the long-standing intrigue between the Third Republic's political class and its generals, many of whom had never reconciled themselves to civilian authority. The air force was intended as a counterweight to the war ministry, and this atmosphere of interservice rivalry was exacerbated by the country's most influential pre-war air minister, Popular Front appointee Pierre Cot, who

served from 1933 to 1940. For all his undoubted administrative skill, Cot's overbearing style only deepened military suspicions that the Armée de l'Air was "the armed service of the Left," with all the ideological contamination that implied.

As with many of their contemporaries, the French air chiefs between the wars were intrigued by the strategic bombing theories of Giulio Douhet and other air-power advocates. Not only was an independent strategic role a fashionable concept in aviation circles, but it also entrenched the Armée de l'Air's autonomy from the war ministry. Cot was an enthusiast, but in trying to simultaneously placate both the strategic bombing advocates and army commanders who urged him to create a tactical support arm for the ground forces, he proposed the ill-fated BCR solution: a multi-role fighter-bomber aircraft that was necessarily mediocre in all its capacities and a waste of much time and money. After Cot's replacement by Guy La Chambre in 1938, the strategic bombing plan was theoretically sidelined, but its influential proponents within the air service felt betrayed by the government and began a policy of tacit noncooperation with both state and army. Despite official doctrine, little or no progress was made on genuine collaboration between the ground and air forces prior to the outbreak of World War II.

In principle, neither supply nor quality of aircraft was a key problem. By May 1940, the Armée de l'Air possessed no fewer than 4,360 machines, of which approximately 2,900 were modern combat aircraft, with 67 fully equipped fighter squadrons, 66 bomber squadrons, and 30 observation squadrons (*escadrilles*). Some 619 new aircraft were arriving from French factories each month, as well as regular shipments of Curtiss 75A (export version of the Curtiss P-36 Hawk) fighters from the United States. The chief problem lay in lack of pilots, technical support, and trained ground crews, rather than lack of aircraft.

The best of France's own fighters, in particular the brand-new Dewoitine 520 (which went into service a few days after the German assault in the west), were on a par with their chief adversary, the Messerschmitt BF-109E. But scarcely one-quarter of this force was deployed on the crucial northeastern front. Explanations for this critical waste of resources have frequently focused on accusations of personal incompetence or even treachery, but the real culprit appears to have been France's inadequate supply of pilots. The aviation training program had not kept pace with the expansion in combat machines, so that even by calling up middle-aged reservists, the service's wartime commander General Joseph Vuillemin was unable to crew nearly the number of planes that were available. Far too many excellent aircraft remained uselessly crated up in storage while the air battle over France intensified.

Nor were the aircraft committed to France's defense well used. In February 1940, Vuillemin had relented to a demand that his frontline units be subordinated in command to Gen-

eral Alphonse Georges' individual army groups, maintaining for Vuillemin's personal direction only the strategic bomber reserve. Neither the airmen nor their peers in the land forces were properly trained in close-support techniques, and the resulting air/ground "cooperation" proved tragically inept: aircraft and pilots were wasted in piecemeal assaults on the German spearheads that lacked any coherent choreography with the army's counterattacks. Individual skill and bravery could not overcome such clumsy organization, and the withdrawal of the best squadrons to North Africa, which started five days before the armistice, indicates how profoundly the air force had lost confidence in its own ability to resist.

In the Vichy settlement, the army took its revenge on the Armée de l'Air, stripping it of its ministerial independence and reducing it once more to being a branch of the regular ground forces. The surviving 19 metropolitan squadrons were equipped with obsolescent machines; the superior *escadrilles* were posted mostly to Algeria and Morocco, where in time they would be absorbed into de Gaulle's forces after the 1942 Operation TORCH Allied landings in North Africa.

Despite its undoubted weaknesses, the air force's contribution to the Allied war effort should not go unrecognized. The 600–1,000 German aircraft it destroyed in May and June 1940 were sorely missed by the Luftwaffe during the ensuing Battle of Britain. But perhaps Cot's postwar eulogy concludes the story best: "The French did not lose the air battle; bad organization did not even let them fight it."

Alan Allport

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Aircraft, Production of; Aviation, Ground-Attack; Fighter Tactics; France, Army; France, Battle for; France, Role in War; Georges, Alphonse Joseph

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France, Army

The "strange defeat" of the French army in the May–June 1940 Battle for France invites some of the most intriguing counterfactual assumptions of World War II. Was France's enervated and demoralized military fated to suffer catastrophe against the German Ardennes offensive—or could sounder deployment, more energetic leadership, and a little more luck in the field have forestalled the sudden German victory? When did the slow decay within the antebellum army become truly crit-

ical? To address such questions, one must acknowledge the dual importance of contingency and determinism in matters of war. Certainly, the success of German leader Adolf Hitler's May 1940 PLAN YELLOW (FALL GELB), the assault on France and the Low Countries, relied to some extent on specific errors of judgment by the French and British political-military leadership that greater forethought might well have prevented. However, the collapse of the Third Republic was symptomatic of deep and profound flaws within its army's prewar preparations, flaws that would have inevitably compromised France's defense no matter how spirited or ingenious its commanders had proved to be in 1940.

The dilemma for France's military planners in the 20 years after the 1918 armistice was how to provide effective national security from a resurgent Germany when France faced a now permanently weakened manpower base and diminishing prospects of allied support. The horrific casualties of World War I began their demographic payoff in the mid-1930s as the "hollow classes" of conscripts fell 140,000 people short of target each year. At the same time, political considerations demanded the reduction of the traditional three-year draft into the army regiments to a single year, and although the draft was increased to two years in 1935, the new law was not uniformly enforced. One option was to consider a smaller but better-equipped and better-trained army of career professional soldiers. Such was the case sketched by young Major Charles de Gaulle in his provocative 1934 work *Vers l'armée du métier* (*The Army of the Future*), in which he proposed the creation of six heavily armored divisions that would form an elite cadre for future offensive operations. Quite apart from cost, the civilian ministers recoiled at the thought of this potential Praetorian guard; relations between the army and the Republican political class were still bad enough in the 1930s for the possibility of a military coup to be taken seriously.

The army, then, would remain a mass conscripted force. France's deficiency in manpower would be made up instead by defensive works, applying the lessons of Verdun—however incompletely understood—to the Maginot Line, a series of sophisticated frontier fortifications along the Franco-German border named for Minister of War André Maginot. The line was designed to canalize any German attack to the north, and it accomplished this in 1940. Comfortably ensconced behind this apparently impregnable fortress wall, the field army's task would be to stand in reserve and repel intrusions between the main Maginot forts while thrusting into Belgium to engage any German assault north of the Ardennes. With a heavy concentration on defense and a battlefield this time mercifully removed from France's industrial heartland, the hope was to oppose and halt a westward attack despite the significant numerical advantage the Germans would enjoy.

At the outbreak of war, the Armée Métropolitaine mobilized 94 frontline and reserve divisions for the defense of

France, with 215 infantry regiments all told—less than two-thirds the number mustered in August 1914. These divisions were organized into nine field armies and four army groups, with supreme command vested in General Maurice Gamelin, chief of staff of national defense. Gamelin's authority was, however, compromised by the unclear chain of responsibility between him and General Alphonse Georges, his commander on the crucial northeast front. Personal antagonism between the two men did nothing to dispel this ambiguity. Georges' 1st and 2nd Army Groups of three armies apiece were disposed along the Franco-Belgian border along with the newly arrived British Expeditionary Force (BEF), while the 3rd Army Group under General Antoine Besson kept watch in Alsace-Lorraine. General René Henri Olry's Army of the Alps commanded the mountainous frontier against Italy. As it turned out, it accomplished this task magnificently after Italy's clumsy offensive in June 1940, the only redeeming chapter in France's agony that year. Scattered units of General Henri Honoré Giraud's Seventh Army guarded the French coasts.

A quartet of bureaus administered this great force: 1st (personnel and organization), 2nd (intelligence), 3rd (operations), and 4th (transport and services). Their staffs were located with neither Gamelin nor Georges, a characteristic multiplicity of headquarters that abetted the natural confusion caused by the commander in chief's refusal to take wireless communications seriously. The delays in transmitting and receiving messages to and from the respective commands—messages usually dispatched by motorcycle courier—would have been tardy by World War I standards; they were inexcusable in a war of portable radios and high-speed maneuver.

A typical *division d'infanterie* (infantry division) out of the 63 at Gamelin's disposal would consist of 17,500 men: 9 battalions of infantry (870 men each), 2 regiments of artillery—many of them equipped with the famous but now obsolete 75 mm World War I field gun—and individual companies of antitank, reconnaissance, pioneer, engineer, signals, transport, medical, and supply troops. *Divisions légères mécaniques* (DLMs, light mechanized divisions), created in the scramble after the BEF evacuation at Dunkerque, had only 6 battalions and a single artillery regiment each. About half of this total force were reserve divisions, divided into type A and type B according to age. There were also several miscellaneous reserve units judged unfit for combat duty that performed light communications and security duties behind the line.

As part of war minister (from 1936 to 1938) Édouard Daladier's massive rearmament program from 1936 onward, a small number of modern armored divisions (*divisions cuirassées de réserve* [DCRs]) were planned, which would each boast 4 battalions of more than 150 heavy and light tanks. The most powerful of France's armored vehicles, such



General Lattre de Tassigny, commander in chief of the French armies in France, inspecting the Allied Sherman tanks that liberated the French city of Colmar, 11 February 1945. (Hulton Archive)

as the 30-ton Char B1 bis with 75 mm and 47 mm armament, could comfortably outgun any German tanks of the period and were generally better armored, although they tended to lack speed, range, and radio equipment. Supply shortages and ministerial penny-pinching meant that the first two DCRs were not, however, created until January 1940, and only then at half strength. A third division appeared in March, while the fourth, commanded by Colonel Charles de Gaulle, did not make its entrance until the battle for France was well under way.

Partly compensating for this shortfall were the three DLMs, former cavalry divisions that had been totally upgraded with Somua and Hotchkiss medium tanks as well as motorized dragoon and reconnaissance elements. Three *divisions légères de cavalerie* were a less successful variant on this. They were hybrid formations consisting of 1 mounted brigade and 2 battalions of motorized dragoons each. Those vehicles operated by the *chars de combat*, the army's tank arm, that were not delegated to one of the armored or mechanized divisions—more than half of France's tanks—were

instead scattered across the various army groups in small packets for infantry support, sometimes at battalion level but more often to companies or platoons.

As well as its metropolitan army, France could also call on its two imperial forces: the Armée d'Afrique, raised in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco; and the Troupes Coloniales, who guarded France's sub-Saharan territories, Madagascar, and Indochina. Each force was a combination of European French-only *Zouave* and African *tirailleur* infantry regiments. The Tirailleurs Sénégalais of the Troupes Coloniales were especially prized for their fearsome reputation. The Armée d'Afrique also included *spahis*—irregular mounted troops and the 12-regiment-strong French Foreign Legion. Many colonial units were shipped to France at mobilization, so that by May 1940 there were 21 regiments of Algerian and Tunisian Tirailleurs at the front line and several brigades of African cavalry.

Following the armistice with Germany, the rump Vichy regime was allowed only 100,000 men for metropolitan defense (presumably in conscious mimicry of the allowance

given the Reichswehr in the Treaty of Versailles following World War I). This Armée de l'Armistice was organized into 8 divisions, which because of the army's modest size were quite well provided with personal infantry weapons but which lacked all motorized transportation and heavy equipment. By contrast, the Germans were sufficiently impressed by the vigorous defense of Dakar by Free French Forces in late 1940 that they allowed the two imperial armies to expand. The Armée d'Afrique grew first to 127,000 and later to 225,000 men strong and was allowed the use of tanks, heavy guns, and other modern weaponry. Unfortunately for their German sponsors, however, neither of Vichy's colonial armies was willing to use its windfall of hardware when it encountered more substantial opposition, such as the Anglo-American TORCH landings in November 1942. It was these landings that precipitated the winding up of the Vichy independent government and the final dissolution of the vestiges of the Third Republic's army. France's military future then lay elsewhere.

Alan Allport

See also

Dakar, Attack on; de Gaulle, Charles; Dunkerque, Evacuation of; France, Air Force; France, Battle for; France, Free French; France, Role in War; France, Vichy; Gamelin, Maurice G.; Georges, Alphonse Joseph; Hitler, Adolf; Lattre de Tassigny, Jean Joseph Marie Gabriel de; Maginot Line; Saar, French Invasion of; Sedan, Battle of; TORCH, Operation

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France, Battle for (10 May–11 July 1940)

Germany's sudden strike west in May 1940 through neutral Holland and Belgium caught the Allies by surprise, leading to military defeat and the collapse of the French government. Despite Germany's successful April 1940 invasions of Norway and Denmark, France remained committed to the defensive posture it had assumed on mobilization. The French and the British Expeditionary Force (BEF), grown to nearly 400,000 men, could not occupy their intended defensive positions in neutral Belgium until events forced that nation into the war. When the blow came, the Allied failure to prepare a realistic defense strategy, France's weak government, Germany's blitzkrieg tactics, and

the lingering influence of the Phony War ("Sitzkrieg") period combined to produce a rapid German victory.

The Germans did not have numerical or technological superiority over their opponents. Against Adolf Hitler's 136 divisions (2.5 million men), the French, British, Belgians, and Dutch could field 135 divisions (more than 2 million men). The Allies and neutral powers also had more tanks (perhaps 3,600, compared with 2,500 for the Germans). The Allies were sadly deficient, however, in numbers of anti-aircraft guns and aircraft. Against 1,444 German bombers, the Allies could send up only 830 fighters. These would have to cope with 1,264 German fighter aircraft, more than 1,000 of which were Bf-109s. Overall, the German air fleets deployed in the west numbered 3,226 combat aircraft, whereas the British and French had half that number.

Well aware of this parity, the German General Staff were reluctant to undertake any assault in the late fall of 1939, instead producing the Phony War, when both sides were largely idle. Hitler's insistence on striking into France forced the issue, producing a series of changing operational plans that eventually invalidated the assumptions underlying the French defensive strategy. That strategy, and France's ability to execute it, suffered substantial defects by May 1940. The prolonged period of inactivity along the front since the fall of Poland had seriously eroded both Allied military morale and confidence in France's military and civilian leadership. Defeatism and internal political struggles divided Premier Paul Reynaud's government. The French High Command deliberately overestimated German strength in its pronouncements to provide an excuse in the event of disaster, and bureaucratic inertia and stubbornness hampered efforts by Colonel Charles de Gaulle and others to concentrate France's greater number of tanks into armored units capable of opposing Germany's panzer divisions. The first three French tank divisions did not assemble until January 1940, and they lacked radios. Most of France's tanks were parceled out in small packets along the front to act in support of infantry.

Allied strategy predicted that any German assault would bypass the fortified Maginot Line by moving through the neutral Low Countries and then pivoting north of Liège to fall upon the Channel ports and move against France from the north. But following the January 1940 compromise of the original German plan, which would have met Allied strength, Generals Fritz Erich von Manstein and Heinz Guderian convinced Hitler to abandon this approach in favor of concentrating the bulk of the resources on a more southern axis. Under the new plan, while other units extended the line to the sea, the main German force would drive through the Ardennes forest south of Liège to strike the French army as it moved to defend Belgium.

General Feodor von Bock's Army Group B, charged with invading Belgium and Holland, was downgraded from 37



Soldiers of the British Expeditionary Force on the beach at Dunkerque fire at German aircraft, which are bombing the ships sent to evacuate them, June 1940. (Fox Photos/Getty Images)

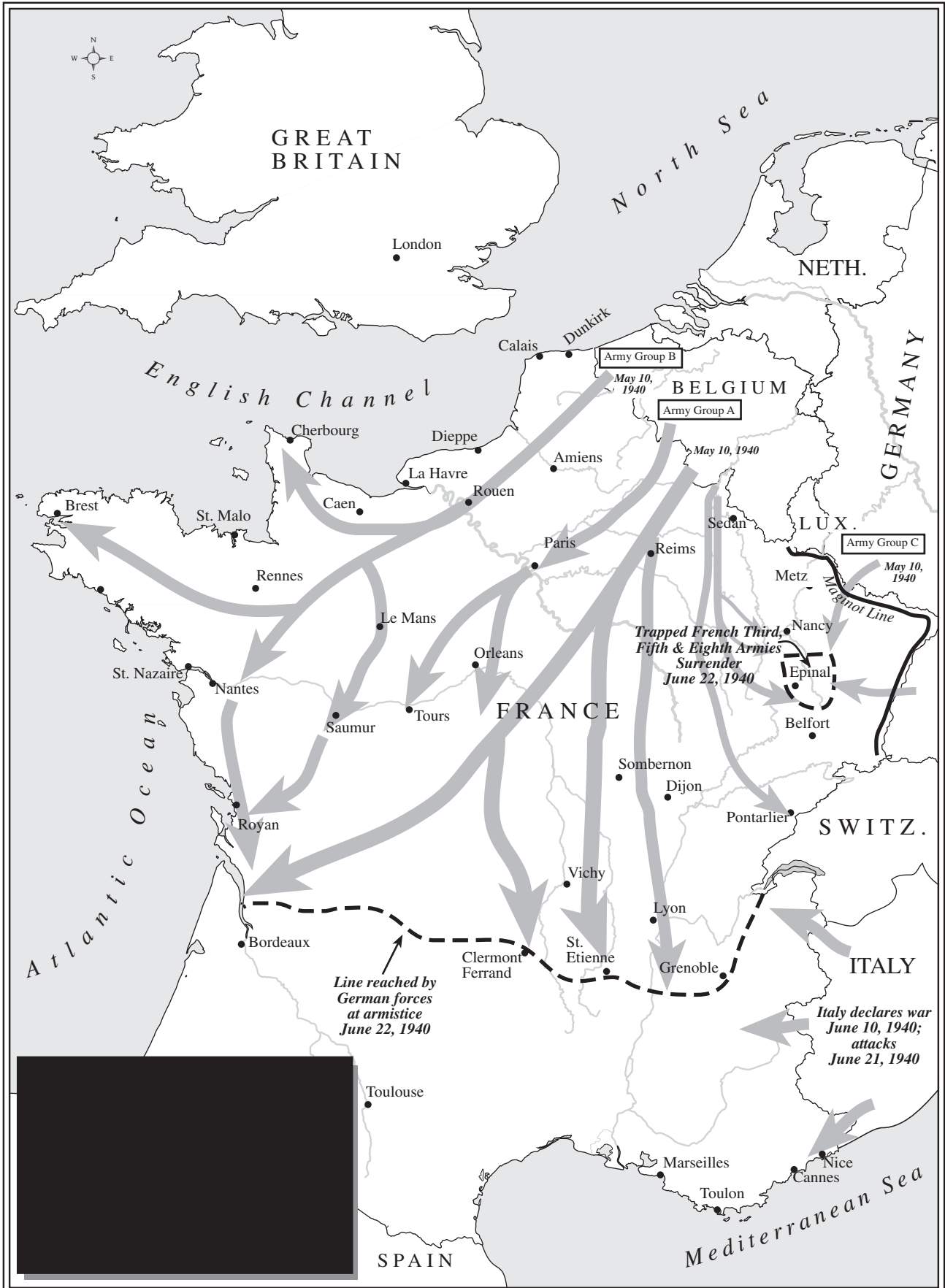
divisions in the original plan to only 28 in the Manstein plan, and 3 rather than 8 armor divisions. General Gerd von Rundstedt's Army Group A, which was to move through the Ardennes, was upgraded from 17 to 44 divisions, including 7 rather than a single armor division. Thus, at the point of the breakthrough, the Germans would outnumber the French 44 divisions to 9.

By early May, the signs of an impending attack were obvious to those who wished to see, but its direction, speed, and success caught the Allies by surprise. French intelligence services, usually among the world's best, completely misread German intentions and strengths. Manstein's plan capitalized on the French tendency to anticipate a repetition of the World War I offensive inspired by the Schlieffen Plan. Therefore, the operation began on 10 May with an attack into Holland by von Bock's Army Group B. Although some positions held for two or three days, German blitzkrieg tactics drove the bulk of the Dutch army back in short order. The French Seventh Army raced across Belgium to the rescue, arriving on 12 May only to join the retreat.

The great fortress of Eben Emael anchored Belgium's defenses on the south. A German glider assault took the allegedly impregnable position in just 28 hours, opening the

path for German tanks. Similar airborne assaults carried bridgeheads and lesser defensive positions, overwhelming Belgian defenses. There, too, help arrived on 12 May. British and French forces executing the planned strategy managed to slow the German advance through Belgium by 14 May, but the concurrent German strike through the Ardennes obliterated that planned strategy. Quickly overrunning Luxembourg, von Rundstedt's Army Group A advanced through the Ardennes to reach the main French line along the Meuse River on 12 May. French army commander General Maurice Gamelin's belated efforts to stem the tide with reinforcements came too late to prevent German forces from crossing the Meuse. The Germans took Sedan and punched a 50-mile-wide gap in France's defenses. By 16 May, they were on the Aisne River in open country.

The BEF and many French armor forces were already committed to battle in the north. Gamelin now ordered up reserves and formed a new army under General Robert Auguste Touchon, the Sixth, to try to seal the gap. General Henri Giraud took over command of the Ninth Army, but his forces were badly mauled by the Germans on 17 May, and Giraud himself was captured. From 17 to 19 May, Colonel Charles de Gaulle scored the only French successes of the bat-



HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONTROVERSY

Hitler's Stop Order (24 May 1940)

German leader Adolf Hitler's *Haltebefehl* (halt or stop order) of 24 May 1940 was one of the most controversial decisions in connection with the fighting in Europe and Hitler's first major military mistake. This decision allowed the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) to carry out its epic evacuation from the French port of Dunkerque and continue the war.

The German plan for the French Campaign, *SICHELSCHNITT* (CUT OF THE SICKLE), designed to cut off the best British and French armies after they advanced into Belgium, worked to perfection, and the BEF withdrew to the French Channel port of Dunkerque. Reichsmarschall (Reich Marshal) Hermann Göring, commander of the German air force, was worried that the Luftwaffe, which had performed brilliantly in the campaign, would nonetheless not receive the credit it deserved. On the afternoon of 23 May, Göring telephoned Hitler and declared that, if Hitler would order the army to stand back and provide room, credit for the destruction of the BEF would go to the German air arm (the creation of National Socialism) rather than the army of the Prussian aristocrats.

Göring's arguments fell on fertile ground. Hitler was worried about his armor, convinced that Flanders was not suitable tank country. Also, he had to preserve his tanks to take Paris and was reluc-

tant to see his armor formations shattered in an effort to defeat nine desperate British divisions with their backs to the sea. Göring's arguments seemed to make good sense. In any case, a pause in the panzer operations would allow infantry to close on the evacuation beaches in support.

On 24 May 1940, Hitler flew to Charleville to consult with General Gerd von Rundstedt, commander of Army Group A. There Rundstedt explained that he had stopped the panzers on 23 May to allow the remainder to catch up. He favored having the infantry continue on east of Arras while the tanks held fast on the Aa Canal Line, where they could simply defeat the BEF as it was driven back by German Army Group B from the other side of the pocket.

Hitler immediately approved Rundstedt's decision, emphasizing the importance of maintaining the panzers for the coming offensive against French forces regrouping to the south. Any further advance by the tanks would make it more difficult for the Luftwaffe's Ju-87 Stuka dive-bombers. That afternoon, a new order went out—more explicit than that issued by Rundstedt the day before—ordering the tanks to go no farther than the Lens-Béthune-Aire-Saint Omer-Gravelines line.

German panzer commanders at the front could not believe the order, which

Hitler issued in ignorance of the actual situation. Several generals, including commander in chief of the army General Walther von Braunschweig, tried without success to persuade Hitler to change his mind. By 26 May, even Rundstedt had doubts about the order, which was finally lifted that afternoon. Necessary preparations for the panzers and their crews to recommence the offensive, however, meant that the advance was not resumed until the predawn hours of 27 May, when the Dunkerque evacuation was already under way.

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See also

Brauchitsch, Heinrich Alfred Hermann Walther von; Dunkerque, Evacuation of; France, Battle for; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Hitler, Adolf; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von; *SICHELSCHNITT*, Operation.

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tle when he flung his 4th Armored Division in three successive thrusts against the southern flank of the German advance from Laon. Aided by air power, the Germans blunted the Allied attacks and swept on.

The speed of the German advance caught even von Rundstedt by surprise, as his armor commanders subverted instructions to slow down, slipped around areas of heavy resistance, and reached the English Channel by 21 May. Germany's spectacular success broke General Gamelin's ability to respond. French communications were abysmal, and there was no strategic reserve. Convinced of France's inevitable defeat, Gamelin ceased to exercise effective command. Premier Reynaud dismissed him on 19 May and replaced him

with General Maxime Weygand, but the situation was already too far gone for Weygand to stave off disaster. The BEF was trapped in the north, and cooperation between it and the French First Army broke down. Forced to choose between supporting an increasingly unlikely French breakout (which both Weygand and British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill ordered) or maintaining his line of retreat to the sea, on 24 May BEF commander General Sir John Gort ordered the BEF to withdraw to the north and the port of Dunkerque.

This proved to be one of the important decisions of the war, for it saved the BEF to fight another day. Hitler now committed his first major military mistake of the war, which allowed the BEF to escape. On 26 May, Rundstedt, worried about the

speed of the advance, halted the panzer divisions when they were within striking range of the last Channel ports open to the British. Hitler then converted this temporary halt into a firm order. He wanted to allow time for the infantry to come up and was convinced by Luftwaffe commander General Hermann Göring that the Luftwaffe could destroy the British on the beaches, preventing their escape. Not until 29 May did Hitler release the tanks again, and by that time the BEF was in place, protected in large part by the French First Army. In the week-long Operation DYNAMO, the British evacuated some 365,000 men from France, of whom nearly 225,000 were British.

Reynaud's new cabinet proved to be unable to deal with the deteriorating situation. The French government increasingly disintegrated into rival factions and descended into defeatism. Although much of the army was still intact, it was bereft of leadership or sound strategy and psychologically defeated. Although Churchill proposed a union of Britain and France to keep the latter in the war, he refused, under pressure from the RAF, to commit the remainder of his fighter aircraft to the battle for France. It appeared to Paris that Britain was withdrawing from the war, leaving France to fight alone.

By 5 June, the Germans had repositioned the bulk of their forces in preparation for the final conquest of France. France opposed the onslaught with a greatly weakened military and an already defeated government. On 8 June, von Bock's Army Group B reached the Seine. One of his generals, Erwin Rommel, pushed on to Rouen before turning back up the coast, encircling the remaining British and French units along the seashore. East of Paris, French forces held out, perhaps in response to Weygand's futile and foolish 8 June order to hold without thought of retreat. But on 12 June, Rundstedt's forces broke through the French line at Châlons. Before his tanks stretched open ground and the retreating French army. That same day, the French government abandoned Paris for Bordeaux in the southwest. On 13 June, the government declared Paris an open city to spare it the fate of Warsaw and Rotterdam, and the next day German troops took peaceful possession of the capital.

For a full week, the French government struggled to find a solution while its demoralized forces fought an unorganized withdrawal without any clear strategy. The cabinet rejected alternatives ranging from a retreat to North Africa and the still-secure resources of the colonies to the outright union of France and Britain. The premier summoned Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain, hoping he could restore morale and reinvigorate resistance. Unfortunately, the aged hero believed the war was lost and added his voice to the defeatists opposing Reynaud. On 10 June, Italy entered the war on Germany's side, although Italian forces did not attack France in the southeast until 20 June.

Late on the evening of 16 June, with the Germans having taken Verdun and beginning to cut off the Maginot Line from the rear, Reynaud resigned. With his departure, any hope of

France remaining in the war disappeared. Pétain succeeded him as premier, proclaiming in a radio address to the French people the next day that the country had lost the war and "the fighting must stop." Many army commanders interpreted this as an order, and the German advance continued largely without resistance. Brigadier General de Gaulle and a few other Frenchmen escaped to Britain.

France and Germany signed a cease-fire on 22 June 1940, but operations continued at Hitler's insistence until the Italians agreed to the armistice on 25 June. Signed at Compiègne—at the same site and in the same railway carriage that had witnessed the signing of the armistice with Germany in 1918—the 1940 armistice allowed Germany to occupy northern France and the Atlantic coastal regions to the Spanish border, with France to pay for the German costs of administration. French prisoners of war remained under German control. The French fleet, much of which had escaped to North Africa, would remain under French control but was to be demobilized. The French government, having fled Paris, continued to rule the unoccupied zone from Vichy under the leadership of Pétain.

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See also

Bereker, John Standish Surtees Pendergast (Lord Gort); Blitzkrieg; Bock, Feodor von; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; de Gaulle, Charles; Dunkerque, Evacuation of; Gamelin, Maurice Gustave; Giraud, Henri Honoré; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Guderian, Heinz; Hitler, Adolf; Laon, Battle of; Manstein, Fritz Erich von; Norway, German Conquest of; Pétain, Henri Philippe; Reynaud, Paul; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von; Weygand, Maxime

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France, Free French

On 18 June 1940, French army Brigadier General Charles de Gaulle—until the previous day undersecretary of war in the Paul Reynaud government—appeared before the microphones of the British Broadcasting Corporation in London and broadcast an appeal for Frenchmen to rally to him and continue the fight, saying that "France has lost a battle, but France has not lost the war."



General Charles de Gaulle inspecting members of the newly formed Free French command unit at Wellington Barracks, ca 1942. (Hulton Archive)

Of nearly 100,000 French troops in England at that time—most of whom had been evacuated from the area around Dunkerque—only 1,300 volunteered to stay in England and join de Gaulle; the remainder returned to France. Of the volunteers, 900 were Foreign Legionnaires of the 13th Demi-Brigade who had recently been evacuated from Norway. Undeterred by the limited response, de Gaulle recruited forces and established the “Fighting French” (Free French Forces). On 2 August, a court-martial initiated by Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain’s Vichy French government sentenced de Gaulle to death in absentia for treason. On 7 August, de Gaulle signed an agreement with the British government regulating the French forces and placing them under the “general directives of the British High Command.”

Over the next year, de Gaulle’s small force steadily increased in number. In August 1940, sufficient troops to form four battalions joined from Equatorial Africa (Chad, Cameroon, Middle Congo, and Gabon). Hoping to enlist units in West Africa, de Gaulle mounted a 1,445-man expedition with British naval support against Dakar in West Africa, but the city remained loyal to Vichy France and the operation failed.

Other Free French Forces served abroad. Volunteers from Syria were formed into the 1st Marine (Naval) Infantry, which was attached to the British 7th Armoured Division. These troops assisted in the capture of Tobruk, Libya, in January 1941. In December 1940, Colonel Raoul-Charles Magrin-Vernerey (a.k.a. Monclar) formed the Brigade d’Orient of 1,200 men from several units of infantry (including the 13th Demi-Brigade) and a horse cavalry squadron. The brigade fought in Eritrea from January to May 1941, the cavalry unit making the last French cavalry charge in history (against Italian cavalry).

On 25 May 1941, Major General Paul Louis Legentilhomme formed the 5,400-man 1st Free French Light Division from several units of French Legionnaires, Africans, and Arabs. On 8 June, operating with British Commonwealth forces, the division invaded Syria, meeting bitter resistance from Vichy forces there. The campaign ended on 11 July. Of the 38,000 Vichy troops in Syria, 5,331 (including 1,000 Legionnaires) joined the Free French; the remainder were allowed to return to France. On 20 August 1941, the Light Division was disbanded; with additional reinforcements, it became several independent brigade groups, some of which remained in Syria for garrison duties.

The 1st French Brigade, commanded by Brigadier General Marie Pierre Koenig, was formed in December 1941. It consisted of the 13th Demi-Brigade and several naval infantry battalions. These *Fusiliers-Marins* provided a bit of color, as the sailors retained their red pom-pom naval caps and the chief petty officers wore their peaked caps. Assigned to the British XIII Corps, the 1st Brigade was posted to the “box” at Bir Hacheim at the left end of the Gazala Line in Libya.

Attacked by the Italian Ariete Division and elements of the German 90th Light Division on 27 May 1941, the 1st Brigade held, despite continuous combat and constant Luftwaffe attack. On 11 June it was ordered to withdraw, breaking through to British lines. Bir Hacheim was the defining battle for the Free French. Prior to it, British support had been lukewarm. However, after the brigade withstood German Afrika Korps assaults longer than any of the Commonwealth “boxes” on the Gazala Line, there were no longer any doubts that the Free French would fight and fight well.

By the time of the Battle of El Alamein in October 1942, Free French units were fighting with the British 7th Armoured Division, 50th Infantry Division, and the Long-Range Desert Group. The 1st Free French Division was formed 1 February 1943 for the campaign in Tunisia under Koenig, who was now a major general. After a brief resistance to the Allied landings on 8 November 1942, eight divisions of the French North and West African Armies went over to the Allied side. The XIX Algerian Corps under Major General Alphonse Pierre Juin fought alongside the British First Army in Tunisia, although Juin refused to take orders from the British commander. Additional political problems arose when some elements of the Free French forces refused to associate with the North African ex-Vichy troops.

On 4 August 1943, a new French army came into being, consisting of eight infantry divisions, four armored divisions, four regiment-sized groups of French North African troops, six commando battalions, and one parachute regiment. Under the terms of an inter-Allied agreement, the United States assumed responsibility for rearming, reequipping, training, and supplying the French forces. Language problems and the emphasis on fielding the greatest number of combat units possible at the expense of support units were the most prominent obstacles encountered. Other problems arose over weapons (the French never received the excellent U.S. M1 Garand rifle) and supplies (the French never received tanker jackets and, more seriously, initially received a smaller ration scale than American troops). Eventually most problems were resolved.

A French Expeditionary Corps of five divisions was formed on 18 May 1943. Commanded by Major General Juin and sent to Italy in late 1943 and early 1944, it was instrumental in winning the Fourth Battle of Cassino, outflanking the German position by moving through the mountains as Juin suggested. A reinforced Free French division liberated

the Mediterranean islands of Corsica and Elba in September 1943 and June 1944, respectively.

On 15 August 1944, what became the French First Army under Major General Jean Marie Gabriel de Lattre de Tassigny landed in southern France as part of the U.S. Sixth Army in Operation DRAGOON. Its eight divisions and 200,000 men fought their way up the Rhône Valley, arriving on the right flank of U.S. Lieutenant General George S. Patton’s Third Army. The French First Army advanced into southwest Germany, and by the end of the war it had reached the Tyrol in western Austria. In addition, Major General Philippe Leclerc’s Free French 2nd Armored Division served with the U.S. First Army, liberated Paris, and joined the French First Army in February 1945. By the end of the war, the rebuilt French air force consisted of 25 fighter, bomber, and reconnaissance squadrons equipped with American and British aircraft. The Free French navy, which initially consisted of only three ships, had grown by war’s end to a total of 240 warships.

At a cost of 23,500 killed and 95,500 wounded, the Free French Forces demonstrated a will to fight that impressed their Allied counterparts. Although it was significant, the Free French contribution to the Allied victory in Europe is not generally recognized.

Dana Lombardy and T. P. Schweider

See also

Cassino/Rapido River, Battles of; Dakar, Attack on; de Gaulle, Charles; de Lattre de Tassigny, Jean M. G.; DRAGOON, Operation; El Alamein, Battle of; Gazala-Bir Hacheim Line, Battle of; Juin, Alphonse P.; Koenig, Pierre; Leclerc, Philippe; Legentilhomme, Paul L.; Normandy Invasion; OVERLORD, Operation (Planning); Paris, Liberation of; Patton, George S., Jr.; Pétain, Henri Philippe; Reynaud, Paul; Tobruk, First Battle of; TORCH, Operation; Tunisia Campaign

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France, Navy

In 1939 France possessed a powerful battle fleet. The navy had been largely rebuilt beginning in the 1920s and was generally regarded as the world’s fourth most powerful maritime force. Georges Leygues, a National Assembly French deputy who had served as minister of marine, was a chief architect. Admiral Jean Darlan, the personification of a political admiral,



Part of the French navy's fleet at sea, the cruisers *Diadem*, *Cleopatra*, and *Dido*, 1941. (Hulton Archive)

commanded it. The navy was undoubtedly the most pro-American and anti-British of the three French services during World War II.

In the pre-World War II era, French naval planning was guided by the formula that the navy should be equal in strength to the combined German and Italian navies. In addition, while the bulk of the French fleet was stationed in the Mediterranean, the navy was to be capable of operating elsewhere in the world, primarily in the Atlantic. Between 1925 and 1937, the French laid down new warships at the rate of 32,426 tons a year. With the approach of war, this increased to 41,000 tons annually, severely straining France's shipyard capacity.

The French fleet was centered on the battleship. France's two oldest battleships were seized by the British in July 1940 during Operation CATAPULT, but they were of so little worth that they would not see further naval action. Its next three older—but slow—battleships of the Bretagne-class had been reconstructed in the interwar period. The *Bretagne* was sunk at Mers-el-Kébir during CATAPULT, and the *Provence* was damaged there and later scuttled at Toulon. The *Lorraine* joined the Free French fleet in 1943.

In the 1930s, the French built two fast battleships, the *Dunkerque* and the *Strasbourg*. Displacing 35,500 tons fully loaded, they were rated at 29 knots and were armed with 8 × 13-inch guns in the distinctive French quadruple turrets. Under construction the French had two of the best battleships in Europe in armor design, the *Jean Bart* and the *Richelieu*. Both were armed with 8 × 15-inch guns in two quadruple turrets. Both would see action as Vichy and Free French warships and would survive the war. France also had one elderly aircraft carrier, the *Bearn*, that would remain idle in the West Indies most of the war. Two aircraft carriers were under construction but were never completed.

France maintained a cruiser force centered on 7 heavy ships. With the exception of the *Algérie*, they were probably the worst armored heavy cruisers of any major navy. It also possessed 12 modern light cruisers, of which 6 were Gloire-class ships: fast, well armed, and well armored. France also developed a unique destroyer force. It had built 32 large destroyers of a type designated as *contre-torpilleurs*. Fast, long-ranged, and almost light cruisers in concept, the best known were the 6 ships of the Le Fantasque-class. Capable of

maintaining 37 knots at full load, they were for the whole of their careers the fastest flotilla craft afloat (*Le Terrible* made 45 knots in her trials). Displacing 2,800 tons (3,400 tons fully loaded), they were armed with 5 × 5.5-inch guns. These “superdestroyers” were designed to operate in squadrons of 3 each. France also had 26 destroyers designed for fleet operations (*torpilleurs d'escadre*) and 12 light destroyers, the latter being 610-ton torpedo-boats similar to the Italian Spica-class vessels. A total of 23 destroyers of all types were under construction in 1940, but none would be completed.

With the exception of the legendary monster submarine *Surcouf*, France's submarines consisted of three types. France had 38 first-class submarines of 900 to 1,800 tons displacement, 32 second-class submarines of approximately 600 tons displacement each, and 6 minelaying submarines. Rounding out the fleet were numerous sloops, patrol boats, and other small craft; many trawlers and similar small vessels were requisitioned during the war for coastal work.

France did not have sonar until after the outbreak of the war, and during the Vichy era there was only very limited introduction of radar. Free French naval units were dependent for advanced equipment on the British and the United States, chiefly the latter. Meanwhile, the greatest gift by Vichy France to the Axis war effort may have been Darlan's presentation to the German navy of the “Metox” device for detection of radar.

During the war, the French Navy had no role during the Polish Campaign, but it did participate in the Norwegian Campaign. The latter included a destroyer raid into the Skagerrak, an arm of the North Sea between Norway and Denmark. The navy also conducted convoy and antisubmarine operations as well as operations in the Atlantic against German raiders. French naval units also participated in the Dunkerque evacuation, losing several destroyers to German aircraft. With the fall of France, the majority of the ships passed to Vichy government control. After the British attack at Mers-el-Kébir, most of the now-truncated fleet was relocated at Toulon, where virtually all were lost in a mass scuttling on 27 November 1942. Seventy-seven ships went down: 3 battleships (the *Strasbourg*, the *Dunkerque*, and the old *Provence*), 7 cruisers, 32 destroyers, 16 submarines, and 19 other craft. A few destroyers and smaller ships were raised and towed to Italy, but the Axis powers gained little from them. Five submarines escaped; 1 was badly damaged by bombing and had to be scuttled, another was interned in Spain, and 3 arrived in Algeria.

Some Vichy warships participated in actions against the Allies, primarily off Syria, Madagascar, and Dakar and during Operation TORCH. The French warships also conducted convoy operations to France. The successful Vichy defense of Dakar on 23–24 September 1940 was an important factor in Adolf Hitler's decision to continue backing the Vichy regime in 1940–1941.

Charles de Gaulle placed the few mostly smaller warships of the Free French under Vice Admiral Émile Muselier. As late as January 1943, this modest force had only 5,314 men, but it would expand as the war progressed to include several small British- and U.S.-built warships. They would operate in all oceans, participate in operations against the Vichy territories, and later take part in Operation OVERLORD and in Pacific Ocean battles with Japan.

Major wartime losses for French ships were 4 battleships, 4 heavy cruisers, 6 light cruisers, and 58 destroyers and large torpedo boats. Unfortunately for France, its navy was little able to influence events at the beginning of the war, and the defeat of France in June 1940 came too soon for the navy to contribute in a meaningful way.

Jack Greene

See also

Dakar, Attack on; Darlan, Jean Louis Xavier François; de Gaulle, Charles; France, Vichy; Mers-el-Kébir; OVERLORD, Operation; Toulon

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France, Role in War

On 3 September 1939, for the second time in a generation, France found itself at war with Germany. In sharp contrast to August 1914, this time the mood in the Third Republic was one of somber resignation. Although France was among the victors in World War I, it had been devastated by the war, with 1,385,300 dead and 4,329,200 wounded (690,000 permanently disabled). One-quarter of all French males of military age lay dead. Much of the fighting had been on French soil, and large stretches of northeastern France had been scarred by the fighting. Buildings and railroads would have to be rebuilt and farms put back in cultivation. The costs were staggering, and finances remained a major problem for French governments of the 1920s. Political instability caused by fre-

quent changes of cabinet and the lack of a strong executive were other major problems.

Denied the genuine national security in terms of protection from Germany that it had sought in the Paris Peace Conference following World War I, France played a Cassandra role in the 1920s and 1930s, warning of the German threat and finding little support in this from Great Britain and the United States, its World War I allies. When the German government defaulted on reparations, in 1923 French troops occupied the Ruhr. Although this action forced the German government to live up its treaty obligations and French troops then departed, the financial cost of the operation was high, and it brought condemnation of France from Britain and the United States. It also brought the Left to power in France in 1924.

The Ruhr occupation was the last such independent French action before World War II. Thereafter, France followed Britain's lead regarding Germany in return for a guarantee of Britain's support in the event of a German invasion. Successive British governments, however, refused to commit themselves to collective security arrangements regarding eastern Europe that might have prevented war. Meanwhile, German leader Adolf Hitler tore up the Treaty of Versailles and the Locarno Pacts, the latter of which Germany had voluntarily signed. In 1936, Hitler sent German troops into the Rhineland. The French army was then regarded as the world's most powerful military force, and France might have acted unilaterally and halted this step, which could have meant the end of Hitler. When the British refused to support military intervention, though, French leaders took this as an excuse to do nothing.

In September 1938, France and Britain permitted Hitler to seize the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia, a French military ally. In March 1939, Hitler secured the whole of Czechoslovakia, prompting Britain, in the worst possible circumstances, to extend a guarantee to Poland—Germany's next target and already a French ally—that Britain would defend it against attack. Following the German invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939, the French government joined Great Britain in declaring war two days later.

The Popular Front that had come to power in France in 1936 had launched a major disarmament program, but on the eve of war France had begun to rearm. It made substantial outlays in arms expenditures and sharp increases in weapons, especially tanks, of which the French army had more than the German army. Time was vital if France (and Britain) were to catch up with German rearmament. The most glaring French military weaknesses, even by May 1940, were in modern aircraft and in antiaircraft guns.

Both London and Paris were confident of military victory, but both governments and their military establishments embarked on the war in leisurely fashion. While the French called up reservists and retrieved artillery from storage, the

German army rolled over Poland. The French army carried out only a halfhearted offensive in the Rhineland. Had the offensive been on a larger scale and more forcefully prosecuted, it would have carried to the Rhine. Britain was even slower to mobilize and dispatch the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) to the Continent. France and Britain expected to blockade Germany and use their control of the seas to secure the means to match the Germans in terms of their military establishment, especially in numbers and quality of aircraft. The seven months of inactivity after the German conquest of Poland—known as the *Sitzkrieg* or Phony War—seemed to suggest that time was on the side of the Allies.

Meanwhile, there was sharp dissension on the French home front. From 1935 to 1939, the French Communist Party had been in the forefront of the antifascist crusade and urged rearmament. The German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact of August 1939, however, converted the French Communists overnight into advocates of neutrality. The government of Premier Édouard Daladier then unwisely moved against the French Communist Party, outlawing it and interning many of its leaders, including those in the National Assembly. Communist agitation against the war continued, however, helping to produce doubt and defeatism, particularly among industrial workers conscripted into the army. This led to the myth that a fifth column had been responsible for the French military defeat in 1940. Dissatisfaction over the lack of aggressive military activity also led to a cabinet crisis and change of premier in March 1940; Paul Reynaud replaced Daladier. The new premier projected energy and optimism, but politics forced Reynaud to keep Daladier as minister of war, and the continuing rivalry between the two men handicapped the war effort.

The Phony War ended on 9 April 1940 when German forces invaded Denmark and Norway. The French joined the British in sending troops to Norway, but these troops could not halt the German conquest and were withdrawn on the opening of the Battle for France. Then, on 10 May 1940, German forces invaded the Low Countries and France. The French Maginot Line, built at great cost beginning in 1929, served its intended purpose of channeling the German invasion to the north through Belgium. However, several elements led to disaster: the failure of France and Britain to work out detailed plans with Belgium (which had declared its neutrality and was fearful that cooperation with the Allies would be the excuse for a German invasion), serious flaws in the Allied command structure, inept French senior military leadership, the inability of the Allies to understand the changed tempo of battlefield conditions that represented the German blitzkrieg, and the misuse of superior armor assets.

British and French military deficiencies, especially in the air, were soon all too evident. Too late, the French attempted major command changes. Only a month after the start of the

campaign, on 10 June 1940, the French government abandoned Paris for Bordeaux. To spare the city destruction by the German Luftwaffe, the government declared Paris an open city; four days later German troops moved in. On 16 June at Bordeaux, Reynaud suggested that the government and its armed forces move to French territory in North Africa and continue the fight from there. His vice premier, 84-year-old Marshal Henri Phillipe Pétain, opposed this step, as did the new commander of the French army, 73-year-old General Maxime Weygand. Both men considered the war lost and sought to end fighting that they believed could only lead to additional lives lost for no gain. When a majority of the cabinet voted to ask the Germans for terms, Reynaud resigned on 16 June.

Ironically, Reynaud had brought Pétain, hero of the World War I Battle of Verdun, into the government on 18 May to stiffen French resolve following initial Allied setbacks in the campaign for France. On 16 June, Pétain became premier and immediately opened negotiations with Germany to end the fighting. The Germans delayed to improve conditions, but the French government signed an armistice with Germany on 22 June and with Italy on 24 June. Fighting ceased on the battlefields of France on 25 June. The campaign had lasted but six weeks. Never before in its military history had France been as broken militarily and psychologically.

The armistice of 25 June 1940 divided France into occupied and unoccupied zones. A pass was necessary for French citizens who desired to move between the two. German forces occupied three-fifths of the country, including northern and western France and the entire Atlantic coast. France had to pay “administrative costs” to the Germans at the absurdly high sum of 20 million reichsmarks a day, calculated at a greatly inflated rate of exchange of 20 francs per reichsmark. This amounted to some 60 percent of French national income. Save for a few units to maintain order, all French military formations were disarmed and demobilized. Ships of the French navy were to assemble in designated ports and be demobilized. The armistice also called for all German prisoners of war to be immediately released, whereas Germany would retain until the end of the war the 1.5 million French prisoners it had captured. France was also forced to surrender German refugees on French territory.

A new French government was then established at Vichy in central France under Pétain to administer the remaining two-fifths of metropolitan France, which included the Mediterranean coast. Vichy France was left with control of its colonies, although Japan sent in troops and established de facto authority over French Indochina during 1940 and 1941. France then played a schizophrenic role until the end of the war. Most French, convinced that for the indefinite future Germany would rule Europe and disgusted with the infighting and weak leadership that had characterized the Third

Republic, rallied to the Vichy regime and its calls for a conservative revolution. Meanwhile, young Brigadier General Charles de Gaulle, the only figure of some consequence to escape abroad following the defeat, sought to rally the French to the then-dim hope of eventual victory. He called on French people in Britain or those who could reach there, as well as the French Empire, to join him in continuing the fight. De Gaulle’s Free French, soon recognized by the British government, slowly grew in numbers and support as the war wore on and as Germany failed to defeat Britain and suffered rebuff in its invasion of the Soviet Union. The Resistance was an amalgamation of several diverse groups that finally coalesced in May 1943 as the Conseil National de la Résistance (CNR, National Resistance Council), headed by Jean Moulin. Its military arm was the Forces Françaises de l’Interieur (FFI, French Forces of the Interior).

Although some French men and women were active in the Resistance, most of the population simply tried to endure the German occupation. Many actively collaborated with the German occupiers for financial gain, and a few fervently supported the Nazi policies opposing Communism and persecuting the Jews. The Vichy government organized a force known as the Milice to combat growing numbers of FFI.

British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill’s government recognized de Gaulle’s government as the legitimate representative of France, but Churchill also created strong Anglophobia in France by his decision to move to secure the French fleet, most notably at Mers-el-Kébir, where fighting occurred with considerable loss of French life. This affair still rankles the French today, as the French government had promised that it would not let the Germans seize the fleet and ultimately scuttled its main fleet to honor that pledge, even after the events of Mers-el-Kébir.

U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt strongly distrusted de Gaulle, and the United States maintained diplomatic relations with Vichy until the Allied invasion of North Africa—Operation TORCH—in November 1942. French resistance to the Allied landings and devious dealings by Vichy representatives ended Allied attempts to negotiate with Pétain’s government.

De Gaulle’s Free French Forces greatly expanded after the Allied invasion of North Africa. Rearmed and reequipped by the United States, a French Expeditionary Corps of five divisions was sent to Italy in late 1943, and it made a major con-

France had to pay 20 million reichsmarks a day to Germany during the occupation, about 60% of the French national income.

tribution to the Allied military efforts there. What became the French First Army landed in southern France in August 1944 as part of Operation DRAGOON. Its 10 divisions fought through France into Germany and Austria. Meanwhile, Allied forces had come ashore in Normandy, and the French Resistance played a key role in isolating the beachheads and preventing German resupply. Everywhere, French men and women assisted the Allied armies. Paris was liberated on 25 August, the 2nd French Armored Division leading the Allied units into the city to join with those fighting the Germans and saving the city's honor.

De Gaulle soon established his government in Paris, and French troops continued with the liberation of French territory. Following the war, nearly 40,000 French citizens were imprisoned for collaboration, including Marshal Pétain and his vice premier, Pierre Laval. Both men were sentenced to death, although de Gaulle commuted Pétain's sentence to life imprisonment in recognition of his World War I service. At least 10,000 people were executed for collaborating with the Nazis. Collaboration was and still is a highly sensitive topic in postwar France.

The high hopes and idealism of the Resistance were soon dashed. Although an overwhelming 96 percent of Frenchmen voting in an October 1945 referendum rejected the constitutional structure of the Third Republic, sharp political divisions ensured that the Fourth Republic that followed it was virtually a carbon copy of the Third. Not until 1958, when the Fourth Republic was overthrown and de Gaulle returned to power, would France have a constitution that ensured a strong executive. Despite de Gaulle's wartime promises of a new relationship with the colonies, the government in Paris pursued a short-sighted policy of trying to hold on to its major colonies, believing that only with its empire could France still be counted as a great power. Such grandiose and outdated notions led to disastrous wars in Indochina and later in Algeria, ultimately toppling the Fourth Republic.

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See also

Churchill, Winston L. S.; Daladier, Édouard; de Gaulle, Charles; DRAGOON, Operation; France, Battle for; France, Free French; France, Vichy; France Campaign; German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact; Moulin, Jean; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Pétain, Henri Philippe; Resistance; Reynaud, Paul; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Saar, French Invasion of; TORCH, Operation

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France, Vichy

The government organized in the area of France not occupied by the Germans. The armistice of 25 June 1940 divided France into occupied and unoccupied zones. Germany occupied three-fifths of the country, including northern and western France and the entire Atlantic coast. A new government under 84-year-old Marshal Henri Phillippe Pétain, the last premier of the Third Republic, administered the remaining two-fifths of metropolitan France, including most of the Mediterranean coastline. French citizens needed a pass to cross from one zone to the other. The French government was left with its colonies (although Japan established de facto control over French Indochina during 1940–1941).

Beginning on 9 July, the French National Assembly convened in the resort town of Vichy about 250 miles south of Paris to consider Pétain's plans for the future of France. Meanwhile, several dozen politicians who had left metropolitan France to try to set up a new government in North Africa and continue the fight were arrested and returned to France, where they were charged with plotting against the security of the state.

In July 1940, Pétain enjoyed overwhelming popular support. The vast majority of the French assumed the war was lost and that Britain would soon also be defeated. They were disillusioned with the leaders of the Third Republic, and the defeat produced strong support for new leadership and authoritarian government. Vice Premier Pierre Laval assumed the key role in the cabinet to draft and carry through Pétain's program. In a completely legal procedure, on 10 July 1940 the French National Assembly in a vote of 567 to 80 (most of the latter were Socialists) terminated the Third Republic and handed over full authority to Marshal Pétain to recast the state and promulgate a new constitution to be ratified by the nation.

The task of creating a new constitution was never completed, but a series of decrees issued by Pétain dissolved the parliament and eliminated the office of president. Pétain assumed the functions of "chief of the French State." Further decrees set up a court at Riom to try those "responsible for the war" and prescribed loyalty oaths for government officials and the military. The National Revolution, as Pétain



French Marshal and Vichy leader Philippe Pétain (left) and Nazi leader Adolf Hitler (right) shake hands at Montoire, while interpreter Colonel Schmidt watches. (Hulton Archive)

described his regime to the French people in a broadcast on 8 July, never in fact established its political institutions, although in 1941 the government convened a National Council of nominated notables to serve as an advisory body only.

The conservative Vichy regime claimed to be sweeping away the old corruption and factionalism that had marked its predecessor Third Republic, to replace it with a new morality under the slogan “Work, Family, and Fatherland,” which now replaced the “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity” of the old republic. Vichy was, in fact, marked by factions, cliques, and considerable infighting and was notable for its constantly changing parade of officeholders.

Vice Premier Pierre Laval, the marshal’s designated successor, favored active collaboration with the Germans. The key figure in the government in the early months of the new regime, Laval arranged a meeting between Pétain and Adolf Hitler on 24 October 1940 at Montoire, France. Hitler sought

French participation in the war against Britain; Pétain wanted a final peace treaty and an end to the German occupation. Neither side made the necessary concessions, and the meeting ended unsatisfactorily, but many French were appalled by the marshal’s meeting with Hitler and his announcement that he accepted, in principle, collaboration with Germany.

In December 1940 Pétain abruptly dismissed Laval, who had for some time been the object of intrigues by the advisers around the marshal. Following the brief tenure of Pierre Flandin, in February 1941 Pétain appointed as his chief minister Admiral Jean Louis Xavier François Darlan, commander of the French navy but a man with a passion for politics and intrigue. Darlan lasted 14 months but was unsuccessful in his effort to turn France into Germany’s favorite ally. Summing up the difference between Laval and Darlan, one German officer later said, “When we asked Laval for a chicken, he gave us

an egg; and when we asked Darlan for an egg, he gave us a chicken.” Darlan, who hated the British—especially following the Royal Navy’s attack on the French fleet at Mers-el-Kébir—followed a policy of everything short of war against Britain. He even sought to negotiate an arrangement with the Germans that would have given them a base at Dakar and French-convoyed supplies to assist the Axis effort in North Africa. He accorded the Germans and Italians basing rights in Syria that brought British military intervention and fighting by Frenchmen against Frenchmen.

In April 1942, Darlan departed and Laval returned to power. This time the situation was different. The outcome of the war was now in doubt, and Laval pursued a double game in which he tried to dissemble and delay on German demands and to preserve some French autonomy. Initially, the majority of the French population passively accommodated the German occupation. However, as the war wore on, Britain survived, and Germany suffered reversals in the Soviet Union, support for Vichy began to ebb away. This was abetted by the system of forced labor in Germany (the *service du travail obligatoire*), in which some 700,000 Frenchmen and women were relocated to work in the Reich. Laval also cooperated with the Germans to a degree in rounding up Jews, who were then transported to the death camps. Of some 76,000 French Jews deported, only about 2,500 survived the war.

A small but vicious war developed within France pitting growing numbers of members of the French Resistance against the Germans and their Vichy allies. Laval established a special police force, the Milice, to arrest and punish “terrorists,” thus freeing up the Gestapo for work elsewhere. About 8,000 Frenchmen also joined the German armed forces—most notably a legion of anti-Bolshevik volunteers that fought on the Eastern Front and became the 33rd Waffen-SS (Schutzstaffel, bodyguard unit) Charlemagne Grenadier Division.

The British government had no formal diplomatic relations with Vichy, as it officially supported the Free French movement headed by General Charles de Gaulle. However, it kept contact with Vichy through the Canadian embassy. The U.S. government maintained diplomatic ties with Vichy and entertained the vain hope that France could be persuaded to reenter the war against Germany.

Vichy’s weak resistance to Operation TORCH, the Allied landings in North Africa beginning on 8 November 1942, resulted in the German occupation of the unoccupied zone and the disbanding of the French army and air force. On 27 November 1942, the French navy scuttled its ships in Toulon harbor to prevent the Germans from capturing them, rebuffing an order by Darlan (then in Algiers) on 11 November that the ships should sail to North Africa if they were in danger of capture by the Germans. Admiral Jean Abrail, who had command at Toulon, decided that the fleet’s loyalty was to the

Pétain government, and 77 ships—roughly half the tonnage of the French navy—went to the bottom.

Pétain remained in office after the Germans occupied the rest of France following TORCH, but any pretense of independence was gone. The marshal failed to place himself at the head of the remaining armistice French forces or to attempt to escape to Algiers. Removed to Sigmaringen, Germany, in the summer of 1944, the Vichy government no longer had any relevance. Postwar, some 10,000 French were executed for collaboration with the Germans, including Laval. Pétain, stripped of his rank, was condemned to death, but de Gaulle commuted the sentence to life in prison. Despite de Gaulle’s efforts to cast France during the war as a nation of resisters, the four-year-long Vichy regime left a legacy of shame and controversy that still haunts France today.

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See also

Darlan, Jean Louis Xavier François; de Gaulle, Charles; France, Free French; France, Role in War; Laval, Pierre; Mers-el-Kébir; Pétain, Henri Philippe; Reynaud, Paul; TORCH, Operation; Toulon

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France Campaign (1944)

Allied campaign to liberate France. The campaign to drive the Germans out of western Europe began with the 6 June 1944 Allied landing in Normandy, the largest amphibious operation in history. U.S. General Dwight D. Eisenhower had overall command; General Bernard L. Montgomery commanded the landing force of 21st Army Group, which consisted of Lieutenant General Miles Dempsey’s British Second Army and Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley’s American First Army.

Even with stiff resistance by German defenders, especially the 352nd Division at Omaha Beach, Allied forces expanded the beachhead from 5 to 20 miles inland and joined all five beaches into a single continuous front by 12 June. French Resistance forces supported the Allied effort by providing



Men of the U.S. Army 28th Infantry Division march down the Champs Élysées, Paris, in the “Victory” Parade of 29 August 1944. (National Archives)

intelligence, sabotaging bridges and railways, and conducting harassment operations. Dempsey’s Second Army began the drive toward Caen but met heavy resistance from German forces, including two panzer divisions. Meanwhile, Bradley’s First Army moved up the Cotentin peninsula toward the important port city of Cherbourg. Units of the U.S. VII Corps assaulted Fort du Roule and, guided by the French Resistance, scaled the cliffs. By 27 June Cherbourg was secure, but the Germans had heavily damaged the port facilities, which were unusable for more than a month.

By the beginning of July, Allied progress in Normandy had been slowed by the hedgerows of the *bocage* country, strong German positions at Caen, and the logistical challenges of supplying the Allied forces over the beaches. Enjoying the advantage of overwhelming air superiority, the eight corps of 21st Army Group pushed south, seizing Caen on 10 July and Saint-Lô on 18 July. The capture of these two important cities

set the stage for the Allied breakout west into the Brittany peninsula and east toward Paris.

The slow pace of their advance in France concerned Allied commanders who feared that fighting would bog down, resulting in trench warfare resembling that of World War I. Bradley believed the weak link in the German army defenses was General Paul Hausser’s Seventh Army south of Saint-Lô. Bradley’s breakout plan, code-named Operation *COBRA*, was temporarily put on hold so vital supplies could be sent to support the British Second Army’s Operation *GOODWOOD*, an attempt to penetrate German lines outside of Caen. Although *GOODWOOD* did not achieve a breakout, it assisted *COBRA* by holding two German panzer divisions in place and preventing their redeployment to the Saint-Lô area.

Heavy saturation bombing along a four-mile-wide corridor preceded *COBRA*, as elements of Major General J. Lawton Collins’s VII Corps attacked west of Saint-Lô on 25 July.

Concurrently, Major General Troy H. Middleton's VIII Corps, located west of VII Corps, struck toward Countances. Within two days, VII Corps had pushed the German defenders back 10 miles, and on 28 July elements of the 4th Armored Division secured Countances. Sensing that the breakthrough was decisive, Bradley ordered Collins to continue the drive south toward the strategic city of Avranches. By the end of July, it too was in Allied hands, and the German Seventh Army was in a precarious position with its left flank exposed.

The capture of Avranches opened the Brittany peninsula to the Allies. Meanwhile, Lieutenant General George S. Patton's U.S. Third Army became operational on 1 August as part of an overall restructuring of the Allied command. Montgomery's 21st Army Group was now composed of the British Second Army and Lieutenant General Henry D. G. Crerar's Canadian First Army. Bradley assumed command of the new 12th Army Group composed of the American First and Third Armies. Patton's Third Army gained the greatest success, and Patton was certainly the outstanding general of the campaign for France. The Third Army displayed instant efficiency and turned Operation COBRA, a local breakthrough, into a theater-wide breakout. The Third Army immediately exploited the opening at Avranches: Patton sent his VIII Corps to clear the Brittany peninsula, the XX and XII Corps south to the Loire River, and the XV Corps east toward Le Mans. These objectives were secured by 13 August.

While the Third Army moved against limited opposition, the German Seventh Army hastily reorganized to launch a counterattack toward Avranches, hoping to cut off the Third Army. Not only did this spoiling attack fail, but also it put the Seventh Army in a position in which it might be surrounded by the Allies. To accomplish this, Montgomery, who was still overall ground commander, ordered the Canadian II Corps to attack south as Patton's XV Corps drove north. The objective for both corps was the town of Argentan. Major General Wade Haislip's XV Corps reached Argentan on 13 August, but the Canadian II Corps progressed slowly and was more than 20 miles from the objective. Patton pleaded with Bradley to allow XV Corps to press northward, but the 12th Army Group commander refused, fearing that XV Corps might itself be cut off or that excessive casualties from friendly fire might result from XV Corps moving into a zone reserved for the Canadian II Corps.

Even though the gap between the towns of Falaise and Argentan was not closed until 19 August, the area was turned into a killing ground by constant Allied air attack, artillery bombardment, and direct ground fire from armored and infantry units. Although the German Seventh Army was savaged in these attacks, a great many German soldiers escaped. Failure to close the gap was one of the major mistakes of the war. Had the gap been sealed and the Seventh Army annihilated, the western Allies would have faced far less resistance as they pushed east toward Germany, and the war might have

ended in 1944. Operations following COBRA were so successful that most German forces in northwest France had to retreat to the Seine River. Paris was liberated on 25 August.

German garrisons doggedly held out in the northern port cities of Saint-Malo, Brest, Lorient, and Saint-Nazaire. Combat commands from the 4th and 6th Armored Divisions were insufficient to secure these heavily fortified ports quickly. Repeated assaults supported by air attacks and naval bombardments failed to dislodge the defenders. Saint-Malo was not taken until 2 September, and Brest fell on 19 September. In both cases, the Germans had demolished their port facilities. On the basis of these experiences, Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF) canceled planned assaults on Lorient and Saint-Nazaire, and German garrisons there held out until the end of the war.

The western Allies addressed concern about the exposed southern flank of their armies, the need to secure a large functioning port, and interest in cutting off what German forces remained in southern France in Operation DRAGOON, the invasion of southern France. British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill strongly opposed the plan because the COBRA operation had proven to be such a huge success, but Eisenhower prevailed, and DRAGOON commenced on 15 August. Lieutenant General Alexander Patch's American Seventh Army landed in southern France just east of Toulon. Major General Lucian Truscott's VI Corps spearheaded the landing, and by 17 August had established a 20-mile-deep beachhead. The French II Corps followed with the task of driving west to secure Toulon and Marseille, which it accomplished by 28 August. VI Corps moved rapidly west and then north up the east side of the Rhône River—except for an armored group, Task Force Butler, that moved east of the Rhône River valley in an effort to envelop German forces gathering at Montelimar. By this time the German Nineteenth Army, led by general of infantry Friedrich Wiese, was pulling out of southern France. However, Truscott's corps inflicted severe material damage on retreating Germans, capturing 57,000 of them and liberating Montelimar by 28 August.

By 3 September, the Seventh Army had driven north almost 250 miles up the Rhône River. The 1st Airborne Task Force was used to seal the Swiss border; the French I Corps took up a position to the right of Truscott's VI Corps, and the French II Corps flanked the left. On 14 September, Patch's Seventh Army linked up with Patton's Third Army, sealing the open southern flank. On 15 September, the 6th Army Group was formed, with Lieutenant General Jacob Devers commanding. It was composed of the American Seventh Army and General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny's French First Army. Besides securing the Allied southern flank, DRAGOON greatly aided the logistical situation by making available the large port at Marseille. Finally, southern France was cleared of German forces.



By the middle of September 1944, France had been liberated and German forces had withdrawn into the Netherlands and to the West Wall along the western German border. Although it had been severely bloodied, the German army in the west was not annihilated but was reorganizing and entrenching itself for a long fight. Unfortunately, the Allied drive east was so fast that lines of communication and supply could not keep up with the tactical advance. With insufficient supplies to advance all his army groups at once, Eisenhower now decided to support Montgomery's plan to cross the lower Rhine into Germany, Operation MARKET-GARDEN.

Robert W. Duvall

See also

Bradley, Omar Nelson; COBRA, Operation; Collins, Joseph Lawton; Crerar, Henry Duncan Graham; Dempsey, Miles Christopher; Devers, Jacob Loucks; DRAGOON, Operation; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Falaise-Argentan Pocket; GOODWOOD, Operation; Lattre de Tassigny, Jean Joseph Marie Gabriel de; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Middleton, Troy Houston; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Patch, Alexander McCarrell, Jr.; Patton, George Smith, Jr.

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Franco, Francisco (1892–1975)

Spanish army general and dictator of Spain. Born into a middle-class family in El Ferrol in Galicia on 4 December 1892, Francisco Paulino Hermenegildo Teódulo Franco-Bahamonde did not enter the navy, as was family tradition, because budget cuts had led to the closing of the Naval Academy following the 1898 Spanish-American War. Franco entered the Infantry Academy at Toledo in 1907 and graduated in 1910. Commissioned a second lieutenant, he refused a comfortable posting in El Ferrol for one in Spanish Morocco.

Franco's leadership, courage, and ruthlessness, demonstrated during the Riff Rebellion in Morocco, brought rapid promotion, and in 1920 he became deputy commander of the Spanish Foreign Legion in Morocco. In June 1923, King



Spanish dictator Francisco Franco. (Library of Congress)

Alfonso XIII personally promoted him to lieutenant colonel and gave him command of the Spanish foreign legion. That same year, the young colonel married María del Carmen de Polo, a member of one of Spain's most influential families; the king served as best man by proxy. In 1926, Franco was promoted to brigadier general, the youngest soldier to hold that rank in any European army.

An archconservative, Franco was closely identified with General Miguel Primo de Rivera, who governed Spain in the name of Alfonso XIII from 1923 to 1930 and who appointed Franco commander of the General Military Academy of Zaragoza (Saragossa). In 1931, on the proclamation of a republic, the Left came to power and transferred Franco to the Balearic Islands, where he served from 1931 to 1934. He returned to Spain to play a role in crushing a revolt by miners in Asturias in 1935. Later that year, he accepted the post of chief of staff of the army offered him by the conservative government.

The leftist Popular Front won the hotly contested national elections of February 1936, and the new government sent Franco to command the Canary Islands garrison. As expected, the conservative Nationalists defied the mandate, and Franco was in the forefront of the revolt that began in July 1936. The untimely deaths of Generals José y Sacanell Sanjurjo and Emilio Mola Vidal left Franco as the military leader.

Thanks to German assistance, Franco was able to airlift units of the Foreign Legion from Morocco to Spain, and he launched a drive on Madrid. In September 1936, Franco became chief of the Nationalist government, and in April 1937 he assumed leadership of the Falange Party. Franco was de facto head of Spain on the fall of Madrid in March 1939, marking the end of the Civil War. Franco then carried out a ruthless purge of the opposition. Throughout his long years in power, he remained undeviatingly true to his mission of preserving traditional Spain.

When World War II erupted, Franco openly sided with Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini. The Caudillo (leader), as he became known, met with Hitler at Hendaye, France, on 23 October 1940. He pledged his loyalty to Hitler but then refused to bring Spain into the war because he believed his cause was better served in “nonbelligerency” (not neutrality), a stance that infuriated Hitler. Franco did send troops—the 18,000-man well-equipped Blue Division—to fight in the Soviet Union. Throughout the war, Franco provided the Germans with observation posts in Spanish Morocco for use in monitoring Allied ship movements, and he allowed German submarines to be serviced in Spanish ports. After the Allied landings in North Africa, Franco shifted to a strictly neutral stance. But when the war was over, Spain became a primary refuge for leading Nazis and quislings (Nazi collaborators).

After the war, the Allies punished Franco’s wartime conduct with quarantine treatment. Spain was kept out of the United Nations and condemned for its nature and for its close association with the Axis states. However, with the coming of the Cold War, the United States came to regard Franco’s Spain as a bulwark against communism. In the revisionist version, Franco became the shining knight who had saved Europe from atheist communism. The United States established air and naval bases in Spain, and U.S. aid propped up the Franco regime, a position remembered with bitterness by many Spanish democrats.

Franco declared Spain a monarchy in 1947 but remained Caudillo until his death in 1975. Franco relaxed his authoritarian regime somewhat in the 1950s, but unrest in the 1960s led to renewed repression. Having selected Prince Juan Carlos de Bourbon, grandson of Alfonso XIII, as his heir, Franco died in Madrid on 20 November 1975. The new king presided over the transition to democracy in Spain.

Roger L. Rice and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Spain, Role in War; Stalin, Josef

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Fraser, Bruce Austin (First Baron Fraser of North Cape) (1888–1981)

British navy admiral. Born into a military family (his father was an army general) on 5 February 1888, Bruce Fraser was educated at Bradfield College and the fleet training school of HMS *Excellent*. His early service was in battleships and destroyers, and he became known as a gunnery officer, holding that post on cruiser *Minerva* in the Mediterranean during World War I.

In the following years, Fraser served as gunnery officer for the Mediterranean Fleet. From 1929 to 1932, he commanded the cruiser *Effingham* and then served as director of naval ordnance, playing an important role in helping to design the King George V–class battleships. Following command of aircraft carrier *Glorious* in 1936 and 1937, Fraser was promoted to rear admiral in 1938 and became chief of staff of the Mediterranean Fleet. In March 1939, Fraser was appointed controller of the navy and made third sea lord. Early in World War II, Fraser was responsible for the development of a new class of corvettes. In May 1940, Fraser was promoted to vice admiral, and a year later he was knighted. Fraser was appointed second in command of the Home Fleet in June 1942, and in May 1943 he assumed its overall command.

In that capacity, Fraser oversaw the adoption of new anti-submarine tactics against German U-boats and increased cooperation with U.S. naval forces during the height of the Battle of the Atlantic. In December 1943, Fraser personally commanded British Task Force 2, which engaged and sank the German battleship *Scharnhorst* during her sortie against an Allied Arctic convoy.

The Allied successes in the Atlantic and the resultant reduction of the German U-boat and surface raider threat led British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill to assign Fraser to command the Pacific Fleet in late 1944. Fraser led the return of British naval units to the Pacific with a force built around aircraft carriers. For the remainder of the war, Fraser maintained excellent relations with American commanders and led British forces in support of U.S. amphibious and naval operations. Fraser was the British representative at the formal Japanese surrender aboard the battleship *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay on 2 September 1945.

Rewarded with the title of First Baron Fraser of North Cape, in 1948 Fraser was promoted to admiral of the fleet and appointed first sea lord and chief of naval staff. He held this post until his retirement in 1951. Fraser died in London on 12 February 1981.

Thomas Lansford

See also

Antisubmarine Warfare; Atlantic, Battle of the; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Great Britain, Navy; North Cape, Battle of

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Fredendall, Lloyd Ralston (1883–1963)

U.S. Army general. Born in Wyoming on 15 January 1883, Lloyd Fredendall attended West Point in 1902 and 1903, but he dropped out because of poor grades. He next attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1907, he obtained a direct commission as a lieutenant of infantry, and he served in the Philippines and Hawaii. Following U.S. entry into World War I, Fredendall commanded a training center in France.

Fredendall was an instructor at the Infantry School from 1920 to 1922. He graduated from the Command and General Staff School in 1923 and the Army War College in 1925. Following a tour as professor of military science and tactics at the University of Minnesota, Fredendall commanded the 57th Infantry Regiment in the Philippines from 1936 to 1938. From August 1938 to December 1939, he served in the office of the chief of infantry.

Promoted to brigadier general in December 1939, Fredendall served with the 5th Infantry Division. In October 1940, Fredendall won promotion to major general. He then commanded the 4th Division from October 1940 to July 1941. Known as an effective troop trainer, he took charge of II Corps in August 1941 and XI Corps on its activation in June 1942. Again heading II Corps that October, Fredendall commanded the U.S. landing at Oran, Algeria, on 8 November 1942. Reportedly, he did not leave his command ship until the fighting was over. By early 1943, elements of his corps held the exposed right flank of a combined British, French, and U.S. force facing eastward into Tunisia. Short of troops, Fredendall foolishly ignored the advice of Major General Orlando Ward, commander of his 1st Armored Division, with whom he was barely on speaking terms; Fredendall scattered widely the combat elements of Ward's division. Fredendall himself remained some 70 miles behind the front at his fortresslike command post. On 19 February, German columns under Major General Hans von Arnim and Field Marshal Erwin Rommel initiated an offensive against Fredendall's forces



Major General Lloyd R. Fredendall. (Library of Congress)

that resulted in the Battle of Kasserine Pass. This first major clash for the Americans with German troops resulted in a major U.S. defeat. Fredendall apparently suffered a temporary breakdown during the battle. The Allied forces rallied, however; the Germans were unable to exploit their victory and soon withdrew.

This defeat, combined with Fredendall's abrasive manner and his habitual absence from the front, cost him the confidence of subordinates and superiors alike. On 6 March, General Dwight D. Eisenhower replaced Fredendall with Major General George S. Patton Jr. Sensitive to public opinion, the War Department decided not to disgrace Fredendall. Instead, he was recalled to the United States, promoted to temporary lieutenant general in June 1943, and assigned first as deputy commanding general and then commanding general of the Second Army from March 1943 until his retirement in March 1946. Fredendall died in La Jolla, California, on 4 October 1963.

Richard G. Stone

See also

Arnim, Hans Jürgen Dieter von; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Kasserine Pass, Battle of; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; TORCH, Operation

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Free French

See France, Free French.

Frenay, Henri (1905–1988)

French army officer and Resistance leader. Born in Lyons on 19 November 1905, Henry Frenay graduated from the French Military Academy of Saint Cyr. A captain in 1940, he fought and was captured by the Germans in the Battle of the Vosges. He escaped on 27 June 1940 and made his way to Marseilles, where he became a Vichy garrison officer. Regarded as an expert on the Third Reich because of his studies at the Centre d' Études Germaniques at Strasbourg, Frenay was attached to the military intelligence division. He soon came to realize that the Vichy regime, headed by Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain, was intent on collaboration with the Germans. By early 1941, Frenay had become involved in the Resistance, creating the Mouvement de Libération Nationale, which produced three clandestine newspapers.

In November 1941, Frenay's publications merged with another, published by François de Menthon, to become Combat, the largest Resistance group in France. Frenay, code-named "Charvet," also pioneered most of the techniques used within the French Resistance. Frenay, a staunch anti-communist who had little time for any prewar French political grouping, was initially suspicious of the directing role which London-based Free French leader Charles de Gaulle claimed within the Resistance. Although Frenay eventually accepted de Gaulle's authority, his relationship with Jean Moulin, de Gaulle's representative in France, was strained. He distrusted Moulin's achievement in creating a fusion of the French Resistance groups, the National Council of the Resistance, although he eventually joined it.

In June 1943, the German military arrested most of the top French political and military Resistance leadership, including Moulin. Frenay fled to Algiers on 19 June to request additional support from the newly created French National Liberation Council. Concerned for his safety, Free French representatives persuaded him to remain, and in November 1943 Frenay became Free French minister of prisoners, deportees, and refugees, a position he retained for a further year after returning to Paris with de Gaulle in 1944.

In 1945 he went into business, representing the French film industry until 1958 and holding various directorships. Frenay was a legendary figure in France, and his memoir, *The Night Will End*, not published until 30 years after the war, was a best-seller in France. Frenay died at Porto Vecchio, Corsica, on 6 August 1988.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

de Gaulle, Charles; France, Free French; France, Vichy; Moulin, Jean; Pétain, Henri Phillippe; Resistance during War

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French Indochina

On the outbreak of World War II in Europe in September 1939, France ruled Indochina. Strictly speaking, only Cochinchina (southern Vietnam) was an outright colony; Annam (central Vietnam), Tonkin (northern Vietnam), Laos, and Cambodia were officially protectorates. For all practical purposes, however, France completely controlled all five entities that constituted French Indochina. In 1939, Indochina was France's richest overseas possession, producing rice, rubber, and other important raw materials.

When war broke out in Europe, Governor General Georges Catroux, who came to favor a more liberal policy toward nationalism in the French colonies, ordered a general mobilization throughout Indochina and outlawed the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP), arresting several thousand suspected communists. The Sixth Plenum of the Party Central Committee, secretly meeting outside Saigon, proclaimed a new anti-imperialist National United Front to struggle for independence.

Following the defeat of France in Europe in June 1940, French Indochina came under pressure from Japan and Thailand. Although France had 50,000 troops in Indochina, 38,000 of these were poorly trained indigenous troops of questionable loyalty. Japan had been at war with China since 1937 and was anxious to secure bases from which to strike the Burma Road and cut off assistance to China's Nationalist government. Tokyo now brought heavy pressure on Catroux to close the Sino-Vietnam border and halt shipment of supplies to



Japanese troops advancing through the port of Haiphong in Indochina, 24 November 1940. (Bettman/Corbis)

China. Catroux tried to stall for time, but he had no bargaining strength and was forced to accede to Japanese demands.

Catroux's protest of Vichy France's armistice with Germany and his independence in dealing with the Japanese led the Vichy government to replace him with Vice Admiral Jean Decoux, French commander of naval forces in the Far East. On 24 September 1940, Decoux was forced to grant Japan three air bases in Tonkin and the right to station 6,000 troops there. Then, in July 1941, similarly pressed by the Japanese, France yielded bases and concessions in southern Indochina. This placed Japanese long-range bombers within striking range of Malaya, the Netherlands East Indies, and the Philippines. These brought economic pressure on Japan by Britain, the Netherlands, and the United States that resulted in the Japanese decision to attack Pearl Harbor. Soon the Japanese had 35,000 men in Indochina, and although Japan left the French administration intact, it was clear to the Vietnamese that Japan was calling the shots. The Japanese occupation dealt an irreparable blow to the French position in Indochina.

Bangkok also sought to take advantage of French weakness to secure several provinces it claimed in Laos and Cambodia. From November 1940 to January 1941, Thailand and France fought a war on land and sea that France largely won. Tokyo, then influential in Bangkok, interceded to impose a settlement. In May 1941, France agreed to turn over to Thailand three Cambodian and two Laotian provinces on the right bank of the Mekong River—some 42,000 square miles of territory. This settlement did not last, however. In September 1945, when the French returned in force to Indochina, they demanded and secured from Thailand the seized provinces, forcing Thailand to recognize the Mekong River as the boundary separating Thailand from Laos and Cambodia.

The French had to address Vietnamese nationalism. In 1940, French authorities crushed abortive rebellions led by local communists in the area bordering China and in Cochin China. Then, in February 1941, Ho Chi Minh, a member of the executive committee of the Communist International (Com-

intern), returned to northern Vietnam after 13 months' imprisonment in south China, bearing with him financial support from Chinese authorities in return for his pledge to cooperate against the Japanese. Ho now presided over the Eighth Plenum of the ICP at Pac Bo. Here on 19 May, the Communists established another front organization—Viet Nam Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi (League for Independence of Vietnam, or Viet Minh)—to fight both the Japanese and French. Although their tactics led Viet Minh leaders to conceal their communist goals and focus on national liberation to secure the widest possible support, the organization was in fact led and dominated by the ICP. Former schoolteacher Vo Nguyen Giap became the Viet Minh's military leader.

The Chinese Nationalist government grudgingly provided limited support for the Viet Minh, as did the United States through the Office of Strategic Services (OSS, the forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency). The OSS gave the Viet Minh some light weapons, medical supplies, communications equipment, and training in return for Viet Minh aid in saving downed U.S. pilots and cooperation against the Japanese. By 1945, the Viet Minh had secured control over northern Tonkin.

Until nearly the end of World War II, the French authorities and army still were in place in Indochina; the Japanese were exercising indirect control. That changed in March 1945. The French authorities, anxious to liberate themselves, began active plotting to that end. The Japanese learned of the French plans, and on 9 March 1945, they arrested all the French officials and military personnel they could find. By announcing on 11 March the independence of Vietnam under previously French-controlled Emperor Bao Dai of Annam, Tokyo also exacerbated the postwar situation. This was the situation when Japan surrendered.

Ho Chi Minh then stepped into the vacuum. At the end of the war, starvation gripped much of Vietnam, and as many as 2 million Vietnamese died, chiefly in the north. The Viet Minh made great strides with the people by seizing rice stocks held by the Japanese and distributing them to the people. Then, on 16 August, Ho proclaimed the independence of Vietnam, and three days later the Viet Minh took power in Hanoi, capital of Tonkin. On 2 September, Ho announced establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Decisions taken during the Potsdam Conference in July 1945 had the Nationalist Chinese receiving the Japanese surrender in northern Vietnam and the British doing the same in the south. Ho appealed to the United States and the Soviet Union for assistance, but he received no response and was forced to negotiate first with the Chinese to secure their withdrawal and then with the French. Meanwhile, the British in the south let the French out of prison. A Viet Minh uprising there was soon crushed, and French control was reestablished in the south and then in Laos and Cambodia. The north

was another matter, however. On 6 March 1946, French representative Jean Sainteny negotiated the Ho-Sainteny Agreement, in which France recognized Ho's Democratic Republic of Vietnam within the French Union and promise a plebiscite in the south to see whether the south also wanted to join. The agreement also allowed the return of some French troops to the north. The failure of the French to implement the provisions of this agreement led directly to the First Indochina War, which began in November 1946.

Claude R. Sasso and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

France, Vichy; Ho Chi Minh; Office of Strategic Services; Potsdam Conference; Thierry d'Argenlieu, Georges Louis Marie

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Freyberg, Bernard Cyril (1889–1963)

New Zealand army general. Born in Surrey, England, on 21 March 1889, Bernard Freyberg moved with his family in 1891 to New Zealand. In 1911, Freyberg qualified as a dentist, a profession he rarely practiced. A few years later, he served as a volunteer on Pancho Villa's side in the revolutionary upheaval in Mexico. By August 1914, Freyberg was in London, where he met Winston L. S. Churchill, then first lord of the Admiralty. Through Churchill, Freyberg obtained a commission as a temporary lieutenant in the Royal Navy Volunteer Reserve. In World War I, Freyberg commanded a company in the Hood Battalion of the Royal Naval Division during the disastrous Gallipoli Campaign. In November 1916, Freyberg led the battalion in the last major attack of the Somme Campaign. Although wounded four separate times, Freyberg refused to relinquish command. For his actions, he was awarded the Victoria Cross. Wounded at least six times in World War I, Freyberg also received the Distinguished Service Order (DSO) with two bars.

Following World War I, Freyberg remained in the British military, transferring to the army. In 1937, a heart condition resulted in his medical discharge as a major general. When World War II began in September 1939, Freyberg was recalled and given a training command. But that position was too tame a job for Freyberg, who offered his services to New Zealand. With Churchill's support, Freyberg was appointed commander of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force.

Freyberg commanded Commonwealth forces on Crete in 1941, conducting the fighting withdrawal from the north to the south coast and then the evacuation. Freyberg then commanded the New Zealand Division in North Africa, where he often clashed with General Sir Claude Auchinleck, commander in chief of British Commonwealth forces in the Middle East. After a short mission to Syria, Freyberg and his New Zealanders returned to face German General Erwin Rommel at Minqar Qaim, Alam Halfa, and El Alamein. During the pursuit across Africa following Alamein, Freyberg's New Zealanders—reinforced with armor to corps size—swung wide to the left of the Mareth Line to hit the Germans at the Tebaga gap. Throughout most of these actions, Freyberg was up front in his mobile tactical headquarters, a Stuart tank with a dummy wooden gun.

In 1942, Freyberg was promoted to lieutenant general, which was almost unprecedented for an Allied divisional commander. Freyberg continued to lead the New Zealand Division through Sicily and the landings on the Italian mainland. In January 1944, the New Zealand Division came under the U.S. Fifth Army. Freyberg received control of two additional British divisions and a U.S. armored regiment to become the commander of the New Zealand Corps—while simultaneously retaining command of his own division. His mission was to break through at Cassino, which led to one of the most controversial Allied actions of the war, the bombing of the medieval monastery. Cassino and Crete were regarded as Freyberg's two major "failures" in World War II, but it is doubtful that any other general could have done better in either case. Freyberg probably saw more direct combat than any other Allied senior commander. Churchill once called him "the salamander of the British Empire." During the war, Freyberg won almost unprecedented third and fourth DSOs.

During and after the war, Freyberg received his share of honors. He was knighted in 1942 and raised to the peerage in 1951 as 1st Baron Freyberg. His identification with his New Zealanders was so strong that he was appointed governor general of New Zealand in 1945. In 1950, his term in office was extended another two years at the request of the government in Wellington. In 1952, Freyberg became the lieutenant governor of Windsor Castle. He died at Windsor on 4 July 1963.

David T. Zabecki

See also

Alam Halfa, Battle of; Auchinleck, Sir Claude John Eyre; Cassino/Rapido River, Battles of; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Crete, Battle of; El Alamein, Battle of; Italy Campaign; New Zealand, Role in War; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Sicily, Invasion of

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Frick, Wilhelm (1877–1946)

German minister of the interior. Born on 12 March 1877 in Alsenz, Wilhelm Frick studied law from 1896 to 1901 at Göttingen, Munich, Beylin, and Heidelberg (where he received his doctorate). From 1904 to 1924, Frick worked in the Munich police department, heading the political police section after 1919. An early adherent of Adolf Hitler, Frick participated in the 1923 Munich Beer Hall Putsch, Hitler's abortive effort to seize power in Munich, and was arrested, tried, and sentenced to 15 months' imprisonment. He was able to avoid a prison term when the newly renamed National Socialist Freedom Party picked him as one of its representatives to the Reichstag in 1924. He served in the Reichstag from that point forward.

On 23 January 1930, Frick became the first National Socialist minister in a provincial government, responsible for education and the Ministry of the Interior in Thuringia. Under his administration, the Thuringian police force was purged of officers who supported the Weimar Republic; Nazi candidates for office were illegally favored; the antiwar film *All Quiet on the Western Front* was banned, as was jazz music; and rabidly militaristic, anti-Semitic propaganda was allowed to flourish unchecked. On Frick's instruction, special German freedom prayers were instituted in Thuringian schools, glorifying the German *Volk* and German national honor and military power while denouncing "traitors." Frick used his influence as interior minister to grant Hitler German citizenship by implementing a provision of the law that extended citizenship to anyone named to an official post in Germany. Frick managed to have Hitler named a councilor for the state of Braunschweig.

When the Nazis came to power in Germany in January 1933, Frick was appointed minister of the interior, a key position that he held until August 1943. In this post, he was directly responsible for many measures taken against Jews, Communists, Social Democrats, dissident churchmen, and other opponents of the regime. Frick also had charge of drafting and then administering the laws that gradually eliminated the Jews from the German economy and public life, culminating in the Nuremberg race laws that reduced Jews to second-class status in the Reich. It was Frick who framed the extraordinary law that declared all Hitler's actions during the Blood Purge of the Sturmabteilung (SA, storm troops) in June 1934 to be legal and statesmanlike. Although nominally Hein-



Wilhelm Frick, German politician and participant in Hitler's Munich putsch. (Hulton Archive)

rich Himmler's superior, Frick singularly failed to impose any legal limitations on the power of the Gestapo and the Schutzstaffel (SS, bodyguard units) nor seriously interfered with their encroachment on his area of jurisdiction.

On 24 August 1943, Frick was appointed Reichsprotektor (administrative head) of Bohemia and Moravia, a position he held until the end of the war, although real authority was concentrated in the hands of his subordinate Karl-Hermann Frank. At the Nuremberg trial, Frick was charged with and found guilty of crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity committed in concentration camps in the Protectorate (Bohemia and Moravia). The dedicated Nazi bureaucrat and loyal implementer of Hitler's ruthless aims was hanged at Nuremberg on 16 October 1946.

Joseph C. Greaney

See also

Himmler, Heinrich; Hitler, Adolf; Holocaust, The

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Frogmen

Popular term for members of underwater demolition teams (UDTs), which played an important role in World War II. Italy was at the forefront in training combat swimmers; the Italian 10th Light Flotilla was composed mostly of sailors who manned small surface and underwater craft with explosive warheads. Their mission was to sink Allied warships and merchant shipping, a role in which they enjoyed some success.

The United States also devoted attention to such activity, training and deploying frogmen in demolition and commando tactics. The first unofficial U.S. frogmen were organized in September 1942 as a detachment of sailors who received a week of training in underwater demolition tactics before being sent to North Africa as part of Operation TORCH. They destroyed nets blocking the entrance to the Sebou River in Morocco, allowing U.S. assault ships to enter the river and offload rangers to assault Vichy-held Port Lyautey Field.

This success led Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Ernest J. King to issue orders on 6 May 1943 for the formation of UDTs. The first Naval Combat Demolition Unit consisted of 13 volunteers who trained at the Naval Amphibious Unit at Solomon Island, Maryland. They were instructed in the destruction of underwater obstacles and use of explosive charges to make channels through sandbars.

These newly designated frogmen took part in the invasion of Sicily in July 1943. They destroyed roadblocks near the coast, used bangalore torpedoes to remove barbed wire along the beach, salvaged stranded boats, and cleared channels through sandbars. On completion of their mission, most of the frogmen were sent back to the United States to work as instructors following further training at the Naval Amphibious Training Base at Fort Pierce, Florida. In the European Theater, frogmen also participated in the invasion of Normandy, where they were tasked with the destruction of steel girders and heavy timbers on Omaha and Utah Beaches, clearing the way for the landing craft. Frogmen also played a key role in the Pacific Theater, participating in the many amphibious operations. The British also used frogmen in the war. In the United States, frogmen were the forerunners of the U.S. Navy SEAL (*sea, air, land*) elite special-operations commando teams.

Gregory C. Wheel

See also

Italy, Navy; King, Ernest Joseph; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Sicily, Invasion of; Submarines, Midget; TORCH, Operation

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Fuchida Mitsuo (1902–1976)

Japanese navy officer and aviator. Born at Nagao in Nara Prefecture on 3 December 1902, Fuchida Mitsuo graduated from the Naval Academy in 1924 and completed flight training in 1927. While he was posted to the Yokosuka Kokutai (Air Corps), he developed the coordinated dive-bombing techniques intended to saturate target defenses that subsequently became standard Japanese tactics.

In 1939, Fuchida became the bomber group leader of 1st Carrier Division aboard the aircraft carrier *Akagi*. He was a major participant in planning for the Pearl Harbor attack and was selected as overall strike commander for the 330-plane force from Vice Admiral Nagumo Chūichi's First Air Fleet that surprised the U.S. Pacific Fleet on 7 December 1941. Fuchida actively participated in the attacks on Rabaul and Port Darwin and the devastating raid by the First Air Fleet into the eastern Indian Ocean during the spring of 1942. Fuchida was incapacitated by appendicitis during the Midway operation. When the *Akagi* was attacked and sunk by U.S. Navy dive-bombers he was severely wounded, barely managing to survive.

Following his recovery, Fuchida was posted to the staff of Yokosuka Kokutai and undertook a series of planning assignments before transferring to operational posts in the Mariana Islands and the Philippines. He returned to Japan with the rank of captain to participate in planning for the final defense of the home islands. Fuchida narrowly escaped death at Hiroshima; he left the city the day before the atom bomb was



Mitsuo Fuchida as he was when he led the Japanese air strike on Pearl Harbor (right) and in 1973 (left). (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

dropped. He attended the surrender ceremony aboard the U.S. battleship *Missouri* on 2 September 1945.

After the war, Fuchida took up farming and converted to Christianity with such fervor that he became a globe-circling evangelist. He emigrated to the United States in 1966 and became a citizen. Fuchida died while visiting Osaka on 30 May 1976.

Paul E. Fontenoy

See also

Aviation, Naval; Coral Sea, Battle of the; Darwin, Raid on; Genda Minoru; Indian Ocean, Japanese Naval Operations in; Japan, Air Forces; Japan, Navy; Midway, Battle of; Nagumo Chūichi

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G

Gamelin, Maurice Gustave (1872–1958)

French army general. Born in Paris on 20 September 1872, Maurice Gamelin was commissioned in the army in 1893 on graduation from the French military academy of Saint Cyr. His rise in the army was closely linked to French commanding general Joseph Joffre. Gamelin was serving as Joffre's operations officer at the beginning of the war and remained with him until the latter's dismissal in 1916. During the rest of the war, Gamelin served with distinction as a brigade commander (1916) and then a division commander (1918). After the war, Gamelin commanded French forces in the Middle East, where he helped pacify the Druze in Lebanon. He became chief of the General Staff in 1931 and commander in chief designate in 1935, replacing Maxime Weygand.

Gamelin benefited from the patronage of Radical Party politician Édouard Daladier, who was three times premier in the 1930s. The two men, both veterans of the Battle of Verdun, agreed on the need to modernize French forces. As chief of staff, Gamelin supported mechanization and investments in air power. Against his wishes, the French government proceeded with the construction of the Maginot Line, leaving little money for the reforms he championed. As with his mentor Joffre, Gamelin isolated himself and had little contact with his men, refusing even to have a telephone installed at his headquarters at Vincennes.

Gamelin urged France to fund emergency modernization measures in 1938, but French politicians, including Daladier, disagreed. In the first months of World War II, Gamelin advocated waiting for the British to rearm fully before assuming the offensive. He assumed (correctly) that Germany would not attack the Maginot Line. He also assumed (incorrectly)

that the Germans would not attempt to cross the Ardennes Forest, believing they would attack through Belgium as they had done in 1914.

Gamelin bears primary responsibility for the disastrous Dyle plan, which called for Allied forces to move into Belgium to meet an anticipated German invasion. The plan underestimated the strength of the Maginot Line, devoting half of French effectives there. It also left 100 miles of the Ardennes virtually unguarded. Gamelin learned nothing from the September 1939 Polish campaign and thus failed fully to appreciate the speed and strength of the German army. The Dyle plan placed French troops in an untenable position in Belgium and northeastern France. Worse, the Germans anticipated its broad outlines and planned to defeat it by moving through the Ardennes and then north and west toward the Channel ports.

On 21 March 1940, Paul Reynaud replaced Daladier as premier. Daladier remained in the government, first as defense minister and then as foreign minister, but his patronage could not save Gamelin. On 10 May, the day of the German invasion, Reynaud was involved in discussions designed to remove Gamelin, in whom he had little confidence. Reynaud finally replaced him on 19 May with General Maxime Weygand, the man Gamelin had succeeded in 1935. Following the defeat of France, the Vichy government arrested Gamelin and brought him to trial at Riom, where he refused to defend himself. Deported to Germany in 1943, Gamelin was released by the Allies at the end of the war.

After the war, Gamelin wrote his three-volume memoir, *Servir*. He died at Paris on 18 April 1958.

Michael S. Neiberg



General Maurice Gustav Gamelin (1935), French general and chief of staff of the army, 1935–1940. (Hulton Archive)

See also

Daladier, Édouard; France, Army; France, Battle for; Maginot Line; Reynaud, Paul; Weygand, Maxime

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Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (1869–1948)

Indian nationalist and spiritual leader, known as Mahatma or “great soul.” Gandhi, a spare, short man with bowed shoulders and thick spectacles, was more than any other single individual responsible for bringing an end to the British Empire. Born

2 October 1869 in Porbandar, Kathiawar, India, Mohandas Gandhi went to England at age 19 to study law at University College, London. On being admitted to the bar, he returned to practice in India, where he had only modest professional success.

In 1893, Gandhi left India to practice law in South Africa. Here he encountered strong racial prejudice against the Indian population that had settled in Natal. The mild-mannered, passive Gandhi became an activist, protesting unjust laws through a nonviolent campaign of civil disobedience and noncooperation with the authorities. Gandhi eschewed his social position and lived a life of poverty and self-denial. During both the Boer War (1899–1902) and the Natal revolt of 1908, Gandhi organized and served with Red Cross units.

Gandhi returned to India in July 1914. He supported the British recruitment of Indian soldiers for World War I, but in 1919, with the passage of antiseditious laws (the Rowlatt Acts), he began a protest against British rule. He called off the campaign, however, when violence flared. By 1921, Gandhi was the acknowledged leader of the Indian National Congress, which he transformed from a party of the upper class into a mass movement. Meanwhile, Gandhi was jailed numerous times. In 1930, he launched a campaign against the hated salt tax, and he also campaigned against prejudices toward the lowest social caste, the “untouchables.” His program of passive resistance was a brilliant move because although the British had ample power to crush any armed rebellion, they were never able to devise an answer to nonviolent resistance. British rule in India and elsewhere rested primarily on the consent of the governed.

Gandhi dressed in a simple loincloth (dhoti) and worked at his spinning wheel daily, stressing his devotion to a life of simplicity. Although Gandhi condemned Hitler and fascism as well as the persecution of the Jews, he hated war more, and he naively advised nonviolent protest as the best course of action even in the event of a Japanese invasion of India. He broke with more pragmatic National Congress leaders over the degree to which India should support the Allied effort in World War II. But after a March 1942 British mission headed by Stafford Cripps failed to agree on a program that would secure Indian independence in return for support against the Japanese, most congress leaders supported Gandhi.

On 8 August 1942, the Indian National Congress passed a resolution calling on Britain to “quit India,” which prompted British authorities to arrest Gandhi and other National Congress party leaders. Following considerable violence in which some 2,500 people were killed and wounded and considerable property was damaged, the British managed to restore order. Gandhi, in poor health, was held under house arrest near Poona for two years, but, with doctors reporting him to be near death, the authorities released him on 6 May 1944. He had spent a total of 2,089 days in Indian prisons and another 249 in prisons in South Africa.



Indian nationalist leader Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, popularly known as Mahatma Gandhi, whose policy of peaceful demonstration led India from British rule to independence after World War II. (Hulton Archive)

Gandhi recovered and took a leading role in negotiations with Clement Attlee's Labour Party in Britain at the end of World War II. Attlee appointed Lord Louis Mountbatten to carry out the unwelcome task of ending British rule. The intransigence of Moslem leader Mohammad Ali Jinnah over the creation of a Moslem state led to the partition of India, despite Gandhi's great opposition. India and Pakistan were proclaimed independent states on 14 August 1947.

Independence brought near anarchy in both India and Pakistan. The problems of partition were staggering, and millions of people were uprooted and forced to move from one state to another. Religious hatred mingled with sheer greed, and perhaps a quarter of a million people died in the violence. In volatile Calcutta, Gandhi kept the peace, but only by offering his own person as a hostage and by beginning a fast unto death. Gandhi's reward for telling Hindus and Moslems that they had to learn to live together as brothers was his assassination by a young Hindu fanatic in Calcutta on 30 January 1948. Fortunately, Gandhi's death marked the end of the insensate communal killings.

A prolific writer, Gandhi influenced many others through his teachings of nonviolence. He inspired many activists, including Martin Luther King Jr., leader of the civil rights movement in the United States.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Attlee, Clement Richard; India; Mountbatten, Louis Francis Albert
Victor Nicholas

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Garand, John Cantius (1883–1967)

Inventor of the U.S. Garand rifle. John Garand was born on 1 January 1883 on the family farm near Saint Remi, Quebec, Canada. His mother died in 1891, and he moved with his father to Connecticut in 1894. Garand dropped out of school to work in a steel mill. By 1897 he had filed for his first patent for a new type of jack screw. Garand became a machinist at the mill in 1901. Helping his father at a shooting gallery in Norwich, Connecticut, led to his interest in firearms. A few years later, Garand moved to Providence, Rhode Island, where he worked for the Federal Screw Corporation. He took up motorcycling and designed his own engine. Firearms, however, became his passion.

Garand then moved to New York City, where he worked in a micrometer plant and continued his education via correspondence courses. He also kept up his interest in rifles and marksmanship. In 1917, Garand learned that the U.S. Army was searching for a reliable machine gun, and he designed such a weapon and sent the plans for it to the U.S. Bureau of Standards. By 1919, Garand was the consulting engineer for the army's arsenal in Springfield, Massachusetts. He became a U.S. citizen in 1920.

In the 1920s, the Ordnance Department wanted to develop a semiautomatic rifle to replace the superb but difficult-to-master 1903 Springfield bolt-action rifle used by the U.S. Army in World War I. In 1923, Garand submitted his design for Bureau of Standards testing, and over the next 11 years he

M.K. Gandhi spent more than 2,300 days of his life in prison to protest British policies.



John C. Garand, inventor of the Garand rifle, pointing out some of the features of the rifle to Major General Charles M. Wesson during his visit to the Springfield Arsenal. At right is Brigadier General Gilbert H. Stewart, commanding officer of the arsenal. (Library of Congress)

refined and improved the design until it met army standards for field testing. In 1936, the U.S. Army adopted Garand's weapon, describing it as "Rifle, Semi-Automatic, M1." The United States became the only country in World War II to have a semiautomatic rifle as a standard infantry weapon. The Garand, 43.6 inches long and weighing 9 lb 8 oz (unloaded), was a gas-operated, clip-fed, air-cooled, semiautomatic shoulder weapon that fired .30 ammunition from an 8-round clip. It had an effective range of 440 yards and a maximum range of 3,200 yards. A total of 4,040,000 M1s were produced, and it was the standard U.S. infantry firearm from 1936 to 1957.

The M1 had many advantages, including its accuracy, superior rate of firepower, and user-friendly sights. The Garand fired 40 rounds a minute in the hands of the average rifleman. It had 40 percent less recoil than the Springfield it replaced and only 72 parts. The Garand could be entirely broken down using only one tool, a .30-caliber round.

Although Garand never received what many believe to be his financial due for the development of the M1, he was

awarded the Government Medal of Merit in 1944. He retired as chief ordnance engineer in 1953 and died in Springfield, Massachusetts on 16 February 1967.

Scott R. DiMarco and Gordon E. Hogg

See also

Rifles

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Gaulle, Charles de

See de Gaulle, Charles.

Gavin, James Maurice (1907–1990)

U.S. Army general, airborne pioneer, author, and statesman. Born on 22 March 1907 at Brooklyn, New York, James Gavin was abandoned by his biological mother and subsequently adopted. At age 16, he enlisted in the army and eventually earned an appointment to the U.S. Military Academy. Graduating in 1929, he was commissioned in the infantry.

Gavin attended the Infantry School at Fort Benning, Georgia, served in the Philippines, and then was an instructor at West Point. He transferred to duty with parachute troops and, promoted to colonel in July 1942, rose to command the 505th Parachute Infantry Regiment, which eventually became part of the 82nd Airborne Division. In 1943, Gavin's 505th jumped into Sicily, where Gavin personally led a portion of his regiment during a fight on Biazza Ridge and stopped elements of the Hermann Göring Panzer Division from breaking through to the invasion beaches. After Sicily, Gavin led the 505th in another combat jump into Salerno on 14 September 1943. Promoted to brigadier general in October, he was appointed assistant division commander.

Gavin left Italy for Britain in November 1943. There he headed the airborne planning effort for Operation OVERLORD,



U.S. Army Major General James Gavin, February 1945. (Photo by MPI/Getty Images)

the invasion of France. He then rejoined the 82nd Airborne Division and made his third combat jump—into Normandy on 6 June 1944 as commander of Task Force A.

In August 1944, Gavin assumed command of the 82nd and led it on its fourth combat jump in September into Nijmegen, Holland, during Operation MARKET-GARDEN. He continued in command of the division for the remainder of the war, fighting through the Battle of the Bulge (Ardennes) and the subsequent drive into Germany. Gavin was only an observer in Operation VARSITY, the March 1945 airborne assault by the British 6th Airborne Division and U.S. 17th Airborne Division to secure British Field Marshal Sir Bernard Montgomery's bridgehead across the Rhine. However, by the end of the war, Gavin had made more combat jumps than any other general in history. At the end of the war, Gavin accepted the surrender of an entire German army.

Gavin continued to command the 82nd Airborne Division until March 1948. He was then, in succession, chief of staff of Fifth Army; chief of staff, Allied Forces South; commander of VII Corps; and deputy chief of staff of the U.S. Army. Promoted to lieutenant general in March 1955, Gavin was in line for promotion to general when he retired in 1958 because of differences with the defense policies of the Dwight D. Eisenhower administration—specifically what he regarded as its overreliance on nuclear forces. Gavin returned to public life during the John F. Kennedy administration, serving as ambassador to France in 1960 and 1961. He died at Baltimore, Maryland, on 23 February 1990.

Guy A. Lofaro

See also

Airborne Forces, Allied; Ardennes, Battle of; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; OVERLORD, Operation; Salerno Invasion; Sicily, Invasion of

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Gazala, Battle of (26 May–13 June 1942)

Key North African battle between Axis and Allied forces. The Battle of Gazala of 26 May–13 June 1942 sprang from Operation VENEZIA. In the operation, Adolf Hitler sought to tie down as many Allied troops as possible in North Africa while German forces fought the decisive battle in the Soviet Union. Hitler also wanted to capture Allied forward airfields so that Axis forces might render Malta harmless. Axis forces

for VENEZIA, formed into Panzerarmee Afrika or Armata Corazzata Africa, consisted of two Italian infantry corps, one Italian armor corps, and the German Afrika Korps. The Afrika Korps had recently received reinforcements and new equipment.

Italy had sent some of its best units and equipment to North Africa. It had retrained its units and altered some of their structures to replicate German tactics. An Italian infantry division now numbered only 7,000 men, but it had a heavier artillery component. Although its tanks were still of limited value, Italy sent some self-propelled artillery armed with 75 mm guns, and some Italian divisions boasted both 90 mm and German 88 mm antitank guns.

German Afrika Korps commander General Erwin Rommel, nominally under General Ettore Bastico, head of Comando Superiore Forze Armate Africa Settentrionale (high command armed forces in North Africa), planned to attack the Allied forces entrenched with the protection of heavy minefields along the Gazala Line. He hoped to outflank the line from the south and then drive on and capture Tobruk, all within 10 days. Rommel could call on 332 German and 228 Italian tanks. Rommel also had the advantage in the air.

Lieutenant General Neil Ritchie commanded the British Eighth Army. Ritchie had an armored corps of two divisions and an infantry corps built around three divisions. Another division was in reserve, attached to army headquarters. All were numerically larger than the Axis divisions. The Eighth Army had recently received 242 U.S.-built Grant tanks as well as improved 6-pounder antitank guns. Ritchie could call on 839 Allied tanks, with a further 145 moving up. Both sides added tanks during the battle. Each side also had a small amphibious element, but neither was deployed in that capacity during the battle.

Ritchie had hoped to mount an attack to relieve Axis pressure on Malta, but Rommel struck first. On 26 May, while Axis infantry held the line, Axis motorized units poured around the southern Allied flank. Achieving some small successes, they stalled at the Free French fort of Bir Hacheim. Positioning themselves in the Allied rear, the Axis motorized units then took up defensive positions while also operating against Bir Hacheim, which fell on 11 June after a heroic French defense. Meanwhile, Eighth Army tanks mounted a series of assaults against Axis armor in the so-called Cauldron, but the British were repulsed with heavy losses from Axis antitank artillery guns.

The Axis forces having opened a supply line and the Eighth Army reeling from heavy tank losses, Rommel resumed the offensive on 12 June. At Knightsbridge, he ambushed British armor, destroying 120 tanks and forcing a general Allied retreat. In less than three weeks, the Axis offensive had forced the Allies to withdraw into Egypt. This paved the way for a third assault on the port of Tobruk. Ritchie was relieved of

command, and General Claude Auchinleck took command of the withdrawal.

Jack Greene

See also

Afrika Korps; Auchinleck, Sir John Claude Eyre; Bastico, Ettore; France, Free French; Hitler, Adolf; Ritchie, Sir Neil Methuen; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Tobruk, Third Battle of

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Geiger, Roy Stanley (1885–1947)

U.S. Marine Corps general, the first Marine ever to command an army in combat. Born on 25 January 1885 in Middleburg, Florida, Roy Geiger earned a law degree from Stetson University in DeLand, Florida, but he only briefly practiced law. He enlisted in the Marine Corps in November 1907 and received a commission in 1909. He first served with Marine detachments aboard battleships and then saw constabulary duty ashore in Panama, Nicaragua, the Philippines, and China. In Nicaragua, Geiger helped capture the fortified hills of Coyotepe and Barranca.

In 1916, as a captain, Geiger became the fifth Marine Corps aviator. Following U.S. entry in World War I, as a major he commanded Bomber Squadron A of the 1st Marine Aviation Force in France. After the war, Geiger's career centered on Marine aviation and advanced schooling. He served with Marine air units, and from 1931 to 1935 he headed Marine Corps aviation, playing a major role in its development. Geiger won promotion to colonel in 1935. He graduated from the U.S. Army Command and General Staff School (1925), the Army War College (1929), and the Naval War College (1941). Promoted to brigadier general in 1941, Geiger took command of the 1st Marine Aircraft Wing, Fleet Marine Force that September.

From September 1942, Geiger led the 1st Marine Aircraft Wing at Henderson Field on Guadalcanal. He returned to the United States in May 1943 to direct Marine Corps aviation. Promoted to major general, in November 1943 he assumed command of the I Marine Amphibious Corps on Bougainville in the Solomon Islands, which he led—following its redesignation as III Amphibious Corps—in fighting on Guam, Peleliu, and Okinawa. Following the death of Lieutenant General Simon Bolivar Buckner in the struggle for Okinawa, Geiger briefly (18–23 June) commanded the Tenth Army on Okinawa, the first Marine officer to command a numbered

field army. Promoted to lieutenant general in June 1945, the next month Geiger became commanding general of the Fleet Marine Force in the Pacific. He returned to Headquarters Marine Corps in November 1946 and died on 23 January 1947 at Bethesda, Maryland. By act of Congress in July 1947, Geiger received posthumous promotion to full general.

Brandon H. Turner

See also

Bougainville Campaign; Buckner, Simon Bolivar, Jr.; Guadalcanal, Land Battle for; Guam, Battle for; Okinawa, Invasion of; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign

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Genda Minoru (1904–1989)

Japanese navy officer and aviator. Born in Hiroshima on 16 August 1904, Genda Minoru graduated from the Japanese Naval Academy in 1924. Following sea service, he took flight training at Kasumigaura in 1928 and 1929, graduating at the head of his class. He served with the Yokosuka Kokutai (air corps) and aboard the carriers *Akagi* and *Ryujo* before becoming a fighter flight instructor at Yokosuka in 1934, where he gained national fame as leader of the Genda Circus, an aerobatics team. While at Yokosuka and subsequently at the Naval Staff College in 1937, Genda developed and expounded his concepts of massed air attacks under fighter umbrellas and the central role of naval aviation in future warfare. Following combat service in China and command of the Yokosuka Kokutai, he became assistant naval attaché in London from 1938 to 1940.

When Genda returned to Japan in 1940, he joined the staff of the 1st Carrier Division. On its formation in April 1941, he became chief air officer of First Air Fleet, which concentrated all of Japan's carriers into a single force to maximize their combat effectiveness, much as he had advocated since the mid-1930s. In February 1941, Genda drafted a very aggressive plan for an air assault on Hawaii, expanding on Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku's initial tentative suggestion for a preemptive strike to neutralize the U.S. Pacific Fleet. Genda played a leading role in designing the tactical plan for the Pearl Harbor attack. Although Genda's demands for concentration of force and surprise were heeded, his emphasis on destroying the U.S. carriers and following up with an inva-

sion to eliminate Hawaii as an American forward base formed no part of Yamamoto's eventual plan.

During the Pacific war, Genda served in carriers in the Pearl Harbor attack, in the Indian Ocean, in the Battle of Midway, and in the Solomon Islands. He was on the staff of the Eleventh Air Fleet at Rabaul until his promotion to captain in late 1944, when he became senior aviation officer in the Naval General Staff. In 1945, Genda was charged with the air defense of the Japanese home islands as commander of Kokutai 343, a large formation equipped with the best navy interceptor aircraft flown by the most experienced available crews. He served in this capacity until Japan's surrender.

Following World War II, Genda was first in private business; he then headed the Japanese Air Self-Defense Forces from 1955 to 1962, retiring as a full general. He was elected to the upper house of the Japanese Diet in 1962, serving there until 1982. Genda died in Tokyo on 15 August 1989.

Paul E. Fontenoy

See also

Aviation, Naval; Coral Sea, Battle of the; Darwin, Raid on; Fuchida Mitsuo; Indian Ocean, Japanese Naval Operations in; Japan, Air Force; Japan, Navy; Midway, Battle of; Nagumo Chūichi

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George VI, King of England (1895–1952)

King of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and constitutional head of the British Empire. Born on 14 December 1895 at Sandringham, England, the second son of King George V and Queen Mary, George was by nature unpretentious and modest. He also suffered from a severe stammer. No intellectual, he was educated by private tutors. Following family tradition, he entered the navy at age 13 and attended the Royal Navy College of Dartmouth. George saw action in the 1916 Battle of Jutland, and in 1918 he joined the Royal Flying Corps and became a wing commander.

George married Lady Elizabeth Angela Marguerite Bowes-Lyon in 1923. They had two daughters, the future Queen Elizabeth II and Princess Margaret. As Duke of York, George



His Majesty King George VI of Great Britain. (Library of Congress)

helped set up summer camps to get young men out of industrial slums in the cities and into the countryside. George succeeded to the throne on 12 December 1936 following the abdication of his brother, King Edward VIII. He made numerous state visits in 1938 and 1939, including to the United States, which cemented valuable friendships. He was the first British monarch to visit the United States.

Despite the fact that military personnel swore allegiance to him and that military orders were issued in his name, George VI had no real powers as king. His role in World War II was to provide an example to the nation. In frequent radio broadcasts, George VI encouraged his people to remain calm, firm in resolve, and united behind the war effort. His popularity soared because he refused to leave London, despite the fact that Buckingham Palace was hit by German bombs. He also toured the bombed areas. George VI had an excellent relationship with Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill.

George VI established medals for citizens who exhibited wartime bravery, and his frequent wartime visits to factories and hospitals and to the troops boosted morale. He also strongly supported monarchs in exile in Britain. At the end of the war, the popular bond with the monarchy had never

been as strong in modern times. George VI lived to see dramatic changes in Britain's world position at the end of the war and the breakup of the British Empire, especially the independence of India in 1947. He died at Sandringham, England, on 6 February 1952 and was succeeded by his daughter, Queen Elizabeth II.

Annette Richardson

See also

Great Britain, Home Front

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Georges, Alphonse Joseph (1875–1951)

French army general. Born on 19 August 1875 at Montluçon, Alphonse Georges graduated third in his class in 1897 from the French military academy of Saint Cyr and was posted to Algeria. During World War I, he was seriously wounded in 1914 while commanding a battalion. Following his recovery, he was posted to the army General Staff. He ended the war as chief of operations for Marshal Ferdinand Foch. After the war, he served as chief of staff to Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain during the Riffian Wars in Morocco. He was a division commander in Algeria from 1928 to 1932 and was then assigned to the Supreme War Council in Paris. Georges was wounded during the assassinations of King Alexander of Yugoslavia and French foreign minister Louis Barthou at Marseille in 1934. This aggravated the wound he had received in 1914.

Georges's physical condition may have played a critical role in his deteriorating abilities during the late 1930s. He expected to be named chief of staff of the French Army in 1935, but the French premier, Édouard Daladier, suspected him of right-wing tendencies. Georges was also closely linked to Paul Reynaud, Daladier's political rival. Daladier thus named General Maurice Gamelin to the position instead and named Georges as Gamelin's assistant.

The troubled professional and personal relations between Gamelin and Georges severely weakened French preparations for war during the last half of the 1930s. Georges assumed responsibility for northeast France, placing him in direct command of the units most likely to meet a German invasion. In 1940, these units included two French army groups and the British Expeditionary Force (BEF). Fully confident of the abilities of his force, Georges was stunned by its subsequent poor performance.



French General Alphonse Georges. (Photo by March of Time/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Georges also bears partial responsibility for the decision to implement the Dyle plan, which placed substantial Allied units on the road to Belgium rather than in the Ardennes, the main axis of German attack. As the military situation collapsed, so did any semblance of professionalism between Georges and Gamelin. On 17 May 1940, both men were relieved of command in favor of General Maxime Weygand. Georges refused to play any role in the subsequent Vichy government, but he also had no real role in the French Resistance because he did not enjoy the confidence of Charles de Gaulle. He briefly served as minister without portfolio in the French Committee of National Liberation in 1943. Georges died in Paris on 24 April 1951.

Michael S. Neiberg

See also

Daladier, Édouard; de Gaulle, Charles; France, Army; France, Battle for; Gamelin, Maurice Gustave; Pétain, Henri Philippe; Reynaud, Paul; Weygand, Maxime

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German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact (23 August 1939)

Treaty between Germany and the Soviet Union (often called the Nazi-Soviet Non-aggression Pact) that facilitated Germany's 1 September 1939 invasion of Poland and its war effort before 1941. German Chancellor Adolf Hitler, having maintained that the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia was his last territorial demand and having been granted that area in the 1938 Munich Agreement, absorbed the remainder of the country in March 1939. On 31 March, in an effort to prevent further German territorial expansion aimed at Poland, Great Britain and France jointly issued a guarantee to declare war on Germany should it invade Poland. In effect, this pledge placed Britain and France in Poland, securing for Soviet dictator Josef Stalin about as much as he could have gotten in negotiations with the two western powers.

The British and French governments now attempted to negotiate with the Soviet Union to bring it into the alliance against German expansion. Although France could attack western Germany in the event of an invasion of Poland, the British and French would be hard-pressed to get forces to Poland in time to help that nation stave off a German invasion. Negotiations of the British and French with the Soviet Union for an alliance that would preserve Poland proceeded at a leisurely pace throughout the spring and summer of 1939.

These talks yielded little, as Stalin did not trust the western powers. He also insisted on the right of Soviet forces to move into Poland and the Baltic states in the event of a German thrust east, something refused by these countries, which feared the Soviets more than the Germans. The Soviets assumed that the western powers wanted them to bear the brunt of the attack. The western powers, for their part, were unwilling to yield territory to the Soviet Union the way they had to Hitler.

Stalin was also concerned about the possibility of having to fight a two-front war against both Germany and Japan. There had already been serious fighting between Soviet and Japanese forces in the Far East in 1938 and 1939. Concern over the Japanese threat may have been a major factor in Stalin's thinking regarding an alliance with Germany. An agreement with Germany, Stalin believed, would not only gain space in the form of territorial concessions but also win the time necessary to rebuild the Soviet armed forces after the costly purges of their senior leadership.

While they were negotiating more or less openly with the British and French, the Soviets were also secretly negotiating with Germany. The western powers discounted this possibil-

ity, believing that the Soviet and German political systems were diametrically opposed and that the two powers were permanent enemies.

Although Berlin rejected Stalin's initial efforts, Hitler became convinced that Stalin was serious when in May 1939 the Soviet dictator dismissed Foreign Minister Maxim Litvinov, a champion of collective security and a Jew. The pragmatist and nationalist Vyacheslav Molotov replaced Litvinov. At the end of May, the German government indicated its willingness for a "certain degree of contact" with Moscow, beginning the process that would culminate in the German-Soviet pact.

On 21 August 1939, after a series of German communications, Stalin telegraphed Berlin and asked that Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop come to Moscow. Ribbentrop arrived on 23 August and met personally with Stalin. The pact was signed that same night, stunning the world. The pact had three major provisions, two of them secret and not revealed until the Nuremberg Tribunal after World War II had ended. The open provision consisted of a 10-year nonaggression pact between the Soviet Union and Germany.

The first of the two secret sections divided the Baltic states and Poland between the Soviet Union and Germany. The Soviet sphere of influence was to include eastern Poland, Bessarabia (a province of Romania), Estonia, Latvia, and Finland. The Germans secured western Poland and Lithuania. A month after the pact was signed, Hitler traded Lithuania to the Soviet Union in exchange for further German concessions in Poland. The second secret clause stipulated that the Soviet Union would provide Germany with massive amounts of raw materials and act as its purchasing agent abroad for items it could not itself furnish. In return, Germany agreed to provide finished goods and weapons technology from Germany. This was particularly helpful to Germany, nullifying the effects of the British naval blockade of Germany.

After signing the pact, Stalin drew Ribbentrop aside and told him that the Soviet Union would live up to its provisions and never betray Germany. Stalin understood the danger of the alliance, yet he continued to trust his ally until the German invasion of the Soviet Union, Operation BARBAROSSA, in June 1941. With the signing of the pact, Hitler freed himself of the threat of Soviet military intervention and a two-front war. He was now free to launch his invasion of Poland. On 1 September 1939, German forces crossed the border. Two days later, Great Britain and France honored their pledge to Poland and declared war on Germany. The Soviet Union denied the secret provisions of the pact until 1990.

Eric W. Osborne

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Hitler, Adolf; Litvinov, Maxim; Molotov, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich; Munich Conference and Preliminaries; Origins of the War; Ribbentrop, Ulrich Friedrich Willy Joachim von; Stalin, Josef

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Germany, Air Force

The German air force, the Luftwaffe, existed officially for barely a decade, but during that time it was the pride of Nazi Germany. Before the war, the Luftwaffe was useful in coercing concessions from other countries. It was the world's most powerful air force in 1939, and once World War II began, it became an essential element of the blitzkrieg—the "lightning war." The Luftwaffe was, however, basically a tactical force, and it came apart under the strain of the German invasion of the Soviet Union.

The Versailles Treaty after World War I denied Germany an air force. Nonetheless, the Germans continued experimenting with aviation, and the military developed air doctrine and training programs, monitored technological developments, and built an industrial infrastructure for civilian aviation. At the same time, the German military established clandestine air facilities in the Soviet Union to build and test aircraft and train personnel. When Adolf Hitler came to power in January 1933, he pushed development of aviation and in 1935 openly began building an air force. The western Allies were reluctant to use force to halt this development, which was a direct violation of German treaty obligations.

Unlike the army and navy, the Luftwaffe was purely a Nazi creation and became the primary focus of Hitler's rearmament program. Hitler selected Hermann Göring, a World War I ace pilot, as minister of aviation and commander in chief of the Luftwaffe. Hitler was also much impressed with theories, notably those of Italian Giulio Douhet, that future wars could be won by air forces alone.

In 1936, Hitler sent the Kondor Legion, essentially a Luftwaffe outfit, to fight in the Spanish Civil War. Here the Germans gained invaluable experience in testing aircraft, tactical concepts, and experimenting with strategic bombing (as at Guernica). Hitler's boasts about German air power, although many of them were empty, helped face down the French and British in his March 1936 remilitarization of the Rhineland and in the 1938 crisis over Czechoslovakia.

As with so many other agencies in the Reich, the Luftwaffe suffered from organizational weaknesses and overlap at the



A formation of Luftwaffe Junkers Ju-87D Stuka dive-bombers in the air. (Hulton Archive)

top. Göring, one of Hitler's inner circle from the early days, was Hitler's designated successor, and Hitler allowed him to run the Luftwaffe without any real interference. The Reich Air Ministry consisted of the office of state secretary for air Erhard Milch; it supervised aviation matters apart from operations. Milch was also inspector general of the Luftwaffe. In addition there was Luftwaffe chief of staff Hans Jeschonnek. Until his suicide in 1943, Jeschonnek headed the air force's organization, operations, intelligence, training, quartermaster, and signal branches. Milch and Jeschonnek did not get along. Jeschonnek only had access to Göring on operational matters and had no control over personnel, which Göring made his own province. Ernst Udet, chief of the Technical Office and World War I ace, proved an incompetent administrator. Udet reported to Milch, who took over Udet's office after Udet's 1941 suicide. Too late, in May 1944, the administrative structure was streamlined with the creation of the Oberkommando der Luftwaffe (Air Force high command, OKL). Also in 1944, Albert Speer's Armaments Ministry gained control of all German aircraft production, and Milch's ministry was abolished.

The Luftwaffe, the newest of the military services, was the least professional and suffered the most from promotions not based on merit. Göring surrounded himself with advisers whose principal qualifications were that they were Nazis, as opposed to experienced aviation military officers. Many times they either offered poor advice or, not wishing to anger him, agreed with whatever ideas he developed. Increasingly, Göring, who held numerous offices in the Reich, largely abandoned his command of the Luftwaffe, intervening only in fits and starts and often with disastrous results, as during the 1940 Battle of Britain. During the war, the Luftwaffe was also the agency least conscious of communications security.

The Luftwaffe controlled all air services but had little interest in naval aviation. Airborne troops were Luftwaffe personnel, and the air force also had charge of anti-aircraft artillery. Eventually the Luftwaffe even fielded 22 ground divisions, including the Hermann Göring Armored Division. The Luftwaffe itself was organized into Luftflotten (air fleets), constituted so as to perform a variety of roles and consisting of a wide variety of aircraft types. At the beginning of the war,

Germany had four Luftflotten, and during the course of the conflict three more were added. The next operational division was the Fleiegerkorps (flier corps), and below that was the Fleigerdivision (flier division). These last two each contained several Geschwader (squadrons) that were designated as to types (including fighters, bombers, night fighters, training, and so on). Each division controlled three to four Gruppen (groups) comprising three or four Staffein (squadrons). In September 1939, the Luftwaffe had 302 Staffein.

At that point, Germany's chief advantage was in the air, for at the start of hostilities the Luftwaffe was certainly the world's most powerful air force. In September 1939, Göring commanded more than 3,600 frontline aircraft. The death in 1936 of strategic bomber proponent General Walther Wever, however, had brought a shift in emphasis to tactical air

power. This remained the case throughout the war. Although Germany developed four-engine bomber prototypes, these were never placed in production. It could be argued, however, that a tactical air force was the best use of Germany's limited resources.

The German air force was essentially built to support ground operations. It suited ideally the new blitzkrieg tactics, and the

Junkers Ju-87 Stuka dive-bomber was a highly accurate form of "flying artillery." Impressed by U.S. Marine Corps experiments with precision dive-bombing, the Germans embraced this technique; indeed, all German bombers had to be capable of dive-bombing. This entailed considerable aircraft structural change with attendant production delays and a decrease in bomb-carrying capacity. The flying weight of the Junkers Ju-88 twin-engine bomber went from 6 to 12 tons, sharply reducing both its speed and its bomb-carrying capacity. Nonetheless, the Germans developed some exceptional aircraft. In addition to the Stuka, they had a superb air-superiority fighter in the Messerschmitt Bf-109, certainly one of the best all-around aircraft of the war. And before the end of the war, the Germans had introduced the Messerschmitt Me-262, the world's first operational jet aircraft. But Hitler also wasted considerable resources on the development of terror or "vengeance" weaponry, the V-1 and V-2.

The Luftwaffe played key roles in the German victories over Poland in 1939 and over France and the Low Countries in 1940. Its limitations first became evident during the Battle of Britain, when Göring attempted to wage a strategic bombing campaign with a tactical air force. Germany's defeat in this battle was its

first setback of the war. The Luftwaffe was also impressive in the fighting against the Soviet Union, at least until the Battle of Stalingrad. But in the fighting on the Eastern Front, the superb combined-arms instrument that had been the German military to that point began to come unhinged. By the fall of 1941, Germany was overextended, and the Luftwaffe's small airlift capacity of Junkers Ju-52 trimotor transports was unable to fulfill all the missions required of it. Although Germany increased its aircraft production during the war, as the conflict continued, and under relentless Allied bombing, it suffered from lack of aviation fuel. This was the key factor in the defeat of the Luftwaffe, rather than inferior or too few aircraft.

By 1944, the Luftwaffe was feeling the effects of the Allied bomber offensive. In the first half of the year, pilot losses were averaging 20 percent a month, and the scarcity of fuel forced the routine grounding of aircraft not only for operations but also for training. In a period when replacement aircrews were desperately needed, flight time for trainees had been reduced to less than half that for their Allied counterparts. This in turn led to increasing numbers of accidents. By the time of the June 1944 Normandy invasion, the much-vaunted Luftwaffe had been largely silenced.

Pamela Feltus and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Airborne Forces, Axis; Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Aircraft, Gliders; Aircraft, Transport; Antiaircraft Artillery and Employment; Armaments Production; Aviation, Ground-Attack; "Big Week" Air Battle; "Blitz," The; Blitzkrieg; Britain, Battle of; Crete, Battle of; Crete, Naval Operations off; Douhet, Giulio; Fighter Tactics; France, Battle for; Glider; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Guernica, Kondor Legion, Attack on; Hamburg, Raids on; Hitler, Adolf; Jeschonnek, Hans; Jet and Rocket Aircraft; Kesselring, Albert; Kondor Legion; Malta; Messerschmitt, Wilhelm Emil; Milch, Erhard; Parachute Infantry; Poland Campaign, 1939; Richthofen, Wolfram von; Rotterdam, Destruction of; Speer, Albert; Stalingrad, Battle of; Strategic Bombing; Student, Kurt; Udet, Ernst; V-1 Buzz Bomb; V-2 Rocket; Wilhemshaven

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Germany, Army

At the tactical level of warfare, the German army—the Reichsheer—of World War II may well have been the best

Before the end of the war, the Germans introduced the Messerschmitt Me-262, the world's first operational jet aircraft.

ground force in the history of warfare to that time. On the strategic level, the Germans had major blind spots that go a long way toward explaining why they lost two world wars despite having the best army in the field. At the middle level of warfare—that of operations—historians continue to argue about the German army. One school holds that the German doctrine of blitzkrieg was the most sophisticated example of the operational art to that time. The other school argues that what passed for operational art in the German army was little more than tactics on a grand scale.

The Reichsheer of World War II (the Wehrmacht was the entire German military, not just the army) grew out of the 100,000-man Reichswehr that was allowed to Germany following World War I under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. On 1 October 1934, Adolf Hitler ordered the threefold secret expansion of the Reichswehr. Conscription was reintroduced in March 1935, establishing a further increased objective base strength of 38 divisions and approximately 600,000 troops. By 1939, the two main components of the German army were the field army (Feldheer) and the replacement army (Ersatzheer). The field army had more than 2 million soldiers and was organized into 120 divisions—99 infantry, 9 panzer, 6 motorized, 1 cavalry, 3 mountain, and 2 parachute. The replacement army consisted of a force of approximately 100,000 men in training or transit. From 1942 on, the numbers of replacements became progressively insufficient to keep frontline units up to authorized strength levels.

The infantry division was the primary tactical element of the German army. In 1940, the standard German infantry division had 17,200 troops, 942 motor vehicles, and 5,375 horses. By 1944, there were 226 infantry divisions, but their size had shrunk to 12,352 troops, 615 motor vehicles, and 4,656 horses. Despite its reputation as the master of mechanized and mobile warfare, the German army relied heavily on horses right up until the end of the war. Almost all field artillery in the infantry divisions was horse-drawn. The German divisions were organized according to a triangular structure, with (1) three infantry regiments of three battalions of three companies each; (2) a divisional artillery command with a field artillery regiment of three battalions of three batteries each, a heavy artillery battalion, and an observation battalion; (3) reconnaissance, engineer, signals, and antitank battalions; and (4) the divisional (supply) trains. Each division also generally had an antiaircraft battalion attached to it from the Luftwaffe.

The Germans did, however, field various forms of motorized or mechanized units. By 1941, they had a total of 10 motorized infantry divisions and light infantry divisions. Later in the war, these units were redesignated as panzergrenadier divisions. Germany ultimately fielded 22 of these units. They were organized along the general lines of the infantry divisions, but they had more motor vehicles and an

organic tank regiment. In 1940, the standard motorized/light division had 14,000 troops, 3,370 motor vehicles, 158 tanks, and more than 1,500 horses. The 1944 panzergrenadier division had 13,833 soldiers, 2,637 motor vehicles, 48 tanks, and more than 1,400 horses.

The Germans had several specialized divisions. Mountain divisions were essentially smaller and lighter versions of the infantry division. Germany had 3 mountain divisions in 1940 and 13 in 1944. Fortress divisions and security divisions were divisions in name only; they could not be seriously equated with other divisions in the army's order of battle. The fortress divisions were little more than stationary garrisons, seldom larger than a regiment in strength. The security divisions were used to secure rear-area lines of communication and to conduct antipartisan operations on the Eastern Front. In a last act of desperation late in the war, Germany created Volksgrenadier (people's grenadier divisions) for defense of the Reich itself. Heavily manned by old men and young boys with almost no military training, these units were armed with a high proportion of automatic and antitank weapons. Because of the weapons' high firepower and the fact that the units were defending their home ground, these units sometimes gave a surprisingly good account of themselves.

The Germans began the war with one (horse) cavalry division, which fought in the Poland Campaign in 1939. By 1944, Germany actually had four such divisions, all operating on the Eastern Front. Late in the war, Germany fielded its single artillery division, which was based on the Soviet model. The Red Army, which had hundreds of thousands of artillery pieces, fielded almost 100 artillery divisions. But for the Germans, who were chronically short on artillery throughout the war, fielding an artillery division was an almost pointless exercise. The Germans did not have sufficient artillery to equip their infantry and panzer divisions, let alone form more artillery divisions.

Organizationally, all German parachute divisions were part of the Luftwaffe, but operationally they fought under army command. The Germans had 2 parachute divisions in 1940 and 11 in 1944. After the near-disaster on Crete, German parachute divisions never again jumped in combat. They spent the remainder of the war fighting as light infantry, but their traditional paratrooper élan remained, and they were fierce opponents, especially in Italy. The German air force also fielded land divisions that operated under army command. The formation of these air force field units was another desperate measure. As attrition ground down the Luftwaffe's aircraft, especially on the Eastern Front, excess personnel were hastily grouped into these field divisions. Often, the new ground soldiers had little or no infantry training. Germany had 19 such divisions in 1944.

The panzer division was the mailed striking fist of the German army. The first three panzer divisions were raised as



German soldiers in Russia, 1941. (National Archives)

completely new units in the fall of 1935, but they were not fully operational until September 1937. Thereafter, new panzer divisions were created by converting infantry or other divisions. There were 9 panzer divisions by 1939 and 26 by 1944. From 1941, the panzer divisions were in action almost constantly and continually subject to being ground down by attrition. A panzer division in 1940 had some 14,000 troops, 1,800 motor vehicles, and 337 horses. The standard panzer division had 324 tanks, and a variation known as a light panzer division had 219 tanks. By 1944, the typical panzer division had 13,700 troops, but the number of motor vehicles had decreased to 48, whereas the number of horses had increased to almost 1,700. On paper, at least, a 1944 panzer division had 150 tanks; in the last year of the war, however, many panzer divisions could only field a handful of tanks.

The *Waffen-Schutzstaffel* (*Waffen-SS*) was separate from the army and even from the *Wehrmacht*. However, it was essentially the Nazi Party's army, and it fielded combat divisions that fought under army command and control, much like the *Luftwaffe's* field and parachute divisions. By 1944, there were 7 *SS* panzer divisions and 11 panzergrenadier divisions. The organization of the *Waffen-SS* divisions was similar to the organization of their *Wehrmacht* counterparts, but because of their unquestioning loyalty to Hitler they were often better equipped.

The echelon of command above the division was the corps, which consisted of two or more divisions and additional corps support troops and artillery. The two basic types of corps were the army corps, consisting primarily of infantry divisions, and the panzer corps, consisting primarily of panzer divisions. The *XCI Armeekorps* was the highest-numbered corps. The next-higher echelon of command was the field army, comprising two or more corps. Field armies normally were designated by numbers, but in a few instances they were designated by a name. Field armies also had their own pools of combat assets such as artillery and separate heavy tank battalions. The German army's largest operational unit was the army group (*Heeresgruppe*), which controlled several field armies or corps directly. The army group also was responsible for providing support to all units in its area, as well as for the rear-area lines of communication and logistical services. Army groups were designated by their locations, by their commander's name, or by a letter.

The Germans had several elite units designated only by their name. *Grossdeutschland* (greater Germany)—also called “the bodyguard of the German people”—was first formed in 1938 as a ceremonial battalion. By 1939, it had expanded to the size of a regiment, and by 1942 it was an oversized division. At the end of the war, *Panzerarmee Grossdeutschland* commanded five divisions under two corps. The *Panzer Lehr* Division, which was

the most powerful German armored division in Western Europe at the time of the Allied landings in Normandy, was formed in the winter of 1943–1944 with instructors and troops from the German armored school. The Infanterie-Lehr Regiment was an elite unit formed from instructors and infantry-school troops. In 1944, Hitler personally ordered the Infanterie-Lehr to Anzio to block the Allied landings there.

Command and control in the German army suffered from a confused structure at the very top, which only compounded the German weaknesses at the strategic and operational levels. Three different high-command headquarters were seldom in agreement and often in competition. The Oberkommando des Heeres (army high command, OKH), the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (armed forces high command, OKW), and the supreme commander (Hitler) and his staff often issued conflicting orders to the same units. In theory, OKH ran the war in the Soviet Union, and the OKW ran the war everywhere else. Hitler's Führerhauptquartier (Führer headquarters) issued all the key strategic orders.

Despite the popular stereotypes, reinforced by countless Hollywood movies and television programs, the common German soldier of World War II was anything but stupid and unimaginative, and his officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) were neither machinelike nor inflexible autocrats. Rather, the German army encouraged initiative among its subordinate leaders and stressed flexibility and creativity to a degree far greater than any other army prior to 1945. This was the key to its tactical excellence. German combat orders, rather than dictating detailed and rigid timelines and specific instructions on how to accomplish missions, tended to be short and as broad as possible. The principle under which the German command system operated was called *Auftragstaktik*, which can only very loosely be translated into English as “mission orders.” For *Auftragstaktik* to work, a subordinate leader had to understand the intent of his higher commander at least two echelons up. That meant that the subordinate had the right to ask his superior why something was being done, and the superior was obligated to explain. Such a practice was virtually unheard of in almost all the other armies of World War II.

Despite superb organization and tactical tools at the lower levels, the confused high-command structure and Germany's incoherent strategy doomed the German army over the long run. Hitler did a great deal personally to subvert solid military command and control. He distrusted his generals, and for the most part they distrusted him. During the early years of the war, 1939 and 1940, Hitler was the beneficiary of outrageously good luck and inept opponents. This only served to reinforce his belief in what he thought was his divinely inspired military genius. When the commander in chief of the German army, General Walther von Brauchitsch, retired for medical reasons in late 1941, Hitler—the former World War I lance corporal—assumed direct command of the army. By

that time, however, Hitler had led Germany once again into its worst strategic nightmare, a two-front war.

The German army also suffered from several internal and external handicaps that were beyond its ability to control. Germany was chronically short of virtually every vital resource necessary for modern warfare. A panzer division in 1940 still had more than 300 horses, and four years later that number had risen to 1,700. Roughly only 10 percent of the army was ever motorized. In 1940, OKH planners estimated that it would require at least 210 divisions to execute the invasions of France and the Low Countries while simultaneously garrisoning Poland and Norway. At the time, they were 20 divisions short. The chronic shortages of manpower and motorized transport only worsened as the war progressed. The situation did not improve even after German industry was mobilized in 1944. By then, of course, it was far too late.

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See also

Anzio, Battle of; Artillery Doctrine; Blitzkrieg; Brauchitsch, Heinrich Alfred Hermann Walther von; Crete, Battle of; Hitler, Adolf; Infantry Tactics; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Waffen-SS

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Germany, Collapse of (March–May 1945)

Adolf Hitler's failed Ardennes Offensive (Battle of the Bulge) during December 1944–January 1945, far from stalling the western Allies as Hitler had hoped, actually hastened the German military collapse. By 1 March 1945, Allied Supreme Commander in the west General Dwight D. Eisenhower had assembled sufficient forces for a full frontal assault. By April,

it would be the largest coalition army ever assembled in war. Several hundred miles to the east, Soviet leader Josef Stalin massed three fronts (army groups) for the final drive on Berlin. The Soviets were consolidating their positions for a final assault and ensuring that their Baltic flank was not exposed. Supporting these huge Allied armies were their air forces, which now had complete control of the skies. Large numbers of British and U.S. aircraft continued the strategic bombing campaign against the German heartland. During the period 1–21 March, more than 10,000 American and British bombers dropped in excess of 31,000 tons of bombs on the Ruhr area alone.

Undaunted by the overwhelming odds against him, German leader Adolf Hitler clung to the hope of victory. Conducting operations from the troglodyte atmosphere of his Berlin bunker and surrounded primarily by sycophants, the Führer relied on his so-called V (for “vengeance”) weapons—the V-1 buzz bomb and V-2 rocket—as well as new jet aircraft. He also hoped for some miracle, such as Allied dissension, to turn the tide. The only military realist in headquarters was army chief of staff General Heinz Guderian. His clashes with Hitler, however, led to his departure at the end of March.

The onslaught from the west began with a drive to the Rhine River. From north to south, Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery commanded the 21st Army Group. It consisted of General Henry Crerar’s Canadian First Army, Lieutenant General Miles Dempsey’s British Second Army, and Lieutenant General William H. Simpson’s U.S. Ninth Army, temporarily assigned to Montgomery’s command from that of Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley’s 12th Army Group. In the center was Bradley’s 12th Army Group, the largest American field force ever commanded by a U.S. general. Bradley’s army group comprised the U.S. First Army under Lieutenant General Courtney Hodges; Lieutenant General George S. Patton’s U.S. Third Army; and Major General Leonard Gerow’s U.S. Fifteenth Army, whose forces were engaged in occupation duty and the elimination of bypassed pockets of German resistance. In the south was the 6th Army Group of Lieutenant General Jacob Devers, which consisted of Lieutenant General Alexander Patch’s U.S. Seventh Army and General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny’s French First Army. The 6th Army Group eliminated the Colmar pocket and advanced toward the Rhine between the Belgian and Swiss borders.

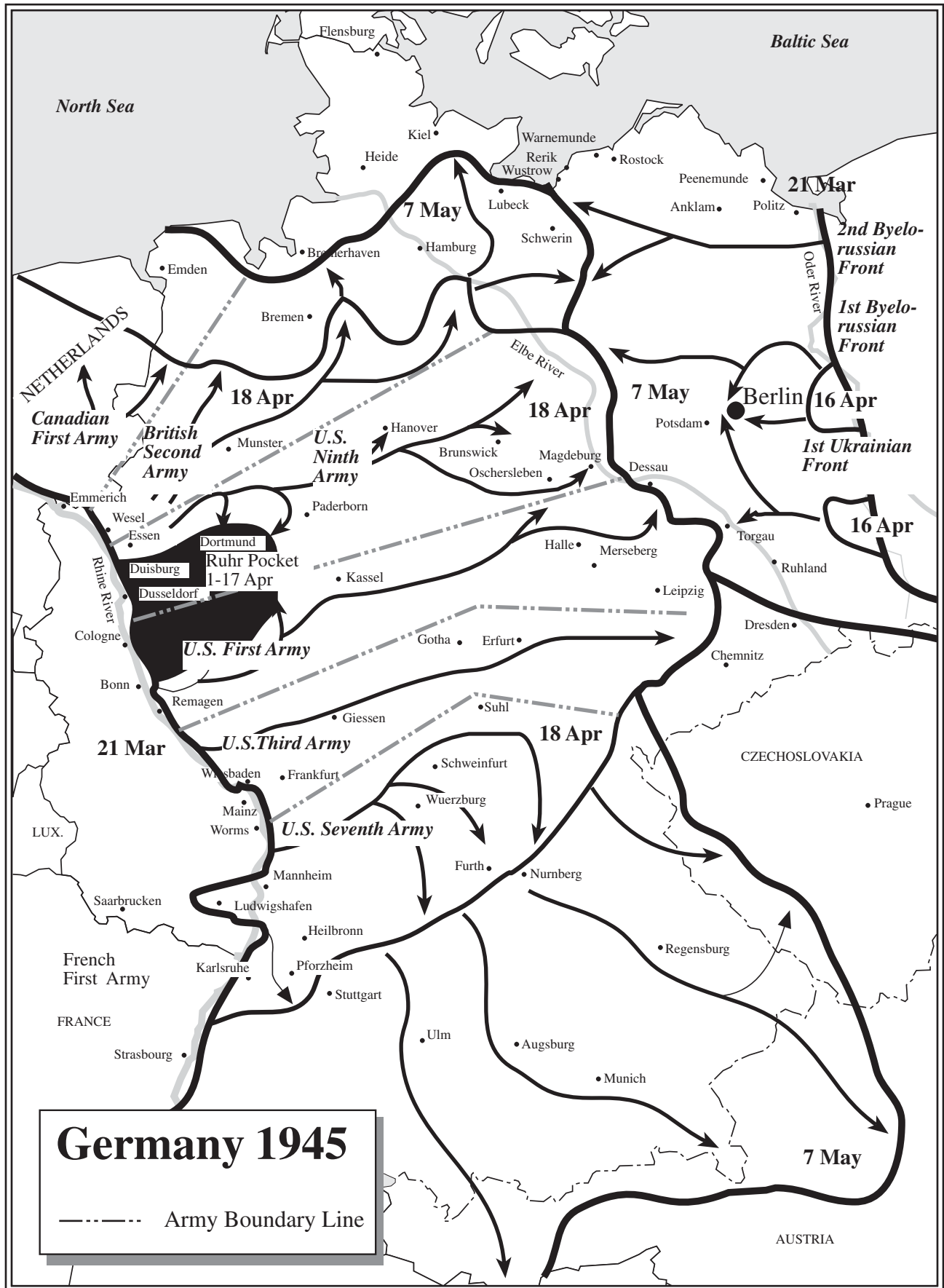
Elements of Hodges’s First Army discovered the railroad bridge at Remagen intact, and they pushed forces across it to establish a bridgehead on the eastern side of the Rhine. German troops were everywhere withdrawing toward the Rhine. In typical fashion, Hitler replaced his commander in the west, Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt, with Field Marshal Albert Kesselring. The western Allies then launched Operation *UNDERTONE*, an assault on the Saar-Palatinate region, wherein

the U.S. Third and Seventh Armies broke through the German Siegfried Line and destroyed Schutzstaffel Oberstgruppenführer Paul Hausser’s German First Army. On 22–23 March, Montgomery launched Operation *PLUNDER*, a large-scale attack on the lower Rhine. Meanwhile, Patton’s troops crossed the Rhine at Oppenheim on 22 March. All along the front, Allied forces moved relentlessly eastward. In April, the XVIII Airborne Corps encircled Field Marshal Walther Model’s Army Group B, resulting in the surrender of 300,000 German troops. German cities capitulated rapidly; many streets were lined with white flags. On 20 April, Nuremberg fell to Patch’s U.S. Third Army.

On 31 March on the Eastern Front, three Soviet fronts (army groups) opened the Berlin Campaign to take the German capital. They were Marshal Ivan Konev’s 2nd Ukrainian Front, Marshal Georgii Zhukov’s 1st Belorussian Front, and Marshal Konstantin Rokossovski’s 2nd Belorussian Front. Konev’s troops, supported by massive artillery barrages, cut across the Neisse River, destroying the German Fourth Panzer Army. Zhukov faced stiff German resistance and sustained heavy casualties, although his forces wore down the defenders. By this time, the German armies were only shadows of their former selves and included many young untrained levies. Steadily the Soviets drove Army Group *Vistula* back near Berlin. Hitler, meanwhile, insisted on a scorched-earth policy; he also called on German citizens to act as “werewolves,” and he dared to hope that the miracle of the House of Brandenburg of the Seven Years’ War—in which the coalition against Prussian King Frederick II came undone on the death of Russian Tsarina Elizabeth—might be repeated. He even seized on the death of U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt on 12 April 1945 as an omen that Germany would yet survive. As propaganda minister Josef Goebbels exhorted the people of Berlin to defend their city, Hitler called up Volkstrum troops (the largely untrained older civilian militia) and the Hitler Youth to defend his dying Third Reich.

At the same time, millions of German refugees were fleeing west to avoid falling into the hands of the Soviets. The German navy evacuated hundreds of thousands of Germans from the Baltics. Many others made their way west on foot. Ultimately, perhaps 16 million Germans were displaced from their homelands in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere. More than 2 million may have been killed in the exodus that followed. Those who escaped or were forced to leave added yet another burden on already strained German social services.

On Hitler’s birthday, 20 April 1945, Zhukov’s troops pierced through three German defensive lines defending Berlin. On 22 April, Soviet troops were fighting in the city itself, and three days later they had surrounded Berlin. That same day, 25 April, elements of Bradley’s 12th Army Group



linked up with Soviet troops of Konev's 1st Ukrainian Front at Torgau on the Elbe River.

The last significant German counterattack of the war occurred on 25–26 April when General der Waffen-SS Felix Steiner's Eleventh Army struck at Soviet forces driving on Berlin near Oranienburg, to no avail. Almost 500,000 Soviet troops were now battling for Berlin. Hitler, defiant to the last, refused to leave his capital and committed suicide on 30 April. To the end, he refused to accept responsibility and blamed others for Germany's defeat. Hitler's designated successor as chief of state, Grossadmiral Karl Dönitz, then took over what remained of German forces. Meanwhile, the Allies had overrun northern Italy. Remaining German forces there surrendered on 2 May.

In the west, Lieutenant General Walton Walker's XX Corps of Patton's Third Army reached the Austrian border opposite Braunau. Then, on 2 May, Lieutenant General Helmuth Weidling, commander of Berlin, surrendered the German capital to Soviet Colonel General Vassili Chuikov. On 3 May, elements of Montgomery's 21st Army Group linked up with Rokossovsky's 2nd Byelorussian Front at Wismar. Marshal Rodion Malinovsky's 2nd Ukrainian Front moved from Hungary into Austria and Czechoslovakia and prepared to link up with Patton's Third Army, which was advancing down the Danube near Linz.

Remaining German forces under Dönitz still controlled Norway, Denmark, western Holland, and portions of Germany, Yugoslavia, Austria, and Czechoslovakia. Although Dönitz realized defeat was certain, he briefly stalled for time to rescue additional German refugees fleeing westward. On 7 May, Dönitz surrendered all German forces unconditionally to the victorious Allies; a formal ceremony was held the next day. The guns fell silent. Germany lay prostrate and in ruins, its social services a shambles and its cities great wastelands of twisted girders and rubble.

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See also

Ardennes Offensive; Berlin, Land Battle for; Devers, Jacob Loucks; Dönitz, Karl; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Gerow, Leonard Townsend; Guderian, Heinz; Hausser, Paul "Papa"; Hitler, Adolf; Hodges, Courtney Hicks; Jet and Rocket Aircraft; Jodl, Alfred; Keitel, Wilhelm; Kesselring, Albert; Konev, Ivan Stepanovich; Lattre de Tassigny, Jean Joseph Marie Gabriel de; Malinovsky, Rodion Yakovlevich; Model, Walther; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Patch, Alexander McCarrell, Jr.; Patton, George Smith; Remagen Bridge; Rokossovsky, Konstantin Konstantinovich; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von; Simpson, William Hood; Stalin, Josef; Walker, Walton Harris; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Germany, Home Front

The popular assumption that Nazi Germany was a well-organized war machine is patently false. It is true, however, that no time was likely to be as favorable as September 1939 for German leader Adolf Hitler to join in war with the western powers. Britain and France were only then rearming, and Germany had a population of 80 million people, a strong industrial base, and the world's most powerful army and air force. The economy was unbalanced, with imports running well in excess of exports, but Hitler planned to redress this imbalance by seizing in war all that the Reich required.

The National Socialist state controlled the media, with propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels adroitly manipulating the press, radio, film, and party rallies. Informers on every block and the Gestapo (secret state police) kept a close watch on activities, but most Germans accepted the Führer's policies. Sullen resignation over the start of the war in September 1939 turned to euphoria after Germany's victories over France and the Low Countries. In the winter of 1941, when the military situation began to deteriorate on the Russian plains, Germans settled into a sort of stoic determination that lasted until near the end. Most Germans were aware of the price their nation was exacting from the rest of Europe, and they could thus believe the Allies would repay them in kind. However, to ensure the loyalty of the Reich's citizens, Hitler ordered that judges ignore established law and procedure and dispense only "National Socialist justice." Hitler expressly approved the Gestapo's use of torture. The complete subversion of the German legal system to Nazi rule came with the appointment in August 1942 of Roland Freisler as president of the Volksgerichtshof (people's court).

Once he had secured power in 1933, Hitler sought to harness the German economy for war preparation. He well understood that his desire for new lands in the east (lebensraum) had to be realized through a series of swift and decisive military victories. The German economy could not sustain a long drawn-out war. Thus the blitzkrieg (lightning war) was born of economic necessity.

In 1936, Hitler instituted a Four-Year Plan for the economy under Reichsmarschall (Reich Marshal) Herman Göring. The idea was designed to centralize the economy. However, as with everything else in the Third Reich, the rivalry of higher-ranking officials, encouraged by Hitler, meant that the economy remained a battlefield for various competing interests, even within the armed forces themselves. Despite these inefficiencies, Germany rebuilt its mili-



General view of the German city of Nuremberg, following the cessation of organized resistance. In the distance, the twin-spired Lorenz Church; on the right and surrounded with rubble is a statue of Kaiser Wilhelm I, 1945. (Roberts Commission, National Archives)

tary. Spending on the armed forces, however, was consuming 50 percent of the budget, or approximately 60 billion reichsmarks, per year. Hjalmar Schacht, head of the Reichsbank, pointed out that this level of expenditure could not be sustained.

Besides military growth, another goal of the Four-Year Plan was German economic autarky in such key areas as the petrochemical industry and reduction of imports of other raw materials necessary for war production, including rubber and minerals. From 1936 to 1938, the Four-Year Plan concentrated on production of raw materials; after 1938, attention was focused on production of finished goods such as tanks, aircraft, and artillery pieces for immediate war use. Between 1936 and 1942, the Four-Year Plan represented 50 percent (13.25 billion reichsmarks) of total German industrial investment.

Memories of World War I, when the British naval blockade starved Germany of raw materials and foodstuffs, underpinned German planning. The August 1939 German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact, however, removed much of the impact of the blockade during World War II, as did the addition of

Romania—with its important oil fields of Ploesti—to the Axis alliance after the war began.

Despite emphasis on military production, the Nazi hierarchy feared the impact on home-front morale of shortages of consumer goods. Production of consumer goods from 1936 to 1939, when Germany was straining to increase its armaments, actually went up by 25 percent. This continued during the war; Germans enjoyed both “guns and butter” and a relatively high standard of living until 1944. After the successful military campaigns of 1939 and 1940, Hitler recommended a reduction in arms production in order not to affect civilian morale. The government pacified the population with incentives such as bonuses for night shifts and overtime pay on holidays. Despite an official decree to freeze salaries, average wages from September 1939 to March 1941 rose by 10.4 percent.

Even in 1942, consumer expenditures were maintained at about the 1937 level, and few new economic restrictions were imposed. Raw materials were in short supply, but these were deliberately depleted in the expectation of a quick victory over the Soviet Union. This optimistic outlook changed with

the German reverses in the winter of 1941–1942. In February 1942, when Fritz Todt, minister of armaments and production, died in a plane crash, Hitler named Albert Speer as Todt's replacement.

An organizing genius with a keen interest in efficiency rather than ideology, Speer created a centralized machinery of control in the Central Planning Board. By 1943, Speer had nearly complete control of the national economy and was able substantially to boost production. He also enacted industrial policies to standardize production by limiting the number of different types of armaments produced and promoting factory assembly-line methods. In fact, German war production was at its height in 1944, despite Allied bombing, and production of consumer goods dropped only slightly. In March 1944, German aircraft plants went on double shifts and a seven-day workweek. Thus Germany attained its highest levels of aircraft, tanks, and munitions production in late 1944 while bearing the full brunt of Allied bombing. But by then it was too late. When the Allies shifted their bombing emphasis to lines of communication and petroleum production, the transportation system collapsed and there was no fuel to operate the tanks and new jet aircraft.

Speer might have accomplished more had he not been handicapped by jealous rivals, such as the multi-hatted Hermann Göring and Reichsführer-Schutzstaffel (leader for the Reich, RFSS) Heinrich Himmler. Himmler was a major hindrance. Constantly scheming to enhance the power of the SS within the Reich, he actually undermined the economy. The SS grew to be a state within a state, and Hitler even approved Himmler's proposal to build an SS-owned industrial concern to make it independent of the state budget.

Major factors in Speer's success, of course, were the substantial territory and resources Germany had acquired by 1942. Germany could exploit the resources of this new empire—skilled labor, industry, and metallurgical resources from France and Belgium; foodstuffs and other resources from Denmark, Norway, and the Balkans. There were also substantial resources in the vast stretches of the Soviet Union occupied by the German army from June 1941 onward, although many of these resources were simply those Germany had depended on in the past.

Spain was a friendly neutral country, and Sweden, Portugal, and Switzerland continued to trade with the Reich and conduct its business. In addition, ruthless German economic exactions helped finance the war. German-occupied Western Europe provided substantial raw materials and money to fuel the German war machine. Of the total German war expenditure of 657 billion reichsmarks, the German people paid only 184.7 billion. France alone paid “administrative costs” to Germany at the absurdly high sum of 20 million reichsmarks a day, calculated at the greatly inflated rate of exchange of 20 francs per reichsmark and amounting to some 60 percent of French national income.

The National Socialist regime failed to use two readily available sources of labor, however. The Nazis had done all in their power to reverse the emancipation of women during the Weimar Republic. Restricting women to the “three Ks” of *Kinder*, *Kirche*, and *Küche* (children, church, and kitchen) meant that during the Great Depression jobs were secured only for men. This system carried forward into the war with serious implications for the war economy. Speer claimed that mobilizing the 5 million women capable of war service would have released 3 million German males for military service. Such a step might have altered the results of battles and campaigns, although it probably would not have affected the overall outcome of the war.

As early as 1942, Speer recommended that women be recruited for industry, but Hitler rejected this advice. Not until 1943 were women between 17 and 45 years of age required to register for compulsory work. Later, the upper age limit for women was raised to 50, and the age span for men was set at 16 to 65. By 1944, German women actually outnumbered men in the civilian labor force at 51.6 percent.

Another available source of skilled labor that had served the Fatherland well during World War I was the Jews. Numbering about 600,000 when Hitler came to power, many German Jews soon escaped abroad. Virtually all who remained and were identified perished in the “final solution.” The systematic extermination of European Jewry also took its toll on the war effort, as considerable manpower was absorbed simply in rounding up and transporting European Jews to the death camps.

The Third Reich sought to compensate for labor shortages by using foreign workers. In March 1942, Fritz Sauckel became general Reich director for labor, or minister of labor. In 1942, there were 3.8 million fewer people employed in the German economy than in 1939. The Germans tried to attract foreign skilled workers with financial incentives. When this approach failed, the occupiers simply rounded up those they thought necessary and shipped them to Germany to work in appalling conditions. By the end of 1942, the total number of people working in the German arms industry had risen by 1.3 million. By September 1944, there were 7.5 million foreign and 28.4 million German workers, and at the end of the war there were upward of 10 million foreign workers in the Reich. Such labor was hardly efficient. Speer noted that in October 1943, some 30,000 prisoners working in armaments production produced over a seven-month period only 40,000 carbines, whereas 14,000 U.S. workers turned out 1,050,000 carbines in the same amount of time. Until 1944, most German factories only ran a single shift per day, and only 10 percent of employees were working a second or third shift.

Only at the very end of the war, when it was clear even to the German leadership that the war was lost, did the regime risk disrupting the German home front. By then, of course, German cities were being devastated by Allied strategic

bombing. The suffering of his people did not seem to disturb Hitler. He held that Germans had proven “unworthy” of him and thus deserved to perish with him.

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See also

German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact; Germany, Collapse of; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Himmler, Heinrich; Saukel, Fritz; Speer, Albert; Strategic Bombing; Todt Organization; Women in World War II

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Germany, Navy

Under Adolf Hitler, Germany embarked on a program to rebuild its navy on a global scale. The German navy (Kriegsmarine) began this major effort after the signing of the Anglo-German Naval Treaty in June 1935. The goal was creation of a balanced fleet that would serve as the core of a future blue-water navy dominated by battleships. This Z Plan envisioned a powerful fleet that would one day challenge Britain and the United States for world naval mastery.

In 1938, Hitler's aggressive foreign policy forced the navy to consider the possibility of a future naval war against Great Britain. The navy's commander, Grand Admiral Erich Raeder, designed a strategy to attack the British sea-lanes. His proposal to build ships more suited to a commerce war, including additional U-boats, was rejected by Hitler, who was intent on building a battleship-dominated navy that would serve as an instrument of political and military force commensurate with a world power. Shortages of resources contributed to delays in naval construction, and Raeder's blind confidence in the Führer's diplomatic successes and promises that war would not come before 1942 or 1943 found the navy unprepared for war in September 1939.

At the beginning of the war, the German navy consisted of 79,000 men, 2 battleships, 3 pocket battleships (small, fast, strongly constructed battleships), 1 heavy cruiser, 6 light cruisers, and 33 destroyers and torpedo boats. Fewer than half of the 57 U-boats available were suitable for Atlantic

operations. In spite of Raeder's initial pessimism that the navy could only “die gallantly,” thereby creating the foundations for a future fleet, he intended to carry out an aggressive naval strategy that would attack British sea communications on a global basis using his concept of diversion and concentration in operational areas of his own choosing and timing. Raeder persistently argued with Hitler that only total economic warfare against England could have a decisive impact.

Hitler's restrictions on naval operations, particularly on the U-boats, frustrated Raeder's attempts to seize the initiative and achieve early successes. In late 1939, concerned that the British were planning to invade Norway, Raeder instigated planning for the successful German occupation of Norway and Denmark (Operation WESERÜBUNG). This April 1940 operation was for the navy its “feat of arms”—justifying its contribution to the war effort and future existence. Although the navy did secure important port facilities for surface raiders and U-boats in Norway as well as the shipping route for iron ore from Sweden, it also suffered substantial losses in the operation in the form of 3 cruisers and 10 destroyers. In June, with the defeat of France, the navy acquired additional ports on the Atlantic and Bay of Biscay for surface ships and submarines. But the navy also now had to protect an extended coastline from occupied France to Scandinavia. From 1940 to 1943, Germany also sent to sea 9 armed auxiliary cruisers.

Raeder's intent to prove the worth of the surface fleet, in particular the battleships, led him to demand of his commanders that they take risks yet avoid unnecessary combat that could lead to losses. Two fleet commanders lost their jobs when they failed to exhibit the necessary aggressiveness. The scuttling of the pocket battleship *Graf Spee* in December 1939 and Hitler's displeasure over this loss further reinforced the inherent contradictions in Raeder's orders to strike boldly but avoid damage to the navy's own ships. With new battleships *Bismarck* and *Tirpitz* joining the fleet, Raeder envisioned a new phase of the Atlantic surface battle, with task forces that would engage Allied convoys protected by capital ships. In an effort to prove the value of the battleships, Raeder pressed the *Bismarck* into service before the other battleships were available for action. Her loss in May 1941 represented the end of the surface war in the Atlantic and Hitler's increasing interference in the use of Germany's remaining capital ships.

Unable to achieve the conditions for a cross-Channel invasion (Operation SEA LION) in September 1940, Raeder tried to divert Hitler from his plans to attack the Soviet Union. Raeder advocated an alternative strategy in the Mediterranean to defeat Britain first, especially given the growing cooperation between that nation and the United States. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Raeder saw an opportunity to link up with the Japanese in the Indian Ocean and use the French African colonies and the Atlantic islands of Portugal and Spain to expand the bases for a long-term war against the

Anglo-American naval forces in the Atlantic. These plans never materialized, as the war against the Soviet Union faltered and Germany was forced to come to the aid of Italy and secure its southern flank in the Balkans.

Nervous about British threats to Norway and Allied support to the Soviets in the north, Hitler ordered that the two battleships in Brest—the *Gneisenau* and *Scharnhorst*—and the heavy cruiser *Prinz Eugen* be either moved to Norway or scrapped. The “Channel dash” in February 1942 was a tactical success but a strategic defeat for the navy. With the fleet relegated to Norway as a “fleet-in-being,” the U-boat arm, under the command of Admiral Karl Dönitz, continued its role as the navy’s primary weapon. The lack of Luftwaffe support, though, continued to seriously hamper all operations. The navy never resolved the issue of whether the U-boat war was a “tonnage” war or a commerce war in which U-boats attacked targets that had the greatest potential for a decisive impact. Dönitz continued to argue that all resources should go to the U-boat war and disagreed with the diversion of U-boats to other theaters such as the Mediterranean or to the defense of Norway.

In late December 1942, the failure of the *Hipper* and *Lützow* to close with a weakly defended convoy in the Barents Sea (Operation RAINBOW) led an angry Hitler to attack Raeder and the surface fleet. Raeder resigned, and Dönitz succeeded him. Although Dönitz was determined to prosecute the submarine war ruthlessly, as with the surface fleet, the defeat of the U-boats in May 1943 resulted from Allied technology and successes in code-breaking that reflected the shortcomings in the naval leadership and military structure of the Third Reich. As the military situation of Germany deteriorated, the navy provided support to the army, particularly in the Baltic, where it conducted a massive and highly successful evacuation effort of troops and civilians.

In sharp contrast to the navy’s collapse after World War I, the German navy during World War II enforced strict discipline until the end. In April 1945, Hitler named a loyal Dönitz as his heir and successor.

Keith W. Bird

See also

Atlantic, Battle of the; *Bismarck*, Sortie and Sinking of; Channel Dash; Convoy PQ 17; Dönitz, Karl; DRUMBEAT, Operation; Hitler, Adolf; Narvik, Naval Battles of; North Cape, Battle of; Plata, Río de la, Battle of; Prien, Günther; Raeder, Erich; SEA LION, Operation; Signals Intelligence; WESERÜBUNG, Operation; Z Plan

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Germany, Surrender of (8 May 1945)

German leader Adolf Hitler resolutely refused appeals from his subordinates for an end to the war. Claiming that the German people were unworthy of him, Hitler asserted that they must suffer the consequences. On 30 April 1945, with much of Germany in ruins and with Berlin under siege, Hitler committed suicide. His handpicked successor, Admiral Karl Dönitz, assumed the office of president of the Reich. Dönitz established a new government at Flensburg in the German province of Schleswig-Holstein.

This administration, dedicated to preserving the Third Reich, was compelled by the sharply deteriorating military situation to surrender German forces to the Allied powers. Dönitz’s chief consideration at the beginning of May was to negotiate an armistice with only the western Allied powers in order for German forces in the east to conduct a fighting withdrawal that would save them from Soviet captivity. This goal, however, was frustrated by the insistence of the western Allies that Germany surrender unconditionally to all of the Allied powers.

Dönitz tried to stave off absolute capitulation through the piecemeal surrender of portions of the Third Reich and occupied Europe. On 3 May, Admiral Hans-Georg von Friedeberg surrendered German forces in Denmark, Holland, and northern Germany to British Field Marshal Sir Bernard Montgomery. Dönitz was able to avoid complete surrender for several additional days after Friedeberg’s action, which allowed 3 million German troops to escape the Soviets. Unable to postpone action any longer, however, on 7 May 1945 Colonel General Alfred Jodl signed a surrender document at Supreme Commander, Allied Expeditionary Forces General Dwight D. Eisenhower’s headquarters in Rheims, France. Lieutenant General Walter Bedell Smith and Major General Ivan Sousloparov represented the western Allies and the Soviet Union, respectively. Also in attendance was Major General François Sevez of the French army. The agreement specified the unconditional surrender of all German land, sea, and air forces to the Supreme Commander, Allied Expeditionary Forces and also to the Soviet High Command.

The terms of the German surrender stipulated that all German military forces would cease fighting at 11:01 P.M. central European time on 8 May 1945. The final terms of the agreement stated that the surrender could be superseded by any similar



German officers sign unconditional surrender in Rheims, France. (National Archives)

legislation passed by the United Nations, and it promised swift retaliation were any German forces to resume combat operations. This document signaled the end of fighting, but the actual surrender of German troops in German-occupied regions stretched until a capitulation on 11 May at Helgoland, an island located in the North Sea off the coast of Germany.

At the insistence of Soviet Premier Josef Stalin, a second, formal surrender instrument containing largely the same stipulations was signed in Berlin just after midnight on 9 May, despite the fact that the cease-fire had already gone into effect. Acting on behalf of the German High Command were Admiral Hans-Georg von Friedeburg, Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, and Colonel General Hans Jürgen Stumpff. Marshal Georgii Zhukov and Air Marshal Sir Arthur W. Tedder represented the Soviet Union and the western Allies, respectively. Also in attendance were French General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny and U.S. Army Air Forces General Carl Spaatz.

Although the agreement signed at Rheims signaled the end of Germany's participation in World War II, it did not terminate the Third Reich. The Allies retained Dönitz's government initially to deal with the immediate postwar problems of food distribution to German citizens and refugees. On 23 May 1945, however, Dönitz and his cabinet were removed and arrested

by the Allies. The new rulers of Germany, as of 5 June, were the Allied powers. They soon implemented plans for postwar Germany determined during wartime diplomatic conferences.

Eric W. Osborne

See also

Berlin, Land Battle for; Dönitz, Karl; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Hitler, Adolf; Jodl, Alfred; Keitel, Wilhelm; Lattre de Tassigny, Jean Joseph Marie Gabriel de; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Smith, Walter Bedell; Spaatz, Carl Andrew "Tooey"; Tedder, Sir Arthur William; Tehran Conference; Unconditional Surrender; Yalta Conference; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Gerow, Leonard Townsend (1888–1972)

U.S. Army general. Born in Petersburg, Virginia, on 13 July 1888, Leonard Gerow graduated from the Virginia Military Institute in 1911 and was commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry. Gerow took part in the 1914 occupation of Veracruz,



Lieutenant General Leonard T. Gerow. (Library of Congress)

Mexico. Following U.S. entry into World War I, Gerow served in France from April 1918 with the Signal Corps, fighting in the Second Battle of the Marne and the St. Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne Offensives.

Following the war, Gerow won promotion to permanent major in June 1920. Between the wars he commanded the Signal Corps (1919–1921) and alternated staff assignments in Washington; tours in Shanghai and the Philippines; and training courses at Fort Benning, Georgia; and Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where he excelled. From 1935 onward, Gerow served in the War Department's War Plans Division. Promoted to brigadier general in October 1940, he became chief of the War Plans Division in December 1940. From December 1941, he served simultaneously as assistant chief of staff.

In February 1942, Gerow was promoted to major general and took command of the 29th Infantry Division, which began advanced training in Britain the following October. Gerow was a leading member of the talented group of top American officers that General Dwight D. Eisenhower gathered around himself when he was supreme commander in Europe. In July 1943, Gerow took command of V Corps of what became Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley's First Army, which experienced heavy fighting in the Normandy Invasion of June and July 1944. On 25 August 1944, Gerow was the first Allied general to enter Paris. He then led V Corps

in campaigns through northern France and the Rhineland. In January 1945, Gerow was promoted to lieutenant general and took command of the new Fifteenth Army, which secured the western French coast, taking the ports of Saint-Nazaire and Lorient. The area was also a staging ground for training and equipping units to join the 12th Army Group, which carried the battle into Germany itself.

From October 1945 to January 1948, Gerow was commandant of the Command and General Staff College. He then commanded the Second Army at Fort Meade, Maryland, retiring in July 1950. He died at Petersburg, Virginia, on 12 October 1972.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Eisenhower, Dwight D.; France Campaign; Normandy Invasion and Campaign

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Ghormley, Robert Lee (1883–1958)

U.S. Navy admiral. Born in Portland, Oregon, on 15 October 1883, Robert Lee Ghormley graduated from the University of Idaho in 1902 and from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1906. Ghormley's first assignments were in cruisers. During World War I, he served as aide to the commander of the Battleship Force, Atlantic Fleet. He was then assistant director of the Overseas Division, Naval Overseas Transportation Service.

Between the wars, Ghormley held a variety of staff positions. In 1935 and 1936, Captain Ghormley commanded the battleship *Nevada*. He then directed the War Plans Office and, in 1939, became assistant to the chief of naval operations. In August 1940, now a rear admiral, Ghormley was sent to London as a naval observer and to recommend possible U.S. naval aid to Britain.

In June 1942, newly promoted to vice admiral, Ghormley was named commander to the South Pacific Area and Force. He assumed his new command as plans for the invasion of the U.S. Guadalcanal were in progress. Believing his forces to be unready, he requested a postponement in the operation, which was denied. He then seems to have distanced himself from the operation, while tensions between his subordinate commanders were left unresolved. After the Allied defeat in the Battle of Savo Island, Ghormley feared that the entire Guadalcanal operation would fail. As a result, he continued to maintain strong garrisons on other islands in the event of future Japanese



U.S. Vice Admiral Robert L. Ghormley. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

advances, rather than using those forces to assist in winning the protracted struggle on Guadalcanal. Ghormley suffered from a severely abscessed tooth at the time, which may have interfered with his decision making. In October 1942, following the Battle of Cape Esperance, Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, commander of the Pacific Fleet, replaced Ghormley with Vice Admiral William F. Halsey Jr., who infused an offensive spirit into the campaign that Ghormley seemed incapable of maintaining.

In 1943, Ghormley commanded the Hawaiian Sea Frontier, and in 1944 he took charge of the 14th Naval District, Hawaii. At the end of the war, Ghormley assumed command of U.S. Naval Forces in Germany (Task Force 124), which was charged among other things with demobilizing the German navy. Ghormley retired from the navy as a vice admiral in August 1946, and he died at Bethesda, Maryland, on 21 June 1958.

Edward F. Finch

See also

Cape Esperance, Battle of; Eastern Solomons, Battle of the; Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Nimitz, Chester William; Santa Cruz Islands, Battle of the; Savo Island, Battle of

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GI Bill (22 June 1944)

U.S. social welfare program for those serving in World War II. Officially known as the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944, the GI Bill remains one of the most popular and effective government programs in American history. Although federal law protected the right of veterans to return to their prewar jobs, many wanted and expected more than a return to their 1941 positions. The GI Bill was born partly out of a desire to reward the men of America's military for their service. President Franklin D. Roosevelt had originally envisioned a much larger program that included job retraining, but he agreed to a slightly less ambitious plan advanced by an alliance of Democrats and progressive Republicans.

Signed on 22 June 1944, the GI Bill paid for college tuition and vocational training and provided students with housing and medical benefits. Other aspects of the bill made available low-interest loans guaranteed by the federal government for mortgages and starting businesses. Unemployed veterans received cash payments. Supporters sought to use the program to empower veterans through education and training, thus making them less dependent on corporations, unions, or—in the long run—the federal government. The bill had the support of veterans' groups such as the American Legion, which helped to draft the legislation, and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The Hearst newspapers also lent their support.

The GI Bill had motives beyond showing the nation's gratitude to returning veterans. Remembering the plight of World War I veterans and the ignoble episode of the 1932 Bonus Army—when some 20,000 World War I veterans, impoverished by the Great Depression, converged on Washington in 1932 in the hope of collecting their adjusted compensation bonuses immediately rather than in 1945 as legislated—the bill aimed to ease veterans into the workplace slowly. Many economists and politicians feared that if 12 million veterans descended on the job market at the same time, the United States might return to economic depression. By placing some veterans in schools and supporting the desires of others to start small businesses, the GI Bill sought to lessen these pressures.

The GI Bill had a long and lasting influence on American society. More than 1 million veterans attended colleges and universities using the bill's benefits, and more than 8 million veterans used one or more of its programs. The bill



Books and supplies, as well as tuition and other fees, up to a total of \$500 per year, were furnished to each veteran under the GI Bill. (UPI/Bettman/Corbis)

underwrote more than 3.5 million mortgages, and in 1947 it funded almost 40 percent of all housing starts in the United States. The GI Bill thus helped to fuel the postwar economic boom by stimulating the construction industry and all of its subsidiary industries. It also provided enormous cash infusions into American colleges and universities. Since World War II, the U.S. government has enacted various legislation offering GI Bill–type benefits to veterans of the Korean and Vietnam Wars, as well as to some members of the peacetime military.

Michael S. Neiberg

See also

Roosevelt, Franklin D.; United States, Home Front

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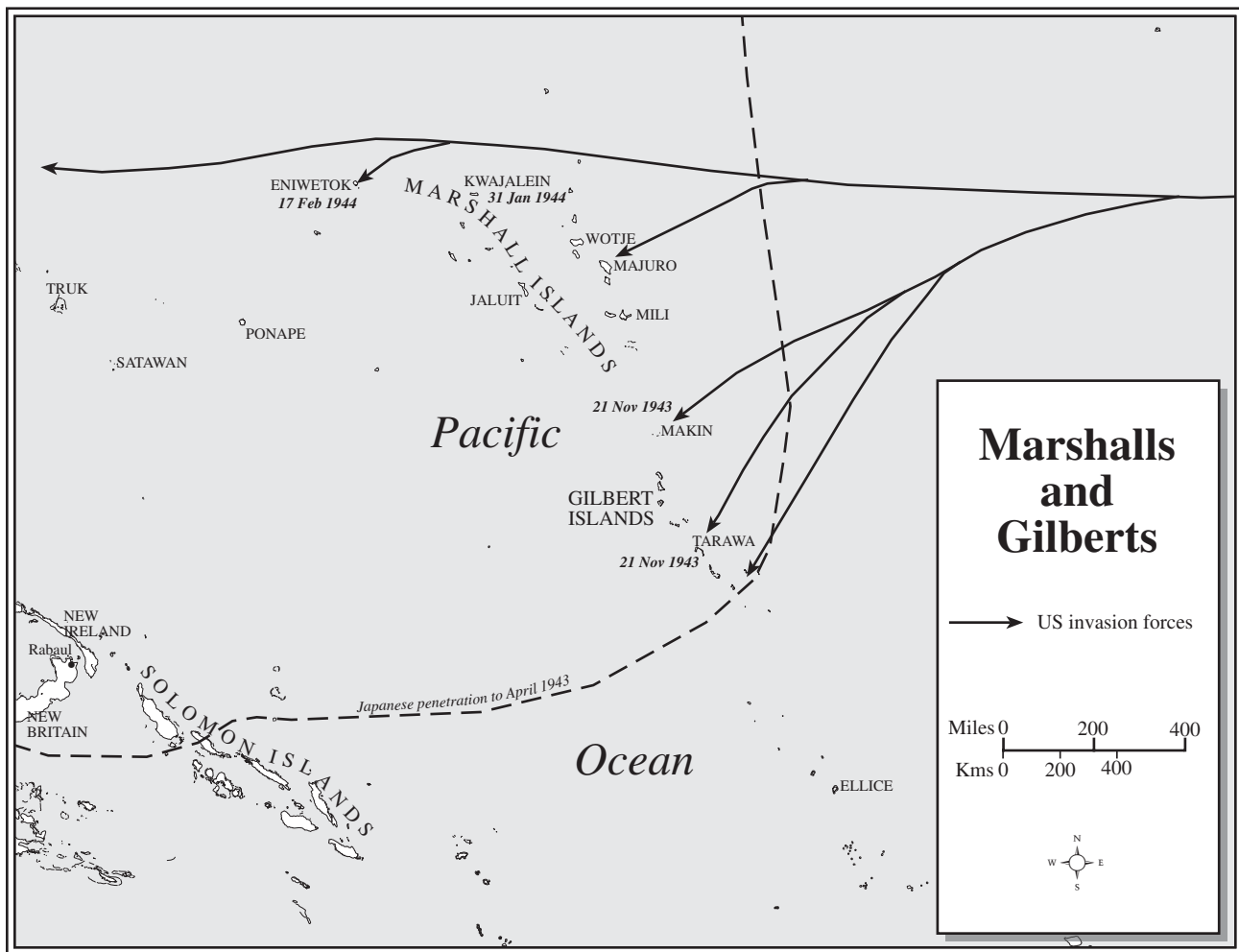
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Gilbert Islands Campaign (November 1943)

U.S. amphibious campaign in the Central Pacific and an important advance toward the Japanese home islands. The 16 atolls that constitute the Gilbert Islands lie astride the equator. The Americans invaded the Gilbert Islands in late November 1943; approximately 200 ships and more than 30,000 troops seized the atolls of Makin, Tarawa, and Abemama in Operation GALVANIC. Fifth Fleet commander Vice Admiral Raymond A. Spruance had overall command of the operation, and Rear Admiral Charles A. Pownall commanded Task Force 50.

Following preparatory air strikes against Rabaul, the 11 fleet carriers in Task Force 50, which were divided into 4 different carrier groups, neutralized Japanese bases in the Marshall Islands and pounded Makin and Tarawa in preparation for landings there. At the latter two atolls, 7 battleships and



accompanying cruisers bombarded the shore for more than an hour the morning of the invasion. On 20 November, Rear Admiral Richmond K. Turner's Task Force 54 landed elements of the army's 27th Division on Butaritari Island; 2nd Marine Division troops landed on on Betio Island.

At Butaritari, 4 battalions from the 27th Division assaulted Beach Yellow in the lagoon and Beach Red on the western face of the island. Although the reef line forced the men in the lagoon to wade the last 300 yards to shore, initial resistance was light since only 300 Japanese combat troops defended the island. The attack became bogged down by enemy snipers and small counterattacks, however, and it took three days to secure the island. The army suffered 64 killed and 150 wounded.

Resistance was heavier on Betio, a small but well-fortified island defended by 4,000 Japanese troops. Initially, three Marine battalions landed on Beach Red along the wide lagoon side of the island. These troops ran into heavy fire, and, as low tide prevented heavy equipment from crossing the reef line, the attack stalled in the face of determined Japanese resistance. Two additional battalions landed as reinforcements

later that day, and a sixth battalion landed the following morning. All suffered heavy casualties in the process. The situation improved late on the second day when destroyers and aircraft supported the landing of a seventh battalion at the narrow western end of Betio. Using tanks, grenades, TNT blocks, and flamethrowers, the Marines secured most of the island by 22 November. Two Japanese counterattacks were repulsed that evening, and the entire atoll was cleared six days later. The United States lost 980 Marines and 29 sailors killed; 2,106 troops were wounded. Only 17 Japanese survived the battle; they were taken prisoner along with 129 Korean laborers.

Although the Japanese surface navy did not intervene, Japan's air and submarine units did strike the American invasion force. At dusk on 20 November, 16 twin-engine "Betty" bombers attacked a carrier group off Tarawa and torpedoed the light carrier *Independence*. The explosion killed 17 sailors and wounded 43, and it forced the carrier to retire for repairs. At least three similar raids followed over the next week, although none scored hits because American air cover—including the first use of night-combat air patrols—broke up

the attacks. More deadly were Japanese submarines, one of which torpedoed and sank the escort carrier *Liscombe Bay* on

The Gilbert landings cost the lives of roughly 1,800 Americans and 5,000 Japanese.

24 November, killing 642 sailors. Overall, the Gilbert landings cost the lives of roughly 1,800 Americans and 5,000 Japanese, including the crews of 4 lost Japanese navy submarines. The Gilbert Islands

Campaign provided important lessons in amphibious operations, and it paved the way for the next U.S. amphibious operation, which was conducted against the Marshall Islands in January and February 1944.

Timothy L. Francis

See also

Central Pacific Campaign; Marshall Islands, Naval Campaign; Spruance, Raymond Ames; Tarawa, Battle of; Turner, Richmond Kelly

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Giraud, Henri Honoré (1879–1949)

French army general. Born in Paris on 18 January 1879, Henri Giraud graduated from the French Military Academy of Saint-Cyr in 1900. During World War I, he fought on the Western Front. As a captain he was taken prisoner by the Germans near Guise in late August 1914, but he escaped that October and returned to France in February 1915. Giraud distinguished himself in later fighting, rising at the end of the war to command a battalion.



165th Infantry assault wave attacking Butaritari, Yellow Beach Two, find it slow going in the coral bottom waters. Japanese machine gun fire from the right flank makes it more difficult for them, Makin Atoll, Gilbert Islands, 20 November 1943. (National Archives)

Giraud was in Turkey from 1918 to 1922 and in Morocco from 1922 to 1934. He played an important role in the Riffian Wars in Morocco, and his forces captured Moroccan nationalist leader Abd-el-Krim in 1926. Giraud was promoted to colonel in 1927, to brigadier general in 1930, to major general in 1934, and to lieutenant general in 1936. He commanded the Sixth Military Region at Metz, France, from 1936 to 1939. On the French military mobilization for World War II on 2 September 1939, he took command of Seventh Army as a full general. Giraud had little comprehension of the new theories of high-speed warfare with tanks operating en masse.

When the Germans invaded France and the Low Countries in May 1940, Giraud led the Seventh Army into Belgium in accordance with the Allied plan. On 15 May, he assumed command of the collapsing Ninth Army. The Germans captured Giraud on 18 May at Wassigny and imprisoned him at Königstein in Saxony. Giraud escaped on 17 April 1942 and crossed Germany to Switzerland and then to Vichy France—embarrassing Vichy officials, who had been attempting to improve relations with the German occupiers. At a meeting on 2 May 1942 attended by Admiral Jean François Darlan and Pierre Laval, Giraud refused to accept German Ambassador Otto Abetz's invitation to return to prison.

In November 1942, Giraud was spirited out of France and transported by the British submarine *Seraph* to North Africa. (The Anglophobic Giraud had insisted on an American boat, but none was available, and so he was tricked into believing the *Seraph* was a U.S. submarine). U.S. and British officials, hoping that Giraud might replace Charles de Gaulle as leader of Free French Forces, made him commander of French forces in North Africa in December 1942. On 30 May 1943, de Gaulle arrived in Algiers, and on 3 June agreement was reached whereby Giraud became co-president with de Gaulle of the French Committee of National Liberation. De Gaulle was easily able to elbow the politically inept Giraud aside, and the arrangement only lasted until 9 November 1943, when Giraud resigned.

As commander in chief of French armed forces until 4 April 1944, Giraud continued to play an important role in rebuilding the French military forces before being forced to retire. In June 1946, Giraud won election to the French National Assembly from Moselle, and he continued to serve as vice president of the Supreme War Council until 1948. Giraud died at Dijon on 11 March 1949.

John MacFarlane

See also

Casablanca Conference; Darlan, Jean Louis Xavier François; de Gaulle, Charles; France, Free French; France, Vichy; Laval, Pierre; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; TORCH, Operation;

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Glide Bombs

Precursor to today's cruise missiles developed by the Germans. The Germans developed two types of weapons systems, the first of which was the free-fall FX-1200 bomb. Designed by Max Kramer of the Ruhrstahl AG, it weighed 3,460 lb with a warhead of 771 lb. The FX-1200 had small 5 ft 3-inch wings to enable it to glide, and it was radio-controlled by means of an electrical tail unit. Glide bombs were carried by such German aircraft as the Dornier Do-217, Heinkel He-117, and Junkers Ju-88 and Ju-290.

On 9 September 1943, after Italy had announced an armistice with the Allies, the Germans used FX-1200 glide bombs to sink the Italian battleship *Roma*; half of her crew was lost. The Germans also severely damaged the battleship *Italia*. The FX-1200 could be dropped from an altitude of 18,500–22,700 ft and a distance of up to 3 mi from the target.

The second glide bomb was the Hs-293, designed by Herbert Wagner of the Henschel Company. The Hs-293 was a rocket-assisted, guided, winged bomb, initially designed for use against ships. It was fitted with a Walter 109–507B rocket motor of 1,323 lb thrust, giving it a speed of about 360 mph. The Hs-293 was 13 ft 4 inches long with a wingspan of 10 ft 7 inches. It weighed about 2,140 lb, of which about 165 lb was in the rocket and 1,124 lb was in the warhead—a substantial ratio of warhead to delivery system. The Hs-293 employed a Dortmund/Duisburg wire-guided system for control, and it had a useful range of almost 10 nautical miles.

Modifications to the Hs-293 included the Hs-294 (16 ft 5 inches long with a wingspan of 14 ft 2 inches), Hs-295, Hs-296, Hs-297, Hs-298, and Hs-344. The Hs-298, a smaller version of the Hs-293, was designed to be launched from night fighters against Allied bombers. It had a two-stage rocket motor and could operate at heights up to 20,000 ft. Its warhead weighed about 150 lb. The Hs-344 was another lightweight version designed for use by fighters against other aircraft. These versions were largely just tested.

The Germans first used the Hs-293 on 24 August 1943 in the Bay of Biscay. During Allied Operation PERCUSSION, an antisubmarine air and surface attack on German U-boats, the Canadian 5th Support Group came under air attack from 14 Dornier Do-217 bombers of the 2nd Squadron of Kampfgeschwader 100 and 7 Junkers Ju-88Cs of another unit. The attackers employed Hs-293s to damage the sloop *Landguard* in 4 near hits and the sloop *Bideford* in 1 near hit. On 28 August, 18

Do-217s attacked the relieving 1st Support Group and sank the British sloop *Egret* and heavily damaged the Canadian destroyer *Athabaskan*.

Kapfgeschwader 100 mounted further attacks with the Hs-293 in the Mediterranean in September 1943. During the U.S. landing at Salerno on 11 September, Kapfgeschwader 100's Do-17s attacked and heavily damaged the cruiser *Savannah* and narrowly missed the cruiser *Philadelphia*. On 13 September, the British cruiser *Uganda* was hit and heavily damaged. The *Philadelphia* and British destroyers *Loyal* and *Nubian* were both damaged. The hospital ship *Newfoundland* was sunk, probably by an Hs-293. On 16 September, the British battleship *Warspite* sustained heavy damage from 2 Hs-293 hits. Among other Allied warships that were struck and sunk were the British destroyer *Intrepid* and the Greek destroyer *Vasillissa Olga* on 26 September, the Italian destroyer *Euro* on 1 October, and the British destroyer escort *Dulverton* on 13 November 1943.

During the landing at Anzio, Do-217s and Ju-88s again attacked Allied ships with Hs-293 glide bombs. On 23 January 1944, these glide bombs sank the British destroyer *Janus* and damaged the destroyer *Jervis*. On 29 January, Hs-293s sank the British cruiser *Spartan*, and on 25 February they sent to the bottom the British destroyer *Inglefield*.

The glide bomb was well conceived and well tested. Some 2,300 were used in combat, but production was limited by the many other demands on the German armaments industry at the time. The Germans claimed that the glide bombs sank or damaged 400,000 tons of Allied shipping, but this was an exaggeration. The Germans also sent plans for their rocket motors by submarine to the Japanese, who used them to develop their Oka manned rocket bomb.

Late in the war, the United States tested several types of air-to-surface missiles, including the Fletcher XBG-1, Fletcher XBG-2, Cornelius XBG-3, Pratt-Reed LBE, Piper LBP, and Taylorcraft LBT. The term "glomb" was used as shorthand for "glide bomb." The Eighth Air Force used the GB-1 series of glide bombs beginning on 28 March 1944. Some 1,000 were launched, but they lacked accuracy. Later versions incorporated television guidance, but only one version (Project Batty, a GB-4) was used in combat. Instead, bombs without wings but with a guidance system were used. One was the Azon (for "azimuth only"); another was the Razon (azimuth and range guidance). Azons were used successfully in combat. A later version, the Tarzon, was used effectively during the Korean War.

The most advanced winged missile of World War II was the Bat, a glide bomb with a 1,000 lb bomb and semiactive radar homing. Employing PBV-42s Privateer aircraft, the U.S. Navy used the Bat with great success against Japanese shipping. The Bat had a 10 ft wingspan, was a little longer than 11 ft, weighed 1,880 lb, and achieved 300 mph in the glide.

Range depended on the release height; a Bat sank a Japanese destroyer at 20 mi distance from the drop aircraft.

David Westwood, Walter Boyne, Jürgen Rohwer, and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

V-1 Buzz Bomb; V-2 Rocket

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Gliders

See Aircraft, Gliders.

Goebbels, Paul Joseph (1897–1945)

Key German official and minister of propaganda. Born on 29 October 1897 at Rheydt in the Rhineland, Joseph Goebbels was physically small with a clubfoot. He grew up in a deeply religious Catholic setting, but on graduation from the University of Heidelberg with a doctorate in literature in 1921, he renounced his faith.

Unsuccessful in his desired literary career, Goebbels temporarily worked in a bank. In 1924, he formed a close association with Adolf Hitler. After spreading Nazi propaganda as the editor of the *Voelkische Freiheit* (people's freedom) at Elberfeld, "the Little Doctor," as he came to be called, moved up in the Nazi Party hierarchy. Hitler recognized his abilities and appointed him Gauleiter (leader) of Berlin in November 1926, charging him with rebuilding the party organization there. From 1927 to 1935, Goebbels edited the weekly newspaper *Der Angriff* (*The Attack*), which eventually became a daily and a financial success. Goebbels displayed considerable organizational skill and ability as a motivational speaker. He also ordered the Sturmabteilungen (Storm Troops, SA) to use physical force in the streets against the leftist opposition. In 1928, Goebbels won election to the Reichstag, and in 1929 he took charge of Nazi Party propaganda, playing an important role in building Nazi political strength throughout Germany.

Goebbels successfully used American advertising tools, psychology, and modern propaganda techniques to spread the message of Nazism. He made Horst Wessel, a thug who was killed in a barroom brawl, into a Nazi martyr, and he pushed the use of the Nazi salute and of "Heil Hitler"



German Nazi propagandist and politician Paul Joseph Goebbels. (Hulton Archive)

as a mandatory greeting. He also advanced new slogans and myths, including the *Führermythos*, that Hitler was the one savior of the German nation. He engaged in gross anti-Semitism.

Hitler rewarded Goebbels in March 1933 by appointing him to the cabinet as minister of propaganda. Goebbels exercised complete control over mass communication—the press, films, theater, radio, and sports—organizing all of it to work for the Nazi cause and later the war effort. He lived up to his own slogan, “Propaganda has nothing to do with truth.” Throughout the war, Goebbels worked to buoy the confidence of the German people. He trumpeted the claim of a “final victory” and in a speech in February 1943 invoked “total war.” Appointed plenipotentiary for total war in July 1944, Goebbels called on the German people for more and more sacrifices, imposing longer working hours and reducing benefits. He also proclaimed the advent of German “miracle weapons” that would win the war.

At war’s end, Goebbels and his family joined Hitler in the *Führerbunker* in Berlin. On 1 May 1945, a day after Hitler’s suicide, Goebbels and his wife Magda also committed suicide after first having poisoned their six small children.

Goebbels’s diaries are an important source of information about the National Socialist regime.

A. J. L. Waskey

See also

Germany, Home Front; Hitler, Adolf; Propaganda; Unconditional Surrender

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Goerdeler, Carl Friedrich (1884–1945)

German political figure and Nazi opposition leader. Born in Schneidemuhl, Pomerania, on 31 July 1884, Carl Goerdeler studied law and entered the civil service. An officer in World War I, he became deputy mayor of Königsberg in 1922 and lord mayor of Leipzig in 1930. In 1932, German Chancellor Heinrich Brüning appointed Goerdeler as commissioner of prices, a post he held until July 1935.

Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany in January 1933. At first, the traditionalist Goerdeler supported the new government, especially its centralization of authority. Goerdeler also believed that Hitler might solve Germany’s pressing economic problems. However, it soon became apparent that the new government insisted on total submission. In protest, Goerdeler resigned as mayor of Leipzig in 1937. Goerdeler was troubled not only by the regime’s domestic policies but also by its aggressive foreign policy, which he feared would lead to a general European war. He became one of the first to publicly speak out against the Nazi government and soon emerged as one of the leaders of the German Resistance movement against Hitler.

Once war began in September 1939, Goerdeler became a leading member of a conspiracy to overthrow Hitler. He wrote documents spelling out the goals of the Resistance and what should take place politically following Hitler’s removal from office. Throughout, Goerdeler maintained a close relationship with General Ludwig Beck, leader of the army officers who opposed Hitler. Although Goerdeler vigorously urged Hitler’s removal from office, he initially opposed an assassination that might make Hitler a martyr. Goerdeler argued that the Führer should be arrested and his guilt

exposed in a public trial. Others in the Resistance, however, believed assassinating Hitler was the certain course of action. By early July 1944, Goerdeler reluctantly agreed. According to plans developed by the Resistance groups, Goerdeler was to become the chancellor in a post-Hitler Germany.

On the failure of the 20 July 1944 bomb plot against Hitler, Goerdeler went into hiding. Arrested on 12 August, Goerdeler endured interrogation and was then sentenced to death. He wrote several essays and letters while in prison, and he was executed at Plötzensee Prison, Berlin, on 2 February 1945.

Gene Mueller

See also

Beck, Ludwig; July Bomb Plot; Resistance; Stauffenberg, Claus Philip Schenk

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GOODWOOD, Operation (18–20 July 1944)

British Second Army attack in an attempt to break out of the Normandy beachhead near Caen, France. Operation GOODWOOD was originally suggested as an operation supporting Lieutenant General Omar Bradley's Operation COBRA, the breakout of his American 12th Army Group from Saint-Lô. British General Bernard Montgomery later saw GOODWOOD as an opportunity for his 21st Army Group to achieve a breakthrough or even perhaps a double breakout by both U.S. and British forces. Operation GOODWOOD involved three corps: three armored divisions of the British VIII Corps in the east provided the main effort to gain the rolling plain southeast of Caen rising toward Falaise, the Canadian II Corps was to secure the southern half of Caen, and the British XII Corps would conduct diversionary attacks on the right several days before the 18 July 1944 kickoff.

The concept for GOODWOOD, developed by commander of the British Second Army Lieutenant General Miles Dempsey, was to use massed airpower and artillery followed by an armor breakthrough of the German defensive crust. Prior to the ground attack, 1,700 heavy bombers from the Royal Air Force (RAF) Bomber Command and the U.S. Eighth Air Force, plus nearly 400 medium bombers and fighter-bombers of the U.S. Ninth Air Force, dropped 7,700 tons of bombs on the German defenses. Only fighter-bombers attacked in the zone of the main effort to prevent the massive cratering that had slowed British armor in its earlier attacks to seize Caen.

The air and ground bombardment began at 5:30 A.M. on 18 July, and the ground attack by the three armored divisions of VIII Corps occurred on schedule at 7:30 A.M. The effects of the bombardment and tactical surprise allowed the ground elements to advance more than 3 miles in slightly over an hour. In only about 3 hours, VIII Corps was nearing a clean breakthrough when it encountered the final German defensive line of antitank and flak guns. In an oversight, this defensive line had not been targeted for air bombardment and it, combined with dogged German defense, ground the advance to a halt. Limited local attacks continued on 19 and 20 July, but a heavy thunderstorm on 20 July turned the landscape into a quagmire, and GOODWOOD came to an end.

During the four-day operation, the Canadian II Corps captured the rest of Caen and part of the plain to the southeast, and the British VIII Corps secured nearly 35 square miles of terrain. However, the operation cost VIII Corps more than 4,000 casualties and the loss of 500 tanks—36 percent of all British armor on the Continent at that time. Although General Montgomery declared that the purposes of GOODWOOD had been achieved, the results were more disappointing. Some in the higher levels of Allied command, even on the British side, hinted that it might be time for Montgomery's removal. The failures of GOODWOOD focused Allied hopes for a breakout in Normandy on Operation COBRA.

Arthur T. Frame

See also

Bradley, Omar Nelson; Carpet Bombing; COBRA, Operation; Dempsey, Miles Christopher; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law

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Göring, Hermann Wilhelm (1893–1946)

German air force marshal and head of the Luftwaffe. Born on 12 January 1893 in Rosenheim, Bavaria, Hermann Göring was educated in military school in Karlsruhe. He then entered officers' training school at Gross Lichterfelde, and on graduation in 1912 he was commissioned in the infantry. He served in the German army and fought in World War I with the infantry until 1915, when he joined the air service. Göring succeeded Baron Manfred von Richthofen on the latter's death as commander of the Richthofen Squadron in July



German Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring. (Library of Congress)

1918. Credited with 22 aerial victories in World War I, Göring was awarded the coveted *Pour le Mérite*.

After the war, Göring moved to Scandinavia, where he took up show flying and married a Swedish baroness. He returned to Germany in 1921 and became a close associate of Adolf Hitler. In 1922, Hitler gave Göring charge of the *Sturmabteilungen* (SA, Storm Troopers), which grew dramatically in strength. Seriously wounded in the 1923 Beer Hall Putsch, Göring fled Germany but returned in 1927. In 1928, Göring was elected to the Reichstag, and in 1932 he was its president. Göring had easy access to influential individuals in industry, banking, and the military, and he acted as liaison between them and Hitler, playing a key role in the Nazi accession to power.

After Hitler became German chancellor in January 1933, Göring secured even more power and influence. Among his many offices were minister without portfolio, minister of the interior for the state of Prussia, and minister of the air force (Luftwaffe). Göring soon began rebuilding the Luftwaffe, and he was instrumental in all major policy decisions affecting its composition and training. In April 1933 out of the Prussian political police Göring established the *Geheime Staatspolizei* (Gestapo, political police), a force designed to crush all resistance to Nazism. In 1936, he was appointed to oversee the Four-

Year Plan, which gave him virtual control over the economy. As far as the Luftwaffe was concerned, Göring supported the notion of a tactical air force at the expense of strategic bombing, arguably the correct decision given the heavy military demands on Germany's industrial base. In 1939, Hitler appointed Göring Reichsmarschall (Reich Marshal) and designated him as his heir. Göring was also instrumental in the development of concentration camps, and he worked with Reinhard Heydrich, chief of Reich security, in formulating an *Endlösung* or "final solution" to the "Jewish question." Göring also amassed a large fortune and, especially during World War II, indulged his passion for collecting fine art.

Göring's Luftwaffe was influential in the early Nazi victories in Poland in 1939 and France in 1940. His interventions in the Battle of Britain in 1940, however, negatively affected the German effort and led to a loss of his influence with Hitler. Göring opposed Operation BARBAROSSA, Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, favoring a Mediterranean strategy instead. He was blamed, probably falsely, for having suggested that the Luftwaffe, with only a limited transport capacity, could supply the Sixth Army at Stalingrad. Popular opinion also turned against him as Allied air raids on the Reich became increasingly effective. Increasingly marginalized, Göring spent more time at his estate of Karinhall, where he indulged his interests in hunting and art collecting. Although Hitler had designated Göring as his successor, the latter's impatience at the end of the war—painted by Martin Bormann, head of the Party Chancery, and others as an attempt by Göring to wrest power from Hitler—led the Führer to order that Göring be stripped of his posts and arrested. Göring surrendered to elements of the U.S. 9th Infantry Division on 9 May 1945 and was tried at the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. Unrepentant, he was found guilty and sentenced to death. Göring committed suicide by swallowing poison on 15 October 1946 only hours before his planned execution.

Wendy A. Maier

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; BARBAROSSA, Operation; France, Battle for; Germany, Air Force; Germany, Home Front; Heydrich, Reinhard Tristan Eugen; Hitler, Adolf; Holocaust, The; International Military Tribunal: The Nuremberg Trials; Poland Campaign; Stalingrad, Battle of

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Gott, Lord John

See Vereker, John Standish Surtees Pendergast (Sixth Viscount Gott).

Gott, William Henry Ewart “Strafer” (1897–1942)

British army general. Born on 13 August 1897 in Leeds, England, William Gott was educated at Harrow and Sandhurst. Commissioned into the King’s Royal Rifle Corps (KRRC) in February 1915, Gott fought in France during World War I, where he was wounded, awarded the Military Cross (MC), and taken prisoner. Gott continued in the army after the war, serving in the 13th London Regiment. He was promoted to major in January 1934 and saw service in India. Advanced to lieutenant colonel in 1938, Gott commanded a battalion of the KRRC.

In 1940, Gott was promoted to brigadier general and appointed as a staff officer to Major General Percy Hobart’s Mobile Force in Egypt, which he was rapidly developing into an armored division. As commander of the Support Group of the 7th Armoured Division, Gott took part in Operation COMPASS in December 1940, and in May 1941 he led the composite armored strike force for Operation BREVITY, the first Allied attempt to relieve Tobruk. Gott was then promoted to major general and given command of the 7th Armoured Division, which he led with great daring during Operation CRUSADER.

As with most other British officers, Gott—himself an infantry officer—initially failed to comprehend the concept of mobile mechanized warfare. However, on the basis of his experience fighting the Germans, who coordinated antitank guns, artillery, and infantry with their tanks, Gott suggested using 25-pounder field artillery to support British tanks. He was primarily responsible for the belated British policy of breaking down the traditional and rigid divisional organization into combined all-arms brigade groups, which became standard throughout the British army.

Gott built a reputation as a brilliant and energetic armored commander, and he was widely recognized as knowing more about the desert than any other senior British officer. Standing 6 feet 2 inches and built like a heavyweight boxer, Gott had an imposing presence and was one of the most inspiring commanders in the Middle East. Gott had an unrivaled knowledge of the exigencies and possibilities of desert warfare and a reputation for a lightning-quick grasp of a situation and a faculty for making rapid decisions. A legend in the desert fighting,

Gott was known as a “British Rommel,” tirelessly roaming the battlefield to rally and drive on the shaken troops.

Promoted to lieutenant general in 1942—one of the youngest officers of that rank in the British army—Gott took command of XIII Corps and led it through the defeats at Gazala and Mersa Matrûh. Nevertheless, his reputation was not tarnished during the British withdrawal to El Alamein. In August 1942, British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill selected Gott to replace Auchinleck as commander of the Eighth Army. Although Gott protested that he was tired out and depressed by fatigue and defeat and would like nothing more than three months’ leave in England to recuperate, he agreed to take on the new post. On 7 August 1942, he flew to Cairo to take up his appointment. His aircraft was intercepted by a lone German fighter and shot down. Although his plane managed to land safely, Gott had been shot and killed. Following his death, Churchill immediately appointed his second choice, Lieutenant General Bernard Montgomery, as commander of the Eighth Army. Gott’s death, therefore, had a great impact on succeeding events in the desert and subsequently in Europe.

Paul H. Collier

See also

Alam Halfa, Battle of; Auchinleck, Sir Claude John Eyre; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; COMPASS, Operation; CRUSADER, Operation; El Alamein, Battle of; Gazala, Battle of; Mersa Matrûh, Battle of; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; North Africa Campaign; Ruweisat Ridge, Battles of; Tobruk, Third Battle of

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Graziani, Rodolfo (Marchese di Neghelli) (1882–1955)

Italian army marshal. Born at Filettino near Rome on 11 August 1882, Rodolfo Graziani joined the Italian Army and served in Libya in 1914 before being posted to the Italian Front during World War I. There he commanded a brigade, was wounded twice, and won promotion to major. A colonel at the end of World War I, Graziani earned a reputation as Italy’s most successful colonial general. Distinguishing himself in Tripolitania in the 1920s, for which he was promoted to brigadier general in 1923, he was dispatched to Cyrenaica, where he conducted a brutal but effective pacification campaign against the Senussi in 1930–1932. Promoted to major



Italian army Marshal Rodolfo Graziani. (Library of Congress)

general in 1930 and to lieutenant general in 1932, Graziani commanded a corps and then was appointed governor of Somalia in 1935. Graziani participated in the attack on Ethiopia in 1936 and destroyed the remnants of the Ethiopian army in February 1937. His successes earned him promotion to marshal and viceroy of Ethiopia on the departure of Marshal Pietro Badoglio. However, Graziani's savage rule provoked a widespread insurgency. He was severely wounded in an assassination attempt on 29 February 1937, and the Italian army crushed the uprising only with great difficulty. The Italians employed poison gas and were guilty of other atrocities.

Graziani left Ethiopia in January 1938 and was made honorary governor of Italian East Africa. In October 1939, Italian dictator Benito Mussolini appointed Graziani army chief of staff. Mussolini sent Graziani to Libya to replace Italo Balbo, who was killed in an airplane crash on 28 June 1940.

Although the 250,000 Italian forces in North Africa vastly outnumbered the scanty British troops there, Graziani refused to launch an offensive into Egypt, citing serious deficiencies in supplies and equipment. Infuriated by Graziani's timidity, Mussolini ordered him to attack. The subsequent tentative Italian offensive sparked a devastating British counteroffensive that drove the Italians from Cyrenaica in Febru-

ary 1941, and Graziani returned to Italy in semidisgrace and resigned from the army.

Because Graziani was the only general of note to remain loyal to the fascist regime after its collapse in 1943, that September Mussolini appointed him defense minister and chief of staff of the rump Italian Social Republic. Graziani spent the remainder of the war attempting unsuccessfully to rebuild the army in an atmosphere of intensifying civil warfare and German domination. In 1950, Graziani was sentenced to 19 years in prison for war crimes, but he was released after only a few months. He then headed the neofascist Italian Socialist Movement. Graziani died in Rome on 11 January 1955.

John M. Jennings

See also

Balbo, Italo; Italy, Army; Mussolini, Benito; North Africa Campaign

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Great Britain, Air Force

The future of the Royal Air Force (RAF) appeared bleak at the end of World War I. With extensive personnel and aircraft drawdowns, the RAF's existence as an independent service remained in doubt until the appointment of General Sir Hugh Trenchard as chief of the Air Staff in January 1919. As dogged as he was visionary, Trenchard proved the viability of the third service, and by the mid-1920s he secured the RAF's future. In search of a mission, the RAF turned to imperial policing, especially in Somaliland, Aden, Palestine, India, and Iraq, where it proved highly successful.

Still, growth in force size was slow due to economic difficulties and an ever-shrinking defense budget. Of the 52 squadrons approved in 1923, only 42 had been established by 1934. In 1935, the transition to monoplane designs began, a process resulting in the most successful British fighter aircraft of the early war years—the Hawker Hurricane designed by Sydney Camm, which entered service in 1937; and the Supermarine Spitfire, designed by R. J. Mitchell, which appeared in 1938. In 1936, future manpower needs were addressed with the establishment of an RAF Volunteer Reserve. By January 1939, the total RAF establishment consisted of 135 squadrons.

Despite advancements in fighter types as defense against strategic bombers, the prevailing attitude throughout European air services reflected the airpower theories of such

visionaries as Brigadier General Billy Mitchell in the United States and Giulio Douhet in Italy, both of whom argued the primacy of the bomber. To overcome the loss of strategic mobility, a difficulty that was suffered by the armies of the Western Front in World War I, Britain embraced the concept of strategic bombing. This concept was based on the theory that long-range bombing would inevitably undercut an opponent's will and civilian morale, as well as cripple his economic ability to wage war.

The beginning of World War II in September 1939 found the RAF considerably better prepared than it had been only four years earlier. The Bomber Command order of battle included 54 squadrons equipped with Bristol Blenheims, Vickers Wellingtons, Armstrong Whitneys, and Handley Page Hampdens. The critical weakness lay in the match between air strategy and the instruments of war available in 1939. The RAF had no heavy bomber capable of delivering the crippling physical and economic blows necessary for strategic bombing success. Not until the Handley Page Halifax heavy bomber entered service in late 1940 did Bomber Command possess a heavy bomber that could carry the air war deep into enemy territory.

Fighter Command entered the war considerably better prepared in terms of equipment capability. The 35 home-based fighter squadrons with first-line Hurricanes and Spitfires were enhanced by a series of coastal radar stations known as Chain Home. Though relatively primitive, the radar network soon proved robust and difficult for the German Luftwaffe to destroy. Thus with a total of 1,466 aircraft, of which roughly 1,000 were first-line, the RAF faced Reichsmarshal Hermann Göring's Luftwaffe.

The first months of the war can best be characterized as a sparring match characterized by mainly frustrated attempts by the RAF to attack German navy warships. In France, Air Chief Marshal Sir Hugh Dowding, commander in chief of Fighter Command, insisted on sending only squadrons for the Advanced Air Striking Force (AASF) that were equipped with older, less robust aircraft such as the Gloster Gladiator. He feared losing first-rate aircraft and stripping home defense of fighting capability. Despite Dowding's conservatism, the RAF lost nearly 1,000 aircraft in the Battle of France, half of them fighters.

The Luftwaffe had high hopes of quickly dispatching the undermanned and outgunned RAF when as a precursor to invasion it launched Operation SEA LION, Germany's main air offensive against Britain, on 8 August 1940. However, Dowding's prewar innovations soon showed their worth. Fighter Command employed the group/area command-and-control system, in which each group was subdivided into sectors encompassing forward and primary airfields. Initially, groups 11 and 12 covered the country; they were later further divided into four groups. Within each sector and group, an operations room controlled activities; the whole enterprise was coordi-

nated at Fighter Command Headquarters. Connected by telephone to the Chain Home system and the Observer Corps, the command-and-control system allowed for a reaction to a raid in a matter of minutes with an appropriate number of aircraft being vectored to target. The system allowed Fighter Command to husband resources, identify incoming raids, scramble appropriate units, vector aircraft to target, and essentially ambush incoming German raids. This combination of the Chain Home system, coordinated sector control, and superior air frames—all due in large measure to the prewar efforts of Dowding—proved to be the decisive factors that led the United Kingdom to win the Battle of Britain.

In the first phase of the Battle of Britain, the Germans sought to draw the RAF into the air and destroy its fighting strength by attrition. By late August, that strategy had failed, and the Germans turned to destroying British airfields south of the Thames. This far more dangerous threat to RAF viability took a great toll of RAF men and machines by early September. Dowding estimated that three more weeks of such assaults would destroy Fighter Command's ability to mount any viable defense. Then, on the night of 24 August, German bombers were dispatched to strike an oil storage depot near London. Their navigation was faulty, and they dropped their bombs on London. Churchill immediately ordered the bombing of Berlin on the night of 25 August. One hundred and three British aircraft took off that night for Germany, 89 of them for Berlin. Only 29 bombers actually reached Berlin because of clouds and poor navigation equipment. The raid was certainly not a success, but it led Adolf Hitler to order a concentration on London. The Luftwaffe's primary target became the destruction of London rather than the vastly more important RAF airfields and production facilities. The shift to bombing London on 7 September allowed Fighter Command to repair airfields and facilities. For the next several months, British cities suffered through an almost nightly bombing campaign dubbed the Blitz, a failed strategy to attack civilian morale. Although the Chain Home radar network did not operate especially well at night, improved radar and night fighters, including the Beaufighter, proved capable of challenging German night bombing, and German losses mounted. In early autumn 1940, Hitler canceled SEA LION, and by May 1941 the air assault abated. Of the more than 3,000 pilots who flew in the RAF in the Battle of Britain as Winston Churchill's "few," some 500 died in combat.

In the initial stages of the war, the RAF had been loath to attack German industrial targets, despite the doctrine of strategic bombing. During the battles for France and Britain, Bomber Command had been reduced to attacking German shipping and invasion force transport. Some successful raids against Luftwaffe airfields occurred with good results. The turning point for the strategic air campaign occurred on the night of 23 September 1940, when 84 bombers attacked



Firebombs being loaded into a Royal Air Force Short Stirling bomber before an attack on industrial Germany. (Library of Congress)

Berlin. Although bomb damage and RAF losses were minimal, the RAF had commenced the practice of night bombing first industrial (especially oil) and infrastructure and later civilian targets. In 1942 the Avro Lancaster heavy bomber arrived in numbers. Having a range of more than 1,600 miles and capable of carrying 22,000 lb of bombs, the Lancaster was Britain's mainstay heavy bomber of World War II, and it enabled Bomber Command to carry the air war deep into Germany. The Lancaster Mark II, which appeared in 1943, had a range of 2,250 miles and could carry 14,000 lb of bombs. However, night navigation and target identification proved highly problematic. With no visual reference aids at night, bomber crews relied on Pathfinders. First fielded in August 1942, Pathfinder aircraft flew ahead of the formations, identified targets, and dropped color-coded marker flares. As the war progressed, electronic navigation improved, including the relatively primitive radio set known as "Gee," followed by the more-sophisticated blind-bombing device called "Trinity." The latter was a precursor of the advanced "Oboe" system, which employed a ground-distance-measuring station. The H2S system provided a radar display indicating prominent geographic features such as rivers, coastline, and urban structures, thus providing the hitherto missing navigational landmarks.

Night-bombing accuracy always suffered compared with the daylight assaults carried out by the B-17s and B-24s of the U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) Eighth Air Force beginning in 1943. To counter the night bombing, the Luftwaffe developed efficient night fighters and relied on massed anti-aircraft artillery. When the Blitz ended, Bomber Command increased the intensity of night strategic bombing. In a night raid on Hamburg on 8 May 1941, 300 bombers dropped several new 4,000 lb bombs.

On 22 February 1942, Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Harris took charge of Bomber Command. An energetic and enthusiastic advocate of terror bombing, Harris resolved to bludgeon Germany into submission. Night bombing of industrial targets increased immediately. To underscore the new attitude (and the advantage of the Lancasters with improved electronic navigation and targeting gear), Harris ordered the first thousand-bomber raid, which struck the German city of Köln (Cologne) on 30 May 1942. Simultaneously, the newly fielded and capable De Havilland Mosquito quickly established itself as an extraordinary melding of mission capabilities, including reconnaissance, bomber, fighter-bomber, and night fighter. Under Harris, British strategic night bombing increased in intensity, capability, and destructive force for the next three years.

Italy's entry into the war on 10 June 1940 found the RAF in the Middle East and Mediterranean dispersed over 4 million square miles of mainly desolate and hostile terrain. Its 300 first-line aircraft were organized into 29 operational squadrons. Most of the aircraft represented previous generations of fighters. Whereas this was suitable for imperial policing against tribesmen and ill-organized rebels, the Italian and later German air forces presented a difficult problem. The Italians could send up to 1,200 additional aircraft from Sicily and Italy to augment the 500 already in Africa. With imperial strategic interests threatened, notably the tenuous India/Far East supply line through the Suez Canal, Britain embarked on rapid air and troop reinforcement. Because few aircraft could make the journey completely by air, a scheme developed for shipping aircraft by sea to the Gold Coast; the planes then made a difficult flight across Africa to Egypt. Gradually, the Desert Air Force established air superiority in North Africa and aided Field Marshal Archibald Wavell's advance through Libya. Additionally, Malta, a linchpin of British Mediterranean power, was heavily reinforced; the island and its RAF garrison withstood furious, concerted Axis air assaults.

With the injection into North Africa in February 1941 of German ground forces supported by the Luftwaffe, the air advantage temporarily swung back to the Axis. As more Hurricanes, Spitfires, and American-made Curtiss Kittyhawks arrived, the Desert Air Force slowly overwhelmed the Axis air forces. By the time of the Battle of El Alamein at the end of October 1942, RAF aircraft outnumbered Axis aircraft by 1,200 to 690. Because it had more aircraft and was reinforced by top-of-the-line fighters and because many of its pilots were veterans of the Battle of Britain, the RAF gained air superiority and contributed heavily to the eventual Allied North African victory.

The war effort of the RAF Coastal Command is often overlooked, yet it played a tremendous part in subduing the submarine threat and keeping the sea lifeline open. In the early months, before Germany could mount a credible U-boat threat, the RAF concentrated maritime defense efforts against enemy commerce raiders. With only 19 home-based squadrons operating outdated aircraft, Coastal Command could do little more than close-in coastal patrol. As equipment and numbers improved, particularly with the arrival of the Short Sunderland and the American B-24 Liberator, Coastal Command's reach extended to practically the entire world. By late 1940, Coastal Command aircraft had begun minelaying operations and raids on the coast of France and in the North Sea.

By 1941, the German submarine threat intensified, and Coastal Command took up the challenges of shipping protection in the approaches and submarine hunting. The most dangerous area lay in a reconnaissance gap halfway across the Atlantic that land-based aircraft could not reach. In this area,

U-boats inflicted great casualties until the wide-scale employment of the Liberator, which operated from bases in Scotland, Iceland, and Canada and closed the gap in aerial coverage. Additionally, a new airborne radar, the ASV, improved air-dropped depth charges, and the organization of antisubmarine warfare (ASW) forces into hunter-killer groups of combined air and ship units all contributed to the growing effectiveness of ASW air operations. By late 1943, the Battle of the Atlantic had been won, and Coastal Command had played a major role in that victory. Of German U-boat losses in the Atlantic, 55 percent are believed to have been the result of air attack (although many of these losses were to aircraft flown from escort carriers). A further 19 percent of U-boat losses were the result of combined aircraft-warship actions.

In short, the RAF grew from a relatively small force wedded to strategic bombing and imperial policing in the early 1930s to a highly capable multimission force by the end of the war. Aircraft design advanced measurably with attendant gains in effectiveness and lethality. By 1943, the RAF deployed thousands of aircraft to every theater of operations and simply wore down the enemy through superior technology and weight of numbers. Advances in technology—particularly bomber navigation, targeting, and ASW radar—far outstripped Axis technological development, giving Britain's RAF not only a decisive quantitative advantage, but also a qualitative advantage by 1943.

In many respects, the RAF had established itself by 1945 as a coequal partner with the Royal Navy in defense of the British Empire and home islands. Certainly, the RAF consumed a huge portion of Britain's war economy, and its role and sacrifice in the war cannot be discounted. Fighter Command saved the nation in 1940, and Coastal Command challenged and eventually helped nullify the U-boat maritime trade threat. Although the effectiveness and morality of the strategic bombing offensive may be debated, its destruction of key German industrial targets, notably those of oil production and transportation, contributed significantly to the eventual Allied victory.

From an initial manning of 175,692 personnel (RAF and Women's Auxiliary Air Force [WAAF]) on 1 September 1939, the RAF reached a peak of 1,079,835 personnel of all ranks, branches, and nationalities (including Allied personnel serving in the RAF and Imperial/Dominion forces) by 1 May 1945. Of that number, 193,313 served as aircrew. The RAF had 9,200 aircraft of all types in all theaters in an operational status as of 1 May 1945. The cost was high. Relative to all other British services and branches, the RAF suffered the greatest personnel losses. From 1939 to 1945, the RAF lost 70,253 personnel killed or missing. Bomber Command flew 372,650 sorties, losing 8,617 aircraft and 47,268 men killed in combat or taken prisoner and a further 8,305 killed in training accidents. Deaths from other causes cost Bomber Command

ground crews and WAAFs a further 1,570 deaths. Fighter Command lost 3,690 aircrew killed in action and 1,215 seriously wounded.

Stanley D. M. Carpenter

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Aircraft, Production of; Atlantic, Battle of the; Blitz, The: Britain, Battle of; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Convoys, Allied; Depth Charges; Douhet, Giulio; Dowding, Sir Hugh Caswall Tremenneere; Dresden, Air Attack on; El Alamein, Battle of; Egypt; Fighter Tactics; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Harris, Sir Arthur Travis; Hunter-Killer Groups; Köln, Raid on; Malta; North Africa Campaign; Pathfinders; Radar; SEA LION, Operation; Strategic Bombing; Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival

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Great Britain, Army

For many of the British army's commanding officers who had served as infantry subalterns during World War I 20 years earlier, the events of September and October 1939 must have conjured up a powerful sense of déjà vu. Then, as in 1914, a small expeditionary force of two corps assembled to take up position on the left of the French line in Flanders, awaiting the inevitable German advance across the Belgian plain. Decades-old plans for entrenchment and the tactics of a static war of attrition were dusted off and reissued. However familiar the first months of World War II may have been to these veterans of Arras and Ypres, however, their army's war was to take a dramatically unexpected turn less than a year later when the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) was ignominiously ejected from the European mainland after just a few weeks of sharp, mobile combat. They were not to return for another four years. Of the seven army-strength formations raised by Britain during the period 1939–1945, only one, the 2nd, was to fight in northwest Europe again. The bulk of Britain's land operations were conducted far from its old

World War I trench lines—in the Western Desert of North Africa, Sicily and Italy, the Balkan peninsula, Norway, Malaysia, Burma, and the northeast frontier of India. Such a fast-paced global struggle required a very different kind of army from that of World War I, with much greater technical specialization and more attention paid to the thorny problems of supply, communications, and control.

Although many key aspects of army life, such as the centuries-old regimental system, were carried forward mostly unaltered into World War II, the British army of 1939–1945 was to a large degree hurriedly reinvented institution. This ad hoc metamorphosis was a necessary reaction to the new conditions of warfare, for which the interwar years had inadequately prepared the army's leaders and structures. After the demobilization that followed the 1918 armistice, the British army had quickly returned to its traditional role as a small imperial security force made up of long-service regulars, the part-time home reserve of the Territorial Army (TA), and a variegated auxiliary of colonial troops overseas. The problems of policing such trouble spots of the Empire as Palestine and India were far removed from the new theories of mechanized breakthrough warfare being discussed by forward-thinking military strategists in Europe, and the army languished in its attachment to the bayonet and the quick-firing rifleman—important for crowd control in overseas colonies, but less useful on the modern battlefield.

There were, in spite of this, significant attempts to bring the army up to date. Captain B. H. Liddell Hart's revised infantry manual stressed the "expanding torrent" tactics of mobility and exploitation, and Colonel J. F. C. Fuller called for fresh thinking on tank warfare. The Experimental Mechanized Force established briefly in the late 1920s was the world's first prototype for the armored division. But a combination of Treasury parsimony and knee-jerk opposition from the "Colonel Blimps" who dominated the army's upper echelons prevented any profound reform until the eve of war, when—prompted by the dynamic but ill-fated Minister of War Leslie Hore-Belisha—the government finally accepted the need for rearmament funding and a peacetime conscription bill. The doubling in size of the Territorial Army in March 1939 and passage of the National Service Act a month later provided for hundreds of thousands of new recruits, but in the short term these developments only added to the administrative confusion of a force hurriedly trying to reequip for a new continental commitment in alliance with France.

At the outbreak of war, the army's manpower stood at 897,000, the regulars and TAs having merged by government decree. Five regular infantry divisions were available in the United Kingdom for transportation to France. Two infantry divisions were deployed in Palestine suppressing the Arab revolt; the Western Desert Force (WDF) in Egypt had a fledgling armored division (another was forming in the UK, and

would eventually join the BEF); and the remainder of the Empire was garrisoned either by individual battalions of regulars, units from the 300,000-strong Indian army, or indigenous militia like the King's African Rifles (KAR) in Kenya and Uganda. From these modest beginnings, the government of Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain proposed to recruit an army of 55 divisions (32 British, the remainder Indian and Dominion) for what it suggested would be at least a three-year war. There was as yet little clear plan as to where these divisions would be employed, or when.

Political control of the armed forces was exercised during hostilities through the War Cabinet, a subset of the full cabinet that liaised with the Chiefs of Staff Committee (COS) representing the uniformed heads of the army, Royal Navy, and Royal Air Force (RAF). The chief of the Imperial General Staff (CIGS) was the army's representative on the COS and, after the appointment of General Sir Alan Brooke in 1941, its permanent chairman. The CIGS had a vice-chief responsible for operations, plans, intelligence, and training and a deputy chief in charge of general organization. With the adjutant general (personnel), quartermaster general (logistics), and master general of ordnance, these men collectively made up the Army Council, which was chaired by the secretary of state for war. The War Office retained nominal ministerial responsibility for the army. However, Winston L. S. Churchill, appointed Prime Minister and Minister of Defence in May 1940, preferred to deal with the uniformed chiefs directly, and so Whitehall was relegated to a purely administrative function.

Operational control in the United Kingdom was vested in General Headquarters (GHQ) Home Forces, and the country was divided into a series of command districts: South Eastern, Southern, Western, Northern, Scottish, Eastern, London, and Northern Ireland. Various overseas GHQs were established in the Middle East, East Africa, Persia, and Iraq and in other theaters according to the vagaries of war; the commander in chief of the Indian army held sway across the Indian subcontinent. In 1939 and 1940, there was an unsuccessful attempt to create a viable Anglo-French Supreme War Council, but as the multinational character of the war developed with the entry of the United States in December 1941, command of British forces was increasingly delegated to pan-Allied authorities such as the Combined Chiefs of Staff at the strategic level and Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF) and South-East Asia Command (SEAC) at the operational level.

The spiritual core of the army remained the 5 guard and 64 line infantry regiments that performed a unique administrative, but nontactical, function. Following the pattern established in World War I, the army expanded not by creating new regiments but by adding battalions to existing regiments, some of which traced their origins to the seventeenth century. The heart of the regiment was an organizational depot located

at the home barracks, while its component field battalions served scattered across the world in various brigade formations. It was uncommon for two or more of the same regiment's battalions to serve closely together at the front.

Regimental tradition was a powerful reinforcement of esprit de corps, particularly as most regiments had a regional recruitment base. But as the war progressed and manpower became scarcer, the territorial associations of each regiment were weakened, with a corresponding loss of group identity. The remainder of the army was similarly divided into administrative units with regimental or corps-level designations but no tactical roles. The Royal Armoured Corps was a composite of the old cavalry regiments, now mechanized, and the Royal Tank Regiment. The Royal Corps of Signals handled communications for the entire army down to individual battalion levels, where company signalers took over. Some of the services, such as the Royal Artillery and the Royal Engineers, had traditions and battle honors every bit as distinguished as those of the infantry; others, such as the Reconnaissance Corps, were newly created and short-lived. The most important noncombat services were the Royal Army Service Corps, which carried supplies to troops in the field; the Royal Army Ordnance Corps (RAOC), responsible for the procurement and maintenance of equipment; and the Royal Army Medical Corps, which handled the sick and wounded.

The greater emphasis in World War II on technical and logistical matters caused a much larger proportion of manpower to be allocated to the "tail" (as opposed to the "teeth") of the army than was the case during World War I. Some support formations became so unwieldy that they gave birth to spin-off services of their own, such as the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, which was formed from the RAOC in 1942. Other notable services handled pay, military policing, spiritual affairs (the Royal Army Chaplains), intelligence, catering, physical training, and education—the last being accused by many conservative officers of foisting socialist ideology onto the rankers, precipitating the Labour Party's 1945 election victory! Eventually a General Service Corps was created to process incoming recruits and provide basic training and ultimate service allocation. The all-women's Auxiliary Territorial Service played an increasingly critical role in support of the regulars, as did the Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service and the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry on the medical front.

Tactically, each late-war British army was divided into four corps, each with two infantry divisions and one armored division. An infantry division of 18,000 men consisted of three brigades of three battalions apiece, an independent machine-gun battalion, three Royal Artillery (RA) field regiments, and an antitank and antiaircraft regiment, plus the usual supporting attachments of signalers, engineers, and so on. Tank brigades were often temporarily attached to infantry divisions on an as-needed basis. The full-strength infantry battalion had four rifle companies of three platoons apiece, a headquarters

company, and a support company. The structure of armored divisions changed markedly throughout the war as experiments to find the best mixture of tanks to other services evolved. In 1939, there were two armored brigades per division, each of three regiments, with a motorized infantry battalion, field artillery regiment, and accompanying support units. By D day, this had changed to a single armored brigade of three tank regiments (78 tanks per regiment) plus a fully mechanized infantry battalion in armored personnel carriers, a motorized infantry brigade in trucks, an armored reconnaissance regiment, one or two RA field regiments, and a plethora of antitank, antiaircraft, and other support formations, for a total of 343 armored vehicles at full strength.

Two forces existing out of the standard army structure, special services and the Home Guard, deserve mention. The special services or "Commando" brigades were created after the Battle of France as Britain's only way of directly striking back at the Germans on the European continent. Although their hit-and-run tactics were of limited utility in the absence of an Allied second front, they played an important propaganda role in the testing years before Operation OVERLORD and later became a useful auxiliary to the conventional armies fighting in France and the Low Countries. Certain theaters of war spawned their own commando-like units, such as the Special Air Service (SAS) in the Western Desert and Orde Wingate's Chindits in Burma. The Parachute Regiment, which by the end of the war was two divisions strong, was originally a part of special services. The Home Guard, formed by a call for underage and over-age volunteers after Dunkerque, was originally intended as a last-ditch militia in the event of a German invasion of the British Isles. As the threat of attack receded, the Home Guard's function adapted to take over security and antiaircraft duties in the home islands from the regular army and to act as a training service for those about to be conscripted. At its peak in 1943, there were 1.7 million Home Guardsmen in 1,100 battalions.

By the end of the war, more than 3.5 million men and women had served in the regular forces, with the peak of 2.9 million reached in 1945. Eleven armored, 34 infantry, and 2 airborne divisions had been created. Other Imperial forces had expanded at an even greater rate: the Indian army was over 2.5 million men strong by V-J Day. Despite its early muds and campaign disasters, the army had matured to become one of the world's preeminent fighting forces and a signal contributor to the ultimate Allied victory. It had accomplished this with casualties of 264,443 killed, 41,327 missing, and 277,077 wounded.

Alan Allport

See also

Airborne Forces, Allied; Alexander, Harold Rupert Leofric George; Armored Warfare; Brooke, Sir Alan Francis; Chindits; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Combined Chiefs of Staff; Commandos/Rangers;

Dill, Sir John Greer; Ironside, Sir William Edmund; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; OVERLORD, Operation; Slim, Sir William Joseph; Vereker, John Standish Surtees Pendergast (Gort, Lord); Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival; Wingate, Orde Charles

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Great Britain, Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS)

Women's unit of the British army that provided ancillary and support services. The ancestry of the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS) can be traced to the World War I Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC), a quasi-military female support unit created in January 1917 with the aim of freeing more men for fighting. Its 57,000 members served in clerical positions and as telephone operators, cooks, and waitresses, but its women "officers" were not granted military commissions or titles. It disbanded in 1921.

In September 1938, as European war seemed ever more likely, the British government decided to establish a women's auxiliary army to be attached to the existing territorial army. The new ATS incorporated the venerable First Aid Nursing Yeomanry (FANY), formed by Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener in 1907, whose members constituted most of the ATS Transport Section. ATS recruits received two-thirds of the pay of men. Initially, numbers were small, and most new enlistees served as cooks or storekeepers or in clerical positions. In spring 1940, 300 volunteered to accompany the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) to France, and ATS telephonists were among the last British service personnel evacuated from Dunkerque, France.

With the April 1941 introduction of national civilian or military service for all childless and single British women aged between 18 and 30, ATS numbers rose dramatically, reaching 65,000 within six months. Only women between the ages of 17 and 43 were eligible to enlist, a provision waived for female WAAC veterans of the previous war. In July 1941, ATS enlistees were granted full military status, although no woman

could be compelled to serve in situations where she might be subject to physical attack nor to operate a weapon without her prior consent. The range of ATS duties also expanded enormously. Among other duties, women functioned as mechanics, drivers, stevedores, orderlies, dental clerks, masseuses, photographers, munitions inspectors, and military police. They administered postal services and operated anti-aircraft batteries, guns, and radar installations. Women were banned from active combat duty, but their ancillary functions were often physically hazardous, especially when they took part in overseas campaigns in Egypt, North Africa, Italy, France, and Asia. A total of 198,000 women joined the ATS, of whom 335 were killed on duty. Another 302 were wounded, 94 went missing in action, and 22 became prisoners of war, a rate proportionately higher than that in either the women's naval or aviation auxiliary services. In part, these figures reflected the fact that appreciable numbers of ATS women were recruited as agents for the dangerous Special Operations Executive (SOE), which mounted covert operations in occupied Europe and elsewhere.

Although the ATS continued in existence after 1945, its numbers fell precipitously as all British armed forces experienced substantial postwar demobilization. In 1949, the ATS was disbanded and its remaining members were absorbed in the new Women's Royal Army Corps, which in 1992 finally amalgamated completely with the British army.

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See also

Great Britain, Army; Great Britain, Women's Auxiliary Air Force; Great Britain, Women's Royal Naval Service; Special Operations Executive; Women in World War II

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Great Britain, Home Front

Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain headed a coalition government on the outbreak of war. When Britain declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939, the public mood was one of resignation rather than the enthusiasm that had greeted entry into World War I. Indeed, during the period September 1939–May 1940, the so-called Phony War, there was a rather nonchalant attitude toward the war.

The United Kingdom of England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland numbered nearly 48 million people. The

nation had been battling the worldwide economic depression and, although the government had belatedly begun rearmament, much of the economy remained stagnant, and unemployment was high. Britain sustained few casualties in the early fighting, although the war was brought home by the mass evacuation of children from the cities, especially London, and imposition of a blackout at night. On the whole, however, domestic life was not much disturbed.

Although Parliament passed an Emergency Powers Act in September 1939 granting the government control of the economy, Chamberlain sought a more limited effort than was essential to bring victory. Aerial attack was a great concern, and the government endeavored to relocate families, especially those in London, to rural areas of the country. But Britain was slow to mobilize its assets for the war, especially its land forces. In the spring of 1940, Britain was still producing civilian automobiles, and unemployment was at 1 million people. Not until the German invasion of France and the Low Countries in May 1940 did the government and the people discover the true seriousness of the situation.

The Allied debacle in Norway precipitated a political crisis. Despite the fact that the Conservatives held a large majority in Parliament, Prime Minister Chamberlain was forced from office on 10 May 1940, the same day the German Army invaded France and the Low Countries. Former First Lord of the Admiralty Winston L. S. Churchill became prime minister. Completely committed to total victory, Churchill was one of history's great war leaders. Perhaps more at home in the nineteenth century, as far as spheres of influence and his attitude toward colonialism were concerned, Churchill was both eloquent and effective in rallying the British people behind the war effort. Flashing his famous "V for victory" sign, he later took it on himself to visit the bombed-out areas of London (unlike German leader Adolf Hitler, who never mingled with the German people). To the rest of the world, Churchill was the embodiment of British pluck and resolve.

Despite the efforts of his service chiefs to keep him at arm's length, Churchill insisted on a hands-on approach to the war, often intervening in military matters. The one sin for Churchill was inaction, but his decisions often had deleterious effects. Churchill also took a lively interest in scientific developments, in code-breaking, and in a wide range of schemes and gadgets that might be employed against the Axis powers.

Early on, Churchill developed a close relationship with President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States, but the British leader's vision of the world, in which Britain was a major imperial power, was fading. Churchill's influence over strategy also waned in the course of the war as the military strength of the United States grew dramatically vis-à-vis that of Great Britain.

With the German invasion of the west in May 1940, all the "phoniness" of the war disappeared. The government rapidly



Firemen at work in bomb-damaged street in London, after a German air attack in 1941. (New Times Paris Bureau Collection, National Archives)

expanded the Emergency War Powers Act of the year before, giving it “complete control over persons and property.” The nation survived the debacle of the German conquest of Western Europe and the subsequent Battle of Britain, thanks to the English Channel, the Royal Navy, and the Royal Air Force (RAF). Citizens were proud of their defiant stand against Germany—what Churchill referred to as the nation’s “finest hour.” Despite depredations by Axis submarines, Britain continued to access world resources, and the next year both the Soviet Union and United States entered the war on its side, ensuring an eventual Allied victory.

With the nation at last committed to total war, economist John Maynard Keynes supervised a survey of British resources. Completed in 1941, it greatly aided the government in assuming the direction of the entire economy. The government introduced strict price controls and rationing and mobilized its civilian population fully for the war effort. The National Service (Armed Forces) Act of 2 December 1941 authorized conscription of all males ages 18 to 50 for the mil-

itary, industry, or other national service. In June 1944, some 22 percent of adults were in the military and another 33 percent were in civilian war work. Women played a key role; by 1944 they comprised 37.9 percent of the civilian labor force.

The British government enjoyed great success increasing its production of armaments. In 1940, for example, Britain produced more aircraft than Germany (15,049 to 10,249). Labour Party member Ernest Bevin was a highly effective minister of labor. There was little unrest among British workers, especially as burdens were seen to be shared, and the standard of living was not seriously depressed.

About half of national resources went into the war effort, as exports dropped off and imports, especially of food, rose. The government sharply raised taxes to avoid as much borrowing as possible. The basic tax rate was 50 percent, whereas excess business profits were taxed at 100 percent. Some called this tax policy “war socialism.” Without Lend-Lease from the United States and assistance from Commonwealth nations, however, it would have been very difficult for Britain to survive.

Britain suffered far less material damage than most other warring states. It sustained in the war 244,723 military and 60,595 civilian deaths. But Britain's massive wartime effort, the expenditure of capital at home, the recall of overseas investment, the disruption of trade, and deficit spending all hastened a national economic decline already in progress. The hardships of war that imparted a sense of a shared national effort also heightened interest in reform at the end of the war. As early as 1942, the Beveridge Report called for establishment after the war of a minimum income level, medical insurance, and cradle-to-grave security for all citizens. Even during the war, Parliament extended to the entire population the right to a secondary school education. Popular interest in wide-ranging reform was not understood by Churchill, who focused almost exclusively on the war, but this mood led the Labour Party leadership to demand elections after the defeat of Germany. Held in July 1945 while the war against Japan was still in progress, the elections produced a surprising Labour upset; the party won 393 of the 640 seats in the House of Commons. In a nearly seamless transition, Labour leader and Deputy Prime Minister Clement Attlee replaced Churchill in the midst of the Potsdam Conference.

Although the United Kingdom experienced the exhilaration of victory, the country was hard hit economically and socially. Indeed, to finance long overdue social legislation, the Labour government was forced to cut in many other areas. The government also began a program of retrenchment abroad, and this meant giving full independence to much of the British Empire—India being the most dramatic example. The Labour government also soon determined that Britain could no longer continue as the world's policeman, and by 1947 it had largely passed that burden to the United States.

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See also

Attlee, Clement Richard; Chamberlain, Arthur Neville; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Lend-Lease; Potsdam Conference; Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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Great Britain, Navy

The somewhat disappointing performance of the Royal Navy during World War I led to considerable improvements in many tactical and operational areas by 1939. Despite the treaty limitations of the interwar years, the Royal Navy had reemerged as the world's dominant naval force by 1939. (The U.S. Navy did not embark on a massive rebuilding program until the Two Ocean Navy Act of 1940, and it became the larger naval and maritime force only by 1944.) Significant improvements in tactical and operational doctrine occurred in the 1920s and 1930s, especially in surface action and night-fighting techniques. In contrast to the lack of offensive-mindedness with concomitant reluctance to risk assets that characterized the Royal Navy in World War I, the Royal Navy of 1939 was imbued with a reinvigorated offensive spirit.

Weaknesses did hamper operations, notably the poor state of naval aviation, particularly when compared with naval aviation in the United States and Japan. Of the seven aircraft carriers in service at the start of 1939, only the *Ark Royal* (laid down in 1935) could be considered a modern carrier. Four of the other six had been modified earlier from battleship or battle cruiser hulls. The five new fleet carriers under construction would not begin operational service until well into 1940.

Despite the lessons of antisubmarine warfare (ASW) learned by 1918 and the need to protect merchant shipping and convoys, the Royal Navy had relatively poor commerce protection capabilities in 1939. Warship design had primarily emphasized coastal protection and submarine hunting, resulting in the short-range corvette ship type, which first came into service in 1939, and small escort destroyers. Although these ships had long-endurance capabilities, they proved unsuitable for open-ocean convoy escort primarily because of their size. Open-ocean convoy protection had been neglected, especially in training programs, and larger destroyers capable of trans-Atlantic convoy protection were in short supply. Despite the drawbacks, Britain managed to improve ASW capability and assets fairly quickly in response to the German U-boat threat. Although the smaller corvettes proved minimally effective for long-range mid-ocean operations, their successor—the larger, more seaworthy frigate, particularly the *River*-class dating from the 1940 building program—proved especially effective for convoy escort after 1942.

The initial German threat came from a three-part German offensive against commerce (*Handelskreig*) based on submarines, mines, and surface raiders. The Royal Navy quickly and effectively addressed each threat, although significant casualties did occur. Germany began the war with not many

more submarines than it had at the start of World War I—just 51 operational U-boats, about half of them coastal vessels. The organization of British convoys in the Western Approaches, combined with the Straits of Dover mine barrage, resulted in nine U-boats sunk by the end of 1939.

Although some vessels were lost to German mines, the navy reduced this menace with new technology, including degaussing against magnetic mines. Surface raiders threatened British commerce, particularly in the remote waters of the Indian Ocean and South Atlantic. Although German raiders such as the *Atlantis* and pocket battleship *Graf Spee* provided some tense moments early in the war, by late 1941 most surface raiders had been hunted down and sunk.

In April 1940, Germany attacked Norway, primarily to secure its northern flank and the vital iron ore trade with Sweden. The British navy opposed the German landings, but a daring run of 10 German destroyers into Narvik subdued the Norwegian defenses. The combination of the entire German surface fleet with German land-based air power quickly resulted in the occupation of Norway. Reacting to the German moves, a Royal Navy force of destroyers attacked the Germans at Narvik, but it suffered heavy losses. A follow-on attack three days later by a large force based around the battleship *Warspite* devastated the Germans, which severely hampered future enemy surface operations. Ultimately, though, the Royal Navy could not prevent German victory, especially in the face of effective enemy airpower. Additionally, the German fast battleships *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* sank the fleet carrier *Glorious*.

The fall of France and loss of French ports heralded a realignment of Royal Navy forces, because prior to World War I, Britain had relied on France for the bulk of Mediterranean sea power. With the appearance of a hostile Vichy government, though, the navy established Force H based at Gibraltar under Vice Admiral Sir James Somerville and charged with controlling the western Mediterranean. Force H carried out a distasteful duty in the bombardment of the French Fleet at Mers-el-Kébir in July 1940. Force H also played a central role in the destruction of the German battleship *Bismarck* in May 1941, as well as in hunting down and destroying the Atlantic commerce raiders. But the loss of France allowed Germany to base long-range U-boats in Bay of Biscay ports such as Brest and Lorient. The toll on British and Imperial shipping dramatically increased by autumn 1940 as Adolf Hitler declared (on 17 August 1940) a total blockade of the British Isles.

By autumn 1941, the tide in the commerce war had turned in favor of Britain. Escort ships provided by the United States (50 World War I-era destroyers) and the increasing number of Royal Canadian Navy destroyers, improved detection equipment including radar; high-frequency direction-finding sets and Antisubmarine Detection Investigation Committee

(ASDIC or sonar), implementation of a cohesive and effective enemy submarine tracking system based on radio intercepts and code-breaking, and better cooperation with RAF Coastal Command all contributed to the reduction of the German submarine threat and effectiveness. Additionally, Germany's loss of the *Bismarck* and the relatively ineffective German effort to use heavy surface units to interdict the convoys to the northern Soviet Union across the Arctic above Norway all helped to lessen the threat to British maritime commerce by the middle of 1943. The Soviet convoys began receiving more robust escort following the destruction of the ill-fated PQ17 convoy in summer 1942. This enhanced escort included greater destroyer strength and escort carriers. The destruction of the battleship *Scharnhorst* off the Norwegian North Cape in December 1943 by a British battleship and cruiser force essentially ended the German surface threat to British and Allied maritime shipping.

Finally, despite a high number of U-boats operating in the Atlantic by March 1943 (up to 70 at any given time), the increasing skill of Allied submarine hunters and the closing of the "Black Hole" area south of Greenland, where air cover had not been previously available, meant a diminishing submarine threat and higher losses in U-boats. Escort carriers provided air cover while long-range maritime patrol aircraft (primarily modified B-24 Liberator bombers) made U-boat operations less effective. Additionally, hunter-killer escort groups attached to vulnerable convoys mauled the Germans.

In the Mediterranean, Italy's entry into the war in May 1940 required reinforcement of the theater naval forces under Admiral Sir Andrew Cunningham. With some modernized older battleships and the new carrier *Illustrious*, Cunningham defeated the Italians in fleet engagements at Calabria in July 1940 and Cape Matapan in March 1941 and raided the Italian anchorage at Taranto in November 1941 with naval aircraft. Cunningham stressed the improvement of anti-aircraft protection, which paid off as the naval war in the Mediterranean increasingly devolved into attacks on shipping and naval vessels by Axis aircraft.

Faced with substantial damage to their supply convoys by British destroyers and submarines, the Germans dispatched U-boats to the Mediterranean in October 1941, resulting in the sinking of the battleship *Barham* and the carrier *Ark Royal*. At the fleet anchorage in Alexandria, the battleships *Queen Elizabeth* and *Valiant* were sunk at their moorings by Italian *Maiale* human torpedoes.

Faced with the loss of capital ships and the threat of enemy aircraft and submarine attack, British resources in the Mediterranean were stretched dangerously thin. Malta, the linchpin of Britain's efforts to hold the Mediterranean, came under horrendous air attack. Convoys to resupply and reinforce the island suffered substantial casualties, among them the aircraft carrier *Eagle*.



The British aircraft carrier Ark Royal, seen from an accompanying destroyer, ca. 1940. (Hulton Archive)

The entry of the United States into the war in December 1941 had a profound impact on the Mediterranean Theater. Operation TORCH, the Allied landings in North Africa in November 1942, resulted in the eventual destruction of Axis forces in North Africa. Reinforced and reconstituted, the Mediterranean Fleet conducted an ambitious and destructive assault on Italian shipping throughout 1942 and 1943 that crippled enemy resupply efforts. Cunningham admonished his sailors and airmen to “sink, burn and destroy: let nothing pass.” By the end of 1942, Britain had again established maritime supremacy in the Mediterranean, despite substantial losses.

In the Pacific Theater, Japan entered the war against Britain concurrent with the assault on the United States. Quickly overrunning Hong Kong, the Japanese army forced the capitulation of Singapore, Britain’s “Gibraltar of the Pacific.” Faced with the loss of basing facilities, the Royal Navy withdrew from Southeast Asian waters, particularly after the loss of the battleship *Prince of Wales* and battle cruiser *Repulse* to air attack in December 1941 (Force Z under Admiral Sir Tom Phillips). The admiral’s disregard of the air threat coupled with woefully inadequate antiaircraft protection (the navy had only two modern destroyers) greatly aided the land-based Japanese aviators, who easily sank both capital ships.

Following the crippling of the U.S. Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor, Japan’s main striking force—Vice Admiral Nagumo Chūichi’s First Air Fleet—wreaked havoc on the remnants of British sea power in the Indian Ocean in spring 1942. In carrier-based air attacks against British surface units, the veteran Japanese naval aviators sank detached portions of Admiral Sir James Somerville’s forces based in Ceylon, including two cruisers and the carrier *Hermes*. However, Somerville avoided a general action and preserved his force as the Japanese withdrew to support their thrust into New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. Naval action in the Pacific Theater after May 1942 involved mainly U.S. and Australian naval units, but, with the defeat of Germany in May 1945, the Royal Navy again engaged Japan with substantial forces.

Under Admiral Sir Bruce Fraser, the Pacific Fleet of four carriers (later joined by two additional decks) and two battleships with substantial escort destroyers and cruisers arrived in the Pacific in March 1945, where they joined the Americans in the assault on the Japanese home islands and Okinawa. Equipped with the U.S. Hellcat and Corsair fighters, Royal Naval aviators did great destruction to the Japanese. American aircraft proved greatly superior to earlier British Seafire (modified from the Spitfire), Martlet, Fulmar,

and Sea Hurricane models. The heavily armored British carrier decks proved worthwhile as a defense against Japanese suicide kamikaze aircraft (the lightly armored American carriers suffered more extensive damage).

From strategic and operational viewpoints, the Royal Navy performed exceptionally well in the war. Although losses were heavy (1,525 warships of all types, including 224 major surface units of which 5 were battleships or battle cruisers and 5 were fleet carriers; and 50,000 personnel dead), the aggressiveness and risk-taking nature of senior and individual ship commanding officers overcame the tenacious and highly competent Axis opponents. In the Atlantic, the Axis commerce warfare offensive failed to starve the country into submission or impede the arrival of overwhelming U.S. forces and personnel. In the Mediterranean, the Royal Navy kept British and Imperial ground and air forces supplied and reinforced while simultaneously strangling the Axis supply lines to North Africa. In the Pacific, despite initial defeats by the Japanese, British sea power returned late in the conflict and helped the U.S. Navy carry the fight to the Japanese home islands. As it had not done in the previous war, the navy at all levels showed exceptional ability to adapt rapidly to technological and methodical innovations and advances in doctrine, organization, and training. To man the new ships of more than 900 major combatants and the supporting shore establishment (training, research, logistics, support, and administration), by war's end Royal Naval personnel had increased from the pre-war 129,000 to 863,500, which included 72,000 women in the Women's Royal Naval Service (WRNS). In short, the navy vindicated itself following the disappointments of World War I. British sea power both kept Britain in the fight until the United States arrived in force and subsequently provided the domination needed to attack the Axis powers at all vulnerable points with little interference.

Stanley D. M. Carpenter

See also

Aircraft, Fighters; Antisubmarine Warfare; Atlantic, Battle of the; Aviation, Naval; *Bismarck*, Sortie and Sinking of; Calabria, Battle of; Cape Matapan, Battle of; CATAPULT, Operation; Commerce Raiders, German Surface; Convoy PQ 17; Convoys, Allied; Crete, Naval Operations off; Cunningham, Sir Andrew Browne; Depth Charges; Destroyers-Bases Deal; Dönitz, Karl; Fraser, Bruce Austin; Hunter-Killer Groups; Indian Ocean, Japanese Naval Operations in; Kamikaze; Malta; Mers-el-Kébir; Mines, Sea; Minesweeping and Minelaying; Narvik, Naval Battles of; Naval Warfare; North Africa Campaign; North Cape, Battle of; Norway, German Conquest of; Phillips, Sir Tom Vaughan; *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse*; *Royal Oak*, Sinking of; Singapore, Battle for; Somerville, Sir James Fownes; Sonar; Southwest Pacific Theater; Taranto, Attack on; TORCH, Operation; Two Ocean Navy Program

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Great Britain, Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF)

Women's arm of the Royal Air Force that provided support services. In September 1939, the Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF), an auxiliary branch of the Royal Air Force (RAF) with a mission to provide support services tailored to RAF needs, was established. Its precedent was the Women's Royal Air Force (WRAF), which came into existence on 1 April 1918 during World War I and was disbanded exactly two years later.

On 10 April 1941, the WAAF was formally incorporated as an official part of the armed services of the British crown. Theoretically, only women aged between 18 and 43 could serve in the WAAF, but some members, especially those with World War I service credentials, were older, and one young woman who managed to join at the age of 14 was allowed to remain. A total of 171,200 women served in the WAAF, 187 of whom were killed in service. Another 420 were wounded, and 4 went missing while on duty.

Although British women aged between 18 and 30 were subject to conscription for war work from 1941 onward, they were permitted to choose agriculture, industrial work, or the armed services. Even in the women's auxiliary units of the armed forces, moreover, no woman could be compelled to serve in a situation in which she might have to wield a weapon. As with their female naval counterparts, members of the WAAF had a particularly glamorous reputation, which their relatively smart uniforms and association with the much-admired pilots enhanced.

Although supposedly restricted to noncombat roles, WAAFs often had important responsibilities, especially when functioning either as radar plotters to track incoming hostile airplanes and warn of forthcoming air raids or as radar controllers directing formations of British fighters and bombers. Many young women relished the independence and freedom such employment conferred on them. WAAFs also served in a wide variety of clerical and other support roles—as drivers and mechanics, for example—freeing up



WAAF personnel work on the advanced rigging maintenance of a Lysander aircraft. (Hulton Archive)

men for active duty. A small minority of women became pilots, although to do so they had to join the Air Transport Auxiliary (ATA) and become civilians. They were restricted to ferrying and delivering airplanes and could not undertake combat duties. Thousands of WAAFs served overseas in the Egyptian and North African Campaigns and in Europe, controlling air operations as Allied forces advanced. Some WAAFs were also recruited for dangerous clandestine work in the Special Operations Executive, which mounted covert operations in countries occupied by Axis powers. Others took part in ULTRA code-breaking operations at Bletchley Park. The British Dominions, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia all established similar women's auxiliary air forces.

In recognition of WAAF wartime contributions, the service remained in existence after World War II, although by 1950 only 517 of the wartime recruits remained in the service. In 1948, however, 14 WAAFs who were ex-ATA members became flying officers. In February 1949, the WAAF reverted to its old name and once again became the WRAF, and in 1994 it finally merged completely with the RAF.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Bletchley Park; Great Britain, Air Force; Great Britain, Auxiliary Territorial Service; Great Britain, Women's Royal Naval Service; Special Operations Executive; Women in World War II

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Great Britain, Women's Land Army (WLA)

The Women's Land Army (WLA) was a British wartime program to provide female laborers to help overcome labor

shortages in agriculture. As war clouds began to gather in the 1930s, British government officials realized that if war should break out, the country would require numerous additional workers. For agricultural work, officials made plans to find more laborers from a variety of sources including older and younger workers, seasonal labor from nearby towns, and, as the war progressed, prisoners of war. The most widely publicized effort was the Women's Land Army.

In April 1938, the government asked Lady Gertrude Denman, the dynamic head of the Women's Institutes, to lead the new organization. Using a Women's Land Army formed in World War I as a guide, Lady Denman, her coworkers, and local authorities were able to launch a national recruiting campaign in the spring and summer of 1939. By the time the call came in September, more than 1,000 volunteers had signed up, and soon afterward WLA recruits began arriving at British farmsteads.

The "land girls," as they were called, had to be at least age 17 to join. They were primarily from cities, where they had been employed as barmaids, hairdressers, store clerks, and in other similar positions. They underwent four weeks of training and then were sent to individual farms or lived under supervision in hostels. They were given uniforms consisting of a green sweater; brown, knee-length trousers; high black boots; a light brown overcoat; and a brown felt hat. They usually worked 11-hour days and were to have half a day per week and Sundays off, but often that was impossible because of the nature of their jobs. They did all kinds of work, from weeding and threshing to cleaning ditches and milking cows. Some eventually became tractor drivers. They were paid the equivalent of about \$3.50 per week, half of it for room and board.

Farmers at first were reluctant to hire WLA workers. By the spring of 1940, however, the labor market had become tighter, and farmers became more receptive to the idea. By the end of the year, 6,000 women were working in rural areas. The number reached a peak of 87,000 in July 1943, and total of 250,000 had enrolled by war's end.

Shirley Joseph has written movingly about her life as a land girl. She recalled being interviewed and asked, among other things, whether she realized that cows had to be milked every day. She was then trained and sent out to work. Her first job was at Warborough farm in Oxfordshire, where she worked from 6:15 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., and her most important task was to assist with morning and late-afternoon milking. On Wednesdays, she received a half day off and often used the time to hitchhike to her home nearby. She lived part of the time in a cottage with no electricity and no running water. Later she worked out of three different hostels, and although she was allowed to do some milking, her main jobs were threshing and hoeing crops, which she described as dirty, hard work. She remembered hard bunks, queuing for meals,



Jocelyn Elliott of the Women's Land Army holding up silage she is feeding to cattle, March 1941. (Photo by Central Press/Getty Images)

the total lack of privacy, boyfriends (some of them American GIs), and long hours of work. Her experiences were probably typical of those who served.

The Women's Land Army gained increasing acceptance from the public, partly because it was well organized. Lady Denman and other WLA leaders gave talks over the radio about the Land Army's service, kept local supervisors informed, and even published a magazine, *The Land Girl*, that was distributed to the workers. Denman was also able to enlist influential patrons. Queen Mary, for example, was a major supporter, and she employed land girls at one of the royal family's country estates. Although the Women's Land Army may not have played as large a role in solving the agricultural labor problem as its backers have claimed, it did help, and it was a worthwhile experiment.

Alan F. Wilt

See also

Women in World War II

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Great Britain, Women's Royal Naval Service (WRNS)

Women's arm of the British Royal Navy, reconstituted in 1939. The Women's Royal Naval Service was first created in 1917, during World War I. Before the organization was disbanded on 1 October 1919, 6,000 British women had undertaken naval support duties, during the course of which 23 died.

In 1938, on the approach of another war, planning began to reestablish the WRNS. The organization was reconstituted in April 1939 under the direction of Vera Laughton Mathews. Enlistment was initially voluntary, but under the April 1941 Registration of Employment Order, all single and childless British women aged between 19 and 30 and not yet engaged in work "essential to the war effort" became subject to conscription and were offered the choice of factory work, service in one of the auxiliary service units, or enrollment in the Women's Land Army.

As with the other female auxiliary services, especially the Women's Auxiliary Air Force, the WRNS (its members were called Wrens) constituted something of a prestigious and elite service. In the course of the war, 74,620 women enlisted in the WRNS, of whom 102 were killed and 22 wounded. Government regulations prevented female civilian volunteers and military personnel to serve without their consent in hazardous circumstances in which they were liable to come under physical attack—manning antiaircraft guns, for example—nor could they be compelled to operate weapons. Even in the auxiliary armed forces, women were restricted to noncombat roles, and the primary function of WRNS members was perceived as releasing male naval personnel from shore jobs. As the war progressed, however, the WRNS and other female auxiliary military units undertook an increasingly wide range of duties—more than 200 jobs by 1944. Many served in clerical positions or as wireless telegraphists, electricians, fitters, radio mechanics, photographers, technicians, cooks, stewards, gardeners, dispatch riders, or stokers; others helped to plan and organize naval operations. Thousands served overseas, often in hazardous conditions. A small minority qualified as naval pilots, although, as with those in the quasi-civilian Air Transport Service, they were normally barred from combat duties and restricted to ferrying planes.

Thousands of women also enlisted in associated naval units including the Fleet Air Arm, Coastal Forces, Combined Operations, and the Royal Marines. In all, 303 British women died during World War II while on active duty in the various naval services. Canada, Australia, and New Zealand established similar women's naval auxiliary services. British women's naval contributions were highly respected, and the

WRNS became a permanent service arm in February 1949. In 1993, the WRNS disappeared as a separate unit when it became fully integrated into the British navy.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Great Britain, Auxiliary Territorial Service; Great Britain, Navy; Great Britain, Women's Auxiliary Air Force; Women in World War II

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Greece, Air Force

In 1940, Greece's Air Ministry administered the Royal Greek Air Force (*Vassiliki Aeroporia*). The navy controlled the naval cooperation squadrons, and the army controlled fighters, bombers, and ground-support squadrons. The Greek air force's modern aircraft were grouped into four fighter squadrons and three bomber squadrons. At the start of the war with Italy in October 1940, Greece deployed 216 first- and second-line aircraft of all types, including liaison. Greece also had about 60 obsolete aircraft dating back to World War I. At the beginning of its invasion of Greece, Italy operated 187 modern aircraft from Albania, and it could also draw on hundreds of aircraft operating from Italy. The Greek air force was composed of a mélange of Czech, Polish, German, French, and later British machines. Greece had no reserves and was totally dependent on the British for resupply. Securing replacement parts was a nightmare, and the lack of parts meant that many aircraft became inoperable.

During 1940 and 1941, the Greek air force aggressively operated with some success in support of army operations on the Albanian Front. However, as the army advanced into mountainous Albania, flying distances became longer and more problematic, whereas Italian aircraft were able to operate closer to their own bases. By the time Germany invaded Greece in April 1941, the Greek air force was down to 41 operational aircraft. Following the Axis victory at the end of April, the Greek government in exile maintained an air force of two fighter squadrons and one bomber squadron in the Mediterranean under British control.

Jack Greene

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Greece, Army; Greece, Navy; Greece Campaign (28 October 1940–March 1941); Greece Campaign (1941)

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Greece, Army

In October 1940, at the time of the Italian invasion, the Greek army, commanded by General Alexandros Papagos, numbered some 430,000 men in 18 divisions. By April 1941, when the Germans invaded Greece, army strength was some 540,000 men. Each division numbered at full strength approximately 18,500 men, formed in three regiments of three battalions each. Most of these were of World War I type and were lightly armed mountain divisions. The army had almost no tanks, although in the course of the fighting the

Greeks captured some Italian L3 “tankettes” and formed a weak motorized division. The Greeks also had little in the way of anti-aircraft artillery, and much of the army’s equipment was also antiquated. Although the Greeks had few mortars, they possessed more machine guns and more effective heavy artillery than did the Italians. Greek supply services were poor, leading to much hardship among the troops in the mountains and during the winter.

In October 1940, when the Italian army invaded from Albania, the Greek army had four first-line divisions on the Albanian frontier. The Greek army fought well against the Italians; in its counterattack, it expelled the Italian army from Greece and penetrated into Albania. The Greeks were overwhelmed when the German army entered the fighting in April 1941, however. During the 1940–1941 campaign, the Greek army sustained 13,408 killed and 42,485 wounded. Some 9,000 soldiers were evacuated to Crete, and others escaped through Turkey to Egypt. Ultimately, the Greeks formed the 18,500-man Royal Hellenic Army, which fought under British command in the Middle East. It consisted of three infantry brigades, an armored-car regiment, an artillery regiment, and the Greek Sacred Regiment composed entirely of officers.



Greek gun crew at work during the campaign in Albania in 1940. (Library of Congress)

One brigade of the Royal Hellenic Army fought in the Battle of El Alamein, but most of the force saw little action, the consequence of political infighting. A mutiny in 1944 led to the internment of much of the army, although part of it was used in nonoperational duties. A newly formed unit, the 2,500-man Third Mountain Brigade, did fight with distinction in the Italian Campaign, where it was known as the Rimini Brigade.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Greece, Air Force; Greece, Navy; Greece, Role in War; Greece Campaign (28 October 1940–March 1941); Papagos, Alexandros

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Greece, Navy

In late 1939 the Royal Hellenic Navy (RHN) was a relatively small force of obsolescent warships, some of which dated to before World War I. The navy consisted of the armored cruiser *Giorgios Averoff* (built in Italy in 1910), six destroyers, six submarines, one minelayer, several torpedo boats, and an assortment of auxiliary vessels. No warships were under construction, although the RHN planned to take delivery of two additional (British-built) destroyers. In addition to generally obsolete equipment, the RHN suffered from the national political schism of the 1930s that brought purges of the officer corps.

In mid-1940, Italy began a period of harassment that included air attacks on Greek ships at sea and the sinking on 15 August 1940 of the anchored minelayer *Helle* by the Italian submarine *Delfino*. Once Italy declared war on Greece on 28 October 1940, the RHN was active in supporting the army and in conducting destroyer sweeps in the Ionian Sea. The RHN experienced severe losses from air attacks following the April 1941 German invasion of Greece. The surviving Greek ships, their bases seized by German troops, withdrew first to Crete and then to Egypt, where they were integrated into the British Royal Navy.

The Royal Navy had operational control of the Greek ships, and the RHN was responsible for their administration. The Greek ships were in need of refit and modernization, and they received from the British Navy modern fire-control systems

and antiaircraft and antisubmarine armaments. The British also transferred to the RHN a variety of destroyers, corvettes, submarines, and smaller craft, including minesweepers.

RHN ships then served throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Beginning in 1942, the RHN experienced nearly continual political unrest concerning the composition of the Greek government in exile. This culminated in the April 1944 mutiny of virtually the entire RHN at Alexandria and Port Said. Although the mutiny was crushed, the Greek ships were out of action for about four months while units were purged of mutineers.

After the German retreat from the Balkans, in October 1944 the RHN returned to Greek waters. It spent the remainder of the war reestablishing itself in its home territory, opening ports, engaging communist groups that resisted the return of the government from Egypt, and containing German garrisons on the larger islands of the Aegean Sea.

Mark C. Jones

See also

Greece, Air Force; Greece, Army; Greece, Role in War; Mediterranean Theater; Metaxas, Ioannis

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Greece, Role in War

The nation of Greece, with a population of some 7.3 million people in 1940, was drawn into World War II by Italy's invasion from Albania. Greek dictator General Ioannis Metaxas had sought to maintain his nation's neutrality, but that policy ended when an Italian invasion began a Balkan campaign that drew in Britain as well as Germany and other Axis powers. The result of these developments was Axis control of the Balkans until the last months of the war. Greece suffered horribly in the war and continued to suffer in the years immediately afterward in a costly civil war from 1946 to 1949.

In October 1940, without informing his ally Adolf Hitler in advance, Italian dictator Benito Mussolini launched an invasion from Albania. Having both superior numbers and greater military hardware, Mussolini confidently expected to complete the conquest before winter set in. The Greeks, however, resisted valiantly. They not only held the Italians but went on the offensive and drove them back, while the British bombed Albania and neutralized the Italian navy. Mussolini's invasion

of Greece turned into a disaster from which neither he nor his regime recovered. Determined to shore up his southern flank before he began an invasion of the Soviet Union, Hitler stepped in. Metaxas died at the end of January 1941, and in April the Führer sent the German army against both Greece and Yugoslavia, quickly overwhelming both. Neither the courage and will of the Greeks nor British army reinforcements sufficed to withstand the Luftwaffe and the panzers.

The Axis occupation of Greece involved German, Italian, and Bulgarian troops and lasted three years. It was a dark period in the history of a nation that had undergone much suffering since Roman times. The Germans set up a puppet government and insisted that the Greeks pay the full cost of the occupation, which resulted in catastrophic inflation. The Germans also requisitioned resources and supplies, with no concern for the fate of a population that, even in the best of times, was obliged to import most of its food. Famine and disease decimated Greece and killed perhaps 100,000 people in the winter of 1941–1942 alone. The suffering was such that British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill agreed—under pressure from the Greek government in exile and the United States—to partially lift the blockade so the International Red Cross might bring in food supplies. Greeks living in Western Thrace and Eastern Macedonia also had to undergo forced Bulgarianization. The flourishing Jewish community in Salonika was devastated in the Holocaust; fewer than 10,000 of an estimated 70,000 Greek Jews survived the war. The Greek underground fought back with sabotage and ambush and tied down 120,000 Axis troops. In reprisal, the Germans and Italians burned whole villages and executed large numbers of Greek hostages for every Axis soldier slain.

Greek King George II and his ministers went into exile in Egypt with the retreating British forces in 1941. Almost immediately, Greek resistance groups formed. Of the various resistance movements that had appeared during the German occupation, the largest was the National Liberation Front (EAM), with the National People's Liberation Army as its military wing. Relations were poor between it and the National Republican Greek League. Indeed, actual fighting broke out between the two groups in the winter of 1943–1944, although a truce was arranged in February 1944. As in Yugoslavia, the communist-dominated EAM apparently enjoyed wider support than the nationalist underground. When the Germans pulled out of Greece, EAM held the vast majority of the country. Greek society was fractured into three factions: the monarchists, republicans, and communists.

At approximately the same time, in October 1944 Churchill journeyed to Moscow to meet with Soviet leader Josef Stalin. Churchill struck a bargain with Stalin concerning predominance in various Balkan states, under the terms of which Britain was to have 90 percent predominance in Greece. The Greek communists, who had carried the brunt of resistance

against the Axis and now controlled the majority of territory, understandably resented this imperial arrangement struck in Moscow and were unwilling to submit to it.

When the Nazis withdrew, George Papandreou, a left-of-center statesman, headed a government of national unity. Fearing the communist underground, however, he requested British troops, who began arriving early in October 1944. When the British called on the guerrilla forces to disarm and disband, EAM quit the cabinet, called a general strike, and held protest demonstrations. In this serious situation, Churchill took the impetuous decision to fly with foreign secretary Anthony Eden to Athens on Christmas Day 1944. Though the government and EAM reached accord early in 1945, it quickly broke down. EAM members took to the hills with their weapons.

In the first Greek elections, held in 1946, the Royalist People's Party was victorious, and a royalist ministry took office. A September 1946 plebiscite resulted in a majority vote for the king's return. King George II, who was unpopular in Greece, died the following April and was succeeded by his son Paul, who reigned until 1964.

By the end of 1946, communist rebels were ready to attempt a comeback, assisted by the communist governments of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania. (Ironically, Tito's support for the civil war in defiance of Stalin was one reason Yugoslavia was subsequently expelled from the international communist movement). The communists came close to winning in Greece, but Greece was saved as a Western bastion because the British were determined that the nation—with its strategic control of the eastern Mediterranean—not become communist. But in February 1947, deep in its own economic problems, Britain informed a shocked Washington that it could no longer bear the burden of supporting Greece. U.S. President Harry S. Truman agreed to take over the responsibility, and in March 1947, he announced the Truman Doctrine of aid to free nations threatened by internal or external aggression. This policy received the enthusiastic support of the U.S. Congress and an appropriation of \$400 million for both Greece and Turkey. Ultimately, the United States contributed about \$750 million for the final three years of guerrilla warfare.

Gradually, General Alexander Papagos, Greek commander in chief, dismissed incompetent officers and created a military force sufficient to turn the military tide. Another important factor was that Marshal Tito (Josip Broz) needed to concentrate on resisting Soviet pressures, cutting off many of the supplies for the rebel cause. By the end of 1949, the communists had been defeated and Greece saved for the West. The cost of the civil war to Greece was as great as the cost from the tormented years of World War II and the Nazi occupation. As with so many civil wars, the struggle had been waged without quarter on either side. Thousands of hostages

had been taken and simply disappeared. A million Greeks had been uprooted and displaced by the fighting. Casualties may have been as high as half a million people—all of them Greeks killed by Greeks. After the war, the purges and reprisals continued for some time. Unfortunately for Greece, further upheaval fanned by other nations and dictatorship lay ahead before true democracy could be achieved.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Balkans Theater; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Cold War, Origins and Early Course of; Eden, Sir Robert Anthony; Greece, Air Force; Greece, Army; Greece, Navy; Greece Campaign (28 October 1940–March 1941); Greece Campaign (April 1941); Metaxas, Ioannis; Papagos, Aleksandros; Truman, Harry S

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Greece Campaign (28 October 1940–March 1941)

In April 1939, Italian dictator Benito Mussolini ordered the Italian army to invade Albania to secure control of the Adriatic Sea. On taking over Albania, Italy began a major engineering project there to improve roads to the Greek border. This was accompanied by assurances from Rome to Athens that Italy would not attack Greece. Simultaneously, on 13 April, Britain and France extended guarantees to both Greece and Romania to preserve their integrity.

In spite of assurances to the Greek government, Italy was indeed planning an invasion. Code-named CASE G, the plan for an attack on Greece received major impetus from foreign minister (and Mussolini's son-in-law) Galeazzo Ciano, who was much involved in Albanian affairs and sponsored this operation to expand his influence over Greece as well. Mussolini also resented Adolf Hitler's decision to send German troops to Romania to protect the Ploesti oil fields, a move destroying Italian influence in Romania. Mussolini was determined to redress the Balkan balance.

On 15 October 1940, Mussolini met in Rome with his military leaders, including chief of General Staff Marshal Pietro Badoglio and deputy chief of the army staff General Mario Roatta, to discuss the attack on Greece. Also present was General Sebastiano Visconti-Prasca, commander of the Eleventh Army in Albania and author of the invasion plan, a much

shrunk CASE G. Although questions were raised during the meeting, none of those present seriously opposed the decision to begin the invasion in a few days. At this time, Mussolini wrote to Hitler seeking advice and informing him of his intentions; but by delaying sending this letter, Mussolini hoped to surprise his ally, just as Hitler had surprised him with his timing of the invasion of France. Hitler, who had accurate information about Italian intentions, made no effort to restrain his ally.

Before dawn on 28 October 1940, the Italian ambassador in Athens presented an ultimatum to Greek prime minister and dictator General Ioannis Metaxas, accusing Greece of allowing British ships to use Italy's territorial waters and demanding free passage of Italian troops on Greek soil. Athens rejected the ultimatum, and at 5:30 A.M. that same day, Italy began its invasion.

For the invasion, the Italians had deployed in Albania six infantry divisions (two regiments each, reinforced with a lightly armed Blackshirt Legion, with a total of 12,500 to 14,500 men in each division). These were the Siena, Ferrara, Piemonte, Parma, Venezia, and Arezzo Divisions. In addition, the Italians had the Centauro Armored Division and the Julia Alpine Division. In all, the army deployed some 150,000 men—giving them only a slight numerical superiority over the Greek army before mobilization, instead of the 2:1 advantage that Visconti-Prasca claimed.

The weather was poor, with torrential fall rains. The main body of the Italian troops, consisting of the Ferrara, Centauro, and Siena Divisions, advanced near the Adriatic coast where the terrain was more favorable, trying to push across the Kalamas River and reach Janina. The Julia Division attacked toward Metsovon Pass to penetrate between Epirus and Macedonia. To the extreme Italian left, the Parma and Piemonte Divisions were on the defensive at Korçë.

In defense along the Albanian border, the Greeks had deployed four infantry divisions of three regiments each. These resisted the invaders while King George II of Greece appealed to Britain for assistance. His request won friendly reception from British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill. Although Metaxas, not wanting to offend Hitler, requested only weapons and equipment, Churchill favored sending an expeditionary force. In any case, London immediately dispatched five Royal Air Force (RAF) squadrons and an inter-service mission.

On 31 October, British forces arrived on the islands of Crete and Lemnos, placing British bombers within range of the Romanian Ploesti oil fields. In response, on 4 November, Hitler ordered his Army High Command to begin preparations for a German attack on Greece.

The same day that the Italian invasion began, on 28 October, Mussolini met with Hitler in Florence and proudly informed him of the event. Mussolini's triumph was short-lived, however, as the Greek army, commanded by General

Alexandros Papagos, offered stiff resistance. Indeed, by the end of the month, the Italian offensive had ground to a halt. The Greeks mobilized reserves for a total force of 18 divisions, with French-supplied artillery superior to that of the Italians. They were, however, inferior in air assets. By 1 November, the Greeks had launched a series of counterattacks that stopped the Italians on the Kalamas River. The Italians made no progress on the Epirus Front, whereas the Julia Division arrived at the Metsovon Pass only to be counterattacked and cut off as the Greeks advanced toward to the Korçë basin, there overrunning the Parma and Piemonte Divisions. The Italian High Command ordered the Venezia and Arezzo Infantry Divisions, deployed on the Yugoslavian border, to reinforce the front. On their arrival, though, they were obliged to retreat in chaos before a spirited Greek advance that aimed to cut the road from Korçë to Perati and envelop the invaders turned defenders. The only possible option for the Italians was to withdraw their entire line into Albania. This took place on 8 November, a bleak time for the Italian army in the campaign. The following day, Italian commander General Visconti-Prasca was replaced by deputy chief of the Italian High Command General Ubaldo Soddu, who then formed the Italian forces into the Albanian Army Group.

Although Mussolini boasted on 19 November that he would “break Greece’s back,” a day later he received a sharply critical letter from Hitler. It criticized Mussolini’s move, which had opened a new front that allowed the British to operate in the Balkans. The Germans were already preparing Operation BARBAROSSA, an invasion of the Soviet Union, and for security reasons did not wish to disclose their plans to the Italians.

As a consequence of the Italian failure, Marshal Badoglio came under fire, and on 26 November he and other military leaders were forced to resign. On 4 December, general of the army Ugo Cavallero replaced him. Cavallero demanded more power for the chief of General Staff and directly helped to facilitate the crisis on the Albanian Front. Cavallero would shortly take over command of the Albanian Army Group from Soddu, who retired in disgrace.

In early December, the Italian retreat from Greece back into Albania continued, forcing Mussolini to seek assistance from Hitler. The Italian “parallel war” now came to an end, along with the illusion that Italy was a great power. With the help of German transport aircraft, the Italians flew in reinforcements and shipped equipment to Valona, but this caused great confusion; units that had hurried to the front quickly disintegrated under Greek pressure and the effects of the winter weather. Moreover, it was difficult for the Italians to transport supplies to the front lines, as all had to be shipped from Italy, and there were not enough pack mules. To make things worse, on 9 December British Commonwealth units under Lieutenant General Archibald Wavell launched a successful offensive in North Africa that overran the more

numerous Italian troops. By 6 January 1941, the British had seized the Libyan border town of Bardia.

The British now faced the strategic problem of having to choose between exploitation of their North African successes and stiffening Greek resistance. On 6 January 1941, Churchill told the chiefs of staff that it would be better to delay exploiting the situation in North Africa in order help Greece seize the port of Valona and avoid military defeat. Churchill therefore informed Wavell that Tobruk would be taken, but follow-up operations would depend on the situation in Greece, which would be the priority. This was also partly because intelligence revealed that German forces were concentrating for a possible offensive in the Balkans. Apparently, the Greeks did not need much outside assistance, as they attacked Klisura and forced the Italians to abandon it. At that point, the Greek drive died, meeting stiffening Italian resistance, which successfully defended Berat and therefore Valona, but at a high price.

On 19 January 1941, Mussolini met Hitler and asked him for assistance to check the British Commonwealth advance in North Africa. Mussolini did not, however, request any help in the Greek theater of operations. Meanwhile, for propaganda purposes, Mussolini demanded that senior Fascist Party leaders join Italian troops at the front. Thus Foreign Minister Ciano took command of a bomber group, and ideologue Bruno Bottai joined an Alpini battalion.

A British military mission arrived in Athens on 22 February to study the situation and propose shipment by sea of an expeditionary corps to Greece. The following day, the Greeks accepted the offer, whereon Britain dispatched some of its best North African forces to Greece: 60,000 men with 240 field artillery pieces, 32 medium artillery guns, 192 anti-aircraft guns, and 142 tanks under Lieutenant General Henry Maitland Wilson. In addition, under German pressure, Bulgaria signed the Tripartite Pact on 1 March, and German army units began to flow in force into Bulgaria to deploy for the future campaign. A few days later, the first British convoy to Greece sailed from Alexandria, and by 7 March, British troops began to disembark at Piraeus.

The Italians tried to force the situation in order to avoid the impression that they had been “saved” by the Germans. In March, General Cavallero launched 27 divisions in an offensive to reach Klisura. It failed and cost 12,000 Italian casualties. On 28 March, in an effort to check the British convoys bringing military aid to Greece, the Italian navy suffered an important naval defeat at the Battle of Matapan.

Meanwhile, on 25 March under heavy pressure, Yugoslavia adhered to the Tripartite Pact. But on the night of 26–27 March, a military coup d’état forced Prince Regent Paul into exile and General Dušan Simović formed a new government. This event prompted German military intervention. On 6 April, with Italian and Hungarian assistance, German forces invaded both Yugoslavia and Greece.

During the Italo-Greek War of October 1940–April 1941, the Greek army suffered 13,408 killed and 42,485 wounded. The Italians lost 13,775 dead, 50,874 wounded, and 25,067 missing. In addition, the campaign cost Italy reinforcements to North Africa, especially in equipment, which went instead to Albania. Thus, the British successes in North Africa in large part resulted from the Italian invasion of Greece.

Alessandro Massignani

See also

Badoglio, Pietro; BARBAROSSA, Operation; Bulgaria, Role in War; Cape Matapan, Battle of; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Ciano, Galeazzo; Greece, Air Force; Greece, Army; Hitler, Adolf; Italy, Air Force; Italy, Army; Italy, Navy; Mussolini, Benito; Paul, Prince Regent of Yugoslavia; Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival; Wilson, Henry Maitland; Yugoslavia

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Greece Campaign (April 1941)

Important Balkan Theater campaign pitting Greek and British Empire forces against German and Italian forces. In the spring of 1941, German leader Adolf Hitler sent forces into Greece. His decision was prompted by his desire to eject the British from the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean; to protect his southern flank—especially the Romanian oil fields at Ploesti—before launching Operation BARBAROSSA, the invasion of the Soviet Union; and to assist Italy, his faltering ally. During the winter of 1940–1941 and into March 1941, German troops were stationed first in Romania and then in Bulgaria, threatening the Greek Second Army. Greece was led by General M. Alexander Koryzsis, who succeeded general and dictator Ioannis Metaxas on the latter's death in late January 1941. General Alexander Papagos commanded the Greek army.

Greece was already at war, having been invaded by Italy in October 1940. The Greeks had not only repelled that invasion, but they had launched a counterinvasion of Albania. Papagos had committed the majority of the Greek army on that front in the northwest, where Lieutenant General Georgios Tsolakoglou's First Greek Army of 16 divisions faced 28 Italian divisions of the Eleventh and Ninth Armies in Albania and had repulsed a large Italian offensive in March.

Lieutenant General K. Bacopoulus's weaker Second Greek Army held the Greek frontier with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria to the northeast. However, the army was dangerously split.

Three divisions were strung out along the Metaxas Line of defensive works east of the Struma River in Macedonia facing Bulgaria. Three other Greek divisions were with the British contingent, including the weak 19th Division, the Greek army's only motorized division. The 19th Division was equipped with a few captured Italian L3 "tankettes," some worn-out British Bren carriers, and trucks.

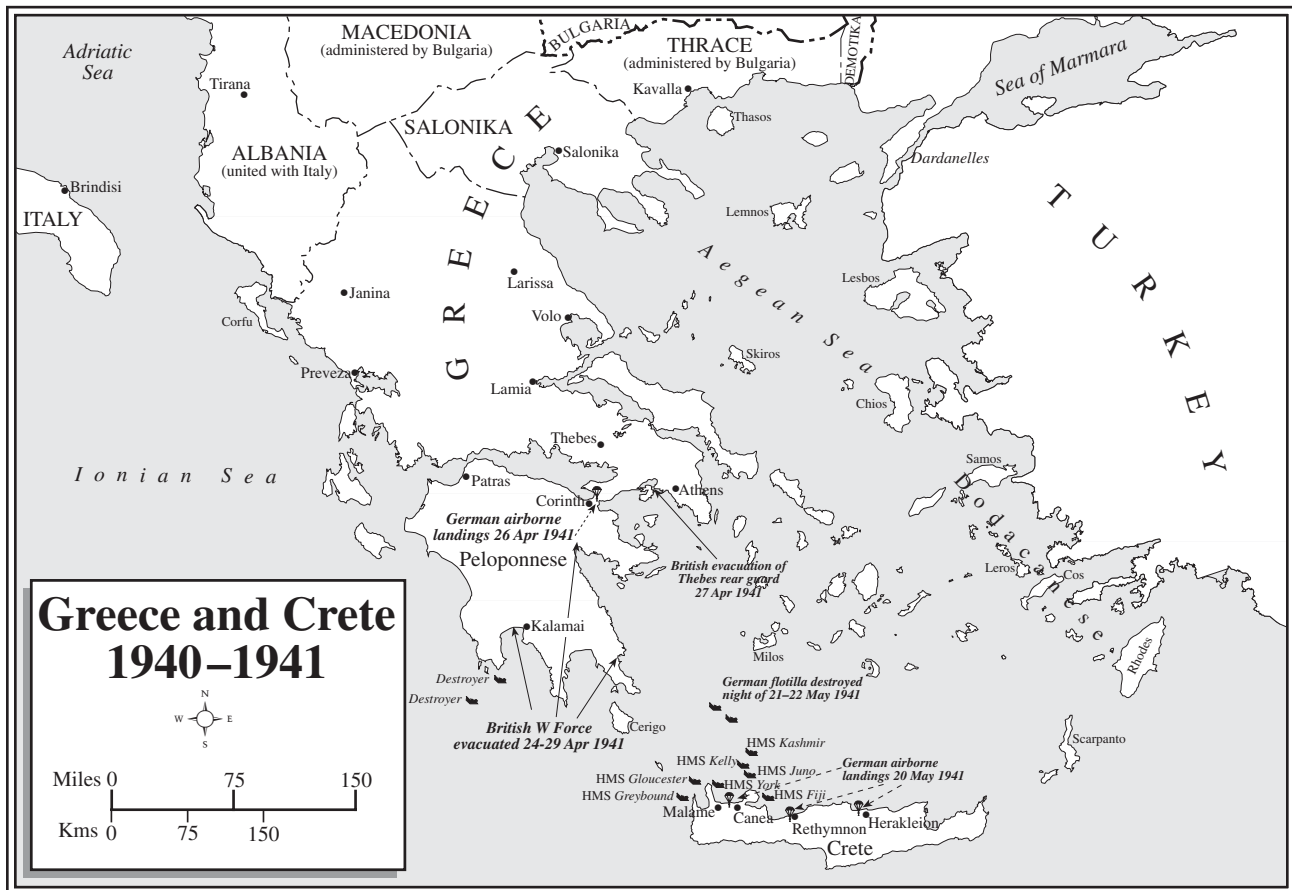
British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill had ordered to Greece from North Africa some of the best British Empire troops there, commanded by Lieutenant General Henry Maitland Wilson. Known as Force W, they were taking up position along the Aliakmon Line, named for the Greek river just southwest of Salonika. Force W consisted of a New Zealand division, an arriving Australian division, and a British armor brigade. Royal Air Force (RAF) units had been fighting in Greece from early November 1940. Altogether, slightly more than 60,000 British Empire forces were in Greece in April 1941.

Because the Italian army was tying down the bulk of the Greek army on the Albanian front, the highly trained, much stronger, and more technologically advanced German army was able without much difficulty to slice through Greek forces to the east. In their attack, the Axis powers enjoyed overwhelming air superiority. Italian air force units operating from Albania alone were equal to the total Allied air strength in Greece, and the German air force had as many Stuka dive-bombers in the theater as the total number of Allied first-line aircraft.

The German invasion of Greece from Bulgaria began on 6 April 1941. Field Marshal Wilhelm List had command. His Twelfth Army was made up of the equivalent of six corps (a seventh was transferred to the Second Army, which invaded Yugoslavia on 12 April) and included three panzer divisions. Leading the assault were the 2nd Panzer Division (known as the "Vienna Division" for the number of Austrians in it), the 9th Panzer Division, and the 5th and 6th Mountain Divisions. List's aim was to smash through the Metaxas Line and drive on Athens.

One of the most dramatic attacks of the campaign occurred on the morning of 7 April, when German aircraft bombed the Greek port of Piraeus and hit two freighters loaded with ammunition. The resulting blasts, heard 150 miles away, destroyed 41,942 tons of shipping and demolished docks. Overwhelming Axis air superiority confined most Allied movements to nighttime and was perhaps the key factor in the Axis victory.

Within three days of the start of their offensive, German forces had seized the port city of Salonika and breached the Metaxas Line. They also had taken 60,000 Greeks prisoner. On 12 April, the Greek High Command ordered General Tsolakoglou to withdraw his First Army from Albania. Lacking mobility and with much of its equipment worn out, the First



Army fell back slowly, only to surrender on 23 April to a joint German-Italian military commission.

The 2nd Panzer Division, meanwhile, was advancing along the Greek eastern coast toward the British forces, which were only just arriving and taking up defensive positions. The 2nd Panzer Division engaged the 2nd New Zealand Division and forced it to retreat. Additional German forces advanced through Yugoslavia and into central Greece from Bitolj, isolating eastern Greece. The Greeks fought hard with what resources they had, but they were simply overwhelmed. With defeat looming, General Papagos promised Wilson that the Greeks would do their best to protect the British forces while they evacuated.

With the defeat of his country imminent, Greek Prime Minister Alexandros Koryzis committed suicide on 18 April. His successor, Emanuel Tsouderos, pledged to assist British Empire troops in evacuating Greece. On 23 April, the same day that the Greek army was forced to surrender, Greek King George II fled his nation to Egypt and there set up a government in exile.

On 24 April, the British abandoned Thermopylae and began withdrawing into the Peloponnese. Royal Navy ships, meanwhile, braved Luftwaffe attacks to carry out night evacuations of British forces from ports in eastern Greece. On 26 April, the

Germans carried out a daring paratroop operation in an effort to cut off the British withdrawal. Using gliders, they successfully seized the only bridge over the Corinth Canal. Although the British managed to destroy part of the bridge with artillery fire, the Germans quickly rebuilt it and used the bridge to press into the Peloponnese. Wilson managed to fight his way through, evacuating most of his troops. More than 50,000 British Empire forces were evacuated in Operation DEMON, although most of their equipment had to be abandoned. The last formal evacuation took place on 30 April; many of the troops were then sent to Crete. Some resistance continued in the Greek islands until 4 May. British naval losses were 2 destroyers and 4 merchant ships; the Greeks lost in the campaign 3 destroyers and a torpedo boat as well as 43 merchant ships of 63,975 tons.

In the entirety of the Greek Campaign, the Germans lost 2,559 killed (including 200 aircrew) and 5,820 wounded. The Greek army sustained 13,408 killed, 42,485 wounded, and 270,000 prisoners. Italian losses during April were 13,775 dead, 54,874 wounded, and 25,067 missing. The British suffered 5,100 dead, wounded, and missing and some 7,000 taken prisoner.

General Tsolakoglou then headed a collaborationist Greek government in Athens; Greece was divided into German, Italian, and Bulgarian occupation zones. In May, the Germans

took Crete by airborne assault. German troops then controlled that island as well as Lemnos, Lesbos, and Chios; some smaller islands in the Aegean; the Turkish border region; Salonika; and the port of Athens and its surrounding area. Bulgarian forces occupied much of Macedonia, and Italy controlled the remainder of the Greek mainland as well as most of the Greek Mediterranean islands.

Some historians have suggested that Germany's invasion of Greece and Yugoslavia delayed Operation BARBAROSSA. However, other factors, especially the need to wait for dry weather for the panzers, were more important. Nonetheless, the panzer divisions that had seen service in Greece had to undergo refit and were thus not immediately available for BARBAROSSA. The campaign also exacted a toll in equipment and in precious stocks of fuel.

Jack Greene

See also

Albania, Role in War; Balkans Theater; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Crete, Battle of; Dodecanese Islands; Greece, Air Force; Greece, Army; Greece, Navy; Greece, Role in War; Greece Campaign (28 October 1940–March 1941); List, Sigmund Wilhelm; Metaxas, Ioannis; Papagos, Alexandros; Wilson, Henry Maitland; Yugoslavia

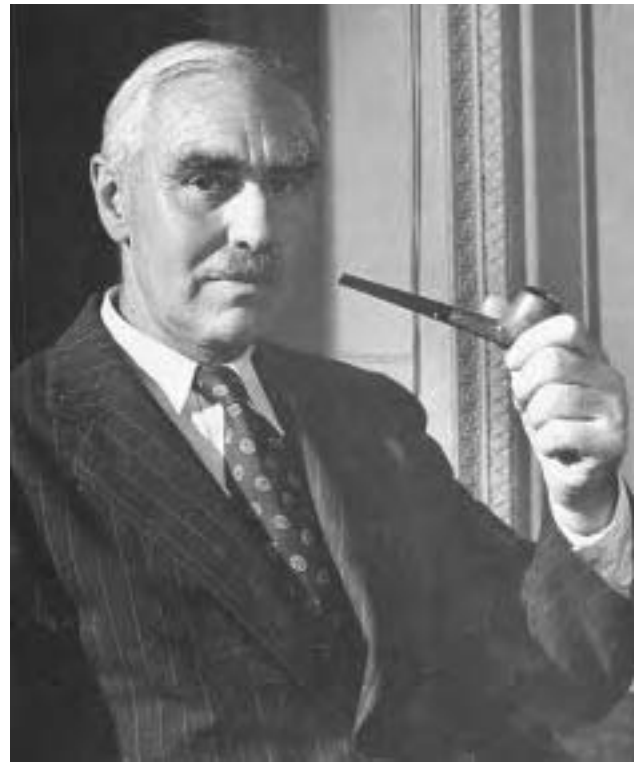
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Grew, Joseph Clark (1880–1965)

U.S. diplomat and undersecretary of state. Born on 27 May 1880 in Boston, Massachusetts, into a prominent family, Joseph Grew attended Groton School and Harvard University. He then joined the United States diplomatic service, transferring from the consular to the foreign service in 1904. Throughout his life, Grew's influential contacts, including Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin D. Roosevelt, facilitated his career.

Grew initially enjoyed postings to Cairo, Mexico City, Russia, Berlin, Vienna, and Denmark. He attended the 1919 Paris Peace Conference and the 1922–1923 Lausanne Conference on Near Eastern affairs. After serving as undersecretary of state from 1923 to 1927, in which capacity he helped to implement the 1924 Rogers Act's reorganization of the Foreign Service, Grew became ambassador to Turkey. In 1932, he was appointed the first career U.S. ambassador to Japan, remain-



Acting U.S. Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew, 1943. (Photo by Marie Hansen/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

ing in Tokyo until Japan declared war on the United States in December 1941.

Grew's wife, Alice Vermandois Perry, was descended from Commodore Matthew Perry, who opened Japan to western influence in 1853. She had spent her youth in that country and knew many of its leading figures. Grew firmly hoped that Japan's growing antagonism toward the United States might be reversed. He urged greater American sympathy for Japan's economic problems and sought more latitude as ambassador in handling Japanese-American relations. Grew's regular swings from optimism to pessimism over each successive new Japanese government and his eagerness to conciliate successive new governments brought clashes with Stanley K. Hornbeck, head of the State Department's Division of Far Eastern Affairs.

Seeking to avoid what increasingly seemed to be an inevitable conflict, in October 1939 Grew publicly warned that, if Japan wished to avoid severe American retribution, it must alter its increasingly bellicose international stance. This precipitated harsh Japanese press attacks on him. Subsequently, he unsuccessfully urged a personal meeting between President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Japanese Premier Prince Konoe Fumimaro, which he later unconvincingly claimed might have averted war.

Interned after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and repatriated to the United States in spring 1942, Grew returned to

Washington as a special assistant to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, becoming director of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs in 1944. As undersecretary of state from December 1944 to August 1945, Grew opposed further collaboration with Soviet Russia, unsuccessfully sought to prevent the use of nuclear weapons against Japan by urging American acceptance of a negotiated peace settlement rather than unconditional surrender, and helped to preserve the Japanese emperor's status as nominal head of state. Grew retired in August 1945. He died at Manchester-by-the-Sea, Massachusetts, on 25 May 1965.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Hirohito, Emperor of Japan; Hull, Cordell; Konoe Fumimaro, Prince; MacArthur, Douglas; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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Grizodubova, Valentina Stepanovna (1910–1993)

Russian air force colonel and sole woman commanding officer of a men's wing during World War II. Born in Kharkiv on 31 January 1910, the daughter of an aircraft designer, Valentina Grizodubova graduated from Penza Flying Club in 1929, Kharkiv Flying School, and Advanced Flying School in Tula in 1933. She mastered many types of aircraft, setting seven world records in the process. On 24–25 September 1938, Grizodubova flew nonstop from Moscow to the Pacific in an ANT-37. For this pioneer flight she, her copilot Polina Osipenko, and her navigator Marina Raskova received the award of Hero of the Soviet Union, the highest Soviet military decoration. They were the first Soviet women to be thus honored.

In May 1942, Grizodubova was appointed commanding officer of the 101st Long-Range Air Regiment (renamed 31st Krasnosel'sky Guards Bomber Regiment in 1944). She successfully demonstrated the suitability of the Li-2 (modified DC-3) for use as a night bomber. In June 1942, Grizodubova led her unit in delivering supplies to the besieged city of Leningrad. She was noted for flying more than her male col-

leagues and sometimes flew as copilot to monitor her pilots' performance.

In September 1942, Grizodubova's unit was placed at the disposal of Central Partisan Headquarters. Overcoming dense enemy flak and engaging enemy fighters, her aircrews flew more than 1,850 supply missions, and on their return they evacuated wounded partisans and children. In 1943, Grizodubova prevailed on her superiors not to decrease these flights.

Grizodubova flew about 200 wartime missions and was awarded many prestigious military decorations. A senior official of civil aviation after the war, Grizodubova also served on the executive board of several veterans' organizations, assisting numerous former prisoner-of-war camp inmates who were persecuted by Soviet authorities. As a member of the Soviet parliament, she courageously criticized Soviet dictator Josef Stalin's reign of terror. Grizodubova died in Moscow on 1 May 1993.

Kazimiera J. Cottam

See also

Leningrad, Siege of; Raskova, Marina Mikhailovna; Soviet Union, Air Force; Soviet Women's Combat Wings; Stalin, Josef; Women in World War II

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Groves, Leslie Richard (1896–1970)

U.S. Army general who oversaw the MANHATTAN Project. Born in Albany, New York, on 17 August 1896, Leslie "Dick" Groves attended the University of Washington and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He secured an appointment to the U.S. Military Academy, from which he graduated in 1918. He then entered the Army Corps of Engineers.

After initial training at the Engineer School at Fort Humphreys (later Fort Belvoir), Virginia, Groves served in Hawaii, Texas, Nicaragua (where he was awarded the Nicaraguan Medal of Merit for restoring water to Managua following an earthquake), Washington, D.C., and Missouri. Assigned to the War Department in 1939, Groves became chief of the Operations Branch and in 1941 deputy head of the Construction Division. In these capacities, Groves oversaw the vast expansion of military camps and training facilities across the United States. He then supervised construction of the Pentagon, the world's largest office building.



Major General Leslie Groves, who was in charge of the MANHATTAN Engineer District and oversaw the building of facilities for testing of the first atomic weapons. (Hulton Archive)

His success in a variety of engineering projects led to Groves's promotion to brigadier general and assignment in September 1942 to head the MANHATTAN Project, charged with construction of an atomic bomb. In this capacity, Groves controlled 129,000 personnel and \$2 billion in spending. He won promotion to major general in March 1944. This vast effort resulted in the explosion of the first atomic device at Alamogordo, New Mexico, on 16 July 1945. Groves advised President Harry S Truman to use the bomb and helped select Japanese target cities.

After the war, Groves sought international control over atomic energy. When this did not occur, Groves organized the Army Forces Special Weapons Project to study military uses of atomic energy. Promoted to lieutenant general in January 1948, Groves retired from the army that same month and became vice president for research of the Rand Corporation. He retired altogether in 1961. Groves died in Washington, D.C., on 13 July 1970.

Ryan E. Doltz

See also

Atomic Bomb, Decision to Employ; Hiroshima, Bombing of; MANHATTAN Project; Nagasaki, Bombing of; Truman, Harry S

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Gruenther, Alfred Maximilian (1899–1983)

Born at Platte Center, Nebraska, on 3 March 1899, Alfred Gruenther graduated fourth in his class in 1919 from the U.S. Military Academy. Commissioned in the field artillery, he completed the Field Artillery School in 1920 and served there as an instructor until 1922. He then served with the 9th Field Artillery in 1922 and 1923. Gruenther served in the Philippines with the 24th Field Artillery from 1924 to 1926. He returned to the 9th Field Artillery until August 1927, when he began the first of eight years at West Point as instructor and assistant professor of chemistry and electricity.

Promoted to captain in 1935, Gruenther graduated from the Command and General Staff School in 1937 and the Army War College in 1939. From October 1941 to October 1942, Gruenther was deputy to the army chief of staff and then chief of staff of the Third Army. He was promoted to colonel in December 1940 and to brigadier general in March 1941. In August 1942, Gruenther was appointed deputy chief of staff of Lieutenant General Dwight D. Eisenhower's Allied Force Headquarters and Headquarters Command, Allied Force in London, where he helped plan the invasion of North Africa (Operation TORCH). Promoted to temporary major general in February 1943, Gruenther became chief of staff of Lieutenant General Mark W. Clark's Fifth Army and was a principal planner for the Allied invasion of Sicily and Salerno, Italy. In November 1944, when Clark took command of the 15th Army Group in Italy, Gruenther continued as his chief of staff. Following the war, Gruenther was deputy commander of U.S. occupation forces in Austria in 1945 and 1946. He next became deputy director of the new National War College and then the first director of the U.S. Joint Staff on its establishment in 1947. Promoted to lieutenant general, during 1949 and 1950 Gruenther was deputy chief of staff for plans and then chief of staff for Supreme Headquarters, Allied Powers in Europe (SHAPE) from 1950 to 1953. Promoted to general in 1951, he was Supreme Allied Commander, Europe from 1953 to 1956. He retired in July 1956 because of physical disability. Although Gruenther never commanded troops in combat, he was a superb staff officer.

Following his retirement, Gruenther was president of the American Red Cross from 1957 to 1965 and director of several corporations. He died in Washington, D.C., on 30 May 1983.

Uzal W. Ent

See also

Bradley, Omar Nelson; Cassino/Rapido River, Battles of; Clark, Mark Wayne; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Italy Campaign; North Africa Campaign; Rome, Advance on and Capture of; Sicily, Invasion of; TORCH, Operation



U.S. Army General Alfred M. Gruenther. (Photo by Dmitri Kessel/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

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Guadalcanal, Land Battle for (August 1942–February 1943)

Bitter contest between the Japanese and the Americans that marked a turning point in the Pacific war. The struggle on Guadalcanal was protracted, and the period from August 1942 to February 1943 saw some of the most bitter fighting of the war. In all, there were some 50 actions involving warships or aircraft, 7 major naval battles, and 10 land engagements.

Guadalcanal is an island in the Solomon chain northeast of Australia. It lies on a northwest-southeast axis and is 90 miles long and averages 25 miles wide. Guadalcanal's southern shore is protected by coral reefs, and the only suitable landing beaches are on the north-central shore. Once inland, invading troops faced dense jungle and mountainous terrain, crisscrossed by numerous streams. The Guadalcanal Campaign encompassed not only Guadalcanal, but Savo and

Florida Islands as well as the small islands between Florida and Guadalcanal: Tulagi, Tanambogo, and Gavutu.

In January 1942, Japanese amphibious forces had landed in the Bismarck Archipelago between New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. They quickly wrested Kavieng on New Ireland Island and Rabaul on New Britain from the Australians. The Japanese consolidated their hold and turned Rabaul into their principal southwest Pacific base. By early March, the Japanese landed at Salamaua and Lae in Papua and on Bougainville. Their advance having gone so well, the Japanese decided to expand their defensive ring to the southeast to cut off the supply route from the United States to New Zealand and Australia. On 3 May, the Japanese landed on Tulagi and began building a seaplane base there. Between May and July, the Japanese expanded their ring farther in the central and lower Solomons. These operations were carried out by Lieutenant General Imamura Hitoshi's Eighth Army from Rabaul. The first Japanese landed on Guadalcanal on 8 June. On 6 July, their engineers began construction of an airfield near the mouth of the Lunga River.

The discovery of the Japanese effort on Guadalcanal led to the implementation of Operation WATCHTOWER. Conceived and pushed by U.S. Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Ernest J. King, it called for securing Tulagi as an additional base to protect the United States–Australia lifeline and as a starting point for a drive up the Solomons to Rabaul. On 1 April 1942, the Pacific was divided into two commands: U.S. Vice Admiral Robert L. Ghormley, commanding in the South Pacific, was to take the southern Solomons including Guadalcanal, and General Douglas MacArthur's forces were to secure the remainder of the Solomons and the northwest coast of New Guinea, the final objective being Rabaul.

If the Japanese were allowed to complete their airfield on Guadalcanal, they would be able to bomb the advanced Allied base at Espiritu Santo. U.S. plans to take the offensive were now stepped up, and a task force was hurriedly assembled. From Nouméa, Ghormley dispatched an amphibious force under Rear Admiral Richmond K. Turner, lifting Major General Alexander A. Vandegrift's 19,000-man reinforced 1st Marine Division. A three-carrier task force under Vice Admiral Frank J. Fletcher provided air support. This operation involved some 70 ships.

On 7 August 1942, the Marines went ashore at Tulagi, Florida, Tanambogo, Gavutu, and Guadalcanal, surprising the small Japanese garrisons (2,200 on Guadalcanal and 1,500 on Tulagi). On the same day, the Marines seized the harbor at Tulagi, and by the next afternoon they had also secured the airfield under construction on Guadalcanal, along with stocks of Japanese weapons, food, and equipment. Supplies for the Marines were soon coming ashore from transports in the sound between Guadalcanal and Florida Islands, but this activity came under attack by Japanese aircraft based at



A casualty from the front-line fighting at Guadalcanal being transferred from the makeshift stretcher before being taken through jungle and down river to a nearby hospital. (National Archives)

Rabaul. Vandegrift told Fletcher he would need four days to unload the transports, but Fletcher replied that he was short on fuel and in any case could not risk keeping his carriers in position off Guadalcanal for more than 48 hours.

Stakes were high for both sides. The fiercest fighting occurred for the airfield, renamed Henderson Field for a Marine aviator killed in the Battle of Midway. Vandegrift recognized its importance and immediately established a perimeter defense around it. Eating captured rations and using Japanese heavy-construction equipment, the U.S. 1st Engineer Battalion completed the airfield on 17 August. As early as 21 August, the day the Japanese mounted a major attack on the field, the first U.S. aircraft landed there. The Japanese now found it impossible to keep their ships in waters covered by the land-based American aircraft during the day, and they found it difficult to conduct an air campaign over the lower Solomons from as far away as Rabaul.

The lack of a harbor compounded U.S. supply problems, as did Japanese aircraft attacks. Allied “coast watchers” on islands provided early warning to U.S. forces of Japanese air and water movements down the so-called Slot of the Solomons. The battle on Guadalcanal became a complex campaign of attrition. The Japanese did not send their main fleet but rather vessels in dribbles. American land-based air power controlled the Slot during the day, but the Japanese initially controlled it at night, as was evidenced in the 8 August Battle of Savo Island. Concern over the vulnerability of the U.S. transports led to their early removal on the afternoon of 9 August along with most of the heavy guns, vehicles, construction equipment, and food intended for the Marines ashore. The Japanese sent aircraft from Rabaul, while initially U.S. land-based aircraft flying at long range from the New Hebrides provided air cover for the Marines as fast destroyer transports finally brought in some supplies. American pos-

session of Henderson Field tipped the balance. U.S. air strength there gradually increased to about 100 planes.

At night the so-called Tokyo Express—Japanese destroyers and light cruisers—steamed down the Slot and into the sound to shell Marine positions and to deliver supplies. The latter effort was haphazard and never sufficient; often, drums filled with supplies were pushed off the ships to drift to shore. One of the great what-ifs of the Pacific War was the failure of the Japanese to exploit the temporary departure of the U.S. carrier task force on 8 August by rushing in substantial reinforcements.

Actions ashore were marked by clashes between patrols of both sides. Colonel Ichiki Kiyonao, who had arrived with his battalion on Guadalcanal in early August, planned a large-scale attack that took little account of U.S. Marine dispositions. His unit was effectively wiped out in the 21 August 1942 Battle of the Tenaru River. Ichiki's men refused to surrender, and they and their commander were killed in the fighting. Marine losses were 44 dead and 71 wounded; the Japanese lost at least 777 killed. From 12 to 14 September, strong Japanese forces attempted to seize U.S. Marine positions on Lunga Ridge overlooking Henderson Field from the south. The Japanese left 600 dead; American casualties were 143 dead and wounded. Both sides continued building up their strength ashore as naval and air battles raged over and off Guadalcanal.

From 23 to 25 October, the Japanese launched strong land attacks against Henderson Field. Fortunately for the Marine defenders, the attacks were widely dispersed and uncoordinated. In these engagements, the Japanese suffered 2,000 dead, while U.S. casualties were fewer than 300. Immediately after halting this Japanese offensive, Vandegrift began a six-week effort to expand the defensive perimeter beyond which the Japanese could not subject Henderson to artillery fire. Meanwhile, Admiral Kondō Nobutake's repositioning of vessels and Vice Admiral William F. Halsey's instructions to Rear Admiral Thomas Kinkaid to seek out the Japanese fleet resulted in the 26 October Battle of the Santa Cruz Islands.

Fighting on land continued on Guadalcanal. On 8 December, Vandegrift turned command of the island over to U.S. Army Major General Alexander M. Patch, who organized his forces into the XIV Corps, including the 2nd Marine Division, replacing the veteran 1st Marine Division, which was withdrawn, and the 25th Infantry Division. At the beginning of January 1943, Patch commanded 58,000 men, whereas Japanese strength was then less than 20,000.

Ultimately, the Americans won the land struggle for Guadalcanal thanks to superior supply capabilities and the failure of the Japanese to throw sufficient resources into the battle. The Americans were now well fed and well supplied, but the Japanese were desperate, losing many men to sickness and simple starvation. At the end of December, Tokyo decided to abandon Guadalcanal.

Meanwhile, on 10 January, Patch began an offensive to clear the island of Japanese forces, mixing Army and Marine units as the situation dictated. In a two-week battle, the Americans drove the Japanese from a heavily fortified line west of Henderson Field. At the end of January, the Japanese were forced from Tassafaronga toward Cape Esperance, where a small American force landed to prevent them from escaping by sea. Dogged Japanese perseverance and naval support, however, enabled some defenders to escape. The Japanese invested in the struggle 24,600 men (20,800 troops and 3,800 naval personnel). In daring night operations during 1–7 February 1943, Japanese destroyers evacuated 10,630 troops (9,800 army and 830 navy).

The United States committed 60,000 men to the fight for the island; of these, the Marines lost 1,207 dead and the army 562. U.S. casualties were far greater in the naval contests for Guadalcanal; the U.S. Navy and Marines lost 4,911 and the Japanese at least 3,200. Counting land, sea, and air casualties, the struggle for Guadalcanal had claimed 7,100 U.S. dead and permanently missing. The Japanese advance had now been halted, and MacArthur could begin the long and bloody return to the Philippine Islands.

Troy D. Morgan and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Cape Esperance, Battle of; Coral Sea, Battle of the; Fletcher, Frank Jack; Ghormley, Robert Lee; Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Ichiki Kiyonao; Imamura Hitoshi; King, Ernest Joseph; Kinkaid, Thomas Cassin; Kondō Nobutake; MacArthur, Douglas; Patch, Alexander McCarrell, Jr.; Santa Cruz Islands, Battle of the; Savo Island, Battle of; Tassafaronga, Battle of; Turner, Richmond Kelly; Vandegrift, Alexander Archer

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Guadalcanal Naval Campaign (August 1942–February 1943)

Significant and prolonged South Pacific sea-land-air campaign. The campaign for Guadalcanal comprised several naval engagements and several vicious land battles fought

from August 1942 to February 1943. On Guadalcanal (90 by 25 miles in size) in the Solomon Islands, U.S. Marines and army troops attacked Japanese land forces, while the U.S. Navy battled the Japanese navy offshore.

Before the battle, U.S. planners were able to build up Pacific Theater resources more quickly than anticipated and take the offensive against the Japanese. This campaign, Operation WATCHTOWER, was the brainchild of U.S. Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Ernest J. King. It had as its objective the seizure of the islands of Tulagi and Gavatu as a preliminary step in securing the Solomons and then the recapture of the Philippines and the eventual defeat of Japan. These plans soon changed when intelligence revealed that the Japanese were building an airstrip on the nearby island of Guadalcanal. Once operational, such a base would pose a serious threat to Allied operations in the South Pacific. Therefore, its seizure became the primary objective of the campaign.

Although hamstrung by a lack of adequate resources because of sealift required for Operation TORCH, the British and American invasion of North Africa, Vice Admiral Robert Ghormley pieced together forces from the United States, Australia, and New Zealand for the invasion. Resources were so meager that some of his officers nicknamed the plan Operation Shoestring. Major General Alexander A. Vandegrift commanded the 1st Marine Division landing force, and Vice Admiral Frank Jack Fletcher had charge of the naval support element.

The U.S. Navy's tasks were to sustain forces ashore and provide naval and air protection for the Marines defending the airfield, which was captured shortly after the landing and renamed Henderson Field. The lack of a harbor compounded supply problems. The Japanese operated aircraft from Rabaul and later from other closer island airfields, but Allied "coast watchers" on islands provided early warning of many Japanese naval movements.

The Marines went ashore beginning on 7 August, but the sealift was so limited that they were without much of their heavier equipment and heavy artillery. The first naval engagement with the Japanese occurred on the night of 8–9 August 1942 in the Battle of Savo Island. A Japanese cruiser squadron overwhelmed an Allied force of equal size, sinking one Australian and three U.S. cruisers and damaging several destroyers, losing none of its own ships. The battle clearly showed the superiority of Japanese night-fighting techniques. The battle was the worst defeat ever suffered by the U.S. Navy in a fair fight, but it was only a tactical success, because the Japanese failed to go after the vulnerable American troop transports off Guadalcanal and Tulagi.

Nonetheless, the Battle of Savo Island and Japanese air attacks led Fletcher and Rear Admiral Richmond K. Turner to withdraw supporting naval forces from Guadalcanal, leaving the Marines ashore isolated, bereft of naval support, and

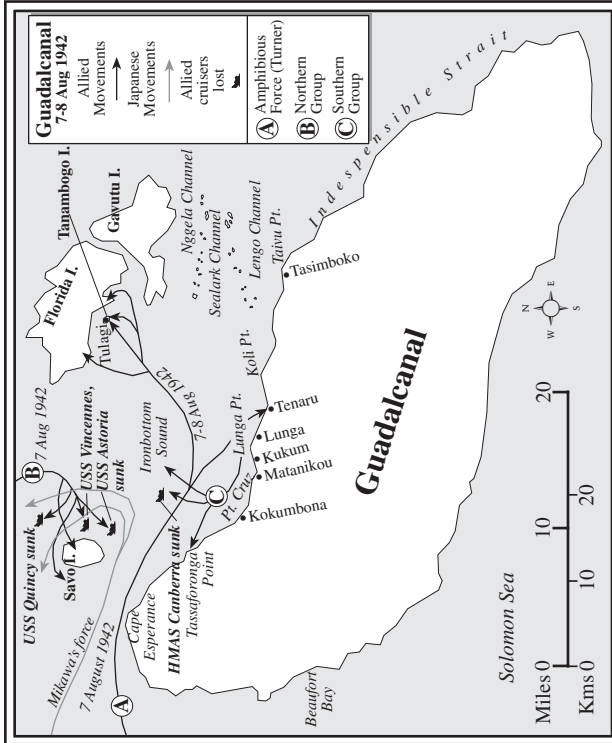
short of critical supplies. Long-range aircraft and destroyers did bring in some resources. The Japanese made a critical mistake in not capitalizing on the U.S. vulnerability to commit their main fleet assets. For the most part, they sent only smaller units in dribbles, chiefly in the form of fast destroyers. The so-called Slot was controlled by the United States during the day but the Japanese owned it at night.

The next major confrontation at sea off Guadalcanal came on the night of 24–25 August in the Battle of the Eastern Solomons. Fletcher's carrier-based aircraft intercepted and attacked the covering group for a Japanese convoy of destroyers and transports carrying 1,500 troops to Guadalcanal. The Americans sank the Japanese light carrier *Ryujo* and damaged another ship, but the U.S. fleet carrier *Enterprise* was located and attacked by Japanese aircraft and badly damaged. The Japanese destroyers and transports delivered the reinforcements and the destroyers and then shelled Henderson Field, although a U.S. Army B-17 sank one of the Japanese ships.

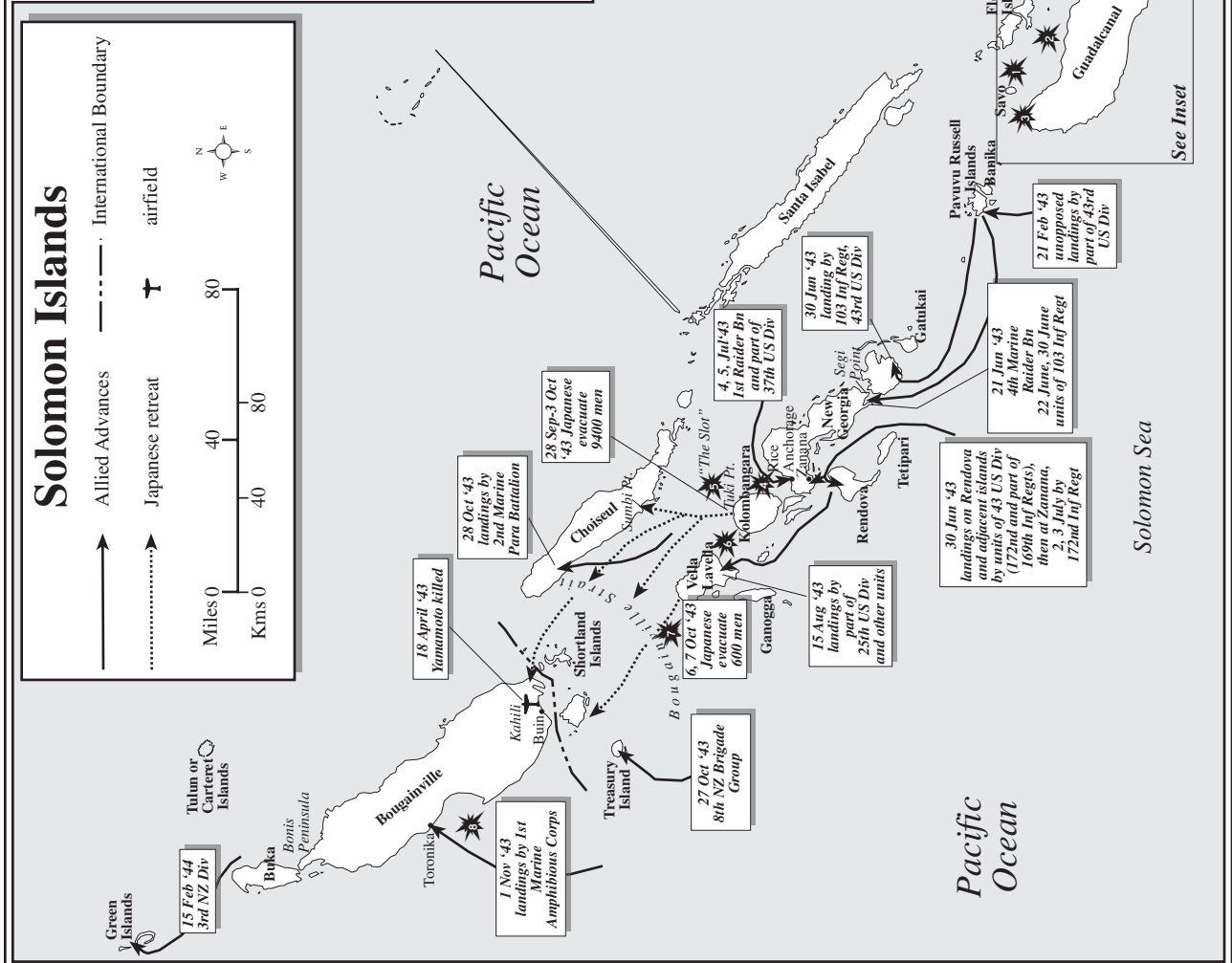
On 31 August, the U.S. carrier *Saratoga* was torpedoed by a Japanese submarine and put out of action for three months. That left only the carrier *Wasp* available for operations in the South Pacific. On 15 September, the *Wasp* was in turn torpedoed and sunk while it was accompanying transports lifting the 7th Marine Regiment to Guadalcanal from Espiritu Santo. A Japanese torpedo also damaged the battleship *North Carolina*, which, however, held her place in the formation. Admiral Turner continued to Guadalcanal, delivering the 7th Marine Regiment safely three days later.

Heavy fighting, meanwhile, was occurring on Guadalcanal; the Japanese were mounting unsuccessful attacks to recapture Henderson Field. The next big naval encounter off Guadalcanal was the Battle of Cape Esperance during the night of 11–12 October. The Japanese sent in their supply ships at night (the so-called Tokyo Express). U.S. ships equipped with radar detected a Japanese convoy off the northwest coast of Guadalcanal. In the ensuing fight, the Japanese lost a cruiser and a destroyer, and another cruiser was heavily damaged. The Americans lost only a destroyer and had two cruisers damaged. The first Allied success against the Japanese in a night engagement, the Battle of Cape Esperance, was a great boost to U.S. morale. A few days later, Admiral Chester W. Nimitz replaced the methodical Ghormley with the offensive-minded Vice Admiral William "Bull" Halsey.

A major engagement occurred on 26–27 October in the Battle of the Santa Cruz Islands. Rear Admiral Thomas Kinkaid and his Task Force 16 centered on the carrier *Enterprise* followed Admiral Halsey's instructions to engage Japanese forces under Admiral Kondō Nobutake. Each side conducted carrier strikes against the other. U.S. aircraft inflicted severe damage on the heavy carrier *Shokaku*, putting her out of action for nine months, and damaged the light carrier *Zuiho*. On the U.S. side, the heavy carrier *Hornet* was



- Naval Battles:**
- ✦ Savo Island 9 August 1942
 - ✦ Eastern Solomons, 23–25 August 1942
 - ✦ Guadalcanal, 12–13 November 1942
 - ✦ Guadalcanal, 14–15 November 1942
 - ✦ Kula Gulf, 5–6 July 1943
 - ✦ Kolombangara, 12–13 July 1943
 - ✦ Vella Gulf, 6–7 August 1943
 - ✦ Vella Lavella, 6–7 October 1943
 - ✦ Empress Augusta Bay, 2 November 1943



badly damaged and had to be abandoned while under tow; she was soon sunk by Japanese destroyers. Kondō then withdrew. He had won a major victory over the Americans, but he had also lost 100 aircraft and experienced pilots, half again as many as the Americans. Had he continued to pursue the withdrawing U.S. ships, he might have destroyed the *Enterprise*.

During 12–15 November, a series of intense sea fights occurred in what became known as the Naval Battle of Guadalcanal. It took place near the entrance to Ironbottom Sound (so named for being the resting place of many Allied and Japanese ships) off Savo Island between Guadalcanal and Tulagi. In the first, U.S. ships and aircraft fought to block reinforcement of the island by 13,000 Japanese troops in 11 transports, escorted by destroyers, all commanded by Admiral Tanaka Raizo. At the same time, a powerful squadron under Abe Hiroaki arrived to shell Henderson Field. In a confused engagement, both sides suffered heavily. The Japanese lost the battleship *Hiei* and two cruisers sunk; all other Japanese vessels were damaged. The Americans lost two cruisers and four destroyers. A cruiser and a destroyer were close to sinking, and all other ships, save one, were damaged. Among those killed were Rear Admirals Daniel Callaghan and Norman Scott. Tanaka was obliged to retire, and the planned Japanese bombardment of Henderson Field did not occur.

On 13–14 November the Japanese returned, and their heavy cruisers shelled Henderson Field. But the Americans sank seven Japanese transports and two cruisers. During the third phase on 14–15 November, U.S. warships under Rear Admiral Willis A. Lee met and defeated yet another Japanese force under Kondō when the two sides met near Savo Island. The Americans lost two destroyers, but Kondō lost the battleship *Kirishima* and a destroyer. The net effect of the three-day battle was that Tanaka landed only some 4,000 troops (he rescued another 5,000 on his return to Rabaul), whereas the Americans regained control of the waters around the island.

The last major naval battle for Guadalcanal occurred on 30 November at Tassafaronga Point. The Japanese again attempted to land reinforcements on Guadalcanal and were surprised by a larger U.S. Navy task force. However, the Japanese once more demonstrated their superior night-fighting ability. In the exchange, the Japanese lost a destroyer, and the Americans lost a cruiser.

Japanese leaders now came to the conclusion that they could no longer absorb such losses in trying to hold on in Guadalcanal. The final battle of the campaign was a skirmish off Rennell's Island on 30 January 1943. In early February 1943, the Japanese evacuated their remaining ground forces from Guadalcanal.

The Americans won the campaign thanks largely to their superior supply capability and the failure of the Japanese to throw enough resources into the battle. The Tokyo Express down the Slot was haphazard and inadequate; often drums

full of supplies were simply pushed off ships to drift to shore. The campaign for Guadalcanal proved to be as much a turning point for the United States as Midway. The Japanese advance had been halted, opening the way for the long island-hopping advance toward Japan. In combatants the Japanese lost 1 light carrier, 2 battleships, 3 heavy cruisers, 1 light cruiser, 14 destroyers, and 8 submarines. Particularly serious from the Japanese point of view was the loss of 2,076 aircraft (1,094 to combat) and many trained pilots. U.S. Navy losses were 2 heavy carriers, 6 heavy cruisers (including the Royal Australian Navy *Canberra*), 2 light cruisers, and 15 destroyers, but new U.S. naval construction more than offset the U.S. losses. The campaign also destroyed the myth of Japanese naval superiority.

U.S. control of the air had rendered the Japanese ships vulnerable to attack. It also allowed Allied forces to determine the timing and location of offensive operations without Japanese foreknowledge.

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See also

Cape Esperance, Battle of; Eastern Solomons, Battle of the; Fletcher, Frank Jack; Ghormley, Robert Lee; Guadalcanal Land Campaign; Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Japan, Navy; King, Ernest Joseph; Kinkaid, Thomas Cassin; Kondō Nobutake; Lee, Willis Augustus "Ching"; Midway, Battle of; Nimitz, Chester William; Savo Island, Battle of; Tanaka Raizo; Tassafaronga, Battle of; TORCH, Operation; Turner, Richmond Kelly; United States, Navy; Vandegrift, Alexander Archer

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Guam, Battle for (21 July–10 August 1944)

U.S. invasion and recapture of the largest of the Mariana Islands. Some 100 miles south of Saipan, Guam is at its greatest extremity some 34 miles long and 7 miles wide. The only one of the Marianas group controlled by the United States before the war, it had been acquired in 1898 as a consequence of the Spanish-American War. Little had been done to pre-



The U.S. Marines salute the U.S. Coast Guard after the fury of battle had subsided and the Japanese on Guam had been defeated, ca. August 1944. (National Archives)

pare the island against attack, and its 200-man Marine garrison, supported by Guamanian police and volunteers, was overwhelmed on 10 December 1941, following three days of fighting, by a 5,500-man Japanese brigade.

U.S. Admiral Ernest King, chief of naval operations, argued as early as January 1943 for an invasion of the Mariana Islands. Although originally planned for 18 June 1944, the invasion of Guam was delayed by more than a month because operations against Saipan took longer than anticipated and the task force reserve of the 27th Division had to be ordered there. Consequently, commander of Fifth Fleet Vice Admiral Raymond A. Spruance rescheduled the operation for 21 July. Marine Corps Lieutenant General Roy S. Geiger commanded the landing force of the 3rd Marine Division, 1st Provisional Marine Brigade, and the army's 77th Infantry Division.

Its limestone terrain veiled in labyrinthine vegetation, Guam was well suited for defense. The island's numerous ridges, hills, valleys, and caves allowed Lieutenant General Takashina Takeshi's 18,500 defenders to magnify their limited artillery resources. In close proximity to one another on the western shore were the two most important military installations: the fortified air base on Chote Peninsula and the navy yard at Apra Harbor.

The invasion was preceded for two days by the longest sustained naval bombardment of the Pacific islands campaigns to that point. The invasion force came ashore on the morning of 21 July in a two-pronged assault five miles apart. The 3rd Marine Division landed on the beach north of Apra Harbor to capture the nearby navy yard; the 1st Provisional Marine Brigade joined with the foremost elements of the 77th Infantry Division below the harbor to take the large airfield on the Orote Peninsula. Poor maps and stiff Japanese resistance prevented an advance of more than a few miles beyond the two designated American beachheads for four days. Enough Japanese guns survived the preliminary naval bombardment to inflict numerous casualties on the exposed American troops.

Late in the afternoon of 25 July, the 1st Provisional Marine Brigade finally seized the road bisecting the neck of the Orote Peninsula, severing Japanese access to the island's interior. That night, the trapped Japanese troops attempted to escape in General Takashina's ill-conceived banzai attack, only to be shattered by concentrated Marine artillery fire. Surviving Japanese were gradually eliminated over the next few days.

In an attempt to splinter the American beachhead north of Apra Harbor, at about 3:00 A.M. on 26 July Takashina mounted a well planned 3,900-man counterstrike against the unsuspecting 3rd Marine Division. Exploiting an unintended gap between two Marine regiments, the attackers swiftly penetrated the American position. Wild fighting ensued, involving support personnel as well as frontline defenders.

Despite initial gains and having inflicted 800 Marine casualties, after three hours the Japanese attack ground to a complete halt. It had cost an astounding 3,500 (95 percent) of the

attacking force dead. Takashina's expensive counterattack proved catastrophic to his already inadequate force. Intermittent fighting continued for several weeks across much of the island's thickly forested interior as organized Japanese resistance slowly dissolved in the face of the Americans' steady northward advance. With the bulk of the island under American control, on 10 August Geiger pronounced active combat operations on Guam at an end.

The loss of Guam and the remainder of the Marianas deprived the Japanese navy of airfields and anchorages and cut Japan's major supply artery with the South Pacific and its large air and naval base at Truk in the Caroline Islands. The United States launched devastating B-29 bombing raids against Japan itself after it gained control of Guam, Saipan, and Tinian.

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See also

Geiger, Roy Stanley; King, Ernest Joseph; Mariana Islands, Naval Campaign; Spruance, Raymond Ames

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Guandong (Kwantung) Army

Elite Japanese military force in Manchuria comprising Heilongjiang (Heilungkiang), Jilin (Kirin), and Liaoning Provinces. The Guandong Army (identified at the time as the Kwantung Army) was formed in April 1919 to protect Japanese interests in the part of southern Manchuria that Japan leased from China after the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War. Japan stationed one division there to defend the so-called Guandong Leased Territory and the South Manchurian Railway zone. For several years, the territory had been administered by the Guandong governor general, who also commanded Japan's expeditionary forces. In April 1919, a new joint civil/military administration was instituted, and the Guandong Army was charged with maintaining security. The Guandong Army consisted of an independent garrison of six battalions along with a division rotated every two years.

Facing a rising tide of Chinese nationalism and anti-Japanese sentiment in Manchuria, a handful of activist Guan-

dong Army staff officers undertook unauthorized initiatives, such as the assassination in June 1928 of Manchurian warlord Zhang Zuolin (Chang Tso-lin). On 18 September 1931, Lieutenant Colonel Ishihara Kanji and Colonel Itagaki Seishiro arranged to blow up a section of Japanese railway track outside Mukden (now Shenyang), Liaoning Province, which they then falsely blamed on the Chinese. The Mukden Incident was the excuse for the Guandong Army to initiate fighting with local Chinese forces. In this, the so-called Manchurian Incident, the Guandong Army (without the approval of the Tokyo government) embarked on the conquest of most of the rest of Manchuria, leading to the establishment on 1 March 1932 of Manzhouguo (Manchukuo). In 1934, the Japanese installed as ruler Aixinjueluo Puyi (Aisin-gioro P'u-i, known to Westerners as Henry Puyi), the last emperor of China's Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty. The new state was then known as Manzhouguo (Manchoutikuo, the Manchu [Manchu] Empire). It was in fact a puppet Japanese state.

The leaders of the Guandong Army regarded the Soviet Union as Japan's chief enemy. Throughout the 1930s, the two sides increased their forces in the border area of Korea, Manchuria, and the Soviet Far East, and border clashes between Japanese and Soviet troops increased. These confrontations included some heavy fighting in the Chagkufeng Incident (July-August 1938) and the Nomonhan Incident (May-September 1939).

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, the Guandong Army expected a German victory. It conducted a mobilization exercise to prepare for an attack on the Soviet Union between August and October as soon as the Soviets had transferred forces from Manchuria to the European Front. Twelve Japanese divisions in Manchuria, two in Korea, and two from Japan participated in this exercise. Much to the disappointment of Guandong Army leaders, Tokyo decided instead to move into resource-rich south Asia. Supreme Headquarters in Tokyo enjoined Guandong Army leaders to avoid all border conflicts. Following Japan's string of early victories in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, and again anticipating a German victory, Japan withdrew forces from the Pacific Theater to reinforce the Guandong Army for war against the Soviet Union.

However, in conjunction with U.S. advances in the Pacific from February to July 1944, Supreme Headquarters withdrew 10 army divisions and 2 air divisions from Manchuria to the Pacific. The Guandong Army became a hollow force and easily fell prey to Soviet forces, which invaded Manchuria at the end of the war. Within two weeks of the Soviet strike into Manchuria, commander of the Guandong Army General Yamada Otozō surrendered, and the Guandong Army was disarmed. Some 60,000 men of the Guandong Army were killed in the fighting. After the cease-fire, another 185,000 died in Manchuria. About 600,000—including Japanese troops from North Korea, Sakhalin, and the Kuril Islands—were detained in prisoner-of-war camps, where they were

forced to work through 1950. The last group of prisoners was not released until 1956. In those labor camps, more than 55,000 died of illness or malnutrition.

Asakawa Michio

See also

Ishiwara Kanji; Manchuria Campaign; Yamada Otozō

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Guderian, Heinz (1888–1953)

German army general. Born to a Prussian family in Kulm, Germany, on 17 January 1888, Heinz Guderian attended cadet schools and was commissioned a lieutenant in the 10th Hannoverian Jäger Battalion in January 1908. During World War I, he became a communications specialist, serving as assistant signals officer in Fourth Army headquarters until 1918, when he was appointed to the General Staff.

Guderian was active in the Freikorps during 1919, in which he served as chief of staff of the "Iron Division." He was later selected to be retained as one of 4,000 officers in the 100,000-man Reichswehr. Guderian was assigned to the transport troops in 1922. Returning to the General Staff in 1927, he became an advocate of mechanization based on British and French theorists. He was given command of an experimental motorized battalion in 1931 with which he demonstrated armored reconnaissance techniques. He was promoted to colonel in 1933, and in October 1935 he took command of the 2nd Panzer Division, one of only three being formed. He was promoted to General-major (U.S. equiv. brigadier general) in August 1936.

In 1937, Guderian published his treatise on armored warfare (*Achtung-Panzer!*), which espoused the combination of tanks, dive-bombers, and motorized infantry that is characterized as blitzkrieg (lightning war). Rapid promotion followed as Guderian helped expand Germany's armored forces. He became Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) and participated with his division in the occupation of Austria. In October, Guderian was promoted to general of panzer troops and appointed chief of mobile troops with direct access to Adolf Hitler.

During the invasion of Poland, Guderian commanded the XIX Panzer Corps, demonstrating through aggressive operations the soundness of blitzkrieg. He reached the pinnacle of operational command during the invasion of France in May 1940 when he led his panzer corps across the Meuse River at Sedan and raced to the English Channel to cut Allied forces off in Belgium.

During Operation BARBAROSSA, the June 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union, Guderian, now a full general, commanded



German General Heinz Guderian. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

the 2nd Panzer Group in Army Group Center, where he cooperated with General Hermann Hoth's 3rd Panzer Group to encircle large Soviet forces at Minsk on 10 July. Guderian then was ordered south to assist General Paul L. E. von Kleist's 4th Panzer Group encircle more than 600,000 Russians in the Kiev pocket in September. Guderian's short temper and mercurial disposition toward superiors eventually led him to be relieved of command in December over tactical disputes.

Following a year of inactivity, Guderian was recalled to duty by Hitler as inspector general of armored troops in March 1943. Guderian made great efforts to rebuild the worn panzer forces. After the assassination attempt against Hitler in July 1944, Guderian was appointed chief of the General Staff. He stood up to Hitler on numerous occasions, leading to his dismissal on 28 March 1945. Taken prisoner by U.S. forces at the end of the war, Guderian was not prosecuted for war crimes, although he remained a prisoner until June 1948. Guderian died at Schwengen, Bavaria, on 14 May 1953. A headstrong and aggressive battlefield commander, Guderian turned mechanized theory into practice and established a legacy as the father of blitzkrieg warfare.

Steven J. Rauch

See also

Armored Warfare; BARBAROSSA, Operation; Blitzkrieg; France, Battle for; Hitler, Adolf; Hoth, Hermann; Kiev Pocket, Battle of the; Kleist, Paul Ludwig Ewald von; Poland Campaign

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Guernica, Kondor Legion Attack on (26 April 1937)

The Spanish town of Guernica was bombed by German and Italian aircraft during the Spanish Civil War. When the Nationalists revolted against the Republican government of Spain in July 1936, Germany and Italy sent aid to the Nationalist side. Chancellor Adolf Hitler provided aircraft collectively known as the Kondor Legion commanded by Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general) Hugo Sperrle.

By early 1937, the Nationalists' failure to capture Madrid shifted attention to the Basque provinces in the north. Spanish General Emilio Mola commanded the assault on the ground, promising to raze the region if it did not surrender. The air component was largely independent under German control. By late April 1937, Sperrle's chief of staff, Colonel Wolfram von Richthofen, discerned an opportunity to cut off the Republican retreat by bombing the Renteria bridge near the Basque town of Guernica. The Basques were a distinct ethnic group with their own language, customs, and tradition of representative government. Guernica was the spiritual center of the Basque people, the home of their parliament and of El Arbol, a sacred oak under which Spanish kings had traditionally promised to respect Basque rights.

On 26 April 1937, Richthofen ordered air assaults on the Renteria bridge as well as the surrounding suburbs to block the retreat of Basque troops. At approximately 4:40 P.M., the first German bomber appeared over Guernica and dropped its payload on a plaza near the bridge. Some 25 minutes later three more bombers arrived, followed by fighters that strafed the panicked population. Shortly after 6:00 P.M., waves of German and Italian bombers reached the town. Because smoke and dust blanketed the target, coupled with primitive bombsights, crews simply dropped their bombs into the city. More than 100,000 pounds of high explosives and incendiaries rained down on Guernica.

Normally Guernica numbered 5,000 inhabitants, but uncounted refugees and soldiers had swollen the population. As a result, exact casualty figures remain elusive, but the dead

certainly numbered in the hundreds. Although the raid razed more than half of the town's structures, the Renteria bridge survived, as did the Basque parliament and El Arbol. Even so, Richthofen expressed pleasure with the results.

That evening press reports reached the major European capitals concerning the bombing, many depicting it as a premeditated terror attack. The Nationalist press claimed that the city was burned by the Republicans to discredit the Nationalist cause. Not until the 1970s did the Spanish government admit Nationalist involvement in Guernica's destruction.

Learning of the tragedy in Paris, Spanish artist Pablo Picasso began work on a mural depicting the anguish and devastation. Scholars often credit this work, *Guernica*, for connecting the Basque town with the indiscriminate destruction of modern war.

Rodney Madison

See also

Franco, Francisco; Germany, Air Force; Hitler, Adolf; Kondor Legion; Richthofen, Wolfram von

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Guerrillas

See Partisans/Guerrillas.

Gustav Gun

The Krupp 80 cm K(E), known as the *schwere Gustav* (heavy Gustav), was the largest artillery piece ever built. A railway gun that had to move over a specially laid double track, it was supported by two bogies, each with 20 axles. The gun weighed 1,344 tons and had a bore diameter of 31.5 inches. Using a 3,000-lb propellant charge, it fired two different types of projectiles. The 10,560-lb high-explosive round had a maximum range of nearly 30 mi. The 15,600-lb concrete-piercing shell had a maximum range of 23 mi.

The German army ordered three 80 cm K(E) guns in 1937 for the specific mission of demolishing the French forts on the

Maginot Line. However, by the time the first gun was delivered in late 1941, France had long since fallen. In January 1942, Heavy (Railway) Artillery Unit 672 was formed to man the gun; the unit moved to the Crimea in April. The gun, nicknamed "Dora" by the crew, was not ready to fire its first round in the siege of Sevastopol until 5 June. Between then and 17 June, it fired a total of 48 rounds in combat. The rounds all landed anywhere from 197 ft to 2,400 ft from their targets. Nonetheless, the shells were large enough that their destructive power contributed to the fall of Forts Stalin, Lenin, Siberia, and Maxim Gorki.

After the fall of Sevastopol, the Gustav gun returned to Germany to receive a new barrel. Plans to send the gun to Leningrad were preempted by the Soviets having raised the siege. Some sources report that the gun fired against the Poles during the Warsaw Rising in August 1944, but that has never been confirmed.

The second 80 cm K(E) was completed and delivered, but the crew was never raised. The third gun was still incomplete when the war ended. In April 1945, the German army destroyed both completed weapons.

The Gustav gun was a technical masterpiece, but it was a tactical white elephant. Under the best of conditions, it never fired more than seven or eight rounds per day. Once the gun reached its designated firing position, it required three to six weeks to assemble and place into battery. Its entire detachment numbered 1,420 men, commanded by a colonel with his own headquarters and planning staff. The main gun crew numbered 500, most of whom moved, prepared, and serviced the ammunition. The remainder of the unit consisted of an intelligence section, two antiaircraft artillery battalions, and two guard companies.

David T. Zabecki

See also

Artillery Doctrine; Artillery Types; Leningrad, Siege of; Maginot Line; Sevastopol, Battle for

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The Gustav Gun was the largest artillery piece ever built at 1,344 tons and a range of 30 miles.

H

Haakon VII, King of Norway (1872–1957)

Born on 3 August 1872 at Charlottenlund Castle near Copenhagen, Denmark, Prince Charles was the second son of the future King Frederik VIII of Denmark. Charles was educated by private tutors and entered the Danish navy at age 14. In 1893, he became an officer, and in 1896 he married Princess Maud of Great Britain, daughter of King Edward VII. They had one son, Alexander, later renamed Olaf. Norway declared independence from Sweden in 1905 and Charles was elected its constitutional monarch, choosing the Norwegian title of Haakon VII.

Haakon worked to establish a modern monarchy. His motto was “All for Norway.” He hoped Norway could remain neutral during World War II, but when the Germans invaded his country in April 1940, Haakon rejected demands that he appoint pro-Nazi Vidkun Quisling as premier and urged his people to resist. Haakon reluctantly left Norway aboard a British warship on 7 June 1940 with his son Olaf and members of the Storting (parliament) for exile in Britain. As head of the Norwegian government in exile, Haakon spoke to his people via radio, explaining that the Norwegian constitution allowed him to wage war against the Germans from abroad and refusing to abdicate. During the rest of the war, Haakon was heavily involved in the resistance movement; he became both Norway’s symbol of resistance and its rallying point.

Haakon was warmly welcomed on his return to Oslo on 7 June 1945, exactly five years from his departure and the fortieth anniversary of Norway’s independence. His spirited wartime activities had created a strong bond between him and his people. Haakon spent the immediate postwar years helping with reconstruction. He also dispensed with the formali-



King Haakon VII of Norway. (Library of Congress)

ties of court life, endearing himself further to the Norwegians. This well-loved “people’s king” died at Oslo on 21 September 1957. He was succeeded by his son, who reigned as Olaf V.

Annette Richardson

See also

Norway, German Conquest of (1940); Norway, Role in War; Quisling, Vidkun Abraham Lauritz Jonsson; Resistance

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Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia (1892–1975)

Haile Selassie was emperor of Ethiopia (also known as Abyssinia). He was born at Ejersagoro on 23 July 1892 as Tafari Makonnen. His father was Ras Makonnen, a Coptic Christian and leading general and political figure. Tafari was a grandnephew of Emperor Menelik II (reigned 1889–1913).

An excellent student, Tafari attended both the Capucin school and the palace school. From age 13, he governed Harer, Selale, and Darass. On Menilek’s death, his grandson Lij Iyasu succeeded to the throne, but he Islamized the government. The Christians denounced this policy, and Iyasu was deposed. Menilek’s daughter, Empress Sawditu I (reigned 1916–1930) made the progressive-minded Tafari the regent and heir. From 1917 to 1928 he traveled in the west expressly to absorb the culture and ideas.

Tafari was proclaimed emperor on Sawditu’s death in 1930. Declaring himself a direct descendant of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, Tafari adopted the name Haile Selassie, meaning “might of the trinity.” His suppression of slavery was a matter of personal pride. He established the Bank of Ethiopia and promulgated a new criminal code. Selassie soon earned a worldwide reputation as a humanitarian, although he centralized power in his own person and was in fact a royal dictator.

Selassie took his country’s disputes with Italy to the League of Nations. Italy’s invasion in 1935 found the Ethiopians no match for the invaders, who had complete air supremacy and employed poison gas. Selassie fled to Britain in 1936, appealing for support in a masterful but unsuccessful address to the League of Nations. Following Italy’s entry into World War II in June 1940 and the extension of the fighting to Africa, British forces liberated Ethiopia, and Selassie returned to his capital in triumph in 1941.

Selassie’s progressive policies after the war included political reform, social reform, and a national assembly in 1955.



Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia (1930–1936 and 1941–1974). (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

His focus in the 1960s and 1970s was pan-African. In 1960, he crushed a revolt of army officers and intellectuals who advocated further reforms. He was successfully overthrown on 12 September 1974 and placed under palace arrest. Selassie died mysteriously on 17 August 1975.

Annette Richardson

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Halder, Franz (1884–1972)

German army general. Born on 30 August 1884 in Würzburg, Germany, Franz Halder joined a Bavarian field artillery regi-

ment in 1902 and attended the Bavarian Staff College in Munich before the outbreak of World War I. As a result of his training, Halder served throughout the war as a staff officer at the division through army-group levels on both the Western and Eastern Fronts. His performance during World War I secured him a position in the postwar Reichswehr (state armed forces). Serving in both command and staff positions during the interwar years, he was promoted to colonel in December 1931, to Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general) in October 1934, to Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) in August 1936, and to General der Artillerie (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) in February 1938. In October 1938, Halder was appointed chief of the army General Staff.

Halder played a crucial role in the planning and execution of Germany's campaigns before World War II and during its first years. By the end of the Polish Campaign in 1939, he had convinced the German army commander in chief, Generaloberst (U.S. equiv. full general) Walther von Brauchitsch, to place overall responsibility for operations in his hands. His claims to sole authorship of the 1940 campaign in France were unjustified, although Halder was at the center of the campaign's successful execution. Halder was promoted to Generaloberst in July 1940.

Anticipating future operations in the east, Halder established a planning group in the summer of 1940 to develop a campaign plan against the Soviet Union. His lack of vision and unwillingness to encourage innovation among his subordinates, however, resulted in a plan that did not fully address the Red Army's capabilities or clearly identify the campaign's objectives. Failing to defeat the Red Army in the summer of 1941, Halder maintained his belief that the German army would decide the campaign at the gates of Moscow.

Through the spring of 1942, Halder became increasingly disillusioned with Adolf Hitler's conduct of operations, particularly the 1942 offensive on the Eastern Front. By September, the Führer had had enough of the army chief of staff's intransigence and summarily relieved him on 24 September. Halder remained on the inactive list, keeping in contact with Colonel General Ludwig Beck, former chief of the General Staff and a leader of the resistance against Hitler. As a result of these exchanges, Halder was imprisoned in the Flossenbürg concentration camp in the aftermath of the 20 July 1944 attempt on Hitler's life. Halder's association with Beck was sufficient to prevent his conviction at the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. Halder then spent 14 years with the U.S. Army Historical Division and received the Meritorious Civilian Service Award in 1961. Halder died on 2 April 1972 in Aschau, West Germany.

David M. Toczek

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Beck, Ludwig; Belgium Campaign; Brauchitsch, Heinrich Alfred Hermann Walther von; Caucasus Campaign; France, Battle for; Hitler, Adolf; Poland Campaign;



German General Franz Halder. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

SICHELSCHNITT, Operation; Stauffenberg, Claus Philip Schenk von; Zeitler, Kurt von

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Halifax, Edward Frederick Lindley Wood, Earl of

See Wood, Edward Frederick Lindley (Earl of Halifax).

Halsey, William Frederick, Jr. (1882–1959)

U.S. Navy admiral. Born in Elizabeth, New Jersey, on 30 October 1882, William Halsey Jr. was a naval officer's son. He

graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1904 and was commissioned an ensign in 1906. Halsey served in the Great White Fleet that circumnavigated the globe from 1907 to 1909 and was then in torpedo boats. When the United States entered World War I in April 1917, Halsey was a lieutenant commander and captain of a destroyer. He then commanded destroyers operating from Queenstown, Ireland.

Following World War I, Halsey's service was mostly in destroyers, although he also held an assignment in naval intelligence and was a naval attaché in Berlin. Promoted to captain in 1927, he commanded the *Reina Mercedes*, the Naval Academy training ship, and became fascinated by naval aviation. Halsey attended both the Naval War College and Army War College, and in 1935, despite his age, he completed naval flight training and took command of the aircraft carrier *Saratoga*. Promoted to rear admiral in 1937, Halsey assumed command of Carrier Division 2 of the *Enterprise* and *Yorktown*. He was promoted to vice admiral in 1940.

Halsey was at sea on 7 December 1941 when Japanese aircraft attacked Pearl Harbor. In early 1942, Halsey's carriers raided Japanese central Pacific installations and launched Colonel James Doolittle's raid on Tokyo in April. Acute skin disorders requiring hospitalization removed him from the Battle of Midway in June 1942. In October 1942, Halsey replaced Admiral Robert Ghormley as commander of the South Pacific and began the most successful phase of his career. He was promoted to admiral in November. Despite severe tactical losses, Halsey retained strategic control of the waters around Guadalcanal in late 1942, and during 1943 he supported operations in the Solomon Islands and into the Bismarck Archipelago. Halsey came to be known as "Bull" for his pugnacious nature.

In March 1943, Halsey took administrative command of the Third Fleet, although he continued his command in the South Pacific until June 1944. In the Battle of Leyte Gulf, the Japanese battle plan and the flawed American command system combined with Halsey's aggressiveness to shape one of the more controversial episodes of the war. On 24–25 October, a Japanese force centered on four fleet aircraft carriers that were largely bereft of aircraft under Admiral Ozawa Jisaburo decoyed Halsey and his entire Task Force 38 away from the U.S. landing sites, leaving the sites vulnerable to a powerful Japanese surface force under Kurita Takeo. Although Halsey destroyed most of Ozawa's force in the Battle of Cape Engaño, disaster for the support ships off Leyte was only narrowly averted when Kurita lost his nerve. Widely criticized for not coordinating his movements with Vice Admiral Thomas Kinkaid, who had charge of the invasion force of Seventh Fleet, Halsey never admitted responsibility. He instead blamed the system of divided command.

Halsey endured further condemnation when he took the Third Fleet into damaging typhoons in December 1944 and



U.S. Navy Admiral William Frederick Halsey, Jr. (Library of Congress)

June 1945. Still, his flagship, the *Missouri*, hosted the formal Japanese surrender on 2 September 1945. Promoted to admiral of the fleet in December 1945, Halsey retired in April 1947. He then served on the boards of several large corporations. Halsey died at Fisher's Island, New York, on 16 August 1959.

John A. Hutcheson Jr. and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Aircraft Carriers; Aviation, Naval; Cape Esperance, Battle of; Carrier Raids, U.S.; Central Pacific Campaign; Doolittle, James Harold "Jimmy"; Ghormley, Robert Lee; Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Japan, Official Surrender; Kinkaid, Thomas Cassin; Kolombangara, Battle of; Kula Gulf, Battle of; Kurita Takeo; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; Leyte, Landings on and Capture of; MacArthur, Douglas; McCain, John Sidney; Mitscher, Marc Andrew; Nimitz, Chester William; Ozawa Jisaburo; Philippines, U.S. Recapture of; Santa Cruz Islands, Battle of; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign; Southwest Pacific Theater; Spruance, Raymond Ames; Tassafaronga, Battle of; Vella Gulf, Battle of; Vella Lavella, Sea Battle of; United States, Navy

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Hamburg, Raids on (24 July–3 August 1943)

The air battle of Hamburg, Operation GOMORRAH, consisted of a series of six raids in July and August 1943 that destroyed a large portion of the city and killed more than 45,000 people. Most of them died in the horrendous firestorm of the night of 27 July, the first such conflagration induced by bombing. More than half of the residential units in the city were destroyed, and 900,000 people lost their homes. The Americans and British bombed the city many times later in the war, but none of those raids approached the results or notoriety of the July attack.

Four of the attacks were mounted at night by the Royal Air Force (RAF), and two in daylight by the U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) Eighth Air Force. The initial British operation,

which began the night of 24 July, featured the first use of chaff, code-named WINDOW, in combat. The cloud of metallic strips blotted out large segments of enemy radar screens and provided cover for aircraft that stayed within the pattern, cloaking the bomber stream. This helped keep losses relatively low during RAF operations; only 87 British bombers were lost out of more than 3,000 sorties.

The USAAF sent 252 B-17 Flying Fortresses over Hamburg on 25 and 26 July but lost 17 aircraft. In addition, the American bombing accuracy was poor, since primary targets were often obscured by smoke from the earlier RAF raid. The Americans dropped only about 300 tons of bombs on the city, whereas RAF bombers delivered more than 8,000 tons.

The second British attack combined concentrated bombing with ideal weather conditions of high temperature and low humidity to produce an unexpected firestorm, which was further helped along because most of Hamburg's firefighters were in distant sectors of the city dealing with the results of the earlier attacks. Most of the dead had heeded the advice of local authorities to stay in basement shelters, where they were



Bombed buildings, Hamburg, Germany, July 1943. (Library of Congress)

asphyxiated by carbon monoxide or crushed by collapsing buildings. However, taking to the streets was no guarantee of safety. Those who fled the shelters sometimes met even more horrible deaths, sucked into fires by high winds or caught in molten asphalt.

German armaments minister Albert Speer feared that if the Allies could quickly follow up with six similar devastating firestorms, the German economy might collapse. However, although RAF Bomber Command tried, it could not achieve the same result until its February 1945 assault on Dresden.

The air battle of Hamburg killed more than 45,000 people and 900,000 people lost their homes.

Hamburg itself recovered surprisingly quickly, and the Luftwaffe changed its defensive tactics to counter the RAF night-bombing campaign. Scholarship conducted 50 years after the bombing of Dresden has considerably lowered the casualty figures from that bombing; it appears that the 27 July attack on Hamburg,

not the Dresden bombing, was the deadliest air raid in the European Theater. The raids on Hamburg set a standard that RAF Bomber Command found difficult to duplicate and still provide a vivid symbol of the horrors of the bombing of cities and of total war.

Conrad C. Crane

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Dresden, Air Attack on; Radar; Strategic Bombing

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Hand Grenades

Numerous types of hand grenades were used by the military forces during World War II. The U.S. military used offensive, defensive, and special-use grenades. The MkIII A1, a can-shaped grenade filled with 8 oz of flaked TNT, was used for offensive purposes because no fragmentation took place after the initial explosion. The MkII "pineapple" grenade was for defensive use and was based on the old British "Mills Bomb" design. Troops could not assault forward because of the fragmentation of its serrated shell, which created a 10-yard killing

radius. The M15 WP "Willie Pete" or white-phosphorous grenade, used for smoke generation and the assaulting of caves and pillboxes, saw limited use. In tight quarters, the almost 2 lb M15 WP created severe eye, respiratory, and skin injuries.

The standard hand grenade for British forces was the revised M36 Mills Bomb. It had a serrated cast-iron body filled with TNT and was used defensively. Of note was the screw-in fuse, which was put in place prior to combat. To use the grenade, the user pulled the pin and then threw the grenade. When the grenade left the user's hand, the spring-loaded lever was released, activating the fusing sequence. A more specialized grenade was the "Gammon Bomb" (No. 82), a 20 oz cloth bag filled with plastic explosive. It had an attached screw-off metal cap that was removed to arm the device. The Gammon Bomb was effective against pillboxes and bunkers.

The French military drew on the venerable F1 defensive grenade. This grenade had a serrated body and used a 5 sec delay fuse activated by a pin-and-lever system similar to that found in the British M36.

The standard German hand grenades were the high-explosive stick grenade (*Stielhandgranate* 24) and the high-explosive hand grenade (*Eihandgranate* 39). The offensive *Stiel*. 24, universally known as the "potato masher" grenade, contained a bursting TNT charge and could be fitted with a fragmentation sleeve for defensive use. The igniter was activated by pulling the porcelain bead found in the handle behind the metal cap. A heavier *Stiel*. 43 variant existed; it contained almost twice the TNT charge and could also be fitted with a fragmentation sleeve. The offensive *Ei*. 39 is egg-shaped, and its older and newer designs differed slightly. The TNT filler was initiated by a detonator and friction igniter. More specialized German grenades were the offensive wooden and concrete improvised hand grenades (*Behelfshandgranate-Holz* and *Beton*) and numerous forms of smoke grenades (*Nebelhandgranate*) based on stick, conventional, egg, and glass body designs.

The Italian army used three main types of grenades, known as "Red Devil Grenades" from their color. All used a pull firing pin. The Breda Model 35 (introduced in 1935) weighed 7 oz and had only 2 oz of TNT; the SRCM Model 35 also weighed 7 oz but had only 1.5 oz of TNT. The OTO Model 35 weighed 7.4 oz and had 2.5 oz of TNT. Italian grenades tended to have too little explosive filler and broke into large fragments, so that often they did little damage to their targets. The Breda Model 42 with a handle (potato-masher style) was developed to attack enemy tanks and contained 1.5 lb of TNT.

Hand grenades in use by Japanese forces were the Model 91 (1931), Model 97 (1937), Model 99 (1939), and Model 23. The Model 91 had a serrated body and was for defensive use. Its fuse had to be struck against a hard object, such as a helmet, to ignite it. The Model 97 was a newer variation of the



A Marine (second from right) throws a hand grenade against a Japanese position, Saipan 1944. (Library of Congress)

Model 91. It had a shorter fuse delay time of 4–5 sec rather than 7–8 sec, could not be fired from a discharger, and was carried by all frontline troops. The lighter Model 99 Kiska had a smooth, cylindrical body and a flange at either end. It also used an impact fuse, and because it was smaller, it could be used for offensive purposes. The Model 23 looked like the Model 91 but had two lugs and rings on the side for mooring so it could also be used in booby traps. It had a pull-type friction igniter fuse and was filled with granular TNT. Other more specialized grenades included the 18 oz incendiary grenade, the incendiary stick grenade, and the high-explosive stick hand grenade.

Soviet hand grenades were based on the Type-1933, Type-1942, and F-1 models. The Type-1933 (RGD-33) was composed of a grenade head and a throwing handle. It could be used in either a defensive or an offensive mode, depending on whether the fragmentation jacket (normal and lightened types) was used over the grenade head. Detonation time was

3.2 to 3.8 sec after fuse ignition. The can-shaped Type-1942 (RG-42) was for offensive and defensive use. Although it created a lethal bursting radius, it was somewhat smaller than average because of the lighter scored squares found in its internal metallic belt. The F-1 was for defensive use. Externally, it resembled the U.S. MkII pineapple grenade, but it was based on either the standardized (UZRG) or Koveshnikov fuse. Because it expelled heavy fragments out to 656 ft, the F-1 was only thrown from trenches or other covered positions.

Robert J. Bunker

See also

Infantry Tactics

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Harbor, Artificial

See Mulberries.

Harriman, William Averell (1891–1986)

Key U.S. diplomat posted to Great Britain and the Soviet Union during World War II. Born on 15 November 1891 in New York City—the son of Edward Henry Harriman, owner of the Union Pacific Railroad and one of the wealthiest U.S. businessmen—W. Averell Harriman initially pursued a career as a venture capitalist and with Union Pacific. In 1920, he invested in German shipping, Soviet manganese mine concessions, and aviation. In 1931, he merged his investment firm with an established merchant bank to form Brown Brothers Harriman. From the late 1920s onward, a burgeoning interest in politics caused Harriman to support the Democrats and back President Franklin D. Roosevelt's reformist New Deal policies. Harriman held several posts in the National Recovery Administration and sought a World War II government job.

In March 1941, Roosevelt sent Harriman to London as “defense expediter” to coordinate and facilitate the anticipated flood of American wartime supplies to Britain under the newly established Lend-Lease program. Harriman quickly established a warm and confidential relationship with Britain's wartime prime minister, Winston L. S. Churchill. He often bypassed the U.S. ambassador, John G. Winant, to report directly to White House aide Harry Hopkins and serve as an unofficial liaison between Churchill and Roosevelt. In London, Harriman, although married, began a clandestine love affair with Churchill's daughter-in-law, Pamela Digby Churchill, who eventually (in 1971) became his third wife.

When Germany invaded Russia in June 1941, the United States extended Lend-Lease aid to the Soviet Union, and dealings with Moscow likewise fell within Harriman's remit. In 1943, Harriman replaced Admiral William H. Standley as U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, where he remained until 1946, attending the major wartime Allied conferences at Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam. In late 1944, when Soviet troops allowed occupying German forces to suppress Polish rebels in Warsaw before themselves mopping up the remaining

Germans (a policy deliberately designed to eliminate future opponents of a Soviet-backed Polish regime), Harriman sent diplomatic dispatches to Washington sounding one of the earliest official warnings against future Soviet designs for the nations of eastern Europe.

Harriman subsequently held numerous other government positions under Democratic presidents, gaining the reputation of advocating a firm but flexible and nonalarmist stance toward the Soviets. Harriman died in Yorktown Heights, New York, on 26 July 1986.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Hopkins, Harry Lloyd; Lend-Lease; Potsdam Conference; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stalin, Josef; Tehran Conference; Warsaw Rising; Yalta Conference

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Harris, Sir Arthur Travers (1892–1984)

Royal Air Force air chief marshal and commander of Bomber Command. Born on 13 April 1892 in Cheltenham, England, Arthur Harris joined a Rhodesian regiment at the beginning of World War I. In 1915, he transferred to the Royal Flying Corps and became a pilot, and by the end of the war he commanded the 44th Squadron. After the war, he served in India and Iraq and commanded a training school. He completed the Army Staff College (1927), again served in the Middle East, and then held posts at the Air Ministry (1933–1937).

On the outbreak of World War II, Harris commanded Number 5 Bomber Group. He then was deputy chief of the Air Staff and headed a mission to Washington. Dissatisfaction with the course of British strategic bombing led to his appointment in February 1942 as head of Bomber Command and his promotion to air chief marshal.

Harris committed himself to maintaining Bomber Command as an independent strategic arm. In May 1942, he launched the first of the 1,000-plane raids against Köln (Cologne), which did much to raise morale at home. Harris, who was nicknamed “Bomber,” maintained that massive bombing would break German civilian morale and bring about an end to the war. Harris ordered Bomber Command to conduct massive night raids against German cities. Among



Royal Air Force Air Chief Marshall Sir Arthur Harris/Commander.
(Library of Congress)

other missions, Harris directed the May 1943 raid on the Ruhr dams by 617th Squadron, the July 1943 raid against Hamburg, attacks against German rocket factories at Peenemünde in August 1943, the November 1943 attacks against Berlin, and the destruction of Dresden in February 1945.

Harris remains controversial, especially because of his seeming lack of concern over collateral bomb damage. He was at odds with his superior, chief of the Air Staff Air Marshal Charles Portal, and others who sought to target specific industries considered essential to the Nazi war effort. What appeared to be indiscriminate bombing of cities also brought harsh criticism on Harris at the end of the war. His aircrews, however, remained fiercely loyal to him.

Harris retired from the RAF in September 1945 and headed a South African shipping company. His memoir, *Bomber Offensive*, was published in 1947. Made a baronet in 1953, Harris died on 5 April 1984 at Goring-on-Thames, England.

Thomas D. Veve

See also

Berlin, Air Battle of; Dresden, Air Attack on; Hamburg; Köln; Peenemünde Raid; Portal, Sir Charles Frederick Algernon

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Hart, Thomas Charles (1877–1971)

U.S. Navy admiral. Born in Davison, Michigan, on 12 June 1877, Thomas Hart graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1897 and was commissioned an ensign in 1899. He served in Cuban waters on the battleship *Massachusetts* during the Spanish-American War and commanded a submarine force of seven boats based in Ireland during World War I.

Between the world wars, Hart commanded submarine and cruiser forces and the battleship *Mississippi*. He graduated from the Naval War College in 1923 and the Army War College in 1924. In 1929, Hart was promoted to rear admiral and took command of submarines in the Atlantic and Pacific Fleets from 1929 to 1931. He was superintendent of the Naval Academy from 1931 to 1934. He commanded a cruiser division of the Scouting Force from 1934 to 1936 and served as a member of the navy's General Board from 1936 to 1939.

In June 1939, Hart was promoted to full admiral and given command of the small U.S. Asiatic Fleet. During the next years, he accelerated fleet training and drills and made plans to defend the Philippine Islands and to cooperate with the British and Dutch if war broke out with Japan. Lacking the resources to counter the Japanese invasion of the Philippines in December 1941 and denied air support from the U.S. Army's Far East Air Force, Hart sent his surface units to the Netherlands East Indies (NEI) at the end of the month and moved his headquarters to Java.

In January 1942, Hart was appointed commander of the naval forces of the American-British-Dutch-Australian Command (ABDACOM), which was charged with defending the NEI. Hart had no chance of success, for his resources were limited and he had no prospect of reinforcements. Moreover, the British and Dutch disagreed with his plans for using his ships. At the end of January, Hart sent his cruisers and destroyers against Japanese forces in the Battle of Makassar Strait, but the Dutch wished to concentrate ABDACOM's ships for the defense of Java. As a result, in February 1942, Hart relinquished his command to Vice Admiral C. E. L. Helfrich of the Netherlands navy and returned to the United States. Later that month, most of ABDACOM's ships were lost in the Battle of the Java Sea.

Hart served with the General Board until his retirement in February 1945, when he was appointed a U.S. senator from



U.S. Admiral Thomas C. Hart. (Photo by Bernard Hoffman/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Connecticut, a post he held until 1947. Hart died in Sharon, Connecticut, on 4 July 1971.

John Kennedy Ohl

See also

Java Sea, Battle of the; Makassar Strait, Battle of; Madoera Strait, Battle of; Philippines, Japanese Capture of

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the Luftwaffe was not desperate for pilots, and Hartmann was the beneficiary of nearly 19 months' training before his first posting. In October 1942, he reported to Staffel (squadron) 7, III Gruppe (group), Jagdgeschwader (fighter wing) 52 (7.III/JG52) on the Eastern Front. The veterans nicknamed the youthful Hartmann "Bubi" (lad). Hartmann would spend the next two and one-half years in various units in JG52.

On his nineteenth sortie, Hartmann scored his first victory. He continued to score steadily, although his career nearly came to a sudden end when he was shot down and captured after his ninetieth victory. He managed to escape and eventually return to German lines. Hartmann continued to run up his score, and he was awarded the Knight's Cross in October 1943 after 150 victories. By August 1944, he had doubled his total. He was awarded every order of the Knight's Cross—Oak Leaves, Swords, and eventually Diamonds, Germany's highest military award.

Known as the "Black Devil of the Ukraine" by his Soviet opponents in recognition of his skill and the paint scheme of his aircraft, Hartmann scored his 352nd and last victory on 8 May 1945. He surrendered his fighter group to a U.S. Army unit but was handed over to the Soviets. Tried and convicted as a war criminal, Hartmann was imprisoned until his repatriation in late 1955.

Hartmann joined the new Federal Republic of Germany air force in 1956 and was appointed commander of the newly formed JG71 Richthofen. He retired in 1970 as a colonel. In retirement, Hartmann remained active in German civilian aviation, operating flight schools and participating in fly-ins, sometimes with other World War II aces. Erich Hartmann died on 19 September 1993 at Weil im Schönbuch.

M. R. Pierce

See also

Barkhorn, Gerhard; Germany, Air Force; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm

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Hartmann, Erich Alfred (1922–1993)

Luftwaffe fighter pilot and highest-scoring ace of all time. Born in Weissach, Germany, on 19 April 1922, Erich Hartmann grew up in an aviation-minded family. His mother learned to fly in 1929, and Hartmann was an avid glider pilot as a young man. Hartmann joined the Luftwaffe in October 1940 and began his flight training in March 1941. At the time,

Hausser, Paul "Papa" (1880–1972)

German Schutzstaffel (SS) general. Born on 7 October 1880 at Brandenburg, Paul Hausser joined the army and was commissioned a lieutenant in 1899. He served during World War I as a staff officer on both the Western and Eastern Fronts and rose to the rank of major in 1918. Hausser joined the Reichswehr of the Weimar Republic but retired in 1932 as lieutenant

general. Hausser joined the Nazi SS in 1934, and as an inspector for its academies he helped train the armed SS units, the nucleus of the Waffen-SS.

In October 1939, Hausser commanded one of the two new SS combat divisions (Waffen-SS) and led this division, known as *Das Reich*, in campaigns in France (1940) and Yugoslavia (1941) and on the Eastern Front in the invasion of the Soviet Union, where he was wounded and lost an eye. He returned to active duty, and from June 1942 to June 1944, he commanded the first SS army corps formation, I SS Panzer Corps (later II Panzer Corps). During the Battle of Kharkov in early 1943, Hausser ignored Adolf Hitler's directives and ordered a retreat. He was criticized for this decision, but he was able to save his troops from annihilation and then retake Kharkov, which contributed significantly to the stabilization of the German Front. He also participated in the Battle of Kursk.

Transferred to France in June 1944, Hausser took command of the Seventh Army, which resisted the Allied invasion of Normandy. Hausser was seriously wounded in August during the desperate escape of his army at Falaise. He was promoted to *Oberstgruppenführer* and full general of the Waffen-SS in January 1945, and his last command, dating from 28 January, was of Army Group G in the southern part of the German Western Front. Hausser tried to organize an effective resistance against the advancing Allies, but it was impossible to meet Hitler's expectations, and the Führer removed him from command on 4 April 1945. He spent the remainder of the war on the staff of Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, commander in chief, west. Hausser is generally regarded as the most militarily accomplished of the Waffen-SS generals.

Hausser was imprisoned in May 1945 and not released until 1948. In the postwar Federal Republic of Germany, Hausser became the leader of Waffen-SS veterans. An author, Hausser insisted in his books that his men had been "soldiers as any others." Hausser died at Ludwigsburg, Germany, on 21 December 1972.

Martin Moll

See also

Alsace Campaign; Dietrich, Josef "Sepp"; Falaise-Argentan Pocket; France Campaign; Germany, Collapse of; Hitler, Adolf; Kesselring, Albert; Kharkov, Battle of; Kursk, Battle of; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Waffen-SS

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He Yingqin (Ho Ying-ch'in) (1890–1987)

Nationalist Chinese Army general. Born into a landowning family in Xinyi (Hsing-i), Guizhou (Kweichow) Province on 2 April 1890, He Yingqin (Ho Ying-ch'in) received a thorough military education in both Chinese and Japanese military schools. After the outbreak of the Chinese Revolution in 1911, he returned to China and joined the revolutionary forces in Shanghai, Jiangsu (Kiangsu). Following the ill-fated "Second Revolution" in 1913, he returned to his studies in Japan, which he completed in 1916. In 1924, he was appointed chief instructor at the newly founded Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy, and he participated in the Northern Expedition. He became a close associate of Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) and directed military operations against dissident Guomindang (GMD [Kuomintang, KMT], Nationalist) forces as well as the Red Army in the "Extermination Campaigns" of the 1930s.

He was ordered to appease the Japanese in the humiliating Tanggu (Tangku) Truce of 1933 and the He-Umezu



Chinese Nationalist General He Yingqin (Ho Ying-Ch'in). (Photo by Leonard Mccombe/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Agreement of 1935, resulting in widespread student demonstrations against GMD policy. After the Lugoujiao (Lukou-ch'iao) Marco Polo Bridge Incident and the onset of a full Sino-Japanese War in 1937, He was appointed chief of staff of the Chinese army. Between 1942 and 1944, he developed a prickly rivalry with U.S. Lieutenant General Joseph W. Stilwell, commander of forces in the China-Burma-India Theater and Allied chief of staff to Jiang. He also clashed with General Chen Cheng (Ch'en Ch'eng), Stilwell's choice for Chinese commander. When Stilwell was relieved of command in 1944, He was relieved of his war portfolio but not his military position.

On 9 September 1945, He formally received the Japanese surrender in Nanjing (Nanking) in Jiangsu from General Okamura Yasuji, commander of Japanese forces in China. During the Chinese Civil War period, He's political fortunes waned. In 1949, he joined the Nationalists on Taiwan. He served as chief Chinese delegate to the United Nations' Military Advisory Committee (1946–1948) and then as chairman of the Strategy Advisory Committee in Taiwan (1950–1958). He died in Taipei on 21 October 1987.

Errol M. Clauss

See also

China, Army; China, Role in War; Jiang Jieshi; Okamura Yasuji; Stilwell, Joseph Warren

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Heisenberg, Werner (1901–1976)

German nuclear physicist. Born in Würzburg, Germany, on 5 December 1901, Werner Heisenberg graduated in 1923 from the University of Munich with a doctorate in physics. Heisenberg subsequently established a reputation as a talented scientist. One of his greatest accomplishments was his theory of quantum mechanics, for which he won the Nobel Prize in physics in 1932. By the late 1930s, despite being an opponent of the Nazi regime, Heisenberg was the leader of the German project to manufacture an atomic weapon.

This endeavor, known as the *Uranverein*, occupied Heisenberg throughout the war. The project was not successful, but the cause of its failure is still a matter of debate. Heisenberg claimed after the war that he had tried to impede the project



German physicist Werner Heisenberg. (Library of Congress)

as best he could to deny the Nazis an atomic bomb, a claim that some scholars contest. A principal cause of the project's failure was a lack of resources. The dearth of material and the resulting slow progress in research led to a mid-1942 report to Adolf Hitler that projected the development of a German atomic bomb as being several years in the future. Hitler, convinced that Germany would not be able to deploy such a weapon during World War II, consequently took little interest in the project.

Following the defeat of Germany, Heisenberg was among those German physicists briefly imprisoned in Britain by the Allies. In 1946 he was allowed to return to Germany and reorganized at Göttingen the Institute for Physics, later known as the Max Planck Institute for Physics. Heisenberg remained active in the field of physics in subsequent years. He died in Munich on 1 February 1976.

Eric W. Osborne

See also

Nuclear Weapons

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Helicopters

Helicopters are a type of aircraft supported through the air by the aerodynamic lift created by one or more rotors, essentially rotating wings or blades, turning about a substantially vertical axis. The interest in helicopters came about because of its highly valued ability to ascend and descend almost vertically and to land in relatively small areas without benefit of lengthy landing strips.

Probably the first helicopterlike design was by artist and inventor Leonardo da Vinci in the fifteenth century. Three hundred years later in 1783, inspired by a “flying top” toy brought from China, two Frenchmen named Launoy and Bienvenu built a working model of a vertical-flight machine. In the mid-nineteenth century, British nobleman Sir George Cayley built a full-size, unpowered heloglider that flew a few feet with his coachman aboard.

These early designs had two problems: their flight was uncontrolled, and they lacked a source of power for sustained flight. With the advent of gasoline engines and shortly after the first heavier-than-air flight of Orville and Wilbur Wright, French inventor Charles Renard built a small helicopter that flew pilotless. He was followed in 1907 by Louis Breguet and Paul Cornu, who each built a manned machine that lifted off the ground, but both suffered from control problems. In 1909, before turning his inventive powers to producing large fixed-wing aircraft for the Russian tsar, Igor Sikorsky experimented with rudimentary helicopters, but he was unable to solve control and stability problems.

Between 1916 and 1918, Austrian Lieutenant Stefan Petroczy and Theodore von Karman designed and built two prototype vertical-lift machines for the Central Powers during World War I. The second made more than 30 successful flights before it crashed. The war ended before a third could be built. The designers of these machines handled problems of control and stability by tethering the machines to cables anchored to the ground.

During the 1920s, a Frenchman named Dourheret, the American father-and-son team of Emile and Henry Berliner, and George de Bothezat, a Russian under American contract, all produced vertical-lift machines. All efforts were disappointing because of stability and control problems. But in 1923, Spanish engineer Juan de la Cierva solved one instability problem—caused because the retreating blade produced less lift than the advancing blade—by hinging the blades for more flexibility. Although Cierva’s invention was a rotary-wing aircraft, it was not a true helicopter. It was an autogiro or gyroplane that depended on a propeller to provide horizontal movement while the unpowered rotating wings provided the



A canteen worker handing a cup of tea to the pilot of a Sikorsky R-4 helicopter hovering overhead at the RAF Helicopter School in Andover in January 1945. (Photo by Fox Photos/Getty Images)

lift. As working rotary-wing aircraft, autogiros held the field through the late 1920s and early 1930s.

The first true helicopters appeared in the 1930s in the United States, France, and Germany. In France, Louis Breguet and René Dorand built a twin-rotor helicopter that set the speed record in 1935 and the endurance and distance records in 1936. In 1937, Heinrich Focke’s helicopter set new records for time aloft, speed, distance, and altitude. Igor Sikorsky, who had emigrated to the U.S. in 1919, made his maiden helicopter flight in a craft of his own design in 1939.

Despite these successes, more autogiros than helicopters were used during World War II. Only Japan and the Soviet Union used autogiros in a very limited role in support of their ground forces, and the Japanese used some in service with their navy for antisubmarine warfare and liaison. Britain deployed a few to France for observation and communications duties in 1939, but the defeat of France ended those activities.

The U.S. military program to develop helicopters began in the late 1930s and fell under the direction of the U.S. Army

Air Corps. While other services—primarily the navy—looked into the possibility of helicopter use, in May 1942 the Army Air Forces took delivery of the first practical helicopter put into military service, a Sikorsky R-4.

Helicopters had no real impact in World War II. The German army used a small number of them for reconnaissance, supply, transport, and casualty evacuations, and the navy used them for shipboard reconnaissance and antisubmarine patrol. By the end of the war, more than 100 Sikorsky R-4 helicopters had been delivered to the U.S. Army Air Forces, Navy, and Coast Guard and to Britain's Royal Air Force and its Fleet Air Arm. These helicopters were used in experiments, primarily antisubmarine warfare, and for search-and-rescue operations. In April 1944, one of the four U.S. Army Air Forces R-4s sent to India for experimentation was used to rescue four men from an airplane crash site in Burma behind Japanese lines.

By the end of the war, helicopters had entered limited military service, and some had seen combat. Many commanders believed the helicopter was too fragile and vulnerable for the battlefield and too difficult to maintain. Despite its tentative beginnings, in later wars the helicopter would come to revolutionize military operations by providing entrance to and exit from the battlefield by means of the air while being nearly uninhibited by terrain.

Arthur T. Frame

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Hershey, Lewis Blaine (1893–1977)

U.S. Army general and director of the Selective Service System. Born in Angola, Indiana, on 12 September 1893, Lewis Hershey graduated from Tri-State College in Angola in 1914. He was then principal of Flint High School in Indiana. Hershey had joined the National Guard in 1911, and he was promoted to first lieutenant in 1916. After the United States entered World War I, Hershey was activated for military service. He served on the Mexican border and then in France, but too late to see combat. Promoted to captain, he returned to the United States in September 1919 and received a regular army commission in July 1920.

Over the next decade Hershey held a variety of routine assignments. He was left permanently blind in his left eye

from a polo accident in 1927. He graduated from the Command and General Staff School in 1931 and the Army War College in 1933. Promoted to major in 1935, Hershey was assigned to Washington that September as secretary of the Joint Army and Navy Selective Service Committee of the War Department General Staff, tasked with developing a system for raising military manpower in the event of need. This undertaking led to the Selective Service Act.

Hershey became deputy director of Selective Service in 1940. In July 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him the director. During World War II, Hershey oversaw the mobilization of more than 10 million men for the U.S. armed forces gathered from a network of 6,400 local draft boards. He was promoted to major general in April 1942.

The original Selective Service Act expired in 1947, but with the coming of the Cold War, Congress reinstated it the next year, and President Harry S Truman reappointed Hershey the director of Selective Service. The system worked efficiently during the Korean War and again during the Vietnam War. President Richard Nixon pledged to dismiss Hershey; he favored centralized and nationalized draft classifications, which ran counter to Hershey's locally run system. Nixon relieved Hershey in 1970, promoting him to full general in compensation and reassigning him as presidential adviser on manpower. Hershey retired from the army in April 1973. He died in Angola, Indiana, on 20 May 1977.

P. Robb Metz

See also

Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Selective Service Act; Truman, Harry S

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Hess, Walter Richard Rudolf (1894–1987)

German deputy Führer. Born on 26 April 1894 in Alexandria, Egypt, to a German merchant family, Rudolf Hess volunteered for the 1st Bavarian Infantry Regiment in August 1914 during World War I, but in the last weeks of the war he became an officer pilot. Following the war, Hess settled in Munich and began university studies in history, economics, and geopolitics. An early member of the National Socialist Party, he became a close associate of Adolf Hitler and participated in the Beer Hall Putsch of November 1923. Hess was sentenced to prison for 18 months, during which time he



Deputy Führer of the German Reich Rudolf Hess, 1940. (Hulton Archive)

acted as private secretary to Hitler, working with Hitler on *Mein Kampf*. On his release, Hess secured a position with the geopolitician Karl Haushofer.

In December 1932, Hess became head of the Central Political Committee of the National Socialist Party. He had the reputation of being a slavish follower of Hitler. Power mattered little to him; Hitler's approval was all. In April 1933, three months after becoming German chancellor, Hitler named Hess deputy Führer. A member of the Nazi inner circle, Hess was nonetheless not up to the tasks demanded of him. Traces of madness surfaced, and he was not well physically.

On 10 May 1941, six weeks before the German invasion of the Soviet Union (Operation BARBAROSSA), Hess, having learned to pilot the Me-110 long-range German fighter, flew solo from Germany to Scotland. In a rather extraordinary feat of navigation, he piloted the aircraft to within 10 miles of his goal, the estate of the Duke of Hamilton, where he bailed out and was taken prisoner. Much speculation remains as to the reason for Hess's flight. Most likely, Hess hoped to broker a peace agreement between Britain and Germany, but this had no authority from Hitler. The German government admitted the event but denied any official backing. In any case, Hess was immediately taken prisoner by British authorities.

Hess remained in prison in Britain for the remainder of the war. One of the major defendants before the International War Crimes Tribunal at Nuremberg, Hess was found guilty of conspiracy to wage aggressive war and crimes against peace. He was sentenced to life in prison. During his trial, Hess revealed to the world the secret agreements of the Soviet-German Non-aggression Pact of 23 August 1939 that had provided for a partition of the Baltic states and Poland between Germany and the Soviet Union. The Soviets never forgave Hess and refused repeated British requests that he be released on medical grounds, especially when he was the only inmate of Spandau Prison in Berlin. Hess served the longest time of any of the Nuremberg defendants sentenced to prison. He died at Spandau on 17 August 1987.

Eugene L. Rasor and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact; Hitler, Adolf; International Military Tribunal: The Nuremberg Trials

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Hewitt, Henry Kent (1887–1972)

U.S. Navy admiral. Born in Hackensack, New Jersey, on 11 February 1887, H. Kent Hewitt graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1906. He then joined the global cruise of President Theodore Roosevelt's Great White Fleet. During World War I, Hewitt commanded destroyers in European waters. Between the wars, he alternated shore duty as an instructor at the Naval Academy, battleship tours, staff assignments, and study at the Naval War College (1929).

In 1933, Hewitt took command of Destroyer Division 12. He was promoted to captain the next year. Hewitt then commanded the cruiser *Indianapolis*. In December 1939, he took over Cruiser Division 8. He was promoted to rear admiral in December 1940 and commanded task groups on neutrality patrols in the Atlantic. Following U.S. entry into the war in December 1941, in April 1942 Hewitt assumed command of the Amphibious Force, Atlantic Fleet. As such, he was responsible for U.S. amphibious forces in the Atlantic and Europe. Hewitt was the U.S. naval officer most involved in the development of amphibious doctrine in the Mediterranean and European Theaters during the war. He had charge of every major Allied amphibious operation in the Mediterranean Theater during the war.

Hewitt was promoted to vice admiral in November 1942, and in March 1943 he assumed command of the U.S. Navy Eighth Fleet. Working within an Allied command structure in which he was subordinate to the British Admiral Sir Andrew Browne Cunningham, and forced to coordinate military and naval operations and deal with such forceful characters as Major General George S. Patton, Hewitt demonstrated considerable diplomatic ability. Hewitt's mathematical and logistical skills were equally fully exercised in planning and directing complicated large-scale landing operations, reinforced by naval gunfire support, in North Africa (November 1942), Sicily (July 1943), Salerno (September 1943), and southern France (1944). His most difficult decision was whether to proceed with Operation TORCH, the North African landings, despite adverse weather conditions. He elected to proceed, a difficult choice that led to military success.

Promoted to full admiral in April 1945, shortly afterward Hewitt assumed command of the Twelfth Fleet, U.S. naval forces in European waters. He returned to the United States in October 1946 and took a special assignment at the Naval War College in Rhode Island before becoming naval representative to the United Nations Military Staff Committee. Hewitt retired in March 1949 and died at Middlebury, Vermont, on 15 September 1972.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Amphibious Warfare; Cunningham, Sir Andrew Browne; DRAGON, Operation; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Salerno Invasion; Sicily, Invasion of; TORCH, Operation

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Heydrich, Reinhard Tristan Eugen (1904–1942)

Chief of the German security police and Sicherheitsdienst (SD, Security Service). Born in Halle, Germany, on 7 March 1904, Reinhard Heydrich believed in the stab-in-the-back legend

(that the German army had not been defeated militarily in World War I, but had been undone by the collapse of the German home front) and in the myth of Aryan supremacy. He joined the Freikorps at age 16 and the German navy in 1922. Planning to make the navy his career, Heydrich was forced to resign in 1931 following an indiscretion with another officer's daughter. That same year, Heydrich joined the National Socialist Party and became active in the Sturmabteilung (SA, Storm Troops) in Hamburg. Heydrich's managerial abilities and Germanic appearance led Schutzstaffel (SS, bodyguard troops) chief Heinrich Himmler to appoint him as head of the SD. Heydrich soon built the SD into a powerful organization, and by 1933 he was an SS-Brigadeführer.

After directing the opening of Dachau, the first of many Nazi concentration camps, Heydrich helped to organize the 1934 purge of the SA (the "Night of the Long Knives"), in which the SA leadership was liquidated. Feared even within party ranks for his ruthlessness and known as the "Blond Beast," Heydrich helped create the Nazi police state. He also played a leading role in the 9 November 1938 Kristallnacht (Night of Glass), an orgy of SA violence against the German Jewish community.

Following the invasion of Poland, Heydrich assumed command of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA, Reich Main Security Office), which was responsible for carrying out Hitler's extermination of the Jews. He established the Einsatzgruppen killing squads charged with executing Jews and members of opposition groups in German-controlled Poland and later in the Soviet Union. Heydrich was also a leading participant at the Wannsee Conference on 20 January 1942, when top Nazis planned the extermination of European Jewry.

Although he still retained his other duties, Heydrich in late 1941 became the Reich protector of Bohemia and Moravia. On 27 May 1942, British-trained Czech commandos ambushed Heydrich's car, seriously wounding him. Heydrich died on 4 June 1942. In retaliation for his death, the Germans destroyed the village of Lidice and murdered many of its inhabitants.

Cullen Monk

See also

Concentration Camps, German; Czechoslovakia; Germany, Home Front; Himmler, Heinrich; Holocaust, The; Lidice Massacre

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Himmler, Heinrich (1900–1945)

German political figure and leader of the Schutzstaffel (SS, bodyguard units). Born on 7 October 1900 in Munich, Hein-



Heinrich Himmler (wearing glasses) inspects a prisoner of war camp in Russia, circa 1940–1941. (Heinrich Hoffman Collection, ca. 1946, National Archives)

rich Himmler attended secondary school in Landshut. During World War I, he progressed from clerk to officer cadet in the 11th Bavarian Regiment. He then studied agriculture at the Munich Technical High School from 1918 to 1922. Himmler joined the National Socialist Party and played a small role in the November 1923 Munich Beer Hall Putsch. Although he remained politically active, he also married, bought a farm, and raised poultry.

In January 1929, Adolf Hitler appointed Himmler as head of the SS. Within a few years, Himmler built the SS from a force of 200 men into an organization 50,000 men strong with its own distinctive black uniform, personal devotion to Hitler, and ethos. In 1934, Reichsführer (leader) of the SS Himmler gained control of the Gestapo. Hitler rewarded him for his active role in the 1934 Blood Purge by making the SS

an independent organization second only to his own immediate authority. In June 1936, Himmler also gained control of all the police forces of Germany.

Although he was physically far removed from the ideal Aryan type, Himmler was a fanatical adherent of Nazi racial theories. He busied himself with fantastic schemes to breed a new race of “pure Aryans”—an SS version of the medieval knights—who would rule Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. He set up special Lebensborn homes for unmarried mothers with impeccable racial antecedents, and special schools (the SS Junkerschulen) for training the SS future elite. Hitler, despite his promise to the German army, allowed Himmler to establish armed SS formations, known as the SS Verfügungstruppen (emergency troops), from which came the divisions of the Waffen-SS during World War II. The SS

also came to have considerable economic interests, including armaments factories. By 1939, Himmler's influence overshadowed the Nazi Party; many high-ranking officials, even in the military, found it prudent to hold SS ranks. Himmler was one of the most important figures in Germany, and perhaps the most dreaded.

Controlling Germany's racial policies, Himmler directed the "final solution"—the extermination of the Jews as well as the incurably ill, the disabled, gypsies, and homosexuals. The

SS already ran the concentration camps. It now established and ran the death camps as well.

After the July 1944 bomb plot against Hitler, Himmler took command of the Reserve Army. In November 1944, Hitler gave Himmler command of Army Group Rhine, and during January–April 1945, he had charge of

Army Group Vistula—two positions for which he was utterly unqualified. In April 1945, Himmler attempted to negotiate a surrender to the Western Allies. A furious Hitler stripped him of his posts. Himmler attempted to flee but was captured by British troops. Identified on 23 May 1945, Himmler committed suicide by means of a hidden cyanide capsule.

Annette Richardson

Heinrich Himmler was one of the most important figures in Germany, and perhaps the most dreaded.

See also

Heydrich, Reinhard Tristan Eugen; Hitler, Adolf; Holocaust, The; Waffen-SS; Wannsee Conference

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On 25 December 1926, Hirohito acceded to the throne on the death of his father, ushering in the Shōwa period in Japanese history. His reign spanned more than six decades. The new emperor's close advisers included political moderates who desired close relations with Britain and the United States. They also hoped that Hirohito might reverse the decline in popular reverence for the Imperial throne that had occurred in the Taisho period.

In his early years as emperor, Hirohito and his imperial entourage found Prime Minister Tanaka Giichi's hard-line China policy at best problematic. This was one reason why Hirohito harshly reprimanded the military officer turned politician over his response to the June 1928 assassination of Zhang Zuolin (Chang Tso-lin) in Manchuria. When Tanaka's successor Hamaguchi Osachi was placed in a politically untenable position over the 1930 London Naval Disarmament Treaty, Hirohito did voice unequivocal support for cooperation with Britain and the United States and threw the weight of his support behind the beleaguered civilian prime minister. Although these actions no doubt illustrated Hirohito's desire for peace, they inexorably enmeshed him in the rough-and-tumble political process and made his entourage vulnerable to attack by hard-liners.

These experiences in the early years of his reign and his observations of European governments led Hirohito to conclude that he must defer to cabinet decisions. On the basis of this particular understanding of his constitutional function, Hirohito chose, despite personal reservations, to accept policies presented to him by the cabinet at key historical junctures, such as the outbreak of the military conflict with China in 1937 and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

Hirohito rendered an independent political judgment only twice: when the cabinet was unable to act effectively on the attempted coup by army junior officers on 26 February 1936 and when Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration and Hirohito called on the Japanese people to surrender at the end of World War II. Such studied self-restraint did not make him a hapless stooge. As head of state under the Meiji constitutional system, Hirohito often expressed his concerns and opinions to those who made policy recommendations to him, but he usually upheld the cabinet's decision. After the war, some Western historians, notably David Bergamini, alleged that Hirohito had been deeply in sympathy with Japanese expansionist policies, but the available documentation largely contradicts this. During the war, Hirohito's role as commander in chief became more pronounced, but his reprimands and exhortations to the military during the conflict should be understood in their proper historical context. As a wartime head of state, he acted to try to win the war. Although threatened with military revolt, Hirohito decided to accept the Potsdam Declaration, risking a possible coup d'état when he made the decision to surrender.

In the new postwar Japanese constitution, the emperor became the symbol of the nation. In keeping with the new

Hirohito, Emperor of Japan (1901–1989)

Japanese emperor. Born at the Aoyama Palace in Tokyo on 29 April 1901, the oldest son of Emperor Taisho, Japan's future emperor was named Hirohito by his grandfather the Emperor Meiji. His imperial title was Michinomiya. Hirohito was heir to the chronically ill and frail Emperor Taisho. During a six-month period in 1921, Hirohito traveled in Europe, and his visit to Britain and his meeting with King George V profoundly shaped his view of constitutional monarchy.



Hirohito, Emperor of Japan, wearing imperial regalia and Shinto priest headdress. (Library of Congress)

constitutional principle of popular sovereignty, the emperor carried out certain ceremonial duties with the advice and approval of the cabinet. In 1971, Hirohito traveled to Europe, and in 1975 he went to the United States. Hirohito died in Tokyo on 7 January 1989. In Japan he is commonly referred to as Emperor Shōwa.

Kurosawa Fumitaka

See also

International Military Tribunal: Far East; Japan, Home Front; Potsdam Conference; Sugiyama Hajime; Tanaka Giichi

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Hiroshima, Bombing of (6 August 1945)

The U.S. bombing of the Japanese city of Hiroshima was the first use of the atomic bomb. On 25 July 1945, commander of United States Strategic Air Forces General Carl Spaatz received orders to use the 509th Composite Group, Twenti-

eth Air Force, to deliver a “special bomb” attack on selected target cities in Japan, specifically Hiroshima, Kokura, Niigata, or Nagasaki. Following rejection of conditions promulgated by the Potsdam Proclamation on 26 July, a declaration threatening Japan with total destruction if unconditional surrender was not accepted, President Harry S Truman authorized use of the special bomb.

Assembled in secrecy and loaded on the Boeing B-29 Superfortress *Enola Gay*, the bomb consisted of a core of uranium isotope 235 shielded by several hundred pounds of lead, encased in explosives designed to condense the uranium and initiate a fission reaction. Nicknamed “Little Boy,” the bomb possessed a force equivalent to 12,500 tons of TNT (12.5 kilotons).

The *Enola Gay*, commanded by Colonel Paul Tibbets, departed Tinian at 2:45 A.M. on 6 August. Two B-29s assigned as scientific and photographic observers followed, and the three aircraft rendezvoused over Iwo Jima for the run over Japan. Captain William Parsons of the U.S. Navy completed the bomb’s arming in the air shortly after 6:30 A.M. The flight to Japan was uneventful, and Tibbets was informed at 7:47 A.M. by weather planes over the targets that Hiroshima was clear for bombing. Japan’s eighth largest city (it had about 245,000 residents in August 1945), Hiroshima was an important port on southern Honshu and headquarters of the Japanese Second Army.

The *Enola Gay* arrived over the city at an altitude of 31,600 feet and dropped the bomb at 8:15:17 A.M. local time. After a descent of some nearly 6 miles, the bomb detonated 43 seconds later some 1,890 feet over a clinic and about 800 feet from the aiming point, Aioi Bridge. The initial fireball expanded to 110 yards in diameter, generating heat in excess of 300,000 degrees Centigrade, with core temperatures over 50 million degrees Centigrade. At the clinic directly beneath the explosion, the temperature was several thousand degrees. The immediate concussion destroyed almost everything within 2 miles of ground zero. The resultant mushroom cloud rose to 50,000 feet and was observed by B-29s more than 360 miles away. After 15 minutes, the atmosphere dropped radioactive “black rain,” adding to the death and destruction.

Four square miles of Hiroshima’s heart disappeared in seconds, including 62,000 buildings. More than 71,000 Japanese died, another 20,000 were wounded, and 171,000 were left homeless. Some estimates place the number of killed at more than 200,000. About one-third of those killed instantly were soldiers. Most elements of the Japanese Second General Army were at physical training on the grounds of Hiroshima Castle when the bomb exploded. Barely 900 yards from the explosion’s epicenter, the castle and its residents were vaporized. Also killed was one American prisoner of war in the exercise area. All died in less than a second. Radiation sickness began the next day and added to the death toll over several years.

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONTROVERSY

The Decision to Employ the Atomic Bomb

Of historiographical controversies associated with World War II, few, if any, have produced as much venom as that surrounding the American use of atomic bombs against the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. Although the morality of using atomic weapons against what were arguably civilian targets has been an issue of debate, the controversy has really revolved around the two major questions: what motivated the Harry S Truman administration to use the bombs in combat, and was dropping the bombs necessary to secure a Japanese surrender without an invasion of the home islands?

There was little controversy in the United States at the time the bombs were dropped, and Truman said he never lost any sleep over the decision.

Debate on the U.S. use of atomic bombs began in earnest in the spring of 1965 with the publication of Gar Alperovitz's *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam*. Drawing evidence from previously unexploited documents, Alperovitz argued that the primary motivation for the Truman administration's decision to use the bombs was to intimidate the Soviet Union. Alperovitz asserted that the bombs were not needed to end the war in the Pacific or to obviate a U.S. invasion of Japan and that President Truman and Secretary of State James Byrnes ignored viable alternatives to the bombs because they wanted Moscow to see the new terrible weapon in U.S. possession.

In making his claims, Alperovitz offered a revision to the official explanation for the decision to use the bombs. This had been put forth most cogently by Henry L. Stimson, U.S. secretary of war from 1940 to 1945, in "The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb" (*Harper's Magazine*, February 1947). Stimson held that the bombs had been dropped to shorten the Pacific war, to eliminate the need for an invasion of the Japanese home islands

(scheduled for 1 November 1945), and to save American lives (perhaps 1 million had the invasion taken place). Although Alperovitz was not the first to challenge the official explanation, his conclusions, unlike those found in earlier revisionist works by William Appleman Williams, D. F. Fleming, and Herbert Feis, engendered heated responses from several scholars and established the parameters for ongoing debate about the development, use, and legacy of the atomic bombs.

During the ensuing decades, new scholarship on the atomic bomb question, much of it based on new primary source material, produced a revision of Alperovitz's revisionism. The resulting synthesis combined elements of both the official and revisionist positions, while adding fresh perspectives. Fashioned by the research efforts of Barton J. Bernstein, Martin J. Sherwin, J. Samuel Walker, and others, this synthesis held that diplomatic considerations played a secondary role and that the Truman administration's primary objective in using the bombs was to shorten the Pacific war and save American lives—although not the 500,000 to 1 million commonly quoted by adherents to the official explanation. Additionally, the new scholarship emphasizes that the bomb had been developed with the assumption that, once completed, it would be used in combat, and that this contributed to its employment; that domestic political considerations influenced American policymakers; that viable alternatives to both invasion and atomic bombs existed; and that in all probability, the Pacific war would have ended before the 1 November 1945 scheduled invasion of Kyushu, even without the bombs.

Although many scholars have come to accept the synthesis interpretation in whole or in part, debate about use of the atomic bombs has not ceased. Adherents to both the official and revisionist positions continue to argue their cases while

refusing to accept any significant modifications of their interpretations. The question concerning use of the atomic bomb retains the power to inflame public passions, a fact perhaps best exemplified by the furor over the Smithsonian Institution's proposed 1995 exhibit of the *Enola Gay*, the Boeing B-29 bomber that dropped the first bomb at Hiroshima.

Bruce J. DeHart

See also

Atomic Bomb, Decision to Employ;
Byrnes, James Francis; Groves, Leslie
Richard; Hirohito, Emperor of Japan;
Hiroshima, Bombing of; MANHATTAN
Project; Nagasaki, Bombing of;
Truman, Harry S

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The ruins of Hiroshima after the dropping of the atomic bomb. (Hulton Archive)

Following three observation circuits over Hiroshima, the *Enola Gay* and its escorts turned for Tinian, touching down at 2:58 P.M. The bombing mission, 12 hours and 13 minutes long covering 2,960 miles, changed the nature of warfare but did not end the war. Truman released a statement on 7 August describing the weapon and calling on Japan to surrender, but his message was ignored by most Japanese leaders as propaganda. The United States dropped another atomic bomb on 9 August, this time on Nagasaki.

Mark E. Van Rhyn

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Atomic Bomb, Decision to Employ; Japan, Surrender of; MANHATTAN Project; Nagasaki, Bombing of; Potsdam Conference; Spaatz, Carl Andrew "Tooe"; Strategic Bombing; Truman, Harry S

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Hitler, Adolf (1889–1945)

Leader (Führer) of Germany. Born on 20 April 1889 in Braunau am Inn, Austria, Adolf Hitler had a troubled childhood. He was educated at primary school and Realschule in Linz, but he dropped out at age 16. Hitler aspired to become an artist, and on the death of his mother Klara in 1907 (his father Alois had died in 1903), he moved to Vienna. He attempted

to enroll at the Viennese Academy of Fine Arts but was unsuccessful. Hitler lived in flophouses and made some money selling small paintings of Vienna scenes to frame shops. It was in Vienna that Hitler developed his hatred of Jews, who had assimilated into Vienna society. But he also developed an aversion to internationalism, capitalism, and socialism. He developed an intense sense of nationalism and expressed pride in being of German descent.

Probably to avoid compulsory military service, Hitler left Austria in May 1913 and settled in the south German state of Bavaria. On the outbreak of World War I, he enlisted in the Bavarian army and served in it with distinction. Here he found the sense of purpose he had always previously lacked. He saw extensive military action, was wounded, and served in the dangerous position of *Meldegänger*

While in power, sales of his book *Mein Kampf* and his images made Hitler immensely wealthy.

(runner). Temporarily blinded in a British gas attack, Hitler ended the war in a military hospital. He had risen to the rank of lance corporal and won the Iron Cross First Class, an unusual distinction for someone of his rank.

After the war, Hitler returned to Munich and worked for the military, reporting to it on political groups, and he then became involved in politics full time. In the summer of 1919, Hitler joined the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (German Worker's Party), later known as the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP, National Socialist Party or Nazi party). His oratorical skills soon made him one of its leaders. Disgruntled by Germany's loss in the war, Hitler became the voice of the dispossessed and angry. He blamed Germany's defeat on the "November criminals"—the communists, the Jews, and the Weimar Republic.

Taking a cue from Benito Mussolini's march on Rome the previous year, on 8 November 1923 Hitler and his followers attempted to seize power in Bavaria as a step toward controlling all of Germany. This Beer Hall Putsch was put down by the authorities with some bloodshed. Hitler was then arrested and brought to trial for attempting to overthrow the state. He used his trial to become a national political figure in Germany. Sentenced to prison, he served only nine months (1923–1924). While at the Landsberg Fortress, he dictated his stream-of-consciousness memoir, *Mein Kampf* (*My Struggle*). Later, when he was in power, royalties on sales of the book and his images made him immensely wealthy, a fact he deliberately concealed from the German people.

Hitler formed few female attachments during his life. He was involved with his niece, Geli Raubal, who committed sui-



Adolf Hitler at Nazi party rally, Nuremberg, Germany, circa 1928. (National Archives)

cide in 1931, and later with Eva Braun, his mistress whom he hid from the public. Deeply distrustful of people, Hitler was a vegetarian who loved animals and especially doted on his dogs. He was also a severe hypochondriac, suffering from myriad real and imagined illnesses.

Hitler restructured the NSDAP, and by 1928 the party had emerged as a political force in Germany, winning representation in the Reichstag. In April 1932, Hitler ran against Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg for the presidency of Germany. Hitler railed against the Weimar Republic for the Versailles Treaty at the end of World War I, the catastrophic inflation of 1923, the threat posed by the communists, and the effects of the Great Depression. Hindenburg won, but Hitler received 13 million votes in a completely free election, and by June 1932 the Nazis were the largest political party in the Reichstag.

On 30 January 1933, Hindenburg appointed Hitler chancellor. Hitler quickly acted against any political adversaries. Fresh elections under Nazi auspices gave the Nazis in coalition with the Nationalists a majority in the Reichstag. An Enabling Act of March 1933 gave Hitler dictatorial powers. On the death

of Hindenburg in August 1934, Hitler amalgamated the office of president and took control of the armed forces. In the “Night of the Long Knives” of July 1934, Hitler purged the party and also removed several political opponents. Hitler also reorganized Germany administratively, dissolving political parties and labor unions and making Germany a one-party state. Nazi Germany became a totalitarian state that Hitler, now known as the Führer (leader), ruled alone.

Resistance to the Nazis was crushed, and many dissidents were sent to concentration camps. The ubiquitous Gestapo kept tabs on the population, but the state was not characterized solely by repression by any means. In the first several years, Hitler was carried forward on a wave of disillusionment with the Weimar Republic, and a plebiscite showed that a solid majority of Germans approved of his actions.

Almost on assuming political power, Hitler initiated actions against the Jews. They were turned into a race of “untouchables” within their own state, unable to pursue certain careers and a public life. The Nuremberg Laws of 1935 defined as Jewish anyone with one Jewish grandparent. That a terrible fate would be their lot was clear in Hitler’s remarks that war in Europe would lead to the “extinction of the Jewish race in Europe.”

In 1934, Hitler took Germany out of the League of Nations and the Geneva disarmament conference. Germans were put back to work; and rearmament, albeit at first secret (it was announced openly in 1935), was begun. Hitler’s most daring gamble was in March 1936, when he marched German troops into the Rhineland and remilitarized it. In November 1937, he announced plans to his top advisers and generals for an aggressive foreign policy and war, and in March 1938 he began his march of conquest with the *Anschluss* (annexation) of Austria. That fall, he secured the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia, and in March 1939, he took over the remainder of Czechoslovakia. Poland was the next pressure point. To secure his eastern flank, in August 1939 Hitler concluded a nonaggression pact with the Soviet Union. On 1 September 1939, German forces invaded Poland, touching off World War II.

Applying new tactics of close cooperation between air and ground elements centered in a war of movement that came to be known as the blitzkrieg (lightning war), the German military enjoyed early success on the battlefield. Poland was taken within one month. When Britain and France, which had gone to war with Germany on the invasion of Poland, rejected peace on a forgive-and-forget basis, Hitler invaded the west. Norway and Denmark were taken beginning in April 1940. France and Benelux fell in May and June. Hitler’s first rebuff came in the July–October 1940 Battle of Britain, when the Luftwaffe failed to drive the Royal Air Force from the skies, a necessary precursor to a sea invasion. After next securing his southern flank in the Balkans by invading and conquering Greece and Yugoslavia in April 1941, Hitler

invaded the Soviet Union that June. When the United States entered the war against Japan in December 1941, Hitler declared war on the United States.

Increasingly, Germany suffered the consequences of strategic overreach: German troops not only had to garrison much of Europe, but they also were sent to North Africa. Hitler’s constant meddling in military matters, his changes of plans, and his divide-and-rule concept of administration all worked to the detriment of Germany’s cause. On Hitler’s express orders, millions of people, mainly Jews, were rounded up and systematically slaughtered.

From mid-January 1945, Hitler took up residence in Berlin. He refused negotiation to the end, preferring to see Germany destroyed. Hitler married Eva Braun on 29 April 1945, and—rather than be taken by the Russians, who were then closing in on Berlin—he committed suicide in the bunker of the Chancellery on 30 April 1945.

Wendy A. Maier

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Britain, Battle of; France, Battle for; Germany, Home Front; July Bomb Plot; Mussolini, Benito; Poland Campaign

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Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969)

Revolutionary Vietnamese leader who aided the Allies against the Japanese in World War II. Born Nguyen Sinh Cung on 19 May 1890 in the Annam region of French Indochina, Ho Chi Minh was the son of a scholar and government official. Later he would use some 100 different aliases. After graduation from high school, Nguyen became a teacher. In 1911 he hired on as cook’s assistant on a French merchant ship. He then held a variety of jobs, including gardener, waiter, photographer’s assistant, and assistant pastry chef, finally settling in London.



Vietnamese nationalist leader Ho Chi Minh. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

When World War I began, Nguyen moved to Paris. There he changed his name to Nguyen Ai Quoc (“Nguyen the patriot”) and busied himself organizing the Vietnamese community in France, which had swollen in numbers during the war. Nguyen joined the French Socialist Party and became its spokesman in colonial matters. Ignored in his efforts to secure a hearing for Vietnamese independence at the Paris Peace Conference (1919), Nguyen was one of the founders of the French Communist Party in 1920. He then participated in the Vietnamese underground independence movement and in activities of the Communist International (Comintern) in the Soviet Union and China. In 1930, he helped to fuse various Vietnamese communist groups into the Indochinese Communist Party.

In the 1940s, Nguyen took the name Ho Chi Minh (“he who enlightens”). During World War II, Ho fought against both the French and the Japanese (who had arrived in Indochina in 1940). In 1941, Ho founded the Vietminh (League for the Independence of Vietnam), a nationalist front organization

to end foreign control of Vietnam. In 1942, he was arrested in China by the Nationalist government but was released in 1943 in order to organize anti-Japanese intelligence activities throughout Indochina.

Ho’s Vietminh worked with the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS) to supply intelligence on Japanese activities, provide tactical support to Allied operations, and rescue downed American pilots. By war’s end, Ho and the Vietminh had succeeded in liberating much of northern Vietnam from Japanese control. The Japanese had arrested the French officials and military in March 1945, so when Japan surrendered in August, the Vietminh was the only effective organized force in the northern party of Vietnam. The Vietminh then seized control of Hanoi, and Ho was declared president of Vietnam on 20 September 1945.

Despite an arrangement worked out with Ho by a representative of the French government, Paris persisted in attempting to reestablish French control over all of Vietnam, and fighting broke out in November 1946. In 1954, following its military defeat in the Battle of Dien Bien Phu, the French government agreed at the Geneva Conference to recognize the independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in northern Vietnam. It also agreed to a plebiscite in the southern part of the country on the issue of independence. With the failure to hold that plebiscite, fighting resumed, this time involving the United States, which supported the southern Republic of Vietnam government. Ho died in Hanoi on 3 September 1969, not living to see Vietnam reunited in 1975.

A. J. L. Waskey and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

French Indochina; Office of Strategic Services; Partisans/Guerrillas

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Ho Ying-ch'in

See He Yingquin.

Hobby, Oveta Culp (1905–1995)

U.S. officer and Women’s Army Corps commanding officer. Born on 19 January 1905 at Killeen, Texas, Oveta Culp attended Mary Hardin Baylor College in Killeen, Texas, and then stud-



Colonel Oveta Culp Hobby talks with Auxiliary Margaret Peterson and Captain Elizabeth Gilbert at Mitchell Field, New York. (*World Telegram and Sun* photo by Al Aumuller, Library of Congress)

ied law at the University of Texas at Austin. From 1925 to 1931 and from 1939 to 1941, she was parliamentarian of the Texas House of Representatives. In 1931, Culp married *Houston Post* publisher and former Texas governor William P. Hobby.

During the 1930s, Oveta Hobby was an editor for the *Houston Post*. In June 1941, she was appointed head of the Women's Activities Section of the U.S. Army to coordinate matters concerning the wives and dependents of army personnel. She then became director of the subsequent Women's Interest Section, War Department Bureau of Public Relations.

Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Hobby was asked to head a task force to determine how a possible volunteer women's corps could assist the army. Chief of staff General George C. Marshall and Secretary of War Henry Stimson supported her work, and after Hobby recommended establishment of the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps (WAAC), Marshall asked her to command it.

Hobby had to overcome numerous problems, such as lack of funds and supplies and lack of cooperation from other army organizations, such as the engineers. Hobby and staff members drew barracks plans and attempted to redesign the standard-issue WAAC uniform to be more appealing to women, but the Quartermaster Corps rejected the design as too wasteful of cloth. Hobby was successful, however, in securing equal pay for women. In July 1943, the WAAC received full army status, and "Auxiliary" was dropped from the name, making it the Women's Army Corps (WAC). Hobby also oversaw the integration of female African American officers. Hobby was the first woman colonel in the U.S. Army.

During Hobby's tenure, the number of jobs approved for WACs expanded from 54 to 239. Hobby traveled to Europe and Africa to inspect WAC units, and she traveled with Eleanor Roosevelt to England to review Great Britain's women's aux-

iliary forces. Hobby's WACs proved their competence doing military work that freed men for frontline service.

Hobby resigned her post in the summer of 1945 and was hospitalized for exhaustion. Among her many honors, she was presented the Distinguished Service Medal, the first woman to receive this highest noncombat award.

Hobby continued to support civil rights and humanitarian issues. A lifelong Democrat, Hobby nonetheless backed Dwight D. Eisenhower for president, and in 1953 he named her the first secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. She resigned the position in 1955 and returned to help her husband with the *Houston Post*. Hobby died in Houston, Texas, on 16 August 1995.

Elizabeth D. Schafer

See also

Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Marshall, George Catlett; Roosevelt, Eleanor; Stimson, Henry Lewis; United States, Home Front; Women in World War II

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Hodges, Courtney Hicks (1887–1966)

U.S. Army general and commander of the First Army. Born in Perry, Georgia, on 5 January 1887, Hodges attended the U.S. Military Academy for one year, but he dropped out for academic reasons and enlisted in the army. In 1909, Hodges earned a commission. He then served in the Philippines and in the 1916 Punitive Expedition into Mexico. During World War I, he fought in France in the Saint Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne Offensives, ending the war as a temporary lieutenant colonel.

Hodges attended the Field Artillery School in 1920 and then served as an instructor at West Point. He graduated from the Command and General Staff School in 1925, taught at the Infantry School, and then graduated from the Army War College. In 1938, he was appointed assistant commandant of the Infantry School at Fort Benning, Georgia. Promoted to major general in May 1941, Hodges was assigned as chief of infantry. He assumed command of X Corps in May 1942. In February 1943, he was promoted to lieutenant general and took over the Southern Defense Command and Third Army. In January 1944, Hodges joined the First Army in Britain,



U.S. General Courtney Hodges. (Photo by Gabriel Benzur/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

which was then preparing for the Normandy Invasion, as deputy commander under Lieutenant General Omar Bradley.

In August 1944, Hodges succeeded to command of the First Army when Bradley moved up to head the Twelfth Army Group. First Army then defended Mortain, reduced the Falaise-Argentan pocket, helped in the liberation of Paris, penetrated the Siegfried Line, captured Aachen, and suffered heavy casualties in the Hürtgen Forest. In December 1944, the First Army bore the brunt of the German Ardennes counteroffensive. To deal with the crisis, General Dwight D. Eisenhower temporarily reorganized his command structure and placed a portion of First Army—and Hodges—under British Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery, who thought Hodges was at his breaking point. Eisenhower refused any suggestion that Hodges be relieved, and Hodges' performance in the Battle of the Bulge vindicated Eisenhower's view. The First Army rallied to hold the northern shoulder of the Bulge and then played an important role in the successful counterattack. First Army soldiers crossed the Rhine at Remagen, joined in the closing of the Ruhr pocket, and, at the end of the war, linked up with Soviet forces on the Elbe River.

In April 1945, Hodges was promoted to general. Following V-E Day, he and the First Army were under orders for the Pacific Theater to lead the invasion of Honshu when the Japanese surrendered. After the war, Hodges remained in

command of the First Army until his retirement in 1949. He died in San Antonio, Texas, on 16 January 1966.

Thomas D. Veve

See also

Ardennes Offensive; Bradley, Omar Nelson; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Falaise-Argentan Pocket; Hürtgen Forest, Campaign; Remagen Bridge; Rhine Crossings; Ruhr Campaign

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Hoepner, Erich (1886–1944)

German army general. Born in Frankfurt an der Oder on 14 September 1886, Erich Hoepner was commissioned in the army in 1906. He fought in World War I as a company commander and General Staff officer. After the war, Hoepner participated in the 1920 Kapp Putsch. He remained in the German army after the war in different troop and staff commands. In 1933, Hoepner became chief of staff in the 1st Military District, continuing in the military despite his opposition to Adolf Hitler and National Socialism. Promoted to Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general) in 1936, Hoepner was part of a plot by the German Resistance during the 1938 Czechoslovakian crisis to remove Hitler from power. His orders were to lead his 1st Light Division to prevent Schutzstaffel (SS) troops from reaching Berlin, but the plot collapsed with the Munich Agreement.

Taking command of XVI Army Corps, General Hoepner led his men in the occupation of Bohemia and Moravia in March 1939. Promoted in April to General der Kavalerie (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general), he led XVI Corps in the invasion of Poland as part of the Tenth Army, advancing 140 miles to Warsaw in only a week. In the invasion of France and Low Countries in May 1940, his corps spearheaded the advance of the Sixth Army to Liège and then on to Dunkerque, later taking Dijon. Hoepner was promoted to Generaloberst (U.S. equiv. full general) in July 1940.

Hoepner commanded 4th Panzer Group in Operation BARBAROSSA, the invasion of the Soviet Union. A leading exponent of armored warfare, Hoepner favored a bold thrust to seize Leningrad during the 1941 advance, but Hitler ordered his forces to join Army Group Center under Field Marshal Fedor von Bock with the mission of taking Moscow from the north. His panzers got to within 20 miles of the city when they were stalled by Soviet resistance and the onset of winter.

Following the Soviet counterattack in December 1941, Hoepner put his career in jeopardy when in early January he

began withdrawing some of his units to save them from certain annihilation by Soviet forces. Hitler removed several of his generals on the Eastern Front, but he made a special example of Hoepner, who was court-martialed and cashiered. Publicly humiliated, Hoepner was denied the right to wear a uniform or his decorations. This treatment turned him into an active conspirator against the Nazi regime.

Hoepner was deeply involved in the 20 July 1944 plot against Hitler, and he was designated to take command of the Home Forces should General Friedrich Fromm prove unreliable. He was also considered as a possible minister of war. With the failure of the plot, Hoepner rejected an opportunity to commit suicide, preferring to go on trial. Arrested and tried by the People's Court, Hoepner, having been tortured by Gestapo interrogators, appeared uncertain during the trial before Judge Roland Freisler. He was found guilty and executed by being hanged by wire suspended from meat hooks at Plotzensee Prison in Berlin on 8 August 1944.

Joseph C. Greaney and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Bock, Fedor von; Hitler, Adolf; Munich Conference and Preliminaries; Stauffenberg, Claus Philip Schenk von

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Holcomb, Thomas (1879–1965)

U.S. Marine Corps general and commandant. Born on 5 August 1879 in New Castle, Delaware, Thomas Holcomb joined the U.S. Marine Corps in 1900, serving with the North Atlantic Fleet, Beijing, and the Philippines in the early twentieth century. An excellent instructor, he always emphasized marksmanship training, reflecting his own skills as a world champion in long-range shooting and a member of the Marine Corps Rifle Team and contributing to his unit's success in World War I. From November 1917 to August 1918, Holcomb commanded the 2nd Battalion, 6th Regiment in France, fighting tenaciously during the spring 1918 German offensive and at Belleau Wood. As executive officer of the 6th Marine Regiment, he took part in other combat actions.

Between the wars, Holcomb spent further tours in Germany, Cuba, and Beijing. He graduated from the Fort Leavenworth Army Staff College, the Naval War College, and the Army War College and served in the Office of Naval Operations, winning promotion to brigadier general in 1935. The following year, President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him major general and commandant of the Marine Corps, advancing him above more senior officers.

As commandant, Holcomb undertook initiatives that would bear fruit during the Pacific war. He greatly enhanced the Marines' growing capacity for amphibious warfare, developing several new types of landing craft. He supervised the expansion of the Marine Corps from 16,000 officers and men in 1936 to 50,000 in mid-1941, 143,000 six months later, and more than 300,000 by 1945, comprising six combat divisions and four air wings. In December 1940, Roosevelt appointed Holcomb to a second term as commandant, and in February 1942, Holcomb was promoted to lieutenant general. Holcomb trained and equipped the Marines but had no operational control over their activities in the field. After disputes in 1942 at Guadalcanal between Rear Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner and Marine commander Major General Alexander Vandegrift, Holcomb insisted on the definition of clear lines of authority in joint amphibious operations. He won the decision that navy and Marine Corps commanders would enjoy equal authority and that superior officers would resolve any disputes. As commandant, he also resisted racial integration of the Marines on the grounds that it would detract from combat efficiency.

Holcomb reached mandatory retirement age in August 1943, but Roosevelt retained him in post and made him the first Marine officer ever to become full general. At the end of 1943, Holcomb insisted on making way for a younger successor and retired. He then spent four years as ambassador to South Africa, seeking modest mitigation of that nation's racial policies. Holcomb returned to the United States in 1948. He died in New Castle, Delaware, on 24 May 1965.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Turner, Richmond Kelly; United States, Marines; Vandegrift, Alexander Archer

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Hollandia, Battle of (22–26 April 1944)

Important battle in New Guinea. In early 1944, General Douglas MacArthur's Allied forces in the Southwest Pacific Area (SWPA) were advancing along the northeastern coast of New



U.S. Army Fifth Air Force planes bomb the Japanese-held base of Hollandia in New Guinea, 1944. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

Guinea. Following the capture of Saidor, MacArthur planned to seize Hansa Bay about 120 miles to the northwest. But after the seizure of the Admiralty Islands in early March, he decided to bypass Hansa Bay and leap nearly 600 miles northwest to Hollandia in New Guinea.

Hollandia (now Sukarnapura), a major Japanese air and supply base, held two crucial advantages for the Allies. The port of Hollandia in Humboldt Bay was the best-sheltered anchorage along a lengthy stretch of the New Guinea coast, and the surrounding area had four airstrips. Together these assets could provide a major staging base for future operations in western New Guinea and the Philippine Islands. In addition, SWPA's intelligence determined that Hollandia was garrisoned only by a small force of 11,000 Japanese troops from the 6th Air Division, most of them service personnel. By attacking Hollandia, MacArthur could avoid potentially bloody battles to the east at Hansa Bay and Wewak, both of which were more strongly defended.

MacArthur and his staff were compelled to include a simultaneous attack at Aitape, 140 miles east of Hollandia. Airstrips there would provide a permanent staging area within range of Hollandia, enabling the Allies to seize command of the air. The Hollandia and Aitape invasions together required a flotilla of more than 200 ships and 80,000 personnel.

During late March and early April 1944, Allied pilots destroyed most of the 6th Air Division's aircraft, paving the way for the landing of ground troops on 22 April. At the same time, General Adachi Hatazō, commander of the Eighteenth Army headquartered on Rabaul, regrouped his battered forces near Hollandia. U.S. forces, meanwhile, carried out a remarkable counterintelligence scheme to divert Adachi. False radio transmissions, decoy raids, patrols, and bombing convinced the Japanese that an Allied assault at Hansa Bay was imminent.

The landing, dubbed Operation RECKLESS, was entrusted to Lieutenant General Robert L. Eichelberger's I Corps. One regiment from the 24th Infantry Division went ashore at Tanahmerah Bay, and another regiment from the 24th Division and two regiments from the 41st Infantry Division landed at Hollandia about 25 miles to the east. Simultaneously, a regiment from the 41st Division and a regiment from the 32nd Infantry Division landed at Aitape, 125 miles to the southeast to secure a fighter strip. Their chief opposition came in the form of the marshy beaches themselves. Later that day, the 163rd Regimental Combat Team took Aitape against only limited resistance, demonstrating the effectiveness of the Hansa Bay ruse. With Aitape in hand, the ground forces at Hollandia trudged through trackless marsh and bog to encircle the three main Japanese airfields. Confusion, fear, and lack of weaponry prompted a large-scale Japanese retreat west.

Suppressing remaining resistance, U.S. forces secured Hollandia on 26 April 1944 only four days after the initial landings, although mop-up operations continued for several weeks. The most telling evidence of the Allied air attacks before the landings was the wreckage of more than 340 Japanese aircraft on Hollandia's runways. Allied casualties were 159 killed and 1,100 wounded. The Japanese lost 3,300 dead and 600 prisoners. At Aitape, all objectives were secured by 25 April at a cost of 3 American dead. About 600 Japanese were killed, and 27 were taken prisoner. Another 6,000 Japanese were either killed by units from the 24th Division or died from starvation and disease as they retreated from Hollandia to Wadke-Sarmi 140 miles to the west.

Operation RECKLESS was a major triumph for MacArthur. It split the Japanese forces defending New Guinea in half, leaving the Eighteenth Army isolated in eastern New Guinea. It also gave MacArthur a superb base from which to increase the tempo of operations in the SWPA, and before long U.S. engineers had turned Hollandia into a vast complex of military, naval, and air facilities occupied by 140,000 men.

John Kennedy Ohl and Bryan Joseph Rodriguez

See also

Admiralty Islands Campaign; Eichelberger, Robert Lawrence; Krueger, Walter; MacArthur, Douglas; New Guinea Campaign; Quebec Conference (14–23 August 1943); Rabaul; Signals Intelligence

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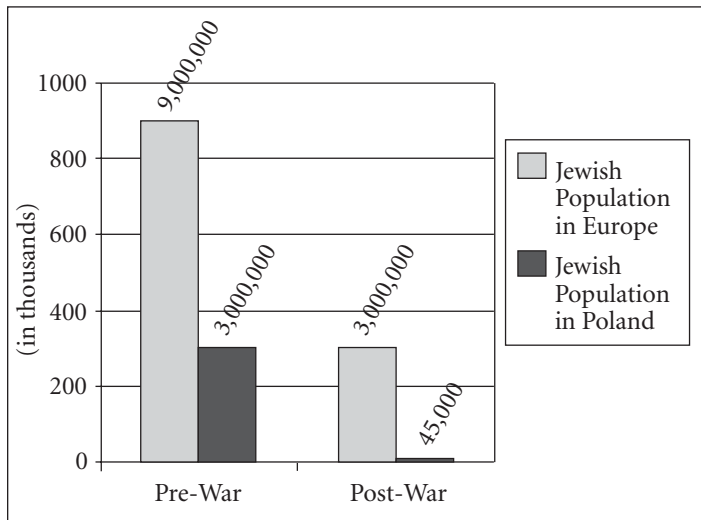
Holocaust, The

Nazi effort to exterminate the Jews of Europe during World War II. Historians have developed several interpretations of the Holocaust. While some see it as the last, most horrible manifestation of historical anti-Semitism, others view it as the outcome of factors inherent in Western civilization, such as economic rationalization, technocracy, and the eugenics movement. The “intentionalists” see Adolf Hitler as the crucial factor in the Holocaust, determined on the destruction of the Jews from the beginning. A straight line supposedly runs from his earliest anti-Semitic comments through World War II and his final testament of April 1945. On the other hand, the “functionalists” see the persecution of the Jews as a slowly developing process, exhibiting no overall plan. Not until after the beginning of World War II, when the Nazis found themselves in control of well over 3,000,000 Jews, did the full implementation of the Holocaust occur. Attempts have been made to reconcile these positions, for example, emphasizing the fusion of anti-Semitism with bureaucratic techniques of extermination.

The French Revolution of 1789 saw the beginning of the process of emancipation of the European Jews and their increasing assimilation into European society. At the same time, traditional Christian anti-Judaism gave way to modern racial anti-Semitism, fostered by hyper-nationalism, Social Darwinism, and pseudo-racial “science.” Anti-Semites made the Jews the scapegoat for all the supposed ills of the modern world, including capitalism, socialism, and the press.

Anti-Semitism was a pan-European movement, as is exemplified by the Dreyfus Affair in France. Indeed, eastern Europe (especially Russia) was the scene of violent pogroms and ritual murder trials into the twentieth century. In about 1900, agents of the tsarist secret police, the Okrana, wrote the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a forgery proclaiming a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world.

Jewish Population, Europe, before and after World War II (with inset of Jewish Population in Poland)



By 1900, Jews in Germany numbered about 600,000 of a population of 60 million. Jews were prominent in such areas as banking, journalism, and medicine. Some 85 percent were assimilationists and enthusiastically supported Germany during World War I. Nonetheless, Germany's defeat in World War I and the accompanying economic turmoil of the early 1920s allowed extremist right-wing groups such as the National Socialist German Workers Party, led by Adolf Hitler, to spread. These groups held Jews responsible for everything from betraying Germany on the home front during World War I to causing the evils of urban life. Whether it stemmed from his Vienna years, as portrayed in *Mein Kampf*, or developed essentially after his entry into politics at the end of World War I, Hitler's obsessive, pathological anti-Semitism, its identification with Bolshevism, and a crude social Darwinism became the core of his and Nazism's ideology.

Hitler's overall role and guilt in fostering the persecution of the Jews is clear. After 1934, however, he gradually withdrew from domestic politics, fostering power struggles among various party agencies. In this atmosphere, his lieutenants attempted to anticipate his wishes—a process that led to increasingly radical anti-Jewish measures.

The Nazis' assumption of power in 1933 led to increased random attacks on Jews. The Nazis did not appear to have a coordinated plan to deal with the "Jewish question." Indeed, the years 1933 to 1938 saw a tension between party radicals such as Joseph Goebbels and Julius Streicher and moderates such as foreign minister Konstantin von Neurath and economics minister Hjalmar Schacht, who feared that anti-Semitic actions would damage Germany's international position and economic recovery. Some level of anti-Semitism was common among many Germans, but there is little evidence that most Germans were imbued with an elimination-

ist anti-Semitism, ready to murder Jews once they were given the opportunity.

The opening of the Nazi attack included a one-day unsuccessful boycott of Jewish stores on 1 April 1933 and the 7 April Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service, which dismissed non-Aryans from government service. Although the boycott was unpopular with large sections of the public and the civil service law included exemptions such as World War I veterans, these actions began a gradual process that by 1939 would lead to the exclusion of Jews from German life.

On 14 July 1933, the Law for the Prevention of Genetically Diseased Offspring was promulgated, which by 1937 led to the sterilization of some 200,000 people. Although the Nazi eugenics program was not aimed specifically at Jews, and indeed was influenced by the general European and American eugenics movement, it ran on a parallel track with the anti-Jewish legislation. By World War II, the two tracks would merge in a program of euthanasia and mass murder.

In September 1935, the so-called Nuremberg Laws were passed by a special session of the Reichstag convened during the Nazi Party rally of that month. The laws were drawn up in great haste during the rally itself, indicative of the unsystematic nature of Nazi policy concerning the Jews during the 1930s. Jews became subjects, not citizens; it became illegal for Jews to marry or have extramarital relations with non-Jews. On 14 November, a supplementary law was enacted, defining a "full Jew" (having three or four Jewish grandparents) and the categories of first-degree and second-degree *Mischling* (mixed race).

In 1938 there was another major escalation of anti-Jewish persecution. In Austria after the *Anschluss* in March, a wave of humiliations, beatings, and murders occurred that were worse than anything else seen so far in Germany. The Nazis quickly set up agencies to forcibly expropriate Jewish businesses and expedite emigration, the latter effort led by Adolf Eichmann, Zionist expert of the Sicherheitsdienst (SD, Security Service). Some scholars see this sequence of violence, expropriation, and emigration as a model for how the Nazis would later attempt to handle the "Jewish question," with emigration replaced by something far worse.

During the spring and summer of 1938, violent attacks on Jews in Germany increased, culminating in the pogrom of 9–10 November. In retaliation for the murder of the third secretary of the German Embassy in Paris, Ernst von Rath, by Jewish youth Herschel Grynszpan, Jews were attacked all over Germany, businesses were vandalized, and synagogues were burned. The streets were so covered with glass they appeared to be made of crystal, hence the term "crystal night" to describe the event. Party, police, and governmental offices all were complicit in the pogrom. Estimates hold that some 91 Jews died, 30,000 were arrested, and a like number were sent to concentration camps. A total of 267 synagogues were burned, and 7,500 businesses were vandalized. The Jews

received no insurance payments and in fact were fined more than a billion Reichsmarks.

The period from November 1938 to the outbreak of World War II saw the removal of Jews from virtually all aspects of German society. During a Reichstag speech in January 1939, Hitler made his infamous threat that if international Jewry succeeded in starting another world war, the result would not be its victory but “the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe.”

By the time the war broke out, more than half of German and Austrian Jews had departed Germany, the official policy of which still promoted emigration. Emigrants were subject to expropriation and payment of flight taxes. Few countries were willing to increase their quota of Jewish immigrants, however. International conferences such as that held in Évian, France, in July 1938 proved fruitless.

After their conquest of Poland in the fall of 1939, the Nazis found themselves in control of some 2 million Jews. Another million were in the Soviet sphere of occupation. Nazi treatment of Poles and Jews, considered inferior races, was brutal. Western Poland was annexed to Germany, and the eastern part was turned into the General Government under Nazi lawyer Hans Frank. To facilitate the implementation of Nazi policies, head of the Schutzstaffel (SS) Heinrich Himmler on 27 September amalgamated all police and security services in the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA, Reich Security Main Office) under Reinhard Heydrich.

On 21 September, Heydrich issued instructions to Einsatzgruppen (mobile strike forces) leaders in which he distinguished between the “final aim” of Jewish policy and the steps leading to it. Jews were to be moved from the countryside and concentrated in cities near rail lines, implying the ghettoization of Polish Jews. Each ghetto was to elect a Jewish Council (Judenrat) that would be responsible for carrying out Nazi orders. In October, Jews were expelled from the annexed area of Poland, called the Warthegau, into the General Government. In addition, Frank ordered that all Jews must perform compulsory labor and wear a Star of David on the right sleeve of their clothing.

Despite the mention of the “final aim” and the brutality of these measures, most scholars do not believe the Nazis had yet adopted the idea of mass extermination. Their main goals during 1940 were either fostering emigration by Jews or deporting them to a colony in Africa or the Near East.

The first major ghetto was established in Lodz in February 1940. The Warsaw ghetto, the largest, was established in October 1940. Ghettos were in older sections of cities, with inadequate living space, housing, and food. They were surrounded by walls and barbed wire, and attempts to leave were punished by death. Disease and starvation were common. Jewish Councils had their own police forces, which were themselves brutal in enforcing Nazi orders. The Nazi film *The Eternal Jew* (1940) cynically portrayed these conditions as normal Jewish living habits.

Despite the terrible conditions, Jews secretly practiced their religion, educated their children, and maintained cultural activities. In Warsaw, the historian Emmanuel Ringelblum started the Oneg Shabbat (“in celebration of the Sabbath”), a secret organization that chronicled life in the ghetto. Its records, partly recovered after the war, are an invaluable picture of ghetto life.

In a speech to senior army officers on 30 March 1941 preceding the invasion of the Soviet Union (Operation BARBAROSSA), Hitler maintained that, in contrast to war in the west, the war against the Soviet Union would be a war of annihilation, a brutal campaign to subjugate inferior Slavs and to exterminate Jewish-Bolshevism. Hitler’s BARBAROSSA Decree of 13 May 1941 and the Commissar Order of 6 June 1941, as well as orders issued by various generals, called for liquidation of the Bolshevik leadership without trial, reprisals against whole villages for partisan actions, and the freeing of military personnel from prosecution for crimes against civilians. These orders would pave the way for military complicity in war crimes against Russian soldiers and civilians and against the Jews.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, four Einsatzgruppen, each numbering 600–1,000 men, swept through the conquered territories in the wakes of the invading armies, shooting Communist Party functionaries and especially male Jews. The Einsatzgruppen were drawn primarily from various security and SS units. The German army provided no obstacles to their actions and in some cases actively cooperated with them. After their numbers were augmented in August, the Einsatzgruppen rapidly expanded their killing of Jews, including women and children. Between June and August the Einsatzgruppen killed approximately 50,000 Jews; in the next four months some 500,000 would perish. On 29 and 30 October at Babi Yar near Kiev, some 33,000 Jews were shot, and their bodies were dumped in a ravine. Hitler had undoubtedly given the overall approval to widen the killing in August, and he regularly received reports of Einsatzgruppen activities.

Collaborators throughout eastern Europe actively aided—and in some cases, outdid—the Nazis. For example, the German invasion of Lithuania was accompanied by horrendous butchery of Lithuanians against Lithuanians. Germany’s Romanian allies actively murdered Jews. On 22 October, the Romanian military headquarters in Odessa was blown up and 60 lives were lost. In reprisal, Romanian army units massacred 19,000 Jews and locked another 20,000 in warehouses in a nearby village, which were then set on fire and machine-gunned. Babi-Yar and Odessa were perhaps the two worst massacres of the war.

Although no written order has come to light and although Hitler confined himself to murderous ranting about the Jews, there can be no doubt that the Holocaust proceeded with Hitler’s express knowledge and desire. Scholars are divided,



Slave laborers in the Buchenwald concentration camp near Jena; many had died from malnutrition when U.S. troops of the 80th Division entered the camp, 16 April 1945. (National Archives)

however, about when exactly the “final solution” was put into effect. Some authorities place the decision as early as the spring of 1941 during the planning for Operation BARBAROSSA, and others argue that there was a gradual escalation of measures throughout the summer and fall of 1941. Hitler’s final decision may have come on 12 December 1941, in a talk to party leaders at the Reich Chancellery, one day after his declaration of war on the United States. Hitler now saw the events he had described in his speech of 30 January 1939 as coming to pass: the Jews had started a world war, and now they would perish.

On 20 January 1942, the much-postponed Wannsee Conference held for the purpose of coordinating activities by various agencies with regard to the “final solution” took place. Chaired by Reinhard Heydrich, it included major SS and government agency representatives. Europe’s Jewish population was set at an exaggerated figure of 11 million. The Jews—even those not under Nazi control—were to be “evac-

uated” to the east. This “final solution to the Jewish question” would be implemented first in the General Government. Hitler’s hatred of the Jews, the realization that the war against the Soviet Union would not be over quickly, the huge number of Jews in eastern Europe augmented by deportations from the west, and killing actions initiated by local commanders all combined to replace deportation with systematic mass murder.

Since execution by shooting was too inefficient and was stressful for the shooters, the Nazis began gassing victims. The model for mass murder came from the euthanasia program, which had been ordered by Hitler on 1 September 1939 and which officially ended in August 1941 after strong protests from German churches. Known as the T-4 program (named after its headquarters at Tiergartenstrasse 4 in Berlin), it had been responsible for killing some 5,000 children and 70,000 to 80,000 adults, at first by injection and then

by carbon monoxide. Several T-4 staff members were transferred to the extermination program of eastern Europe.

In December 1941, Chelmno, near Lodz in the Warthegau, was the first extermination center to begin operation. Between March and July 1942, in connection with Operation REINHARD (the plan to kill the Jews of the General Government), three more death camps were set up: Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka. Deportations to these camps from Polish ghettos took place throughout 1942 and into the fall of 1943.

As Jews were rounded up, they were told they were being resettled to labor camps in the east. When the Jews arrived in the camps, their belongings were confiscated and they were then forced to undress and to move down a ramp (“the tube”) into gas chambers falsely labeled as showers. The Jews were then killed with gas fed into the chamber. Special units of Jewish prisoners called Sonderkommandos removed the dead from the gas chambers, collected their possessions, and then buried the corpses in mass graves. Eventually, the Sonderkommandos too were killed. Jews from all over occupied Europe, as well as Roma (gypsies), were killed in these camps. Authorities estimate the approximate death toll at 1.9 million.

Majdanek (near Lublin in the General Government) and Auschwitz (in a section of southern Poland annexed to Germany) operated as concentration, extermination, and forced-labor camps. Exterminations in gas chambers began in Majdanek in the fall of 1942 and greatly increased in November 1943, when the Nazis launched Operation HARVEST FESTIVAL to kill off the remaining Jews in the General Government. By the time Soviet forces overran Majdanek in July 1944, some 360,000 people had died.

Auschwitz I was set up as a concentration camp in May 1940. Here the Nazis brutally murdered thousands at the “Black Wall” and carried on gruesome pseudoscientific medical experiments, including sterilization, castration, and hypothermia. Auschwitz II or Auschwitz-Birkenau was essentially an extermination camp. It began operations on 3 September 1941 when 900 Soviet prisoners of war died after being gassed with Zyklon B, crystallized hydrogen cyanide. By 1943, four large gas chamber/crematoria were at work as Jews from all over Europe were brought to Auschwitz. Work to expand the facility continued essentially until the summer of 1944. During the spring and summer of 1944, more than 400,000 Hungarian Jews were deported to Auschwitz and gassed. A conservative estimate puts the overall death toll here at 1.1 million Jews, 75,000 Poles, 21,000 Roma, and 15,000 Soviet prisoners of war.

Prisoners destined for the camps were packed into unheated and unventilated cattle cars with no food and perhaps one bucket for a toilet. Many died before reaching the camp. Upon arrival, prisoners underwent “selection”: those unfit for work were immediately sent to the gas chambers,

which were disguised as showers. Sonderkommandos cleaned the gas chambers, cremated the corpses, and collected valuables.

In the fall of 1941, I. G. Farben decided to build a Buna (synthetic rubber) plant at Auschwitz to exploit cheap slave labor. The so-called Auschwitz III expanded into a 40-square-mile area with numerous subcamps. Periodic selections singled out weak and sick workers for extermination.

Numerous survivors, including Elie Wiesel and Primo Levi, have described the brutal Auschwitz camp regime, which was intended to dehumanize its victims. “Kapos”—usually incarcerated criminals—enforced order. Hunger was all-pervasive. Finally, on 27 January 1945, Soviet forces liberated the few remaining prisoners in Auschwitz. Some 60,000 had been forced on death marches to camps in Germany. Many died on the marches or before the German camps were liberated.

Between 1942 and early 1945, the Nazis extended the Holocaust to occupied western, central, and southern Europe. Numerous government agencies including the RSHA, the Transport Ministry, and the Foreign Office lent their assistance. Adolf Eichmann, head of RSHA Jewish Affairs and Evacuation Affairs (coded IV-B-4), coordinated the deportations. The European rail system was taken over and used to move Jews east to the killing sites.

In many places, the Nazis were assisted by collaborationist authorities, but elsewhere, such as in Denmark and in Italian-held areas, they were actively resisted by local officials. The result was that thousands of Jews went into hiding or were assisted in escaping the Nazi dragnet. Although exact numbers will never be known, it is estimated that 3.5 million to 4 million people died in the six death camps. When victims of pogroms, the Einsatzgruppen, and those who died of overwork, starvation, and disease are added, the Holocaust claimed some 6 million lives.

Resistance was made difficult by numerous factors—the impossibility of believing the reality of what was happening, the hostility of local populations, the difficulty of obtaining weapons, the deception of the Nazis, and the decision of Jewish councils to obey Nazi demands in hopes of saving the lives of the remnant Jewish population that worked in defense industries.

Most Jews who were rounded up for execution or transport to a camp went without resistance. In some cases, however, open rebellion broke out. The most famous example is

Although the exact numbers will never be known, it is believed that between 3.5 and 6 million people died in the Holocaust.

the Warsaw Rising, beginning on 19 April 1943, in which 700 to 1,000 resistance fighters in the Warsaw ghetto held off several thousand heavily armed German and Baltic auxiliaries under SS-Brigadeführer Joseph (Jürgen) Stroop for almost four weeks. Revolts in Treblinka in August 1943 and in Sobibor in October 1943 led to the closing of these camps. On 7 October 1944, the Sonderkommando at Auschwitz revolted, killing several SS men and blowing up one of the crematoria. All were killed in the ensuing escape attempt. In several cases, Jews were able to escape the ghettos and either join or form their own partisan groups that fought against the Nazis.

Allied officials were clearly aware of the Holocaust by late 1942, but like the Jews themselves, they had difficulty believing what they were hearing. In addition, anti-Semitism was still strong in many countries. American State Department official Breckinridge Long worked actively to keep Jewish refugees out of the United States. In the Allied countries, winning the war was the first priority. American Jewish organizations were hesitant to make waves or press President Franklin D. Roosevelt for fear of stirring up even more anti-Semitism. In a still-controversial decision, the Allies refused to bomb the Auschwitz camp or the rail lines leading to it. Not until early 1944 did Roosevelt create the War Refugee Board, after the Treasury Department had exposed the State Department's duplicity.

Some governments or individual diplomats resisted the Nazis. The Danish people ensured the rescue of more than 95 percent of Danish Jews. The Bulgarian government refused to give over its native Jews, although it handed over Jews in occupied territories. The Italian fascist government refused cooperation with the Nazis, and Franco's government allowed Jewish refugees to travel through Spain. Diplomats defied their orders by issuing visas to Jews. The Swede Raoul Wallenberg and other diplomats in Budapest rescued thousands of Jews in the summer and fall of 1944 by issuing false papers and setting up safe havens. Citizens from France to Poland sheltered Jews, in some cases for years, at tremendous risk to themselves. In 1940, Chiune Sugihara, a minor diplomat in the Japanese consulate in Kaunas, Lithuania, quietly defied his government's orders and issued illegal visas to more than 2,000 Jewish families.

In the case of the churches, it was more often individuals than institutions that did rescue work. Numerous Protestant, Eastern Orthodox, and Catholic clergy and laymen intervened to help Jews, whereas others remained silent or backed Nazi actions. Controversy still surrounds the role of Pope Pius XII, who never publicly condemned the Holocaust, even when the Jews of Rome were being rounded up in October 1943.

As the Nazi empire crumbled in late 1944 and early 1945, Himmler and others carried out increasingly desperate negotiations, attempting to trade Jewish lives for ransom. As the Soviet army moved westward, hasty attempts were made to

dismantle camps and burn victims' bodies. Prisoners were forced on death marches back to camps within Germany. By May 1945, the last of the camps had been overrun. Some 50,000 prisoners were liberated, but many were so sick and emaciated they died soon after. In his political testament of 29 April 1945, Hitler blamed the war on the Jews and called on Germans to continue the struggle against international Jewry.

The pre-World War II Jewish population of Europe had been approximately 9 million. At the end of the war, 3 million remained. In Poland, some 45,000 survived out of a prewar population of 3 million, many of whom were Hasidic Jews. In the words of the sect's founder, Israel Ba'al Shem Tov: "In forgetfulness is the root of exile. In remembrance the seed of redemption."

Donald E. Thomas Jr.

See also

Allied Military Tribunals after the War; Babi Yar Massacre; BAR-BAROSSA, Operation; Catholic Church and the War; Chemical Weapons and Warfare; Collaboration; Commissar Order; Concentration Camps, German; Eichmann, Karl Adolf; Goebbels, Paul Josef; Heydrich, Reinhard Tristan Eugen; Himmler, Heinrich; Hitler, Adolf; Jewish Resistance; Pius XII, Pope; Resistance; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Wannsee Conference; Warsaw Ghetto Uprising

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Hong Kong, Battle of (8–25 December 1941)

Battle for British Asian colony, the capture of which by Japan symbolized the defeat of western imperialism in Asia. The colony of Hong Kong, 400 square miles of islands and an adjacent peninsula on the coast of Guangdong, South China, was both the headquarters of the Royal Navy's China Squadron and a significant entrepôt and commercial center. From the mid-1930s onward, the British Joint Chiefs of Staff believed that, in the event of attack by Japanese forces, Hong Kong would be indefensible.

In 1935, Major General Sir John Dill, director of military operations, ranked Hong Kong's strategic significance far



British prisoners of war departing Hong Kong for a Japanese prison camp in December 1941. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

below that of Singapore, Britain's other naval base. A 1939 strategic review also assigned Britain's interests in Europe much greater importance than those of Hong Kong. British leaders nonetheless feared that a failure to defend Hong Kong or even the evacuation of civilians would signal their country's intention of abandoning its Asian position and damage the morale of the embattled Chinese Guomindang (GMD [Kuomintang, KMT], Nationalist) government in its struggle to resist Japanese invasion.

By June 1940, sizable Japanese forces blocked Hong Kong's access to the Chinese mainland. That August, Dill—now chief of the Imperial General Staff—recommended the withdrawal of the British garrison. Although Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill accepted this recommendation, it was not implemented. Some women and children were evacuated to Manila in the Philippines, and in October 1941, Britain accepted the Canadian government's ill-considered offer to send 2 Cana-

dian battalions to reinforce the 2 Scottish and 2 Indian battalions already manning Hong Kong's defenses.

Even with this assistance, Hong Kong's defenses remained decidedly inadequate: 12,000 troops, augmented by the Hong Kong and Singapore Royal Artillery and the civilian Hong Kong Volunteer Defense Force, were too few to man the colony's main lengthy defense line (Gindringer's Line), which ran 3 miles north of Kowloon in the New Territories. Air and naval forces comprised a pitiable 7 airplanes, 8 motor torpedo boats, and 4 small gunboats. It was generally known that many Japanese civilians in the colony were fifth columnists, agents only awaiting the opportunity to facilitate a Japanese assault. The British government had no intention of sending any further assistance but merely expected its defenders to stave off inevitable defeat as long as possible.

On 8 December 1941, as Japanese forces simultaneously attacked Pearl Harbor, a surprise raid on Kai Tak airfield by

Taiwan-based Japanese bombers destroyed all 7 British airplanes. Twelve battalions of the 38th Division of the Japanese Twenty-Third Army, commanded by Lieutenant General Sano Tadayoshi, crossed the Shenzhen River separating the New Territories and mainland China. Churchill urged Hong Kong's defenders to resist to the end, but within 24 hours Japanese forces had breached Gindrinker's Line. British commander Major General Christopher M. Maltby ordered a retreat to Hong Kong island, and by 12 December, Japanese troops held Kowloon.

Sano's artillery began heavy bombardments of British positions on Victoria, the central district, but Maltby refused a 14 December ultimatum to surrender and the following day repulsed a Japanese attempt to land troops on the island. A second attempt three nights later succeeded, and Japanese forces swiftly advanced across the island to its southern coast, splitting British forces. Despite heavy losses, British troops fought fiercely, on 20 December compelling Sano to halt temporarily to regroup his forces. The advance soon resumed, however, and by 24 December Japanese units had destroyed the water mains, leaving their opponents as short of water as they were of ammunition. On 25 December 1941, the British governor negotiated an unconditional surrender.

Immediately afterward, the Japanese victors treated their defeated foes with great brutality, massacring many of the defending forces, Chinese and western, including hospitalized wounded men. They raped and sometimes killed hospital nurses and other captured women. Surviving prisoners of war and Allied civilians were interned for the duration of the war, often in severe conditions, while the supposedly liberated Chinese population likewise experienced harsh and arbitrary rule and numerous atrocities.

Hong Kong remained under Japanese occupation until August 1945 when, despite the hopes of Chinese Nationalist leader Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) that it would revert to China, British forces reestablished control. Hong Kong subsequently remained a British colony until its 1997 reversion to China.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

China, Role in War; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Dill, Sir John Greer; Jiang Jieshi; Pearl Harbor, Attack on

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Hopkins, Harry Lloyd (1890–1946)

U.S. diplomat and presidential adviser to Franklin D. Roosevelt. Born on 17 August 1890 in Sioux City, Iowa, Harry Hopkins graduated from Grinnell College in 1912. He became a social worker in New York City and then joined President Roosevelt's New Deal administration first as head of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (1933–1935) and then, from 1935 to 1938, as head of the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Roosevelt named him secretary of commerce in 1938.

Stomach cancer and ill health caused Hopkins to step down in 1940 to become an adviser to Roosevelt. In this position, he had great influence with Roosevelt, and he also served as an intermediary between Roosevelt and other Allied leaders. In January 1941, Hopkins flew to Britain as a personal envoy of Roosevelt to coordinate the Lend-Lease Act. He convinced Roosevelt to ignore U.S. Ambassador Joseph Kennedy's pessimistic reports regarding Britain's ability to remain in the war. To secure an agreement in discussions about the Atlantic Charter on 14 August 1941, Hopkins helped smooth over differences between Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill on the issue of colonialism. Another example of Hopkins's influence was his ability in 1944 to convince chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral William Leahy to continue supplying British forces in Greece, even though the United States disagreed with London's policy toward communist rebels there. Hopkins was not always successful, as in Moscow in June 1945, when he failed to secure Russian leader Josef Stalin's support for democratic reforms in Poland that had been agreed to at the Yalta Conference the previous February.

After Roosevelt's death, Hopkins assisted the new president, Harry S. Truman, in arrangements for the Potsdam Conference. Hopkins also played a leading role in the formation of the United Nations. Forced by ill health to retire from public life in fall 1945, Hopkins died in New York City on 29 January 1946.

T. Jason Soderstrum

See also

Atlantic Charter; Casablanca Conference; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Lend-Lease; Potsdam Conference; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stalin, Josef; Tehran Conference; United Nations, Formation of; Yalta Conference

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Horii Tomitaro (1890–1942)

Japanese army general. Born in Hyogo Prefecture on 7 November 1890, Horii Tomitaro was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the Imperial Japanese Army in December 1911. Following several staff and line postings, Horii commanded a battalion beginning in August 1932. He was promoted to colonel in August 1937, and in July 1938 he was attached to headquarters of the 8th Depot Division. Horii then took command of the 82nd Infantry Regiment. By August 1940, he was a major general commanding the 55th Regimental Group. This formation consisted mostly of the reinforced 144th Infantry Regiment and was better known as the South Seas Detachment.

At the start of World War II, Horii's force quickly captured Guam. On 4 January 1942, Imperial General Headquarters ordered Horii to prepare to take Rabaul. Escorted by the aircraft carriers *Kaga* and *Akagi*, the invasion force landed in the predawn darkness of 23 January. The Australian garrison there was quickly overwhelmed, and Horii's soldiers proceeded to torture and execute many of the prisoners.

The South Seas Detachment formed most of the Japanese invasion force intended to capture Port Moresby in May 1942. This operation triggered the Battle of the Coral Sea, the first naval battle fought only with carrier aircraft. To Horii's disappointment, the transports carrying his soldiers turned back to Rabaul on 9 May.

Horii's South Seas Detachment was then ordered to advance by land south over the Owen Stanley Mountains to Port Moresby. Japanese forces went ashore at Buna beginning on 20 July. The Japanese drove off the few defenders and soon reached Kokoda. Horii himself reached Buna by mid-August. By 21 August, he had more than 8,000 combat troops and 3,000 construction workers under his command. Soon Horii, riding his white horse, was at the head of the Japanese advance. By mid-September, the Japanese had pushed to within 30 miles of Port Moresby.

The American landing on Guadalcanal in August 1942 drew away Japanese reinforcements intended for New Guinea. Disease, malnutrition, and combat severely reduced Horii's command. The terrain also proved to be a formidable obstacle. In addition, a Japanese supporting attack on Milne Bay was defeated, allowing the Allies to pour reinforcements into Port Moresby. On 24 September 1942, Horii was ordered to withdraw toward Buna. An Allied counterattack soon turned the retreat into a rout. Horii was inspecting rear-guard positions on 12 November when his party was cut off by an Australian attack near Wairopi. That night, Horii and his aides tried to cross the Kumusi River on a raft of logs. The raft came apart in the turbulent water, and Horii, his chief of staff,

and two others were drowned. His death was confirmed 10 days later.

Tim J. Watts

See also

Coral Sea, Battle of the; Milne Bay, Battle of; New Guinea Campaign; Papuan Campaign; Rabaul

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Horrocks, Sir Brian Gwynne (1895–1985)

British army general. Brian Horrocks was born on 7 September 1895 in Ranikhet, India, and educated at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst. He was commissioned in 1914. Wounded at Ypres in October 1914, Horrocks was captured and spent the next four years as a prisoner of the Germans. He then volunteered to go to Russia on a mission to assist White forces in Siberia, and he was a prisoner of the Red forces from January to October 1920. An outstanding athlete, Horrocks competed in the 1924 Olympic Games in the pentathlon.

In the 1930s, Horrocks attended the Staff College of Camberley, and he was subsequently an instructor there. In 1939, Horrocks commanded a battalion in the 3rd Division in France, where he made an excellent impression on his commander, Bernard Montgomery. Promoted to brigadier general in June 1940 during the Dunkerque evacuation, Horrocks then commanded the 9th Armored Division. In August 1942, when Montgomery took over the Eighth Army, he named Horrocks, now a lieutenant general, to head XIII Corps. XII Corps played a key role in repelling the Afrika Korps attack at the crucial Battle of Alma Halfa, and it fought against the 21st Panzer Division at El Alamein. Horrocks then took command of X Corps and led it during the successful flanking maneuver at Mareth in March 1943. During April and May 1943, Horrocks commanded IX Corps during the final drive against Tunis.

In June 1943, while preparing for the invasion of Italy, Horrocks was badly wounded during an air raid on Bizerte. This kept him out of action for a year. In August 1944, Horrocks took command of XXX Corps, which he led until the end of the war in General Miles Dempsey's Second British Army. Accomplishments of XXX Corps included the capture of Amiens, Brussels, Antwerp, and Bremen and helping to reduce the Ardennes salient. Horrocks is best remembered

for his role during Operation MARKET-GARDEN, when XXX Corps failed to relieve the British 1st Airborne Division at Arnhem. Horrocks called the failure “the blackest moment of my life.”

After the war, Horrocks commanded the British Army of the Rhine before his war wounds forced his retirement in 1949. Horrocks later wrote his autobiography, *A Full Life* (1960), and became a television commentator. Horrocks died in Fishbourne, England, on 4 January 1985.

Thomas D. Veve

See also

Alam Halfa, Battle of; Ardennes Offensive; Dempsey, Miles Christopher; El Alamein, Battle of; Mareth, Battle of; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law

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Horthy de Nagybánya, Miklós (1868–1957)

Hungarian navy admiral in World War I, politician, and regent of Hungary. Born in Kenderes, Hungary, to landed gentry on 18 June 1868, Miklós Horthy de Nagybánya graduated from the Naval Academy in 1886 and entered the Austro-Hungarian navy, where he served for 32 years. As a captain, Horthy commanded the successful May 1917 attack on the Otranto Barrage, during which he was wounded in both legs. Horthy became a hero in Hungary for his role in the battle, which led to his promotion to rear admiral in March 1918. That same month, following mutinies in the fleet, Emperor Karl promoted Horthy to vice admiral and named him commander of the Austro-Hungarian battle fleet.

Following the war, Horthy retired. He soon entered politics as the leader of the conservative White forces against the communist government of Béla Kun. On 1 March 1920, Horthy became regent of Hungary and head of the executive authority. At first Horthy had little power, but his power



Hermann Göring (right, hat with feather) with Admiral Horthy (center, facing Göring), regent of Hungary, at Carinhall, Göring's country estate. (Library of Congress)

increased sharply after 1937 when he refused to be bound by decisions of the Hungarian Parliament.

In domestic policy, Horthy rejected universal and secret suffrage and land reform. In foreign policy, his chief aim was revision of the Treaty of Trianon of 1920, by which Hungary had lost two-thirds of its territory and population. For this reason, although he was strongly anti-Fascist, Horthy sought the support of, and an alliance with, Germany and Italy. His diplomatic efforts were successful in that between 1938 and 1940, Hungary recovered some of the territory it had lost after World War I to Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia.

Horthy successfully managed to afford involvement in the war in September 1939. By April 1941, however, pressure from Adolf Hitler, coupled with promises of additional territory and access to the Adriatic, led to Hungarian military operations against Yugoslavia on the Axis side. Horthy was also forced to send troops to fight on the Eastern Front against the Soviet Union, but he resisted German efforts to have him deport Hungarian Jews.

In 1943, Horthy was already considering escaping from Hitler's grasp and negotiating with the Allied powers. Aware of this activity and determined to keep Hungary in the war on his side, Hitler sent German troops to occupy the country on 19 March 1944. Horthy remained in his post. In September, Soviet troops invaded Hungary from Romania, and on 28 September Horthy dispatched representatives to Moscow. There they signed a preliminary armistice agreement on 11 October, which Horthy announced publicly four days later. A lack of coordination with army chief of staff General János Vörös led to a continuation of the fighting. The German army then occupied Budapest and took Horthy's son hostage, forcing Horthy to appoint Ferenc Szálasi, head of the German Arrow Cross (Fascist) Party, as "Leader of the Nation."

The Germans then removed Horthy to Bavaria, where he was captured by the Americans. In 1946, Horthy appeared as a witness at the postwar International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. The Yugoslav government requested his extradition so that he might be tried there for war crimes, but the U.S. authorities refused the request. Horthy then moved to Portugal, where he remained. The Soviet occupation and subsequent communist government of Hungary made it impossible for him to return there. Horthy wrote his memoirs in 1953, but they were not published in Hungary until 1990. He died in Estoril, Portugal, on 9 February 1957. In 1993, following the departure of the last Soviet soldiers from Hungary, Horthy's remains were reburied in Kenderes, Hungary.

Anna Boros-McGee

See also

Hungary, Army; Hungary, Role in the War; International Military Tribunal: The Nuremberg Trials; Vörös, János

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Hoth, Hermann (1885–1971)

German army general. Born in Neuruppin near Berlin on 12 April 1885, Hermann Hoth joined the army in 1904. He graduated from the Prussian War Academy in 1913 and became an intelligence officer. A staff officer during and after World War I, he became a specialist in armored warfare.

In 1935, Hoth took command of the 18th Division and was promoted to major general. Promoted to lieutenant general, in November 1938 he commanded the XV Motorized Corps and distinguished himself in the invasion of Poland in September 1939. With his panzer group, Hoth also distinguished himself in the invasion of France and Benelux in May 1940. In this campaign, he pushed through the Ardennes Forest to the English Channel and then into Normandy and Brittany. Hoth won promotion to full general in July. His formation was redesignated 3rd Panzer Group in November. He led it in the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. Hoth commanded the Seventeenth Army in Ukraine from October 1941 to June 1942, when he took command of Fourth Panzer Army. Hoth's task was to encircle Voronezh and then drive south to the lower Don River. He led this army across the Don and toward the Caucasus and lower Volga.

Although Hoth subsequently failed to break through Soviet defenses to Stalingrad, he subsequently carried out a successful counteroffensive that helped open an escape route around Rostov for Army Group A. The Fourth Army helped restore the German lines and participated in the Battle of Kursk in July 1943. That November, Adolf Hitler dismissed the capable and well-liked Hoth for his "defeatist attitude."

Tried by a U.S. military court after the war for "crimes against humanity" committed by subordinates, Hoth was found guilty and sentenced at Nuremberg in October 1948 to 15 years in prison. He was released in 1954 and then wrote on armored warfare. His memoir, *Panzer-Operationen*, was published in 1956. Hoth died at Goslar/Harz on 25 January 1971.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; France, Battle for; Kursk, Battle of; Poland Campaign; Stalingrad, Battle of

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Hu Tsung-nan

See Hu Zongnan.

Hu Zongnan (Hu Tsung-nan) (1896–1962)

Chinese Nationalist general, known as the “King of the Northwest.” Born in Zhenhai (Chenhain), Zhejiang (Chekiang), on 16 May 1896, Hu Zongnan (Hu Tsung-nan) received a primary education in the Confucian classics and became a teacher. In 1924, he studied at the newly founded Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy. As a Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) loyalist, Hu participated in the 1926–1928 Northern Expedition and continued to fight warlords, the Kuomintang (KMT [Guomindang, GMD], Nationalist), and Communist forces through the 1930s.

On the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Hu participated in the defense of Shanghai in Jiangsu (Kiangsu) Province as commander of the First Army. In 1938, he received command of the Seventeenth Army Group and was responsible for military training in northwest China, with headquarters at Xian (Sian), Shaanxi (Shensi). He was assigned the dual task of resisting the Japanese in north China and containing the Communists in northern Shaanxi, where he became the center of the powerful “Huangpu clique” in Chinese military politics. In 1939, he commanded the Thirty-Fourth Group Army. In 1943 he received command of the First War Area comprising Hebei (Hopei), Northern Shandong (Shantung), Henan (Honan), Anhui (Anhui), and Shaanxi.

In the spring of 1944, the Japanese began their ICHI-GŌ Campaign, which was aimed at removing China from the war. Hu’s forces were hit hard but were able to prevent the Japanese from entering Shaanxi Province. In 1945, at war’s end, Hu traveled to Zhengzhou (Chengchow) in Henan Province to accept the surrender of the Japanese forces.

After the war and Jiang’s order to go on the offensive against the Communists, Hu marched into northern Shaanxi and captured Yan’an (Yenan) in March 1947. This victory marked the high-water mark of Nationalist achievement in the Chinese Civil War. As his forces became isolated from other GMD troops and supplies, they were eventually routed and then wiped out during 1949 by the Communists. Hu and

a small group of advisers escaped to Hainan Island and eventually made their way to Taiwan. He served the Nationalist government in Taiwan as commander of the guerrilla forces on Dachen (Tach’en) Island and ended his career in command of Nationalist forces in the Penghus (Pescadores). He retired in late 1959 and died in Taipei on 14 February 1962.

Errol M. Clauss

See also

China, Army; China, Civil War in; China, Role in War; ICHI-GŌ Campaign; Jiang Jieshi; Sino-Japanese War

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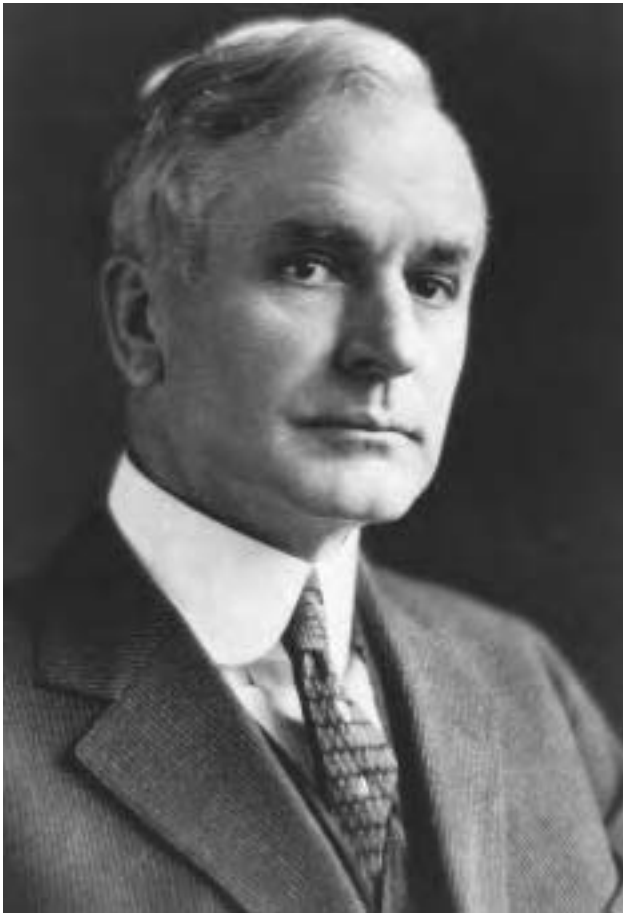
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Hull, Cordell (1871–1955)

U.S. secretary of state from 1933 to 1944. Born in the community of Star Point in Pickett County, Tennessee, on 2 October 1871, Cordell Hull studied law at National Normal University in Lebanon, Ohio, and the Cumberland Law School in Lebanon, Tennessee. In 1892, he entered Tennessee state politics as a Democrat. During the 1898 Spanish-American War, Hull volunteered and spent several months in the army. He was elected to Congress in 1903, and in 1930 he became senator for Tennessee. He resigned that position in 1933 when President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him secretary of state.

An old-fashioned Jeffersonian Democrat and progressive, Hull admired President Woodrow Wilson; Hull had supported U.S. membership in the League of Nations following World War I. As secretary of state, he favored free trade, peace agreements, international conferences, and reliance on legal principles and institutions. During the 1930s, Hull negotiated numerous reciprocal trade agreements with other nations. He also devoted particular attention to revitalizing U.S. relations with Latin America through the “Good Neighbor” policy, whereby his country renounced the right to intervene in Latin America, and through the conclusion of related hemispheric security agreements.

President Roosevelt, who preferred to retain personal control of American foreign policy, frequently bypassed Hull. This tendency became more pronounced as World War II approached, and Hull found it both irritating and frustrating. Even so, since the two men fundamentally shared the same perspective on international affairs, Hull chose not to resign. Hull believed the European dictators posed a dangerous threat to all free nations and, believing that arms embargoes were ineffective and generally favored aggressors, he



U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull. (Library of Congress)

opposed the various neutrality acts passed by Congress between 1935 and 1939. He was inclined to be slightly less conciliatory than Roosevelt and was unenthusiastic toward Roosevelt's 1938–1939 peace messages to European powers.

Once war began in Europe, Hull staunchly supported Great Britain and France against Germany and Italy. However, he was virtually excluded from the Anglo-American Destroyers-Bases Deal of summer 1940 and the drafting of Lend-Lease legislation some months later. Nor did he attend the Anglo-American military staff conversations held in Washington early in 1941 or the mid-August 1941 Argentinia Conference that drafted the Atlantic Charter. Roosevelt, preoccupied with European affairs from April to December 1941, delegated to Hull responsibility for protracted American negotiations with Japan. The objective of the negotiations was to reach a temporary agreement in Asia, where Japan had been at war with China since 1937. In the negotiations, Japan also sought further territorial gains from British, French, and Dutch territorial possessions. Despite the expressed concern of American military leaders that the United States was unprepared for a Pacific war, by late November 1941 Hull—who was privy to intercepted Japanese cable traffic—believed that war was

inevitable, and he refused to contemplate further American concessions to Japanese demands.

After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Hull was often excluded from major meetings, including the 1942 Casablanca Conference, the 1943 Cairo and Tehran Conferences, and the 1944 Quebec Conference, a summit meeting of Allied leaders. Hull opposed Roosevelt's decision, announced at Casablanca, to demand the unconditional surrender of the Axis nations, believing this would encourage them to continue the war. Hull also opposed the 1944 Morgenthau Plan to partition a defeated Germany and eradicate its industrial capacity, and with the assistance of Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, he succeeded in obtaining the scheme's ultimate rejection.

Hull put great effort into establishing the 1942 United Nations alliance of anti-Axis nations. Following his Wilsonian instincts, he then concentrated on planning for the postwar United Nations, an international security organization that would replace the defunct League of Nations. Under Hull's guidance, the State Department drafted the proposals for the United Nations Charter accepted at the 1944 Dumbarton Oaks Conference and adroitly won bipartisan congressional support for these. Addressing Congress in late 1943, Hull overoptimistically stated that the projected new organization would eliminate spheres of influence, the balance of power, and international alliances and rivalries. He shared Roosevelt's anticolonial outlook and his belief that the United States should treat China as a great power and thereby encourage it to become one.

Increasingly poor health led Hull to resign after the November 1944 presidential election. Consulted on the terms of the July 1945 Potsdam Declaration urging Japan to surrender, Hull insisted that it include no promise to retain the emperor. Hull was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1945 and lived quietly in retirement, producing lengthy memoirs. Suffering from strokes and heart problems, he died in Bethesda, Maryland, on 23 July 1955.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Casablanca Conference; Destroyers-Bases Deal; Dumbarton Oaks Conference; Lend-Lease; Morgenthau, Henry, Jr.; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Quebec Conference (12–16 September 1944); Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stimson, Henry Lewis; Tehran Conference; United Nations, Formation of

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Hump, The

Allied air transport route supplying China from India. With Japanese forces controlling all of coastal China even before the U.S. entry into World War II, supplies to the Nationalist Chinese trickled along the Burma Road into western China. Recognizing the inadequate rate of supply, in November 1941 the Chinese National Aviation Corporation (CNAC) successfully devised a route through the Himalaya Mountains between Kunming, China, and Assam in upper India.

In 1942, the Japanese captured Burma, thereby cutting off all overland access to the Nationalist government headed by Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek). U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt believed it vital to support Jiang, and military planners wanted to use China as the jumping-off point for the eventual invasion of the Japanese home islands as well as a base for strategic bombing. The U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) used the route pioneered by the CNAC to accomplish these tasks, although it was not ideal. A single narrow-gauge railroad connected Assam to the Indian coast.

The air route itself was more than 500 miles and very dangerous. Japanese air activity, unpredictable weather, the lack of navigational aids, unmapped territory, and peaks rising above 20,000 feet all made flying especially treacherous. Conflicting demands by Generals Claire Chennault and Joseph Stillwell—and also from Jiang—confused the supply situation. The deployment of B-29s to China in 1944 further strained the logistical chain.

The aircraft available were also inadequate. Initially, the twin-engine Douglas C-47 Skytrain was the main aircraft used, but it could only carry 2.5 tons of supplies. The twin-engine Curtiss C-46 Commando entered service before it had been fully tested. It could carry 5 tons of supplies, but early mechanical problems led to numerous accidents. Finally, late in the war the Douglas C-54 Skymaster, a four-engine transport capable of carrying 10 tons of cargo, became available.

Infrastructure also had to be created from scratch. Thousands of laborers built runways in China of crushed rock by hand. Trucks were scarce, so fuel was often transported in cans and aircraft fueled by lines of people passing these containers.

Supplies over the Hump began slowly. In July 1942 only 85 tons of supplies were delivered. Not until 1944 did transport over the Hump become rationalized. First, Major General William Tunner assumed command of the China-India Air Transport Command directly answerable to USAAF commanding general General Henry H. Arnold in Washington. The Hump operation marked the first time air transport was autonomous from the local or theater commander. Tunner regularized crew rotation, aircraft maintenance, and loading

and unloading procedures. Largely through his work, during July 1945 Allied aircraft flew more than 70,000 tons of cargo over the Himalayas. The Hump route was very costly. Over 500 aircraft were lost and more than 1,300 pilots and crewmen were killed or missing in action in the course of the Allied operation, which ended in September 1945.

Rodney Madison

See also

Aircraft, Transports; Burma Road; Chennault, Claire Lee; China, Role in War; China-Burma-India Theater; Jiang Jieshi; Lend-Lease; Stilwell, Joseph Warren

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Hungary, Air Force

Under the terms of the Treaty of Trianon following World War I, Hungary was forbidden a military air service. Between the two world wars, however, the Hungarian government secretly worked to establish, develop, and modernize an air force. The Hungarian air force came into being as an independent arm on 1 January 1939. For financial reasons but also because it lacked the industrial infrastructure (especially machine tools) and raw materials required, Hungary did not attempt to produce its own combat aircraft but purchased them from abroad, chiefly from Italy. In the late 1930s, however, it did begin production of an excellent short-range biplane reconnaissance aircraft, the Weiss Manfred 32 Solyom (Hawk).

The Hungarian air force was first deployed in April 1941 during the invasion of Yugoslavia. At the time, it had on paper 302 aircraft, but only 189 of them were operational and most were obsolete. After Hungary declared war on the Soviet Union in late June 1941, the air force was deployed to the Eastern Front. In 1942, the 2nd Air Force Brigade was established with 76 aircraft to support operations of the Second Hungarian Army in the Soviet Union. Almost half of its aircraft were gone by early 1943, and those that remained were merged into German squadrons.

In 1943, under terms of an agreement with the German government, Hungary began production of the Messerschmitt Bf-109 fighter to offset production from German factories destroyed by Allied bombing. Hungary also produced the Me-210. The terms of the agreement provided that 40 percent of aircraft production was to remain in Hungary, but this

pledge was not kept. Nonetheless, Hungary was able to add some 170 modern aircraft to its inventory by 1944.

The revitalized Hungarian air force suffered devastating air raids by the Allied powers beginning in 1944. Remaining aircraft were then removed to Austria. Ammunition and fuel shortages meant that no Hungarian aircraft participated in the last weeks of the war. Those that remained were either destroyed by their crews or handed over to Allied forces. During the war, Hungary produced 1,182 aircraft and 1,482 aircraft engines. Among the aircraft were 488 Bf-109s and 279 Me-210s. Of these, Hungary received only 158.

Anna Boros-McGee

See also

Aircraft, Fighters; Germany, Air Force; Yugoslavia Campaign (1941)

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Hungary, Army

The Treaty of Trianon between the Allied powers and Hungary following World War I limited both the quantity and quality of Hungary's armed forces. The army was restricted to a maximum of 35,000 officers and men, and it was not allowed any heavy artillery, tanks, or military aircraft. Hungary was also forbidden to organize and train reservists. The armed forces, consisting of seven mixed brigades and a river flotilla, could take up arms only for the maintenance of internal order or to oppose a foreign invasion of Hungary. Having been stripped of two-thirds of its territory and population following World War I, Hungary was also deficient in war-related industry and resources.

In 1938, an agreement between Hungary and the neighboring Little Entente states of Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia recognized Hungary's right to rearm. The Hungarian government increased the military budget, but in September 1939 the army numbered only 9 light divisions or brigades. In 1941, it had 27 light divisions or brigades of 2 regiments each. Each regiment numbered about 4,000 men, so the effective size of the infantry force was only 216,000 men. There were also 2 cavalry brigades and 2 motorized brigades. Most of the equipment was obsolete; its rifles were old and they frequently jammed, and the army had no antitank guns. Although Hungary produced its own tanks, it had only 190 of

these, and they were too light for combat operations on the Eastern Front, where the army would do most of its fighting. Even by 1943, the army had only one-third of the motor transport required and had to use civilian vehicles.

In the spring of 1941, Hungary conducted its first military operation since World War I when it sent a mechanized army corps to support the German invasion of Yugoslavia. The army was still under-equipped when Hungary officially entered the war on 26 June 1941 with a declaration of war on the Soviet Union. For operations in the Soviet Union, the army assembled an expeditionary force designated the Mobile Corps and commanded by General Ferenc Szombathelyi. Numbering some 44,000 men, it consisted of 2 infantry brigades (a mountain brigade and a border guard brigade), a cavalry brigade, and 10 Alpine battalions, 6 of which used bicycles. Nonetheless, it contained the army's best-trained and best-equipped troops. It was assigned to the German Seventeenth Army, and partly because Soviet forces were then retreating, the Mobile Corps reached the Donets River. In the autumn of 1941, some Hungarian army light infantry divisions were assigned the task of guarding German rear areas in the central part of the front. Although poorly armed and equipped, these divisions effectively carried out their assignment and were not withdrawn until the autumn of 1944.

Under heavy German pressure, Hungary made a major military effort in 1942, deploying Gusztáv Jány's Second Hungarian Army to the Eastern Front. Consisting of three army corps, an armored division, and a mixed Air Force regiment and numbering about 200,000 men, the Second Army fought with General Maximilian von Weich's Army Group B in the Ukraine. Between June and September 1942, it helped drive back Soviet forces behind the Don River, suffering losses of nearly 22,000 men in the process.

Although the Germans provided the Second Army with some equipment, including tanks, much of this was obsolete and, in any case, inadequate in quantity. The Germans supplied only a few antitank guns, and the Hungarians did not have the heavy-caliber guns necessary to stop Soviet tanks. Opposing Soviet forces enjoyed a vast superiority in manpower, guns, tanks, artillery, and stocks of ammunition. Moreover, there had been no effective resupply since the summer campaign of 1942. Weapons and equipment would not work in the bitter cold of winter, there was no winter clothing, and even food was in short supply.

On 12 January 1943, Soviet forces—which outnumbered Hungarian forces by three to one in manpower and had a decided edge in military equipment including tanks, aircraft, and artillery—launched a massive offensive across the Don River and pushed the Hungarians back, causing heavy casualties and material losses. Perhaps 160,000 men in the Second Army died in the battle or subsequent retreat. The Don catastrophe confirmed the Hungarian government's worst



Over 50 Hungarian soldiers are shown in an effort to recover this disabled Soviet tank. It was captured by Hungarian forces who had been fighting on the Eastern Front alongside the German troops. (© Bettmann/Corbis)

fears, and the government used the excuse that its war industries were unable to manufacture new equipment and arms fast enough to equip additional troops in order to avoid dispatching the men to the Eastern Front. The light divisions in occupation duties remained, however.

In March 1944, German forces occupied Hungary and put additional pressure on Hungary to assist with the war. As Soviet forces advanced west, the government deployed the First Hungarian Army to the Ukraine. Part of the German Army Group South, it consisted of 4 infantry divisions, 1 light division, 1 armored division, and 2 mountain brigades. The First Army held its positions until the end of July 1944, when it was forced to withdraw to the Carpathian Mountains. By early autumn, it became obvious that the weak Hungarian forces would be unable to stop Soviet and Romanian troops from invading the country. Army morale plummeted, especially when the Germans took control in Budapest and the fascist Arrow Cross seized control of the government. Whole Hungarian units melted away. Planned new fascist military

units were not organized in time to see action. The leaders of the army hoped to be able to hold out until they could surrender to U.S. and British forces, but this proved impossible. For most of the Hungarian military, the war ended in February 1945, although some Hungarian formations withdrew with German units into Austria and Germany.

Anna Boros-McGee

See also

Eastern Front; Horthy de Nagybánya, Miklós; Hungary, Air Force; Hungary, Role in War; Ukraine Campaign; Yugoslavia Campaign (1941)

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Hungary, Role in War

In 1939, Hungary was a nation of some 10 million people. At least half of the population still made its living from agriculture. The government—headed by Regent Miklós Horthy de Nagybánya, who had wide powers—steadfastly rejected calls for land reform, and more than half the arable land of Hungary was owned by only some 10,000 landowners. Horthy, who remained head of the government from 1920 to 1944, also beat back proposals for universal suffrage.

The chief Hungarian foreign policy objective between the two world wars was revision of the 1920 Treaty of Trianon. Virtually all Hungarians saw the treaty as a national humiliation. It had destroyed the economy and national territorial integrity of Hungary by stripping away some two-thirds of the territory and population. It also consigned 3 million Hungarians to foreign rule. Revisionist sentiment meant the Horthy government fell easy prey to German promises of territorial aggrandizement if Hungary joined the Axis. As a result of the Munich Conference and First Vienna Decision in the autumn of 1938, the German occupation of Czechoslovakia on 15 March 1939, and the Second Vienna Decision in August 1940, Hungary received some of the territories lost after World War I without having to take part in any military operations. Hungary's new alliance with Italy and especially with Germany seemed to be working to the nation's advantage. In return, Hungary provided Germany with increasing amounts of raw materials and food. During the war, Hungary also emerged as a major source of oil for the Reich, ultimately surpassed only by Romania.

In December 1940, the Hungarian government concluded a friendship agreement with Yugoslavia. A few months later, however, Adolf Hitler decided to attack Yugoslavia, and he insisted that Hungary participate in the military operations. Rather than dishonor himself with such an act, Hungarian Prime Minister Pál Teleki committed suicide. Regent Horthy, new Prime Minister László Bárdossy, and chief of staff of the army General Henrik Werth were all committed to Hungarian participation in the invasion of Yugoslavia. They hoped in the process to gain additional territory and cement the alliance with Germany. Hungary entered the war on 11 April 1941.

When Germany invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, it called on Hungary to participate fully in the war effort. Hun-

gary suspended diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, and on 27 June, after a northern Hungarian city was bombed by aircraft identified as Soviet (but which were in fact of unknown origin), Hungary declared war on the Soviet Union. Hungarian army leaders expected a rapid German victory over the USSR.

By the end of June, Hungarian troops were deployed on the Eastern Front. Hungarian forces were split: offensive units advanced with German forces into Soviet territory, and an occupying force provided security for the German rear areas. Much to its chagrin, Hungary ultimately found itself at war with Britain and the United States. The United States declared war on Hungary on 5 June 1942.

In January 1942, under heavy German pressure, Bárdossy promised to send additional troops to the Eastern Front. On 9 March 1942, largely because the Germans had failed to secure a quick victory over the Soviets, Horthy replaced Bárdossy as prime minister with Miklós Kállay. The new prime minister sought to continue his predecessor's policy of open cooperation with Germany while also conducting secret negotiations with the Anglo-Saxon powers in the hope of extricating Hungary from the war.

Meanwhile, between April and June 1942, the Second Hungarian Army of 200,000 men was sent to the Eastern Front to bolster German forces there. Hungarian forces in the Soviet Union suffered from obsolete and insufficient equipment, poor logistics, and insufficient ammunition. The tragic defeat of the Second Hungarian Army near Voronezh in the Battle of the Don River during the winter of 1943 was a catastrophe for Hungary that resulted in the deaths of some 120,000 troops.

Following this loss, Kállay was more determined than ever to extricate Hungary from the war. His secret diplomacy intensified even as Hungarian participation in military operations was being curtailed. This angered Hitler, who demanded nothing less than full Hungarian participation in the war. Hitler was also upset by secret Hungarian negotiations with the western Allies to withdraw from the war, an activity about which pro-German individuals within the Budapest government kept him well-informed.

Alarmed by the Hungarian government's attempts to leave the war, on 19 March 1944 Hitler sent in German troops to occupy the country and force its continued participation on the German side. Under German pressure, Horthy also appointed Döme Sztójay, a pro-German former Hungarian ambassador to Berlin, as the new prime minister. Anti-Nazi parties were banned, and politicians opposed to German policy were arrested. The Hungarian government was also forced to deploy additional soldiers to the Eastern Front to fight against the Soviets. One irony of the German occupation was the reduced economic value of Hungary to the Reich, thanks to the occupation costs, the mass arrest and deportation of Jews, and increased Allied bombing.

In an attempt to decrease German influence, on 29 August 1944 Horthy appointed a new prime minister, Géza Lakatos, who ordered Hungarian army units to attack southern Transylvania to halt a Soviet-Romanian invasion. Understanding that the war was lost, Horthy dispatched a delegation to Moscow to negotiate an armistice with the Soviet Union, the terms of which were agreed to on 11 October 1944.

On 15 October 1944, Horthy announced over the radio Hungary's unconditional surrender. Because of a lack of coordination with army chief of staff János Vörös, the Hungarian army continued to fight, and Horthy's attempt at surrender failed. The Germans then took over Budapest and forced Horthy to step aside in favor of Ferenc Szálasi, leader of the Arrow Cross (the Hungarian fascist party) as prime minister and head of state. Horthy was then arrested by the Gestapo and removed to Germany with his family. During Szálasi's brief tenure, a reign of terror swept Hungary. Thousands of people, including many Jews who had sought refuge in Budapest, were arrested and executed or sent to concentration camps.

Meanwhile, the Soviet army continued to advance, and by December 1944 it laid siege to Budapest. Two and a half months later, the remaining German forces in Buda surrendered. Meanwhile, Hungarian representatives signed an armistice in Moscow on 20 January 1945. Most fighting in the country ended in February 1945, and the last German troops were forced from Hungarian soil on 13 April 1945. The country then passed from German to Soviet army control.

Anna Boros-McGee

See also

Eastern Front; Hitler, Adolf; Horthy de Nagybánya, Miklós; Hungary, Air Force; Hungary, Army; Ukraine Campaign; Vörös, János; Yugoslavia Campaign (1941)

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Hunter-Killer Groups

Specialized antisubmarine units formed to hunt and destroy submarines before they could attack and to provide roving support for convoy escort groups. In late 1942, as production and delivery of antisubmarine vessels increased, the British began forming support groups—permanently established

formations charged with reinforcing hard-pressed convoy escorts. Unlike escort groups, these units trained and exercised intensively to develop and master techniques for hunting and destroying enemy submarines. Their existence and the imminent arrival of large numbers of escort carriers from U.S. shipyards spurred the deployment of specialized hunter-killer units in the navies of the British Commonwealth and the United States.

The Atlantic Convoy Conference of 1–12 March 1943 mandated the formation that year of 10 hunter-killer groups, each centered on an escort carrier. Five British and Canadian groups would support operations in the North Atlantic, and five American groups were to attend to the needs of the Middle Atlantic.

Although convoy support was a significant role, the most important mission of these groups was to locate, intercept, and destroy U-boats before they could attack the slow merchantmen. Central to implementation of this mission were significant advances in three areas: code-breaking, high-frequency direction finding (HF/DF, or "huff-duff"), and radar. By mid-1943, even though significant changes had occurred in the German naval cipher, Allied decoders were able to read 80 percent or more of the U-boat arm's traffic. Furthermore, the British and American submarine tracking rooms were able to predict submarine movements with a fair degree of accuracy on the basis of types of traffic, even if the message itself was unreadable.

High-frequency direction finding also was important in tracking and locating submarines. Shore-based installations became sufficiently sophisticated to give close "fixes," whereas advances in miniaturization produced sets suitable for installation aboard ships. From late 1942, half of all U.S. destroyer and escort production was fitted with HF/DF. The British followed suit in the spring of 1943.

Code-breaking, direction finding, and tracking ashore provided the hunter-killer groups with close approximations of the positions of U-boats at sea. Shipborne huff-duff, the new centimetric radar sets, and improved sonar equipment and procedures, together with the groups' organic aircraft, substantially enhanced their location rates. Better depth charges, ahead-throwing weapons, and aircraft-launched rockets or homing torpedoes eased the task of sinking the target. Hunter-killer groups trained together thoroughly, developed new coordinated tactics, and, above all, focused on locating and destroying U-boats rather than protecting convoys.

From the moment of their deployment, Allied hunter-killer groups played a major role in the destruction of Germany's U-boats. For example, between May and December 1943, the group formed around the American escort carrier *Bogue* sank 10 U-boats in the Atlantic; between June 1943 and January 1944, the Royal Navy's 2nd Support Group destroyed

14 submarines. The attack on *U-358* illustrates the significance of persistent attack made possible by adherence to a single mission: the British 1st Support Group maintained continuous contact for 38 hours and expended 530 depth charges before forcing the submarine to the surface and carrying out its destruction.

Paul E. Fontenoy

See also

Antisubmarine Warfare; Atlantic, Battle of the; Depth Charges; Sonar

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Hürtgen Forest Campaign (12 September–16 December 1944)

Although it is little remembered today, the battle for the Hürtgen Forest was one of the worst defeats ever suffered by the U.S. Army. In three months of combat operations, the Americans sustained almost 33,000 casualties but accomplished almost nothing tactically or operationally in the process.

By late August 1944, the apparently defeated German army had been pushed out of France and back to the borders of the Reich. Many GIs began to believe that the war would be over by Christmas. But the situation changed as the Allies reached German territory and the defenses of the German West Wall (called the Siegfried Line by the Americans but never by the Germans). In the central sector of the West Wall defensive line lay the dark and almost impenetrable Hürtgen Forest.

At that point in the war, the Allied logistics system was stretched to the breaking point, and the advancing armies were on the verge of running out of ammunition and fuel. Allied military planners were faced with the two strategic options of attacking Germany—on a broad front or on a narrow front. Lieutenant General George S. Patton Jr. and Field Marshal Sir Bernard Montgomery were the two leading advocates of the narrow-front approach, but each general thought his forces should execute the “dagger thrust” into the heart of the Reich.

Pressed hard by Montgomery, Supreme Commander, Allied Expeditionary Forces General Dwight D. Eisenhower

agreed in September 1944 to support the British plan for a combined ground and airborne thrust into Holland and then across the Rhine River at Arnhem. Launched on 17 September, Operation MARKET-GARDEN soon failed. With supplies starting to dwindle to a trickle, the western Allies had no real choice other than to revert to the broad-front strategy of applying even pressure against the Germans all along the line.

Just prior to the start of MARKET-GARDEN, the U.S. First Army, commanded by Lieutenant General Courtney H. Hodges, breached the West Wall in two places and attacked the city of Aachen immediately north of the Hürtgen Forest. Hodges's 250,000-man force consisted of eight veteran divisions in the U.S. VII, V, and VIII Corps. After taking Aachen, Hodges planned to attack around the north end of the Hürtgen Forest across the flat open Rhine plain toward the city of Köln (Cologne). But Hodges also believed that he had to first secure the Hürtgen Forest to avoid dangerously exposing his southern flank.

The Hürtgen Forest is a classic piece of defender's terrain. It is an interlaced network of bald, exposed ridgelines and deeply wooded ravines, and the Roer River runs through the middle of the forest and then out across the Rhine plain. The small river itself was not a significant military obstacle, but a series of dams high in the forest had created a huge artificial lake holding millions of gallons of water. By releasing that water at the right moment, the Germans could flood the Rhine plain, which would slow, disrupt, and channelize Allied military movement for weeks. Those dams, in the vicinity of the town of Schmidt, were the one significant military operational objective in the Hürtgen Forest; but ironically, neither side appeared to recognize that significance until the battle was almost over.

Although the German army had a reputation as the master of mobile, offensive warfare, it also was tenacious and resourceful in the defense. The German army group commander in that sector, Field Marshal Walter Model, was a master defensive tactician.

The Hürtgen Forest campaign started on 12 September when the veteran 9th Infantry Division attacked the southern end of the forest in an attempt to move through a passage known as the Monschau Corridor. The 9th Infantry Division took the town of Lammersdorf in the south, but it was stopped just short of Germeter in the center of the forest. In late October, the 9th Infantry Division was withdrawn from the line after suffering 4,500 casualties. The 28th Infantry Division replaced it.

The U.S. First Army planned another attack, this time with VII Corps, commanded by Major General J. Lawton Collins. It was to move through the northern passage called the Stolberg Corridor. As a diversionary effort to draw off German forces, Major Leonard Gerow's V Corps to the south would attack with one division against Schmidt on the far side of the



U.S. tanks advance to the battle front in the Hürtgen Forest, November 1944. (Photo by U.S. Signal Corps/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Kall River gorge. The supporting attack was scheduled for 2 November, and the main attack was to follow on 5 November. However, VII Corps could not get ready in time, and the main attack was postponed—first until 10 November and then until 16 November. For some reason, the timing for the supporting attack never changed.

The 28th Infantry Division launched the attack toward Schmidt with all three of its infantry regiments attacking in diverging directions, which dissipated rather than concentrated its combat power. The most notable feature of that battle was the near-epic struggle to get a handful of M-4 tanks and M-10 tank destroyers down the steep and narrow forest trail into the Kall River gorge and back up the other side to the open ground near the towns of Kommerscheidt and Schmidt. The 112th Infantry Regiment took Schmidt on 3 November. The Germans counterattacked immediately, supported by PzKpfw-V Panther tanks.

Despite the gallant fight against superior odds, in which antitank platoon leader Lieutenant Turney Leonard earned a posthumous Medal of Honor, all American armor east of the Kall River was destroyed. By 8 November, the 28th Infantry Division was pushed back almost to its starting positions, having sustained 6,184 casualties in only 7 days of fighting. Major General Norman Cota, the 28th Infantry Division commander, was widely criticized for the tactically stupid offensive scheme, a plan that actually had been imposed on him by V Corps. Cota had tried to protest it.

The 28th Infantry Division was relieved in the line by the 8th Infantry Division on 13 November. Three days later, the Americans launched the postponed main assault, with VII Corps' 104th, 1st, and 4th Infantry Divisions attacking through the north of the forest. South of VII Corps and just to the north of where the 28th Infantry Division had been mauled, V Corps' 8th Infantry Division launched a support-

ing attack. Once again, the Americans ran into a determined and skillful German defense. The attackers suffered heavy casualties in exchange for mere yards of ground. The GIs fought under terrible conditions of snow, rain, mud, cold, and almost impenetrable woods in fierce infantry combat reminiscent of World War I.

The Americans were still trying to punch their way through the Hürtgen Forest and making almost no progress when, on 16 December, the Germans launched their Ardennes Offensive to the south. The almost complete tactical and operational surprise the Germans achieved brought the Hürtgen Forest campaign to a halt, as all Allied forces focused on containing the Germans in the Battle of the Bulge. Even after the major German offensive was turned back, the Americans did not take Schmidt and the Roer River dams until early February 1945. Just before the Germans withdrew, they managed to blow up the valves controlling the spillway of the Schwammenauel Dam, the major dam in the system.

The Hürtgen Forest campaign was a brilliantly executed economy-of-force operation by the Germans. Most of the German records from that period did not survive, but Germany probably suffered more casualties than did the United States. Nonetheless, the Germans held the vastly better supplied and better equipped attackers to a dead standstill for three months, while just a few miles to the south, three German field armies assembled in almost complete secrecy for the Ardennes Offensive.

The Hürtgen Forest area today is little different than it was in late 1944 before the battle started. The forest has returned,

and the tree lines are much as they were. The towns and villages have been reestablished and are today only slightly more built up than they were at the time of the battle. Very few markers or memorials exist to indicate the prolonged and savage fighting. Yet, almost 60 years after the battle hardly a year goes by without another discovery of human remains in the forest known as the “dark and bloody ground.”

David T. Zabecki

See also

Collins, Joseph Lawton; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Gerow, Leonard Townsend; Hodges, Courtney Hicks; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Model, Walter; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Patton, George Smith, Jr.

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HUSKY, Operation

See Sicily, Invasion of.

Iba Field, Attack on (8 December 1941)

Japanese air attack in the Philippines Islands, simultaneous with the raid on Clark Field. The Japanese planned to fly at night from Formosa (Taiwan) to avoid interception, arriving at first light to strike Nichols and Clark Fields, the main U.S. fighter and bomber bases in the Philippines. However, early-morning fog on Formosa grounded the aircraft of the Japanese navy's Eleventh Air Fleet. With no prospect of surprise, planners decided to ignore Nichols Field in favor of Iba, a pursuit-aircraft base northwest of Manila on Luzon's west coast. An attack on Iba would cover the flank of the Japanese force attacking Clark. When the fog lifted on the morning of 8 December, 54 twin-engine navy Mitsubishi G4M1 Type medium bombers (known to the Allied side by the code name BETTY) of the Takao and Kanoya Air Groups and 50 Mitsubishi A6M Reisen (Zero) fighters of the 3rd Air Group took off from Formosa and flew toward the Philippines.

At Iba, the U.S. 3rd Pursuit Squadron flew 16 P-40Es off the grass strip about 11:45 A.M. to intercept the Japanese planes, reportedly heading for Manila. This action was the Americans' second scramble of the morning. They failed to detect any Japanese, and the planes raced back when they heard Iba Field's radio warn of a hostile force approaching from the sea. The 3rd Pursuit Squadron reached Iba low on fuel and, in any case, failed to locate the Japanese aircraft. The squadron entered the landing pattern at 12:45 P.M. Six aircraft landed just as the Japanese bombers and fighters struck. Japanese bombs tore into barracks, service buildings, and maintenance equipment. A bomb also destroyed Iba's radar, a fatal blow to subsequent U.S. air-defense efforts.

A few American pilots turned their aircraft against the Zeros, despite near empty fuel tanks. The nimble Japanese shot down five P-40s, and swirling dogfights ran three more Americans out of gas. These desperate American attacks prevented the Zeros from strafing Iba. Ultimately, however, the 3rd Pursuit lost 16 P-40s in the air and on the ground—nearly the entire squadron—as well as 45 trained pilots and mechanics. Damage to the field and equipment was significant.

The unexpected success of the Japanese raids on Clark and Iba stunned both the Japanese and the Americans. The attacks crippled General Douglas MacArthur's air force and made possible the safe approach of the Japanese invasion convoys.

John W. Whitman

See also

Brereton, Lewis Hyde; Japanese Raid on; MacArthur, Douglas; Philippines, Japanese Capture of

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ICEBERG, Operation

See Okinawa, Invasion of.

ICHI-GŌ Campaign (April–December 1944)

Last major Japanese offensive in China during the war. In spring 1944, the war was going badly for the Japanese. With Lieutenant General Joseph W. Stilwell's forces progressing in northern Burma, the Japanese launched their last offensive in China. Known as the ICHI-GŌ Campaign (Operation NUMBER ONE), it was aimed primarily at the Nationalist forces; the Japanese strategic objectives were to destroy these forces, capture air bases in southeast China, consolidate control over eastern China, and secure control of the Beijing (Beiping)-Hankow-Canton railroad line. The Japanese also hoped to relieve some of the pressure on their forces in Burma and establish a stronger base in China from which to resist any potential Allied invasion of the Japanese home islands.

The first phase began in March and lasted until July 1944, with the offensive being mounted on a broad front across central and south China. Japanese aims were to press toward the Nationalist capital of Chongqing (Chungking), open up direct communications with French Indochina, and capture airfields in southeast China being used by U.S. aircraft to attack Japanese ground forces and shipping. The early phase of the operation went well for the Japanese, with Nationalist forces quickly collapsing. This situation ended whatever hope remained among Western leaders that China might play a major role in the defeat of Japan.

In northern China during April and May, the Japanese cleared the Beijing-Hankow railway and took Henan Province, even though they had to move at night to avoid constant attacks from Major General Claire Chennault's Fourteenth Air Force. Despite their air superiority, the Chinese Nationalist forces lost almost every time they met the Japanese. Some Chinese soldiers were even attacked by their own people, enraged by earlier mistreatment, and on occasion, starving peasants actually killed retreating Chinese troops and welcomed the Japanese.

Nationalist military failures exacerbated the already rocky relationship between Nationalist Chinese leader Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) and Stilwell, as well as that between Chennault and Stilwell. Stilwell was convinced that the key to restoring China lay in reopening a land supply to Chongqing through Burma, whereas Chennault feared for the preservation of his airfields in eastern China. Jiang, realizing that the Americans were going to defeat the Japanese in due course, seemed more concerned with the threat posed to his regime

by the Chinese Communists. In fall 1944, the rift led to Stilwell's dismissal.

Phase two of the ICHI-GŌ Campaign began in July with a pincer movement by two Japanese armies, one from Wuhan and one from Canton, attempting to take Guilin and open a land route between central China and Southeast Asia. By November, all of Guangxi and eastern Hunan had been overrun, and the Japanese were threatening Guiyang, capital of Guizhou Province. In the process, the Japanese captured all but three of the U.S. airfields in south China. The Allies feared that if Guiyang fell, the Japanese might capture Kunming and Chongqing. But the Japanese were not able to advance farther, and in December, they attacked Guiyang but were repulsed. ICHI-GŌ was over.

In early 1945, the Japanese began limited offensives to consolidate the gains of 1944, but these failed to accomplish much, since the threat of war with the Soviet Union forced them to transfer several divisions to defend Manchuria and the Japanese mainland. Between May and July, the Nationalist Chinese used this situation to recover Guangxi and western Guangdong, but most Chinese lands captured by the Japanese during the ICHI-GŌ Campaign remained in their hands until the end of the war. The ICHI-GŌ offensive also greatly benefited Communist forces in China, who took advantage of the Nationalist defeats to occupy more territory and greatly expand their army.

William Head

See also

Chennault, Claire Lee; Jiang Jieshi; Stilwell, Joseph Warren

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Iida Shōjirō (1888–1975)

Japanese army general and conqueror of Burma in 1942. Born in Yamaguchi Prefecture, Japan, in 1888, Iida Shōjirō joined the army in 1908. He graduated from the War College in

December 1915 and was promoted to captain in December 1918. Iida participated in Japan's Siberian Intervention and served two terms as an instructor at the Infantry School between postings to infantry regiments. By August 1934, he commanded 4th Infantry Regiment, Guards Division. Promoted to lieutenant general in August 1939, he then commanded the Guards Division. In July 1941, Iida's Twenty-Fifth Army occupied French Indochina. He established his headquarters in Saigon and prepared for an invasion of Thailand.

In December 1941, Iida took command of the newly formed Fifteenth Army, consisting of the 33rd and 55th Infantry Divisions, charged with occupying Thailand. Beginning on 8 December, his superior forces easily overcame light Thai resistance. The Thai government then accepted occupation and signed a mutual defense pact with Japan.

On 20 January 1942, Iida's divisions crossed into Burma. Iida had only 35,000 men and limited supplies. The terrain sharply circumscribed Japanese operations, forcing the troops to abandon most of their heavy weapons and vehicles and utilize animals to carry their provisions. Although Japanese air attacks on Rangoon failed to close that port, Iida quickly outmaneuvered British forces. The Japanese force-marched along jungle trails, often outdistancing the motorized British. On 8 March, his men took Rangoon, and Iida immediately used that port to receive reinforcements and supplies. The fall of Rangoon also cut the Burma Road and isolated China from Western aid. By May, British and Chinese forces in Burma had been driven back to India and China, respectively. The Japanese had inflicted some 30,000 casualties, with their own ground force losses numbering only 7,000.

In April 1943, Iida was assigned to the General Defense Command. He retired in December 1944 but was recalled to command the Thirtieth Army in Manchuria in July 1945. He had barely taken up his post before it was overrun by the Red Army in August. Iida was taken prisoner and only released in 1950. He died in Tokyo on 23 January 1975.

Tim J. Watts

See also

Burma Theater; Manchuria Campaign

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Imamura Hitoshi (1886–1968)

Japanese army general and commander of the Eighth Area Army at Rabaul. Born in Miyagi Prefecture, Japan, on 4 Octo-

ber 1886, Imamura Hitoshi was commissioned into the Imperial Japanese Army in December 1907. He graduated from the War College in 1915 and then was an observer in Britain and India. In April 1932, Imamura took command of the 57th Infantry Regiment, followed in March 1935 by command of the 40th Infantry Regiment. He then served as deputy chief of staff of the Guandong (Kwantung) Army in Manchuria and then assumed the post of commandant of the Army Infantry School. Imamura commanded the 5th Infantry Division in China from November 1938 to March 1940. He returned to China as commander of the Twenty-Third Army in June 1941.

In December 1941, Imamura took command of the Sixteenth Army, which was intended to conquer the Netherlands East Indies. During the invasion of Java on 1 March 1942, the transport that was carrying him, the *Rujo Maru*, was sunk in the Battle of Sunda Strait. Clinging to a piece of wood, Imamura managed to reach shore. His force soon after overran the Dutch defenders on Java, and on 9 March, Imamura accepted the surrender of all remaining Allied forces in the Netherlands East Indies. As military governor of the former Dutch colony, he established a liberal occupation policy and freed Indonesian dissidents from prison.

In November 1942, Imamura took command of the new Eighth Area Army at Rabaul. Imperial General Headquarters had realized that General Hyakutake Haruyashi could not adequately direct operations on both Guadalcanal and New Guinea. Hyakutake took direct control of the Seventeenth Army on Guadalcanal, and General Adachi Hatazo took over the units on New Guinea, now designated the Eighteenth Army. Imamura was unable to deliver two new divisions to Hyakutake when the Japanese navy failed to control the sea around Guadalcanal. Instead, he had to order Hyakutake to evacuate Guadalcanal.

Imamura's efforts to reinforce New Guinea were also hampered by growing Allied airpower. The complete destruction of a convoy in the Battle of the Bismarck Sea in March 1943 convinced Imamura that New Guinea would also be lost. Within weeks, operations on New Guinea were transferred to the Second Area Army, and Imamura was left with only the Seventeenth Army.

Hyakutake and his Seventeenth Army were cut off on Bougainville by an American invasion in November 1943. On 25 March 1944, Imamura ordered the aggressive Hyakutake to cease offensive operations and adopt a purely defensive stance. Imamura himself was isolated at Rabaul with 70,000 troops when Australian forces captured the rest of New Britain. He hoped his presence would provide a strategic benefit to Japan, and he surrendered in 1945 only after Emperor Hirohito ordered him to do so. Tried and convicted of war crimes after the war, Imamura was imprisoned until 1954. He died in Tokyo on 4 October 1968.

Tim J. Watts

See also

Bismarck Sea, Battle of; Bougainville Campaign; Guadalcanal, Land Battle for; Hirohito, Emperor of Japan; International Military Tribunal: Far East; New Guinea Campaign; Rabaul

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Imphal and Kohima, Sieges of (March–July 1944)

Crucial battles that marked the turning point in the defense of India. In February 1944, Lieutenant General Mutaguchi Renya, commander of the Japanese Fifteenth Army in Burma, undertook an invasion of eastern India, partly in response to raids by the British. Mutaguchi hoped to forestall a British offensive and perhaps spark a revolt against British rule in India. He mustered about 220,000 men for his campaign, but his effort was hampered by a lack of heavy artillery and a ten-

uous supply line. The campaign was made more difficult by the mountainous terrain of eastern India, where the towns and villages were usually situated on saddles connecting high, rugged ridges. Mutaguchi's plan was to cut the road running south to Imphal from the supply depot at Dimapur. Then, after his troops had infiltrated the British-Indian positions, he planned to seize the high ground, force his opponents to retreat, and utilize captured supplies to march farther west.

The Japanese offensive opened in earnest on 11–12 March 1944, after Mutaguchi feinted south of Imphal and then surrounded it with his 33rd and 15th Divisions, cutting off supplies and laying siege to 150,000 British-Indian defenders. British Lieutenant General William Slim, commander of the defending Fourteenth Army, had expected an attack but was surprised by the speed of the Japanese advance. He countered by flying ammunition, provisions, fuel, and the 5th Indian Division into Imphal to reinforce the defenders. The British also benefited from having the 254th Tank Brigade at Imphal, the only armor in the battle. The British tanks played a decisive part in reopening the road and placing the Japanese infantry around Imphal on the defensive by the beginning of the monsoon season in May.

Meanwhile, Japanese Lieutenant General Satō Kōtoku's 31st Division had surrounded the key village of Kohima,



On Imphal front, Sikh signaler (left) operates walkie-talkie for British officers, listening to patrols reporting Japanese positions. (Library of Congress)

north of Imphal. If Kohima fell, all British units to the south would have been forced to retreat. But the 161st Indian Brigade at Kohima held, and once again, Slim turned to his air transports, flying the 2nd Infantry Division into Dimapur; that unit then pushed down the road to relieve Kohima. When the troops broke the circle about the village on 18 April, Slim went over to the attack.

General Satō held his ground, forcing the British-Indian troops to evict the Japanese from their positions yard by yard. Finally, on 2 June, ignoring orders from Mutaguchi to stand to the last man, Satō withdrew his battered division. Mutaguchi ordered the remainder of his army to retreat a month later.

British-Indian casualties in the campaign were about 15,000 men, but Japanese losses exceeded 90,000. The latter included several thousand troops of Subhas Chandra Bose's Indian National Army. The Japanese defeat at Imphal and Kohima paved the way for the British and Chinese offensives into Burma the next year.

Terry Shoptaugh

See also

India; Slim, Sir William Joseph

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Incendiary Bombs and Bombing

Air-delivered ordnance used to damage or destroy physical structures by means of fire; a form of strategic bombing intended to cause widespread damage to industrial and population centers, that is, firebombing.

During the early days of World War II, proponents of strategic bombing advocated large-scale air attacks against vital enemy military and industrial targets. These air raids were to be carried out during the day to facilitate precision bombing and maximize damage. However, both the German Luftwaffe during the Battle of Britain and the Royal Air Force (RAF) Bomber Command during raids over Germany suffered such great losses of men and material that both turned to nighttime area attacks. To compensate for the inherent loss of accuracy, they also turned to the use of incendiary bombs (IBs). In addition to the physical destruction these bombs caused, the use of incendiaries was calculated to have a devastating effect on the morale of the civilian populations in enemy cities.

The Luftwaffe employed chiefly the 2.2 lb B1 El, containing a mixture of magnesium and thermite, in raids against

Great Britain. One of the most infamous Luftwaffe firebombing raids was conducted against the city of Coventry on 14–15 November 1941. In that one raid, the Germans dropped more than 56 tons of incendiaries, causing extensive damage and casualties.

The RAF's Bomber Command began experimenting with incendiary bombing in the early months of 1942, and on 2 May 1942, the head of Bomber Command, Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Harris, ordered the first thousand-plane raid against the German city of Köln (Cologne). Using a mixture of high-explosive and incendiary bombs, the attack on 30–31 May destroyed over 8 square miles of the city. Assessment of these early attacks convinced Harris that widespread devastation could be achieved with the right combination of ordnance in strikes conducted over several successive days and nights. The RAF would launch the night attacks with high explosives creating the fuel for the incendiaries that followed. The British 4 lb magnesium IB and the 30 lb phosphorous IB would then begin the fires. More high explosives would follow to disrupt fire-fighting and rescue units, concluding with another round of incendiaries. The U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) Eighth Air Force would also participate with "precision" (actually, area) daylight bombing on areas missed by the previous night's raid. The most famous of these perfected raids were against the cities of Hamburg and Dresden.

Beginning on the night of 24 July 1943 and lasting until 2 August, the attack on Hamburg, code-named Operation GOMORRAH, created a firestorm that destroyed over 6,000 acres of the city and killed at least 40,000 Germans. Then, on 13–14 February 1945, 1,400 RAF bombers attacked the city of Dresden at night, with 1,350 U.S. bombers following the next day. The resulting firestorm destroyed much of the city and killed tens of thousands of people. Following the Dresden raid, firebombing came under close scrutiny by the British and American governments and was suspended for the remainder of the European conflict.

In the Pacific Theater, the USAAF began experimenting with incendiary bombing in early 1945. Major General Curtis LeMay, who took over command of the Marianas-based bombing campaign against the Japanese home islands in January 1945, was under pressure from Washington to reduce the loss rates for the B-29 bombers in missions over Japan and increase the effectiveness of the high-altitude, daylight, precision-bombing attacks against major Japanese cities.

On the night of 9–10 March 1945, 334 B-9 bombers dropped more than 2,000 tons of incendiaries on central Tokyo.

LeMay decided on low-level nighttime bombing runs with aircraft stripped of much of their protective armament in order to maximize bomb loads.

On the night of 9–10 March 1945, 334 B-29 bombers dropped more than 2,000 tons of incendiaries on central Tokyo. Unlike the magnesium-thermite and phosphorous bombs commonly used in Europe, the B-29s carried 100 lb, oil-gel M47 bombs and 6 lb, gelled-gasoline M69 bombs, calculated to be most effective against the wood and paper building materials so common in Japanese cities. The resulting firestorm destroyed 16 square miles of the city and killed an estimated 100,000 Japanese. Over the next weeks, B-29s fire-bombed the major Japanese cities, save the shrine city of Kyoto. The damage to Japan's major industrial cities was so extensive that LeMay was convinced he had found the means to end the war in the Pacific without an invasion of Japan itself.

The tactical potential of incendiary bombing was only beginning to be realized. Allied aircraft employed napalm—jellied gasoline ignited by thermite—against Japanese positions throughout the island-hopping campaigns. Incendiary bombing continued to be used on a wide scale in the Korean and Vietnam conflicts.

Stephen L. Gibbs

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Britain, Battle of; Dresden, Air Attack on; Harris, Sir Arthur Travers; LeMay, Curtis Emerson; Strategic Bombing; Tokyo, Bombing of (1945)

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India

India, with a population of 319 million in 1941, played an important role in World War II. Its location, population, vast extent, and resources all made it vital to the Allied war effort. India became the base for British operations against Burma and for resupply efforts to China. It was also a key source of manpower, important raw materials, and finished goods.

In September 1939, Lord Linlithgow (Victor Alexander John Hope, 2nd Marquess of Linlithgow), the viceroy of India from 1936 to 1943, declared war on Germany and Italy on behalf of India and suspended the Government of India Act of 1935. Although this move was constitutionally correct, Linlithgow's failure to consult with the Indian legislature

proved politically disastrous, as the British government had been endeavoring to encourage representative government by Indian elites. In response to Linlithgow's action, a large number of Congress Party members resigned their government posts. This outcome was ironic, as most Indians, including many princes and Congress Party leader Jawaharlal Nehru, opposed the Axis. A small number of Indian politicians, most notably Mohandas K. Gandhi, opposed all wars as a matter of principle.

In March 1942, Sir Richard Stafford Cripps arrived in India with a proposal for granting immediate self-rule after the war ended. The Congress Party rejected this offer and answered with the Quit India movement, announced on 8 August 1942. The movement called for an immediate end to British rule in India and involved mass struggle by nonviolent means. The British responded by arresting 60,000 leaders of the Congress Party, including both Nehru and Gandhi. Although the Muslim League also rejected the Cripps Plan, it benefited from its more moderate stance, and the influence of its leader, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, grew.

As noted, India was an important source of manpower for the Allied war effort. In 1938, British War Secretary Leslie Hore-Belisha recommended that the Indian army be reorganized, since too many British soldiers were deployed in India. But in June 1939, the Chatfield Commission held that a wholly Indian military was not feasible. The commission members believed British troops were necessary to keep peace between Muslims and Hindus—and, not incidentally, to maintain British control. In consequence, no major reorganization or modernization of the Indian army occurred. In 1939, the army numbered 189,000 men, of whom 65,000 were in administrative or communication positions. Much of the army's equipment was obsolete. Moreover, the army had no antitank units and only eight anti-aircraft guns; there was also a serious shortage of artillery, let alone modern types.

The British government in India believed that the country would not be heavily involved with the war, particularly not overseas. Consequently, in the first eight months of the conflict, the government accepted only 53,000 volunteers to supplement existing forces. Even so, two brigades of the Indian army were deployed to Egypt in October 1939. And in 1940, Indian troops were dispatched to the Afghan border, Iraq, Malaya, Burma, and East Africa.

The Indian military grew considerably during the war. Defense spending increased from 49.5 million rupees in 1939–1940 to 395.3 million in 1945–1946. The army also expanded apace. A total of 2,644,323 men served in the Indian army during the war, of whom approximately 2 million were combatants. Indian forces fought in Syria, North Africa, East Africa, the Middle East, Malaya, Greece, Sicily, and Italy. A total of 179,935 became casualties, including prisoners of war (POWs). Indians formed the bulk of Allied fighting troops in



A worker in one of India's fast-expanding munitions plants in the early 1940s. During the war, India produced more than 50 different kinds of arms and ammunition. (Library of Congress)

Southeast Asia; of 1 million British troops in the region, more than 700,000 were Indian. Although Muslims were only 27 percent of the total Indian population, they formed two-thirds of the Indian troops in North Africa, Italy, Malaya, and Burma.

In April 1942, in order to counter a possible Japanese invasion of India from Burma, the British commander in chief, General Archibald P. Wavell, reorganized the Indian army structure of independent commands and formed it into Central Command and three armies: Northwestern, Central, and Eastern. In December 1942, the Eastern Army attacked into the Arakan, and the next year, it became General Sir William J. Slim's Fourteenth Army. In 1943, the British command placed more emphasis on jungle training, which stood Indian forces in good stead when they engaged the Japanese.

In the Japanese capture of Singapore in February 1942, 60,000 Indian troops became POWs. Radical Indian nationalist politician Subhas Chandra Bose and the Japanese convinced some 25,000 of them to join the Indian National Army (INA, also known as the Azad Hind Faj) and fight to end

British rule in India. The Japanese viewed this force as an effective tool against British power, whereas its members saw themselves as an army of national liberation. Ultimately, some 7,000 INA troops were attached to Japanese units and fought in the Imphal Offensive into India. The remainder were used as auxiliaries. Most of the poorly trained and poorly equipped INA forces were either taken prisoner or deserted.

The rapid acceleration of the Indian war effort, especially following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, spurred tremendous economic growth and led to a major expansion of India's industrial base. India contributed vast amounts of material to the British Empire's war effort, including raw materials, steel, locomotives and rolling stock, assault craft, and electrical components. Batteries produced in India were a vital component of air-to-ground communications, and India took the lead in manufacturing parachutes and uniforms and in assembling tens of thousands of armored vehicles from Canadian and U.S. components. India also supplied more than 50,000 stretchers, in excess of 1 million blankets,

250,000 mosquito nets, 1.5 million water-testing tablets, and 160 tons of mosquito-repellent cream. Further, to cope with the Allied rubber shortage, India established rubber plantations, experimented with reclaimed rubber, and produced considerable quantities of tires and hoses. It also produced alloy steels for guns and small arms, bayonets, shells, primers, and explosives, as well as steel for the manufacture of anti-aircraft guns, anti-tank shells, and light machine guns.

In addition, Indian princes contributed on an individual basis to the war effort, donating material goods such as blankets, woolen cloth, silk for parachutes, and rubber products. The nawab of Bhopal liquidated his investments in the United States and used the money to purchase a squadron of Spitfire aircraft.

The war brought restrictions on movement, civil rights, and food supplies. As the threat of a Japanese attack

India supplied more than 50,000 stretchers, 1 million blankets, 250,000 mosquito nets, and 160 tons of mosquito-repellent cream.

increased, the viceroy ordered a “scorched-earth” policy that mandated the confiscation of all bicycles and boats in major coastal cities such as Calcutta. These seizures threatened the livelihood of many Indians and made food distribution more difficult. Between 1940 and 1942, prices of basic consumer goods increased an average of 250 percent, and the government began rationing grain,

sugar, and cloth. Bengal was especially hard hit, for a famine there in 1943 claimed between 700,000 and 1.5 million lives; it was brought on, in part, by Japanese attacks against shipping along India’s east coast. In addition to the high prices for food, India was unable to secure food imports from Burma after it was controlled by the Japanese.

Once the war had ended, it was apparent that the British could not long retain their control of India: the war had strengthened indigenous nationalist movements. Consequently, on 20 February 1947, the Labour government in London announced that it would transfer power to India no later than June 1948. However, despite Gandhi’s pleas, religious animosity led to the partition of India. The Muslim eastern and western portions became Pakistan on 14 August 1947; a day later, the remainder of India became independent.

Laura J. Hilton

See also

China-Burma-India Theater; Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand; Imphal and Kohima, Sieges of; Slim, Sir William Joseph; Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival

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Indian Ocean, Japanese Naval Operations in (March–May 1942)

By late March 1942, the Japanese placed primary importance on the elimination of British naval forces in the Indian Ocean that might threaten the oil-rich East Indies. Imperial Headquarters therefore decided to attack Colombo and Trincomalee on Ceylon (Sri Lanka), off India. The Japanese hoped this move would force the British westward; spread panic in India and cause the British to divert resources there from Burma; and open the way to the conquest of Madagascar, which would enable them to cut Allied supply lines to the Pacific, Egypt, and the Soviet Union.

British Vice Admiral James Somerville commanded the Eastern Fleet, with 29 ships. He split his ships into Force A and Force B. The main body, Force A, consisted of his fastest ships: 2 fleet aircraft carriers, 1 battleship, 2 heavy cruisers, 2 light cruisers, and 6 destroyers. Force B consisted of 1 light carrier, 4 old R-class battleships, and a hodgepodge of 11 old cruisers and destroyers. Somerville faced a superior Japanese force under Vice Admiral Nagumo Chūichi. His First Air Fleet consisted of 5 large aircraft carriers (the *Kaga* remained in Japan), 4 battleships, 2 heavy cruisers, 1 light cruiser, and 11 destroyers.

En route to Ceylon, the Japanese attacked Port Darwin in Australia and, on 27 February, sank the U.S. seaplane tender *Langley*, bound for Java with aircraft. On 23 March, the Japanese took the Andaman Islands, securing the sea route to Rangoon from Singapore. Two days later, Nagumo’s ships entered the Indian Ocean.

Earlier, on 7 March, the battleships *Haruna* and *Kongo* had shelled Christmas Island, located 190 miles southwest of Java and considered important for its phosphate resources. A Japanese task force, commanded by Rear Admiral Kyuji Kubo and consisting of 3 cruisers, 2 destroyers, and transports, then arrived. Japanese troops forced the island’s surrender on 31 March. The U.S. submarine *Seawolf* scored a hit on Kubo’s flagship, the light cruiser *Naka*, which had to be towed to Singapore for repairs. Several months later, the

Japanese withdrew from Christmas Island because it was unsuitable for any military facilities.

The attack on Ceylon, code-named Operation C, consisted of a strike against Colombo on 5 April and another on Trincomalee on 9 April. The British believed the Japanese planned to attack Ceylon beginning on 1 April, and Somerville stationed his ships south of Ceylon on 31 March.

Late on 2 April, however, Somerville, who feared a Japanese submarine attack and a daylight air attack on his ships, split his fleet. He sent the majority to Addu Atoll, a small refueling base in the Maldives some 600 miles southwest of Ceylon. He also dispatched the cruisers *Dorsetshire* and *Cornwall* to Colombo and the light carrier *Hermes* and the destroyer *Vampire* to Trincomalee. Immediately after the British ships reached Addu Atoll on 4 April, the Japanese were sighted 360 miles south of Ceylon. The main British force was now too far away to attack the Japanese, but bases on Ceylon were put on high alert. Somerville realized that he had blundered and recalled the two cruisers to Addu Atoll. The *Hermes* and *Vampire* were to rendezvous once they were finished fueling.

At 8:00 A.M. on Easter, 5 April, Japanese aircraft struck Colombo. Forty-two British fighters met the attackers, which were protected by escorting fighters. The Japanese planes destroyed shipping and paid particular attention to shore installations: railroad yards, repair shops, and the airfield. High-altitude Japanese bombers sank an immobilized armed merchant cruiser and a destroyer, and they severely damaged a submarine tender. The raid, completed by 8:35, cost the Japanese only 7 aircraft, whereas the British lost 25. Once the Japanese had recovered their planes, a floatplane spotted the *Dorsetshire* and *Cornwall* at sea, and Nagumo launched 88 aircraft against them. The Japanese sank both British heavy cruisers in short order. Somerville had set out from Addu Atoll to engage the Japanese but failed to locate them. When Force B joined him the next day, he regarded it as a liability and promptly dispatched it to Kenya.

Nagumo, meanwhile, moved his ships toward Trincomalee. Believing the Japanese were next going to attack Addu Atoll, Somerville positioned his ships off the atoll, 1,000 miles from the Japanese fleet. With the threat to India's coast and the sinking of merchant ships, the British decided to cede the eastern Indian Ocean to the Japanese and sent Force A to the western coast of India. The *Hermes* and *Vampire* were ordered to hug the coast and join Force A.

The Japanese raid on Trincomalee, beginning at 7:25 A.M. on 9 April and conducted by 91 bombers and 38 fighters, was met by 23 British aircraft. The Japanese planes found no warships in the harbor, but they did sink a merchant ship there. They concentrated on the shore installations and airfield and shot down 9 British Hurricane fighters, as well as 5 Blenheim bombers sent against the Japanese carrier *Akagi* as she retired (the British bombers scored no hits). That afternoon,

Japanese aircraft spotted the *Hermes* and *Vampire* at sea. Nagumo sent 90 aircraft against them, and the *Hermes*, with no planes aboard, and her escorting destroyer were promptly sent to the bottom.

As part of this same operation, the Japanese convoyed their 18th Infantry Division to Rangoon without incident. It arrived there on 7 April. Also, a Japanese raiding force attacked the sea-lanes off India's east coast. This Malaya Force, commanded by Vice Admiral Ozawa Jisaburo, consisted of the light carrier *Ryujo*, 5 heavy cruisers, 1 light cruiser, and 4 destroyers. Between 5 and 6 April, it sank 19 merchant ships (92,000 tons) and damaged 3 others. Air strikes by Japanese aircraft flying from Burma brought this total up to some 185,000 tons of shipping sunk, and Japanese submarines operating off India's west coast sank an additional 32,000 tons.

By 10 April, the Japanese had pushed the British navy out of most of the Indian Ocean, created a buffer against British naval raids on the East Indies and other Japanese possessions, and destroyed significant British military assets. Nagumo concluded that he had achieved his objectives and ordered the First Air Fleet to return to Japan. His fleet had been at sea for many months, and its ships badly needed refitting.

Ultimately, their Indian Ocean victory fueled a belief in their own invincibility among the Japanese and led to the overexpansion of their empire. The extended Japanese Indian Ocean operation also meant that many of the ships were unavailable for the next big sea fight, the Battle of the Coral Sea in May.

Benjamin E. Nehrke

See also

Aircraft Carriers; Coral Sea, Battle of the; Nagumo Chūichi

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Indianapolis, Sinking of (July–August 1945)

The sinking of the U.S. heavy cruiser *Indianapolis* by a Japanese submarine in the Philippine Sea two weeks before the end of the war remains controversial to this day. Built in Camden, New Jersey, and commissioned in 1932 at the Philadelphia Navy Yard, the *Indianapolis* (CA-35) displaced 9,800 tons and was 610' in length. The engines drove her at a maximum

speed of 32.5 knots, and she mounted 9 × 8-inch and 8 × 5-inch guns. She had carried President Franklin D. Roosevelt as a passenger during three cruises in the 1930s, and she served with distinction in the Pacific Theater throughout the war.

While shelling Okinawa prior to the invasion of the island, the *Indianapolis* was severely damaged by a Japanese bomber in late March 1945, necessitating a voyage to Mare Island, California, for repairs. After the work was completed, the ship, under the command of Captain Charles B. McVay III, was ordered to carry to the island of Tinian the internal components of the two atomic bombs to be dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The *Indianapolis* subsequently departed on a high-speed voyage from San Francisco, arriving at Tinian 10 days later, on 26 July. She next stopped at the island of Guam and departed on 28 July with orders to proceed to Leyte. While traveling without escort—under radio silence at 17 knots in moderate seas with good visibility—she was torpedoed twice by the Japanese submarine *I-58* in the early morning hours of 30 July; she sank in only 12 minutes. Survivors were spotted by a U.S. Navy aircraft on 2 August. Of some 800 members of her 1,199-man crew who initially survived the sinking, only 316 were eventually rescued. The vast majority of those who died fell victim to sharks and exposure. The incident remains the worst case of shark attacks in history.

Following a court of inquiry into the loss of the *Indianapolis*, Admiral Chester Nimitz proposed reprimanding McVay. Instead, however, Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal followed the advice of the chief of naval operations, Fleet Admiral Ernest King, and ordered McVay to stand trial by court-martial. McVay was subsequently found guilty of an error of professional judgment in unreasonably placing the *Indianapolis* at risk by failing to steer a zigzag course; he was acquitted of inefficiency in ordering his crew to abandon ship. The court unanimously recommended clemency, and Forrestal remitted the sentence of the court-martial. McVay retired as a rear admiral in 1949; he committed suicide in 1968.

In recent years, crew members of the *Indianapolis* have endeavored to clear McVay's name. They have pointed out the poor visibility at the time the ship was sunk, the ship's engine problems, and the fact that McVay had not been informed of Japanese submarine activity. Also, McVay's request for escorts had been refused, even though the *Indianapolis* lacked antisubmarine detection devices. In 2001, the U.S. Congress passed a resolution exonerating McVay of any wrongdoing.

Glenn E. Helm

See also

Battle Cruisers; Forrestal, James Vincent; King, Ernest Joseph; Nuclear Weapons; Submarines

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Infantry Tactics

Firepower and maneuver are the two primary elements of applied combat power. Firepower delivers the destructive force necessary to defeat an enemy's ability and will to fight. Maneuver is the movement of combat forces to gain positional advantage, usually in order to deliver or to threaten to deliver fire by direct or indirect means. Artillery and aircraft deliver fire on the modern battlefield. The tank, though considered a maneuver weapon, really combines both elements, firepower and maneuver. The infantry is primarily a maneuver force.

Infantry is defined traditionally as the branch of an army made up of units trained to fight on foot. Despite the appearance of large-scale mechanization in World War II, infantry dominated the battlefield in that war as it has since the dawn of human history—and as it is likely to do so well into the high-tech future. Early in the nineteenth century, the Prussian military theorist Carl von Clausewitz wrote, "The end for which a soldier is recruited, clothed, armed, and trained, the whole object of his sleeping, eating, drinking, and marching is simply that he should fight at the right place and the right time." Clausewitz was talking primarily about the infantryman.

The World War II infantryman had much in common with his counterpart in the Roman legions 2,000 years earlier. In both eras, the individual infantryman lived and fought on the ground, day or night, in all weather, on all types of terrain. In both eras, he carried almost everything he needed on his back, he fought with handheld weapons, and his primary mission was to close with and destroy an enemy. The World War II infantryman, however, had far greater destructive power, reach, and staying power than his ancient counterpart. A World War II infantry company was more lethal than an entire infantry regiment of Napoleon's era. This advance resulted not only from the reach and rate of fire of modern weapons but also from communications technology that allowed an infantry company commander or even a platoon leader to call in the fire of an entire divisional artillery or air force fighter-bombers.

American infantrymen were the best equipped of World War II. The German infantrymen arguably were the best trained and best led. Soviet infantrymen were probably the toughest and most inured to physical hardship. The question of which army fielded the best infantrymen overall is open to debate, but the



U.S. infantrymen charge a German position during the Normandy campaign. Prone soldier in foreground is preparing to fire a rifle grenade. (Hulton Archive)

battlefield performance of the Australians, the New Zealanders, and the Gurkhas was consistently outstanding.

As with the tactics of the other arms, infantry tactics have always been a function of the technology and culture of the times. Most armies entered World War I with tactical doctrines that assumed mobile operations would be the norm. But infantrymen on both sides of the front lines in 1914 encountered previously unimaginable levels of firepower delivered by the new technologies of quick-firing artillery, the magazine-fed rifle, and especially the machine gun. Unable to survive the withering fire on the surface of the earth, the troops dug in. With the onset of trench warfare, the military planners on all sides spent the rest of the war searching for the tactical methods that would break the deadlock and restore mobility to the battlefield. They were close to achieving the solution by the time the war ended in 1918.

Contrary to popular belief, most armies did not spend the period between the two world wars training and organizing for a repetition of trench warfare. The majority of profes-

sional soldiers concluded soon after World War I that positional warfare had been an anomaly. But during the 1920s and the early part of the 1930s, an almost universal revulsion to all things military combined with the social, political, and economic factors of the era to retard advancements in military technology and doctrine. France, which had suffered more than any other of the Western Allies, especially adopted a defensive attitude to warfare and entrenched itself behind the Maginot Line.

The Allied armies ended World War I with massive stockpiles of weapons and equipment, which also tended to retard advancements in military technology. For economic reasons, political leaders insisted that the existing stocks be consumed before new weapons were developed and fielded. Germany, however, was in a different situation. The draconian provisions of the Versailles Treaty ironically worked to Germany's longer-term military advantage. Deprived of virtually all its armaments in 1919, the German military was forced to make a fresh start, both technologically and doctrinally.

Many of the technologies that had their primitive origins in World War I matured in the interwar years and radically altered the face of ground combat in World War II. Doctrinally, the modern concept of combined-arms operations also emerged in World War I. Combined-arms operations are those in which the effects of infantry, artillery, armor, air support, engineers, communications, and the like are all brought to bear on an objective in a coordinated and synchronized manner that produces a multiplier effect greater than the sum of its parts. Each of the combat arms has particular strengths and weaknesses. In a combined-arms effort, the strength of one arm compensates for the weakness of another. Tanks, for example, are vulnerable to light infantry armed with antitank weapons such as the bazooka or the Panzerfaust. By combining infantry with tanks, the infantry protects the tanks from enemy infantry while the tanks provide their own infantry with increased firepower and mobility.

Motorization was one of the major technological differences between World War I and World War II. During the earlier conflict, the primary source of battlefield motive power was human and horse muscle, as it had been for thousands of years. By the start of World War II, however, the American and British armies were completely motorized. The Soviet and German armies were partially motorized, but they and the Japanese and Italian forces continued to use horses and mules on a large scale. Despite the popular image of Germany's fast-moving mechanized armies, the Germans' field artillery and much of their infantry supply trains were horse-drawn right up to the end of the war.

The requirement for infantry to keep up with armored vehicles in fast-paced combat led to the development of motorized infantry and then mechanized infantry, also called armored infantry. Motorized infantry units, which first appeared near the end of World War I, were transported in trucks to assembly areas, where they dismounted and then deployed for combat. Mechanized infantry troops moved in various types of armored personnel carriers that usually were tracked or half-tracked. The armored personnel carriers mounted machine guns and heavier weapons that provided additional firepower. Mechanized infantry units usually dismounted from their vehicles to fight but sometimes fought from them. German mechanized infantry troops, known as panzergrenadiers, were an integral element of their panzer divisions.

German commanders always tried to avoid launching set-piece frontal attacks, the most costly form of combat. They preferred, wherever possible, to attack around an enemy's flanks, using the operational principles articulated by Count Helmut von Moltke in the late nineteenth century: *Umfassen, Einschliessen, Vernichten*—fix, encircle, destroy. When a deliberate attack was unavoidable, the Germans usually opted for a penetration with conventional infantry, supported closely by engineers, artillery, and tactical air support.

Once a penetration or flanking movement succeeded, the German panzers exploited by encircling the enemy, from two directions in a pincer if possible. After the jaws of the pincer closed, the attacking force formed two concentric rings, one facing inward to hold and destroy the trapped enemy force and the other facing outward to prevent any relief efforts. The Germans called this tactic a *Kesselschlacht*—a cauldron battle—and used it very successfully and on a large scale in many of the early battles in the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941. Later on the Western Front, the Germans themselves fell victim to the *Kesselschlacht* at Falaise and the Ruhr pocket.

A key element of German tactics was the concept of *Auftragstaktik*, which loosely translates into English as “mission tactics.” Despite the popular stereotypes, reinforced by countless Hollywood movies and television programs, the common German soldier of World War II was anything but stupid and unimaginative, and his officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) were neither machinelike nor inflexible autocrats. German leaders, down to the most junior officers and NCOs, were encouraged to be flexible and innovative in their approach to accomplishing their assigned missions. German operations orders generally described what subordinate units had to accomplish and the time in which it needed to be done. The question of how to carry out the task was left to the subordinate leaders, who were supposed to understand the overall intentions of their commanders at least two levels up. The result was that German units, even large units such as divisions, could react quickly to changes in the tactical situation, often acting on only verbal, fragmentary orders.

The primary document for German operations and tactics was a manual called *Truppenführung* (Unit Command), which was issued in 1934 and remained in force until the end of the war. It remains, to this day one, of history's most influential milestones in the development of tactical doctrine. Yet for all its tactical sophistication, the German army became overextended and ground down by the demands of waging a two-front war. To maintain their massive armies in the field, the Germans were forced to decrease training times progressively and even to commit training units to combat during emergencies. The decline in infantry quality meant that infantry units survived for shorter periods in combat and thus had to be replaced at a faster rate. It was a vicious cycle. In response, German commanders tried to rely more heavily on firepower as the conflict wore on, but the German army was chronically short of artillery throughout the war.

The fighting in the Soviet Union was more infantry-intensive than that in North Africa or in western Europe. After the initial successes of 1941, the Germans' so-called blitzkrieg began to fail because the panzer forces and even more so the Luftwaffe became more and more thinly spread over the vast spaces in the east. As that happened, the advantage slowly shifted to the Soviets, with their vast numbers of infantry divisions and their over-

whelming superiority in artillery tubes. Although some battles, such as Kursk, were classic clashes of armor, the foot soldier dominated the set-piece urban fight for Stalingrad.

Early in the war, Soviet attacks had great difficulty breaking through German defenses. The Soviet solution was to put the bulk of a unit's combat power as far forward as possible, with as many as 19 of a division's 27 infantry companies in the front line for a typical divisional deliberate attack. Later in the war, the German defenses developed much greater depth as they were being pushed back from Soviet territory. In response, the Soviets developed echeloned attack tactics.

Infantrymen do not fight as individuals. They fight as part of a carefully synchronized team, and each member of that team performs a specialized function. The basic infantry tactical unit is a squad—or section—of 8 to 15 soldiers commanded by a junior-ranking NCO. The squad is the largest unit that a leader can command by direct personal influence on the individual soldier. As the building blocks of larger combat units, the squads' organization and structure were a direct reflection of the tactical doctrine of the larger army.

At the start of World War II, the German infantry squad consisted of 10 men organized into two groups. The 4-man machine-gun group (gunner, assistant gunner, and 2 ammunition bearers) was armed with the excellent MG-34 light machine gun. The 5-man rifle group supported the machine-gun group. The two groups advanced by mutually supporting fire and movement, coordinated and synchronized by the squad leader. The Germans placed particular emphasis on selecting and training squad leaders. But by 1943, manpower shortages forced the Germans to reduce the infantry section to 9 men.

The organization of the French infantry squad was superficially similar to that of the Germans, but its method of maneuvering reflected the overwhelming defensive mentality of the French army. The Germans believed that fire and movement complemented each other, but the French believed that movement was only possible once fire superiority was established. The French squad had 12 men, organized into a 6-man light-machine-gun or automatic-rifle team, and a 5-man rifle team. Rather than maneuvering individually and providing mutual support to each other, the two teams were linked rigidly to the machine gun. The function of each member of the squad was defined in terms of the gun—fire it, move it, feed it, and protect it.

The Soviets and the British had the smallest infantry squads. The Soviet squad had 9 men and a light machine gun. The British infantry squad consisted of a corporal, 7 men, and the Czech-designed Bren gun as the automatic weapon. The Bren, which was much lighter than the Lewis gun it replaced, facilitated an increased emphasis on fire and movement within the British infantry.

The U.S. Army did not become involved in ground combat operations until late 1942. The American infantryman, armed

with the outstanding semiautomatic M1 rifle, could produce a far greater rate of fire than either his Axis enemies or his Canadian and British allies, all of whom generally were armed with bolt-action rifles. The 12-man American infantry squad was organized into three teams. The squad leader (a sergeant) usually moved with the 2-man scout (Able) team. Once an enemy objective was located, the squad leader ordered the 4-man fire (Baker) team, which was based on a Browning automatic rifle (BAR), to lay down a base of fire. The 5-man maneuver (Charlie) team then attacked the objective in short rushes. In practice, the unbalanced teams and especially the low rate of fire of the BAR made the American infantry squad particularly vulnerable to casualties. After World War II, American infantry squads were reconfigured into two evenly balanced teams.

Many popular beliefs about the infantry and infantrymen are false. Infantrymen, for example, are not the intellectual underclass of an army. Modern infantry combat has become so technical, so fast-paced, and so lethal that only the quick-witted, physically fit, and highly trained can survive it. Nor did the infantry suffer the highest casualty rates in World War II. Combat aircrews and, above all, submarine crews had higher rates. Few would argue, however, that the "poor bloody infantry"—as the British called them—led the hardest lives in the war. Regardless of the overall scheme of maneuver of the larger unit, every attack is a frontal attack at the level of the individual infantry soldier.

David T. Zabecki

See also

Antitank Guns and Warfare; Armored Warfare; Falaise-Argentan Pocket; Kursk, Battle of; Maginot Line; Mines, Land; Ruhr Campaign; Stalingrad, Battle of

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Ingersoll, Royal Eason (1883–1976)

U.S. Navy admiral whose logistical skills contributed to the success of the Normandy Invasion. Born in Washington, D.C., on 20 June 1883, Royal Ingersoll was the son of a



U.S. Navy Admiral Royal E. Ingersoll. (Bettmann/Corbis)

distinguished admiral. Graduating from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1905, he participated in the final portion of the Great White Fleet's voyage around the world. Quietly intellectual, unobtrusive, a superb administrator and skilled seaman, Ingersoll filled assorted staff, teaching, and sea-going assignments. Heading the Navy Department Communications Office during World War I, he ably directed its enormous wartime expansion and subsequently directed U.S. communications at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.

Following tours as the executive officer of two battleships, Ingersoll headed the branch of naval intelligence responsible for code-breaking efforts against the Japanese. In 1927, he graduated from the Naval War College and was promoted to captain. He then held staff assignments and commanded cruisers. For three years, from 1935 to 1938, Ingersoll headed

the War Plans Division, where he helped revise Plan Orange against Japan. In 1937, he launched informal discussions with Great Britain on potential Anglo-American cooperation in any future conflict with Japan.

Promoted to rear admiral in 1938, Ingersoll commanded Cruiser Division 76. He was recalled from sea duty in 1940 and became assistant to Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Harold R. Stark. Ingersoll played a crucial role in helping prepare the U.S. Navy for war. In January 1942, as a vice admiral, he took command of the Atlantic Fleet, based at Norfolk, Virginia; his mission was to counter the German U-boat campaign, thereby safeguarding Atlantic lines of communication and protecting convoys bound for Europe, and to secure the Western Hemisphere. In June 1942, his only son and namesake, a naval lieutenant, died in action at the Battle of Midway. Ingersoll was promoted to full admiral

the following month. That November, his vessels transported the U.S. Western Task Force to Morocco in Operation TORCH, thenceforth supporting Allied operations in the Mediterranean.

From May 1943, Ingersoll worked closely with the new Tenth Fleet, established under the direct command of Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Ernest J. King. Ingersoll's logistical and managerial skills proved particularly valuable in deploying American forces to maximum effect, and, by substantially neutralizing German submarine forces, greatly facilitated the June 1944 Normandy landings.

In November 1944, Ingersoll became commander, Western Sea Frontier, to implement the complex transfer of American naval forces from the Atlantic to the Pacific for the projected invasion of Japan, a task effectively obviated by the sudden end of the war in August 1945. He retired one year later. Ingersoll died in Washington, D.C., on 20 May 1976.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

King, Ernest Joseph; Midway, Battle of; Stark, Harold Raynesford "Betty"; TORCH, Operation

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Ingram, Jonas Howard (1886–1952)

U.S. Navy admiral who was given command of the Atlantic Fleet in 1944. Born in Jeffersonville, Indiana, on 15 October 1886, Jonas Ingram graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy. A gunnery specialist, he served at sea in the Atlantic during World War I on Admiral Hugh Rodman's staff. Between the wars, Ingram held seagoing commands, taught football and athletics at the Naval Academy, directed naval public relations in Washington, learned to fly as a naval aviator, and took staff courses.

In 1940, Rear Admiral Ingram assumed command of Cruiser Division 2, subsequently rechristened Task Force 23 and then the Fourth Fleet, stationed in Brazilian waters to secure the South Atlantic against Nazi ships and submarines. Promoted to vice admiral in 1942, he worked closely with Brazilian officials, winning their consent to the construction of American air, naval, and military facilities on Brazilian territory, while helping to upgrade Brazilian naval and air capabilities. Under Ingram's supervision, Ascension Island, 1,000 miles from Brazil's coast, became one of the largest existing air bases, enabling him to launch both aerial and naval attacks

on German U-boats. In late 1943, Ingram declared the Atlantic secure from Brazil to West Africa. In November 1944, he was promoted to full admiral and took command of the Atlantic Fleet, protecting shipping routes between North America and the European Theater—and especially troop convoys—against the final German submarine sorties.

Ingram retired from the navy in 1947 to become commissioner of the All-American Football Conference and a vice president of Reynolds Metal Company. He died in San Diego, California, on 10 September 1952.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Antisubmarine Warfare; Atlantic, Battle of the

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Inoue Shigeyoshi

See Inouye Shigeyoshi.

Inouye (Inoue) Shigeyoshi (1889–1975)

Japanese navy admiral who advocated a negotiated end to the war. Born in Miyagi Prefecture, Japan, on 9 December 1889, Inouye (Inoue) Shigeyoshi graduated from the Naval Academy in 1909. His early career included both sea duty and staff assignments. Inouye attained flag rank in 1935. Two years later, he was appointed chief of the Naval Affairs Bureau. He shared Navy Minister Admiral Yonai Mitsumasa's belief that radical elements in the officer corps posed a threat to Japan's future. In 1939, Inouye was promoted to vice admiral and appointed chief of staff of the China Area Fleet.

Convinced that naval aviation would play a vital role in any future conflict, he successfully lobbied for appointment as chief of the Naval Aeronautics Bureau in 1940 in order to gain practical experience. In that position, he drafted a memorandum entitled "Modern Weapons Procurement Planning," in which he attacked the construction of battleships and called for greater emphasis on aircraft carriers and naval aircraft.

Inouye's views caused him to fall from favor. In August 1941, he was transferred to command the Fourth Fleet on

Truk, a backwater assignment. When World War II began, he led the forces that captured Guam and Wake Islands from the Americans. As other islands fell to the advancing Japanese, Inouye's area of responsibility expanded to include Rabaul and the Gilbert Islands.

In April 1942, Inouye was charged with planning and executing the invasion of Port Moresby. He remained in Rabaul while seven naval task forces, as well as land-based naval aircraft, moved against Tulagi, Guadalcanal, and Port Moresby in early May. The resulting Battle of the Coral Sea was a Japanese tactical victory, but the unavailability of close-air support due to the loss of an aircraft carrier in the battle led Inouye, on 8 May, to postpone the landing at Port Moresby. The commander of the Combined Fleet, Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku, was furious at this decision but unable to reverse Inouye's orders.

Inouye's Fourth Fleet was then largely relegated to logistical duties, and operations in the South Pacific were turned over to the Eighth Fleet. Inouye was relieved in October 1942 and took command of the Japanese Naval Academy. He was recognized as an advocate of peace, and when Admiral Yonai was recalled as navy minister after Tōjō Hideki's fall in August 1944, Inouye became vice minister. In May 1945, he was promoted to full admiral and became a member of the Supreme War Council. He spent the next months working for an end to the war. Inouye died in Miyagi on 15 December 1975.

Tim J. Watts

See also

Coral Sea, Battle of the; Rabaul; Southwest Pacific Theater; Tōjō Hideki; Yamamoto Isoroku

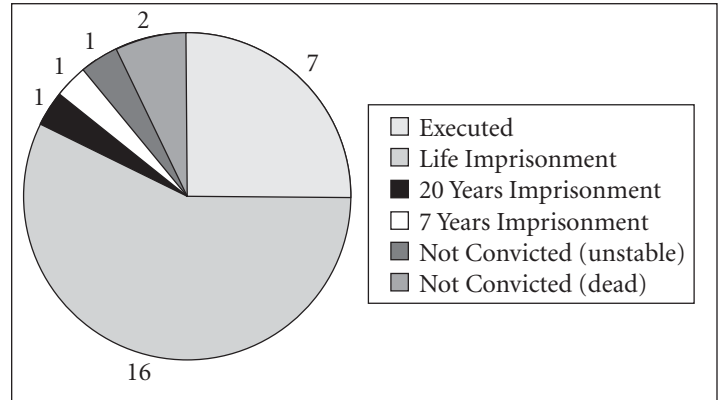
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International Military Tribunal: Far East (Tokyo War Crimes Trials) (1946–1948)

Trials of senior Japanese leaders after World War II. General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, heading the military occupation of Japan, established the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, popularly known as the Tokyo War Crimes Trials. The body held sessions in Tokyo from 3 May 1946 to 12 November 1948. Trials conducted by the tribunal were similar to those held at Nuremberg, Germany. The defendants were 28 senior Japanese military and civilian leaders, chosen from among 250 Japanese officials originally accused

Sentences imposed by Far East Military Tribunal



of war crimes. General Tōjō Hideki, who held various posts including prime minister and chief of the General Staff, was the best-known defendant among the 18 military officers and 10 civilians charged. General MacArthur, with President Harry S Truman's support, exempted Emperor Hirohito from trial because of concerns over potential Japanese resistance to military occupation. More than 2,200 similar trials, including some held in Tokyo that preceded the tribunal, were conducted in areas formerly occupied by Japan, ranging from China to Pacific islands including Guam. The trials generated strong emotions, and they remain controversial to this day.

The Tokyo tribunal consisted of 11 judges, 1 each from Australia, Canada, China, Great Britain, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Soviet Union, the United States, France, India, and the Philippines. The Philippine justice was a survivor of the Bataan Death March. The tribunal's chief prosecutor, Joseph B. Keenan, was appointed by President Truman. Keenan's credentials included service as a former director of the U.S. Justice Department's Criminal Division as well as assistant to the U.S. attorney general. His staff included 25 lawyers. The tribunal was not bound by technical rules of evidence normally observed in a democracy and could admit any evidence that it chose, including purported admissions or statements of the accused.

The tribunal sought to establish clearly the principle that aggressive war was a crime and to prevent or deter future crimes against peace. Those who planned and initiated aggressive war in contravention of treaties, assurances, and international agreements were to be considered common felons. The tribunal also claimed jurisdiction over conventional war crimes and crimes against humanity, such as murder, mass murder, enslavement, deportation of civilian populations, and persecutions based on political or racial grounds in connection with other crimes under tribunal jurisdiction.

Some defendants were accused of being responsible for the actions of personnel under their command who had committed crimes against prisoners of war and civilian internees.

These offenses included murder; beatings; torture; ill-treatment, including inadequate provision of food and clothing and poor sanitation; rape of female nurses and other women; and the imposition of excessive and dangerous labor. Charges of murder were also leveled in cases involving the killing of military personnel who had surrendered, laid down arms, or no longer had means of defense, including survivors of ships sunk by naval action and crews of captured ships.

Seeking to conduct a fair trial, the tribunal gave each of those accused a copy of his or her indictment in Japanese, and trial proceedings were conducted in both English and Japanese. Defendants had a right to counsel, and the defense could question witnesses. Subject to court approval, the defense could also request the appearance of witnesses and the provision of documents. The mental and physical capacity of the accused to stand trial was also considered. After a conviction, the tribunal had the power to impose a death sentence or other punishment on a defendant. Of the 28 original defendants, 25 were convicted. Seven (including Tōjō) were sentenced to death by hanging, 16 to life imprisonment, 1 to 20 years of incarceration, and another to 7 years in prison. The remaining 3 were not convicted, 1 being declared mentally unstable and 2 dying before their trials ended.

As with the Nuremberg trials, the tribunal has been accused of promulgating “victors’ justice,” and some have called the proceedings racist. But fueled by horror at continuing military atrocities in places such as Bosnia and Cambodia, a legacy of the Tokyo and Nuremberg trials has been the widespread international support for a permanent war crimes tribunal. The U.S. government, however, has resisted the formation of such a body, fearing that it could be politically influenced to harass American military forces operating overseas.

Glenn E. Helm

See also

Bataan Death March; Burma Road; Hirohito, Emperor of Japan; International Military Tribunal: The Nuremberg Trials; Japan, Air Forces; Japan, Army; Japan, Navy; Japanese Surrendered Personnel; MacArthur, Douglas; Nanjing Massacre; Tōjō Hideki; Truman, Harry S

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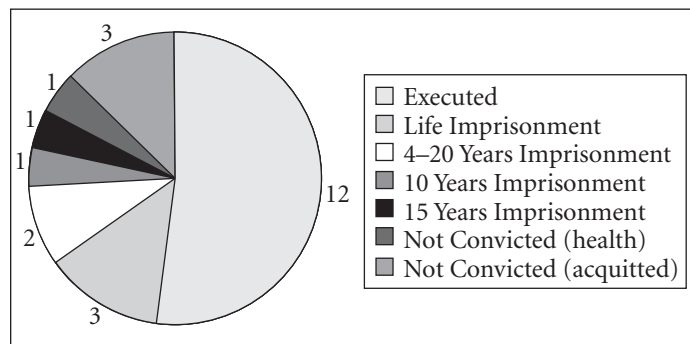
International Military Tribunal: The Nuremberg Trials (16 October 1945–20 November 1946)

The Allies were determined to hold German leaders, both civilian and military, accountable for the war and the mass killings that had taken place in German-occupied Europe. British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill and Soviet leader Josef Stalin agreed in 1941 to try those guilty of war crimes. The logistics and framework needed to carry out this policy were discussed throughout the war. At Moscow in October 1943, a declaration signed by British, Soviet, and U.S. representatives stated that war criminals would be brought to trial. Such a procedure was further discussed at important meetings at Tehran (November–December 1943), Yalta (February 1945), and Potsdam (July 1945). Finally, the London Agreement of 8 August 1945 set forth the method—a court trial—and identified jurisdiction. Although the Soviets proposed that the trials be held within their zone of occupation, in Berlin, the Western Allies insisted on Nuremberg.

The city of Nuremberg was selected because the palace of justice there had received only minimal damage during the war. The large stone structure had 80 courtrooms and over 500 offices and thus offered sufficient space for a major international legal proceeding. Furthermore, an undestroyed prison was part of the justice building complex, so all prospective defendants could be housed on site. Moreover, the proclamation of the Third Reich’s racial laws against the Jews had been made at Nuremberg. U.S. Army personnel prepared the palace of justice for the trial, repairing damage and laying thousands of feet of electrical wire.

Broadly speaking, the Nuremberg proceedings fell into two categories. The first set—and the subject of this essay—took place between November 1945 and October 1946 and involved the trial of 22 defendants before an international military tribunal (IMT) established by Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States. Subsequently, a series of

Sentences imposed by Nuremberg Military Tribunal





The 21 defendants at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trial sitting in the dock awaiting sentencing, Nuremberg, Germany. Among the defendants are (front row; left to right): Hermann Göring, who received the death penalty; Rudolf Hess, life imprisonment; and Joachim von Ribbentrop, who also received the death penalty. (Hulton Archive)

other trials were held at Nuremberg until the spring of 1949 before U.S. tribunals in the American zone of occupation, involving nearly 200 other defendants.

The Nuremberg IMT opened on 8 October 1945. Judges from France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States presided. The Western judges dressed in traditional robes, whereas the Soviet judge wore a military uniform. Judge Iola T. Nikitschenko, a Soviet, presided during the first session.

The prosecution presented indictments against 24 major criminals and 6 organizations. The individuals were Martin Bormann, deputy Führer after 1941 (tried in absentia); Karl Dönitz, admiral and commander of the navy from 1943 to 1945; Hans Frank, governor-general of Poland; Wilhelm Frick, minister for internal affairs; Hans Fritzsche, head of the Radio Division of the Ministry of Propaganda; Walther Funk, minister of Economic Affairs; Hermann Göring, Reichsmarschall (Reich Marshal) and commander of the Luftwaffe; Rudolf Hess, deputy Führer until May 1941; Alfred Jodl, army general and head of Operations, Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (OKW); Ernst Kaltenbrunner, head of the Sicher-

heitsdienst (SD, Security Service); Wilhelm Keitel, army field marshal and chief of OKW; Gustav Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, industrialist and head of Krupp armaments; Robert Ley, head of the Labor Front (he committed suicide on 26 October 1945); Konstantin Neurath, protector of Bohemia and Moravia from 1939 to 1943; Franz von Papen, former vice chancellor and ambassador to Turkey; Erich Raeder, grand admiral and commander of the navy until 1943; Joachim von Ribbentrop, foreign minister; Alfred Rosenberg, minister for the Occupied Territories in the East until 1941; Fritz Saukel, plenipotentiary for the mobilization of labor; Hjalmar Schacht, president of the Reichsbank, from 1933 to 1939 and minister of economics from 1934 to 1937; Baldur von Shirach, leader of the Hitler Youth and Gauleiter (area commander) of Vienna; Arthur Seyss-Inquart, commissioner for the Netherlands from 1940 to 1945; Albert Speer, minister of armaments from 1942 to 1945; and Julius Streicher, publisher of the newspaper *Der Stürmer*. The indicted organizations were the Nazi Party (NSDAP), the Schutzstaffel (SS), the SD, the Gestapo, the General Staff, and Hitler's cabinet.

The charter governing the proceedings declared that the IMT's decisions would be made by majority vote. British Lord Justice Geoffrey Lawrence, president of the court, would cast the deciding vote in the event of a tie among the four sitting judges. The charter identified four categories of crimes: (1) crimes against peace: planning and/or preparing a war of aggression and violating international agreements; (2) crimes against peace: participating in a conspiracy to plan a war of aggression; (3) war crimes: a violation of custom and laws of war, use of slave labor, killing of hostages; and (4) crimes against humanity.

The trial itself lasted 218 days, and some 360 witnesses gave either written or verbal testimony. A new simultaneous translation system allowed the trial to proceed efficiently and swiftly in four languages. Although the defense was given the right to call its own witnesses, it was not allowed to bring forth any evidence against the Allies.

The proceedings at Nuremberg laid bare before the world the horrific crimes committed by the Third Reich. Most revealing were testimonies regarding the brutalities of the death camps. When shown German films of concentration camps, some of the defendants wept or became noticeably upset.

One aspect of the trial that caused debate at the time was the legality of trying military officers. Some suggested it was the role of military officers to carry out orders, but this defense was disallowed at Nuremberg. The prevailing view held that German military leaders had knowingly approved and planned aggressive war and had sanctioned war crimes.

On 1 October 1946, U.S. Army Colonel Burton Andrus led 21 defendants into the somber courtroom. (Martin Bormann was tried in absentia, Robert Ley had committed suicide, and Gustav Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach was too weak to be present.) Sir Geoffrey Lawrence announced that the verdicts would be delivered first, followed by the sentencing. Twelve defendants were sentenced to death by hanging (the counts on which they were found guilty are in parentheses): Hans Frank (3 and 4), Wilhelm Frick (2, 3, and 4), Hermann Göring (all four), Alfred Jodl (all four), Ernst Kaltenbrunner (3 and 4), Wilhelm Keitel (all four), Robert Ley (all four), Joachim von Ribbentrop (all four), Alfred Rosenberg (all four), Fritz Saukel (3 and 4), Arthur Seyss-Inquart (2, 3, and 4), and Julius Streicher (1 and 4).

Göring escaped the hangman's noose by committing suicide with poison smuggled into the prison. Franz von Papen, Hans Fritzsche, and Hjalmar Schacht were the only defendants to be acquitted. Charges against Gustav Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach were dropped on the grounds that he was physically unable to stand trial. The remaining defendants received various terms, ranging up to life in prison: Karl Dönitz, 10 years (2 and 3); Walter Funk, life imprisonment (2, 3, and 4); Rudolf Hess, life imprisonment (1 and 2); Konstantin Neurath, 15 years (all 4); Erich Raeder, life imprison-

ment (1, 2 and 3); Baldur von Schirach, 4 to 20 years (1 and 4); and Albert Speer, 4 to 20 years (3 and 4). Of those imprisoned, Rudolf Hess lived the longest. He died in Spandau Prison in 1987 at age 93.

Even before the trial ended in 1946, debate began on the validity of the tribunal. Although some have argued that the IMT was merely a case of the victor trying the vanquished, it nonetheless exposed the horrors of the Third Reich, most especially the Holocaust, the use of slave labor, and the heinous war crimes.

Gene Mueller

See also

Bormann, Martin Ludwig; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Dönitz, Karl; Frick, Wilhelm; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Hess, Walter Richard Rudolf; Hitler, Adolf; Holocaust, The; Jodl, Alfred; Keitel, Wilhelm; Moscow Conference; Potsdam Conference; Raeder, Erich; Ribbentrop, Ulrich Friedrich Willy Joachim von; Rosenberg, Alfred; Saukel, Fritz; Speer, Albert; Stalin, Josef; Tehran Conference; Yalta Conference

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Iran

During World War II, Iran was occupied by British and Soviet troops, with the United States becoming an important new factor in Iranian politics. Germany had a significant economic influence and presence in Iran prior to the outbreak of the war, for in the 1930s, Reza Shah Pahlavi (r. 1925–1941), founder of the new dynasty, had turned to Germany for economic assistance. The shah's sympathy toward Germany, which had no tradition of imperial intervention in Iran or the Middle East, was well known, along with his distrust of Britain and the Soviet Union, both of which had dominated Iran in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.



U.S. Lend-Lease fighters and bombers intended for the Soviet Union at a delivery depot in Iran. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

When the war began in Europe in September 1939, Reza Shah declared Iran's neutrality. However, after the Germans attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, Iranian involvement in the war became inevitable. The USSR and Great Britain, Iran's perennial enemies, once again formed an alliance. As German troops pushed eastward and threatened the Caucasus, the strategic significance of Iran for the Allies grew. The Allied objectives in Iran were to protect the British-controlled oil fields in Khuzistan; to employ Iran and, in particular, its newly built Trans-Iranian Railroad to channel military supplies to the Soviet Union; and to curb the activities of German agents in Iran.

The British and Soviet representatives in Iran demanded that the government expel German nationals and let the Allies use the railroad to transport war materials. When Reza Shah refused to comply on the grounds of Iran's neutrality, the Allies invaded and occupied the country. On 25 August 1941, Soviet forces entered Iran from the northwest and the British entered from Iraq. The Allied forces suppressed Iranian military and naval resistance in just three days. Left with no choice, Reza Shah abdicated on September 1941, and his 22-

year-old son, Muhammad Reza, succeeded him. Reza Shah was sent into exile and died in 1944 in South Africa.

The fate of Iran in World War II resembled that which had prevailed in World War I: once more, Iran was occupied and dominated by foreign powers. The Soviet and British zones of occupation were consistent with the spheres of influence into which Iran had been divided by the humiliating Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. The Soviets occupied the north, the British took control in the south, and Tehran and other central areas were put under joint Anglo-Soviet protection. In January 1942, Iran, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain signed the Tripartite Treaty of Alliance, whereby the great powers promised to respect the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and political independence of Iran; to safeguard the Iranian economy from the effects of the war; and to withdraw from Iranian territory within six months of the cessation of hostilities.

By the spring of 1942, Iran had severed diplomatic relations with Germany, Italy, and Japan and expelled their nationals. On 9 September 1943, Iran declared war on Germany. Two months later, one of the most important Allied meetings of the war, the Tehran Conference, was held, with the partici-

pation of U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, and Soviet leader Josef Stalin. Recognizing the help provided by Iran to their war effort, the three Allied leaders promised during the meeting to provide economic assistance to Iran and address its problems after the war.

The war had a devastating impact on Iran. It lost effective sovereignty to the domination of the occupying powers, and the central government that had been strengthened by Reza Shah became ineffective. Political instability and social disintegration grew, and economic hardship developed. Further, the use of major roads and the Trans-Iranian Railroad for the transportation of supplies to the Soviet Union disrupted Iranian trade; the demands of Allied troops aggravated inflation; and a poor harvest in 1942 led to widespread famine. Short-lived cabinets were unable to deal with the emergency situation, resulting in social unrest and the rise of separatist movements. All of these factors and the new political freedom resulting from the paralysis of a dysfunctional government led to a surge in political activity by various groups and parties. Political conflict among them was encouraged by the occupying powers.

During the course of their involvement, the Soviet Union and Britain revived and intensified their rivalry in Iran, a contest that was an integral part of what had been known as the "Great Game" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Each side tried to expand its own influence and to limit the other's influence. The Soviets closed their zone of occupation to free entry. They supported left-wing trade unions in the north and the Communist Party, which had been banned in 1937 but was revived in 1941 under the new name of Tudeh (Masses). The Soviets also patronized the separatist leftist movements in Iranian Kurdistan and Azerbaijan. One result of these Soviet activities was the establishment of an autonomous state of Azerbaijan in December 1945. Meanwhile, the British in the south supported conservative elements, including the tribes, Muslim clerics, and the proponents of monarchy. They also sponsored the right-wing, pro-Western, and anticommunist National Will Party.

During the war, Washington became aware of the economic importance of Iran, stemming from its oil and its strategic location. After the United States entered the war, American troops arrived in Iran. The Persian Gulf Command, which eventually numbered 30,000 men, helped orchestrate the movement of supplies from the gulf to northern Iran, where they were handed over to the Soviets. American financial and military advisers were also sent to Iran at the request of the Iranian government. Between 1942 and 1943, a financial mission headed by Arthur Millspaugh worked on reorganizing Iran's finances. A mission headed by Colonel H. Norman Schwarzkopf took charge of the reorganization of the Gendarmerie (rural police).

In the first half of 1944, two American oil companies and then the Soviet government attempted to receive oil concessions from the Iranian government in order to undermine the monopoly of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The Majles (Parliament), however, passed a bill, authored mainly by Mohammad Mossadeq, that prohibited oil-concession agreements with any foreign company until after the end of the war.

British and American troops withdrew from Iran in January 1946, whereas the Soviet occupation of the northern provinces of Azerbaijan and Kurdistan lasted until May 1946 when, under pressure from the United Nations, the Soviets withdrew.

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See also

Caucasus Campaign; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stalin, Josef; Tehran Conference

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Iraq

The Middle Eastern nation of Iraq was the object of a peripheral but critical struggle between Great Britain and the Axis powers in 1941. Iraq was a major oil producer (2.5 million tons in 1940), and were that nation to side with Hitler, its location on the Persian Gulf would have enabled Germany to threaten British trade, supplies, and troop movements to and from India. Granted nominal independence by Britain in 1930, Iraq was a Hashemite monarchy. The 1930 treaty that established Iraq's *de jure* independence also protected British oil interests there and granted Britain military bases at Habbaniya, about 25 miles west of Baghdad, and near Basra.

Iraq was unstable, and there were numerous coups and coup attempts. In December 1938, pro-British General Nuri al-Said came to power. Instability in Iraq increased, however, when King Ghazi I died in an automobile accident in April 1939. As the new king, Faisal II, was only four, his uncle Abdul Illah acted as regent. Meanwhile, Nuri put down an attempted coup by a group of army officers in March 1939 and another in February 1940. Nuri wanted to declare war on Germany but encountered opposition from Iraqi nationalists who sought concessions from Britain first. In consequence, Nuri followed Egypt's lead and declared Iraq's neutrality. Relations with Germany were severed, although those with Italy were not.



The Camel Corps of the Arab Legion practices firing from camelback in Transjordan. (Corbis)

Axis successes in the Mediterranean beginning in the fall of 1940 encouraged Iraqi nationalists, who believed that the circumstances were right for Iraq to end remaining British control. Another issue involved the long-standing Iraqi opposition to British policies in Palestine.

In March 1940, Rashid Ali replaced Nuri as prime minister, although Nuri remained in the government as foreign minister. Rashid Ali now came under the influence of four nationalist, pro-Axis Iraqi army generals who called themselves the “Golden Square.” In March 1941, however, the regent secured Rashid Ali’s resignation because of the latter’s pro-Axis connections and reluctance to break relations with Italy. Taha al-Hashimi became prime minister. Axis military successes and hints of Axis aid emboldened the Golden Square, which staged a coup on 2 April that reinstated Rashid Ali in power. He immediately formed a cabinet that contained a number of individuals known to have Axis connections. The regent and Nuri fled.

Encouraged by hints of Axis aid, Rashid Ali refused to honor British demands to enforce provisions of the 1930 treaty

that allowed the transportation of British troops from Basra across Iraq. The Iraqi government also positioned troops and artillery around the British bases in Iraq. Fighting broke out at the British air base at Habbaniya on 2 May when Iraqi troops opened fire. The British air force immediately went into action, and Britain also dispatched some 5,800 troops, including the 1,500-man Arab Legion from Transjordan under the command of Major John B. Glubb. It was soon obvious that the British would triumph over the five poorly trained and inadequately equipped divisions of the Iraqi army unless the Axis powers immediately dispatched assistance.

The German government now brought pressure to bear on the Vichy government of France, which then ordered French High Commissioner of the Levant General Henri Dentz to allow the transit of Axis aid to Iraq through Syria. Axis arms and equipment then began to be transported via Aleppo to Mosul to assist Rashid Ali, albeit it in insufficient quantities to affect the outcome of the fighting. Meanwhile, British forces broke the siege at Habbaniya. The British occupied Fal-luja on 20 May and surrounded Baghdad by the end of the

month. Rashid Ali, some supporters, and the German and Italian ministers fled to Iran. In deference to Nuri and Regent Abdul Illah, the British did not enter Baghdad. This decision allowed the remnants of the Golden Square to attack Baghdad's Jewish community and kill some 150 Jews there.

Nuri again became prime minister, with a pro-British administration. Following its return to the British side, Iraq became an important supply center for Allied assistance to the Soviet Union until the end of the war. The government broke diplomatic relations with Vichy France on 18 November 1941, and it declared war on Germany, Italy, and Japan on 16 January 1943, the same day on which it announced its adherence to the UN Declaration.

Jack Vahram Kalpakian and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Auchinleck, Sir Claude John Eyre; Dentz, Henry Ferdinand; Egypt; France, Vichy; India; Iran; Nuri al-Said; Syria

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Ireland

Irish nationalists had long demanded independence from Great Britain. Following bloodshed and the passage of home rule legislation in Britain, the Irish Free State came into being in December 1921. In 1937, with the promulgation of a new constitution, the new state became known as Eire (Ireland in Gaelic). Not included in this sovereign nation were the six largely Protestant counties in the north; these were known as Northern Ireland or Ulster and remained part of the United Kingdom.

Parliamentary elections in 1932 had brought the Fianna Fail Party to power, and Eamon de Valera became president of the executive council. In April 1938, de Valera negotiated agreements with London that removed British naval installations and troops from the republic, making Eire responsible for its own defense. Other agreements provided for Ireland to pay a final settlement of the land annuities, as well

as annual payments to compensate Britain for losses sustained in the violence of the 1920s. Each nation was also accorded favored-nation status in trade with the other. All causes of difference between Great Britain and Eire were thus removed, except for the vexing question of partition. Benefiting from popular support for the diplomatic agreements, de Valera won the elections of June 1938, giving the Fianna Fail a decisive majority.

The outbreak of World War II provided de Valera another opportunity to show that Eire was independent of Great Britain. In contrast to other members of the British Commonwealth, Eire at once declared its neutrality, a stance supported by the majority of its 2.9 million people. In any case, the country was in no position to make a major military contribution in troops. In September 1939, its army numbered about 7,500 men, its navy consisted of two patrol boats, and its air service had only four effective fighter aircraft. However, the inability of the Royal Navy to use the ports returned to the Irish in 1938 was a serious handicap for the Allies in the Battle of the Atlantic. During the war, de Valera steadfastly rejected British government offers, tendered even by Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, to resolve partition in return for an end to Irish neutrality.

There was also some pro-German sentiment among the Irish. Anti-Semitic bills were brought before the Dail (the Irish Parliament), and de Valera refused to expel Axis diplomats; further, on Adolf Hitler's death, he went in person to the German Embassy to express his condolences. However, Eire did allow British overflights of its territory, and it returned downed Allied pilots to Northern Ireland instead of interning them; it also allowed British patrol craft in its waters. Thousands of Irish also volunteered for service in the Allied armies. During the war, more than 180,000 people left Eire for Northern Ireland or the United Kingdom, 38,544 of whom volunteered for service with the British armed forces, including some 7,000 deserters from the Irish army and several thousand Irish citizens living in the United Kingdom.

Acts of violence by the illegal Irish Republican Army (IRA) were a problem for the Eire government, which feared the British might use these incidents as an excuse to intervene. During the war, de Valera sharply increased the size of the Irish army and auxiliary forces to some 250,000 men (albeit poorly armed and trained) in order to forestall this possibility. Ireland suffered economically during the war, but de Valera doggedly pursued his policies. In 1948, Eire became the Republic of Ireland.

Northern Ireland was an important base for Allied operations during the war. Soon after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Churchill agreed that Northern Ireland and Scotland would provide bases for the Allied troop buildup for the invasion of France. The Americans agreed to take over the defense of Northern



The arrival of U.S. troops in Northern Ireland, 24 January 1942. (Photo by PNA Roto/Getty Images)

Ireland, thus allowing British soldiers to be deployed elsewhere. Ireland officially protested this agreement.

The first of hundreds of thousands of American soldiers arrived in Northern Ireland in late January 1942. During the course of the war, the United States constructed new bases and airfields and improved the naval facilities at Derry. Early troop deployments to Northern Ireland trained and took part in Operation TORCH and the North Africa Campaigns. Northern Ireland also played a major role in the massive buildup for the Normandy Campaign. U.S. troops at bases in Armagh, Cookstown, Lurgan, Newcastle, Newry, and Omagh trained for the D day landings, and units of the Eighth Air Force of the U.S. Army Air Forces operated out of the air base at Greencastle. Aircraft assembly, testing, service, and repair stations were built in Langford and Lodge. Airfields and ports were also used to protect the convoys ferrying troops and materials across the Atlantic Ocean.

Recognizing the importance of Northern Ireland to Allied plans, the German Luftwaffe bombed targets in Belfast as well

as the Greencastle airfield. Throughout the war, however, the people of Northern Ireland accommodated American soldiers by building cinemas and clubs. As in Britain, local groups arranged entertainment and hospitality events. Unfortunately for the people of Ireland, sectarian violence continued on the island after the war, as the IRA sought to bring about the union of Northern Ireland with the Republic of Ireland.

Robert W. Duvall and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Atlantic, Battle of the; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; OVERLORD, Operation; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; TORCH, Operation

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Ironside, Sir William Edmund (First Baron Ironside) (1880–1959)

British army general and chief of the Imperial General Staff from 1939 to 1940. Born 6 May 1880 in Edinburgh, William Ironside graduated from the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich and was commissioned into the Royal Artillery in 1899. He served in the Boer War and on the Western Front in World War I, rising to command a brigade by 1918. Ironside commanded British forces in Archangel, Russia, during the 1918–1919 expedition that attempted to overturn the Bolshevik regime and was knighted. A large man, he was (naturally) widely known as “Tiny.”

Ironside’s service between the wars was, like that of many officers in those thin years for the British military, a difficult period of marking time while awaiting the retirement or death of those senior to him. He served in India and was named to command the Eastern District of Britain in 1936. But as he noted in a diary that was later published, there were few men and even less equipment in the British military at the time. Early in 1938, Ironside became governor of Gibraltar, but he was called home as inspector general of Overseas Forces in May 1939.

On 3 September 1939, Ironside was named chief of the Imperial General Staff (IGS) by Leslie Hore-Belisha, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain’s war secretary, despite the fact that he had never held any staff position in the War Office. Although convinced the Middle East would be the critical theater of war, Ironside understood the need to bolster French defenses. However, his impatient and brusque manner limited his effectiveness during the trying period of the “Phony War.” In early 1940, he worked closely with First Lord of the Admiralty Winston L. S. Churchill to promote a Scandinavian strategy to outflank the Germans. The relationship between the two men cooled when the Norwegian Campaign descended into disaster in April.

On 27 May 1940, as the Germans swept through northern France, Ironside was replaced as CIGS and shifted to command the Home Forces. He readily admitted he had been ill suited for the CIGS post and welcomed a return to a real command. Less than two months later, however, Alan Brooke replaced him, and Ironside retired. He was promoted to field marshal and created Baron (Lord) Ironside of Archangel in 1941. He died on 22 September 1959 in London.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also

Brooke, Sir Alan Francis; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.

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British General William Edmund Ironside, 1940. (Corbis)

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Ishiwara Kanji (1889–1949)

Japanese army general and head of the East Asian League. Born in Akita Prefecture, Japan, on 18 January 1889, Ishiwara Kanji graduated from the Military Academy in 1909. Following routine service in Korea, he entered the Army Staff College and graduated second in his class in November 1918. He spent the years from 1922 to 1924 in independent study in Germany, which exposed him to European military thought and gave him an opportunity to observe the results of World War I.

Ishiwara’s experience in Europe, as well as his adherence to the Nichiren sect of Buddhism, led him to theorize that in the future, Japan would engage in an apocalyptic war with the United States. This struggle, which he dubbed “the Final War,” would be a protracted total war in which airpower

would play a decisive role. Ishiwara believed, however, that Japan could overcome its material inferiority by harnessing the economic resources of the Asian mainland, especially Manchuria and Mongolia. He published his theories in a book entitled *Thoughts on the Final Global War*.

In 1928, Ishiwara was posted to Manchuria, where he served as chief of operations for the Japanese Guandong (Kwantung) Army. Impelled by his sense of the urgency of preparing for the Final War, Ishiwara played a major role in planning and carrying out the Japanese army's seizure of Manchuria beginning in 1931. Shortly before the establishment of the puppet state of Manzhouguo (Manchukuo) in 1932, he returned to Japan. Promoted to colonel, he headed the Operations Section of the army General Staff. After becoming a major general, he was in charge of General Staff's Operations Division. Nonetheless, Ishiwara's considerable earlier influence as a military theorist waned during the 1930s. Marginalized for his tacit support of a failed officers' rebellion in February 1936, as well as for his increasingly outspoken criticism of Japan's war with China (he was chief of staff of the Guandong Army in 1937 and 1938), he was promoted to lieutenant general but was forced into retirement in 1941.

Ishiwara headed the Toa Remmei (East Asian League), which opposed Premier Tōjō Hideki's policies during the war. He briefly returned as an adviser to the "Surrender Cabinet" and urged that Japan conclude a peace.

Following the war, Ishiwara was investigated by the Allied occupation authorities, who briefly considered trying him as a war criminal. Instead, he testified as a prosecution witness at the Tokyo War Crimes Trials in 1947. Ishiwara died in Akita Prefecture on 15 August 1949.

John M. Jennings

See also

Guandong Army; Manzhouguo; Tōjō Hideki

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Ismay, Hastings Lionel (First Baron Ismay of Wormington) (1887–1965)

British army general and chief of staff to the British War Cabinet. Born 21 June 1887 in Naini Tal, India, Hastings Ismay graduated from Sandhurst and was commissioned in the Royal Army in 1905, posted to the cavalry in India. During World War I, he served in British Somaliland. He returned to India between 1922 and 1925 and again as military secretary



Lord Hastings Lionel Ismay, secretary-general of NATO (1952–1957), with the newly adopted NATO emblem behind him. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

to the viceroy, from 1931 to 1933. Early in his life, he was affectionately dubbed "Pug" for his amiable expression.

Ismay served in the War Office in Britain as assistant secretary (1925–1930), deputy secretary (1936–1938), and secretary (1938–1939) of the Committee of Imperial Defense. He was then named deputy military secretary to the War Cabinet (1939–1940) under Neville Chamberlain. When Winston L. S. Churchill became prime minister on 10 May 1940, Ismay served as his military chief of staff. He was promoted to lieutenant general in 1942 and general in 1944. All with whom he worked during the war, from Churchill down, attested to his invaluable and essential efforts, keeping paper moving and all channels of communication open. Ismay attended virtually all the summit conferences and acted as the primary channel between the service chiefs of staff and the cabinet. Both patient and informed, he was also not afraid to express the truth and could be critical when necessary and supportive at other times. Ismay admired Churchill greatly, but he could disagree with him; similarly, he was evenhanded with the chiefs of staff, sometimes adopting their viewpoints and at other times disagreeing or suggesting alternatives. With his two assistants, Ian Jacob and Leslie Hollis (both of whom became generals and were knighted), Ismay was the essential oil in the British High Command.

After retiring from the army in 1946, Ismay served as chief of staff to the viceroy of India, Lord Louis Mountbatten, from March to November 1947 and was then made a peer (becoming First Baron Ismay of Wormington). In Churchill's second government, he served as secretary of state for Commonwealth relations (1951–1952). He became the first secretary-general of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1952, retiring five years later. Ismay died in Broadway, England, on 17 December 1965.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Great Britain, Army

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Italy, Air Force

In the period between World Wars I and II, the Royal Italian Air Force (Regia Aeronautica) was regarded as one of the most advanced in the world, winning 96 international aviation awards. In 1939, Italy also had the third-largest European commercial air fleet, behind only Germany and the United Kingdom. Moreover, with the possible exception of Japan, Italy had more interwar combat experience than any other nation, from the suppression of the Senussi in Libya to the Italo-Ethiopian War and culminating in the Spanish Civil War, where the Italians contributed more aircraft than did Germany. Between 1935 and 1939, Italy expended 1,500 aircraft in combat, and an additional 925 planes were exported. The Royal Italian Air Force was also the most Fascist of the three services and the favorite of Italian dictator Benito Mussolini and the Fascist Party.

Yet in World War II, the Italian air force was found wanting. When Italy entered the war in June 1940, its air force had almost 1,000 front-line aircraft, backed by about 2,000 second- and third-line aircraft. But these figures were deceptive. Italy had a few high-performance planes—those that had set a number of aviation records—but most of the aircraft were, in fact, obsolete.

The chief of staff and undersecretary of the Regia Aeronautica, General Giuseppe Valle, commanded the air force. Italy was organized into three air zones, with several regional commands and army-air cooperation units and land- and sea-based naval reconnaissance units. The air force retained control of all pilots, and coordination between the three military branches was poor at best. The lack of a coherent air philosophy and an effective building program compounded the problem.

General Valle was relieved of his command on 31 October 1939, charged with responsibility for the poor state of the air force when it was mobilized at the beginning of the war. He was placed on trial, and although he was later freed, the public mistakenly held him responsible for the state of unpreparedness. General Francesco Pricolo commanded the air force from 31 October 1939 to 14 November 1941, when he was, in turn, replaced by General Rino Corso Fougier until 26 July 1943.

Italy joined the war in June 1940 and only fought in the Battle for France for several weeks, after which it received some French aircraft. Later, Mussolini insisted on sending aircraft to Belgium to assist in the Battle of Britain. The Germans thought the planes would be far more useful in North Africa. They proved hopelessly inadequate in the skies over Britain and had to be withdrawn. In 1941, Italy sent a more effective air contingent to fight in the Soviet Union.

In the Mediterranean Theater, the Italian air force was invoked in air strikes against Malta, targeted on British merchant ships and naval units operating near Italy. It also conducted raids against Gibraltar and Palestine and even as far afield as the Persian Gulf. However, the Italians soon learned that aircraft that had been successful against stationary merchant ships docked in harbors during the Spanish Civil War were ineffective in high-altitude bombing attacks against warships. Indeed, early in the war, the aircraft occasionally attacked Italian warships by mistake, although recognition improved as the war unfolded. But not until March 1941 did the air force place liaison officers on board warships at sea.

The Italian air force was more successful in fighting in the Balkans, against Greece and Yugoslavia. It also fought in the Western Desert from 1940 to 1943, as well as in Ethiopia. When fielding modern machines—the later models with German engines—the air force was effective. But despite the fact that the Italian air force had operated in Libya since 1911, its aircraft still lacked dust filters on the eve of war, and its tactics were reminiscent of World War I acrobatics.

With the exception of three fighters embarked on two battleships late in the war, the only sea-based air effort (apart from ship-launched reconnaissance aircraft) involved the crash conversion of two passenger ships into aircraft carriers. Neither was completed by the armistice. The failure to develop aircraft carriers seriously affected Italian naval operations in the war, largely because of the short range of Italy's land-based fighters.

On the whole, Italy's aviation industry was badly organized and inefficient, producing a wide variety of aircraft types in small numbers. The various companies involved resisted manufacturing each other's more successful designs, and the almost artisan production methods resulted in production times that were more than 50 percent longer than for comparable German aircraft. The Italian air force largely depended on radial engines, but these low-powered machines seldom exceeded 1,000 hp. Adoption of the bulkier but much more

On any given day, operational efficiency in the Italian Air Force was rarely higher than 70%.

powerful German-designed Daimler-Benz in-line engine helped solve that problem.

The fact that the CR-42, a wood-and-canvas biplane fighter with nonretractable landing gear, was still in production in 1944 (and a serious candidate for the Daimler-Benz engine) reveals the sad state of Italian aircraft production. Italian fighters were almost all underarmed, due to financial considerations and poorly designed, weak wings. Radios were not installed in all aircraft until 1942; fuel was stored in thinly lined, leaking tanks; most airfields were dirt runways; and pilots were slow to adapt to closed canopies. On any given day, operational efficiency was rarely higher than 70 percent. Ground-support aircraft, based on precepts developed by General Amadeo Mecozzi, were so poorly designed that early in the war, Italy simply retired its ground-attack planes and purchased 159 Ju-87 Stuka dive-bombers from Germany.

One area in which the Italian air force excelled was the torpedo-bomber. Although use of this plane was hindered by interservice rivalry before the war, the torpedo-bomber was deployed to units by late 1940. German air units later successfully emulated Italian torpedo-bombing tactics and purchased torpedoes from Italy. Yet the Italians chose simply to adapt a three-engine SM-79 level bomber for torpedo bombing rather than design a true torpedo-bomber.

Although Italy formally embraced the concept of strategic bombing developed by General Giulio Douhet, it did not practice it. Ironically, Douhet had more influence on British and U.S. air policies then at home. Italy did produce a partially successful four-engine bomber, the P-108, but only in small numbers. With the armistice in September 1943, there were two Italian air forces: one for the Fascist state in the north and another, utilizing many different Allied aircraft, that fought for the Allied government in the south.

Jack Greene

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighter; Balbo, Italo; Britain, Battle of; Malta, Air Battles of; Mussolini, Benito

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figure would rise during the war to 2,563,000. King Victor Emmanuel III was nominal commander in chief, with the title of *comandante supremo delle Forze Armate dello Stato* (supreme commander of the Royal Army of the Kingdom of Italy), but Italian dictator Benito Mussolini exercised actual command.

Contrary to popular misconceptions, some units of the army fought well in World War II, but the army itself was basically a light infantry force lacking in equipment and poorly prepared for a modern European war. In 1940, it numbered 73 divisions—43 infantry; 5 Alpine; 3 light; 2 motorized; 3 armored; 12 “self-transportable,” with a regiment of truck-drawn artillery; 3 militia, and 2 Libyan. Many military formations were understrength, and much of the army’s equipment was obsolete at best. Morale was not always optimal, for many Italians thought their nation was on the wrong side in the war. The men were often indifferently led, as many officer appointments were made on the basis of party loyalty rather than ability.

An Italian infantry division was composed of two infantry regiments, an artillery regiment, an engineer company, and occasionally an attached Blackshirt (Voluntary Militia for National Security, or MVSN) legion. The “binary” division had only about 10,000 men at full strength. The royal infantry regiments pledged allegiance to the king, but the highly motivated Blackshirt legions, which numbered about 1,300 men each, swore loyalty to Mussolini. Many regular army officers deeply resented the inclusion of Blackshirt regiments in the army. In 1940, the equivalent of four MSVN divisions were destroyed in fighting in North Africa. Eventually, “M battalions” made of Blackshirts fought in the Soviet Union and in Yugoslavia. They also manned anti-aircraft artillery batteries throughout the Italian Empire.

In 1940, the Italian army had more than 8,000 artillery pieces, which were classified as divisional (field), corps (medium), and army (heavy). Much of the artillery was left over from World War I, and some guns were modernized World War I prizes, such as pieces manufactured at Skoda. In 1940, Italy had more than 1,200 tanks, but most were only two-man light “tankettes.” Many of the larger models were too thinly armored to stop armor-piercing bullets, let alone stand up to northern European armor.

On 20 June 1940, Mussolini entered the war by attacking France in the western Alps with 32 divisions. The Italians did poorly, being largely held at bay by 5 French divisions. When the leaders in Paris surrendered on 24 June, the Italians took a small portion of southeastern France. The French admitted to having 37 soldiers killed in the campaign; Italian losses were 631.

On 28 October 1940, on short notice, Mussolini sent Italian troops into Greece from Albania. The invasion involved fewer than 100,000 Italian troops, and by late November, the

Italy, Army

When Italy entered World War II on 10 June 1940, the Regio Esercito (Royal Army) had 1,630,000 men under arms. This



Italian Carro Armato MII/39 medium tanks in northern Egypt. (Hulton Archive)

Greek army had driven the Italian army back into Albania, where both forces suffered heavily in a bloody stalemate during the winter. Hitler came to the rescue of his ally on 6 April 1941, when German forces invaded Greece and conquered it in a few short weeks. Italian forces, chiefly the Second Army, also participated in the invasion and conquest of Yugoslavia that same month.

Italy's subsequent occupation of portions of Yugoslavia, France, Corsica, and Greece tied down numerous divisions. Resistance efforts created an ever growing list of casualties. During their occupation of Yugoslavia, the Italians raised a number of units usually organized on religious lines—Catholic, Orthodox Christian, and Muslim—from men seeking to fight the Partisans.

After Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, Mussolini eagerly offered Italian forces. Eventually, Italy sent more than 250,000 men to the Soviet Front. Most of the Italian Eighth Army was lost in the Battle of Stalingrad. Included in Italian forces operating mainly in the Ukraine was a Croatian legion raised in Croatia. The Italians also helped organize a small Cossack anticommunist volunteer group. If the units sent to the Soviet Union had been added to forces in North Africa, they might well have affected the outcome of the struggle there.

Italy made a major military effort in North Africa in order to fulfill Mussolini's dream of establishing a great Italian empire. Before the war, Italy had colonized Libya, Eritrea,

Somalia, and Ethiopia (Abyssinia). Italian forces there were, however, underequipped and undergunned compared with the British forces they had to fight.

Amedeo Umberto di Savoia, the duke of Aosta, commanded forces in Italian East Africa (Somalia, Ethiopia, and Eritrea). Of his 256,000 men, 182,000 were "indigenous" levies. European colonists, including some Blackshirt troops, formed part of the units under the duke's command. Fighting there began in early July 1940 when the Italians captured a number of small British posts, but they halted their offensive in the Sudan when intelligence estimates magnified the actual British forces arrayed against them.

On 4 August, the Italians invaded British Somaliland from Ethiopia. They were able to overwhelm the small British forces defending that colony. The British withdrew to Aden, and their losses were only one-tenth those of the Italians. During the 1940–1941 winter, the British built up their resources, and beginning on 19 January 1941, they went on the offensive. By the end of 1941, the British had secured control of Italian East Africa.

In North Africa, Field Marshal Rodolfo Graziani commanded some 236,000 Italian troops. After the defeat of France, Italian forces were shifted to eastern Libya to face the British in Egypt. Major General Richard O'Connor, the British commander in Egypt, had only 31,000 men—largely from the 4th Indian Division and the 7th Armoured Division, later reinforced by the 6th Australian Division. Graziani appeared

to be in position to overwhelm the outnumbered British; however, his troops were short of heavy artillery, tanks, and antitank and anti-aircraft weapons, as well as transport and logistical support. A shortage of radios often reduced communications to relaying information by messenger.

On 13 September 1940, Graziani, pressed to act prematurely by Mussolini, launched an offensive against the British. The Italians fared badly, and by December, the British had penetrated the Italian chain of forts that were protecting the Libyan border but set too far apart to be mutually supporting. Many Italian units fought effectively but to no avail. By January 1941, the British had taken some 100,000 Italian prisoners.

In February 1941, General Erwin Rommel arrived in Libya with his Afrika Korps (Africa Corps). Although smaller in number than the Italian force and officially under Italian control, the Afrika Korps quickly became the dominant partner. The Germans were far better equipped and more effectively organized and led. By contrast, the Italians lacked mobility, adequate staffing, and an effective system of command and control.

The Italians fought back and forth across northern Africa until they were finally defeated at Tunis in May 1943. A major factor in the Axis defeat was Britain's control of Malta, which enhanced the British ability to intercept by sea and air supplies destined for Axis troops in North Africa. British communications intelligence, notably *ULTRA* intercepts, also played a role in the Allied victory.

In July 1943, the British and Americans invaded Sicily, held by 190,000 Italians and 40,000 Germans. The performance of Italian units varied widely. The newly formed and indifferently equipped coastal divisions, composed of middle-aged home guards, often surrendered without a fight. Certain defeat in Sicily led the Fascist Grand Council to strip Mussolini of power in July. Marshal Pietro Badoglio then formed a new government, and on 3 September, he signed a secret armistice with the Allies, to go into effect five days later. The Germans, well aware of Italian efforts to switch sides, immediately implemented plans to take control of Italy. When the Germans occupied Rome on 10 September, King Victor Emmanuel III and Badoglio fled south and made Brindisi the new seat of government. Meanwhile, German troops arrested and disarmed Italian army units. More than 600,000 Italians were deported to labor camps in Germany.

German commando units rescued Mussolini on 12 September 1943 and set up the Italian Social Republic (RSI), with its capital at Salò in the north. Many Fascists joined the new RSI army. New units and those from the former Italian army that remained loyal to fascism were formed into various bodies. The first of these was the *Esercito Nazionale Repubblicano* (ENR, National Republican Army), arranged into four divisions composed of formations newly raised by officers still

loyal to Mussolini and mixed with some autonomous older units. Many thousands were recruited into the ENR divisions from among Italian soldiers interned by the Germans. These formations were usually trained in Germany and then deployed to Italy. Most of their fighting was against partisans.

The *Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana* (GNR, National Republican Guard) replaced the old Blackshirts. Basically a policing unit, it ultimately numbered 80,000 men. It was assigned to local security duties and fighting the partisans. Some GNR units in occupied France and Yugoslavia continued occupation duties in cooperation with the Germans.

As the struggle with the partisans intensified, all able-bodied Fascists were organized into a new militia, the *Brigate Nere* (Black Brigades). Formed in June 1944 as an armed branch of the RSI's new Fascist Party, this militia eventually numbered some 30,000 men. Composed of fanatical Fascists, it engaged in a no-holds-barred struggle with the partisans. The members of the Black Brigades were motivated by the belief that they would be killed in the event of a Fascist defeat.

The "X" *MAS* (Decima Mas) unit was an autonomous force organized by Prince Julio Valerio Borghese. Composed of 25,000 volunteers, it gained a reputation for effective and hard fighting against the partisans, primarily Tito's Yugoslav Partisans in Istria. It also included a women's unit. In addition, the Germans recruited Italian volunteers into the *Waffen-SS*. These units had both Italian and German names and usually were commanded by German officers. They performed well on the Anzio Front and against partisans.

In the south of Italy, the newly reorganized government led by King Emmanuel and Badoglio established an "army of the south," with the status of a cobelligerent force. It was organized as the *Corpo Italiano di Liberazione* (CIL, Italian Liberation Corps). Composed of old Italian Royal Army men and units, to which new recruits were added, the CIL was formed into six weak divisions, known as "combat groups." With the transfer of some Allied units to participate in the Riviera landings in France, four of these divisions were brought into the line and saw combat. They fought well and sustained casualties of 1,868 dead and 5,187 wounded. Many Italians also served with the Allied forces in support units, handling transportation and ammunition and other supplies. Some of these units were muleteers working in the rugged mountain tracks. Partisan forces also fought in the north, behind German lines. As the war drew to a close, thousands joined partisan groups in order to sanitize their pasts or ensure their futures.

The Italian army suffered substantial casualties in the war. The total of those in the army who died fighting the Allies, in German reprisals following the armistice with the Allies, and in fighting the Germans probably exceeded 300,000 men. In addition, an unknown but large number were wounded, and some 600,000 were taken as prisoners.

A. J. L. Waskey

See also

Afrika Korps; Albania, Role in the War; Artillery Doctrine; Badoglio, Pietro; Balkans Theater; BARBAROSSA, Operation; Cephalonia Island; De Bono, Emilio; El Alamein, Battle of; France, Battle for; Graziani, Rodolfo; Greece, Italy Campaign; Mussolini, Benito; North Africa Campaign; O'Connor, Richard Nugent; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Somalia; Stalingrad, Battle of; Tanks, All Powers; Tripartite Pact; Tunis, Battle of; Tunisia Campaign; Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy; Western European Theater of Operations; Yugoslavia

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Italy, Home Front (1940–1945)

There was little enthusiasm among Italy's 42 million people when Italian dictator Benito Mussolini took his nation into World War II in June 1940. The timing was conditioned by Mussolini's desire to profit from German military successes and also by the illusion that Italy might compete with its ally for the spoils. During the nearly two decades that Mussolini had held power, his Fascist secret police and judicial system of special courts had silenced the internal opposition. The minority of Italians who totally opposed the war were mostly abroad.

Initial Italian military failures in 1940 were offset in the public eye by the overall Axis successes that extended into the fall of 1941. Weekly propaganda newsreels trumpeted Axis battlefield victories. Such claims were tempered in October 1942, however, when the Western Allies began bombing northern Italian cities. At the same time, the tide clearly was turning against the Axis powers in North Africa. The war at last became a grim reality in urban Italy, with many people forced to abandon the cities. The destruction of the Italian Eighth Army in the Soviet offensives in the Stalingrad area during the 1942–1943 winter only strengthened the public mood. Despite

the Fascist regime's eavesdropping and censorship, opposition to Mussolini's policies grew. Strikes in the northern industrial cities in March 1943 surprised the authorities.

For political reasons, Mussolini sought to maintain, insofar as possible, the appearance of normalcy on the domestic front. Morale plummeted, however, with the introduction of rationing in 1941. Coffee, sugar, and soap had already been rationed since 1939. But with the war, the Italian average daily caloric intake progressively declined because Italy was not self-sufficient in food, especially wheat. Per capita daily calorie intake went from 2,100 in 1943 to 1,800 in 1944–1945, although some Italians were able to supplement this with black-market purchases. Only those who worked in heavy labor might have more. This further depressed morale, especially because rations for nonworking Italians, primarily the elderly or disabled, were well below the national average and totally inadequate. The overall situation deteriorated thanks to an inefficient distribution system and increased Allied bombing of railroad lines.

Times were hard for most Italians. By 1942, newspapers were reduced to four pages (and later, to two). Essentials were in short supply. Rationing meant that one might purchase one pair of new shoes or a few articles of clothing per year. Repeated increases in wages were more than offset by inflation, which, although rampant, was not so severe as to wreck the economy. Government deficits ballooned, and the government printed more paper money; circulation of paper money quadrupled between 1940 and 1943, and a lively black market flourished, thanks to the fact that farmers refused to bring their food products to the government collection points. Following the Allied invasion and German occupation, the food situation worsened for most Italians, especially in the more populous, urbanized northern part of the country, where the standard of living fell back to the levels of 1861.

Labor was in short supply, given the country's needs for military manpower. Agricultural requirements compelled Mussolini to recall 600,000 soldiers from the front on the eve of the Greek Campaign to assist with the harvest, with obvious military consequences. In three years of war, Italy mobilized some 5 million men for military service, and an additional 3,850,000 workers of military age were employed in war production at the end of 1941. In 1943, this figure was reduced to 3,638,000, but it was still high.

Italy was handicapped by having few natural resources; its industry lacked even the most basic raw materials. The nation consumed 12 million tons of coal per year, but only 1 million tons came from domestic production. Iron ore was scarce, and Italy had no oil of its own, being forced to rely on Germany, where supplies were also short. Civilian automobile travel was almost completely forbidden, and Italy had to make do with a limited quantity of natural gas from the Po River valley.



U.S. soldier shares his food rations with hungry villagers in the Cassino area in Italy, 1944. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

Despite problems, Italian industry managed to produce 7,000 artillery pieces, although half these were of 47 mm or smaller caliber; 10,545 aircraft; and some 60,000 trucks of rather high quality. This last figure may be compared with a total of 71,000 private and commercial vehicles produced in 1939. Much of this military equipment, however, was obsolescent. Industry emphasized quantity and older designs rather than switching to newer designs with potential dips in production. Thus, in 1943, Italy continued to produce biplanes at the expense of modern aircraft designs. The same approach was followed in Italy's rather small production run of some 2,500 tanks. The country never attempted to produce under license the far better German models. In sum, Italy's war industry was less effective than it had been in World War I.

Homeland defense was organized in fifteen corps areas and was centered on coastal batteries manned by the *Milizia Artiglieria Maritima* (MILMART, naval artillery militia) and

Guardia alla Frontiera (GAF, border guards). Along its Alpine border, Italy already maintained an old fortified line. Between 1938 and 1943, it added a new one, which could only have been directed against its German ally. Protection against amphibious assault was difficult, given the country's long coastline. When Italy entered the war, it had only 200 modern antiaircraft batteries (all lacking fire-direction systems) with which to defend the cities and industrial areas, as well as strategic targets such as bridges, rail lines, and the like.

For defense against invasion, Italy also fielded some 400 battalions of territorial units of various types, but they were poorly armed; some were equipped with nineteenth-century *Wetterli* rifles. During the war, a few mobile units were added. Regular army units resting or training in Italy were also available. The government sought to counter the threat of paratroopers and saboteurs by the formation of some 350 platoon-level army units, often motorized or equipped with

bicycles. These were, for instance, reasonably successful in tracking down British paratroops dropped in Calabria on 10 February 1941. To these forces should be added the three main police corps—the police, the military police (the Carabinieri) and the Financial Guard.

Mussolini's disastrous policies and the Allied invasion of Sicily brought about the dictator's fall, engineered not by outside pressures but within his own party from the Fascist Grand Council, which deposed him on 25 July 1943. The new government, headed by Marshal Pietro Badoglio, signed an armistice with the Allies, which was announced on 8 September, after Allied forces invaded Italy itself. The Germans then occupied much of the country and disarmed many Italian military units that were left without orders. Italy became the battleground for outside powers, with bitter fighting persisting until 2 May 1945.

After the armistice, there were several different administrations: the Allied military government in the south (which printed its own occupation money); the Italian government under King Victor Emanuel III, which became a cobelligerent from October 1943 on and took over many liberated areas from the military; and German-occupied Italy to the north. The Germans rescued Mussolini from imprisonment and installed him in the north as head of the puppet Italian Social Republic (RSI). Some provinces of northern Italy, however, were directly controlled by the Third Reich. The German Armaments Ministry took control of northern industries, which produced surprisingly well, given the difficult conditions.

As the Allies struggled with the Germans in Italy, Italian Resistance fighters also fought the Germans and other Italians. The Resistance in the north liberated some mountainous territories and proclaimed them to be independent. The north suffered from the civil war, hunger, and Allied bombing. The south was far better off. Although it had little in the way of industry, it could at least rely on Allied help in the form of food and goods.

Italy entered the war hoping to expand its overseas empire and win military glory. Instead, the nation lost its existing empire, was invaded, and became a battlefield and the scene of a civil war. The prolonged fighting and slow Allied advance up the length of the Italian peninsula severely damaged Italy. The war destroyed some 8 percent of the nation's industrial plant, demolished a considerable amount of housing (mostly in the cities), and severely dislocated the railroads (60 percent of the locomotives were lost, along with half of the rolling stock). Some 5,000 bridges were destroyed, and agricultural production fell by 60 percent. Nonetheless, by 1948, the nation was able to regain the economic levels of 1938, and it experienced considerable growth in the 1950s and 1960s.

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See also

Badoglio, Pietro; Italy, Air Force; Italy, Army; Italy, Navy; Italy Campaign; Mussolini, Benito; Stalingrad, Battle of; Victor Emanuel III, King of Italy

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Italy, Navy

In the interwar period, the Royal Italian Navy (Regia Marina) had been designed to fight the French navy in surface naval battles reminiscent of the 1916 Battle of Jutland. On the eve of World War II, the navy began transforming itself, albeit unsuccessfully, into an “oceanic” navy that would not be confined by the British-controlled Mediterranean choke points of Gibraltar and the Suez. In the unlikely event that funding and resources were made available, the Italian navy by 1942 would include 9 battleships, 3 aircraft carriers, 36 cruisers (including 12 small Capitani Romani-class, of which 3 were completed before the armistice), and 84 oceangoing submarines. The navy had 5.4 officers for every 100 sailors (France had 7.5 and Britain 9.2 officers per 100 sailors), and many of the sailors were volunteers.

On the eve of Italy's 10 June 1940 entry into the war, the navy was consuming about 33 percent of the annual military budget, placing it well behind the army but ahead of the air force. The core of the navy was built around the new 30-knot, massive, Littorio-class battleships armed with 9×15 -inch guns. Two were being completed when war was declared, and a third was added during the war. Italy also had two small, older, and completely rebuilt and speedy World War I-era battleships ready for sea and two others that were almost ready. Although they were the weakest Axis battleships of the war, they were more powerful than any cruiser.

Italy also had 7 heavy cruisers, 12 light cruisers (adding 3 during the war), 59 destroyers (adding 10), 62 large torpedo boats (adding 17), and 113 submarines (adding 32). Various escorts, raiders, MAS-style patrol torpedo (PT) boats, and successful war-built corvettes—the 700 ton Gabbiano-class, of which 28 were completed before the armistice—rounded out the major fleet units.

Although it was a substantial force on paper, the Italian navy suffered from fundamental problems. Italy lagged in several key areas of naval technology. One area was sonar, which was just beginning to be introduced at the start of the war. Also, in the disastrous March 1941 Battle of Matapan, the Italians discovered to their dismay that the Allies had deployed radar on their warships. The Italians did not deploy their first warship radar until a year later, in March 1942. Ironically, Italy's scientific community had been working on radar in the mid-1930s, but the Italian government did not fully support its efforts. Of ULTRA intercepts, the Italians knew nothing, although they assumed the Germans were letting the Allies know about Italian operations, and the Germans assumed the Italians were doing the same.

Italian ship armor plate was inferior as judged by Allied standards. Italian heavy ships relied on long-range gunnery, but guns in cruiser and destroyer turrets were mounted too close to each other, thus interfering in the flight of shells, a problem compounded by an immoderate 1 percent weight tolerance for shells. This resulted in excessive salvo spreads, as opposed to the much tighter British salvos.

The Italians sought to avoid night fighting by their heavy ships, and the navy lacked flashless night charges for ships with 8-inch or larger guns, an error not rectified until 1942. The navy dropped night-fighting training for large ships in the 1930s, precisely when the British navy was adopting such tactics for its heavy ships, including battleships. Italian losses in night surface actions during the war would be heavy and almost completely one-sided.

Italy also experienced problems with its submarines. There were three classes of subs. The large oceangoing submarines were part of the new oceanic navy. Many were based out of Bordeaux, France. In 189 patrols, they sank over 500,000 tons of Allied ships, with another 200,000 tons damaged. They also conducted mostly ineffective runs to Japan for key war supplies, and they operated in the Indian Ocean and Red Sea. Medium and small submarines hunted closer to home. In the Mediterranean Sea, these classes conducted 1,553 patrols with dismal results when contrasted to the successes tallied by far fewer German submarines dispatched to that theater. This outcome was, in part, due to the Italian doctrine that called for submarines to submerge during daytime and wait for a target to come within range. The Italians eschewed attacks on the surface in wolf packs at night. Their torpedoes were reliable but had smaller warheads than those of most other nations,

thus causing less damage. Despite its long coastline and its colonies, Italy had only 25,000 mines in 1939, and most dated of these from World War I.

In the 1920s, the Italians experimented with the snorkel, a tube to the surface that allowed submarines to secure air while submerged, but they ultimately dropped its development as a dead end. Their submarines also suffered from slow submerging speeds—they were two or three times slower than German boats. Italy also had to rebuild many of its submarines during the war because their large sails (the superstructure where the surface bridge and periscope were located) were easily picked up by radar. Italian periscopes were too short, and the Mediterranean itself was a much clearer sea than the Atlantic, which made it easier for Allied pilots to locate submerged submarines.

Italy also failed to develop the aircraft carrier. Italian dictator Benito Mussolini and the navy High Command believed that the country's long coastline and the many Italian islands and bases in the central Mediterranean rendered aircraft carriers unnecessary. But the slow communication and response between the Italian navy and air force, fueled by interservice rivalries, meant that too few planes arrived too late too often: early in the war, Italian planes actually attacked Italian ships several times. High-level bombing of warships under way also proved to be ineffective. Mussolini changed his mind about the aircraft carrier, and during the war, he twice intervened personally to secure the conversion of two passenger ships to carriers, although neither was completed before the end of the war.

Italy also failed to develop torpedo-bombers before the war, in large part because of interservice jealousy. The air force, with only limited funds, opposed development of torpedo-bombers, preferring to use the money for high-altitude bombers. So although the Italian navy developed a torpedo for air launch, it was not until the war was several months old that the air force carried out its first torpedo attack. In the course of the war, the Italians achieved several successes with these airplanes.

The most innovative naval arm was the "X" MAS (Decima Mas). This unit was made up of (1) midget submarines; (2) underwater swimmers trained in sabotage; (3) surface speedboats filled with explosives and piloted by crewmen who jumped off shortly before the vessels hit their targets; and (4) the slow-moving torpedo, or SLC, which was ridden by two men under water into enemy harbors. The most successful of these weapons was the SLC, directly developed from a World War I weapon that was employed against Austria-Hungary with good results; it was usually launched from a submarine. The most spectacular success for the SLCs occurred on 18 December 1941, when three of them entered Alexandria harbor and crippled the British battleships *Queen Elizabeth* and *Valiant*. With the exception of the midget submarines, the

naval High Command ignored these weapons until 1935 and then only grudgingly supported junior officers involved in innovative development. A more forceful development program begun after World War I might well have made an important difference in World War II.

In spite of these limitations, the fuel-strapped Italian navy fought bravely during the war and transported to Africa 85 percent of the supplies and 92 percent of the troops that left port. In numerous battles above, on, and below the seas, the navy sank many Allied warships and forced the British to maintain a powerful naval force at both ends of the Mediterranean. In September 1943 when Italy switched sides in the war, the bulk of the Italian fleet joined the Allies.

Italian naval losses before the armistice consisted of 1 battleship, 11 cruisers, 44 destroyers, 41 large torpedo boats, 33 MAS-style PT boats, 86 submarines, and 178 other vessels. After the armistice, Italy lost 1 battleship, 4 destroyers, 5 large torpedo boats, 25 MAS boats, 3 submarines, and 23 other vessels. Mussolini's Italian Social Republic, organized in north Italy, seized some Italian warships, and most of these were subsequently sunk; the most important was the heavy cruiser *Bolzano*. Total wartime personnel losses for the Italian navy came to 28,837, with 4,177 of this number occurring after the armistice. Up to the armistice, Italy also lost 2,018,616 tons of merchant shipping.

Jack Greene

See also

Battleships; Calabria, Battle of; Cape Matapan, Battle of; Cunningham, Sir Andrew Browne; Great Britain, Navy; Mussolini, Benito; Signals Intelligence; Sirte, First Battle of; Sirte, Second Battle of; Somerville, Sir James Fownes; Vian, Sir Philip Louis

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military staffs agreed to follow the Axis defeat in North Africa with an invasion of Sicily. Several weeks later, the Americans also agreed to a subsequent invasion of the Italian Peninsula. This campaign would allow the Allies to retain the strategic initiative, expand their control in the Mediterranean, open a second front on the mainland of Europe to relieve pressure on the Soviets, and provide air bases closer to strategic bombing targets in Austria, Romania, and parts of Germany.

In a month-long campaign commencing on 10 July 1943, in their largest amphibious assault in the war to date, Allied troops defeated Axis forces in Sicily. The Allied conquest of Sicily had a profound effect in Italy, where, faced with growing unrest and the reluctance of Italian forces to oppose the Allies, the Fascist Grand Council launched a coup d'état that overthrew Italian dictator Benito Mussolini and installed a new government led by Marshal Pietro Badoglio. Secret negotiations between the Allies and the new Italian government for an armistice began immediately but soon became bogged down by the Allied insistence on unconditional surrender. A "short military armistice" was eventually signed, on 3 September. Meanwhile, however, Adolf Hitler used the interlude to move another 16 German divisions to Italy, including the crack 1st SS Panzer Division from the Soviet Union.

The Germans then occupied the entire country and took control of most of the Italian army. Much of the Italian fleet escaped to Malta. On 12 September 1943, German commandos led by Schutzstaffel (SS) Standartenführer Otto Skorzeny rescued Mussolini from captivity in the mountains at Grand Sasso in a daring airborne raid. Hitler then installed Mussolini as head of the Italian Social Republic (RSI) in northern Italy.

The strategic logic for continuing the Allied campaign in the Mediterranean appeared obvious to the British Chiefs of Staff, who saw an invasion of Italy as an opportunity to accomplish several goals: to continue the ground war against Germany utilizing experienced troops who would otherwise remain idle for a year; to draw Axis troops away from France and the Soviet Union; and possibly to create opportunities elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean. The U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, however, were far less convinced and believed that Allied efforts should be directed to the cross-Channel invasion of France, now sanctioned for the spring of 1944. They were also skeptical of British motives, fearing that the post-war preservation of colonial interests was a high priority for Britain—a goal they vehemently opposed. A final decision to invade the Italian mainland was not made until the Trident Conference in Washington in May 1943, but there was no strategic plan other than to continue the existing operations. The Americans were reluctant to commit to a new Italian campaign, and there was no new, large-scale amphibious landing in northern Italy. Any such operation would have been beyond the range of Allied fighter aircraft, and it is an open question whether that type of operation and an airborne

Italy Campaign (1943–1945)

At the American-British Casablanca Conference in January 1943, with a cross-Channel invasion of France no longer an option for that year, British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill and U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and their

raid to capture Rome would have brought the campaign to a rapid conclusion.

The Allied invasion plan envisaged a pincer movement across the Straits of Messina by General Sir Harold Alexander's 15th Army Group, with the first objective being the vital southern Italian port of Naples. In Operation *BAYTOWN*, Lieutenant General Bernard Montgomery's Eighth Army crossed from Sicily to Reggio di Calabria on 3 September, followed by the British 1st Airborne Division, which landed by sea at Taranto six days later. The main assault, by 165,000 troops of the Anglo-U.S. Fifth Army under Lieutenant General Mark W. Clark, went ashore at Salerno in Operation *AVALANCHE*, 35 miles south of Naples, on 9 September. Salerno was chosen chiefly because it was the farthest point in the north for which air support could be provided from Sicily. The Allies hoped that, once ashore, their invading forces would somehow find a way to open the road to Rome before the end of the year.

German Field Marshal Albert Kesselring had convinced Hitler that Italy could be easily defended because of its ideal terrain. The central mountainous spine of the Apennines rises above 10,000 feet and has lateral spurs that run east and west toward the coast, between which are deep valleys containing wide rivers flowing rapidly to the sea. The north-south roads were confined to 20-mile-wide strips adjacent to the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian coasts, where the bridges that carried them were dominated by natural strong points.

Kesselring formed the six divisions in the south of Italy into the Tenth Army under General Heinrich von Vietinghoff, but he had anticipated a landing at Salerno and stationed the 16th Panzer Division in the area. At Salerno, Fifth Army attacked with two corps abreast: the U.S. VI Corps and the British X Corps. Initial resistance was light, but the Germans reinforced by 11 September and, despite their weakness, launched a counteroffensive that almost split Fifth Army between the two invading corps. By 15 September, the beachhead was secure, in large part because of an overwhelming weight of firepower in the form of accurate naval gunfire and massive air support and because more reserves were landed. Fifth Army then began an advance on Naples, 30 miles away. Montgomery, disappointed that he had only been assigned a secondary role, was needlessly cautious in his advance—so much so that a group of dismayed war correspondents drove themselves through German-occupied territory to contact Fifth Army more than a day before Montgomery's advanced units managed to do so on 16 September.

Two days later, Kesselring ordered a fighting withdrawal to the first of the series of mountainous, fortified defensive lines, from which the Germans planned to defend the approaches to Rome. On 1 October, Fifth Army captured Naples while Eighth Army advanced up the Adriatic coast and captured the airfields at Foggia; there, the Allies installed the U.S. Fifteenth Air Force to launch strategic bombing raids against the Reich. By

early October, the two Allied armies had formed a continuous, 120-mile line across the peninsula running along the Volturno and Biferno Rivers. But in the previous three weeks, Fifth Army alone had taken 12,000 casualties.

Henceforth, the campaign in Italy became a slow, remorseless, and grinding battle of attrition, and as the rain and snow turned the battlefield into a muddy quagmire, the appalling struggles resembled World War I battles. Kesselring had fortified a series of defensive lines, known collectively as the Winter Line, between Gaeta and Pescara. The western end based on the Garigliano and Rapido Rivers, known as the Gustav Line, was particularly strong and hinged on the great fortress of the Benedictine abbey at Monte Cassino.

On 12 October, the Allies began the Volturno River Campaign, with the objective of seizing the approaches to Rome. Their plan was too ambitious, given the Germans' skill at defending the mountainous terrain. Between the Volturno and Rome lay 120 miles of rugged country. Fifth Army's VI Corps successfully attacked across the line of the Volturno River, and X Corps seized two crossings. To exploit the success, General Clark ordered an advance across the entire Fifth Army front. Particularly in the VI Corps area, poor roads, demolished bridges, and the difficulties of bringing supplies forward combined with German resistance to slow the advance. Meanwhile, in a series of bitterly contested actions, Eighth Army crossed the Trigno River and advanced to the Sangro River. By 15 November, however, the Germans had stopped the advance along the Winter Line, a position that extended along the Garigliano River to Mount Camino, the Mignano gap, the mountains to the northeast, and the Sangro River to the Adriatic Sea.

The Winter Line Campaign, lasting from 15 November 1943 to 15 January 1944, marked the failure of the Allied plan for a major winter offensive. Eighth Army was to break through on the Adriatic coast and then swing left behind the Germans, at which time Fifth Army would advance. When the two came within supporting distance, Fifth Army would launch an amphibious operation south of Rome. Although its efforts to break into the German position were initially successful, Eighth Army fell victim as much to weather as to the German defense. In early December, the Sangro River, vital to Eighth Army communications, rose 8 feet, and bridges were under water or washed away.

By mid-December, it was clear that the efforts to break through the German defenses were futile. Meanwhile, Fifth Army successfully cleared the heights dominating the Mignano gap after much hard fighting, but it was stopped at the Rapido River. Allied forces had reached the defensive position of the Gustav Line, which generally ran along the Garigliano, Rapido, and Sangro Rivers. One of the key points was the town of Cassino on the Rapido. However, four successive attacks by Fifth Army failed to make any significant



headway. The winter campaign had degenerated into a situation in which two separate armies were attempting to penetrate the Gustav Line.

In four months, the Allies had slogged just 70 miles from Salerno and were still 80 miles from Rome. Fifth Army alone had incurred 40,000 casualties, far exceeding German losses, and a further 50,000 men were sick; meanwhile, six experienced divisions were withdrawn for the cross-Channel invasion of France, Operation *OVERLORD*. The supreme Allied commander of the European Theater of Operations and U.S. forces in Europe, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, and Montgomery also departed to lead the cross-Channel invasion. In recognition of British predominance in Italy, General Maitland "Jumbo" Wilson was appointed to head the Mediterranean Command, and Lieutenant General Oliver Leese became commander of Eighth Army.

Kesselring, who was appointed commander of Army Group C on 21 November, now had 15 (albeit weakened) divisions in Tenth Army vigorously holding the Gustav Line. On 22 January 1944, in an attempt to unhinge this force, the Allies launched another amphibious landing, Operation *SHINGLE*, at Anzio, 30 miles south of Rome. The U.S. VI Corps, under Major General John Lucas, achieved complete surprise and safely landed 70,000 troops within a week, but it failed to exploit the advantage. Churchill later wrote, "I had hoped that we were hurling a wild cat on to the shore, but all we got was a stranded whale."

Kesselring hastily improvised eight divisions into Fourteenth Army, commanded by General Eberhard von Mackensen. This force resolutely counterattacked at Anzio, employing "Goliath" remote-controlled, explosive-filled miniature tanks for the first time in the war. The beachhead was saved only by the excellent tactical use of intelligence in one of *ULTRA*'s most important triumphs. Major General Lucian K. Truscott replaced Lucas, but for three months, he could do no more than hold the defensive ring. Meanwhile, Allied forces to the south were unable to break through the Gustav Line. Losses were heavy on both sides as the Allies battered against the line. VI Corps held on at Anzio but was unable to break out of the beachhead. A stalemate persisted until spring.

On 17 January, V Corps launched an attack on the Gustav Line but was forced to call it off within a month, after the badly exhausted troops had advanced just 7 miles, at a cost of 17,000 casualties. The New Zealand Corps then attempted a direct assault on Monte Cassino, preceded by the questionable bombing by 145 B-17 Flying Fortresses that destroyed the famous monastery. The 1st Parachute Division troops defending the heights were some of the German army's finest, and they did not flinch. They now took up positions in the ruined monastery. A third attack by New Zealand and Indian infantry, using even heavier air and artillery bombardments,

also failed to break through, not least because the rubble created an impregnable defensive position.

On 11 May, the Allies launched a fourth attack, Operation *DIADEM*, in which General Alexander coordinated Fifth and Eighth Armies as an army group for the first time. The aim was to destroy the German armies. In an astonishing feat of arms, Polish and Free French troops seized Monte Cassino, and XIII Corps broke the Gustav Line in a set-piece battle. Moreover, Kesselring, who had been duped into expecting another amphibious landing farther north, was slow to send reinforcements southward.

Alexander was alerted to the German movements through *ULTRA* intelligence, and when victory seemed complete, he ordered the Anzio breakout on 23 May. He planned for the U.S. VI Corps to strike directly inland to encircle the German Tenth Army. Rome would thus be ripe for the taking, but more important, the Germans would be unable to form any organized defenses in the rest of Italy, enabling the rapid occupation of the country right up to the Alps. However, Clark, perhaps the most egocentric Allied commander in the war, was enticed by the glory of capturing Rome and altered the direction of his thrust toward the city. Fifth Army linked up with VI Corps on 25 May and made the triumphant march into Rome on 4 June, but the spectacle of the first capture of an Axis capital was eclipsed by the Allied invasion of France two days later.

Clark's change of objective from Alexander's intent enabled Kesselring to withdraw to the Pisa-Rimini Line, 150 miles north of Rome. This line was the first of the next series of defense lines across the peninsula that were known collectively as the Gothic Line, which he reached in August. Alexander still hoped to make for Vienna, but the Italian Campaign had assumed a definite secondary status to the invasion of France. Six divisions were withdrawn in the summer, and when the autumn rains and mud forced operations to be suspended at the end of the year, another seven divisions were withdrawn.

A prolonged Allied tactical air-interdiction program during the autumn and winter of 1944 effectively closed the Brenner Pass and created an acute German fuel shortage that drastically reduced the mobility of Army Group C in northern Italy (commanded by Vietinghoff after Kesselring was severely injured in a road accident in October). Although the Germans still had over half a million men in the field, the Allies had been invigorated in both spirit and outlook by substantial reinforcements, including the Brazilian Expedition Force, and an abundant array of new weapons.

On 9 April, after the ground had dried, Alexander launched his spring offensive, with Eighth Army attacking through the Argenta gap. Fifth Army struck on 15 April, and just 10 days later, both Allied armies met at Finale nell'Emilia, after having surrounded and eliminated the last German forces. The

Allies then advanced rapidly northward, the Americans entering Milan on 29 April and the British reaching Trieste on 2 May. Fifth Army continued to advance into Austria, linking with the U.S. Seventh Army in the Brenner Pass on 6 May.

The isolated and hopeless position of German and RSI forces led Schutzstaffel (SS) General Karl Wolff, military governor and head of the SS in northern Italy, to initiate background negotiations for a separate surrender as early as February 1945. The talks, facilitated by Allen Dulles, head of the U.S. Office of Strategic Services in Switzerland, held much promise, although they were complicated and took place in an atmosphere of mutual suspicion and mistrust. Wolff wished to avoid senseless destruction and loss of life and to repel the spread of communism; he also hoped to ingratiate himself with the West in case war crimes trials were held in the future. From the Allied perspective, Wolff offered the prospect of preventing the creation of a Nazi redoubt in the Alps. The head of the SS, Heinrich Himmler, halted the talks in April, forestalling their conclusion before the Allied spring offensive, but by 23 April, Wolff and Vietinghoff decided to disregard orders from Berlin. Wolff ordered the SS not to resist the Italian partisans on 25 April, and an unconditional surrender was signed four days later, to be effective on 2 May, six days before the German surrender in the West.

The Italian Campaign gave the Allies useful victories in the interval between the reconquest of the Mediterranean and the reconquest of northwest Europe. In a theater of increasingly secondary importance, Kesselring's position was merely a defensive one, and the best the Allies could claim was that they kept 22 enemy divisions from fighting in another theater. Allied casualties came to 188,746 for Fifth Army and 123,254 for Eighth Army, whereas German casualties were about 434,646 men. The Italian Campaign did, however, afford the Allies experience in amphibious operations and the stresses of coalition warfare, all of which proved invaluable during the invasion of France.

Philip L. Bolté and Paul H. Collier

See also

Alexander, Sir Harold Rupert Leofric George; Amphibious Warfare; Anzio, Battle of; Badoglio, Pietro; Cairo Conference; Carpet Bombing; Casablanca Conference; Cassino/Rapido River, Battles of; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Clark, Mark Wayne; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Freyberg, Bernard Cyril; Germany, Collapse of; Himmler, Heinrich; Hitler, Adolf; Italy, Home Front; Joint Chiefs of Staff; Juin, Alphonse Pierre; Kesselring, Albert; Leese, Sir Oliver William Hargreaves; Lucas, John Porter; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Mussolini, Benito; Office of Strategic Services; Rome, Advance on and Capture of; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Salerno Invasion; Sicily, Invasion of; Skorzeny, Otto; Trident Conference; Truscott, Lucian King, Jr.; Unconditional Surrender; Vietinghoff gennant Scheel, Heinrich Gottfried von; Wilson, Henry Maitland

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Itō Seiichi (1890–1945)

Japanese navy admiral who ordered the attack on Pearl Harbor and later commanded Japan's Second Fleet. Born in Fukuoka, Japan, on 26 July 1890, Itō Seiichi graduated from the Naval Academy in 1911 and the Naval War College in 1923. He studied at Yale University in the United States in 1928 and was promoted to captain in 1930. He held cruiser commands before assuming command of the battleship *Haruna* in 1936. Promoted to rear admiral in 1937, he became chief of staff of Second Fleet. Itō then served in the Navy Ministry between 1938 and 1940. In November 1940, he took command of Cruiser Division 8.

In April 1941, Itō became chief of staff of the Combined Fleet, and in September, he was appointed vice chief of the navy General Staff under Admiral Nagano Osami. He was promoted to vice admiral that October and played a key role in the development of Japanese naval strategy in the Pacific war. Reluctant to see Japan go to war against the United States, he opposed the Pearl Harbor attack, but Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku, commander of the Combined Fleet, urged Nagano to authorize the plan. On 1 December 1941, with the fleet already at sea, Itō ordered the attack on Pearl Harbor. He held his staff post for more than three years, but he desired a naval command.

In December 1944, he was appointed to command the Second Fleet. The Japanese navy had already been crushed in the Battle of Leyte Gulf the previous October, and Itō's fleet was the only operative Japanese navy force. On 5 April 1945, Admiral Toyoda Soemu ordered Operation TEN-GO, whereby Second Fleet would join the battle for Okinawa, which had recently been invaded by U.S. forces. This operation was so reckless that Itō refused the order. His fleet lacked both aircraft carriers and aircraft, which were essential to protect its ships from air attack. Moreover, the fleet would be provided only enough fuel for a one-way trip from Kyushu to Okinawa.

It was obvious to Itō and others that Toyoda intended to send the 7,000 men of the fleet on a suicide mission.

Ultimately, Vice Admiral Kusaka Ryunōsuke prevailed on him to obey the order, and on 6 April, Itō set out with the battleship *Yamato* and eight destroyers. The plan called for the *Yamato* to fight its way to the U.S. invasion site, destroy as many American ships as possible, and then beach itself to act as a stationary battery. On 7 April 1945, the Second Fleet ships were attacked by U.S. Vice Admiral Marc A. Mitscher's Fast Carrier Task Force 58 in the East China Sea, and the *Yamato* was sunk, along with Itō and 3,700 of her crew.

Kotani Ken

See also

Kamikaze; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; Mitscher, Marc Andrew; Nagano Osami; Okinawa, Invasion of; Toyoda Soemu; Yamamoto Isoroku; *Yamato*, Suicide Sortie of

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Iwabuchi Sanji (1893–1945)

Japanese navy admiral who vigorously defended Manila in the waning months of the war. Born in Niigata Prefecture, Japan, on 2 March 1893, Iwabuchi Sanji graduated from the Naval Academy in 1915. Trained as a pilot, he then became a gunnery specialist and entered the Gunnery School in 1923. Between 1930 and 1933, he served as a gunnery officer on cruisers and battleships. Promoted to captain in 1937, Iwabuchi was assigned to command the training cruiser *Kashii* in 1941, then the battleship *Kirishima* in April 1942. His battleship took part in the Battle of Midway and the campaign for the Solomon Islands during 1942. On 15 November 1942, in the naval Battle of Guadalcanal, the *Kirishima* was fatally damaged by gunfire from the U.S. battleship *Washington* and had to be scuttled.

Promoted to rear admiral in May 1943, Iwabuchi was appointed commander of the 31st Naval Special Base Force in Manila. In November 1944, he was also assigned 4,000 army personnel and named commander of the Manila Naval Defense Force. General Yamashita Tomoyuki, commander of Japanese forces in the Philippines, ordered Iwabuchi's forces to evacuate Manila and conduct a protracted struggle in the mountainous regions of northern and central Luzon as well as east of Manila, but Iwabuchi refused to carry out the order. Commanding 15,000 navy and 4,000 army personnel, he was determined to defend Manila to the last. During three weeks

in February 1945, there was fierce house-to-house fighting in Manila, and most Japanese forces chose to fight to the death rather than surrender. Iwabuchi died near the end of the battle on 26 February at Intramuros; he received a brevet promotion to vice admiral after his death.

Iwabuchi's decision to defend Manila to the last resulted in the deaths of some 16,000 Japanese troops, 1,000 American forces, and perhaps 100,000 civilians. Some of the latter were deliberately massacred by Japanese troops, but most were killed by U.S. artillery fire. Iwabuchi's actions also resulted in the trial and execution of General Yamashita as a war criminal.

Kita Yoshito

See also

Manila, Battle for; Philippines, U.S. Recapture of; Yamashita Tomoyuki

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Iwo Jima, Battle for (19 February–26 March 1945)

The penultimate test of U.S. Marine Corps amphibious doctrine and practice. By the end of 1944, American forces had secured from Japan control of the Mariana Islands to provide air bases for B-29 strategic bombers that could strike Japan. En route to Japan, these bombers flew over Iwo Jima (Sulphur Island). Located in the Japanese Bonin Islands, halfway between the Marianas and Japan, the pork-chop-shaped volcanic island of Iwo Jima is from 800 yards to 2.5 miles wide and 5 miles long, with a total area of some 8 square miles.

Iwo Jima housed a large radar facility that gave Tokyo advance notice of impending air attacks, as well as three airstrips for fighter aircraft used to harass the U.S. bombers. As a consequence, U.S. commanders formulated Operation DETACHMENT to seize Iwo Jima. In American hands, the island's airstrips would provide emergency landing facilities for bombers returning from Japan and also allow U.S. fighters stationed there to escort bombers the entire length of their missions.

Japanese leaders realized the strategic importance of Iwo Jima and began reinforcing it a year prior to the American invasion. Lieutenant General Kuribayashi Tadamichi, the island's commander, disregarded the traditional Japanese defensive doctrine of meeting the enemy at the shoreline and implemented a new strategy that relied on 1,500 interlocking strong points inland, designed for a battle of attrition. His



Flag raising on Iwo Jima, 23 February 1945. (National Archives)

force of 21,000 men dug out thousands of yards of tunnels in the soft volcanic rock to connect natural caves, underground bunkers, and man-made “spider-traps” from which concealed defenders could infiltrate and attack any enemy positions. These extensive subterranean complexes would also shield the defenders from extensive preliminary air and naval bombardment by U.S. forces. Japanese artillerymen also pre-registered the beachheads to maximize the effectiveness of their own shelling. Kuribayashi ordered the defenders to die in place and to kill at least 10 Americans before dying themselves. He was, however, handicapped by a lack of fresh water. The absence of a natural harbor limited Japanese reinforcement of the island, and U.S. submarines also sank a number of Japanese supply ships, including one transport with a regiment of Japanese tanks.

Beginning in August 1944, U.S. Army aircraft in the Marianas subjected Iwo Jima to air strikes, and from 8 December, the island came under daily attack. Three heavy cruisers

bombarded Iwo Jima three times in December and twice in January. Then, for two weeks beginning in late January, Seventh Air Force bombed Iwo Jima day and night, and B-29s struck it twice. In all, U.S. forces dropped 6,800 tons of bombs and fired 22,000 rounds of 5-inch to 16-inch shells prior to the invasion, the heaviest bombardment of the Pacific war. Still, the naval bombardment of the island, begun on 16 February 1945, lasted only three days, a far shorter period than V Marine Amphibious Corps commander Lieutenant General Holland M. “Howlin’ Mad” Smith had requested. Smith led a force of 80,000 men, supported by Admiral Raymond A. Spruance’s Fifth Fleet. Vice Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner had overall charge of the invasion.

On 19 February 1945, 30,000 U.S. Marines from the 3rd, 4th, and 5th Marine Divisions stormed ashore, only to encounter Iwo Jima’s coarse, black volcanic sand. Heavy surf smashed the landing craft against the island’s shelf, and the deep sand immobilized many vehicles on the beach. The



resulting logjam of men and equipment on the beachhead provided prime targets for highly accurate Japanese artillery fire. With little or no cover, the Marines had no choice but to fight their way inland. One group wheeled south, toward the island's most prominent terrain feature, the 556-foot Mount Suribachi, while the majority of the Marines attacked northward toward the first airfield. On D+4 (the fourth day after the initial landing), Marines reached the crest of Mount Suribachi, and although still under fire, they raised a small American flag. A few hours later, another group raised a second, larger flag as Associated Press reporter Joe Rosenthal impulsively snapped a photo. Rosenthal's picture of these five Marines and one navy corpsman planting the second flag became a Marine Corps icon and the symbol for American victory in the Pacific. The photograph remains one of the most widely reproduced images of all time.

Marines assaulting the main line of resistance to the north waded through rain-soaked sand into a maze of Japanese pillboxes, bunkers, and caves. Assisted by flamethrowers, demolition charges, bazookas, tanks, and air support, they pushed their way through Kuribayashi's defenses for 36 days, sometimes advancing only a few feet per day. By 26 March

1945, nearly 70,000 Marines had conquered most of the island, at a cost of approximately 6,500 dead and 20,000 wounded. More than 95 percent of the Japanese defenders died during the same period, and pockets of Japanese resistance continued to emerge from concealed cave complexes throughout April and May, resulting in 1,600 additional Japanese deaths. Fewer than 300 Japanese were taken prisoner.

Was the capture of Iwo Jima worth the high cost? With the island firmly in U.S. possession, U.S. bombers pounded the Japanese homeland unabated. In the midst of the heaviest fighting on 4 March, the first of 2,500 U.S. bombers made emergency landings on the island, and some 2,000 B-29s force-landed there from March to August. Given that these planes carried 10-man crews, this represented up to 20,000 airmen. The U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) VII Fighter Command moved to Iwo Jima and began to send its long-range P-47 Thunderbolts and P-51 Mustangs as escorts with the B-29s to Japan. The bombers now mixed medium-level daytime raids with the low-level night attacks. With the USAAF fighters along, losses of Japanese planes mounted rapidly, while those of the B-29s continued to decline.

The struggle for Iwo Jima epitomized the courage and esprit of the Marine Corps during the war. Twenty-two Marines, four navy corpsmen, and one navy officer on Iwo Jima earned the Medal of Honor (almost half of them posthumously), accounting for one-third of all such medals won by Marines during the entire war. Fleet Admiral Chester Nimitz testified to the level of courage and bravery among the Americans fighting on Iwo Jima in stating, "Among the Americans who served on Iwo Jima, uncommon valor was a common virtue."

Derek W. Frisby

See also

Central Pacific Campaign; Flamethrowers; Kuribayashi Tadamichi; Mariana Islands, Naval Campaign; Nimitz, Chester William; Smith, Holland McTyeire; Spruance, Raymond Ames; Strategic Bombing; Turner, Richmond Kelly; Vandegrift, Alexander Archer

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Japan, Air Forces

Japan did not possess an independent air force during World War II. Instead, the army and navy each had their own air service. Each had different hypothetical enemies in the interwar period: the army planned to fight against the Soviet Union, and the navy expected to fight the United States and Britain in the western Pacific Ocean. As a consequence, each service developed its own air arm tailored to meet its particular needs.

Unfortunately for the Japanese war effort, neither service cooperated with the other. Army and navy aircraft employed different electrical systems; when the Japanese developed an Identification, Friend or Foe (IFF) capability, army operators on Iwo Jima in 1944 could not identify Japanese navy aircraft as friendly. Further, aircraft factories were divided between those areas that made army planes and those producing naval aircraft, and each kept design developments secret from the other. There was no exchange of data. The navy's Zero fighter was superior to the army's Hayabusa, but the navy did not want to share the Zero with the army. If the army had adopted the Zero, the number of Japanese fighter aircraft produced during the war would have been greatly increased. There was little standardization between the Zero and Hayabusa, even in small screw parts.

Japan also failed to develop heavy bombers comparable to those of Britain and the United States. Not until January 1944 did the army and navy agree to develop a joint, 6-engine heavy bomber, dubbed the "Fugaku," but this project came too late and had to be abandoned. Finally, each service also concealed its weaknesses from the other; thus, it was 1945 before army leaders discovered how catastrophic the 1942 Battle of Midway had been for the Japanese naval air arm.

At the beginning of the Pacific war in December 1941, the Japanese army possessed 4,800 aircraft. Most army fighters were of the obsolescent Nakajima Ki-27 Type 97 ("Abdul" in the Allied recognition system). The army had only 50 first-class fighters—the Nakajima Ki-43 Hayabusa ("Oscar"), which made its debut over Malaya in December 1941. The Ki-43 gradually became the army's most numerous fighter; 5,751 were built during the war. Later, the army introduced new fighters: the Nakajima Ki-44 Shoki ("Tojo"), with initial deliveries in September 1942; the Kawasaki Ki-61 Hien ("Tony"), in August 1942; and the Nakajima Ki-84 Hayate ("Frank"), in April 1944. The best of Japan's wartime army fighters to reach mass production, the Ki-84 was superior to the North American P-51 Mustang and Republic P-47 Thunderbolt in certain respects. The Japanese army had no heavy bombers or dive-bombers and only three medium types: the Mitsubishi Ki-21 Type 97 ("Gwen"), the Nakajima Ki-49 Donryu ("Helen"), and the Mitsubishi Ki-67 Hiryu ("Peggy").

As of December 1941, the Imperial Japanese Navy air arm, which played a major role in the early battles in the Pacific, possessed 3,000 airplanes, 1,300 of which were with the fleet in 1941. Most numerous of its aircraft was the excellent, highly maneuverable Mitsubishi A6M Zero fighter ("Zeke"). Others included the Nakajima B5N Type 97 torpedo-bomber and light bomber ("Kate"); the Aichi D3A Type 99 carrier dive-bomber ("Val"); and two twin-engine, land-based medium bombers, the Mitsubishi G3M ("Nell") and the G4M Type 1 ("Betty"). Zero fighters took part in every major Japanese operation of the war. In the first six months of the war, the Zero was superior to any Allied fighter aircraft. Japan produced a total of 10,370 Zeros during World War II. As new

Allied aircraft were introduced, the Japanese navy developed new aircraft, such as the Kawanishi NIK2-J Shiden (“George”) and the Nakajima B6N Tenzan (“Jill”).

In the Sino-Japanese War and the first stage of the Pacific war, the Japanese air forces met with considerable success. They dominated the skies over China and instituted strategic bombing of Chinese cities in 1938. The Japanese naval air arm was undoubtedly the best in the world, and Japanese pilots were among the best trained. In 1941, first-line Japanese pilots had 500 to 800 flying hours, and 50 percent of army pilots and 10 percent of navy pilots had combat experience against China and/or the Soviet Union.

On 7 December 1941, the naval air arm executed the attack on Pearl Harbor, conclusively demonstrating the supremacy

In the period between 1940 and 1945, the U.S. built 297,199 aircraft; during the same period, the Japanese built 74,656.

of airpower in modern naval warfare and establishing the effective combination of carriers and aircraft. A few days later, navy land-based aircraft sank the British battleship *Prince of Wales* and the battle cruiser *Repulse* off Malaya. For the first time, a self-defending battleship under way had been sunk by aircraft, which showed that in the future, ships would require air protection. However, in 1942,

Japanese air forces suffered heavy losses in the Battles of Midway and Guadalcanal. These battles spelled the ruin of the fine Japanese naval air arm and revealed the serious flaw of an inadequate pilot-replacement system; much of the trained naval air arm was lost in the battle and could not be replaced. The army also sustained heavy aircraft and pilot losses over New Guinea in 1943, and navy air squadrons were badly hurt at Truk and the Caroline Islands from February to April 1944.

The Battle of the Philippine Sea (“the great Marianas turkey shoot”) in June 1944 and the Battle of Leyte Gulf in October 1944 finished off the Japanese naval air arm as an effective fighting force. The army and navy delivered new planes, such as the Hayate and Tenzan, but shortages of adequately trained pilots and fuel negated any advantage. By 1944, Japan was so short of aviation fuel that it could scarcely train its pilots; Japanese aviators had only about 120 hours of flying time before combat.

Japan produced some excellent, highly maneuverable aircraft during the war, but they tended to be lightly armored and caught fire easily. The Zero fighter was essentially unarmored, and Allied pilots dubbed the G4M Type 1 (“Betty”) bomber “the flying cigarette lighter” because it so readily caught fire. Japanese aircraft simply could not sustain heavy damage. The

planes also tended to be more lightly armed than their U.S. counterparts. When the Boeing B-29s began the strategic bombing of Japan, Japanese fighters had difficulty shooting them down. The Japanese planes also lacked airborne radar.

As Japan faced overwhelming Allied forces by late 1944, the military instituted kamikaze suicide attacks. Such strikes were ordered by Vice Admiral Ōnishi Takijirō during the Battle of Leyte Gulf, and they reached culmination in the Battle of Okinawa between April and June 1945. The kamikaze strike proved highly effective: the U.S. Navy sustained greater personnel losses from these attacks during the Battle of Okinawa than in all its previous wars combined. Yet even this new tactic could not turn the tide for Japan.

In the period between 1940 and 1945, the United States produced 297,199 aircraft; during the same period, Japan produced 74,656. In the Pacific war, the Japanese army lost 15,920 planes and the Japanese navy 27,190.

Kotani Ken

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Genda Minoru; Guadalcanal, Land Battle for; Japan, Army; Japan, Navy; Kamikaze; Kato Takeo; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; Midway, Battle of; Ōnishi Takijirō; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Philippine Sea, Battle of the; *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse*; Yamamoto Isoroku

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Japan, Army

The Imperial Japanese Army (Dai Nippon Teikoku Rikugun) defies easy or simple recounting, in no small measure because Japanese official histories of World War II begin in September 1931 with the start of the Manchurian Campaign. Thus, any account of the Japanese army and the war really has to cover a 14-year period and to be divided into two very separate parts. One of these parts concerns its campaigns both on the ground and in the air because the Rikugun, as with the navy, had its own air force. Also, the Rikugun was involved in two wars, one in East Asia and the other in the Pacific and Southeast Asia, that were largely separate from one another, and both contained a number of campaigns that again were very largely separate from one another. Thus, the war in East Asia divides into the campaign in Manchuria, 1931–1932; the Sino-Japanese War, 1937–1944; and the final phase of the war, after December 1944, which saw major Japanese withdrawals throughout southern China and then defeat at Soviet hands in August 1945 in northern China and Manchuria. This

accounting leaves unlisted the period of Japanese encroachment in northern China and Inner Mongolia between 1932 and 1936, in which time the power of the Chinese Nationalist Party—the Guomindang, or GMD (Kuomintang, or KMT)—was neutralized in these areas, as well as the four-phase China war of 1927 to 1945.

The other part concerns the process by which the Rikugun came to dominate the political process in Japan and, in effect, to control the Japanese state. This was the most important single dimension of Rikugun activity because of its results and implications, but the process by which the army came to dominate the Japanese state was, in turn, the product of developments that reached back into the 1920s and beyond, at least to the Russian and Chinese Civil Wars. In the course of these two conflicts, Japanese military formations found themselves undertaking operations without direct control and guidance from superior authority in Tokyo. This situation bred a habit of independent action, which over time came to be identified with the belief that action could and would not be repudiated by Tokyo. The first real example of this came in 1928, when Japanese military personnel from the Guandong (Kwantung) Army, the garrison force in Manchuria, murdered the local warlord, but the Army Ministry blocked all moves to have those responsible tried by courts-martial, on the grounds that such proceedings would be damaging to the army's prestige. The cabinet gave way, and having surrendered on such a crucial matter, it had no real basis on which to oppose deliberate insubordination when events revealed powerful support within Japan for the Guandong Army's action in 1931 and 1932 in overrunning Manchuria.

The Manchurian episode was crucial to the process whereby the Imperial Army in effect came to control the state. Officers of the Guandong Army staged the Mukden (Shenyang) Incident in Liaoning on 18 September 1931, and what followed amounted to a coup inside Mukden by the Guandong Army. After an emergency cabinet meeting in Tokyo, the Japanese government announced that it was committed to a policy of nonaggression within Manchuria, but the Army Ministry declared that it would not consult the cabinet about future policy but would be bound by the Guandong Army's decisions. The cabinet immediately denied the Guandong Army's request for three divisions and ordered the Korean command not to provide reinforcements for that army, whereon the Korean command did just that on 21 September. The government found itself confronted by a *fait accompli* and outmaneuvered at every turn by a military that played the card of public opinion against any attempt to halt proceedings inside Manchuria. The government fell in December; then, on 15 May 1932, the new premier, Inukai Tsuyoshi, was assassinated by a group of naval officers and army cadets.

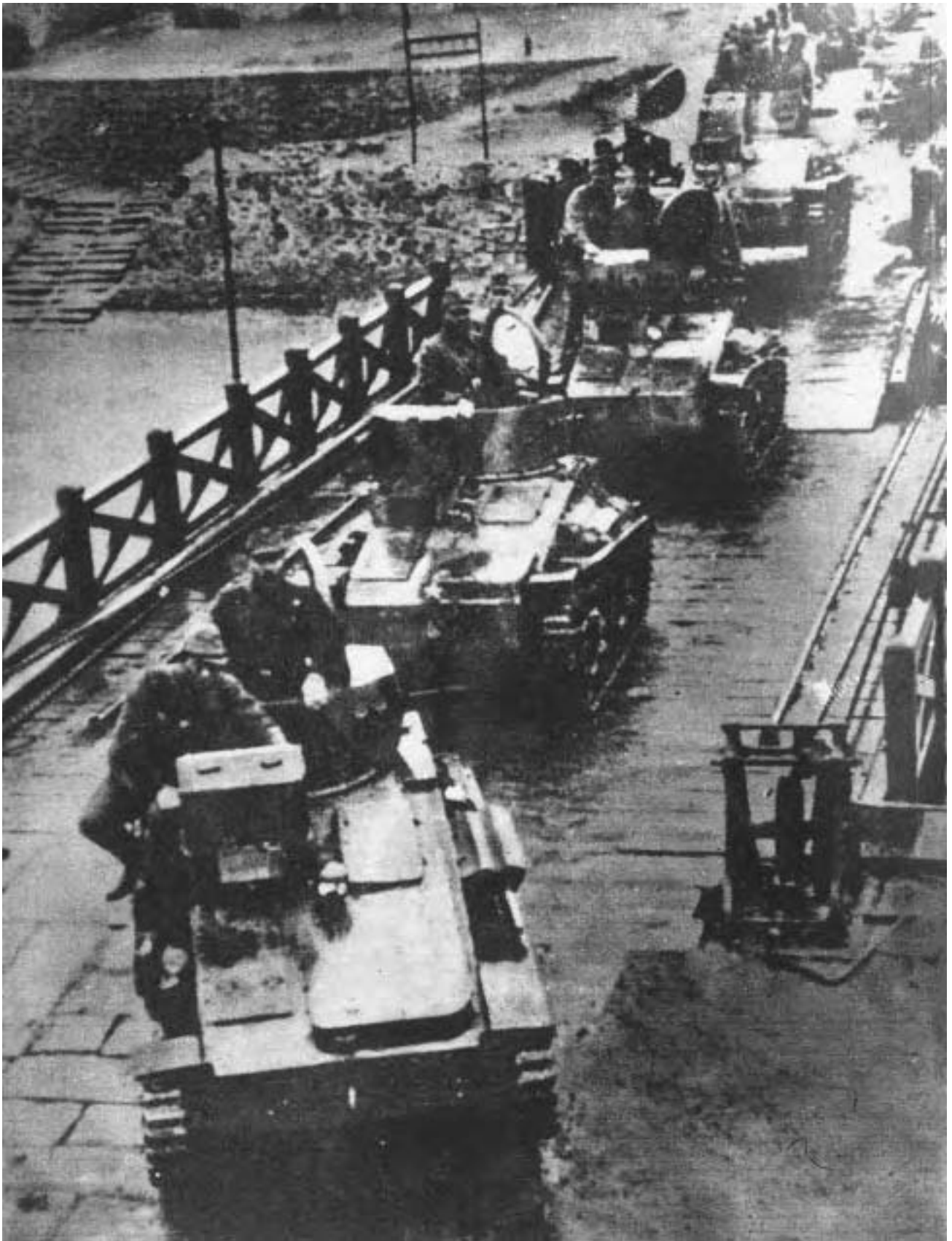
This event marked the beginning of the military's domination of the political process within Japan because in its

aftermath, the Rikugun would only nominate an army minister if a party leader did not head the government. After the 15 May incident, governments could only be formed with the assent of the military and only if they were prepared to accede to the military's demands. When Hirota Kōki became prime minister in July 1936 in the wake of the army mutiny on 26 February 1936, he found that the army minister had effective veto power over all appointments. In practice, the army could refuse to appoint an army minister or use the threat of resignation in order to ensure compliance with its will. There was to be no basic change in such arrangements until Japan was overwhelmed by national defeat.

In terms of the major military commitments in this 14-year period, the Manchurian Campaign was of minor importance. There was no serious, sustained, or coherent resistance within Manchuria, set up by the Japanese as a puppet state known as *Manzhouguo* (Manchukuo, and after 1934 *Manzhoudiguo* [*Manchoutikuo*], the *Manzhou* [Manchu] Empire). The Sino-Japanese War, which began in 1937, was another matter. The ease with which Japanese forces overran northern China after July 1937 was testimony to the extent of Japanese success over the previous five years, but the real point was that the Rikugun found itself involved in a protracted war it had not sought and that tied down its resources. As in 1932, the Japanese navy instigated fighting in Shanghai in Jiangsu (Kiangsu) Province, and again, the army had to be deployed there to rescue its sister service: it could only do so by extensive mobilization and escalation of a crisis it would have preferred to have resolved through threat, intimidation, and a series of piecemeal Chinese surrenders, rather than war. The war and the Japanese military effort quickly widened.

There were some defeats along the way, the most notable being in front of *Tai'erzhuang* (*Tai' erh-Chuang*) on 6–7 April 1938. The next day, Imperial General Headquarters formally sanctioned an escalation of the war by ordering the capture of *Xuzhou* (*Hsuchow*), Jiangsu Province. This move enabled the Japanese military to link what had been two very separate efforts, in northern and central China, and then to develop the offensive that would result in the capture of the Wuhan cities of Hubei (*Hupei*) Province in October.

The period after 1938 was notable for two developments, namely, the rice raids that began in Hubei Province in late 1940 and then the opening of the "Three All"—"Kill All, Burn All, Destroy All"—campaigns in Communist-held/infected areas in northern China. In the course of this and subsequent Japanese operations, the population of Communist base areas was reduced from an estimated 44 million to 25 million by a policy of mass deportations, murder, and deliberate starvation. The Communists were neutralized as a threat, with no major guerrilla activity in northern China for the remainder of the war, but as in all matters Japanese in this war, success was an illusion. By 1938, if not before, the Japanese army, with



Japanese army tanks approaching the Singapore Causeway, February 1942. (Hulton Archive)

a million troops in China, found itself learning again the truth of the Clausewitzian dictum that it is easy to conquer but hard to occupy. The reason for this was the adoption by the GMD regime in China of a policy of protracted resistance that precluded negotiations. The Japanese countered with a strategic bombing offensive, but this did not bring the GMD leadership to surrender. Perhaps the only point of real interest in these campaigns was the first attempt by any armed force to use airpower to kill a head of state. On 30 August 1941, army bombers attacked a villa in Chongqing (Chungking) in Sichuan (Szechwan), where Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) was known to be taking part in staff talks.

These efforts ran concurrently with defeats at Soviet hands. Japanese commitments in China dictated a cautious policy in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, but in 1938 and 1939, several small and two major clashes occurred between Japanese and Soviet forces. The first major clash took place between 11 July and 10 August 1938 in the area around Zhanggufeng (Chang-ku-feng) where Manchuria, Korea, and the Maritime Provinces met; the second occurred between May and September 1939 in the area between the River Halha and Nomonhan. In both cases, single Japanese divisions attempted to clear Soviet forces from their territorial holdings, but in the first action, the Japanese were checked, and in the second, they were subjected to attack by an enemy possessing overwhelming numerical superiority in aircraft, tanks, and artillery. Beginning on 20 August, the Soviets undertook an offensive that literally shredded the Komatsubara Force and then totally destroyed one infantry regiment on the banks of the Halha. By mid-September, the Japanese had brought three fresh divisions to Nomonhan, but by this stage, both sides had very little interest in continuing the battle, and a local truce was arranged: the Zhanggufeng and Nomonhan disputes were resolved in June 1940.

The defeat at Nomonhan coincided with the 1939 German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact, and Germany's act, together with the Anglo-French declaration of war on Germany, caused Japan to adopt a cautious policy and wait on events. The German victory in northwest Europe in spring 1940 was immediately followed by a change of government. On 21 July, Prince Konoe Fumimaro replaced the more circumspect Yonai Mitsumasa as prime minister. The two services' precondition for allowing Konoe to form a government was his prior acceptance of their demands for a treaty with Germany and Italy, additional credits for the army, a nonaggression treaty with the Soviet Union, and the adoption of a forward strategy in southeast Asia.

In the China theater, however, the international situation offered the army the means to isolate the Chinese Nationalist regime by intimidating the British and French colonial authorities in Southeast Asia. The German attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941 and the U.S. embargo of various goods,

which was drastically extended that July, placed Japan in a situation in which a choice had to be made. At the navy's insistence, Japan's leaders decided to move into Southeast Asia to ensure access to raw materials. Without these assets, Japanese leaders believed their nation could not survive as a great power, even if this move meant war with the United States.

The army's role in such a war would be to provide garrisons in the islands that were to mark the defensive perimeter on which the Americans would be fought to a standstill. The navy's belief was that the fleet and land-based aircraft would be able to meet the Americans more or less on the basis of equality and thereafter fight them to exhaustion. A stalemate would then force the United States to reach some kind of negotiated settlement. Although this has been overlooked, the role of the army in the Pacific war was therefore very limited in one sense, and even in the initial phase, during which Southeast Asia was overrun, the commitment of the Imperial Army remained modest. The campaigns in Burma, Malaya, the Netherlands East Indies, and the Philippines involved only 11 Japanese divisions, the equivalent of a single army, and after these conquests were completed, no single campaign, whether in the southwest, central or north Pacific, involved a corps equivalent or more in the field until that in the Philippines in 1944 and 1945. Admittedly, the defeats Japan incurred in eastern New Guinea (March 1942 to December 1943) and thereafter along the northern coast of the island (December 1943 to May 1944) and in the central and upper Solomons (February to November 1943) did involve more than a corps equivalent, but these were a series of local defeats largely separated from one another. Probably no single reverse, even that on Guadalcanal (August 1942 to February 1943) at the very beginning of second-phase operations, involved more than two divisions.

The only defeat of corps-sized proportions incurred by the Rikugun prior to the Philippines Campaign was in Burma at Imphal and Kohima in the 1943–1944 campaigning season, the so-called March on Delhi that went disastrously wrong. The origins of this defeat lay in the ease with which the Japanese, with just one division, had frustrated a corps-sized British offensive in the Arakan in 1943, a campaign in which the Japanese outthought and outfought British forces with ease and one that bears comparison with the original campaigns of Japanese conquest in Southeast Asia.

In these 1941–1942 campaigns, the Japanese had no military margin of superiority, but they outfought individual enemies that were defensively dispersed and subjected to successive amphibious assaults by Japanese forces enjoying local air and naval superiority. The campaigns, conducted across a frontage of more than 3,000 miles, were characterized by economy of effort and even an almost aesthetic quality, as successive landings penetrated to the depth of Allied defenses.

Thereafter, the problem for Japan and the Rikugun was threefold. First, once they were no longer taking the initiative in the Pacific, Japanese garrisons were subjected to an overwhelming attack by massively superior Allied assets. No force could sustain itself against such an attack, and no resistance, however protracted and effective in terms of tying down U.S. military assets, could alter a pattern of defeat that brought American forces astride Japanese lines of communication to the south and took the war to the home islands. Second, the Rikugun deployed formations to the Pacific primarily at the expense of garrison forces in Manchuria and China, where these formations were not easily replaced. By 1944, ammunition shortages precluded Rikugun live-fire training. By August 1945, the class of 1945 was basically untrained, and the 1944 class was little better. The army, which had numbered some 24 divisions in the mid-1920s and 51 divisions in December 1941, raised 3 armored and 107 infantry divisions for service overseas: 1 tank and 55 infantry divisions remained in the home islands.

Despite these numbers, the quality of the army was declining because Japan quite simply lacked adequate industrial capacity to meet the requirements of total war. Japanese output in 1944 was equivalent to 4 percent of the American production of mortars, 4.7 percent of tanks, 8 percent of anti-aircraft ammunition, perhaps 10 percent of all ordnance, and 6.5 percent of small-arms ammunition. With minimum capability, the divisions in the home islands in 1945 were singularly ill prepared to resist assault landings.

The Japanese army never, as it happened, experienced defeat in the home islands, but it faced defeat repeatedly on the continental mainland. The year 1945 saw Japanese forces defeated throughout Burma (with the exception of Tenasserim) and, in August, also throughout Manchuria, northern China, and Korea, as well as on Sakhalin and in the Kuriles, when Soviet forces put together a masterly short campaign. The Japanese forces numbered some 750,000 troops, but of these, some 300,000 were Manchurians suited only to garrison duties. The Japanese troops were mustered in 17 infantry divisions, equipped with 1,155 tanks, 5,360 artillery pieces, and 1,800 aircraft, but these were utterly routed by an enemy force consisting of 1 tank and 11 infantry armies. Seeking to consolidate what they held and to allow removal of formations to more important theaters, the Japanese had already begun major withdrawals within China, ending the period of Japanese successes that had begun in spring 1944 when Japan undertook a series of offensives throughout southern China. The Japanese conduct of these operations resembled their previous efforts in terms of brutality.

In July 1945, the Japanese army had 26 infantry divisions in China and another 7 in Korea, but even so, its position was hopeless. The extent of failure can be gauged by the fact that

Japan managed to conjure into existence an alliance that included the world's most populous country; the greatest empire; the greatest industrial, naval, and air power; and the greatest military power. However unintentional, this was a formidable achievement, but it went in tandem with fundamental failure by the army leadership to comprehend the nature of the war in which it was involved. Drawing on its own highly selective interpretation of Japanese history and hobbled by the fact that, never having been defeated, it could not understand defeat, the army was dominated by an ethos that stressed a castelike reverence for rank and was strictly hierarchical. A very formal organization, it had no real capacity for flexibility and initiative at the lower levels. Its broad distaste for political and economic liberalism coexisted with its belief in what it deemed traditional Japanese martial values—specifically, its willingness to die in order to fight. The war was to prove, however, that sacrifice could not confound superior enemy matériel.

H. P. Willmott

See also

Arakan, First Campaign; China, Army; China, Role in War; Guadalcanal, Land Battle for; Guandong Army; Imphal and Kohima, Sieges of; Jiang Jieshi; Konoe Fumimaro, Prince of Japan; Manchuria Campaign; Manzhouguo; New Guinea Campaign; Philippines, U.S. Recapture of; Sino-Japanese War; Zhanggufeng/Khasan, Battle of

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Japan, Home Front during the War

Japan experienced the demands of total war as intensely as any other principal combatant in World War II. In 1931, the Japanese Guandong (Kwantung) Army had conquered all Manchuria, and in 1937, the Sino-Japanese War began. It has indeed become customary among Japanese to associate the era of total war for their country with the decade preceding World War II.



Young school girls pressed into service in factories to help with the Japanese war effort, 1945. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

Although Japan was a major industrial power with a population of 73 million people in 1939, it was decidedly deficient in natural resources and not even self-sufficient in food. Virtually everything Japan needed had to come by sea, a vulnerability the United States was quick to exploit. Japan's leaders discounted these economic difficulties and believed that the territories conquered in war, especially the Dutch East Indies, would bring them the resources they required.

Japan lacked the industrial base of its Western enemies. In 1941, for example, it produced 6.7 million tons of steel, whereas the United States produced 73.9 million tons. To some extent, too, Japan was already exhausted by years of fighting in China when its government undertook yet another war with an even more formidable opponent in the United States.

The period of warfare from at least 1937 to 1945 is customarily referred to by the Japanese as a "dark valley" of unrelieved misery and pain. The Great Depression brought

widespread hardship to Japan, which was exacerbated by sharp increases in military expenditures prior to 1937 that created a serious balance-of-payments problem and an inflationary crisis. Between 1937 and 1940, real wages fell by 17 percent. By 1939, Japan was spending about 36 percent of its gross national product (GNP) on the military, as opposed to only 23 percent in Germany and 8 percent in Britain.

The Japanese government took early action to control and allocate its dwindling resources effectively. In preparation for total war, it instituted full-scale mobilization measures, whereby it directed systematic programs to put more people to work in agriculture and in ammunition plants. One way to facilitate this was by using women in these sectors. Initially, the government rejected this move as a sign of national weakness, but essentially, it had no other choice. By 1945, women constituted nearly 42 percent of the labor force, a figure higher than that in the United States. By the 1940s, girls as young as 12 were deemed eligible for the workforce.

Japan did have some success in its efforts to increase industrial production. During the period from 1940 to 1944, production increased 25 percent, although much of this rise occurred because the government consolidated production in larger firms. Even so, Japanese efforts in this regard paled beside the achievements of the United States.

The demands of total war went beyond economics to include a variety of efforts designed to strengthen the national will. The nation underwent political restructuring that brought both the dissolution of political parties and the establishment of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (IRAA) in October 1940. Although the IRAA failed to achieve its goal of restructuring Japanese society along the lines of the Fascist states in Europe, its establishment symbolized increasing domestic repression. Simultaneously, governmental monitoring of dissidents increased. The Special Higher Police and the Military Police carefully monitored religious sects, Koreans, and suspected leftists and pacifists.

The Japanese people fully supported war with the United States, which they believed had been forced on their nation by American economic policies designed to cripple Japan. Nonetheless, the government instituted rigid censorship and used propaganda and the state-controlled education system to strengthen national spiritual mobilization. As the diarist Kiyoshi Kiyosawa noted, the Japanese were bombarded with appeals to remember their “spiritual” superiority over their enemies. Ultrnationalist societies, all to some extent proclaiming Japan’s destiny to expand its territory on the Asian continent, also proliferated. In addition, the government established several women’s patriotic societies designed to improve civil defense, welcome soldiers home from the battlefield, visit hospitals to comfort the sick and wounded, and raise money for the relief of bereaved families. Small communities were also organized, so that everyday life was systematized to impose a shared social unity in which people might monitor their neighbors, and privacy became a thing of the past. Perhaps the saddest manifestation of Japan’s response to total war was the decision late in the war to utilize suicide missions. The so-called kamikaze played on the courage and fatalism of young men who believed their country faced destruction and hoped their deaths would serve family and country.

Early in the Pacific war, food shortages became apparent. In December 1940, the government began food rationing on a ticket system. Often, basic necessities, such as cotton and soy sauce, were also strictly rationed. The scarcity of food caused black markets and serious malnutrition.

Even while Japanese society was reorganizing in response to the demands of total war, actions by Japan’s military enemies forced increasing disruptions of the emerging total war system. One particular concern was the vulnerability of Japan’s major cities to aerial attack, as the strategic bombing of civilian centers became part of the new era of total war. The

April 1942 Doolittle raid first demonstrated this vulnerability to the Japanese people. Although the raid inflicted little physical damage, it had a pronounced psychological effect.

From June 1944, the United States began a strategic bombing campaign directed against Japanese industry, the bulk of which was located in the cities. Constructed largely of wooden buildings, the cities were appallingly vulnerable to firebomb attack, as shown in the great 9–10 March 1945 raid on Tokyo, probably the most destructive in the history of air warfare; it claimed some 120,000 lives and was followed by other attacks. One by one, the Japanese cities became burned-out shells. Americans justified these attacks as essential to reach and destroy the largely dispersed Japanese industrial base, but civilians paid a horrific price. By the time Japan surrendered in August 1945, every major city except the shrine city of Kyoto had been torched, and some 10 million Japanese had fled the cities to escape the raids.

The government began this resettlement in August 1944 by moving 350,000 urban schoolchildren between the ages of 8 and 12 into village temples, shrines, and inns. In 1945, a further 450,000 elementary school students were evacuated. Although Germany’s surrender in May 1945 seemingly offered Japan a chance to extricate itself from a clearly worsening situation, the government refused to take the initiative, and U.S. forces stepped up their firebombing of what was left of Japan’s major cities. In some cases, this bombing merely rearranged the rubble. Meanwhile, submarine attacks on Japanese shipping and aerial mining of Japanese harbors and coastline destroyed the already marginal Japanese shipping capacity, cutting off the flow of vital imports of food and oil and further damaging the economy.

Finally, in August 1945, the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. At the same time, the Soviet Union honored its pledge at Potsdam and declared war on Japan. Hundreds of thousands of lives were lost as a result of this “twin shock,” and Japan finally surrendered. The nation was devastated both physically and psychologically.

Majima Ayu

See also

B-29 Raids against Japan; Hiroshima, Bombing of; Japan, Occupation of; Japan, Official Surrender; Japan, Surrender of; Kamikaze; Nagasaki, Bombing of; Potsdam Conference; Tokyo, Bombing of (18 April 1942); Tokyo, Bombing of (9–10 March 1945); Women in World War II

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Japan, Navy

By the 1920s, the Nippon Teikoku Kaigun (Imperial Japanese Navy, or IJN), which dated only from the late 1860s, ranked as the third-largest navy in the world. By then, it had fought three wars, and at the Battle of Tsushima in May 1905, it won one of the most comprehensive and annihilating victories ever recorded in naval warfare. The IJN was to fight two more wars, one in the western Pacific, directed against China, and the other throughout the Pacific, eastern and southeast Asia, and the Indian Ocean. The latter resulted in utter and total national defeat and the destruction of the Kaigun as a service.

From 1907 onward, IJN leaders identified the United States as the enemy against which preparations had to be made. Yet the Kaigun faced a basic and insoluble problem, namely, Japan's acceptance of the limitation of its navy to three-fifths those of the United States and Great Britain, as agreed at the 1921–1922 Washington Naval Conference. This stance resulted from the conviction of Minister of the Navy Admiral Kato Tomosaburo that the only thing worse for Japan than an unrestricted naval construction race with the United States would be war against that country. Kato believed an unrestricted naval race could only bring the remorseless and irreversible erosion of Japan's position relative to the United States, and Japan therefore had to seek security through peaceful cooperation and diplomatic arrangements rather than through international rivalry and conquest. Kato and others viewed the navy as a deterrent and, in the event of war, a defense; however, they also believed Japan's best interests would be served not by confrontation and conflict with the United States but by arrangements that limited American naval construction relative to Japan and so provided the basis of future American recognition and acceptance of Japan's regional position. The problem was that events unfolded in a manner that forced the IJN into planning for a war that, by its own calculations, it was certain to lose.

The basis of this position was twofold. First, the Kaigun found itself obliged to fight not one but two wars. It would have to confront an American enemy that would seek battle and undertake major amphibious undertakings across the western Pacific to bring the war to Japanese home waters. It would also be obliged to fight a maritime war to defend Japanese shipping and seaborne trade. Losing either would result in Japan's full-scale defeat, no matter whether its navy lost a naval war that left the merchant fleet intact and undiminished or whether Japan was defeated in a maritime war that left its fleet's naval forces unreduced. In the event, Japan and the Kaigun suffered a double defeat, both naval and mercantile.

In a very obvious sense, the maritime defeat was one that could have been predicted. Four Shimushu- or Type A-class escort warships were ordered under the 1937 naval estimates,

but none was begun before November 1938, to be completed between June 1940 and March 1941. In December 1941, these four ships were the only purpose-built escorts in service with the IJN, and they all lacked underwater detection gear (sonar).

Quite simply, Japanese industry did not have the capacity to build and service both warships and merchantmen, nor to build both fleet units and escorts (see Table 1). Japan's limited industrial capacity forced it to choose between warships and merchantmen, between building and refitting. Moreover, the Kaigun had no real understanding of trade defense and the principles of convoy. Not until November 1943 did the navy institute general convoy, and lacking sufficient escorts and integrated air defense, this practice merely concentrated targets rather than protecting shipping.

Herein, too, lay the basis of Japan's naval defeat in the Pacific. In order to fight and defeat the American attempt to carry the war across the Pacific, the Kaigun developed the *zen-gen sakusen* (all-out battle strategy), a concept that envisaged the conduct of the decisive battle in five phases. Submarines gathered off the Hawaiian Islands would provide timely reports of U.S. fleet movements, and with top surface speeds of 24 knots, they were to inflict a series of nighttime attacks on U.S. formations. It was anticipated they would suffer accumulated losses of one-tenth of strength in this phase and the same in the next, when Japanese shore-based aircraft, especially built for superior range and strike capability, would engage American formations. The enemy would then be subjected to night attack by massed destroyer formations, Japanese battle cruisers and cruisers being used to blast aside escorts: the Japanese anticipated massed scissors attacks using as many as 120 Long Lance torpedoes in a single effort. Thereafter, with U.S. formations losing their cohesion and organization, Japanese carriers would join the battle, employed in separate divisions rather than concentrated, in order to neutralize their opposite numbers. Finally, Japanese battleships would engage the American battle line, in what Japanese planners expected to be the decisive battle. In the 1930s, when these ideas were formulated, the Japanese expected the main battle would take place around the Marianas.

The Kaigun organized its formations and building and refitting programs accordingly. Destroyers featured torpedo armaments, and battleships and cruisers emphasized armament, speed, and armor rather than range. The Yamato-class battleships, at their full displacement of 71,659 tons, carried a main armament of 9×18.1 -inch guns, an armored belt of 16 inches, and turrets with a maximum of 25.6 inches of armor; they had a top speed of 27.7 knots and a range of 8,600 nautical miles at 19 knots or 4,100 nautical miles at 27 knots. These ships were deliberately conceived as bigger and more formidably armed and protected than any American battleship able to use the Panama Canal. The Japanese quest for qualitative superiority extended through the other classes of

Table 1
Wartime Commissioning/Completion of Major Units by the Japanese and U.S. Navies

	CV	CVL	CVE	BB	CB	CA	CL	DD	Esc/ DE	CD/PF	SS
December 1941											
Imperial Japanese Navy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
U.S. Navy	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	2
1942											
Imperial Japanese Navy	2	2	2	2	—	—	1	10	—	—	20
U.S. Navy	1	—	11	4	—	—	8	84	—	—	34
1943											
Imperial Japanese Navy	—	1	2	—	—	—	3	12	18	—	36
U.S. Navy	6	9	24	2	—	4	7	126	234	65	56
1944											
Imperial Japanese Navy	5	1	—	—	—	—	3	7	20	72	35
U.S. Navy	7	—	33	2	2	1	11	78	181	8	80
January–September 1945											
Imperial Japanese Navy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	20	39	20
U.S. Navy	4	—	9	—	—	8	6	61	5	—	31
Wartime totals											
Imperial Japanese Navy	7	4	4	2	—	—	7	32	58	111	116
U.S. Navy	18	9	77	8	2	13	33	349	420	73	203

Note: The drawing of direct comparisons between different types of warships, specifically escorts, is somewhat difficult. Counted under the heading “Esc” in the Japanese listings are named escorts and patrol boats; under the heading “CD” are the *kaiboken*, or coastal defense ships. These types were not the direct equivalents of U.S. destroyer escorts and frigates, respectively, but diversity precludes these types of American and Japanese ships being compared with anything but one another. U.S. figures exclude Lend-Lease vessels.

Dashes = zero
CV = fleet carrier
CVL = light carrier
CVE = escort carrier
BB = battleship
CB = battle cruiser
CA = heavy cruiser
CL = light cruiser
DD = destroyer
Esc = escort
DE = destroyer escort
CD = coastal defense ship
PF = frigate
SS = submarine

warships. As part of this process, the Kaigun developed the famous Long Lance torpedo; land-based and carrier-based aircraft such as the A6M Zero-sen and long-range Betty bomber; and long-range submarines, one type equipped with seaplanes in order to extend scouting range: individually and collectively, these were qualitatively unequalled in 1941 and 1942, and in terms of night-fighting capability in 1941, the Kaigun undoubtedly had no peer.

Despite these apparent advantages, the Japanese naval battle plan represented an inversion of the reality of what was required. By December 1941, the Kaigun had basically secured parity in the Pacific with the United States, with warships, carrier air groups and aircraft, and a pool of trained manpower that were qualitatively probably the best in the world. The problem, however, was that Japan and its armed services lacked the means to fortify the islands of the central and western Pacific. The perimeter along which the Japanese planned to fight the Americans to a standstill largely consisted of gaps. Japan had neither the shipping nor the base organizations needed to transform the island groups into the air bases that were essential to the fleet. The latter, moreover, could not be guaranteed to be permanently ready to meet any American move, which would, by definition, be made in a

strength and at a time that all but ensured American victory. Individual Japanese bases or even several bases within a group or neighboring groups could be overwhelmed by an enemy free to take the initiative and choose when to mount offensive operations, a second flaw within the zengen sakusen concept. By 1942, the Kaigun was only prepared to fight the battle it intended to win, and it could only win the battle it intended to fight. Instead, of course, the battle it was called on to fight was not the one for which it had prepared.

The IJN, moreover, faced not one enemy but two. It opened hostilities with a total strength of 10 battleships; 6 fleet and 3 light fleet carriers and 1 escort carrier; 18 heavy and 20 light cruisers; 111 destroyers; and 71 submarines. A token of its future problems lay in the fact that only 1 fleet unit, a destroyer, was not in service on 6 December 1941. But even when it went to war, the Kaigun faced a prewar U.S. Navy that, between May 1942 and November 1943, fought it to a standstill. After that date, the Kaigun faced a wartime U.S. Navy, virtually every ship of which had entered service after Pearl Harbor. The Japanese shipbuilding effort from 1942 to 1944, though substantial, was simply overwhelmed by a truly remarkable American industrial achievement: 18 U.S. fleet carriers to 7 for Japan, 9 light fleet carriers to 4, 77 escort car-

Table 2
The State of Japanese Shipping, 1941–1945 (in tons)

Year	Built	Captured and Salvaged	Total Acquisitions	Lost	Net Loss in Year	Shipping Available on	Tonnage Afloat	Laid up	Percent Laid up	
1942	266,000	566,000	832,000	1,065,000	-233,000	31 March 1942	6,150,000	5,375,000	775,000	12.61
						31 December 1942	5,942,000			
1943	769,000	109,000	878,000	1,821,000	-943,000	31 March 1943	5,733,000	4,833,000	900,000	15.70
						31 December 1943	4,999,000			
1944	1,699,000	36,000	1,735,000	3,892,000	-2,157,000	31 March 1944	4,352,000	3,527,000	825,000	18.96
						31 December 1944	2,842,000			
1945	559,000	6,000	565,000	1,782,000	-1,217,000	31 March 1945	2,465,000	1,659,000	806,000	32.70
						15 August 1945	1,625,000	948,000	677,000	41.66

Note: The figures and calculations within this table have been developed by the contributor and through his research. The information has been compiled from various sources to give a possible window into the subject of the table.

riers to 4, 8 battleships to 2, 13 heavy and 33 light cruisers to 4 light cruisers, 349 destroyers and 420 destroyer escorts to 90, and 203 submarines to 116. U.S. superiority was not simply numerical: radio, radar, and diversity of weaponry were all areas in which the Kaigun could not match its U.S. enemy but was systematically outclassed as the war entered its second and third years.

During 1943 and 1944, the Americans acquired such overwhelming numerical superiority that the Kaigun was denied not merely any chance of victory but even any means of effective response. Between 26 December 1943 and 24 October 1944, Japanese warships and aircraft destroyed no American fleet units, if U.S. submarines are excluded. The simple truth was not just that the Japanese were prepared to die in order to fight but also that the only way the Japanese could fight was to die.

Events in 1945 conspired to demonstrate the singular ineffectiveness of such a course of action, as Japanese losses between July 1944 and August 1945 reflected both this dilemma and the wider national defeat. In the war overall, the Kaigun lost 1,028 warships of 2,310,704 tons, of which 631 warships of 1,348,492 tons were destroyed in the last 13 months of the war (see Table 2). The wartime losses incurred by the merchant fleet—not the service auxiliaries—told the same story, totaling 1,181.5 merchantmen (there were navy, army, and civilian ships and, occasionally, shared ships, which are here calculated as one half a ship) of 3,389,202 tons, of which 811 vessels of 2,077,249 tons were lost in this same final period, after the Battle of the Philippine Sea. Losses of this order were both the cause and the result of defeat, in practice reducing the Kaigun to no more than an ever less effective coastal defense force.

By August 1945, Japan had been pushed to the edge of final, total, and comprehensive defeat, losing all semblance

of strategic mobility. Its industry was in end-run production; its people would have died by the millions from disease and starvation had the war lasted into spring 1946. To all intents and purposes, the Kaigun had by then ceased to exist, as American carrier air groups flew combat air patrol over Japanese airfields. A remarkable American achievement, unparalleled in 400 years, had reduced the Kaigun to impotent irrelevance. States, especially great powers, are rarely defeated by naval power, but in this case, the Kaigun had been entirely powerless to prevent such an outcome.

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See also

Aviation, Naval; Battle Cruisers; Battleships; Destroyers; Naval Warfare; Submarines; Torpedoes; United States, Submarine Campaign against Japanese Shipping; *Yamato*

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Japan, Official Surrender (2 September 1945)

On 10 August 1945, the Japanese government issued a statement accepting the terms of the Potsdam Declaration of July that had outlined “unconditional surrender.” The following day, U.S. Secretary of State James Byrnes accepted Japan’s offer to end hostilities. Emperor Hirohito announced Japan’s surrender to the Japanese people on 15 August.

The official Japanese surrender ceremony took place at 9:00 A.M. on 2 September aboard the U.S. battleship *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay. The supreme commander for the Allied powers, General Douglas MacArthur, formally accepted the Japanese capitulation by signing the instrument of surrender. Foreign Minister Shigemitsu Mamoru and General Umezu Yoshijiro signed for Japan. Admiral Chester W. Nimitz represented the United States, followed by General Hsu Yung-ch’ang for China, Admiral Sir Bruce Fraser for the United Kingdom, Lieutenant General Kuzma Derevyanko for the Soviet Union, General Sir Thomas Blamey for Australia, Colonel L. Moore Cosgrave for Canada, General Jacques Le Clerc for France, Admiral C. E. L. Helfrich for the Netherlands, and Air Vice Marshal Leonard Isitt for New Zealand.

Scott T. Maciejewski

See also

Byrnes, James Francis; Hirohito, Emperor of Japan; Japan, Surrender of; MacArthur, Douglas

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Japan, Role in the War

The efforts of Japan, one of the three major Axis powers of World War II, to enhance its own position in East and Southeast Asia were responsible for making the conflict a truly global one and the Pacific region one of the two major fulcrums of a worldwide war. From the late nineteenth century onward, a modernizing Japan sought to become the dominant power in Asia, replacing the European empires and subjecting China and Southeast Asia to its own effective hegemony. In 1895, Japan annexed the Chinese island of Taiwan (Formosa), which it retained until 1945. After its victory in the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War, Japan sought to replace Japanese influence in the northeastern Chinese provinces

of Manchuria. In 1910, it annexed the neighboring state of Korea.

Japanese leaders, who quickly joined World War I in 1914 on the side of the Allied powers of Great Britain and France, saw that conflict primarily as an opportunity to secure further gains in Asia. By the end of 1914, they had taken over the German concession in Shandong (Shantung) Province, China, and driven Germany from various Pacific possessions—the Marshall, Caroline, and Marianas Islands—that Japan annexed. In early 1915, Japan also demanded substantial political, economic, and territorial concessions from China, which would have given it a special status in that country. Under pressure, the Chinese government initially accepted most of the Twenty-One Demands, but it later repudiated them. From 1918 to 1920, Japanese troops also intervened in northeast Russia in the Vladivostok area, as did British and American forces. Their mission was supposedly to protect rail communications links and safeguard Allied supplies in the region after the Bolshevik government that took power in November 1917 negotiated the peace of Brest-Litovsk with Germany and abandoned the war. Japan’s allies, however, feared that Japan sought permanent territorial gains at Russian expense, something they hoped their own forces might manage to prevent.

At the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, Japan sought to replace Germany in the Shandong concession. Student protests in China, which began on 4 May 1919 in Beijing, forced Japan to renounce its privileges formally, but in practice, the area remained under effective Japanese control. Under the 1921–1922 Washington conference treaties, Japan agreed to accept a fleet only three-fifths the size of those of Great Britain and the United States and to respect both the territorial integrity of China and the interests of other nations, including the Western colonial powers, in the Pacific region. Throughout the 1920s, Japanese troops from the Guandong (Kwantung) Army remained stationed in north China, supposedly to safeguard Japan’s special economic interests in China. The chaotic state of much of China, divided between rival warlord armies and the Republican governments of the Nationalist Party—the Guomindang, or GMD (Kuomintang, or KMT)—of Sun Yixian (Sun Yat-sen) and his successor, the military leader Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), was an additional pretext for the Japanese military presence.

In 1931, units from the Guandong Army deliberately staged the Mukden Incident, an episode in which Japanese officials alleged Chinese troops had sabotaged Japanese-controlled railway lines near Mukden (Shenyang) in Manchuria. This event became the pretext for Japanese forces, without authorization from the civilian government in Tokyo, to take over all of northeast China; there, in March 1932, they established the puppet state of Manzhouguo

(Manchukuo, later Manzhouguo [Manchoutikuo]), a nominally independent nation under the rule of the last emperor of China, Aixinjueluo Puyi (Aisingioro P'u-i, known to Westerners as Henry Puyi). In response to protests from the League of Nations—most of whose member nations, together with the United States and the Soviet Union, refused to recognize the new state and imposed rather weak economic sanctions on both Japan and Manzhouguo—Japan withdrew from the league in 1933.

Japanese forces were also based throughout much of north China, their presence a perennial irritant to the Chinese government, with the potential to provoke military clashes. For much of the 1930s, the Chinese Nationalist government, now firmly under the control of President Jiang Jieshi (who had consolidated his military position in the late 1920s), effectively acquiesced in Japanese demands. Although Jiang believed that war with Japan was probably inevitable in time, he sought to defer this until, with the benefit of German military advisers, he had successfully modernized China's armed forces. In the early 1930s, his first priority was to eliminate the GMD's major political rival, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The CCP was led by the charismatic and innovative Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), against whose forces Jiang mounted annual campaigns every year from 1930 to 1935. Only after December 1936, when another leading Chinese politician, the Manchurian warlord Zhang Xueliang (Chang Hsüen-liang) captured him and made his release conditional on joining with the Communists to form a united Chinese front against the Japanese, did Jiang reluctantly and temporarily renounce his deeply rooted anti-Communist hostility. The two camps never trusted each other, and political factionalism within the GMD also persisted throughout the war, hampering Jiang's freedom of action and his ability to wage effective warfare against Japanese forces.

Full-scale war between Japan and China began in July 1937, when long-standing tensions with Japan—provoked by Japan's effective annexation of Manchuria in 1931 and a continuing series of territorial, economic, and political incursions in other areas—caused the escalation of a small skirmish near the Lugouqiao (Lukouchao) Marco Polo Bridge, close to Beijing (Peking) in Hebei (Hopeh). The Chinese invariably referred to the conflict as the "War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression." Until December 1941, when China formally declared war on Japan and thus aligned itself with the Western Allies after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Japan dismissively referred to the conflict as the "China Incident"; after that date, it became part of the "Greater East Asia War."

In its early stages, the war was one of rapid movement and military victory for Japan. In late July 1937, Japanese troops took over the entire Beijing-Tianjin (Tientsin) area of north China. They inflicted a series of major defeats upon Jiang's

military, wiping out most of his modernized units and, over the following 18 months, successively taking Shanghai and Nanjing (Nanking), Guangzhou (Canton), and Wuhan, China's provisional capital after Nanjing fell. Although Chinese troops had occasional triumphs, notably the April 1938 Battle of Taierzhuang (Hsieh Chan T'ai-Erh-Chuang), these were rarely followed up. Japanese leaders assumed Jiang would sue for peace before the end of 1938, but to their frustration, he refused to do so. Instead, he adopted a strategy of trading space for time, based on the assumption that by retreating, the Chinese could force the Japanese to overextend themselves, making them vulnerable to a lengthy war of attrition. This prediction proved substantially correct, as by 1940, Japanese forces were bogged down in an inconclusive war in mainland China, occupying vast tracts of territory without fully controlling them. Even so, despite the scorched-earth policy Jiang followed, the regions he ceded to Japanese rule from March 1940, exercised through the puppet regime of renegade Chinese politician Wang Jingwei (Wang Chingwei), included most of China's leading cities, its major industrial areas, and most of the fertile and densely populated agricultural regions.

Much as they did between 1914 and 1918, Japanese leaders in the 1930s believed the deteriorating European situation offered them further opportunities to enhance their influence in Asia. From May 1932, when military cadets assassinated Japanese premier Inukai Tsuyoshi, Japan's military largely dominated the government. In November 1936, Japan and Nazi Germany, whose National Socialist dictator Adolf Hitler had pursued increasingly aggressive policies in Europe since 1933, signed the Anti-Comintern Pact, an agreement directed at all Communist states and individuals, whom both these authoritarian and Fascist regimes perceived as their chief ideological opponents. The prime target was the Soviet Union, whose territory both Germany and Japan ultimately coveted. In 1937, Fascist Italy also joined the pact, effectively aligning all the dissatisfied have-not states of the post-World War I era together. In 1938 and 1939, Japanese forces in Manchuria and Mongolia clashed repeatedly with Soviet units, encounters that culminated in August 1939 in a major Soviet victory at the Battle of Nomonhan on the Manchurian border, the world's largest tank battle to that date.

In October 1938, the Japanese government announced its intention of creating a New East Asian Order, which would end western colonialism in the region and replace it with Japanese leadership and dominance. One year later, in September 1939, Germany invaded Poland, whereon Britain and France declared war on Germany. The spring 1940 German blitzkrieg quickly brought the defeat of Belgium and the Netherlands as well as French and German domination of virtually all of western Europe, leaving Britain embattled against Hitler and British, Dutch, and French colonial possessions vulnerable to

Japan. In September 1940, Japan, Germany, and Italy signed the Tripartite Pact, obliging each nation to assist the others should another country attack them, though not to assist in a war in which one of three was itself the aggressive party. Japanese officials hoped this agreement would persuade Great Britain and the United States to make concessions to Japanese interests in East Asia, including pressuring the recalcitrant Chinese government into a peace settlement that would end the war in China and grant Japan easy control of much of that country. They also sought Western acquiescence in the establishment of Japanese bases in French Indochina, which would be particularly useful in interdicting the flow of military and other supplies to southwest China.

For some months, Japanese military and political leaders debated whether they should follow a northern strategy and attack the Soviet Union or a southern strategy designed to enhance their position in Southeast Asia at the expense of Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the United States. After bitter debate, Japan picked the second option in April 1941 and signed a neutrality pact with the Soviet Union, while opening protracted negotiations with the United States in

Over 1.5 million Japanese soldiers and civilians died in World War II, and ten times that many were displaced.

the hope of persuading the American government to accept Japanese dominance in both China and French Indochina. In late July 1941, Japanese troops moved into French Indochina, allowing the Vichy-affiliated colonial authorities to continue as the nominal government but establishing bases and effectively controlling the

colony. The American government responded by freezing Japanese assets in the United States and imposing a complete embargo on trade with Japan. Japan purchased virtually all its oil from the United States and only had sufficient stockpiles to supply its military for two years. The two countries continued intensive diplomatic negotiations for several more months, but until early December 1941, most Japanese leaders, unwilling to relinquish, moderate, or compromise their ambitions in China and Southeast Asia, believed war with the United States and other Western states was inevitable. Japan was under some pressure from Germany to take military action against its enemies; Hitler would have preferred that Japan move against the Soviet Union, which his forces had invaded in June 1941, but he settled for Japanese action against Britain and the United States, even though he was not yet formally at war with the latter.

Negotiations between Japan and the United States finally broke down at the end of November. On 7 December 1941, carrier-based Japanese warplanes attacked the U.S. Pacific

Fleet at its base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, only declaring war after this assault had taken place. Japanese forces quickly swept through and conquered much of Southeast Asia, and by mid-1942, they controlled the former American colony of the Philippines; Dutch Indochina (Indonesia); and the British colonies of Malaya, Singapore, Burma, and Hong Kong. They also threatened Australia and India. Japan now controlled most of the valuable economic resources it had coveted, including the oil wells of Dutch Indochina, Malaya's tin and rubber, and Southeast Asia's rice fields. Defeating Japan took second place in Allied strategy to victory over Germany and Italy, which both declared war on the United States immediately after Pearl Harbor. Even so, in the long run, Japan could not match the United States in industrial capacity or population, and it found itself unable to continue the war indefinitely. Although Japan proclaimed the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, to which all those areas under its hegemony could belong, and although it established quasi-independent collaborationist governments in China, the Philippines, and Burma, Japanese rule was far from popular with its new subjects. Japanese military successes undoubtedly played a crucial role in the dissolution of Western imperialism in Asia once World War II was over, but brutal atrocities committed against the local populations and the blatant exploitation of all available resources for the Japanese war effort undercut Japan's claims to gratitude as the power that had liberated most of Asia from Western colonial dominance.

Japan's strategy rested on the hope of a quick victory in Asia, after which its leaders trusted they would be able to persuade the Western allies, especially the United States, to accept a negotiated peace. In June 1942, the U.S. victory in the Battle of Midway, in which the American fleet destroyed three of Japan's four fleet carriers, effectively restricted the Japanese navy to defensive operations in the future. The rapid drives by Japanese troops through much of Southeast Asia ended about the same time, and Japanese military power reached its furthest extent in summer 1942. Throughout the war, the China theater continued to tie down over a million Japanese troops. In late 1942, Allied forces under the command of General Douglas MacArthur began the selective island-hopping campaigns in the Pacific that would gradually isolate Japan, interdicting the shipment of vital supplies and slowly threatening the Japanese homeland. Although Japanese forces often fought bitterly, exhibiting the bravery of desperation, they found themselves increasingly outnumbered and outequipped, with little hope of reinforcements. On the home front, the Japanese civilian population—like those of the areas occupied by Japan and, indeed, Japanese soldiers as well—experienced increasing privations from 1943 on, with food and other staples rationed and in ever shorter supply. From summer 1944, American airplanes sub-

jected all major Japanese cities except the shrine city of Kyoto to ferocious bombing raids, and after three months of heavy fighting, U.S. troops took the island of Okinawa in late June 1945, opening the route for the invasion of Japan itself.

By the summer of 1945, facing what seemed inevitable defeat, some Japanese politicians sought to explore the possibility of a negotiated peace, using the still officially neutral Soviet Union as an intermediary, but these talks proved inconclusive. Military leaders in Japan were still determined to fight on and defend the homeland islands to the last. At the July 1945 Potsdam Conference of Allied leaders, Soviet president Josef Stalin agreed to enter the war against Japan. Receiving word that the first atomic bomb test had been successful, U.S. President Harry S Truman called on Japan to surrender forthwith or face horrific attacks from new weapons of unparalleled destructiveness. The Potsdam Declaration proved unavailing, and on 6 August 1945, an American B-2 bomber exploded a nuclear device over the Japanese city of Hiroshima. Two days later, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan, and on 9 August, a second bomb was dropped on the city of Nagasaki. By this time, Soviet troops had already begun a highly effective campaign in Manchuria. Faced with the prospect of additional casualties in a homeland invasion and uncertain whether Japan might have to endure yet further nuclear attacks, the Emperor Hirohito exerted his authority over the still recalcitrant Japanese military on 14 August and made a radio broadcast accepting the terms of the Potsdam Declaration. Three days later, he instructed Japanese forces to lay down their arms.

Japan ended the war devastated—its cities in ruins, its population starving, its shipping and trade largely destroyed, and its colonial empire gone. Over 1.5 million Japanese soldiers and civilians died during the war, and until 1952, the country was under American occupation. Ironically, Cold War pressures soon meant that Japan became a crucial ally of its former enemies, especially of the United States, and the linchpin of American strategy in Asia. China, by contrast, where the Sino-Japanese War helped to weaken the Nationalist government and enhance the position of the Chinese Communist Party (which took power in October 1949), was for several decades after that event a sworn enemy of its former ally, the United States. Other Asian powers undoubtedly had long memories of Japanese wartime atrocities against their countries, and they particularly resented efforts by the Japanese government and nationalist organizations to minimize these or even deny that they ever occurred. Yet by encouraging the Japanese economic recovery, the United States helped to make Japan Asia's strongest economic power, thereby enabling it to achieve the dominant position in the Asia-Pacific region for which Japanese leaders had strived since the late nineteenth century.

Priscilla Roberts and Saito Naoki

See also

Aixinjueluo Puyi; Atomic Bomb, Decision to Employ; Burma Theater; China, Role in War; China-Burma-India Theater; French Indochina; Guandong Army; Hirohito, Emperor of Japan; Hong Kong, Battle of; Japan, Army; Japan, Home Front during the War; Japan, Navy; Japan, Surrender of; Jiang Jieshi; Malaya Campaign; Manchuria Campaign; Manzhouguo; Mao Zedong; Netherlands East Indies; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Philippines, Japanese Capture of; Shanghai, Battle of; Singapore, Battle for

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Japan, Surrender of (15 August 1945)

By early 1945, it was clear to most observers that Japan could not hope to win the war. The U.S. captured Iwo Jima in February. Okinawa, secured in June, could be used as a staging area for a U.S. invasion of the Japanese home islands. Germany, Japan's only remaining ally, had been defeated in May. Meanwhile, B-29 Superfortresses flying from the Marianas were destroying Japan's cities, while submarines cut off Japanese seaborne trade and B-29 aerial mining eliminated much of the important coastal trade, raising the specter of starvation for the Japanese people. Still, Japan fought on.

Revisionist historians have held that since the Japanese government was, by this time, seeking desperately to leave the war, employing the atomic bomb against Japan was unnecessary. Intercepts of diplomatic messages, however, indicate that Japan had still not reached the decision to surrender when the first bomb was dropped. Although Emperor Hirohito and his principal advisers had concluded that Japan could not win the



U.S. Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz signs surrender documents recognizing the defeat of Japan as officials and soldiers look on, USS Missouri, Tokyo Bay, Japan. General Douglas MacArthur (left), Admiral William F. Halsey (center), and Rear Admiral Forrest P. Sherman (right) stand behind Nimitz. (Hulton Archive)

war, they hoped for a negotiated settlement after a last “decisive battle” that would force the Allies to grant more favorable peace terms. On 28 July, the Japanese government formally rejected acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration, as demanded by U.S. President Harry S Truman two days before—a refusal that led Truman to decide to employ the atomic bomb.

On 6 August 1945, the United States dropped an atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. About 100,000 people perished outright or died later from radiation effects; another 40,000 were injured, and most of the remaining population suffered some long-term radiation damage. Even so, this carnage was less than that inflicted in the firebombing of Tokyo in March 1945. Meeting with the emperor, the army leadership still strongly opposed accepting the Potsdam Declaration.

On 8 August, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan, with Josef Stalin honoring his pledge at Yalta to enter the war

against Japan “two or three months after the defeat of Germany.” One day later, Soviet troops invaded Manchuria in force. That same day, a B-19 bomber dropped a second atomic bomb, on Nagasaki. The blast there claimed about 70,000 dead, either killed outright or dying later from radiation, and it injured as many more.

After prolonged meetings with his top advisers, Emperor Hirohito made the decision for peace on 14 August. He stated that as onerous as it would be to order the surrender, have the Japanese homeland occupied, and see loyal servants face possible trial as war criminals, these considerations had to be weighed against the devastation facing the Japanese people in a continuation of the war.

Braving possible assassination by high-level fanatics determined to stage a coup d’état and fight to the end, Hirohito communicated this decision over the radio on 15 August at noon

Tokyo time, the first occasion on which the Japanese people had heard his voice. In the course of his remarks, Hirohito said, "We have resolved to pave the way for a general peace for all generations to come by enduring the unendurable and suffering what is unsufferable." He referred specifically to the atomic bombs when he said, "Moreover, the enemy has begun to employ a new and more cruel bomb, the power of which to do damage is indeed incalculable, taking the toll of many innocent lives." On 2 September, the final terms of surrender were signed aboard the battleship *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay, and the Japanese islands came under the rule of a U.S. army of occupation.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Atomic Bomb, Decision to Employ; Hirohito, Emperor of Japan; Hiroshima, Bombing of; Iwo Jima, Battle for; Japan, Official Surrender; Manchuria Campaign; Nagasaki, Bombing of; Okinawa, Invasion of; Potsdam Conference; Truman, Harry S; United States, Submarine Campaign against Japanese Shipping

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Japanese Americans

After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, there was tremendous paranoia in the United States regarding Japanese Americans and a general belief among the U.S. counterintelligence community, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), that Japanese Americans were engaged in widespread spying for Japan. Certainly, racism, especially on the West Coast of the United States, played a role. During the conflict, the U.S. government treated Japanese Americans very differently from German Americans and Italian Americans.

On 11 December 1941, the FBI ordered the detention of 1,370 Japanese classified as "dangerous enemy aliens." By early January 1942, many notable American politicians were calling for the complete removal of Japanese immigrants and many Japanese American citizens from the entire West Coast. Later that year, the California State Personnel Board voted to remove all "descendants of natives with whom the United States is at war" from civil service positions. Although this act clearly included German and Italian Americans, it was only enforced on Japanese. Almost simultaneously, the U.S. Army created 12 West Coast "restricted zones," in which enemy aliens were confined to a 5-mile radius around their homes and subjected to a curfew; again, this measure pertained almost exclusively to the Japanese.



School children, Manzanar Relocation Center, California. (Photograph by Ansel Adams/Library of Congress)

Then, on 19 February 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order (EO) 9066, authorizing the secretary of war to define military areas "from which any or all persons may be excluded as deemed necessary or desirable." Secretary of War Henry Stimson ordered Lieutenant General John DeWitt, commander of Fourth Army and the Western Defense Command, to enforce EO 9066. On 2 March, DeWitt issued Public Proclamation No. 1, creating military areas in Washington, Oregon, California, and parts of Arizona and declaring the right to remove German, Italian, and Japanese aliens and anyone of "Japanese ancestry" living in specified military areas should the need arise. In March, the government opened its first concentration camp, Manzanar, in Owens Valley, California. That same month, the government began the forced removal of Japanese Americans from the military zones. By 7 August, eight months after Pearl Harbor, General DeWitt announced the complete evacuation of 111,000 Japanese (64 percent of whom were U.S. citizens)

from two of the major military zones to army concentration camps. Included in the removal were West Coast Japanese and those having at least one grandparent who had emigrated from Japan. Forced to settle their personal affairs immediately, the Japanese were removed to 10 camps located in California, Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, and Utah.

Ultimately, the government did allow 35,000 Japanese to leave the camps in return for loyalty oaths and pledges not to settle on the West Coast. Japanese living in the Hawaiian Islands were untouched. That U.S. territory contained the nation's largest concentration of Japanese Americans: 150,000 people, representing 37 percent of the islands' population. Deporting them would have destroyed the islands' economy.

Despite its actions in forcibly relocating Japanese Americans, the U.S. government began recruiting American-born Nisei (second-generation) Japanese for the armed forces in 1943. The Nisei 442nd Regimental Combat Team, recruited from Japanese American volunteers from the mainland concentration camps and from Hawaii, fought with distinction in the European Theater of Operations and became one of the most highly decorated units in U.S. military history. The 442nd also proved to be an invaluable asset in the Pacific Theater, decoding communications, interrogating prisoners, and broadcasting propaganda. In June 1943, while the Nisei were fighting and dying in the Pacific and European Theaters, California Governor Earl Warren signed a proclamation forbidding Japanese Americans from filing for fishing licenses.

By 1945, the U.S. government began authorizing the return of Japanese Americans to their homes. Racism continued, however, for in that same year, Hood River, Oregon, removed the names of 17 Nisei soldiers from its community roll of honor because they were Japanese. During the four years the United States was at war, even as thousands of Japanese were detained in military camps, only 10 people were convicted of spying for Japan; all were Caucasian. Not until a half century later did the U.S. government admit its mistake regarding the Japanese Americans and make partial restitution.

John Noonan

See also

Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stimson, Henry Lewis

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Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact (13 April 1941)

Important diplomatic treaty between the Soviet Union and Japan. The failure to coordinate policy and exchange information was typical of the Axis powers in World War II. When the Soviet Union and Germany concluded their nonaggression pact on 23 August 1939, the Japanese were caught by surprise, and when Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yōsuke visited Berlin in March 1941, Adolf Hitler ordered that he not be informed about Operation BARBAROSSA, Germany's plan to invade the Soviet Union.

On the way back to Tokyo, Matsuoka stopped in Moscow, where he concluded the Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact on 13 April 1941. This agreement guaranteed territorial inviolability as well as neutrality in case either power became involved in hostilities with a third nation. The agreement had far-reaching consequences, as it provided for Japanese neutrality when Germany invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941. The treaty was to be valid for five years, with an automatic extension for an additional five years unless one side declared otherwise.

Since 1939, Tokyo had sought an agreement with the Soviet Union to remove a threat from that direction as it attempted to conquer China. The Japanese side first raised the idea of a nonaggression pact in May and June 1940 when the fall of France allowed Tokyo to contemplate a move against the European colonies in Southeast Asia, in which Soviet neutrality would be essential.

Negotiations between Japan and the USSR began in August 1940. During the ensuing negotiations, the Soviets pursued a cautious approach, suggesting a neutrality agreement instead of a nonaggression pact in order not to strain its relationship with the Western powers, whereas the Japanese urged a more binding treaty modeled after the German-Soviet pact of 1939, with the undisguised goal of Japanese expansion southward. The Japanese memorandum resembled the content of the secret protocol of the German-Soviet pact, calling on the Soviet Union to recognize the traditional interests of Japan in Outer Mongolia and the three provinces of northern China (i.e., Manchuria) and to agree that French Indochina and the Netherlands East Indies lay within the Japanese sphere of influence. In return, Japan agreed to look favorably on a Soviet advance into Afghanistan and Persia (Iran).

The Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact of April 1941 greatly facilitated Japanese expansion in the southeastern Pacific and its attack on the United States. Josef Stalin's policy toward Japan in the summer and fall of 1941 resembled his attitude toward Germany before June 1941. He ordered his

generals in the Soviet Far East to avoid any hostilities with Japan along their common border in Manchuria and Mongolia. Even if Japanese forces should attack, the Soviet Pacific Fleet was to withdraw northward.

Despite this treaty, Japan contemplated attacking the Soviet Union in the fall of 1941. Leaders of the Guandong (Kwantung) Army in Manchuria especially supported such a move, but Tokyo decided in favor of a move south into the vacuum created by the temporary weakness of the European powers in Southeast Asia. Tokyo reached its decision on the basis of the outcome of earlier fighting with the Soviets, the difficult weather in Siberia, and the absence from that region of oil and rubber, the two natural resources Japan needed most critically at that time.

The Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact of 1941 was of immense assistance to the Soviet Union in its war with Germany. Had Germany and Japan cooperated militarily against the Soviet Union, that country would probably have been defeated, and the Axis powers might have won World War II. Thanks to Japan's neutrality, the Soviet Far East provided the Soviet Western Front with 250,000 men between 1941 and 1944. The pact also allowed the Soviet Union to benefit from substantial and vital U.S. Lend-Lease aid. Simultaneously, Japan gained immensely from the pact. During its war with the United States, it received from the Soviet Union 40 million tons of coal, 140 million tons of wood, 50 million tons of iron, 10 million tons of fish, and substantial quantities of gold from Siberia and the Soviet Far East. Soviet trade helped make possible Japan's war with the United States.

The Soviet Union ultimately broke the nonaggression pact with Japan in 1945. At the February 1945 Yalta Conference, Stalin promised his Western allies that his country would enter the war against Japan "two or three months" after the end of the war in Europe, in return for territorial concessions in the Far East. Three months to the day, on 8 August 1945, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan.

Eva-Maria Stolberg

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact; Hitler, Adolf; Stalin, Josef; Yalta Conference

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Java Sea, Battle of the (27 February 1942)

Naval battle marking the end of organized Allied resistance at sea in the Netherlands East Indies. By January 1942, the Allied defense of the southwest Pacific was collectively organized in the American-British-Dutch-Australian (ABDA) Command.

On 24 February, two Japanese invasion forces set sail for Java. A Dutch patrol plane discovered the eastern force some 50 miles north of Surabaya on 27 February. Rear Admiral Takagi Takeo commanded a force of 2 heavy cruisers, 2 light cruisers, and 14 destroyers covering 41 transports. Dutch Admiral Karel Doorman commanded the ABDA striking force of 2 heavy cruisers, 3 light cruisers, and 9 destroyers, representing all four ABDA nations. In the ensuing engagement, the lack of coordination was a major factor limiting Allied effectiveness. There was no plan of attack, and each nationality used different radio frequencies, signals, and tactics. Furthermore, the Allied crews were exhausted, and many ships were in need of either maintenance or repair. At 4:16 P.M., the Japanese opened the battle. Soon thereafter, the heavy cruisers USS *Houston*—her aft turret inoperable from earlier battle damage—and HMS *Exeter* returned fire. The Japanese scored the first hit when a dud shell struck Doorman's flagship, the Dutch cruiser *De Ruyter*. At 4:35 P.M., the Japanese launched a mass torpedo attack, without success. Shortly after 5:00 P.M., Japanese ships made another torpedo attack, this time sinking the Netherlands destroyer *Kortenaer*. Concurrently, a Japanese shell knocked out most of *Exeter*'s boilers, which disrupted Doorman's formation. Further adding to the disarray, HMAS *Perth* made smoke to protect the disabled British cruiser. The Allies were now in confusion. Two British destroyers covering *Exeter*'s withdrawal engaged the Japanese ships, and during this engagement, shells from HMS *Electra* hit the Japanese light cruiser *Jintsu*, flagship of Rear Admiral Tanaka Raizo's destroyer squadron. Several Japanese destroyers pounded *Electra* in return until she sank at 6:00 P.M. American destroyers made a torpedo and gun attack shortly thereafter, holing but not sinking the Japanese destroyer *Asagumo*.

Under cover of darkness, Doorman futilely attempted to reach the Japanese transports. He tried a run along the Java coast, during which HMS *Jupiter* struck a Dutch mine and eventually sank. HMS *Encounter* lingered to pick up survivors. Being low on fuel and having no remaining torpedoes, the American destroyers also withdrew. That left Doorman with only four cruisers, which the Japanese detected just after 11:00 P.M. A Japanese torpedo struck *De Ruyter* aft, and the



British heavy cruiser HMS *Exeter* sinking during the Battle of the Java Sea. (Corbis)

ship sank. Doorman perished with his flagship. A torpedo hit also doomed *Java*. Before losing contact, Doorman had ordered *Houston* and *Perth* to withdraw to Batavia. In the Battle of the Java Sea, the Allies lost two light cruisers and three destroyers. Three cruisers and six destroyers (four American) survived. The Japanese lost no ships, although one destroyer suffered moderate damage and other units light damage. The battle was the last major naval engagement preceding the Japanese conquest of the Netherlands East Indies.

Rodney Madison

See also

Netherlands East Indies; Southwest Pacific Theater; Sunda Strait, Battle of; Tanaka Raizo

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Jeep

U.S. World War II military vehicle. The jeep was developed in answer to the army's need for a rugged, fast, small motor vehicle designed for reconnaissance and utility uses and capable of operating cross-country.

At Fort Benning, Georgia, in the late 1930s, Captain Robert G. Howie and Master Sergeant Melvin C. Wiley built a machine-gun carrier made of parts from junked automobiles, but it was not sufficiently rugged. In 1940, Howie was detailed to the American Bantam Car Company in Baltimore to help produce a more robust design. The president of Bantam, Harry Payne, had previously developed a small truck for logging camps and construction sites, and he set about, with Howie's assistance, to modify this vehicle for sale to the army.

Shortly thereafter, the U.S. Army Ordnance Department sent invitations to 135 companies to bid on a quarter-ton 4-by-4 truck. Only Bantam and Willys Overland submitted bids. In short order, Bantam produced 70 small trucks. Although enthusiastically received, these vehicles suffered from numerous mechanical problems. Willys, meanwhile, developed two prototype test vehicles at its own expense and independent of the contract. The company ignored some of the army specifications, which had stressed lightness, and concentrated instead on performance and ruggedness.

Meanwhile, the secretary of the General Staff, Major General Walter Bedell Smith, interceded, touting the Bantam version to the army chief of staff, General George C. Marshall. In November 1940, Bantam received a contract for 1,500 trucks. Doubts persisted that the company could fulfill its contract, so the government also ordered 1,500 of the Willys version, and the Ford Motor Company was talked into building 1,500 of its own design. In addition, the vehicle weight was increased to 2,160 lb. Tests of the three vehicles were conducted. Both the Ford and Bantam versions contained smaller engines, and the Bantam proved unreliable mechanically. The Willys was over the weight limit, but engineers managed to pare it down to meet the 2,160 lb limit—but only if the vehicle was clean.

The new vehicle had a 60 hp engine and was capable of a speed of 55 mph. It could climb steep grades and ford streams up to 18 inches deep. Willys engineers called it the "jeep" after a popular cartoon character, although almost until the end of the war, soldiers generally referred to it as a "peep." "Jeep" was the term used by Willys, civilians, and the newspapers, and it stuck.

The jeep was remarkably successful. It could easily transport four men and 800 lb of equipment and even trail a 37 mm antitank gun. Wartime production amounted to some 650,000



Four Japanese-American U.S. Army servicemen ride in a jeep, towing a supply trailer on a rural road in France. (Hulton Archive)

units. The jeep, with some modifications, remained in the army inventory until the mid-1980s.

Keith L. Holman

See also

Logistics, Allied; Marshall, George Catlett; Photographic Reconnaissance; Red Ball Express; Smith, Walter Bedell

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Jeschonnek, Hans (1899–1943)

German air force general and early architect of the Luftwaffe. Born in Hohensala, Prussia, on 9 April 1899, Hans Jeschonnek volunteered for military service at age 15 during World

War I. Accepted as a cadet to the Military School at Berlin-Lichterfeld, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in 1915. Two years later, he completed flight training and was posted to the Western Front. By the end of the war, he had two victories, or kills, to his credit.

After the war, Jeschonnek continued in the Reichswehr, serving in the Ordnance Department from 1923 to 1928. He graduated at the top of his class from the General Staff College in 1928. In September 1933, he became adjunct to Aviation Minister Erhard Milch and played an important role in the secret building of the Luftwaffe. He was next assigned as Luftwaffe chief of operations in 1937, and a year later, he was promoted to colonel. Appointed chief of staff of the Luftwaffe in February 1939, he was made a brigadier general that August and a full general in 1942.

An ambitious and hard-working officer, Jeschonnek was totally dedicated to Adolf Hitler and National Socialism. He never questioned policies and took Hitler at his word. Informed

by the Führer that he intended to wage a short war, Jeschonnek never prepared the Luftwaffe for a protracted campaign, nor did he mobilize the production assets to ensure an adequate number of replacement aircraft. Devoted to tactical aviation, he insisted that all bombers be able to dive-bomb, which increased the weight of aircraft and reduced bomb loads.

As the war progressed and Germany's fortunes turned, the head of the Luftwaffe, Hermann Göring, shifted more and more blame on his young chief of staff. Eventually, the burdens of the war and the bickering and backstabbing at the higher levels of command overcame Jeschonnek. Made a scapegoat by Göring for the Luftwaffe's failure to stop the Allied bombing of Germany and to supply Sixth Army at Stalingrad, Jeschonnek committed suicide on 18 August 1943 at Hitler's headquarters at Rastenburg, Germany.

M. R. Pierce

See also

Germany, Air Force; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Milch, Erhard

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Jet and Rocket Aircraft

Aircraft propelled by gas turbines or rocket engines. Compared to the piston engine, the gas turbine (or jet engine) (see Table 1) promised to offer unrivaled power-to-weight ratios, provided that the metallurgical, mechanical, and aerodynamic design problems could be solved. While still a Royal Air Force (RAF) cadet in 1928, Frank Whittle argued that the gas turbine was a practical power unit. He continued to work

on the idea and formed his own company, Power Jets, in 1935. In Germany, Hans-Joachim Pabst von Ohain developed a jet engine that first ran in 1937, flying it in a Heinkel 178 test aircraft in August 1939. Whittle's prototype engine flew in the Gloster E28/39 in May 1941.

The Germans also experimented with rocket fighters, with the Messerschmitt

Me-163 entering service in June 1944 against U.S. bombers. The Me-163 had an incredible climb but used a highly corrosive fuel that was inclined toward instability, and many pilots

were lost in landing accidents. Less than 50 Me-163s were operational at any one time; they had limited success, but their effect was mainly psychological.

The first operational jet fighter was the British Gloster Meteor, which entered service in July 1944. The Meteor I was distinctly underpowered and had serious limitations as a fighter, being difficult to control at speeds over Mach 0.67. It was armed with four 20 mm cannons. All World War II jet and rocket aircraft had compressibility problems at high speeds and were generally slow to accelerate at low speeds, but they were much better than propeller-driven rivals at high speed, easily outclassing them in acceleration and zoom climb.

The German Messerschmitt Me-262 first flew on jet power in July 1942 and also entered operational service in July 1944, but it was a much better fighter than the Meteor. In common with most jets, it was vulnerable during the landing and take-off phases. It was armed with four 30 mm cannons. A total of 1,200 were built, but only about 200 entered squadron service. The Heinkel He-162 jet fighter utilized nonstrategic materials and required an experienced pilot during the takeoff and landing phases. Armed with two 20 mm cannons, the He-162 was prone to catastrophic structural failure if carelessly handled. A handful of He-162s became operational in April 1945.

The German Arado 234 "Blitz" was the world's first jet bomber. A prototype flew for the first time in June 1943, but delays in securing its engines meant that it did not enter service—and then, in only very limited numbers as a reconnaissance variant—until August 1944. The first bomber version was operational in December 1944. A total of 210 were built.

The Japanese also built such aircraft. Their Yokosuka Ohka MXY 7 Oka ("Cherry Blossom"), built at the Yokosuka Naval Arsenal, was essentially a rocket-propelled, man-guided missile, carried to the target area under a specially converted Mitsubishi G4M Betty bomber. Once the pilot was in position, the canopy was sealed shut. Employed in combat from March 1945, most of these planes were shot down by Allied navy fighters, although one did sink the U.S. destroyer *Monmert L. Abele* in April.

The Bell P-59 Airacomet was the only jet aircraft of the U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) to see combat in the war. The twin-engine, straight-wing P-59 flew for the first time in October 1942. It had a top speed of only 400 mph and offered few advantages over the piston-powered U.S. aircraft then in service. Fifty production models were initially deployed with the 412th Fighter Group in 1945. Although the P-59 proved a valuable testing platform, the first mass-produced U.S. jet fighter was the Lockheed P-80 Shooting Star. Utilizing the British H-1 turbojet engine, it first flew in January 1944 and exceeded 500 mph on its first flight. The U.S. Army ordered 5,000 P-80s, but with the end of the war, production was scaled back to 917 aircraft. Ultimately, 1,714 were built.

Andy Blackburn

The first mass-produced U.S. jet fighter was the P-80 Shooting Star, with a top speed of over 500 mph.

Table 1
Jet and Rocket Aircraft Specifications

Plane	In Service	Engine	Span	Length	Wing Area	Normal Takeoff Weight	Maximum Speed	Combat Ceiling (500 ft/min)	Range*	Armament/Payload
Messerschmitt Me-163B-1 (mid-1944)	Mid-1944	1 × 3,748 lb thrust Walter Liquid rocket	30 ft, 7.5 in.	19 ft, 2.5 in.	199.0 sq ft	9,502 lb	597 mph at 29,500 ft	37,500 ft (estimated)	80 miles (estimated)	2 × 30 mm MK 108 cannon
Gloster Meteor Mk I (mid-1944)	Mid-1944	2 × 1,700 lb thrust Rolls-Royce Welland turbojet	43 ft, 0 in.	41 ft, 3 in.	374.0 sq ft	11,800 lb	410 mph at 30,000 ft	37,500 ft	750 miles (estimated)	4 × 20 mm Hispano cannon
Messerschmitt Me-262A-1a (mid-1944)	Mid-1944	2 × 1,984 lb thrust Junkers Jumo turbojet	40 ft, 11.5 in.	34 ft, 9.5 in.	233.6 sq ft	14,101 lb	541 mph at 19,685 ft	35,000 ft	652 miles	4 × 30 mm MK 108 cannon
Arado Ar-234B (late 1944)	Mid-1944	2 × 1,984 lb thrust Junkers Jumo turbojet	46 ft, 3.5 in.	41 ft, 5.5 in.	284.0 sq ft	20,870 lb	461 mph at 19,500 ft	30,000 ft (estimated)	1,012 miles	Typically, 1 × 1,102 lb or 2 × 551 lb bombs
Yokosuka Ohka (early 1945)	Early 1945	3 × 588 lb thrust Type 4 solid rocket	16 ft, 9.75 in.	19 ft, 10.75 in.	64.6 sq ft	4,720 lb	534 mph at sea level	not applicable	37 miles maximum	Nose-mounted warhead of 2,646 lb
Heinkel He-162A-2 (early 1945)	Early 1945	1 × 1,764 lb thrust BMW 003 turbojet	23 ft, 7.5 in.	29 ft, 8.5 in.	120.6 sq ft	6,184 lb	562 mph at 19,690 ft	34,500 ft (estimated)	385 miles	2 × 20 mm MG 151 cannon

*Range is maximum flyable distance on internal fuel, including reserves. Combat radius for jet aircraft would typically be 30 to 35 percent of this value at high altitude, 15 to 18 percent if at sea level.

Source: Brown, Eric M., *Wings of the Luftwaffe* (Shrewsbury, UK: Airlife, 1993); Ethell, Jeffrey, and Alfred Price, *World War II Fighting Jets* (Shrewsbury, UK: Airlife, 1994); and Jarrett, Philip, ed., *Aircraft of the Second World War* (London: G. P. Putnam, 1997).

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Aircraft, Reconnaissance and Auxiliary; Kamikaze; Whittle, Sir Frank

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Jewish Resistance

The Nazis exterminated 6 million Jews during World War II. Those who claim that Jews went as meekly as sheep to the slaughter ignore the many instances of remarkable courage in the face of this staggering crime against humanity. In reality, Jewish resistance took many forms. That it often proved futile reflects the poignant vulnerability of Jews rather than any lack of bravery or courage.

Resistance may be divided into the two general categories of passive and active. Passive resistance took the form of cultural and spiritual endurance and assertiveness. Jews confined to ghettos such as Warsaw continued to practice their culture and religion despite prohibitions. They organized symphonies, drama clubs, schools, and other voluntary and educational associations. They also risked their lives by trading across ghetto walls, despite threats of torture and execution.

Passive resistance drew on a long and esteemed Jewish tradition of outlasting the persecutor. Initially believing that the Nazis and their various European sympathizers wanted to put Jews in their place, not in their graves, Jewish leaders sought to endure discriminatory laws, pogroms, and deportations, hoping for an eventual relaxation of anti-Semitic policies or perhaps even a defeat on the battlefield.

Thus, Jewish resistance remained largely nonviolent until 1943, in part because the Germans succeeded in deceiving the Jews. They were helped in this by the fact that the German soldiers of World War I had generally behaved decently, treating Jewish noncombatants humanely. Jews in Poland and the east initially expected similar behavior from the Nazi invaders. Even after it became apparent that Nazi soldiers and especially police were intent on human butchery on a scale previously unimaginable, Jewish cultures that embraced the sanctity and sheer joy of life found it difficult to comprehend a culture built on hate and murderous brutality, especially one that continued to worship civilized icons such as Goethe and Beethoven. Many Jews put their faith in God—hoping for the best, preparing for the worst, yet not daring at first to think the unthinkable.

When Jewish communities and individuals recognized the unthinkable—that the Nazis and their various European allies wanted to exterminate systematically all Jews in Europe—

active and armed resistance increased. Active resistance included acts of industrial sabotage in munitions factories or isolated bombings of known Nazi gathering spots. One must recognize, however, the near utter futility of such efforts, given the impossibility of Jews “winning” pitched battles against their killers. The Nazis had machine guns, dogs, and usually superior numbers, and they could call on tanks, artillery, and similar weapons of industrialized modern warfare. The Jewish resisters were often unarmed; at best, some might have pistols or rifles with limited ammunition, perhaps supplemented by a few hand grenades. Such unequal odds often made the final result tragically predictable, yet many Jews decided it was better to die fighting than to face extermination in a death camp.

When it became apparent that they were being deported to Treblinka to be gassed, the Jews of Warsaw at first refused to assemble and then led a ghetto uprising in April 1943, the ferocity of which surprised the Germans. More than 2,000 German soldiers, supported by armored cars, machine guns, flamethrowers, and unlimited ammunition, faced approximately 750 Jews with little or no military training. The Schutzstaffel (SS) general in command, Jürgen Stroop, estimated he would need two days to suppress the uprising. In fact, he needed a full month, as Jews, armed mainly with pistols, homemade grenades, and Molotov cocktails, fought frantically and ferociously from street to street and bunker to bunker. The Warsaw uprising was only the most famous example of nearly 60 other armed uprisings in Jewish ghettos.

Resistance was less common in death camps such as Chelmno, Sobibor, and Treblinka, mainly because there was not sufficient time for resistance networks to form. Resistance requires leaders, organization, and weapons. These elements cannot be improvised and employed in a few hours or even days: months of planning and training are required. Despite nearly insurmountable difficulties, however, Jews did revolt at all three of these death camps, as well as at Auschwitz-Birkenau and 18 forced-labor camps.

One of the most extraordinary acts of Jewish resistance took place at Treblinka. On 2 August 1943, one year after the inauguration of the camp, a group of Jewish prisoners rose up, killed their guards, burned the camp, and escaped. Of 600 prisoners who got away, only about 40 survived the war.

Jews also participated actively in resistance networks in Poland, the Soviet Union, France, and other countries. Their plight was difficult in the extreme, since anti-Semitism within these networks often required Jews to hide their ethnicity. In some cells of the Polish Resistance, Jews were killed outright. Many Soviet partisans distrusted and exploited Jews; nevertheless, between 20,000 and 30,000 Jews fought as partisans in the USSR against Nazi invaders. In France, Jews made up less than 1 percent of the population yet 15 to 20 percent of the French underground. In 1944, nearly 2,000 Jewish resisters in France united to form the Organisation Juive de

Combat (Jewish Fighting Organization), which supported Allied military operations by attacking railway lines and German military installations and factories.

Impressive as it was, Jewish resistance was always hamstrung for several reasons. In general, Jews lacked combat experience, since many countries forbade Jewish citizens from serving in the military. As with Soviet prisoners-of-war (POWs) taken by the Germans, many Jews, especially those confined in ghettos, were weakened by disease and deliberate starvation. Under these conditions, trained Soviet soldiers died with hardly a murmur of protest, so it is not surprising that Jewish families who had never been exposed to the hardships of war would likewise succumb.

The Nazis succeeded in creating a Hobbesian state of nature in which people were so focused on surviving from hour to hour that their struggles consumed virtually all their energy and attention. Dissension within Jewish communities also inhibited resistance, with older Jews and members of the *Judenräte* (Jewish councils) tending to support a policy of limited cooperation with the Nazis, hoping that by contributing to the German war effort, they might thereby preserve the so-called productive elements of Jewish communities.

More controversially, Jewish resistance was hampered by weak and irresolute international support. Although Western leaders often condemned Nazi actions, they took little action. Official Catholic and Protestant statements were equally tentative. Irresolute and sporadic support unintentionally played into the hands of the Nazis as they planned for Jewish extermination.

Observant Jews were people of God's law, the Torah, who put their faith in God, with Jewish culture in general tending to disavow militant actions. Confronted by murderous killing squads possessing all the tools of industrialized mass warfare, some Jews nevertheless resisted courageously, both passively and actively. That their resistance often ended tragically does not mean that it failed. Indeed, Jewish resistance was the acorn from which the modern oak of the Israeli Defense Forces sprang.

William J. Astore

See also

Babi Yar Massacre; Concentration Camps, German; Holocaust, The; Partisans/Guerrillas; Prisoners of War; Resistance; Warsaw Ghetto Uprising

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Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) (1887–1975)

Chinese general and Guomindang (Nationalist) politician, president of China from 1928 to 1949 and of the Republic of China on Taiwan from 1949 to 1975. Born on 30 October 1887 in Zhejiang Province, China, Jiang Jieshi entered the Chinese military as a career officer in 1908. After joining a revolutionary organization that sought to overthrow the Qing government, Jiang welcomed the successful 1911–1912 Chinese Revolution. In 1920, he allied himself with Sun Yixian (Sun Yat-sen), the head of the Guomindang, or Nationalist, Party and president of China from 1920 until his death in 1925. In Guangzhou (Canton), where he became commandant of the Guomindang Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy in 1924, Jiang rapidly developed his own power base. After Sun's death, Jiang undertook the 1926–1927 Northern Expedition, suppressing the Communist movement and subjugating warlords to Nationalist rule. In December 1927, he consolidated his power by marrying Song Meiling (Soong May-ling), daughter of a politically and financially influential Shanghai Christian family.

In 1928, Jiang became head of the Nanjing-based Guomindang government, continuing his ferocious anti-Communist campaigns. Antiforeign and authoritarian in outlook, he promoted a revival of Confucian social and political values. When Japanese forces seized China's northeastern province of Manchuria in 1931 and established the puppet state of Manzhouguo (Manchukuo), he protested to the League of Nations but received little concrete assistance from that organization, and in 1933 and 1935, Jiang signed agreements with Japan whereby he acquiesced, at least temporarily, to Japan's domination of northern China. Although he began building up and modernizing Chinese military forces, his continuing drive to eliminate the Chinese Communist Party aroused serious discontent. In 1935, his northern warlord ally Zhang Xueliang and his troops broke off an anti-Communist military campaign. In the subsequent December 1936 Xi'an Incident, Zhang kidnapped Jiang and forced him to agree to join an anti-Japanese united front with the Communists.

In July 1937, Japanese and Chinese forces clashed at the Marco Polo railway bridge near Beijing, an incident that quickly—probably against the original intentions of both sides—escalated into full-scale war between Japan and



Generalissimo Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) inspecting high-ranking officers of Officers Training Corps at Lushan, Kinkiang, Jiangxi Sheng. (Library of Congress)

China. From August to November, Jiang staunchly resisted Japanese assaults on Shanghai, but he eventually abandoned that city and in quick succession also lost Nanjing (Nanking), his capital, and Wuhan (Hangzhou or Hankow). Fighting steadily at Changsha and other cities, Jiang nonetheless gradually fell back westward. In late 1938, he established his capital in Chongqing (Chungking) in the southwestern Province of Sichuan. Jiang's overall strategy was to wage a protracted war of attrition, forcing Japanese troops to overextend their lines and occupy territory they could never fully control.

Jiang repeatedly sought assistance from Western powers (especially the United States and Britain), but until 1940, he only received modest American financial and military aid and the imposition of limited economic sanctions on Japan. Japan's formal September 1940 alignment with Germany and Italy in the Axis Tripartite Alliance brought increased aid from the United States, including some airplanes. In response to Japanese demands on the Vichy government for air bases in Indochina and other concessions, American policy toward

Japan hardened, and sanctions were tightened beginning in the summer of 1940. In autumn 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt repeatedly demanded that Japanese forces withdraw from Chinese territory. He also permitted volunteer American aviators to fight under Colonel Claire Lee Chennault, Jiang's American air adviser.

After the sudden Japanese attack on the United States at Pearl Harbor, China formally declared war on Japan, and the Allies appointed Jiang supreme commander in the China theater. When dealing with his Allied partners, he uncompromisingly defended China's interests, demanding, for instance, the end of Western colonialism and special privileges in China, together with additional wartime assistance to China. At the 1943 Cairo Conference, the Allies also accepted Jiang's demand that China regain all territories ceded to Japan since the 1890s.

Chennault and Jiang enjoyed good relations, sharing the ill-founded faith that airpower alone could win the war against Japan. Jiang sought to conserve his best forces for the postwar struggle he anticipated with the Communists, who

consolidated their own power around their wartime base at Yan'an (Yenan) in Shaanxi (Shensi) Province. His attitude provoked acerbic disputes with General Joseph W. Stilwell, the American commander of the China-Burma-India Theater, who sought to build up a strong Chinese army, preferably under his own command, to mount a large anti-Japanese ground campaign. Stilwell's plans implied major reforms to upgrade the Chinese army. Although Jiang was not personally corrupt, many of his military and civilian associates were. As a consequence, such measures would have jeopardized his tenuous hold on the loyalties of a large number of his semi-independent military field commanders, at least some of whom deliberately embezzled part of the funding intended to support their troops and thereby fielded poorly equipped and understrength units. In 1944, Roosevelt withdrew Stilwell from China. Jiang enjoyed better relations with his successor, General Albert Wedemeyer. The China theater stalemated, and neither Jiang nor the Japanese ever won a decisive victory over the other, though Chinese opposition tied down more than a million Japanese troops.

As the war ended, Jiang faced renewed threats from his Communist opponents, who, with Soviet assistance, quickly took control of much of northern China. In late 1945 and 1946, lengthy American mediation efforts headed by the wartime chief of staff, General George C. Marshall, failed to avert civil war between Guomindang and Communist forces. In 1949, Jiang fled to the island of Taiwan; he served as president of the Republic of China until his death in Taipei (Taipei) on 5 April 1975. On numerous occasions, he fruitlessly attempted to persuade the United States to restore his rule over the Chinese mainland, whose legitimate government he still claimed to head. Tough and authoritarian but limited in vision, Jiang skillfully and shrewdly balanced and maneuvered among the various Chinese factions, but he lacked the broader ability to unify his countrymen around the Guomindang.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Cairo Conference; Chennault, Claire Lee; China, Civil War in; China, Role in War; China-Burma-India Theater; Flying Tigers; Mao Zedong; Marshall, George Catlett; Nanjing Massacre; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Shanghai, Battle of; Stilwell, Joseph Warren; Wedemeyer, Albert Coady; Zhou Enlai

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Jodl, Alfred (1890–1946)

German army general who was chief of operations for Adolf Hitler's regime. Born on 10 May 1890 in Würzburg, Germany, Alfred Jodl joined a Bavarian field artillery regiment in 1910 and served on the Western Front for the first two years of World War I. After recuperating from wounds he received there, he was transferred to the Eastern Front and served with a Hungarian artillery regiment before moving back to the west and finishing the war as a general staff officer. His superior performance secured him a position in the postwar Reichswehr (State Armed Forces). Serving primarily in staff positions during the interwar years, Jodl was assigned in 1939 as a Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general) to the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (OKW, or Armed Forces High Command) as chief of the Wehrmachtführungsamt (Armed Forces Operations Office, renamed in 1940 to Wehrmachtführungsstab, or Armed Forces Operations Staff). Promoted to General der Artillerie (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) in 1940, he held this position until the German surrender in May 1945.

Despite his position as Adolf Hitler's chief of operations, Jodl had little direct influence on the planning and execution of Germany's military campaigns, a result of Hitler's unwillingness to delegate authority to OKW. He was an admirer of the Führer's successes in 1939 and 1940, but Jodl was not slavish in his devotion to Hitler. After investigating Army Group A's lack of progress during the Caucasus Campaign of 1942, he returned to endorse the commander's actions, thus contradicting Hitler. In the inevitable tirade that followed, he stood his ground against Hitler, reportedly giving as good as he got. Yet, even though he was disillusioned with his commander in chief and with the conduct of the war, Jodl held true to his belief in obedience and duty and remained at his post for the remainder of the war. He was promoted to Generaloberst (U.S. equiv. full general) in January 1944.

Brought before the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg after the war, Jodl was tried as a war criminal for crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. Found guilty on all counts, he was condemned to death and hanged on 16 October 1946.

David M. Toczek

See also

Caucasus Campaign; Denmark Campaign; Germany, Surrender of; Hitler, Adolf; Keitel, Wilhelm; Norway, German Conquest of

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Joint Chiefs of Staff

Ad hoc organization composed of the chiefs of the U.S. military services, formed to coordinate strategic planning with the British Chiefs of Staff during World War II. The Joint Chiefs of Staff was originally formed in January 1942, soon after the United States entered World War II, when the British chiefs went to Washington to reaffirm earlier informal agreements. One proposal that the Anglo-American chiefs agreed on was the establishment of a permanent organization for collaboration—the Combined Chiefs of Staff, defined as the British Chiefs of Staff and their opposite numbers from the United States. It was primarily to provide these opposite numbers to the British membership in the Combined Chiefs that the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff was created.

Initially, the Joint Chiefs of Staff consisted of the army chief of staff, General George C. Marshall; the commanding general of the army air forces and deputy chief of staff for air, Lieutenant General Henry H. Arnold; the chief of naval operations, Admiral Harold R. Stark; and the commander in chief of the U.S. Fleet, Admiral Ernest J. King. In March 1942, the positions held by Stark and King were combined under King, and Stark was sent to London to command U.S. Naval Forces in Europe. In July, President Franklin D. Roosevelt brought the former chief of naval operations, Admiral William D. Leahy, out of retirement and appointed him chief of staff to the president. This position was the forerunner of today's chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Throughout the war, the U.S. Joint Chiefs followed the British lead and established their primary subordinate organization, the Joint Planning Staff, along the British pattern. In early 1942, most U.S. planning was done by the War and Navy Departments, which focused primarily on Europe and the Pacific, respectively. By 1943, however, the practice of joint and combined planning was carried out by joint committees and coordinated by the Joint Planning Staff and then submitted to the Joint Chiefs for approval. The National Security Act of 1947 finally codified the establishment of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Arthur T. Frame

See also

Arnold, Henry Harley "Hap"; Combined Chiefs of Staff; King, Ernest Joseph; Leahy, William Daniel; Marshall, George Catlett; Stark, Harold Raynsford "Betty"

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Journalism and the War

Recognizing that mass popular support was fundamental to the prosecution of a total war by their entire societies, both the Western democracies and the totalitarian regimes involved in the war co-opted their various media resources to support their war efforts. Manipulation of the press as an organ for wartime state propaganda first became prevalent during World War I, when the governments of the United Kingdom, Germany, tsarist Russia, and France, followed by that of the United States, employed a combination of comprehensive censorship, coercion, and legislation to ensure that the mass media printed only officially sanctioned versions of events relating to the war. During the interwar period, however, these tactics produced a severe backlash, which was particularly pronounced in the United States.

In the totalitarian states, including all three Axis nations and also the Soviet Union and China, state control of the media was already well established when the war began. These countries had no long-standing tradition of a free press as a voice against government encroachments on the rights of the people, and throughout the war, their mass media functioned primarily as outlets through which governments could present their preferred version of reality. Until August 1945, for example, press and radio told the Japanese people that their armies were still winning glorious victories overseas. In those territories occupied by Axis armies, the press was quickly reduced to a similar condition. In both Axis and occupied states, however, some clandestine publications circulated—at great danger to their authors and distributors, who ran the risk of arrest and imprisonment or execution, fates that frequently befell them.

The United Kingdom and the United States each had a strong free press tradition, and in these states, the government control over the press in wartime was more restrained. With the onset of World War II, Great Britain and France again placed restrictions on their media, which applied to both radio and print journalism. Some of these constraints affected not only their own citizens but also foreign journalists reporting from Allied countries, who could be denied access to sensitive areas and also to the facilities they needed to transmit their stories. In practice, many leading American correspondents were staunchly pro-Allies in sympathy, and the Allied censors therefore granted them considerable latitude. Edward R. Mur-



Press censors at work in the British Ministry of Information, 1940. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

row of Columbia Broadcasting Service, for example, transmitted radio broadcasts from the London Blitz that gave the American people a sense of the war's immediacy and helped to generate popular support for Britain's battle against Adolf Hitler's forces. The United States, a neutral during the first two years of the war, retained its tradition of independent journalism based on the foundation of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. This ended when that country entered the war after Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941.

In part because the very nature of the Japanese attack struck almost all Americans as the epitome of duplicitous and dishonorable behavior, U.S. media representatives immediately acceded to their government's requests that they submit to censorship, engage in self-censorship, and submit any questionable materials to the government and the military for vetting prior to their release. Even movies were expected to showcase the official view of the war—that all American soldiers were patriotic and honorable and their enemies evil,

untrustworthy, and despicable. The media also presented a sanitized, even glamorized view of war, playing down its horrific aspects and ensuring that only enemy soldiers, not the home team, were seen to encounter gruesome deaths. Before the advent of television, straight battlefield reporting was highly restrained, emphasizing the heroism of commanders and troops on one's own side and omitting the filth, foul language, and other unsavory aspects that also formed part of the combat experience. As in other nations at war, such censorship in the United States created a public perception that all its fighting men and women were brave and patriotic, that the home front was united behind the war effort, and that government decisions were wise and just. If reported at all, military disasters were presented as merely minor reverses. One exception was that the press was encouraged to pillory fraudulent activities or overly opportunistic "war profiteering." Even so, in both Britain and the United States, newspaper criticism of governmental incompetence, especially instances in which officials had allegedly been inefficient in

prosecuting the war effort, continued to appear, often as part of the normal political process, which was by no means suspended during the war.

Military commanders expected war correspondents accredited to their forces to function primarily as adjuncts to their own efforts, disseminating only those messages and images acceptable to the government. Only occasionally, as when Lieutenant General George S. Patton Jr. slapped a hospitalized soldier who had suffered a nervous breakdown, did correspondents report news that was unflattering or discreditable to the military. These policies brought a near total suspension of in-depth investigative journalism over a wide range of topics. The complete censorship of communications coming from military units (extending even to the personal correspondence of soldiers) made reporters doubly dependent on the goodwill of the armed forces. One by-product of this was to preclude the publication of critiques of military operations or strategy in the open forum of the press.

As a result, in almost all combatant nations, the bulk of World War II military journalism consisted of variations on the “personal interest” or “feature” story. Generally, these stories eschewed hard facts (who, what, when, where) for profiles emphasizing human interest stories. In the United States, the recognized master of this format was the military journalist Ernie Pyle, whose affinity for the common infantryman won him the label “friend of the dogface.” Pyle produced classic pieces that became more realistic over time and, as he moved to the Pacific Theater, grew increasingly honest and made less effort to minimize the misery and deprivation the fighting troops experienced. Even today, his famed dispatch entitled “The Death of Captain Wasko” remains a staple for American soldiers. Like a number of other war correspondents, Pyle paid the ultimate price for his efforts to accompany soldiers to the front when a Japanese sniper killed him on the island of Ie Shima off Okinawa in the closing days of the war.

Together with many other well-known American journalists, among them the young Walter Cronkite, Pyle often wrote for the *Stars and Stripes*, a four-page (later, eight-page) daily newspaper produced by the armed forces and widely circulated among the troops. This journal first appeared during the American Civil War and reappeared in World War I; in 1942, the U.S. military resumed its publication in London, with the first issue carrying an article by Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall lauding its contributions to morale in World War I. The paper’s editors and correspondents accompanied the U.S. forces through their various campaigns and had to locate suitable publication facilities as they moved through the different theaters of war. In 1945, the *Stars and Stripes* also began to issue a Pacific edition, and from World War II onward, it continued to appear without a break. Unlike publications designed for a civilian audience,

the *Stars and Stripes* could afford to be somewhat more frank about the rigors and dangers of combat. Both Marshall and General Dwight D. Eisenhower, supreme commander of the Allied Expeditionary Forces, took pride in the fact that this newspaper belonged to the “free press” and instituted a hands-off policy forbidding military censorship of its contents. Although its articles were far more honest than those in similar Axis publications designed for the troops, contributors to the *Stars and Stripes* were usually, in practice, military employees who firmly supported the overriding wartime objective of victory. On those occasions the newspaper criticized military practices it considered unfair or inefficient, it did so from the perspective of the insider who sought to improve an institution he fundamentally supported and on which, indeed, he depended.

Throughout World War II, the media in all belligerent countries were expected to support their own nation’s war effort. Although press controls were far more stringent in totalitarian countries, even democracies with a traditionally strong free press exercised a substantial degree of censorship over the media and demanded that print and broadcast outlets alike publish nothing potentially detrimental to the war effort. Bulky equipment often made live newsreel coverage from the front impracticable, and except when the intention was to stir up popular feeling against the enemy, newspapers were forbidden to disturb the public by featuring overly graphic photographs of bodies of soldiers or civilians who had suffered particularly horrific deaths. In practice, even where censorship was relatively restrained, the home front media usually presented a simplistic and sanitized view of the experience of combat troops in fighting that deliberately minimized brutality, dirt, and bodily discomforts; omitted the mention of savage fighting tactics or atrocities unless these were committed by the enemy; and tended to present all soldiers from their own country as invariably brave, heroic, steadfast, and patriotic. Although there were other reasons for such sentiments, practices of this type undoubtedly contributed to the continuing popular view of World War II as a “good war.” In the 1960s, when war reporting became far more graphic and immediate, with vivid images of actual combat and civilian deaths in Vietnam televised within hours throughout the United States and the rest of the world, public attitudes toward the Vietnam conflict quickly became far more ambivalent than they had been toward World War II.

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See also

Censorship; Literature of World War II; Pyle, Ernest Taylor “Ernie”

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Juin, Alphonse Pierre (1888–1967)

French army marshal who participated in the Italian Campaign later in the war. Born at Cape Rosa near Bône, Algeria, on 16 December 1888, Alphonse Juin joined the French army and completed two years of obligatory enlisted service. He then entered the French Military Academy of St. Cyr in 1910 and was commissioned two years later, graduating first in his class. His classmate Charles de Gaulle became a close friend. Juin immediately served in Morocco with the 1st Regiment of Algerian Tirailleurs, undertaking large-scale pacification operations under General Louis Hubert Lyautey, who would become his long-term patron. During World War I and in North Africa, where he served both before and after the war, the highly decorated Juin demonstrated almost foolhardy courage, together with unconventional tactical military brilliance.

Juin studied and taught at the *École Supérieure de la Guerre* (1919–1921, 1933–1935). He also attended the Higher Command Course in Paris (1938–1939), but he spent most of the interwar period with the French North African Army in staff assignments, participating in pacification campaigns. By 1935, he had risen to colonel and commanded a regiment in Algeria.

In December 1939, Juin took command of the 15th Motorized Infantry Division in France. From 10 to 29 May 1940, in the Battle for France, he and his troops performed well in Belgium and northern France, covering the Allied retreat to Dunkerque and helping to make possible the evacuation there. On 30 May, German troops captured Juin; at the insistence of General Maxime Weygand, he was repatriated in June 1941. Sent by the Vichy government as a major general to North Africa, he commanded French troops in Morocco and, from November as lieutenant general and then general, French troops in Algeria and Tunisia as well. Juin worked to build up his forces so that they could defend North Africa



General Alphonse Juin, chief of staff of the French Committee of National Defense, in England to meet the chiefs of staff of the three British services. (Hulton Archive)

against any invader. He had no advance knowledge of the Anglo-American North African landings (Operation TORCH) in November 1942, but later that month, he was instrumental in persuading Admiral Jean Darlan to order a cease-fire.

Briefly heading the French army detachment on the Tunisia Front (1942–1943), Juin was soon occupied with the preparation of the French Expeditionary Corps (CEF), which deployed to Italy in November 1943. To command this corps, he accepted a voluntary reduction in rank to lieutenant general. In Italy, he established a good working relationship with the U.S. Fifth Army's temperamentally difficult commander, Lieutenant General Mark W. Clark. Juin convinced Clark and his superior, British General Sir Harold Alexander, to take advantage of his colonial North African troops' expertise in mountain warfare. The CEF displayed its mettle from January 1944 and played a decisive role in the Allied breakthrough of the German Gustav Line to Rome in May. Outflanking the

Germans in the Apennines, the CEF enabled the Allied capture of Monte Cassino in May 1944 and Siena and Florence that July. Juin was arguably the ablest Allied commander in the 1943–1945 Italian Campaign.

In 1944, Juin favored reinforcing Allied troops in Italy, but General Charles de Gaulle, head of the Fighting French government-in-exile, insisted on French participation in the scheduled Allied landings in southern France and ordered Juin to relinquish his troops to General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny for that purpose. De Gaulle later wrote that de Lattre was better suited than the colonial Juin to lead soldiers in metropolitan France, but there has been speculation that he preferred that no single general except himself emerge from the war as France's principal military hero.

Juin served as chief of the French defense staff (1944–1947), resident general in Morocco (1947–1951), inspector general of the armed forces (1951), and commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) land forces in Central Europe (1951–1956). Made a marshal of France in 1952, Juin outspokenly opposed Algerian nationalism and was embittered by de Gaulle's decision to grant Algerian independence in 1962. He died in Paris on 27 January 1967.

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See also

Alexander, Sir Harold Rupert Leofric George; Cassino/Rapido River, Battles of; Clark, Mark Wayne; Darlan, Jean Louis Xavier François; de Gaulle, Charles; Dunkerque, Evacuation of; France, Battle for; Italy Campaign; Lattre de Tassigny, Jean Joseph Marie Gabriel de; TORCH, Operation; Weygand, Maxime

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July Bomb Plot (20 July 1944)

Assassination attempt on Adolf Hitler's life. The effort to kill Hitler on 20 July 1944 was, however, only the most visible sign of resistance to the Führer and the last in a string of assassination plots. Many prominent Germans were involved in this activity. The plot included Foreign Ministry officials Adam von Trott zu Solt, Ulrich von Hassell, and Count Friedrich von

Schulenberg. Carl Goerdeler, the former mayor of Leipzig, was perhaps the most prominent civilian involved. Military leaders included Field Marshal Erwin von Witzleben, Generals Ludwig Beck and Friedrich Olbricht, and Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, head of the Abwehr. Opposition to Hitler within the military crystallized after Operation BARBAROSSA, the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. Disillusioned by the brutal actions carried out by Germany in the USSR, a group of young officers made several attempts to kill Hitler. They planted bombs on his airplane and in the pockets of his overcoat and carried them into meetings with the Führer. Incredibly, fate always intervened to foil each attempt.

Killing Hitler would exempt members of the Wehrmacht from their oath of allegiance and make a coup d'état possible. And even if this move would not secure better terms from the Allies, at least there would be a moral victory. In early 1944, a new leader instilled the movement with renewed hope. Count Claus Schenk von Stauffenberg became disillusioned with Nazi occupation policies on the Eastern Front. He had been badly wounded in Tunisia that year, losing his left eye, right hand, and two fingers on his left hand. While recovering in Germany, he dedicated himself to the task of killing Hitler. Appointed chief of staff of the Reserve Army in July, Stauffenberg developed a daring scheme to assassinate the Führer.

Stauffenberg openly developed a plan, under the code name VALKYRIE, for the Berlin garrison to impose military control on the city in case of a rebellion by the millions of foreign workers employed there. This plan provided cover for the plot to suppress the Schutzstaffel (SS) after Hitler had been removed. The police chief and commandant of Berlin supported the plan, and Stauffenberg carefully coordinated with sympathetic military officials in Paris and Vienna. He hoped to carry off the coup before any Allied invasion could occur and then negotiate an end to the war.

D day occurred before an attempt could be made, however, and many conspirators argued that the invasion rendered the question of assassination moot. Stauffenberg remained determined. Twice he carried explosives to meetings where Hitler was to appear; twice circumstances stayed the event. Then, on 20 July 1944 at a meeting of Hitler and the General Staff near Rastenburg, East Prussia (Ketrzyn, Poland), Stauffenberg armed the bomb concealed in his briefcase and set it down 6 feet from the Führer, and slipped from the meeting to signal the start of the coup d'état.

Through an accident, the bomb was moved, and it only wounded Hitler. Meanwhile, while waiting for confirmation that the Führer was dead, Stauffenberg's coconspirators hesitated and then divided. When news came that Hitler was still alive, the plot collapsed as SS leader Heinrich Himmler and the head of the Armed Forces High Command (OKW), Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, moved quickly to crush it. Troops

loyal to Hitler arrested the leading conspirators. Beck was permitted to commit suicide, whereas Stauffenberg and Olbricht were shot out of hand. Further investigation by the Gestapo revealed the breadth of the activity, which came as a surprise to the regime. Ultimately, some 7,000 people were arrested. The leaders were tortured and subjected to farcical “trials” before the People’s Court and then executed in the most hideous fashion, with the event filmed for the amusement of Hitler and other Nazi leaders. In all, perhaps 5,000 opponents of the regime, no matter what the level of their involvement in the plot, were executed.

As the best-known act of resistance in Nazi Germany, the unsuccessful attempt of military leaders to kill Hitler remains controversial. Some scholars hail it as an act of conscience that laid the foundations for a new Germany, but others note that the attempt did not come until Germany was on the brink of defeat. They interpret it, moreover, simply as a repudia-

tion of Hitler himself and not of Nazi principles in general. Whether an act of conscience or a simple coup attempt, the only serious, internal attempt to end Nazi power in Germany resulted in failure.

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See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Beck, Ludwig; Canaris, Wilhelm Franz; Himmler, Heinrich; Hitler, Adolf; Keitel, Wilhelm; Stauffenberg, Claus Philip Schenk von; Witzleben, Erwin von

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K

Kaiten

Japanese suicide submarines. By late 1944, the situation for Japan in the Pacific had deteriorated to the point that its leaders turned to extraordinary measures in an attempt to stem the tide of Allied victories. Already employing kamikaze suicide pilots, the Japanese also focused on developing and building the *kaiten* (“turning the heavens”) suicide submarine, which was really nothing more than a Type 93 Japanese torpedo with a small compartment for a pilot.

The individual kaiten torpedo was to be lashed to the deck of a submarine and transported under water to the approximate location of a U.S. ship or naval anchorage. Following the appropriate ceremony, the pilot would leave the submarine and enter the kaiten while it was submerged. The kaiten would then be released and propelled at high speed by its oxygen-fueled engine to smash into the enemy ship. Capable of sustaining a speed of 40 knots for one hour, the kaiten could outrun any American warship. There was no provision for the kaiten to be recovered by the launching submarine. Although the Japanese Naval General Staff had insisted that a means be provided for the pilot to be ejected from the kaiten about 150 feet from impact, no pilot is known to have attempted to escape from his speeding torpedo as it approached the target. The first group of kaiten pilots began training in August 1944, and several submarines were modified to carry the submersibles. All kaiten pilots were volunteers.

The first kaiten mission occurred in November 1944 when three submarines, each carrying four kaiten, departed Japan to attack U.S. fleet anchorages in the Caroline Islands. The

kaiten were launched on the morning of 20 November. Although three could not get under way because of mechanical difficulties, five others set off for anchored U.S. warships in Ulithi Lagoon. Explosions followed, with the Japanese later claiming three aircraft carriers and two battleships were sunk. In reality, one U.S. tanker, the *Mississinewa*, was sunk. One submarine, still carrying her four kaiten, was detected by U.S. warships and sunk.

More kaiten missions followed. A kaiten unit composed of three submarines sailed for Iwo Jima on 22 February 1945. One was sunk by the U.S. destroyer escort *Finnegan*, which was escorting a convoy from Iwo Jima to Saipan when it happened on the Japanese submarine. The surviving submarines inflicted no damage on the U.S. anchorage at Iwo Jima.

The last kaiten operation saw six submarines sortie between 14 July and 8 August 1945, each carrying five or six kaiten. Again, mechanical problems plagued the operation, and three submarines had to turn back to Japan. The kaiten from the others attacked U.S. ships off Okinawa in the most successful of the suicide missions. On 24 July, a kaiten from *I-53* sank the destroyer escort *Underhill*, with a loss of 114 officers and men.

The kaiten effort had failed. Only two U.S. ships had been sunk, one each on the first and the last kaiten missions, but eight of the carrying submarines were sunk, with almost 900 crewmen lost. The kaiten, as with the kamikaze pilots, were an indication that the Japanese had run out of alternatives to counter the rapidly advancing Allied forces on their march toward Japan.

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See also

Japan, Navy; Kamikaze; Okinawa, Invasion of

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Kalinin, Recapture of (15 December 1941)

Major battle during the Soviet counteroffensive to throw back the German army in its drive to Moscow. Kalinin (now Tver), situated some 100 miles northwest of Moscow, served as the northern linchpin in the defense of the Soviet capital. Retreating to within 40 miles of Moscow, the Soviets brought up 100 fresh divisions, including 34 from Siberia that were specially trained for winter warfare. From mid-November to 4 December, German casualties had reached some 85,000 in the Moscow area alone. The unusually early and harsh winter, with temperatures as low as -31°F (-37°C), had brought most motorized transport to a halt. The German army, unlike its Soviet counterpart, was ill prepared to fight in such conditions.

To complicate the situation further, German leader Adolf Hitler had issued orders on 1 December that threw the German High Command into disarray. On that date, Hitler relieved Field Marshal Karl Gerd von Rundstedt as commander of Fifth Panzer Army and personally took command of this crucial sector of the front before Moscow. That same day, Field Marshal Fedor von Bock, commanding Army Group Center (Heeresgruppe Mitte), relayed the message that German troops were completely exhausted. The German drive against Moscow had ground to a halt.

On 30 November, Soviet leader Josef Stalin had agreed to plans drawn up by the chief of the Soviet General Staff, Marshal Boris M. Shaposhnikov, and the next day, the General Staff made final preparations for the offensive. On 5 December, the Soviet commander on the Moscow front, General Georgii K. Zhukov, started the first great Soviet counteroffensive in the Kalinin sector. Siberian troops, who were extremely effective in cold-weather operations, were used for these actions. The next day, Zhukov ordered a general offensive against German forces west of Moscow—Army Group Center. Some 88 Soviet divisions with 1,700 tanks and 1,500 aircraft attacked 67 German divisions (many of them understrength) on a 500-mile-long front between Kalinin and Jelez.

They pushed back the completely exhausted Germans, encircling them where possible and forcing a general retreat.

Hitler, however, forbade anything but the shortest withdrawals. On 8 December, with the Red Army achieving many breakthroughs, he ordered his troops to go over to purely defensive operations and hold their positions at all costs. This decision, though helping to ensure that the retreat did not turn into a general rout, condemned thousands of Germans to death. On 13 December, Soviet forces moved to relieve Leningrad, extending the counteroffensive to the northwest. On 14 December, German troops departed Kalinin, which the Soviets entered the next day. Hitler assumed command of the German army on 19 December, and German forces managed to establish a stable front line some 55 miles west of Moscow one day later. The Red Army's winter counteroffensive continued into February 1942, although its greatest gains were registered at its beginning.

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See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Bock, Fedor von; Hitler, Adolf; Kaluga, Battle of; Moscow, Battle of; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von; Shaposhnikov, Boris Mikhailovich; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Kaluga, Battle of (26–30 December 1941)

The culmination of the Soviet winter offensive in December 1941 that threw back advancing German forces and halted their drive on Moscow. Kaluga is situated some 90 miles southwest of Moscow; the Germans had taken it on 12 October 1941.

Reinforced by 100 fresh divisions, the Soviets launched a massive counteroffensive to save Moscow on 5–6 December 1941. The action took place in subzero temperatures and with German forces completely spent and strung out along a front of 560 miles, from Kalinin in the north to Yelets in the south. During the first days of their offensive, the Soviets registered significant progress. Where possible, they avoided frontal assaults, endeavoring to flank and get behind the German positions and cut them off, creating maximum confusion and panic. Partisans also struck the overextended German communication and supply lines.

Fearful of encirclement, German troops destroyed what they could and then withdrew. On 13 December, the Soviet

government issued a communiqué announcing that the German effort to take Moscow had failed. On 14 December, Soviet General Ivan Zakharin's Forty-Ninth Army went on the offensive north of Tula against Army Group Center (Heeresgruppe Mitte). Despite German leader Adolf Hitler's order of 16 December calling for "fanatical resistance," the right wing of the German Fourth Army on the east bank of the Oka collapsed, and on 17 December, Aleksin fell. The offensive continued in the direction of Tarusa, which was taken the next day.

A special mobile group under Lieutenant General V. S. Popov, including cavalry, infantry, and tank units, then moved in deep snow through the woodlands on the southern bank of the Oka. The offensive to recapture Kaluga began on 17 December. In three days, Popov's troops covered nearly 60 miles, and by the evening of 20 December, they had Kaluga in sight. The Germans there were taken completely by surprise. During the morning of the next day, the 154th Rifle Division, supported by the 31st Cavalry Division and tanks, attacked the railway station.

On 26 December, German resistance in the Nara-Fominsk area broke and the city was retaken. Borovsk and Maloyaroslavets soon fell. On 28 December, Hitler issued a new order calling for every hamlet and farm to be turned into defensive positions and held at all costs. Counterattacks ordered could not be realized, however. German tanks were no longer capable of offensive operations but could only cover retreating infantry units.

Much more adept at fighting in winter conditions, the Soviets threw back every German attempt to stop their advance. Unable to cover and plug the ever increasing number of holes appearing in their front line, the Germans had to withdraw even farther west. On 30 December, Soviet forces completely secured Kaluga. The Soviet offensive ended on 5 January 1942. The Soviet army had established a line between Uhnov, Kirov, and Ludinovo and completed the encirclement of Army Group Center. The German army had lost 25 percent of its original strength in the east and been handed its first strategic defeat.

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See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Kalinin, Recapture of; Keitel, Wilhelm; Moscow, Battle of; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Kamikaze

Japanese suicide pilot. The special corps of suicide aviators was organized by Rear Admiral Arima Masafumi in 1944 to compensate for the critical shortage of skilled Japanese pilots and the increasingly desperate situation of the Japanese forces after the Battle of the Philippine Sea. The term *kamikaze* means "divine wind" and derives from two legendary Japanese victories over invading Mongol forces in the thirteenth century. At that time, a typhoon or kamikaze wind destroyed the Mongol fleet as it lay off Japan in preparation for an invasion. The Japanese had long believed that this kamikaze wind was a divine intervention, and over many centuries, they had come to accept the proposition that Japan was shielded from calamity by a supernatural force much greater than any man might assemble. Japanese leaders hoped that the kamikaze pilots, like the wind that had saved their land from Mongol conquest seven centuries earlier, would spare Japan an Allied victory and occupation in the twentieth century.

Admiral Arima had little trouble in recruiting pilots for his suicide missions. Thousands of young Japanese volunteered. A last-ditch defensive measure, the kamikaze missions succeeded in wreaking havoc on Allied warships without sapping Japan's other resources. The first kamikaze missions were flown during the Battle of Leyte Gulf in October 1944 when 24 volunteer pilots of the Japanese navy's 201st Air Group on Leyte attacked a force of U.S. escort carriers. During this action, one carrier, the *St. Lô*, was sunk, and two others were heavily damaged.

The kamikaze plane operated as a kind of guided missile with human control. Kamikaze pilots tried to crash their planes into enemy ships. Most kamikaze aircraft were ordinary fighters or light bombers, often loaded with bombs and extra gasoline tanks. Many of the aircraft were old (some were biplanes with nonretractable gear), but later, the Japanese also used a new aircraft, which was a piloted rocket. Specifically developed for suicide missions, this aircraft, called "Baka" by the Allies for the Japanese word for fool, was carried to the target area by a medium bomber. Dropped from an altitude of over 25,000 feet, the rocket would glide to about 3 miles from its target before the

At least 1,450 kamikaze pilots gave their lives at Okinawa, sinking or damaging 263 Allied ships, resulting in the deaths of 5,000 men.



A Japanese kamikaze pilot tries to crash his plane onto the deck of a U.S. Pacific Fleet warship, 1 January 1945. (Hulton Archive)

pilot turned on the three rocket engines, accelerating the craft to more than 600 miles per hour in its final dive.

After Leyte was nearly secured, the Allies prepared to land on Luzon. With the loss of Leyte, there was little the Japanese could do to stop the American advance, but they decided to make the Luzon Campaign a costly one for their adversaries. Having lost the bulk of their fleet in the various encounters with Allied forces in the Battle of Leyte Gulf, the Japanese had to turn in force to kamikazes to combat the Allied fleet. During the landing of American forces on Luzon, kamikaze pilots constantly harassed the U.S. ships. One estimate holds that 1 out of every 4 kamikazes hit its target and that 1 out of every 33 sank a ship.

During the Battle for Iwo Jima, the kamikaze threat was lessened because of the distance between the island and the nearest Japanese air bases. However, there were still kamikaze attacks. On 21 February 1945, kamikazes sank the escort carrier *Bismarck Sea* and damaged the fleet carrier *Saratoga* (with the loss of some four dozen of her aircraft), as well as the escort carrier *Lunga Point*, a cargo ship, and two LSTs (landing ships, tank).

The kamikaze effort reached its zenith during the Battle of Okinawa, when the Allied task force was repeatedly attacked by waves of suicide planes. This tactic was new. Previously, kamikazes had operated in separate and individual attacks. During this battle, however, the fleet was subjected to massed kamikaze raids. These *kikusui* (floating chrysanthemum) raids, as the Japanese called them, were far more devastating than single kamikaze attacks and took a heavy toll of Allied ships. In several of the raids, more than 350 planes were sent against the fleet. Often, these suicide missions were supported by conventional air attacks conducted simultaneously. By the end of the campaign for Okinawa, at least 1,450 kamikaze pilots had given their lives for their emperor; in the process, they sank or damaged 263 Allied ships, resulting in the deaths of 5,000 men—the greatest losses ever suffered by the U.S. Navy in a single battle and more than it had lost in all the wars of U.S. history to that point.

The effect of the kamikaze attacks, particularly during the Battle of Okinawa, had a major impact on Allied strategic planners as they contemplated an invasion of the Japanese home islands. If several thousand of these suicide pilots could

wreak havoc on Allied forces in Leyte, Iwo Jima, and Okinawa, what might one expect when Japan was invaded? No doubt, this consideration played a role in the decision to employ the atomic bomb.

James H. Willbanks

See also

Iwo Jima, Battle for; Kaiten; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; Okinawa, Invasion of

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Kan'in Kotohito, Imperial Prince of Japan (1864–1945)

Japanese general and member of the Imperial family. Born on 22 September 1864 in Kyoto, Japan, Prince Kan'in Kotohito received the title of Imperial Prince Kan'in in 1872. Educated at the Army Cadet School, he studied in the French Army Cadet School and the Cavalry School from 1878 to 1882. Following his return to Japan, he served in almost all major cavalry posts in the army. During the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War, Major General Prince Kan'in served in the headquarters of Manchuria Expeditionary Army. Promoted to lieutenant general, he commanded both the 1st Division and the Imperial Guards Division. Kan'in was promoted to field marshal in 1919.

As a “grand old man” of the Imperial Army, Kan'in occupied the post of chief of staff of the army between December 1931 and October 1940. His age made him a mere figurehead, providing the opportunity for radical midrank officers to increase their influence in army decision making. Prince Kan'in died in Tokyo on 20 May 1945.

Tohmatsu Haruo

See also

Japan, Army; Japan, Role in War

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Kasserine Pass, Battle of (14–22 February 1943)

Axis counteroffensive in Tunisia and a tactical defeat for the Allies. By late 1942, U.S. and British forces invaded Vichy-held French North Africa (Operation TORCH) while the British Eighth Army pushed Italian and German forces from Egypt into Libya. Italy and Germany then rushed reinforcements to Tunisia, but Axis forces there soon found themselves sandwiched between two Allied armies. Victory for the Allies seemed only a matter of weeks away, until the friction of logistics, poor weather, and overconfidence provided the Axis an opportunity to seize the initiative and launch a counterstroke.

Hindering any Axis operation was the issue of who controlled the two armies in Tunisia. German Field Marshal Albert Kesselring in Italy had overall tactical command of Axis forces in the Mediterranean. Under him, Field Marshal Erwin Rommel commanded Panzerarmee Afrika (Panzer [or Tank] Army Africa) in southern Tunisia, and Colonel General Hans Dieter Jürgen von Arnim commanded the Fifth Panzerarmee in the north. The Axis plan called for von Arnim's 10th and 21st Panzer Divisions to move through Faid Pass and destroy American forces at Sidi bou Zid. Rommel was to seize Gafsa on the Allied right flank and then move north to link up with von Arnim. Although the Axis forces enjoyed combat experience, effective air support, and better equipment, the murky command arrangement mitigated against decisive success on the battlefield.

For the Allies in Tunisia, the embryonic nature of coalition operations began to manifest itself at all levels, to include integrating the French into the operational structure. The major U.S. element was Lieutenant General Lloyd Fredendall's II Corps, which held the southern flank between Faid and Maknassy Passes. Fredendall, both overconfident and overly cautious, deployed his inexperienced troops in unsupportable positions and unnecessarily complicated the command-and-control structure. His main battle element, the 1st Armored Division, was scattered into small detachments and could not fight as a complete unit. Fredendall directed operations from an elaborate underground command post some 70 miles from the front in Tebessa, which caused both superiors and subordinates to question his competence.

During a raging sandstorm on 14 February 1943, over 200 of von Arnim's tanks, supported by aircraft, began an attack reminiscent of the early blitzkriegs. The Americans' inexperience and poor leadership proved no match for the veteran panzer divisions, which quickly bypassed and isolated over 2,500 Americans near Sidi bou Zid. In two days, the Allies lost six battalions of infantry, armor, and artillery, leaving the 1st Armored Division in shambles. As Axis forces attacked



American soldiers examine a captured Italian Carro Armato M15/42 medium tank taken during a successful Allied counterattack at Kasserine Pass in southeastern Tunisia, February 1943. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

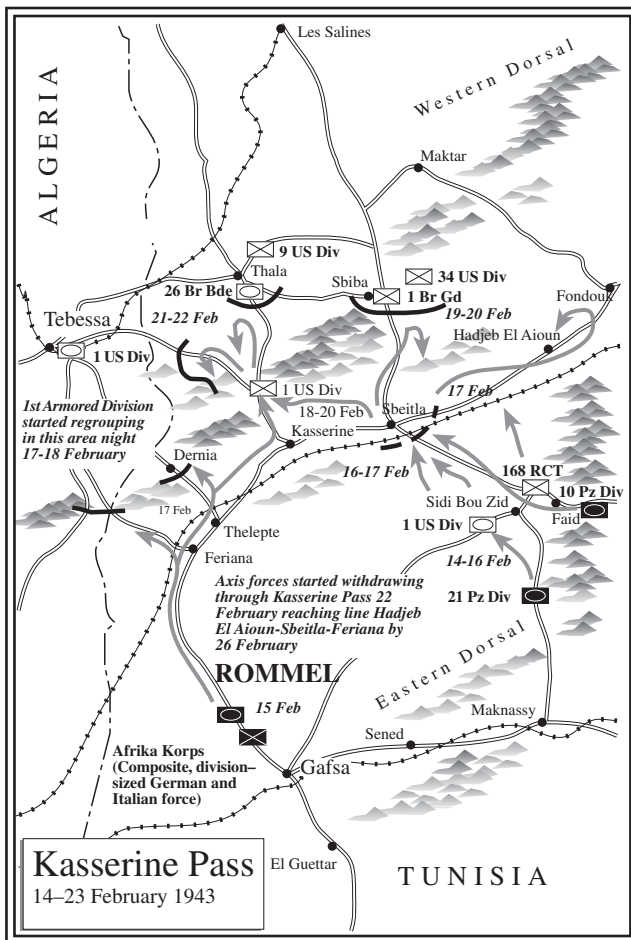
toward Sbeitla, the demoralized Americans began a general retreat, during which they destroyed supplies to prevent their capture by the Axis forces.

As the Allies rushed reinforcements forward to stabilize their defense, the German command debated the objective. Rommel wanted complete operational control in order to cut Allied lines of communications and capture the logistics base at Tebessa. But Kesselring refused to grant Rommel's request and subsequently ordered the attack toward Le Kef and Allied reserves. This disagreement diluted the Axis attack and provided the Allies valuable time to recover and rest their disorganized forces.

On 19 February, Rommel struck at Kasserine Pass, a constricted defile 800 yards wide between 4,000-foot hill masses. The pass was guarded by a mixed force of more than 2,000 U.S. infantrymen and engineers, as well as French artillery, including a battalion of tank destroyers, all commanded by Colonel Robert Stark. Fredendall ordered Stark to "pull a

Stonewall Jackson." Stark's command held until the next day, when an Axis attack supported by Nebelwerfer rockets broke through his defense. Deterred from gaining Tebessa by a strong Allied defense, Rommel ordered his forces toward Thala, where they swept through a British armor rear guard. An apparent Axis victory was blunted by a dramatic reinforcement of U.S. artillery on 21 February. Frustrated by stiffening Allied resistance and an inability to gain firm control of all the Axis forces, Rommel withdrew on 22 February to face General Bernard Montgomery's Eighth Army along the Mareth Line to the east.

Aided by Axis indecision, the Allies had held just long enough, but the cost was high. Records on both sides are fragmentary, but the Allies sustained nearly 4,000 casualties, with 60 artillery pieces and 64 armored vehicles captured. II Corps probably lost 20 percent of its engaged forces, as well as up to 400 armored vehicles and more than 200 artillery pieces. Kasserine Pass was a serious defeat for the inexperienced



Americans. The U.S. commander in North Africa, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, quickly took steps to reshuffle his command including the replacement of Fredendall as commander of II Corps by Major General George S. Patton Jr.

Steven J. Rauch

See also

Arnim, Hans Jürgen Dieter von; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Fredendall, Lloyd Ralston; Kesselring, Albert; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; TORCH, Operation; Tunisia Campaign

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Katyń Forest Massacre (1940)

World War II Soviet atrocity in Poland. On 13 April 1990, the Soviet news agency Tass announced that a joint commission of Polish and Soviet historians had found documents

proving the involvement of personnel from the Narodnyy Kommissariat Vnutrenniakh Del (NKVD, or People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) in the deaths of some 15,000 Polish officers in the Katyń Forest of eastern Poland in 1940. The general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and president of the USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev, handed over a list of the victims to Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski. In October 1992, Russian President Boris Yeltsin produced more archival documents, helping to determine the burial sites of missing officers not found near Katyń. Even in the light of Gorbachev's glasnost and perestroika policies, this admission of Soviet responsibility for the massacre was still a bombshell.

The USSR had consistently denied murdering captured Polish army officers after its occupation of eastern Poland ever since Radio Berlin announced, on 13 April 1943, that German troops, tipped off by local inhabitants, had discovered mass graves near Smolensk. That June, the German Field Police reported that 4,143 bodies had been found in the Katyń Forest, all fully dressed in Polish army uniforms. Some 2,815 corpses were later identified by personal documents in their pockets. Without exception, all the officers, ranking from general to noncommissioned officer, had been killed by shots in the back of the head. Medical examination later showed that a few bodies had jaws smashed by blows or bayonet wounds in their backs or stomachs, probably sustained when the individuals tried to resist execution.

The Germans predictably tried to exploit the Katyń murders for propaganda purposes, pointing out to their wartime enemies that any alliance with the "Bolshevik" perpetrators of this atrocity was too dangerous to continue. By then, General Władysław Sikorski's London-based Polish government-in-exile and General Władysław Anders, then commander of the Polish forces in the USSR and the Middle East, had been worrying for a considerable time over the fate of the missing Polish officers. Following the Soviet-Polish agreement in the summer of 1941, a small but steady trickle of Poles arrived at the reopened Polish Embassy in Kuibyshev. These individuals, from prison camps scattered over the western parts of the USSR, agreed that their fellow servicemen had been transferred to unknown destinations when the NKVD liquidated these camps in April 1940. The arrivals at Kuibyshev turned out to be the few survivors of the Katyń Forest Massacre. The massacre was apparently a Soviet effort to deprive the Poles of their natural leaders, who would undoubtedly protest a Soviet takeover.

After numerous fruitless discussions on the subject with Soviet authorities, including dictator Josef Stalin himself, the Polish government-in-exile came to believe the German announcement of April 1943 and demanded an independent investigation by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). This move caused the Kremlin to accuse the Polish



A German doctor performing an autopsy on a dead Polish soldier selected at random from a mass grave at Katyń Forest. This photo, which was used at the congressional hearings probing the Russian massacre of Polish officers believed to have taken place in 1940, was taken in 1943 when American and British soldiers held prisoner by the Germans were taken to view the massacre site. (Bettmann/Corbis)

government-in-exile of siding with the “fascist aggressors” and to break off diplomatic relations. The ICRC, pursuing its policy of neutrality, could take no action without Soviet consent. London, although embarrassed by this development, made it plain that it was unwilling to risk the breakup of the alliance with the Soviet Union against Nazi Germany over such an investigation. The United States took a similar stance.

When the Red Army finally drove the German armies westward, Moscow determined it needed to present its own investigation results in 1944. A Soviet “special commission,” pointing out that the bullets found on the crime scene were manufactured in Germany, concluded that the Germans had killed the Polish officers in 1941. British and American protests notwithstanding, the Soviet prosecution raised the Katyń affair at the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg, but since the Soviets were unable to prove the Germans guilty, the tribunal simply dropped the case. Throughout the Cold War, the issue of the Katyń Forest Massacre resurfaced time and again, partly due to the efforts of the Polish émigré community. However, it remained unresolved until the demise of the USSR.

Pascal Trees

See also

Anders, Władysław; Poland, Role in War; Sikorski, Władysław Eugeniusz; Stalin, Josef

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Keitel, Wilhelm (1882–1946)

German army field marshal and chief of the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (OKW) throughout the war. Born on 22 Sep-

tember 1882 in Helmscherode, Germany, Wilhelm Keitel joined a Prussian field artillery regiment in 1901 and served as the regiment's staff captain during the early months of World War I. Seen to have potential, he was posted to the German General Staff, an unusual appointment for a non-Prussian and field artillery officer. His demonstrated abilities while serving during the latter part of the war secured him a position in the postwar Reichswehr. Chosen to head the Wehrmachtamt (Armed Forces Office) in 1935, Keitel became chief of staff to the commander in chief of the Wehrmacht. When Adolf Hitler assumed command of the Wehrmacht in 1938, Keitel remained as chief of staff, although with the new title of OKW chief, and he maintained that position until Germany's surrender in 1945. He was promoted to Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general) in April 1934, Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) in January 1936, and Generaloberst (U.S. equiv. full general) in November 1938. He became a field marshal in 1940.

Although competent as a staff officer, Keitel maintained his position as a direct result of his personal loyalty to Hitler

and not because of his abilities. With his headquarters responsible for only one operation during World War II, the 1940 Denmark-Norway Campaign, German commanders and staffs consistently bypassed him and OKW and went directly to Hitler. Privately, they referred to Keitel as *Lakeitel* (lackey), a reference to his relationship to Hitler and his limited influence on Germany's military operations. More than any other act, his work in the promulgation of the Commissar Order of 1941, a decree that mandated the immediate execution of all captured political officers on the Eastern Front, led to his classification as a war criminal. Brought before the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg after the war, he pleaded not guilty to all charges, citing his responsibility to carry out superiors' orders as his defense. Convicted and condemned to death, Keitel was hanged on 16 October 1946.

David M. Toczek

See also

Commissar Order; Denmark Campaign; Germany, Surrender of; Hitler, Adolf; Jodl, Alfred; Norway, German Conquest of



Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, signing the ratified surrender terms for the German army at Soviet army headquarters in Berlin, Germany, 7 May 1945. (National Archives)

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Kesselring, Albert (1885–1960)

German air force field marshal whose air fleets participated in many of the key engagements of the war, including the invasions of Poland, France, the Low Countries, and the Soviet Union. Born in Marksheft, Bavaria, Germany, on 20 November 1885, Albert Kesselring joined the Bavarian army as an officer candidate in the 2nd Regiment of Foot Artillery in 1904 and was commissioned in 1906. A trained balloon observer, he served with his battery on the Western Front during World War I. Soon, he was on the staff of a regiment and then a division and finally with the 2nd Bavarian Army Corps until the armistice.

He continued in the postwar Reichswehr and secured his reputation as a superb administrator. Colonel Kesselring transferred to the still-secret air force in 1933 as chief of administration and military assistant to Luftwaffe State Secretary Erhard Milch; there, he helped direct the secret expansion of the air force, for which he deserves considerable credit. In June 1936, he became the Luftwaffe chief of staff as a Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general).

Unable to work with Milch, Kesselring applied for retirement. Instead, the Luftwaffe chief, Reichsmarschall (Reich Marshal) Hermann Göring, gave him command of the Third Air Region and a promotion to General der Flieger (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general). Later, he commanded 1st Air Group, which was upgraded to Luftflotte 2 (Second Air Fleet), composed of 20 bomber and fighter groups; he led this fleet in the invasion of Poland in September 1939. He commanded Luftflotte 2 in the invasion of France and the Low Countries in May 1940, his aircraft striking both Rotterdam and Dunkerque. Raised to field marshal in July 1940, Kesselring continued to command Luftflotte 2 in the Battle of Britain in 1940, when he advised Adolf Hitler to concentrate on London in order to bring up the Royal Air Force (RAF) so that it might be destroyed. He also commanded Luftflotte 2 in the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. With some 1,000 aircraft, this force was the largest German air fleet in the invasion.

In December 1941, Kesselring went to Italy as commander in chief, South, a post he held until March 1945. His command encompassed the Mediterranean Basin, and there, he won the nickname "Smiling Albert" for his ability to get along with Ital-



Field Marshal Albert Kesselring. (Library of Congress)

ian leaders. Kesselring believed that the key to the supply situation in North Africa was control of Malta, and he ardently urged Hitler to take the island by airborne assault. Hitler promised to do so but never acted. Kesselring won admiration for the skillful Axis evacuations of Tunis in May 1943 and Sicily in August 1943, as well as the defense of Italy. Badly injured in a car accident in October 1944, he underwent successful brain surgery and returned to his command the following January. On 8 March 1945, he succeeded Field Marshal Karl R. Gerd von Rundstedt as commander in chief, West. On 15 April, Hitler divided the remaining Reich into two defensive zones. Admiral Karl Dönitz took command of the north, and Kesselring received command of the south. Kesselring surrendered his forces to the Western Allies on 7 May 1945.

Tried after the war for his role in the Ardeatine Caves Massacre, Kesselring was sentenced to death in 1947, but his sentence was remitted to life in prison. He was released in October 1952 as "an act of clemency" when he developed cancer of the throat. Kesselring then wrote his memoirs (published in English as *A Soldier's Record*), which criticized Hitler only for some military decisions. Kesselring also headed the

Stahlhelm, a right-wing German veterans' organization. He died in Bad Nauheim on 20 July 1960.

Spencer C. Tucker and John P. Vanzo

See also

Ardeatine Massacre; Britain, Battle of; Dönitz, Karl; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Hitler, Adolf; Italy Campaign; Malta; Milch, Erhard; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von; Sicily, Invasion of; Tunis, Battle of

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Kharkov, Battle for (1–14 March 1943)

Important Eastern Front battle. The Soviets claimed to have inflicted 1 million German casualties in the period between November 1942 and March 1943, and despite some replacements, the Germans estimated a shortfall of 470,000 men on the Eastern Front. Following their victory at Stalingrad, the Soviets drove to the Donets River in February 1943 and recaptured Kursk, Rostov, and Kharkov, leading Adolf Hitler to order a counterattack during his visit to the front between 17 and 19 February 1943. In the resulting offensive action on 20 February, Field Marshal Fritz Eric von Manstein's Southern Army Command struck the Soviet flank with a panzer attack from the south in a running battle from Krasnoarmeiskaia to the northern Donets River; Fourth Panzer Army's XL Corps encircled and destroyed what was left of Group Popov, consisting of four understrength Soviet tank corps.

The German thrust, assisted by First Panzer Army after 23 February, continued to the northeast. On 22 February, SS Panzer Corps and LVIII Panzer Corps attacked the flank of Colonel General Nikolai Vatutin's Southwest Front, the lead elements of which (XXV Tank Corps) were within 12 miles of Zaporozhye. Having run out of fuel, the latter units abandoned their equipment and made desperate efforts to escape to the north; for the most part, these attempts were successful, as the Germans took only 9,000 prisoners of war. But Manstein claimed to have killed 23,000 Soviet soldiers and destroyed or captured 615 tanks, 354 artillery pieces, and 69 anti-aircraft guns.

On 1 March, Manstein began an advance on Kharkov, attempting to get behind the Soviets west of that city who were



German soldiers dislodged from a house on the outskirts of Kharkov taking cover outside a building that has been set on fire, 23 February 1943. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

pushing against Army Detachment Kempf, commanded by General der Panzertruppen (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) Werner Kempf. A five-day battle for the city raged with Fourth Panzer Army getting the better of Lieutenant General Pavel S. Rybalko's Third Tank Army, which had been sent to aid the hard-pressed Southwestern Front but had gone on to Kharkov only to be cut off with the advent of the rainy season. By 5 March, the Germans had mauled units of Third Tank Army on the Berestovaya River southwest of the city, capturing 61 tanks, 225 guns, and 600 motor vehicles in a small pocket at Krasnograd.

Manstein wanted to proceed west to attack the rear of the Soviet Voronezh Front, forcing it to fight simultaneously in two directions near Poltava, but because of the rain and mud, the Germans tried to strike the Soviet flank. They attacked north on 7 March and made steady progress, driving a wedge between the Third Tank and Sixty-Ninth Soviet Armies, with pressure eventually coming from the west as Army Detachment Kempf was freed for action. The Soviets brought up II Guards Tank Corps from the east. The SS Panzer Corps, apparently desiring to present the trophy city of Kharkov to Hitler, had to be restrained to ensure that it did not launch a frontal assault on the city, which Manstein feared could produce another Stalingrad.

Hitler's visit to Manstein's headquarters on 10 March probably inspired the SS Panzer Corps commander, Lieutenant General Paul Hauser, to disobey orders and involve the Das Reich and Leibstandarte Divisions in three days of house-to-house battles. Thus, the Germans recovered Kharkov on 14 March 1943. At the same time, to the north of Army Detachment Kempf, the Gross Deutschland Division moved rapidly on Belgorod. At Gaivoron, the Germans wiped out Soviet armored forces that sought to defend Belgorod. The capture of Kharkov and Belgorod marked the end of the German counterblow, which had reestablished the Donets-Mius Line.

Claude R. Sasso

See also

Hausser, Paul "Papa"; Hitler, Adolf; Manstein, Fritz Eric von; Stalingrad, Battle of

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Kiev Pocket, Battle of the (21 August–26 September 1941)

Significant German encirclement of Soviet forces on the Eastern Front in 1941. A month into Operation BARBAROSSA, the German invasion of the Soviet Union, sharp disagreements developed between Adolf Hitler and his senior generals as to strategy. The generals—led by the army chief of staff, Colonel General Franz Halder, and the army commander, Colonel General Walther von Brauchitsch—pointed out that not all German army groups would be able to accomplish their assigned tasks. Field Marshal Fedor von Bock's Army Group Center was advancing faster than the weaker Army Groups North and South. At the same time, Hitler was preoccupied with securing the industrial and agricultural heartland of Ukraine and the Crimea and linking up with the Finns at Leningrad.

In consequence, Hitler decided on 19 July, in Führer Directive 33, to divert substantial panzer units from Army Group Center, thereby postponing the drive on Moscow. He sent Colonel General Hermann Hoth's 3rd Panzer Group north to assist in the drive to Leningrad and Colonel General Heinz Guderian's 2nd Panzer Group south to deal with the bulge created by Soviet Colonel General M. P. Kirponis's Southwestern Front with its mechanized corps. The German generals argued against this decision, pointing out that Moscow was the more important objective. Not only the political capital of the Soviet Union, it was also a major industrial area and transportation nexus. Attempts to convince

Hitler that the advance on Moscow was more important failed, and he issued a final directive on 21 August that ordered a major encirclement operation, with the goal of destroying Soviet forces in northern Ukraine.

On July 10, Soviet leader Josef Stalin had appointed the barely competent Marshal S. M. Budenny to command the Southern and Southwestern Groups. German forces advanced under the capable leadership of Field Marshal Karl Gerd von Rundstedt, commander of Army Group South. Stalin poured troops into the new command, amounting ultimately to almost 1 million men, insisting that the Dnieper River Line be held at all costs.

Budenny's forces in Uman—the Sixth, Twelfth, and Eighteenth Armies—were encircled, and he remained stationary as Colonel General Ewald von Kleist's 1st Panzer Group drove around his flank to the southeast. Kleist's panzers advanced north even as Guderian's 2nd Panzer Group attacked south through the weakly held northern flank of the Southwestern Front, aiming for a linkup east of Kiev. When the Soviet army chief of staff, General Georgii Zhukov, tried to point out the dangers of encirclement to Stalin on 5 August, the latter sent him to Leningrad's defense and appointed Marshal B. M. Shaposhnikov in his stead.

By early September, Kiev was a salient endangered by advancing German troops to the north and the south. An attempt by Lieutenant General A. I. Yeremenko's newly formed Bryansk Front to halt Guderian's push south failed on 2 September, and by 11 September, the German pincers were closing on Kiev. Budenny requested authority to retreat, but Stalin preferred to replace him with Marshal S. K. Timoshenko. On 12 September, Kleist's panzers broke through the Soviet Thirty-Eighth Army, attacking north from bridgeheads at Cherkassy and Kremenchug.

Despite the onset of the rainy season, the 1st and 2nd Panzer Groups linked up at Lokhvitsa, 125 miles east of Kiev, on 16 September. Timoshenko and Nikita Khrushchev, representing the War Council of the Southwestern Direction, authorized a Soviet withdrawal, but General Kirponis feared Stalin's reaction and refused to move until Moscow confirmed the orders near midnight the next day.

The encirclement was still sufficiently porous to allow some Soviet forces to escape, including Timoshenko, Khrushchev, and Thirty-Seventh Army commander Andrei Vlasov (whose forces had defended Kiev skillfully), but Kirponis was among the dead. The Soviet Fifth and Twenty-First Armies were destroyed, along with major portions of the Thirty-Seventh and Fortieth Armies. Army Group South also claimed 665,000 Soviet prisoners taken, along with 3,500 guns and 900 tanks. For all practical purposes, the Soviet Southwestern Front ceased to exist. It had to be entirely reconstructed from the nucleus of the 15,000 men who escaped the disaster.

Ironically, this major German success, one of the greatest tactical victories of the war—despite opening a 200-mile gap in Soviet defenses and permitting the investment of the eastern Ukraine—had long-range strategic consequences. Senior German commanders, including Halder and Guderian, concluded that this diversion from the drive on Moscow had been a major blunder, ultimately dooming the German attempt to take the Soviet capital in 1941.

Claude R. Sasso and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Brauchitsch, Heinrich Alfred Hermann Walther von; Budenny, Semen Mikhailovich; Guderian, Heinz; Halder, Franz; Hitler, Adolf; Hoth, Hermann; Kleist, Paul Ludwig Ewald von; Leningrad, Siege of; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von; Stalin, Josef; Timoshenko, Semen Konstantinovich; Vlasov, Andrei Andreyevich; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Kimmel, Husband Edward (1882–1968)

U.S. Navy admiral and commander of the Pacific Fleet at the time of the Japanese attack against Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. Born in Henderson, Kentucky, on 26 February 1882, Husband Kimmel graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1904 and was commissioned an ensign in 1906. Over the next years, Kimmel served on battleships; participated in the 1914 intervention at Veracruz, Mexico; served as a naval aide to Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt; and was staff gunnery officer for the American battleship squadron attached to the Royal Navy's Grand Fleet during World War I.

Kimmel, a highly regarded gunnery expert, rose to the rank of rear admiral in 1937 and served at the Naval Gun Factory; he also commanded a destroyer squadron, attended the Naval War College, commanded the battleship *New York*, and served as chief of staff of the battleships in the Battle Force. From 1937 to 1939, he was budget officer of the navy, and following command of a cruiser division and of cruisers in the Battle Force, Pacific Fleet, he was named commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet in February 1941 as a full admiral. During the next months, Kimmel put the Pacific Fleet through a vigorous training program in preparation for a possible war with Japan and refined plans for offensive operations in the western Pacific if



U.S. Navy Admiral Husband E. Kimmel. (Bettmann/Corbis)

war came. Following the Japanese attack against Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, which put all of the Pacific Fleet's battleships out of commission, he was relieved of his command.

Kimmel has been the subject of considerable controversy for his actions preceding the Japanese attack. Several investigations and historians determined that he was too lax in his command and not sufficiently prepared for the possibility of war. Defenders—and Kimmel himself—believed he was made a scapegoat for the failures of Washington authorities, arguing that he was denied both crucial intelligence about deteriorating Japanese-American relations and adequate numbers of long-range reconnaissance aircraft.

On 1 March 1942, Kimmel retired in disgrace from the navy. Thereafter, he was employed by an engineering consulting firm until 1947. He died in Groton, Connecticut, on 14 May 1968.

John Kennedy Ohl

See also

Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Theobald, Robert Alfred

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Kimura Heitaro (1888–1948)

Japanese army general who assumed command of the Burma Area Army in 1944. Born in Tokyo on 28 September 1888, Kimura Heitaro joined the army in December 1908. Although trained in the artillery, he held a number of unusual positions, including that of resident officer in Germany from 1922 to 1925. In 1930, he was a member of the Japanese delegation to the London Disarmament Conference, where his naval counterpart was Captain Yamamoto Isokoru. By 1938, Kimura had advanced to the rank of lieutenant general. After commanding the 32nd Division, he served as chief of staff of the Guandong (Kwantung) Army in Manchuria.

Kimura sided with those who favored Japanese expansion, and from April 1941, he was vice minister of war and a close adviser to General Tōjō Hideki, helping to develop the Japanese military strategy for war with the United States. When Japanese efforts to secure Guadalcanal failed, he became the scapegoat, and he was removed from his post in March 1943.

Kimura returned to active military duty in August 1944, succeeding Kawabe Masakazu as commanding general of the Burma Area Army; Kawabe had been sacked as a result of the disastrous Imphal Campaign. Kimura commanded three armies of 250,000 men in 10 divisions. Expecting an attack by the British Fourteenth Army during the dry season, along the lines of earlier attacks, he planned to withdraw behind the Irrawaddy River and counterattack when British supply lines were overextended. But British commander Lieutenant General William Slim learned of Kimura's intention and revised his own plan. Employing aerial resupply, Slim was able to move forces through difficult terrain to Meiktila and Mandalay. Kimura was surprised and outmaneuvered. In fighting between 21 February and 31 March 1945, the British effectively destroyed the Fifteenth Army. Kimura then precipitously abandoned Rangoon, leaving behind much equipment and many troops. Occupying the city on 2 May, the British improved their supply lines and were in a position to continue their advance when weather permitted.

Kimura was promoted to full general in May 1945. Following the war, he was arrested and tried for war crimes. Convicted of mistreating prisoners of war during the construction of the Burma-Thailand railroad, he was executed in Tokyo on 23 December 1948.

Tim J. Watts

See also

Burma Theater; Guadalcanal, Land Battle for; Imphal and Kohima, Sieges of; Meiktila, Battle of; Tōjō Hideki; Yamamoto Isokoru

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Japanese Army General Kimura Heitaro. (Corbis)

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King, Edward Postell, Jr. (1884–1958)

U.S. Army general and commander of the Luzon Force on the Bataan Peninsula. Born in Atlanta, Georgia, on 4 July 1884, Edward King received a law degree from the University of Georgia in 1903. He began his military career with the Georgia National Guard. In 1908, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army and assigned to the 6th Field Artillery Regiment. In the following years, King served in the

Philippines, did three tours in the Office of the Chief of Field Artillery, and was both a student and an instructor at the Command and General Staff School and the Army War College. He also graduated from the Naval War College.

In September 1940, Brigadier General King returned to the Philippines to command Fort Stotsenberg. Later, he supervised artillery training for the Philippine army. During the first months of World War II, King, now a major general, was artillery officer for General Douglas MacArthur, commander of U.S. forces in the Far East. On 21 March 1942, Lieutenant General Jonathan Wainwright, commander of all U.S. forces in the Philippines, appointed King to head the Luzon Force, which was responsible for defending the Bataan Peninsula, the last major piece of territory on Luzon still in American hands. King had more than 80,000 men under his command, but their situation was hopeless. Short of food, racked by disease, exhausted from months of fighting, and cut off from any reinforcement, they were unable to stop an offensive the Japanese launched on 5 April to complete the conquest of the peninsula. King had orders from Wainwright and MacArthur to counterattack the Japanese; however, he was fearful his men would be massacred by the advancing Japanese and on his own initiative surrendered his force on 9 April, the greatest capitulation in U.S. military history. King spent the remainder of the war in Japanese prison camps in the Philippines, Formosa, and Manchuria. After the war, King served with the secretary of war's Personnel Board until his retirement in November 1946. He died in Brunswick, Georgia, on 31 August 1958.

John Kennedy Ohl

See also

Bataan, Battle of; MacArthur, Douglas; Philippines, Japanese Capture of; Wainwright, Jonathan Mayhew

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King, Ernest Joseph (1878–1956)

U.S. Navy Fleet Admiral and chief of Naval Operations. Born in Lorain, Ohio, on 23 November 1878, Ernest King graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1901. He subsequently held a variety of appointments on cruisers, battleships, and



U.S. Admiral of the Fleet and Chief of Naval Operations Ernest Joseph King. (Library of Congress)

at the Naval Academy, where he was an instructor of ordnance and gunnery from 1906 to 1908. King commanded a destroyer in 1914. Between 1916 and 1919, he served on the staff of the commander of the Atlantic Fleet.

In 1919, Captain King headed the Naval Academy's post-graduate school. During the next seven years, the ambitious, hard-driving, and forceful King specialized in submarines. In 1926, he took command of an aircraft tender and was senior aide to the commander of Air Squadrons, Atlantic Fleet. In 1927, King underwent flight training, and the next year, he became assistant chief of the Bureau of Aeronautics. In 1929, he commanded the Norfolk Naval Air Station, and from 1930 to 1932, he commanded the aircraft carrier *Lexington*.

King then graduated from the Naval War College and, promoted to rear admiral, served as chief of the Bureau of Aeronautics from 1933 to 1936. He spent the next five years in senior naval aviation assignments, including a tour as commander of the Aircraft Base Force. In 1938, he was promoted to vice admiral. Appointed to the Navy General Board in 1939, King criticized the lack of war preparations, recommending that should the United States go to war with Japan,

it had to follow an offensive Pacific naval strategy. He also proposed measures for the better integration of aircraft, submarines, and small fast ships with battleships and aircraft carriers.

In February 1941, King won promotion to admiral and was appointed commander of the Atlantic Fleet. On 30 December 1941, following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, he became commander in chief of the U.S. Fleet. The following March, President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed King as chief of naval operations, making him the only U.S. Navy officer ever to hold both positions concurrently.

As a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, King was a major architect of wartime strategy. He vigorously prosecuted a two-front war in both the Atlantic and the Pacific but consistently gave higher priority to operations utilizing naval forces. He was therefore more committed to extensive Pacific operations, which relied heavily on naval power, than was his colleague General George C. Marshall, the army chief of staff, who generally followed a Europe-first strategy. King forcefully implemented a strategy of aggressive advance against Japan through the Central Pacific, later modified to include a second, southwestern offensive by way of the Philippines and Taiwan. Despite feuds over authority with Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox and his successor, James Vincent Forrestal, King successfully built up American naval forces, introduced tactical and technological innovations, and contributed heavily to the Allied victory in the Pacific.

In October 1945, King abolished the position of commander in chief of naval forces, and in December, he retired, succeeded as chief of naval operations by Admiral Chester W. Nimitz. Over the next decade, he served as a special adviser to the secretary of the navy and also headed the Naval Historical Foundation. King died in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on 25 June 1956.

Priscilla Roberts and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Forrestal, James Vincent; Joint Chiefs of Staff; Marshall, George Catlett; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; United States, Navy

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King, William Lyon Mackenzie (1874–1950)

Wartime prime minister of Canada. Born on 17 December 1874, at Berlin (now Kitchener), Ontario, Canada, Mackenzie King graduated from the University of Toronto and did graduate work at the University of Chicago. He was appointed Canada's first deputy minister of labor and then briefly served as minister of labor (1908–1911). He spent the war years in the United States as the chief labor mediator for the Rockefellers, but in 1919, he returned to Canada to seek the leadership of the Liberal Party, which had been shattered by the 1917 conscription crisis. King revived the Liberals, becoming the Canadian prime minister in 1921 and winning subsequent elections in 1925, 1926, and 1935. During the 1920s, he played the central role in Canada's transition to an autonomous dominion.

A skillful administrator and consensus builder and an astute politician, King deserves much of the credit for Canada's remarkable economic and military mobilization during World War II. In September 1939, French Canadian support for the war was lukewarm at best, and a great many among the English Canadian majority questioned their fellow citizens' loyalty. King forged a precarious unity by promising his Liberal government would emphasize war production rather than expeditionary forces. This policy of "limited liabilities" did not, however, survive the defeat of France in June 1940. King also promised not to impose conscription for overseas service. Luck—the Canadian army saw little combat until mid-1943—combined with a sincere political effort not to isolate the people of Quebec and simultaneously to reach out to "moderate" English Canadians almost got the country through unscathed. With the Allies facing a desperate shortage of infantry reinforcements in the autumn of 1944 and with his own leadership at stake, King reluctantly implemented limited overseas conscription that November. In retrospect, his handling of the explosive conscription issue was a singular political achievement.

Although Canada's international stature and national pride grew dramatically during the war years, the ever cautious King was content for the country to continue playing the role of a loyal subordinate. His relationship with British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill was often strained, but his government still provided enormous military, economic, and financial assistance to the "mother country," most of it ultimately at no cost. In contrast, his relationship with U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt was warm. Common sense, of course, dictated that King encourage closer ties with the United States. The wartime advantages of this policy were immeasurable for Canada. Few Canadians warmed to King, but in the June 1945 election, running on a platform of



Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King (left) and U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt (right) in Quebec, 19 August 1943. (Franklin D. Roosevelt Library (NLFDR)/National Archives)

progressive social and economic measures for the postwar era, his government won a majority (albeit a slender one). Worn out by his wartime exertions, King retired in October 1948. He died in Ottawa on 22 July 1950.

Patrick H. Brennan

See also

Canada, Role in the War; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; McNaughton, Andrew George Latta; Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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Kinkaid, Thomas Cassin (1888–1972)

U.S. Navy admiral whose forces were involved in many of the key engagements in the Pacific Theater. Born in Hanover, New Hampshire, on 3 April 1888, the son of Rear Admiral Thomas W. Kinkaid, he graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1908, then served in the Great White Fleet in its circumnavigation of the globe. Kinkaid began his naval career in ordnance and aboard battleships. During World War I, he was assigned as a naval envoy at the British Admiralty. From 1929 to 1930, he attended the Naval War College. Promoted to captain in 1937, he commanded a cruiser, and two years later, he was assigned as naval attaché to Italy and Yugoslavia.

In late 1941, Kinkaid was promoted to rear admiral and took command of Cruiser Division 6. In March 1942, he led his ships in raids on Rabaul and New Guinea, then participated in the May Battle of the Coral Sea and the June Battle of

Midway. In August 1942, Kinkaid assumed command of Task Force 16, centered on the carrier *Enterprise*, and took part in the invasion of Guadalcanal and the Battles of the Eastern Solomons and the Santa Cruz Islands. In January 1943, Kinkaid took command of the North Pacific Force in Alaskan waters, his ships participating in the recapture from the Japanese of the Aleutian islands of Attu and Kiska.

Promoted to vice admiral, Kinkaid was put in charge of the Seventh Fleet, “MacArthur’s Navy,” in November 1943, with the mission of providing amphibious lift and protection to General Douglas MacArthur’s Southwest Pacific Area forces on their approach to the Philippines. Seventh Fleet then participated in the defense of landings at Leyte by destroying attacking Japanese forces in Surigao Strait. In January 1945, Kinkaid led Seventh Fleet in the invasion of Luzon at Lingayen Gulf. Promoted to admiral in April, he took the surrender of Japanese forces in Korea in September.

Following World War II, Kinkaid briefly commanded the Eastern Sea Frontier and then the Sixteenth (Reserve) Fleet. He retired in May 1950 and died in Bethesda, Maryland, on 17 November 1972.

Landon Winkelvoss

See also

Aleutian Islands Campaign; Aviation, Naval; Coral Sea, Battle of the; Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Japan, Navy; King, Earnest Joseph; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; MacArthur, Douglas; Midway, Battle of; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Philippines, U.S. Recapture of; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign; United States, Navy

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Kirk, Alan Goodrich (1888–1963)

U.S. Navy admiral in charge of the American naval forces involved in the Normandy Invasion. Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on 30 October 1888, Alan Kirk graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1909. He specialized in gunnery and served in the Asiatic Fleet. During the period of U.S. involvement in World War I, Kirk was stationed at the Naval Proving Ground, Dahlgren, Virginia.

In the 1920s, Kirk was executive officer of the presidential yacht and served as presidential naval aide. He next served as the gunnery officer on the battleship *Maryland*. Kirk gradu-

ated from the Naval War College in 1929 and then was an instructor there for two years. In 1931, he received his first command, a destroyer, and from 1933 to 1936, he was in the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations. He was the executive officer of the battleship *West Virginia* before taking command of the light cruiser *Milwaukee* and serving as operations officer to the commander of the U.S. Fleet. In 1939, Kirk became the American naval attaché in London, where he familiarized himself thoroughly with Royal Navy practices—practices he strongly admired, even though British condescension occasionally irked him. His forceful advocacy of greater Anglo-American cooperation and his urgent warnings in 1940 of the extreme danger Britain faced helped persuade President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his administration to assist Britain with measures potentially liable to precipitate conflict with Germany.

In March 1941, Kirk became director of Naval Intelligence, but partially because of fierce bureaucratic infighting with the War Plans Division, his office failed to produce any specific warnings of Japan’s intentions vis-à-vis the United States, despite clues that an attack on American forces was being planned. In October 1941, he returned to sea duty as commander of a division of destroyer escorts in the Atlantic Fleet, fortuitously escaping responsibility for the failure to predict the Pearl Harbor raid.

Promoted to rear admiral in November 1941, Kirk became chief of staff to Admiral Harold Stark, commander of American naval forces in Europe, in March 1942. In London, he contributed substantially to Allied strategic planning. In February 1943, Kirk took command of Amphibious Force, Atlantic Fleet, and that July, he led an amphibious naval task force in the Sicily landings. His outstanding success in the face of unexpectedly difficult conditions brought him command of all U.S. naval forces for the June 1944 Normandy landings. Later that year, he commanded all U.S. naval forces in France. He was promoted to vice admiral in May 1945.

Kirk retired with the rank of admiral in March 1946. He then served as ambassador to Belgium and minister to Luxembourg until 1949 and spent a further two years as ambassador to the Soviet Union (April 1949 to October 1951) and the Republic of China (May 1962 to April 1963). Kirk died in New York City on 15 October 1963.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Amphibious Warfare; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Sicily, Invasion of; Stark, Harold Raynsford “Betty”

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Kleist, Paul Ludwig Ewald von (1881–1954)

German field marshal and commander of Army Group A. Born at Braunfels an der Lahn, Germany, on 8 August 1881, Paul von Kleist entered the army in 1900 and rose to the rank of captain by 1914. During World War I, he fought on both the Eastern and Western Fronts. Following the war, he served in artillery and cavalry posts. Though he was promoted to lieutenant general in August 1936, he retired in February 1938 during Adolf Hitler's purge of the army.

Recalled to active service in August 1939, Kleist commanded XXII Panzer Corps in Fourteenth Army during the invasion of Poland. He then assumed command of the army-sized Panzer Group Kleist in the May 1940 invasion of France and the Low Countries, spearheading Army Group A's advance. Promoted to full general in July 1940, Kleist commanded 1st Panzer Group in the April 1941 invasion of Yugoslavia, then First Panzer Army in Army Group South in Operation BARBAROSSA, the invasion of the Soviet Union. His forces pushed into Ukraine and devastated nearly 20 Soviet divisions, assisting in the encirclement of Kiev and establishing a bridgehead west of Rostov before being forced to retreat that winter.

Kleist's 1st Panzer Group carried out a decisive counterstroke in the First Battle of Kharkov (May 1942). Ordered to take the Caucasus oil fields, Kleist saw his forces drained away for the cauldron of Stalingrad. He commanded Army Group A in November 1942 and proved adept at defensive operations. Promoted to field marshal in February 1943, he carried out an orderly withdrawal of German forces from the Crimea that October. He then withdrew his force, redesignated Army Group South Ukraine, into Romania. Hitler lost confidence in Kleist and relieved him of command in March 1944, whereon Kleist retired.

Kleist was taken prisoner by the U.S. 26th Infantry Division on 25 April 1945. He was then turned over to Yugoslavia, where he was tried for war crimes, found guilty, and sentenced in 1948 to 15 years in prison. Extradited to the Soviet Union, he was sentenced there to an additional term of imprisonment. He died at Vladimir Prison Camp in the Soviet Union on 15 October 1954.

Roy B. Perry III



German Field Marshal Paul Ludwig von Kleist. (photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Eastern Front; Hitler, Adolf; Kiev Pocket, Battle of the; Rostov, Battle for; Stalingrad, Battle of; Yugoslavia Campaign (1941)

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Kluge, Günther Adolf Ferdinand von (1882–1944)

German army field marshal and one of Adolf Hitler's most able commanders. Born at Posen, Prussia (now Poznan, Poland), into an old, aristocratic family on 30 October 1882, Günther Adolf Ferdinand von Kluge joined the army as an artillery officer in 1901. He served on the General Staff in

World War I between 1916 and 1918 and was wounded in fighting at Verdun in 1918. Kluge was selected to continue in the Reichswehr after the war. Promoted to brigadier general in February 1933, he was named inspector of Signal Troops. He became a major general in April 1934 and commanded the 6th Division in Münster. After Hitler began to expand the German army, Kluge commanded VI Corps in 1936. In 1938, Hitler purged Kluge, along with other German generals, for supporting General Werner von Fritsch, who was retired on trumped-up charges of homosexuality for his opposition to Hitler in February 1938.

With war looming, Hitler needed experienced commanders, and he recalled Kluge from retirement in October 1938 and gave him command of the newly created 6th Army Group, headquartered at Hanover. Later, the unit was redesignated as the Fourth Army. Kluge led Fourth Army during the invasion of Poland in September 1939. Proving himself an innovative commander in that campaign, he won Hitler's admiration and promotion to colonel general. Kluge led Fourth Army against France and the Low Countries in May 1940. Raised to field marshal in July, he went on to command Fourth Army in the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 and Army Group Center from December 1941 to October 1943, again proving himself an effective commander.

Injured in a car accident in October 1943, Kluge went on prolonged leave during his recuperation. In July 1944, he replaced Field Marshal Karl Gerd von Rundstedt as commander in chief, West, and commander of Army Group B in Normandy. Kluge disliked the Nazis but was pleased with the territorial acquisitions made under Hitler. He was aware of the plot to assassinate the Führer, but he wavered in his support and finally declined to participate. He also failed to report it. Following the bomb attempt on Hitler's life on 20 July 1944, he came under increased Gestapo suspicion.

Kluge led the German counterattack at Avranches in August, but on its failure, he was relieved of command, on 17 August 1944, by Field Marshal Walther Model. He wrote to Hitler, urging him to make peace and end the suffering for the German people. Aware that he would be implicated in the conspiracy against Hitler and depressed by the military situation, Kluge committed suicide at Valmy, France, on 19 August 1944.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Hitler, Adolf; Model, Walther; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von

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**Knox, William Franklin "Frank"
(1874–1944)**

U.S. secretary of the navy during the war years. Born on 1 January 1874 in Boston, Massachusetts, Frank Knox followed his political idol and role model, Theodore Roosevelt, and joined the 1st Volunteer U.S. Cavalry (the Rough Riders) in 1898 to fight in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. After mustering out, he became a highly successful newspaper editor and publisher, acquiring papers in Michigan and New Hampshire. A strong supporter of U.S. intervention in World War I, Knox served in the artillery in France in 1917 and 1918, rising from private to major. Between the wars, he returned to the newspaper business and was active in Republican politics, running unsuccessfully as the Republican vice presidential candidate in 1936.

In the late 1930s, Knox firmly believed that the United States could not remain aloof from the increasingly critical situation in Europe. Consequently, though he was unsympathetic toward President Franklin D. Roosevelt's domestic policies, he strongly endorsed the president's interventionist and pro-Allied international outlook. In 1940, Roosevelt persuaded Knox, together with former Republican Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, to join his cabinet, with Knox serving as secretary of the navy—a step designed to win support from nonisolationist Republicans. Knox quickly recruited as assistants various able young businessmen and lawyers, such as James V. Forrestal (whom he appointed undersecretary), Ferdinand Eberstadt, and Adlai E. Stevenson. Knox utilized their industrial and organizational skills to implement expeditiously a massive naval expansion, as the U.S. Navy prepared for war in both the Atlantic and the Pacific. He also introduced modern business and management methods to the Navy Department's administration.

Knox helped to devise and lobby for the Destroyers-for-Bases deal of 1940, whereby Britain acquired American warships in exchange for leases to Caribbean naval bases, and the 1941 Lend-Lease program to aid the Allies. Like other Roosevelt administration officials, he did not predict the surprise Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor of 7 December 1941, and he rather ascribed responsibility for this U.S. defeat almost solely to the unpreparedness of the base's naval and military commanders.

Knox, who had previously found Roosevelt's pro-Allied policies insufficiently bold, welcomed American intervention in World War II. During its course, he traveled extensively to the various theaters of war. As a former newspaperman, he strongly emphasized the importance of good public relations, holding frequent press conferences. He stalwartly supported the abortive National Service Act of 1944, which would have



Secretary of the Navy W. Franklin Knox. (UPI-Bettmann/Corbis)

imposed the obligation of national service on all Americans, military and civilian alike. He died suddenly of heart failure in Washington, D.C., on 28 April 1944.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Destroyers-for-Bases Deal; Forrester, James Vincent; Lend-Lease; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stimson, Henry Lewis; United States, Navy

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Koenig, Marie Pierre Joseph François (1898–1970)

French army general who commanded the Free French Forces of the Interior (FFI). Born in Caen, Normandy, France, on 10 October 1898, Pierre Koenig volunteered for service in the army during World War I after obtaining his baccalaureate in 1917. He ended the war as a temporary second lieutenant with the Médaille Militaire.

After World War I, Koenig served with the French army of occupation in Germany. Promoted to lieutenant in 1920, he

participated in the French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 and then served with occupation forces in the Rhineland between 1923 and 1929. From 1931, Koenig served with the French Foreign Legion in Morocco. Promoted to captain in 1932, he participated in pacification campaigns.

With the start of World War II, Koenig departed Morocco in February 1940 and, as a major in the legion's demibrigade, fought in the Norway Campaign at Narvik. In June 1940, Koenig joined the Free French Forces of General Charles de Gaulle and commanded a battalion, fighting Vichy French forces in Africa and the Middle East in 1940 and 1941. Koenig's advance was rapid. He made colonel in June 1941 and became chief of staff of the 1st Free French Division in the Sudan, taking part in the Syria and Lebanon Campaign. Promoted to temporary major general that August, he commanded the 1st Free French Brigade in Egypt.

Koenig won renown for leading this unit in the Battle of Bir Hacheim, a critical point in the British Eighth Army's defensive line against the Afrika Korps (Africa Corps). Koenig's men held Bir Hacheim from 27 May 1942, refusing to withdraw until ordered to do so on the night of 10–11 June. Their epic stand restored French military honor following the



French General Marie Pierre Koenig, commander in chief of French forces of the interior and governor of Paris, after placing a wreath at the cenotaph in London. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

debacle of May–June 1940 and established the Free French as an effective fighting force.

Koenig then went to Algiers, where he was promoted to lieutenant general in May 1943. That July, he became deputy chief of staff of the French army. In April 1944, he was named commander of Free French Forces in Britain. On 25 June, he was promoted to full general, and as a member of General Dwight D. Eisenhower's staff, he took command of Free French Forces of the Interior following the Normandy Invasion. The FFI made a substantial contribution to Allied success by disrupting German lines of communication and tying down German military assets in Brittany and elsewhere.

In August 1944, Koenig became military governor of Paris. Between 1945 and 1949, he commanded the French zone of occupation in Germany, and he was promoted to General of the Army in 1946. He retired from the army in 1951 and was elected as a Gaullist deputy to the National Assembly. He served as minister of defense in 1954 and 1955 but resigned in opposition to the government's policy toward Morocco. Retiring from politics in 1958, Koenig died in Neuilly, a suburb of Paris, on 2 September 1970. He was posthumously promoted to marshal in 1984.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

de Gaulle, Charles; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; France, Free French; Gazala, Battle of; Narvik, Operations in and Evacuation of; Norway, German Conquest of; Syria and Lebanon, Campaign in

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Koga Mineichi (1885–1944)

Japanese navy admiral and commander of the Combined Fleet. Born in Saga Prefecture, Kyushu, Japan, on 25 April 1885, Koga Mineichi graduated from the Naval Academy in 1906. A specialist in naval gunnery, he also graduated from the Naval War College four years later. He served on the staff of the Second Fleet and took part in the Japanese capture of Qingdao (Tsingtao) at the beginning of World War I.

From 1916 to 1922, Koga held a number of administrative assignments ashore, including that of resident officer in France. Promoted to commander in 1922 and to captain in 1926, he was naval attaché to France between 1926 and 1928 and attended the 1927 Geneva Arms Limitation Conference. Returning to Japan in 1928, he was then secretary to the minister of the navy and a member of the Japanese delegation to the London Naval Conference of 1930. From 1930 to 1932, he commanded first the heavy cruiser *Aoba* and then the battle-



Japanese Navy Admiral Koga Mineichi. (Corbis)

ship *Ise*. Promoted to rear admiral in 1932, Koga next held a number of staff positions, including head of the Intelligence Division (1933) and vice chief of the Naval General Staff (1937). He was promoted to vice admiral in 1936.

Koga commanded Second Fleet from 1939 to 1941. He strongly opposed the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy in September 1940. In 1941, he assumed command of the China Area Fleet, supporting naval operations against Hong Kong at the beginning of the Pacific war. Promoted to full admiral in May 1942, Koga then commanded the Yokosuka Naval Station (1942–1943).

In May 1943, Koga succeeded Yamamoto Isoroku as commander in chief of the Combined Fleet following the latter's death in the Solomon Islands on 18 April 1943. By mid-1943, Japan had lost Guadalcanal as well as Attu and Kiska in the Aleutians to Allied counteroffensives. Koga worked to rebuild Japanese naval air strength and at the same time sought to retrieve the situation before it became irreversible by a decisive naval action employing the Combined Fleet. In October 1943, Koga ordered Vice Admiral Ozawa Jisaburo to launch the *RO-gō* Operation to attack U.S. naval forces in the Solomons, but Ozawa suffered a major reversal in the operation, losing 120 of 170 aircraft in November.

Koga then planned the *o-gō* Operation to smash U.S. naval forces in the Marshall Islands in February 1944. In the process

of relocating his headquarters from Palau to Davao in the southern Philippines for this operation, Koga's plane was lost in a heavy storm on 31 March 1944. He was posthumously promoted to Admiral of the Fleet. Admiral Toyoda Soemu succeeded Koga as commander of the Combined Fleet.

Kotani Ken

See also

Aleutian Islands Campaign; Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Hong Kong, Battle of; Japan, Navy; Ozawa Jisaburo; Toyoda Soemu; Yamamoto Isoroku

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Kohima

See Imphal and Kohima, Sieges of.

Koiso Kuniaki (1880–1950)

Japanese army general who became prime minister in 1944. Born in Yamagata Prefecture, Japan, on 22 March 1880, Koiso Kuniaki graduated from the Military Academy in 1900 and saw combat during the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War. Graduating from the General Staff College in 1910, he was posted to the General Staff in 1913. While still a junior officer, Koiso associated himself with elements in the Japanese military seeking to pursue expansion on the Asian continent. In 1916, he played a role in the Japanese army's unsuccessful attempt to foster an independence movement in Manchuria and Mongolia in order to detach those areas from China.

As he advanced in rank, Koiso continued to support not only the expansionistic aims of the Japanese military but also its attempts to dominate the government. He joined the *Kokuhonsha*, a right-wing political organization formed in 1924, and in March 1931, he lent his support to a military coup attempt staged by a group of junior officers. Despite his involvement in the affair, Koiso's career continued to advance. In 1937, he was appointed governor-general of Korea and promoted to full general. Koiso returned to Japan in 1939 to serve as minister of colonies.

From 1942 to 1944, Koiso again served as governor-general of Korea, where his second term was characterized by a brutal attempt to eradicate the cultural identity of the Korean people. He was recalled to Japan in July 1944 to succeed prime minister Tōjō Hideki, who had been forced to



Japanese Army General Kuniaki Koiso. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

resign. Although Koiso believed that the war was lost, he attempted to bolster Japan's deteriorating war effort. He lowered the draft age, established the Supreme War Leadership Council as a liaison between the military and the cabinet, and attempted to coordinate munitions production. He could not, however, supply victories, and he was forced to resign in April 1945.

Following the war, Koiso was tried and convicted of war crimes by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East. Sentenced to life imprisonment, he died in the Sugamo Prison in Tokyo on 3 November 1950.

John M. Jennings

See also

Korea; Tōjō Hideki

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Kokoda Trail Campaign (July 1942–January 1943)

Important land battle fought on New Guinea. The Battles of the Coral Sea in May 1942 and Midway in June placed the Japanese navy on the defensive in the Central and South Pacific and altered Japanese plans to take the key Allied base at Port Moresby, from which they could strike Queensland, Australia, by air. The upcoming battles for Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands and Port Moresby in New Guinea were critical to the Allies in gaining and maintaining the offensive in the Pacific Theater. The Americans struck first in the Solomons, but the Japanese took the initiative in New Guinea. While U.S. Navy and Marine elements prepared for operations in the Solomons, the supreme Allied commander in the South Pacific, General Douglas MacArthur, and his Allied Land Force commander, Australian General Sir Thomas Blamey, began a series of actions to strengthen Allied defensive positions in New Guinea, including the August 1942 deployment of two brigades of the Australian 7th Division to Port Moresby and one to Milne Bay. These moves were the prelude for a bloody, six-month-long campaign in some of the world's most difficult terrain, with far-reaching strategic consequences.

In early July 1942, the 39th Infantry Battalion of the Australian militia was sent to reinforce local Papuan infantry at Kokoda Pass in the Owen Stanley Mountains. The area was a critical terrain feature the Japanese would have to secure in order to assault Port Moresby from the north. Denied an invasion of Port Moresby by sea as a consequence of the Battle of the Coral Sea, the Japanese now endeavored to take it by land, working southwest along the treacherous Kokoda Trail that crossed the east-west Owen Stanley Mountains. The trail was as high as 8,000 feet in places and as low as 1,000 feet, with valleys that sloped 60 degrees. On 21 July, the Japanese Yokohama Force of engineer, infantry, and marine units landed at Buna on the north side of New Guinea to prepare the way for the follow-on South Sea Detachment commanded by Major General Horii Tomitaro, who arrived himself in mid-August. Horii now pushed a force inland from Gona, drove back local Allied troops, and moved up the rugged and treacherous track of the Kokoda Trail that ran south to Port Moresby. By mid-August, the Japanese had seized the passes over the Owen Stanley Mountains that ran across the island.

During the march, Japanese forces quickly fixed and bypassed the detachments of Australian and Papuan forces guarding several key areas, including Kokoda. The 21st Brigade of the Australian 7th Division was then sent to relieve the elements that had borne the brunt of the fighting. The Japanese, however, outflanked the 21st Brigade and forced it to withdraw, a maneuver repeated several times over the next few weeks. In

early September, the 25th Brigade arrived to reinforce the 21st, and in mid-September, it joined in the unsuccessful defense at Ioribaiwa, some 30 miles from Port Moresby. The Japanese entered that village on 16 September in what was their last land victory of the Pacific war. There, Australian and U.S. forces under Major General Edmond F. Hering, benefiting from Allied air superiority, helped contain the Japanese advance.

On 25 August, the Japanese landed 1,900 men at Milne Bay at the eastern tip of Papua. This force planned to make its way west and support Horii's drive on Port Moresby. Australian forces, not greatly superior to the Japanese in size but with the advantage of air support, contained the landing and then mounted a counterattack. On the nights of 5 and 6 September, the Japanese evacuated 1,300 survivors, half of them wounded. The Australian victory in the Battle of Milne Bay was extremely important: both a humiliation for the Japanese and a lift for the Allies, it proved the Allies could defeat the Japanese in jungle warfare. And its outcome isolated the Japanese coming off the Kokoda Trail.

The Japanese engineers at Buna had hoped to construct a small road along the Kokoda Trail. When this proved impossible, the engineers fortified an area about 10 miles long and several miles deep between Gona and Buna on the Solomon Sea. There, 7,000 Japanese, half of them survivors of the Kokoda Trail march, awaited an Allied attack.

Fighting on Guadalcanal deprived the Japanese of resources for Papua, and during October, Allied pressure and orders from General Imamura Hitoshi on Rabaul to withdraw caused Horii to fall back over the Owen Stanley Mountains. The Australian 7th Division followed. But instead of withdrawing to the coast at Buna, Horii decided to make a stand near the Kokoda Trail between the settlements of Oivi and Gorari, a few miles east of Kokoda. He was confident of victory, but by early November, the Allies had learned much about jungle warfare, and in the Battle of Oivi-Gorari, the Australians flanked the Japanese position, driving Horii's men off the trail and into a river. Taking advantage of the dense jungle, many Japanese managed to reach the coast. Horii was not among them; he drowned a week later while crossing the Kumusi River.

In late November 1942, the Australians approached Buna from the Kokoda Trail. Meanwhile, the U.S. 32nd Division advanced up the Papuan coast in a strange collection of fishing boats and coastal vessels. Because the coast was poorly charted and also because there were numerous reefs as well as concerns over Japanese aircraft, the U.S. Navy did not support the operation with transports or warships, which adversely affected its progress. The Kokoda Trail was far too rugged to move artillery and significant quantities of supplies by that route; nor could artillery be brought in on the small U.S. Army vessels. Thus, the 32nd Division, unprepared for the jungle conditions in any case, had to go into battle with-

out artillery support against Japanese machine-gun nests that were well dug in and concealed in the dense jungle.

The Australian-U.S. advance against the Buna-Gona fortified zone began on 18 November. Progress in the jungle and swamps was slow, and many of the troops were incapacitated by disease. Fortunately for the Allies, fighting on Guadalcanal meant that the Japanese on Papua received few supplies. The Japanese had to deal not only with disease but also with malnutrition.

Displeased with the situation, MacArthur brought in U.S. Army Lieutenant General Robert L. Eichelberger to command I Corps, ordering him to take Buna or not come back alive. Eichelberger flew to Dobodura on 1 December 1942 to take command of the American sector. An effective commander, he soon restored Allied morale. In early December, U.S. engineers were able to open an airfield near Buna, significantly improving the Allied supply situation. On 9 December, the Australians took Gona. The more heavily fortified Buna resisted U.S. pressure, but on 23 January 1943, a concerted attack by Australian and U.S. forces secured it as well.

J. G. D. Babb and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Blamey, Sir Thomas Albert; Buna, Battle of; Coral Sea, Battle of the; Eichelberger, Robert Lawrence; Guadalcanal, Land Battles for; Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Horii Tomitaro; Imamura Hitoshi; MacArthur, Douglas; Midway, Battle of; Milne Bay, Battle of

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Köln (Cologne), Raid on (30–31 May 1942)

City targeted for the first thousand-plane air raid in World War II. Although the British had first bombed German industry in 1940, their successes until 1942 had been minimal. The British strategic bombing campaign suffered from a lack of bombers (prior to 1942, the Royal Air Force [RAF] Bomber Command never possessed more than 400 bombers) and an inability to hit targets with any accuracy at night. In the spring of 1942, the war was going badly for the Allies, and the Soviet Union was pressing for a second front. As the only alternative for direct offensive action against Germany, the British changed their policies on strategic bombing.

With the accession of Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Harris as commander of Bomber Command in February 1942, the British began a deliberate program of targeting built-up areas instead

of industries. In a desperate need to boost morale at home and to demonstrate the increasing capabilities of Bomber Command, Harris proposed to Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill the idea of a thousand-plane raid. The plan immediately received Churchill's approval. By temporarily stripping Training Command of aircraft and securing other planes from Coastal Command, Harris assembled 1,086 aircraft, more than enough planes to cover any aborted takeoffs. The Admiralty then withdrew the 250 Coastal Command aircraft, but Harris was determined to reach the thousand-plane figure, even though it meant sending some crews who were not yet fully trained.

Köln (Cologne) and Hamburg were the two possible targets. They were selected over the more valuable Essen because each was located on a large body of water and could be readily identified by *Gee* (for G or grid), a new navigational aid. On the day of the raid, bad weather ruled out Hamburg, but Köln was clear. Known as Operation MILLENNIUM, the raid occurred on the night of 30–31 May 1942. As it worked out, Harris got 1,046 bombers aloft, 600 of them Wellingtons. His goal was to pass all aircraft over Köln in only 90 minutes.

The air raid on Köln, Germany's fifth-largest city, lasted approximately 100 minutes, with the British bombers passing over the city at an average of 11 per minute. A total of 890 bombers reached Köln and dropped more than 1,455 tons of bombs on the city, two-thirds of them incendiaries. The bombing resulted in the destruction of an estimated 13,000 homes and the razing of almost 600 acres of the city. Casualties amounted to 469 dead and over 5,000 wounded on the German side, with another 45,000 left homeless. The British lost over 300 crewmen in the 41 bombers that failed to return, a loss of just 3.8 percent. The large number of bombers overwhelmed the German fighter defenses. The considerable destruction of this raid captured the imagination of the British public amid a series of Allied defeats in North Africa and East Asia.

Following the Köln raid, the British also launched thousand-plane raids against Essen and Bremen in June 1942. The Köln raid confirmed to Harris and Bomber Command the viability and effectiveness of night area bombing. The raid also shattered German illusions about who was winning the war and caused Adolf Hitler to lose confidence in the Luftwaffe. But instead of accepting the need to strengthen Germany's air defenses, Hitler ordered retaliatory German air attacks.

C. J. Horn

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Harris, Sir Arthur Travers; Strategic Bombing

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Kolombangara, Battle of (13 July 1943)

Naval engagement between Allied and Japanese forces off the coast of Kolombangara, a small island north of New Georgia in the Solomon Islands. Rear Admiral Walden Ainsworth commanded an Allied force of three cruisers, reinforced by five destroyers under Captain Francis McInerney and another five under Captain Thomas Ryan. Rear Admiral Izaki Shunji led the Japanese squadron of one cruiser and five destroyers. Izaki's squadron was protecting transports carrying 1,200 soldiers to Vila.

At about 12:36 A.M. on 13 July, a "Black Cat" PBY reconnaissance aircraft spotted Izaki's ships heading southeast toward Kolombangara. At 1:00 A.M., the U.S. destroyer *Nicholas* made radar contact, followed by visual contact 3 minutes later. Ainsworth ordered his squadron into a single column and headed west on a closing course. He assumed he would achieve complete surprise, since the Japanese ships lacked radar. However, the Japanese were using a new device that sensed radar impulses. In the first operational test of the device, Izaki had learned of Ainsworth's presence 2 hours earlier.

At 1:08, Izaki's squadron came within 10,000 yards of Ainsworth's forces and launched torpedoes. The American destroyer vans launched their own torpedoes 2 minutes later. Izaki then turned his column directly north, and the Japanese cruiser *Jintsu* turned her searchlights on the destroyer *Nicholas*. While the *Jintsu* fired both guns and torpedoes, Ainsworth waited until all three of his cruisers had closed the range before opening up fire. By 1:17, the *Jintsu* was dead in the water. Ainsworth then ordered his whole squadron to turn away, but the New Zealand cruiser *Leander* caught a torpedo. Severely damaged, she was nonetheless able to retire.

Black Cat aircraft then reported that two Japanese ships were escaping to the north, leaving the impression that four ships had been crippled. In reality, only the *Jintsu* had been damaged; the rest of Izaki's squadron had retired north in order to reload their torpedo tubes. In just 18 minutes, they reversed course again to reengage.

Meanwhile, Ainsworth decided to head northeast to chase what he thought were the fleeing Japanese ships. As he pursued, he was unable to locate his destroyers by radio and ordered his two cruisers to illuminate unidentified targets on radar with star shells to see if they were McInerney's destroyers. Rather than U.S. destroyers, the unidentified vessels turned out to be Japanese warships that had just fired 31 reloaded torpedoes. Their radar detectors had alerted the Japanese by 1:57 A.M. of the presence of the U.S. ships. At 2:08 Ainsworth ordered fire opened, but before this order could be followed, the cruisers *St. Louis* and *Honolulu* took torpedoes in their bows and the destroyer *Gwin* was hit amidships.

The *Gwin* was scuttled the next morning. The Allies thus had three cruisers badly damaged in exchange for the *Jintsu*, which went down with her entire crew. Personnel losses numbered 482 Japanese, 61 Americans, and 28 New Zealanders. The Japanese were able to land all 1,200 reinforcements at Vila. The Battle of Kolombangara was thus a clear Japanese victory.

Landon Winkelvoss

See also

Ainsworth, Walden Lee "Pug"; Kula Gulf, Battle of

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Komandorski Islands, Battle of the (26 March 1943)

Concluding naval battle of the Aleutian Campaign in the northern Pacific and the last major daylight naval action in which aircraft played no role. The Aleutian Campaign began in June 1942 with the Japanese occupation of the islands of Attu and Kiska. To protect their northern flank, the Japanese held these islands into 1943, while U.S. bombers and submarines from Dutch Harbor, enduring terrible weather conditions, slowly cut off Japanese supplies.

To break this tightening noose and reinforce Attu, Japanese Vice Admiral Hosogaya Boshiro led a task force of the heavy cruisers *Nachi* and *Maya*, the light cruisers *Tama* and *Abukuma*, and four destroyers escorting the heavily armed, 7,000-ton converted merchant cruisers *Asaka Maru* and *Sakito Maru*, which were acting as transports. Informed that the Japanese were en route, Rear Admiral Charles McMorris set out to intercept them with a much smaller force of the heavy cruiser *Salt Lake City*, the light cruiser *Richmond* (flagship), and four destroyers. The Americans encountered the Japanese force near the Komandorski Islands.

Before dawn on 26 March 1943, U.S. radar picked up the approaching Japanese ships. McMorris, expecting only lightly escorted supply ships, made for the Japanese and closed to gun range, only to discover that he was both outnumbered and outgunned. He then attempted to maneuver, hoping to draw the Japanese eastward toward American air support and perhaps slip past their warships to attack the supply vessels.

The two task forces engaged in a running duel for four hours. With more ships, more guns, and superior torpedoes, Hosogaya could have closed on the Americans and won a decisive victory. But his ships lacked effective radar, and he hesitated to press his advantage. Late in the battle, the *Salt*



U.S. Navy anti-aircraft gun on station near Attu in the Aleutian Islands. (Horace Bristol/Corbis)

Lake City was struck by shells fired by either the *Maya* or *Nachi* and lost steam. McMorris then ordered his destroyers to carry out a torpedo attack while he moved the *Richmond* in to cover the stricken *Salt Lake City*. Although the U.S. destroyers scored no hits and the destroyer *Bailey* was damaged by return fire, the attack gave the *Salt Lake City* time to again get under way. At that point, Hosogaya broke off the action and withdrew, without delivering the vital supplies to Attu. He later explained his decision on the grounds that he was low on ammunition and fuel and worried about U.S. air attacks. His superiors were not impressed by this explanation, however, and Hosogaya was relieved of his command.

Although his ships had sustained damage, McMorris had lost none of them, and he had won a strategic victory. The American 7th Infantry Division landed on Attu in May, securing that island after a hard fight against the isolated Japanese defenders. The Japanese evacuated Kiska a month later, ending the Aleutian Campaign.

Terry Shoptaugh

See also

Aleutian Islands Campaign; McMorris, Charles Horatio "Soc"

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Kondō Nobutake (1886–1953)

Japanese navy admiral who commanded the China Sea Fleet. Born in Osaka Prefecture, Japan, on 25 September 1886, Kondō Nobutake graduated from the Naval Academy in 1907 and became a gunnery officer. He graduated from the Naval War College in 1919 and was promoted to lieutenant commander. A resident officer in Russia in 1919 and 1920 and in Germany from 1921 to 1923, he was appointed aide to the Imperial prince in 1924. He was then assigned as a staff officer in the Grand Fleet. Promoted to captain in 1927, he was an instructor at the Naval War College. He next commanded the cruiser *Kako* and then the battle cruiser *Kongo*.

Made a rear admiral in 1933, Kondō became vice president of the Naval War College, and in 1935, he was chief of staff of the Grand Fleet. One year after being promoted to vice admiral in 1937, he took command of the Fifth Fleet. In 1939, he became vice chief of the Naval General Staff.

In September 1941, Kondō took command of the Second Fleet, and at the outbreak of the Pacific war, he provided support for the Japanese force invading Malaya. On 10 December 1941, Kondō's aircraft sank the British battleship *Prince of Wales* and the battle cruiser *Repulse*. His fleet then provided cover for Japanese forces occupying the Philippines and Java in the Netherlands East Indies.

At the Battle of Midway, Kondō commanded the Main Support Force, which did not see action. He then took a leading role in the long-running naval struggle for control of the island of Guadalcanal. He was unsuccessful in luring the U.S. naval forces into a trap in the Eastern Solomons in late August 1942, and in the Battle of the Santa Cruz Islands on 16 to 27 October, his units provided gunfire support for the Japanese land effort to retake Henderson Field. This action also led to the crippling of the U.S. carrier *Hornet* and her eventual loss. In naval actions off Guadalcanal from 12 to 15 November, his forces were defeated, losing the battleship *Kirishima*. Their withdrawal sealed the fate of Guadalcanal. Kondō then supervised the successful evacuation from the island of Japanese ground-force survivors.

In April 1943, Kondō was promoted to admiral, and he was appointed commander in chief of the China Sea Fleet the following December. In May 1945, he became military adviser to Emperor Hirohito. Kondō died in Tokyo on 19 February 1953.

Kita Yoshito

See also

Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Hirohito, Emperor of Japan; Malaya Campaign; Nagumo Chūichi; Netherlands East Indies, Japanese Conquest of; *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse*; Santa Cruz Islands, Battle of

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Kondor Legion

German Luftwaffe unit that served on the Nationalist side in the Spanish Civil War of 1936 to 1939. The Kondor (Condor) Legion was instrumental in the eventual Nationalist victory over the Republicans. At the same time, it provided a laboratory for the tactics, technology, and organization that the Luftwaffe would employ in World War II.

The beginning of the Spanish Civil War in July 1936 caught the Nationalist side unprepared, with many of its troops stationed in Spanish Morocco and the Republican side controlling the sea through the Spanish navy. The Nationalists sought Adolf Hitler's support, and on 26 July 1936, Hitler began to provide clandestine military aid to them by airlifting troops to Spain from North Africa. Initial support included 10 Ju-52 transports, a handful of obsolete biplane fighter aircraft, some 88 mm antiaircraft artillery, and crews.

The Ju-52s soon began the first major military airlift in history, and together with Italian aircraft, they transported more than 13,000 troops of General Francisco Franco's Army of Africa from Spanish Morocco to Spain between July and October 1936. The German biplane fighters, however, proved no match for the Republican side's Soviet fighter aircraft. In October, Hitler decided to increase the Luftwaffe presence in Spain, resulting in the official formation of the Kondor Legion in October 1936. Eventually, the legion numbered more than 5,000 "volunteers" and fielded more than 100 aircraft of various types. But a total of 19,000 men and 300 to 400 planes served in the legion over the course of the war, and the Kondor Legion was made up of regular German military units, not volunteers.

The relatively poor performance of the legion's biplanes against the Republican fighters led the Germans to employ them in a ground-support role, essentially as flying artillery. This move was instrumental in the development of Luftwaffe doctrines of close-air support for ground operations. Kondor Legion aircraft hammered Republican troop lines just before Nationalist troops assaulted, while the Germans simultaneously struck enemy rear areas to prevent reinforcement.



Members of the German Kondor Legion arriving in Gijón Harbor, Spain, 1939. (Bettman/Corbis)

These tactics proved key in a number of Nationalist ground victories.

The legion employed the most advanced German aircraft as they became available, including the Heinkel He-111 bomber and the Messerschmitt Bf-109 fighter. The legion also field-tested new aircraft, such as the first Junkers Ju-87 Stuka dive-bomber, and it experimented with new combat techniques. The legion became notorious in 1937 for its “carpet bombing” of the Basque city of Guernica.

By 1938, the Nationalists secured air superiority. The Legion quickly appeared on any front required, with its support relocated via train and air transport. Its 88 mm flak guns, originally sent to provide air defense, eventually became the backbone of Nationalist artillery batteries, serving as highly mobile field artillery. Certainly, the Kondor Legion was an important factor in the Nationalist victory. Success, however, did not come without cost: some 330 members of the Kondor Legion died in Spain, and approximately 1,000 were wounded.

Some of the Luftwaffe’s leading fighter aces, such as Adolf Galland, received their baptism of fire with the legion. The

Luftwaffe adopted much of the legion’s organization and tactics for World War II, particularly in ground-support and psychological operations.

Jeffrey W. Stamp

See also

Franco, Francisco; Germany, Air Force; Guernica, Kondor Legion Attack on; Hitler, Adolf

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Konev, Ivan Stepanovich (1897–1973)

Marshal of the Soviet Union who would command Soviet occupation forces in Germany at war’s end. Born in the vil-



Marshal of the Soviet Union Ivan Konev. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

lage of Lladeino, near Kirov, Russia, on 28 December 1897 and schooled to age 12, Ivan Konev initially became a lumberjack. After being conscripted into the Russian army in 1916, he served in the artillery on the Galician Front, achieved officer rank, and was demobilized in November 1917. Konev joined the Red Army and the Communist Party in 1918, serving as military commissar on an armored train on the Eastern Front. He rose to divisional commissar by 1920.

Konev played a notable role in crushing the Kronstadt Rebellion of March 1921. He graduated from the Frunze Military Academy six years later and then switched to the command side. He was given divisional command and attended special courses at the Frunze in 1934 and 1935. He went on to serve as commander of the Special Red Banner Army in the Far East and then as head of the Transbaikalian Military District (1938–1941). His presence in the Far East and his political acumen helped him survive the late 1930s' great purge of the Soviet army officer corps. In the course of fighting against the Japanese in 1939, he developed a bitter rivalry with Georgii Zhukov.

Promoted to lieutenant general, Konev assumed command of the North Caucasus Military District in January 1941. In June, when the Germans invaded the Soviet Union, he received command of the Nineteenth Army. That September, he was promoted to colonel general and succeeded

Semen Timoshenko as commander of the Western Front. Terrible Soviet defeats followed, with five Soviet armies encircled and a half million men taken prisoner. Responsibility for the defeat lay with Konev and Josef Stalin, as the large encirclement could have been prevented. Zhukov then replaced Konev. However, in an appeal to Stalin, Zhukov saved Konev and made him his deputy—a favor that Konev would not repay.

When the Kalinin Front was formed in October, it was commanded by Konev as colonel general. In that post, he successfully defended the northern approaches to Moscow, and in mid-December, he drove the German army from Kalinin.

In August 1942, Konev again secured command of the Western Front when Zhukov returned to duty with the Stavka. He halted the last German drive toward Moscow and was shifted to command the Northwestern Front (February to June 1943). During the critical July 1943 Battle of Kursk, Konev commanded the strategic reserve Steppe Front, the powerful armor forces of which blunted the German panzers at Prokhorovka.

Konev secured promotion to General of the Army in August 1943. In October, his front, now known as the 2nd Ukrainian Front, played a key role in the encirclement of German forces at Korsun-Shevchenko, earning him promotion to marshal of the Soviet Union in February 1944. Taking command of the 1st Ukrainian Front that May, Konev swept through southern Poland and captured the Silesian industrial region. Zhukov was initially assigned the honor of taking Berlin, while Konev moved south of the German capital to the Elbe. But heavy German resistance allowed Konev to propose that his armor be diverted north to the city, and Stalin agreed. Thus, on 25 April 1945, Konev's tanks linked up with those of Zhukov, isolating Berlin. That same day, Konev's patrols made contact with the U.S. First Army on the Elbe at Torgau, in effect splitting Germany. Konev then commanded Soviet occupation forces in Austria.

By July 1946, Konev had succeeded Zhukov as commander of occupation and ground forces in Germany, having provided "evidence" against Zhukov during Stalin's inquiry of the latter's "improper behavior." He would go on to serve as chief inspector of Soviet Forces (1950–1952), commander of the Transcarpathian Military District (1952–1955), and commander in chief of Soviet Ground Forces (1955–1956).

On the formation of the Warsaw Pact, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev named Konev commander of its forces (1956–1960) in time to crush the Hungarian uprising of 1956. Konev again turned on Zhukov when Khrushchev removed him in 1957. Ironically, Konev's Zhukov-like objections to the move from conventional forces to missiles resulted in his "voluntary" retirement to the Inspectorate. During the Berlin crisis of 1961, he was called on to head Soviet Forces in Ger-

many again, through April 1962. Konev went into “active retirement” in 1963 as a Ministry of Defense inspector. He died in Moscow ten years later, on 21 May 1973.

Claude R. Sasso

See also

Berlin, Land Battle for; Kalinin, Recapture of; Korsun Pocket, Battle of; Kursk, Battle of; Smolensk, Battle of; Stalin, Josef; Timoshenko, Semen Konstantinovich; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Konoe Fumimaro, Prince of Japan (1891–1946)

Japanese politician during the war years. Born in Tokyo on 12 October 1891, Konoe Fumimaro was a member of one of the five highest-ranked aristocratic families in Imperial Japan. His father, Prince Atsumaro, was a renowned pan-Asiatic movement leader who founded Tōadōbun-shoin University in Shanghai.

A graduate of the Department of Law of Kyoto Imperial University, the young Konoe pursued a career in diplomacy and attended the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 as a junior member of the Japanese delegation. There, he observed the reality of international power politics, in which the defeated became prey to victors. Japan’s failure to secure a statement on racial equality in the League of Nations Covenant disillusioned the young diplomat. Highly critical of the Anglo-American domination of the peace conference, Konoe published an article in 1920 attacking the hypocrisy of the postwar settlement.

Having served some years as a member of the House of Peers in the Japanese government, Konoe was appointed prime minister in 1937. His popularity was immense, and he enjoyed widespread support from both the military and the general public. Following the Marco Polo Bridge Incident of 7 July 1937, Konoe permitted the hard-liners in his cabinet to pursue an all-out war against China, thus making a fateful choice for Japan. In January 1938, he made the statement “*Shōkaiseki wo aiteni sezu*” (We do not negotiate with Jiang Jieshi [Ching kai-shek]), which severely hampered peace negotiations with China. With the military stalemate in China, Konoe resigned in January 1939.

Konoe was once again called to the premiership in July 1940. In his second cabinet, a drastic political restructuring was carried out in the dissolution of existing political parties and establishing the Taisei Yokusankai (Imperial Rule Assistance Association). Konoe became the first president of this organization, which was modeled on the one-party systems of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. While preparing for a total war at home, he agreed to the army’s strategy of sending troops into northern French Indochina in September 1940. That same month, under the initiative of Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yōsuke, Japan concluded the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy. These actions further worsened already declining U.S.-Japanese relations. Faced with a diplomatic stalemate with the United States, Konoe resigned in July 1941 and was succeeded by General Tōjō Hideki.

After the tides of war turned, Konoe maneuvered carefully to rally anti-Tōjō elements in Japan in order to secure a negotiated peace with the Allies. In early 1945, he was designated as a special envoy to the Soviet Union to seek peace through a Soviet intermediary, which did not materialize. These actions did not, however, save Konoe from prosecution by the International War Crimes Tribunal in Tokyo after the war. Rather than face trial, he committed suicide before his arrest, on 16 December 1946 in Tokyo. His only son, Fumitaka, a junior army officer, was interned in Siberia and allegedly killed there by the Soviets.

Tohmatsu Haruo

See also

International Military Tribunal: Far East; Japan, Role in War; Jiang Jieshi; Matsuoka Yōsuke; Sino-Japanese War; Tripartite Pact

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Konoye Fumimaro, Prince of Japan

See Konoe Fumimaro, Prince of Japan.

Korea

Caught between three powerful neighbors—China, Russia, and Japan—Korea experienced a stormy history. The nation was long dominated or controlled by China, but Japanese

leaders saw Korea as a “dagger” pointed at their country and believed that control of the peninsula was a necessary step to dominating Manchuria and China. After defeating China between 1894 and 1895, Japan went to war against Russia in 1904 and 1905. In the resulting Treaty of Portsmouth of 1905, Japan gained control of Korea. Five years later, Japan forced the Korean king to abdicate, and it formally annexed Korea.

Korean nationalists were buoyed by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson’s World War I call for the “self-determination of peoples,” but demonstrations in March 1919 were met with severe Japanese repression. Some Korean nationalist leaders fled abroad and established a Korean provisional government at Shanghai. In 1925, a Communist movement was formally organized within Korea. It had ties to the Communist International (Comintern).

Japanese rule in Korea was both oppressive and exploitive, a poor advertisement for the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere the Japanese government proclaimed in the late 1930s in the hope of winning support from Asian nationalist movements. Japan built highways and railroads, but they were designed for military use and to consolidate the Japanese position. It also industrialized Korea, but the economy was completely integrated with that of Japan. In 1937, the Japanese in Korea under Governor-General Koiso Kuniaki, an army general, began a process of cultural assimilation for the 24 million Koreans, banning the Korean language and literature and insisting that all education (fewer than 20 percent of Koreans were literate) be conducted in Japanese. In 1939, the Japanese began employing Korean labor in other parts of their empire, and in 1942, they introduced conscription in Korea for the Japanese army. Meanwhile, Korean nationalists and communists organized military formations in China to fight the Japanese. In 1941, these were integrated into a single military force under Yi Pon-sok, and troops of this force fought the Japanese in Burma. Communist units also formed in Siberia under the young communist leader Kim Il-sung.

During World War II, the Koreans suffered extensively. Japan ruined many of the country’s industrial plants by overworking the machinery without providing adequate maintenance. It also expropriated most chemical products, especially nitrogen, causing near total soil depletion in Korea. Japan also stripped the country of much of its rice production and cattle. Unrest in Korea increased, forcing Japan to increase its military presence; by 1945, 300,000 Japanese troops were in Korea. By the end of the war, Japan had also sent 723,000 Koreans as laborers to other parts of its empire, including Japan itself. Tens of thousands of Korean women were also forced into prostitution as “comfort women” for Japanese troops.

Korea became a focus of Allied attention only as World War II was ending in Europe. The December 1943 Cairo Conference resulted in a joint statement, involving leaders of the

United States, Great Britain, and China, that called for a “free and independent” Korea in “due course.” But as one of many countries being freed from German or Japanese control, Korea became a focal point for clashing U.S.-Soviet interests. At the February 1945 Yalta Conference, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Premier Josef Stalin touched on the postwar status of Korea. Roosevelt advocated a 20- to 30-year trusteeship to be administered by the United States, the Soviet Union, and China. Stalin suggested that Great Britain should also be a trustee. Following Roosevelt’s death in April 1945, Stalin informed President Harry S. Truman’s special envoy, Harry Hopkins, that the Soviet Union was committed to a four-power trusteeship for Korea.

Agreement regarding the extent of advancement into Korea of Soviet and American military forces was not reached until the July 1945 Potsdam Conference of the great powers, following the end of fighting in Europe and before the August declaration of war against Japan by the Soviets. There, the United States proposed—and the Soviets accepted—a demarcation line along the thirty-eighth parallel to separate the different Allied forces. Soviet troops were to occupy the northern part of the country and U.S. forces the southern part. The Soviet Twenty-First Army invaded Korea at the end of the war, and U.S. Lieutenant General John Hodge’s XXIV Corps occupied southern Korea beginning in early September 1945.

This occupation was supposed to be temporary, but as in the case of Germany, efforts to create a unified country foundered on the rock of the Cold War. Occupation lines became permanent, and two states appeared, the northern one under Communist control and bound to the Soviet Union and the southern state supported by the United States. In 1950, North Korean leader Kim Il-sung, with the support of the Soviet Union and China, invaded the South in an effort to unify all Korea under Communist rule. The 1950–1953 Korean War prevented him from realizing this goal, but unlike Germany, which did reunify at the end of the Cold War, Korea remains divided and is a world flash point today.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Cairo Conference; Cold War, Origins and Early Course of; Hopkins, Harry Lloyd; Japan, Role in War; Koiso Kuniaki; Potsdam Conference; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stalin, Josef; Truman, Harry S.; Yalta Conference

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Korsun Pocket, Battle of the (25 January–17 February 1944)

Important Eastern Front battle. The Battle of the Korsun Pocket, known to the Soviets as the Korsun Shevchenkovsky Operation and to the Germans as the Cherkassy pocket engagement, pitted Marshal Georgii K. Zhukov against Field Marshal Fritz Eric von Manstein. Zhukov was supervising elements of General of the Army Nikolai F. Vatutin's 1st Ukrainian Front and General of the Army Ivan S. Konev's 2nd Ukrainian Front; Manstein was leading Army Group South. The Battle of the Korsun Pocket was the first successful large-scale Soviet encirclement combat since Operation URANUS in the Battle of Stalingrad 14 months before. The battle became known as "little Stalingrad on the Dnieper."

Unlike previous major Soviet offensives, Korsun Shevchenkovsky did not result from weeks or months of careful planning and force buildup. Rather, the Soviet Stavka and the two Ukrainian fronts organized it opportunistically. The battle demonstrated a Soviet operational adaptability comparable to that shown by the Germans between 1941 and 1943.

On 28 January 1944, converging attacks by the Fifth Guards Tank Army and Sixth Tank Army cut off and isolated the bulge in the Germans' lines that was their last toehold on the Dnieper River. The Soviets trapped at least 60,000 German soldiers, including the 5th SS (Viking) Division. In response, employing the Eighth Army's XLVII Panzer Corps and the III Panzer Corps of First Panzer Army, Manstein sought to punch through the Soviet siege ring, relieve the trapped German troops, and in turn encircle the surrounding Soviet armies.

On the Soviet side, the Battle of the Korsun Pocket included six tank corps, a mechanized corps equipped with Sherman tanks, and a cavalry corps. They opposed eight German panzer divisions, a heavy tank regiment equipped with Tiger and Panther tanks, and a reinforced Schutzstaffel (SS) motorized division. Substantial amounts of infantry, artillery, and air units on both sides were also involved. The Soviets halted two German armored relief attempts and simultaneously endeavored to crush the German pocket.

When it became obvious that the German counterattacks had failed, troops in the pocket were told that they would have to save themselves. An initially successful breakout on the night of 16–17 February, obscured by a blizzard, turned into

a massacre as day broke. The desperate German columns were beset by everything from air attacks to saber-swinging Soviet cavalymen. The battle ended on 17 February.

Soviet and German claims about the numbers of troops lost in the pocket are contradictory, but at least half of the German forces trapped there were killed, wounded, or captured, and even the survivors were in no shape to fight again for weeks or months. Six German divisions were destroyed. When the battle ended, Soviet forces were poised to complete the liberation of the western Ukraine.

Dana Lombardy

See also

Konev, Ivan Stepanovich; Manstein, Fritz Eric von; Stalingrad, Battle of; Ukraine Campaign; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Kretschmer, Otto August Wilhelm (1912–1998)

German submarine commander, the most successful of World War II. Born at Heidau, Liegnitz, Germany, on 1 May 1912, Otto Kretschmer joined the German navy in April 1930 and entered the officer training program. He subsequently served on the light cruisers *Emden* and *Köln*. In January 1936, he volunteered for submarine service and took up his first command, the *U-35*, in July 1937, in which he conducted a patrol in Spanish waters during the Spanish Civil War. In September 1937, Kretschmer assumed command of the *U-23*, a Type II coastal U-boat.

During the first eight months of World War II, Kretschmer conducted eight patrols in *U-23* in the North Sea near the coast of Great Britain but achieved little success due to the limited capabilities of his submarine. His most notable achievements were sinking a tanker in January 1940 and the destroyer HMS *Daring* in February 1940. In April 1940, Kretschmer took command of *U-99*, a much larger and more capable Type VII submarine. After two months of intensive training with his crew, he began the first of eight patrols into the Atlantic in June 1940.

During these patrols, Kretschmer refined his tactics of slipping into the middle of convoys at night and torpedoing ships from the surface, often at very close range. The success of these attacks spawned his motto "One torpedo, one ship." He also earned recognition for sinking three British armed merchant cruisers in November 1940, including two on the



Former German U-boat Commander Otto Kretschmer was chosen to be the military attaché of the Federal Republic of Germany in London after the war. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

night of 3–4 November in a running surface engagement in which he utilized his 88 mm deck gun. This action helped to convince the British Admiralty to discontinue the use of such ships. Kretschmer was the first German submarine commander to sink 250,000 tons of Allied shipping.

The most successful U-boat commander of the war, Kretschmer was known as “the tonnage king” because of his exploits. From September 1939 to March 1941, he sank 47 merchant ships totaling 273,503 tons and earned Germany’s highest award for bravery, the Knight’s Cross with Oak Leaves and Swords to the Iron Cross. Kretschmer, however, eschewed efforts to propagandize his accomplishments, earning another nickname, “Silent Otto.” On 17 March 1941, he successfully attacked the 10-ship HX.112 convoy south of Iceland. After expending his torpedoes, he was returning to base in France when two British destroyers attacked and sank his boat. He and 40 of his 43-man crew were rescued.

Kretschmer spent the remainder of the war as a prisoner of war in Canada, returning to Germany in December 1947. In 1955, he joined the postwar navy of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Bundesmarine, and in 1965, he became chief of staff of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Baltic Command, a position he held for four years. He retired in 1970 with the rank of Flotillenadmiral (U.S. equiv. rear admiral). Kretschmer died at Straubing, Germany, on 5 August 1998.

C. J. Horn

See also

Atlantic, Battle of the; Convoys, Allied; Dönitz, Karl; Submarines

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Krueger, Walter (1881–1967)

U.S. Army general who commanded Sixth Army in the Pacific Theater. Born in Flatow, West Prussia, on 26 January 1881, Walter Krueger emigrated to the United States in 1889. He enlisted in the army during the 1898 Spanish-American War and saw action in Cuba and in the Philippine Insurrection, earning a commission in 1901. He graduated from the Infantry and Cavalry School in 1906 and the Command and General Staff School in 1907. He was a faculty member at the army’s School of the Line and Staff College between 1909 and 1912. Captain Krueger participated in the 1916–1917 Punitive Expedition into Mexico. Sent to France during World War I, he rose to be chief of staff of the Tank Corps of the American Expeditionary Forces as a temporary colonel. He was then chief of staff for VI Corps in France and IV Corps in Germany.

Krueger graduated from the Army War College in 1921 and the Naval War College in 1926 and later taught at both schools before serving with the War Plans Division for three years. He was promoted to colonel in 1932 and brigadier general in 1936 and then headed the War Plans Division from 1936 to 1938. He next commanded a brigade and was promoted to major general in February 1939, thereafter taking command of the 2nd Division at Fort Sam Houston, Texas. He went on to command VIII Corps, and in May 1941, he took command of Third Army as a temporary lieutenant general. Krueger’s Third Army “won” the 1941 Louisiana training maneuvers.

When the United States entered World War II, there seemed little chance that Krueger would receive a battlefield command because of his advanced age and his skill as a trainer of soldiers. In January 1943, however, General Douglas MacArthur personally requested Krueger and Third



U.S. Army Lieutenant General Walter Krueger (left) and Navy Vice Admiral Thomas Kinkaid peer at the shores of Leyte in the Philippines during the opening stages of the landings in October, 1944. (Corbis)

Army for deployment to the southwest Pacific. Instead, the War Department transferred Krueger and some of his staff to Australia to activate Sixth Army. Krueger commanded Sixth Army in a series of widespread combat operations across the southwest Pacific until the end of the Pacific war, beginning with the occupation of Kiriwina and Woodlark Islands in June 1943. He headed operations against New Britain, the Admiralty Islands, New Guinea, Biak, and Morotai. By midsummer 1944, New Guinea was in Allied hands, and MacArthur was ready to return to the Philippines. Krueger led the landings at Leyte and the Lingayen Gulf. In the ensuing campaign, Sixth Army captured Manila and cleared most of Luzon Island. Promoted to general in March 1945, Krueger was scheduled to lead the invasion of Kyushu Island when Japan surrendered.

Critics thought Krueger too slow and methodical, but very few have complained about his low casualty rates relative to his successes. Although MacArthur may have been displeased at Krueger's slowness on Luzon, he still selected him to lead the planned invasion of Japan. Rarely seeking the limelight, Krueger enjoyed MacArthur's full confidence.

After the war, Krueger remained with Sixth Army during the occupation of Japan. He retired in July 1946 and died on 20 August 1967 at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.

Thomas D. Veve

See also

Admiralty Islands Campaign; Hollandia, Battle of; Leyte, Landings on and Capture of; MacArthur, Douglas; Manila, Battle for; Philippines, U.S. Recapture of; Southwest Pacific Theater

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Küchler, Georg von (1881–1968)

Germany army field marshal who took command of Army Group North in 1942. Born near Hanau, Germany, on 30 May 1881, Georg von Küchler entered the German army in 1900 and was commissioned a lieutenant the next year. Promoted to captain, he took command of an artillery battery on the outbreak of World War I, distinguishing himself in combat on the Western Front and in General Staff service.

Küchler continued in the German army after the war, and his service was marked by steady advancement. He was promoted to major in 1924, to lieutenant colonel in 1929, and to full colonel in 1932. By 1934, he was a Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general), commanding the 1st Infantry Division in East Prussia. Promoted in 1935 to Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general), Küchler was appointed to the post of inspector general of the service academies.

In April 1937, Küchler was made General der Artillerie (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general), commanding I Army Corps at Königsberg. In March 1939, his forces participated in the incorporation of Memel into the Reich. In the German invasion of Poland, Küchler commanded Third Army, which struck south from East Prussia as part of Colonel General Fedor von Bock's Army Group North. During the Polish Campaign, Küchler directed the northern portion of the envelopment of Warsaw. Although seen as a favorite of Adolf Hitler, Küchler defied Schutzstaffel (SS) leader Heinrich Himmler and ordered the courts-martial of German soldiers guilty of committing atrocities against Poles.

During the invasion of France and the Low Countries in May 1940, Küchler commanded Eighteenth Army, consisting of 11 divisions in Bock's Army Group B. He had responsibil-

ity for the invasion of the Netherlands and the linkup with highly vulnerable German airborne forces holding key bridges, cities, and installations. Following the surrender of the Netherlands on 15 May, Kuchler's forces occupied Antwerp, then forced the Scheldt and drove on Ghent in Belgium. His forces then mopped up the remaining resistance following the British evacuation at Dunkerque before driving south toward Amiens and taking Paris on 14 June.

Promoted to full general in July 1940, Kuchler then led his Eighteenth Army as part of Field Marshal Wilhelm von Leeb's Army Group North in Operation BARBAROSSA, the invasion of the Soviet Union. Eighteenth Army held the north flank in the advance toward Leningrad. In addition to forcing prisoners of war to clear mines, Kuchler also enforced Hitler's Commissar Order, and he ordered the execution of both partisans and Gypsies.

In January 1942, Kuchler took over command of Army Group North from Leeb. He was promoted to field marshal in June 1942. When the Soviets launched their great counteroffensive at Leningrad on 28 January 1944, Kuchler was forced to withdraw to the Luga River. Hitler made him the scapegoat for the reverse, and on 29 January, he temporarily replaced him with Field Marshal Walther Model. On 31 January, Hitler retired him altogether.

Arrested after the war, Kuchler was tried and convicted of war crimes at Nuremberg in October 1948 and sentenced to 20 years of imprisonment. Freed in February 1955, he died in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany, on 25 May 1968.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Commissar Order; France Campaign; Himmler, Heinrich; Hitler, Adolf; Leeb, Wilhelm Franz Josef Ritter von; Leningrad, Siege of; Model, Walther; Netherlands Campaign; Poland Campaign

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Kula Gulf, Battle of (6 July 1943)

Pacific Theater naval battle, the first of two night surface actions fought for control of the major deepwater entrance to New Georgia Island. Rear Admiral Walden L. Ainsworth, with a light cruiser task group, had been in the gulf on the night of 5 July 1943 on a bombardment mission and was southeast of Guadalcanal when he received orders to return and intercept a Japanese transport group believed to be making for Vila.

Joined by two destroyers from Tulagi, Ainsworth headed back, arriving off the entrance an hour after midnight. The

sky was overcast, there were passing showers, and visibility was 2,000 yards or less. Radar contact was made at 1:36 A.M. on 6 July with three warships some 22,000 yards distant, standing out of the gulf 5,000 yards off the Kolombangara shore. Ainsworth immediately assumed battle formation: two destroyers in column ahead; the light cruisers *Honolulu*, *Helena*, and *St. Louis* behind them; and two destroyers astern. At the same time, Ainsworth turned left to close with the Japanese, and then, at 1:49, he came back right to unmask all guns. Radar then picked up a second Japanese group astern the first, and Ainsworth delayed opening fire as he pondered this new situation.

The Japanese were, in fact, in three groups. The first, with which Ainsworth had made contact, was Rear Admiral Akiyama Teruo's covering force of the destroyers *Niizuki* (flag), *Suzukaze*, and *Tanikaze*. The second group was made up of four destroyer-transport that Akiyama had first ordered to make for Vila; when contact was made with Ainsworth, he directed them to reverse course and join in the battle. The third group of three destroyer-transport was already unloading at Vila.

Ainsworth opened fire on the Akiyama's group at 1:57 A.M., and the rapid-firing, radar-directed 6-inch guns in which the Americans put their faith quickly hammered the *Niizuki* into a wreck. But the gunfire lit up the American battle line, and almost immediately, the *Suzukaze* and *Tanikaze* launched 16 torpedoes and escaped to the northwest. Believing that he had accounted for all three ships of Akiyama's group, Ainsworth countermarched at 2:03 A.M. to deal with the transport group. Seconds later, three Japanese Long Lance torpedoes struck the *Helena*. She sank about 2:25. At 2:18 A.M., Ainsworth took the transport group under fire, scoring some hits, but the four destroyers scattered and headed for Vila, the only casualty resulting when the *Nagatsuki* ran hard aground on Kolombangara.

Finding no targets to the west and convinced that he had accounted for many more Japanese ships than the *Niizuki*, Ainsworth, whose own ships were low on both fuel and ammunition, ordered his force to head for Tulagi, leaving the *Nicholas* and *Radford* to pick up the *Helena*'s survivors. Three times during the early morning hours, the two destroyers interrupted their work to engage Japanese ships. Although gunfire and torpedoes were exchanged, there was no major damage to either side, and by daylight, Kula Gulf was clear of the Japanese vessels.

Ronnie Day

See also

Ainsworth, Walden Lee "Pug"; Kolombangara, Battle of; New Georgia, Battle of; Vella Gulf, Battle of; Vella Lavella, Naval Battle of

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Kuribayashi Tadamichi (1891–1945)

Japanese army general charged with defending Iwo Jima. Born in Nagasaki Prefecture, Japan, on 7 July 1891 to a family of samurai descent, Kuribayashi Tadamichi graduated from the Military Academy in 1914. After serving in the cavalry, he was admitted to the General Staff Academy, from which he graduated in 1923, second in his class. In 1928, he was posted to the United States as a deputy military attaché, and between 1931 and 1933, he served as military attaché to Canada. Promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1933, Kuribayashi commanded a cavalry regiment in 1936 and 1937, followed by promotion to major general in 1940 and a series of brigade commands and promotion to chief of staff of the Twenty-First Army in China in 1941. In 1943, he returned to Japan, where he commanded the 1st Imperial Guards Division until 1944.

In May 1944, Kuribayashi took command of the 109th Infantry Division and was assigned the defense of Iwo Jima, part of the Volcano Island chain located approximately 700 miles from Tokyo. Kuribayashi arrived on Iwo Jima in June and began preparing the island to meet an anticipated U.S. amphibious assault. Disregarding the advice of his subordinates and ignoring the protests of the commander of Iwo Jima's contingent of naval troops, he decided not to attempt to hold the island's beaches. Instead, he ordered his troops to construct deep and heavily fortified positions inland, centered on the 556-foot-high Mount Suribachi. Kuribayashi's aim was to exact as heavy a toll as possible on the invaders after they landed.

Iwo Jima's defenders dug in accordingly, which allowed them to withstand over two months of U.S. air strikes and naval bombardment before the American landing on 19 February 1945. Although Kuribayashi's plan succeeded in inflicting heavy casualties on the attacking Americans, he and his men were inexorably ground down. On 17 March, Kuribayashi, who had been promoted to full general, made a farewell radio broadcast to Japan. He died in action during the last few days of organized resistance, sometime in the period between 21 and 24 March, but his body was never recovered.

John M. Jennings

See also

Iwo Jima, Battle for

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Kurita Takeo (1889–1977)

Japanese navy admiral involved in the 1944 Battle of Leyte Gulf. Born in Ibaragi, Japan, on 28 April 1889, Kurita Takeo graduated from the Naval Academy in 1910. In the 1920s, he held a number of destroyer commands. Promoted to commander, Kurita was an instructor at the Torpedo School between 1928 and 1934 and again between 1935 and 1937. He was promoted to captain in 1932. He commanded the cruiser *Abukuma* in 1934 and 1935 and then the battleship *Kongo* in 1937 and 1938. Promoted to rear admiral in 1938, he commanded destroyer squadrons over the next two years.

Made a vice admiral in May 1942, Kurita commanded the Close Support Group in the Battle of Midway. Then, in August 1943, he took command of Second Fleet. In the October 1944 Battle of Leyte Gulf, Kurita commanded the 1st Strike Force (the central force) in executing Operation SHŌ-GŌ (VICTORY ONE). Kurita's force was the most powerful of those that were to converge on the U.S. landing site on Leyte Gulf; it was to proceed through San Bernardino Strait and then join up with the 3rd Force under Vice Admiral Nishimura Shoji, which would pass through Surigao Strait to the south. Kurita's force had five battleships, including the *Yamato* and *Musashi*. The two forces were to come together at the U.S. landing site and destroy the support ships there, while the U.S. covering force was drawn off by a decoy Japanese carrier force under Vice Admiral Ozawa Jisaburo.

As it worked out, Nishimura's force was destroyed, and Kurita's force was discovered by U.S. aircraft; the *Musashi* was sunk. Kurita then reversed course, but unknown to the Americans, he turned around again. Meanwhile, Admiral William F. Halsey took his entire covering Third Fleet to engage Ozawa's decoy force, as Kurita's force issued from San Bernardino Strait to engage Vice Admiral Thomas C. Kinkaid's Seventh Fleet in Leyte Gulf.

In the early morning of 25 October, Kurita's ships approached the unprotected U.S. transports and their weak support force off Leyte, and they were on the verge of being able to annihilate them when Kurita decided to withdraw. He never explained his decision publicly, but apparently, he mistakenly believed that the aircraft attacking his ships were from Halsey's force. Several days of near incessant air attacks on his ships may also have impacted the exhausted Kurita,

but the reasons for his decision are still debated. Not censured for the “mysterious u-turn,” as his action is known in Japan, Kurita subsequently returned to Japan. He commanded the Naval Academy from January 1945 until the end of the war. He died in Hyogo, Japan, on 19 December 1977.

Kotani Ken

See also

Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Kinkaid, Thomas Cassin; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; Midway, Battle of; Ozawa Jisaburo; *Yamato*

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Kursk, Battle of (5–13 July 1943)

Major Eastern Front battle and the largest tank engagement in history. The Battle of Kursk demonstrated the end of German dominance on the Eastern Front. The 1942–1943 win-

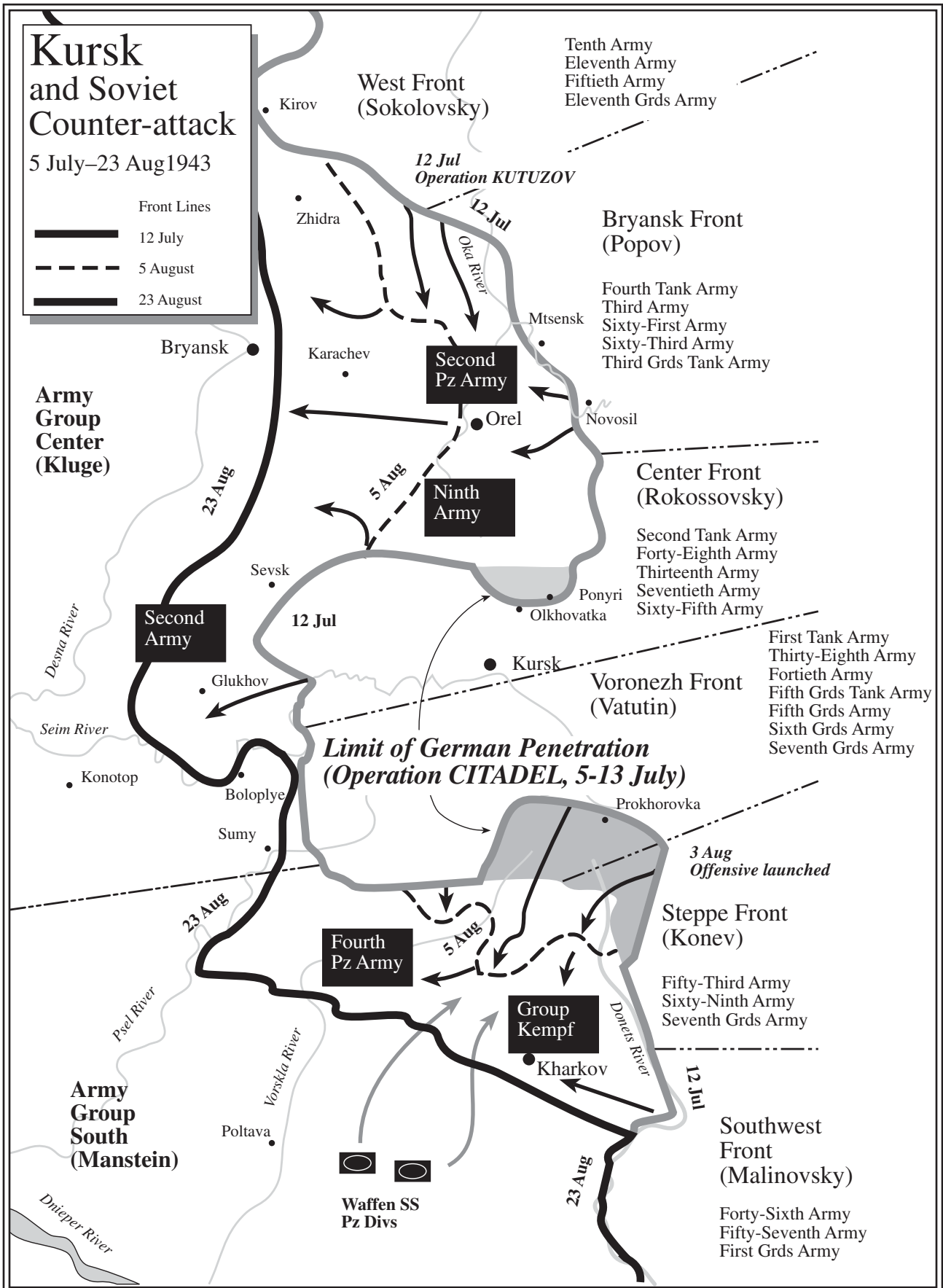
ter campaign had left a 120-mile-wide bulge around Kursk, an important rail junction north of Belgorod and Kharkov, protruding 75 miles deep into German-held territory.

Adolf Hitler saw the salient as an opportunity. By reducing it, his army could regain prestige lost by previous setbacks. By April, plans to blast the Soviets from Kursk were under discussion, and they were solidified into Operation ZITADELLE (CITADEL) by early May. The plan was to reduce the salient with two armor-led pincer attacks at the northern and southern shoulders that would meet in the middle, surrounding all of the forces in the pocket. From the north near Orel, Field Marshal Günther von Kluge’s Army Group Center would launch General Walther Model’s Ninth Army, led by two panzer corps. The main thrust, however, would come in the south from Field Marshal Fritz Eric von Manstein’s Army Group South, with Colonel General Hermann Hoth’s Fourth Panzer Army moving north from near Belgorod.

Hitler left the start date for the operation open to sometime after 1 May. He then delayed it to June and again to July in order to build up the panzer forces with newly developed heavy Tiger and Panther tanks and Ferdinand 88 mm self-propelled assault guns, although they had been rushed into production and suffered from design flaws.



Katyusha multiple rocket launchers during the battle of Kursk. The Katyusha was a powerful Soviet weapon during World War II. (Photo by Slava Katamidze Collection/Getty Images)



The Soviets knew of the plans for the impending German offensive through reconnaissance and intelligence agents. Soviet leader Josef Stalin wanted a preemptive spoiling attack, but Stavka representative Marshal Georgii Zhukov convinced him that within the Kursk salient, the Central Front, under General Konstantin Rokossovsky, and General Nikolai Vatutin's Voronezh Front would be able to absorb the initial German blows with the defenses they had established, and to the rear, General I. S. Konev's Steppe Front could then counterattack.

Both sides built up armor and troop concentrations for the coming battle. The Germans amassed 900,000 men in 50 divisions, of which 19 were panzer and motorized, with 2,700 tanks and assault guns, 10,000 artillery pieces, and 2,000 aircraft. The delay, however, allowed the Soviets to assemble 1.3 million men, 3,600 tanks, 20,000 artillery pieces, and 2,400 aircraft. Some 300,000 local civilians joined the Red Army in laying a massive array of tank traps, minefields, and dug-in antitank guns designed to channel the German armor into kill zones for Soviet artillery.

The German attack commenced on 5 July. In the north, the Ninth Army assaulted on a narrow, 30-mile front but managed to penetrate only 6 or 7 miles in seven days of fierce fighting. The fighting resembled some of the fierce attrition battles of World War I. Fourth Panzer Army in the south did slightly better, pushing to the third Soviet defensive belt about 20 miles deep. The critical stage of the battle came between 11 and 12 July when General Hoth turned his panzer spearhead northwest to envelope the Soviet 1st Tank Army, and with about 400 tanks, his forces reached Prokhorovka Station. Zhukov responded with a counterattack of five tank armies, two coming from the Steppe Front. This engagement was a cauldron embroiling more than 1,200 tanks from both sides (three-quarters of them Soviet) in the largest tank battle of the war. By the end of 12 July, Prokhorovka lay littered with the burned-out hulks of German and Soviet tanks.

At that point, on 13 July, Hitler called off the offensive in order to withdraw panzer forces to reinforce units in Sicily, where the Allies had landed three days earlier. The German commanders had no choice but to conduct a fighting retreat in the face of a Soviet counteroffensive that began on 12 July. By 5 August, the Soviets had retaken Orel and Belgorod, and they retook Kharkov by 23 August, an action that the Soviets consider to be part of the Battle of Kursk. By that reckoning, Kursk involved 4 million men, 13,000 armored vehicles, and 12,000 aircraft, making it one of the largest battles of the war.

In the Battle of Kursk, the Germans lost an estimated 70,000 men killed, 2,900 tanks, 195 self-propelled guns, 844 artillery pieces, and 1,392 planes. More important, the battle cost the German army the strategic initiative. The Germans now began an almost continuous retreat that would end in Berlin.

Arthur T. Frame

See also

Armored Warfare; Belorussia Offensive; Eastern Front; Guderian, Heinz; Hitler, Adolf; Hoth, Hermann; Kharkov, Battle of; Kluge, Günther Adolf Ferdinand von; Konev, Ivan Stepanovich; Malinovsky, Rodion Yakovlevich; Manstein, Fritz Eric von; Rokossovsky, Konstantin Konstantinovich; Sicily, Invasion of; Stalin, Josef; Stalingrad, Battle of; Tanks, All Powers; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Kuznetsov, Nikolai Gerasimovich (1904–1974)

Soviet navy admiral, minister of the navy, deputy minister of Soviet armed forces, and commander of Soviet naval forces. Born in the Arkhangelsk Oblast of northern Russia on 24 July 1904, Nikolai Kuznetsov joined the Red Navy in 1919. After service in the Russian Civil War, he graduated from Leningrad Naval College in 1926 and from the Voroshilov Naval Academy in 1932. In 1936 and 1937, he served as the Soviet adviser to the Republican navy during the Spanish Civil War. The Great Purges exacted a frightful toll on the Soviet navy leadership, and as a consequence, Kuznetsov was named people's commissar of the navy (minister of the navy) in 1939 at just 37 years of age.

In August 1939, Kuznetsov submitted an ambitious naval construction plan designed to produce 2 aircraft carriers, 18 battleships, 48 cruisers, 198 flotilla leaders and destroyers, and 433 submarines. However, the demands and costs of overseeing widely dispersed Soviet naval actions during World War II prevented any meaningful result from this initiative. Promoted to admiral in 1940 and Admiral of the Fleet in May 1944, Kuznetsov commanded the Soviet Pacific Fleet that supported the Red Army's operations against the Japanese at the end of the war. Kuznetsov's postwar shipbuilding plan was far beyond the means of the Soviet Union's war-ravaged industries and did not reflect Soviet dictator Josef Stalin's expectations. Kuznetsov was named deputy minister of the USSR's armed forces and commander in chief of naval forces in 1946, minister of the navy in 1951, and first deputy minister of defense of the USSR and commander in chief of naval forces in 1953. Stripped of these titles in December 1955, Kuznetsov was demoted to vice admiral in February

1956 and forcibly retired, apparently because of the October 1955 explosion and sinking of the battleship *Novorossiisk* (formerly the Italian *Giulio Cesare*) while it was moored at Sevastopol. His immediate subordinate, the more progressive Admiral Sergei Georgievich Gorshkov, assumed his post and led the Soviet navy to unprecedented prominence over the next three decades. Kuznetsov was posthumously restored to his rank of Admiral of the Fleet by the Supreme Soviet in 1988, nearly 14 years after his death in Moscow on 6 December 1974.

Gordon E. Hogg

See also

Soviet Union, Navy; Stalin, Josef

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Kwajalein, Battle for (19 January–6 February 1944)

Battle for a strategic Japanese logistics base in the Marshall Islands. Kwajalein, the world's largest atoll and one of 32 separate atolls that comprise the Marshall Islands, was a primary target of the U.S. Navy's Central Pacific Campaign. As a consequence of its participation in World War I, Japan had secured the Marshalls, located approximately halfway between Pearl Harbor and the Mariana Islands. Control of the Marshalls allowed the Japanese to extend their power south-east to the Gilbert Islands. These island bases also protected their fleet anchorage to the west at Truk and the airfields to the northwest on the Marianas, which lay close enough to Japan to be within the range of U.S. strategic bombers.

Following their bloody initiation in the opposed amphibious landing on Tarawa, American military planners devised Operation **FLINTLOCK** to bypass the heavily defended eastern



“Paradise Lost” by the Japanese at Kwajalein. American troops arrive in a Coast Guard–manned landing craft at palm-studded Carlos Island, in the Marshall Islands, February 1944. (National Archives)

atolls and strike directly at the administrative and communication complexes centrally located on Kwajalein. A secondary assault on Eniwetok (Operation CATCHPOLE) to the west would follow. FLINTLOCK incorporated lessons learned from the Tarawa experience. The Marshalls landings benefited from a sharp increase in the quality and quantity of naval gunfire support, large-scale air bombardments of the target prior to D day, and land-based artillery prepositioned on adjacent atolls to provide additional fire support. “Frogmen” of the newly created navy underwater demolition teams scouted the beaches for potential obstacles and marked the lanes for the landing craft. Requirements and procedures for landing assault troops were revamped to increase speed and efficiency in getting ashore, and the assaulting troops would have greatly increased firepower, including more automatic weapons, flamethrowers, and demolition charges.

An unprecedented two-day aerial and naval barrage preceded troop landings by the 4th Marine Division and the army’s 7th Infantry Division on 1 February 1944. The Marines stormed Roi-Namur, two islands linked by a causeway on the atoll’s northern tip, while the army took responsibility for seizing the main island of Kwajalein at the southern end. Although confusion plagued the Marines’ initial ship-to-shore movement, the assault on Roi met with light resistance and secured the island’s airfield in a single day.

The attack on Namur’s supply facilities encountered heavier opposition, and only a portion of the island had been taken by nightfall. At least 120 American casualties occurred on Namur when engineers unknowingly detonated a bunker containing torpedo warheads. Just before daybreak on 2 February, the Marines repelled a counterattack by the remaining Japanese defenders and secured the island. The more orderly landings on Kwajalein met with substantial opposition, and it required four days of intense fighting to clear the island. Nearly the entire garrison of 8,675 Japanese soldiers on Roi-Namur

and Kwajalein perished in these battles, with half of these casualties resulting from the preliminary bombardment. U.S. forces took only 265 prisoners, including 165 Korean laborers. U.S. losses were 372 dead and 1,582 wounded.

Operations FLINTLOCK and CATCHPOLE validated the American revised doctrine of amphibious warfare employing massive fire support and speed to achieve victory with minimum casualties. The success in the Marshall Islands actions also confirmed the wisdom of the Central Pacific “island-hopping” campaign, which called for bypassing and isolating Japanese strong points to move within striking distance of the Japanese home islands.

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See also

Amphibious Warfare; Central Pacific Campaign; Eniwetok, Capture of; Gilbert Islands Campaign; Mariana Islands, Naval Campaign; Marshall Islands, Naval Campaign; Nimitz, Chester William; Smith, Holland McTyeire; Tarawa, Battle of; Truk; Turner, Richmond Kelly

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Kwantung Army

See Guandong Army.

L

Landing Craft

Both the Axis and Allied powers utilized amphibious warfare during World War II, most especially the Allies (see Table 1). Landing craft were widely employed in the Mediterranean, European, and Pacific Theaters. The Italians used amphibious warfare in Albania and in Africa, and the Germans used it in Norway and Denmark and in the Greek islands. Early landing craft were usually improvised from conventional vessels, but World War II saw the development of craft purpose-built to land troops and equipment on a hostile shore. Such specialized craft allowed an attacker to land a larger number of men and their equipment and to do so faster and in a smaller area than would otherwise be possible. Modified craft continued to be used during the war, however; for example, in 1940, the Germans assembled vessels for Operation SEA LION, their planned cross-Channel invasion of Britain, and between 1942 and 1944, General Douglas MacArthur's forces used modified craft in the southwestern Pacific.

During the years before the war, the U.S. Marine Corps embraced amphibious warfare as its *raison d'être*. This doctrine was spelled out in its *Tentative Landing Operation Manual* (1935). The Marines also developed a prototype for the landing vehicle, tracked (LVT). However, it took the practical demands of World War II to force mass production of landing craft and amphibious tractors. Only the United States built large numbers of amphibious wheeled and tracked vehicles that allowed the transport of men and equipment from ship to shore and then inland.

Landing craft came in a wide variety of forms. They were armored and unarmored and designed to transport both personnel and vehicles. Some had bow ramps, and others had a

fixed-bow configuration. Most landing craft, however, had a blunt bow; were powered by diesel engines acting on twin screws; were anchored at the stern; and had a shallow draft forward, a flat bottom, and a bow ramp. This ramp allowed the rapid unloading of men or cargo.

German *Wasser-Pionieren* (water engineers) developed small landing craft before the war, but the senior German leadership had little interest in these. Landing craft only became a priority in 1940, with the planning for Operation SEA LION. During the war, the Germans built slightly more than 1,000 landing craft of all types; the largest of these had a displacement of 280 tons. The Germans utilized their landing craft chiefly to resupply their Mediterranean island garrisons and for operations in the Aegean, Adriatic, Black, and Baltic Seas. At the end of the war, these vessels were utilized to evacuate forces pressed by the Soviet advance.

Italy built approximately 100 landing craft based on German models. The first 65 of these were roughly 154' long and could carry up to 65 tons of cargo at a speed of 11 knots for some 800 miles. Known as the *mule de mare* (mule of the sea), this landing craft was armed with a 76 mm antiaircraft gun and two machine guns and had a crew of 13.

The standard Japanese landing craft was known to the navy as the *Daihatsu* (the army designation was LB-D). It had a length of 47'11", a beam of 11", and a draft of 2'6". Displacing in excess of 20 tons and capable of carrying 10 tons of cargo, it had a crew of 12 men and was armed with 2 × 7.7-mm machine guns (2 or 3 × 25-mm antiaircraft guns in later versions). It had a speed of 7.5 to 8.5 knots. The Japanese built 3,229 of them between 1935 and 1945. In addition, they built small numbers of landing craft that were roughly 33', 43', and

56' long. Beginning in 1944, they also built 1,140 49' Moku Dai-hatsu landing craft of wood. Japanese amphibious doctrine developed during the war with China that started in 1937.

The Western Allies and especially the United States built by far the largest number of landing craft during the war to meet needs in both the European and Pacific Theaters. Allied troops had to invade and secure areas in the Mediterranean and then invade northwest Europe, and in the Pacific, they had to recapture the various islands held by the Japanese. Many Allied landing craft were quite large and carried smaller landing craft on their decks. The craft were identified not by name but by numbers appended to the general designation. The most common designators, from largest to smallest vessels, were:

LSV	Landing Ship, Vehicle
LSD	Landing Ship, Dock
LST	Landing Ship, Tank
LSM	Landing Ship, Medium
LCI(L)	Landing Craft, Infantry (Large)
LCS(L)	Landing Craft, Support (Large)
LCT	Landing Craft, Tank
LCM	Landing Craft, Mechanized
LCVP	Landing Craft, Vehicle or Personnel

In 1941, the British pioneered development of the LST and the LCT. Both were intended to be seagoing craft to deliver vehicles and bulk supplies directly to the shore. The United States altered the original British design and produced them for both nations. The British later modified some of the designs for their own use.

The LST was undoubtedly the most widely known larger landing vessel of the war, a staple of later landings in the Pacific Theater. The most common version of the LST was 328' in overall length, with a beam of 50' and a displacement of 4,080 tons, fully loaded. LSTs were unarmored or only lightly armed (with 8 × 40-mm and 12 × 20-mm antiaircraft guns). The bow of the ship opened, allowing the front ramp to drop and the crew to land cargo directly on a shore. The LST could carry smaller LCTs and was configured with davits to lower personnel landing craft (LCVPs) over the sides. Some LSTs carried only two LCVPs in this fashion; others carried six. The LST crew complement was 111 officers and men.

The LCS(L) was developed to provide support to amphibious landings. With a crew of 71, it was armed with one 3-inch/50 caliber gun, 4 × 40-mm guns (2 × 2), 4 × 20-mm guns, and 10 rocket launchers.

The smaller LCT carried trucks, tanks, or cargo directly to an invasion beach. The LCVP, developed by New Orleans entrepreneur Andrew J. Higgins and popularly known as the

Table 1
German, British, and U.S. Landing Craft

Type	Year First Built	Number Built	Displacement (light) (in tons)	Maximum Speed (in knots)	Dimensions (overall)
<i>Germany:</i>					
SF	1940	50+	143	7.5	106' × 48'
MFP 1-626	1942	200+	200	10.0	163' × 22'
MFP 627-2000	1942	150+	280	8.0	163' × 22'
MNL	1942	100+	154	10.0	131' × 27'
<i>Britain and the United States:</i>					
LSD	1943	27	4,032.0	15.6	457'9" × 72'2"
LSV	1944	6	5,875	20.3	455'6" × 60'3"
LST	1942	1,040	1,625	12.0	328'0" × 50'0"
LSM	1944	539	520.0	12.0	203'6" × 34'6"
LCI(L)	1942	920	246.0	15.0	158'6" × 23'8"
LCS(L)	1944	130	380.0	15.0	158'0" × 23'8"
LCT	1942	1,465	283.0	8.0	119'1" × 32'8"
LCM	1941	11,350	23.3	8.0	50'0" × 14'1"
LCVP	1941	23,358	8.0	8.0	36'0" × 10'6"

Source: Data from Baker, A. D., III, *Allied Landing Craft of World War Two* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1985); Bartlett, Merrill L., ed., *Assault from the Sea: Essays on the History of Amphibious Warfare* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1983); Cernuschi, Enrico, *Le Navi da Guerra Italiane, 1940-1945* (Parma, Italy: Ermanno Albertelli Editore, 2003); Coakley, Robert W., and Leighton, Richard M., *Global Logistics and Strategy* (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1968); Chesneau, Roger, ed., *Conway's All the World's Fighting Ships, 1922-1946* (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1980); Morison, Samuel Eliot, *The Two-Ocean War* (New York: Galahad Books, 1963); and Zabecki, David, ed., *World War II in Europe: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Garland, pp. 1045-1046.



LSTs pouring army equipment ashore on Leyte Island in the Philippines, 1944. (National Archives)

“Higgins boat,” was made of wood. With a crew of 3 men, it was designed to land 36 troops (or one 6,000-pound vehicle or 8,100 pounds of cargo) directly on the beach. The vessel was developed for ease of mass production, and more than 23,000 had been manufactured by the end of the war.

The Allies also developed true amphibians capable of transporting men and equipment from ship to shore and then inland. Of these, the best known is undoubtedly the DUKW (an administrative code for a 1942 model amphibious four-wheel-drive truck). The DUKW had both a propeller and wheels that moved it at 5.5 knots in the water and up to 50 miles per hour on land. It carried 25 troops or 5,000 pounds of cargo and was particularly useful for transporting litters of wounded. A number of the popular DUKWs remain in service today as tourist attractions.

Landing craft were immensely important to the Allies in the war, so much so that U.S. Army Chief of Staff George C.

Marshall stated in 1943, “Prior to the present war I never heard of landing craft except as a rubber boat. Now I think of nothing else.” The availability of landing craft dictated timetables for Allied amphibious actions, and the shortage of them precluded simultaneous landings in northern France (in Operation OVERLORD) and south France (in Operation ANVIL-DRAGOON). Some historians have argued that the U.S. chief of naval operations, Admiral Ernest J. King, placed too many landing craft in the Pacific, thus hindering Allied efforts in Europe. Current scholarship has concluded that the major problem was overcommitment within the European Theater itself. Far less glamorous than combatant vessels, landing craft were nonetheless an essential element in the Allied victory in World War II, just as they continue to be an integral part of naval operations today.

Spencer C. Tucker



Personnel aboard an LCM (landing craft, mechanized) returning from liberty to the USS *Casablanca* from Rara Island, off Pitylieu Island, Manus, Admiralty Islands, 19 April 1945. (National Archives)

See also

Amphibious Warfare; King, Ernest Joseph; MacArthur, Douglas; Marshall, George Catlett; OVERLORD, Operation; SEA LION, Operation

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Laon, Battle of (17–19 May 1940)

Battle during the 1940 campaign for France. On 15 May, the French commander in chief on the Northeast Front, General Alphonse Georges, ordered Colonel Charles de Gaulle to buy time while Sixth Army built a defensive line on the Aisne and Ailette Rivers. In this effort, de Gaulle was to employ the 4th Armored Division, a newly created force gathering some 120 miles northeast of Paris at Laon on the southern flank of the invading German armies.

Since 1933, de Gaulle had argued that France needed a modern, mechanized force, but this would be his initial experience commanding tanks in battle. He met most of his troops for the first time on the day of the battle. After reconnoiter-

ing, de Gaulle chose as his objective the crossroads at Montcornet on the River Serre, 20 miles northeast of Laon. Units dribbled in on 17 May. The tank crews had fired guns of the most modern tanks only once, if at all. The drivers were equally inexperienced.

Almost immediately, de Gaulle dispatched 46th Battalion to Montcornet. The battalion operated Char Bs, France's most modern heavy tank. The 46th was joined by a company of SOMUA D-2 tanks from the 6th Demibrigade. Both tank models had firepower and frontal armor superior to that of the German tanks. The 2nd and 24th Battalions operated R-35s, obsolete tanks but comparable to Germany's older models. However, the Germans had the advantage in training, experience, communications ability (by radio), tactical doctrine, and integration of combined arms.

The French force shot up two columns of soft-skinned vehicles from General der Panzertruppen (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) Heinz Guderian's XIX Panzer Corps and knocked out a few light panzers before fighting its way into Montcornet around 3:00 P.M. Meanwhile, the French 4th Battalion of Chasseurs eliminated a threat to the French rear from German infantry concealed near Chivres. For three hours, the 4th Armored Division endured German artillery and air strikes with no means of responding. Finally, it fell back to Laon, harassed by Ju-87 Stuka dive-bombers. At least two Char Bs and about 200 infantrymen were lost in combat.

On 19 May, de Gaulle attacked again, this time northwest of Laon toward bridges at Crécy, Mortiers, and Pouilly. Although his troops were reinforced to about 30 Char Bs, 40 SOMUAs, and 80 R-35s, plus 75 mm guns from the 332nd Artillery Regiment and additional infantry, de Gaulle still lacked adequate artillery and air support. His troops could not fight their way across the Serre. Sixth Army had completed its defensive deployment on the Aisne by this time. Ordered to add his tanks to those defenses, de Gaulle lingered another day and then withdrew his troops in good order, fending off attacks by German armored cars along the way.

Although ballyhooed at the time, de Gaulle's counterstrikes had no effect. Guderian had been ordered to halt before de Gaulle attacked, a pause that lasted only 24 hours, and he did not even report the impotent French counterattacks to army headquarters until the following day. Regardless, the actions around Laon became one of four pillars of the de Gaulle pantheon. The others were his prewar advocacy of a mechanized army, his leadership of the Free French during the war, and his postwar political role.

Gerald D. Swick

See also

Armored Warfare; Blitzkrieg; de Gaulle, Charles; France, Battle for; Gamelin, Maurice Gustave; Georges, Alphonse Joseph; Guderian, Heinz; Tanks, All Powers

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Latin America and the War

After World War II began in Europe, representatives of the United States and Latin American nations convened in Panama in September 1939 and issued a "general declaration of neutrality," indicating that it was the intention of all the American republics to remain neutral in the European conflict. In the event that the United States and Latin America were drawn into the war, U.S. strategic planners did not envision an important military role for the armed forces of Latin America, beyond defense of their own countries. However, the United States did want the Latin American nations to furnish bases for U.S. operations, to increase the flow of strategic materials, and to take action to curb Axis subversive and intelligence activities.

The United States engaged in negotiations with the Latin American nations concerning closer military cooperation and the acquisition of bases. Washington signed a series of bilateral "staff agreements" promising military aid in return for the Latin American nations' promise to call for assistance if attacked, to combat subversive activities, to exchange intelligence, and to permit the transit of U.S. forces going to the aid of another Latin American country. In response to the request for bases, Latin American leaders expressed concerns about jurisdiction and access. The United States responded by offering to provide financing and technical assistance for bases, with the host country retaining jurisdiction and administration. Moreover, the bases would be open not only to the United States but also to all other Latin American nations. The United States signed staff agreements with every Latin American nation except Argentina and base agreements with 16 countries.

The U.S. Lend-Lease Act, which went into effect in March 1941, authorized the president to lend, lease, or sell military items to any country whose defense was deemed vital to the defense of the United States. In April, Roosevelt certified that Latin America came under the provisions of the act, and in October 1941, the U.S. Congress approved funding for Latin America. Washington eventually provided \$475 million in Lend-Lease aid to Latin America, with some \$348 million of that amount going to Brazil.



In the meeting room of historic Tiradentes Palace, President of Brazil Getulio Vargas addresses delegates to the Conference of American Foreign Ministers, 20 January 1942. (Bettmann/Corbis)

When the United States officially entered the war in December 1941, all of the Latin American nations made some positive response. Nine countries declared war on the Axis powers in December 1941: Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama. Colombia and Mexico broke diplomatic relations with the Axis powers. Brazil, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Peru declared their solidarity with the United States, and the remaining countries granted the United States nonbelligerent status, giving it greater freedom of action within their national territories.

A meeting of the American republics called by the United States and Chile convened in Rio de Janeiro on 15 January 1942. Washington was not seeking a joint declaration of war because of the military demands that would result. Instead, it supported a joint declaration calling for a break in relations with the Axis powers. The conference approved a resolution

that “recommended” a break in diplomatic relations as well as in commercial and financial connections. Those countries that had not already broken diplomatic relations quickly did so, except for Argentina and Chile. The conference also established the Inter-American Defense Board, made up of military and naval representatives from each country to coordinate hemispheric defense.

The fact that the consultative conference was held in Rio de Janeiro indicated the special role that the United States assigned to Brazil. U.S. planners believed that the most likely scenario for an Axis attack on the Western Hemisphere was a German assault launched from Africa against Brazil’s northeastern “bulge.” The United States wanted to send U.S. troops to defend the bulge, but the Brazilians were unwilling to accept U.S. ground forces and wanted U.S. arms instead. Both sides eventually accepted a trade-off between U.S.

troops and arms for the Brazilians. Brazil received a large increase in military aid in return for permitting unrestricted U.S. air operations in the Brazilian northeast and even the stationing of U.S. troops. In August 1942, Brazil declared war on the Axis after German submarines attacked Brazilian shipping. Brazil also became the only Latin American country to provide a major military force for combat. (Mexico provided one fighter squadron.) With the United States furnishing training, supplies, and transport, the Brazilian Expeditionary Corps of approximately 25,000 men participated in the 1944–1945 Italian Campaign.

The United States recognized early on that it had to address the economic as well as the military consequences of war. Even in the summer of 1940, Washington planners were already thinking in terms of a “hemispheric economic policy” that called for much closer economic relations with Latin America. Strategic metals were of particular interest to the United States; in November 1940, the U.S. government contracted to purchase virtually the entire Latin American production of copper and tin. The United States also developed a blacklist of firms and individuals operating in Latin America who were considered pro-Axis or anti-United States. U.S. firms were prohibited from dealing with anyone or any firm on this “Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals,” and Franklin D. Roosevelt’s administration attempted, with considerable success, to get Latin American governments to enforce this blacklist. The United States also dramatically increased its lending to Latin America, mainly to finance the purchase of U.S. products.

The U.S. entry into the war led to even greater efforts at economic cooperation between the United States and Latin America. As mentioned, the Rio Conference in January 1942 approved a resolution recommending a break in commercial and financial relations with the Axis powers. The conference also called for a complete economic mobilization of the American republics to provide an adequate supply of both military and civilian goods. U.S. purchases of Latin American commodities continued to be at the center of U.S.–Latin American economic relations. Washington stepped up its purchases of strategic metals, reaching agreements with 12 Latin American nations to buy metals. Cut off from its principal source of natural rubber in Asia, the United States also entered into contracts with 16 Latin American nations to promote the production of rubber. In addition, actions were taken to improve transportation within the hemisphere. An inter-American technical commission was established to improve maritime transportation, and the United States tried to improve land transportation by reviving construction on the Inter-American Highway, concentrating on the Central American section of the road. Axis-connected firms operating airlines in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru were forced out of business and were replaced by U.S. firms

or locally controlled operations. The United States even provided aircraft for local airlines in Brazil and Chile. The net effect of all of these actions was to create an even greater economic interdependence between the United States and Latin America. From 1941 to 1945, the United States purchased more than 50 percent of Latin America’s exports and provided more than 60 percent of its imports.

Wartime themes and postwar plans came together at the Chapultepec Conference in Mexico City in February and March 1945. The Latin American nations were concerned that the United States might relegate the inter-American system to a lesser role once it had served its wartime purposes. They also hoped that the United States would facilitate the transition to a peacetime economy and would aid in Latin America’s postwar development. When the United States finally agreed to the Chapultepec Conference, it sent an impressive delegation, including the new secretary of state, Edward Stettinius, who was returning from the Yalta Conference. The Latin American nations wanted to put the inter-American system on a more formal basis, but the United States delayed action until the next regular inter-American conference. Latin American demands for a strengthening of the inter-American security system led to the Act of Chapultepec, which classified an attack against any American state as an attack against all American states and required consultation on the measures to be taken in response, including the use of force. Although the act applied only for the duration of the war, it was to be incorporated in a permanent treaty once the war concluded. On the question of economic relations, the United States agreed to aid in the transition to a peacetime economy by gradually reducing its purchases of strategic raw materials; it also indicated, in general terms, its support for economic development in Latin America but did not commit itself to any specific programs of assistance.

The warm glow of the Chapultepec Conference soon faded. The meeting scheduled for Rio in October 1945 to place the Act of Chapultepec into treaty form was postponed, and there were repeated delays in holding the technical conference to deal with inter-American economic problems. The war had put the Latin American nations in the role of principal supporters of the inter-American system at the very time that the United States was shifting its emphasis to global organization. Latin America wanted to enlist U.S. support in dealing with its growing social and economic problems; the United States, however, was preparing for another struggle: the Cold War with the Soviet Union.

Don M. Coerver

See also

Lend-Lease; Mexico; Stettinius, Edward Reilly, Jr.; Yalta Conference

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Lattre de Tassigny, Jean Joseph Marie Gabriel de (1889–1952)

Marshal of France, a commander of Free French forces in World War II, and one of France’s greatest soldiers. Born in Mouilleron-en-Pareds in the Vendée, France, on 2 February 1889, Jean de Lattre de Tassigny graduated from the French Military Academy of St. Cyr in 1911 and was commissioned in the cavalry. In September 1914, he received the first of six wounds he suffered during World War I. He fought the remainder of the war in the infantry, ending up in command of a battalion. He was cited eight times for bravery. He subsequently served four years in Morocco in pacification campaigns and was again wounded. In 1932, de Lattre was selected to join the staff of the Supreme War Council. Promoted to lieutenant colonel, he held the post until 1935, when he was advanced to full colonel and took command of a regiment at Metz.

In March 1939, de Lattre commanded the 14th Infantry Division, which acquitted itself well during the Battle for France, at Sedan, at Rethel, on the Marne, and on the Loire, ending the campaign near Clermont-Ferrand.

De Lattre continued in command of the 14th Division in the Armistice Army, before becoming commandant at Puy-de-Dôme Depot. He then commanded the 13th Military Region and worked to retrain what was left of the French army. In September 1941, de Lattre was posted to command French forces in Tunisia. In fighting between British/Free French forces and the Germans in Libya, de Lattre maneuvered his own troops so as to cut off the German retreat. Alarmed, the Vichy government ordered his return to France, where he took command of the 16th Military District at Montpellier in January 1942.

When the Germans entered unoccupied France in November 1942, de Lattre contravened Vichy orders and began defensive operations, allowing many anti-German French to escape to the Mediterranean coast. Subsequently arrested, he was sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment. In September 1943, de Lattre escaped from Riom Prison, evading capture with the help of the *maquis* (guerrillas), until he was evacuated to England on 17 October.

On reporting to the head of the Free French government in Algiers, General Charles de Gaulle, de Lattre took charge of training French forces in North Africa. He then commanded

French troops in the June 1944 invasion of Elba. He led the Free French First Army into southern France in Operation DRAGOON, and his subsequent capture of the fortified ports of Toulon and Marseille proved a brilliant feat of arms. The First Army fought on the Allied right flank through Alsace. By occupying territory technically within the Allied boundaries, de Lattre reached the Franco-German border abreast of the Americans, rather than behind them as he had been ordered. Among his successes was the capture of the fortress of Belfort at a cost of only 1,000 French casualties. He then pushed nine divisions into Germany by the armistice, helping to secure for France a substantial role in the postwar occupation of Germany.

Following the armistice, de Lattre served on the Allied Control Council for Germany. He then served as inspector general of the French army, overseeing its modernization and retraining. From 1948 to 1950, he was commander of land forces of the Western European Union.

In December 1950, as a gesture of its determination, the French government sent de Lattre, its greatest living soldier, to Indochina as high commissioner as well as commander of French military forces. De Lattre infused new vigor in the French military effort and won a series of pitched battles against the Vietminh. Consumed by cancer, de Lattre returned to Paris in December 1951 and died there on 11 January 1952.

Robert B. Martyn and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

de Gaulle, Charles; DRAGOON, Operation; France, Battle for; France Campaign; France, Vichy; Maquis

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Latvia

Along with the other Baltic states of Estonia and Lithuania, Latvia had the unfortunate fate to be occupied by both the Soviet Union and Germany during World War II. The initial Soviet occupation was presaged by the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact of 23 August 1939, which had a secret “additional protocol” stipulating that Latvia and Estonia would be under Soviet control and Lithuania under German control. In October 1939, Latvia was forced to agree to the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with Moscow, which permitted the stationing of Soviet troops.

The Latvian representative in Great Britain, Karlis Zarins, was given authority to handle national affairs overseas should contact with the home country be broken. In June 1940, following the German invasion of France, the Soviet

Union activated the pact and its troops invaded Latvia. Threats by Moscow to bomb Latvian cities ended preparations for armed resistance, and Moscow established a puppet “people’s government” in the country. On 5 August 1940, the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) was formally admitted into the Soviet Union.

In June 1941, Germany invaded the Soviet Union and the German army occupied the Baltics. The German blitzkrieg moved with great speed, and some 15,000 men in Latvia defense battalions surrendered to German forces. Certainly, an element of the population strongly favored the Nazi cause.

German plans called for annexing the Baltic states, expelling approximately two-thirds of their populations, and integrating the remainder with German immigrants. Nazi leader Alfred Rosenberg, a Baltic German, proposed a substantial expansion of Latvia and the other republics with land from Belorussia and the USSR. The harshness of the occupation was reflected in the confiscatory devaluation of the Latvian currency, the seizure of private property, and the forced conscription of citizens into labor and military units, including deportations. Property that had been expropriated by the Soviets was not returned but rather was turned over to specially created German companies.

Censorship and a strict regulation of formal education were also features of the occupation. Riga and Tartu Universities were closed, then reluctantly reopened in early 1942. Kaunas and Vilnius Universities were opened in the fall of 1941 following Soviet closure, then closed again early in 1943. Nazi principles were integrated into school textbooks on biology and history. The burden of censorship, combined with paper shortages, forced newspapers out of print. Certain books were also banned.

Administrative directorates implemented German instructions but provided for some informal independence and resistance to the occupation as well. The directorate of Latvia successfully opposed a conscription of 13,000 women from Estonia and Latvia that was announced in the spring of 1943. Bribery and promises of a smooth administration of the economy were useful tools in persuading the occupiers to be more flexible in their policies. Nonetheless, the German occupation steadily grew more harsh, with the directorates bypassed in the drive for laborers and other assets. The total number of Latvian people killed or deported by the Nazis has been estimated at 120,000, approximately half of them Jews. At the end of the war, the Soviet Union reestablished its control and replenished the loss with Soviet immigrants, who soon threatened to become an absolute majority.

Arthur I. Cyr

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Estonia; Finland, Role in War; German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact; Holocaust, The; Hungary, Role in War; Lithuania; Northeast Europe Theater; Norway, Role in War; Rosenberg, Alfred; Stalin, Josef; Sweden

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Laval, Pierre (1883–1945)

French politician and Vichy official. Born in Châteldon, Puy-de-Dôme, France, on 28 June 1883, Pierre Laval was trained as a lawyer, specializing in the defense of labor unions. In 1914, he won election to the Chamber of Deputies of the French National Assembly as a socialist and pacifist. Despite frequent policy shifts in other matters, he consistently promoted his policy of peace at any price—a policy that led directly to his collaborationist platform during World War II.

Laval served in the National Assembly from 1914 to 1919 and again from 1924 to 1927. Following the split in the Socialist Party at Tours in 1920, he became a political moderate, eschewing party affiliation. He gradually moved to the right politically, in the process acquiring a reputation as an unprincipled political manipulator. Laval held important positions from 1925 to 1936, including that of premier in three successive governments between January 1931 and February 1932 and then again from November 1934 to January 1936 (when he was also minister of foreign affairs). As foreign minister, he played an important part in developing the Rome Accords of January 1935 with Benito Mussolini’s Italy. Evidence suggests that Laval offered Italy a free hand in Ethiopia. Certainly, he and British Foreign Minister Sir Samuel Hoare sought to arrange an economic protectorate for Italy in Ethiopia, even after the Italian invasion of that country. Public outcry over this situation led to the resignation of both men. Laval then remained something of a political outcast until World War II.

His strong opposition to the war in September 1939 helped his political career the following June when he actively supported an armistice with Germany, along with Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain and General Maxime Weygand. On 21 June, he helped lead the opposition to removing the government to North Africa, and two days later, Laval joined the Vichy government as minister of state. On 1 July, he played the key role in removing the government to the resort town of Vichy in central France.

Laval’s intervention helped convince leaders in the National Assembly to accept constitutional changes on 10 July 1940 that gave Pétain sweeping powers as the head of state. As vice president of the Council of State and Pétain’s designated successor, Laval encouraged active collaboration with the Germans. After meeting with the German ambassador, Otto



Vichy France political leader Pierre Laval in 1943. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

Abetz, in July, he visited with Adolf Hitler at Montoire on 22 October to prepare an encounter between Pétain and the German leader two days later. His role of matchmaker was, however, less appreciated by Pétain and the Vichy ministers. Following considerable intrigues by the latter, Pétain dismissed Laval from his posts and had him arrested on 13 December 1940 on suspicion of planning a coup d'état. The Germans secured his release.

During the next year and a half, Laval remained near German-occupied Paris, barely surviving an assassination attempt on 27 August 1941 at Versailles. He continued criticizing Pétain for not collaborating sufficiently with the Germans before he returned on 18 April 1942 to play the leading role in the Vichy government as minister of foreign affairs, information, and the interior, largely on German insistence. He purged the government of his enemies and continued collaborating with the Germans, as evidenced in his declaration of 22 June 1942 expressing hopes for a German victory to prevent the spread of communism. Laval sought to win concessions from the Germans in return for supplying them with

French workers; his *La Relève* (Relief) system involved the exchange of French workers for prisoners of war. This system was soon replaced by *Le Service de Travail Obligatoire* (Obligatory Labor Service). Laval agreed to having French Jews in both zones of France rounded up and shipped to Germany, and he created the French Milice (Militia) to secure internal order and repress the French Resistance.

As the tide of war turned, however, he sought to play a double game, trying to hold off on some of Hitler's demands for increased French assistance. In the fall of 1943, Germany again intervened to prevent the firing of Laval, who had been joined by even more extreme collaborators in the government. In August 1944, following the Allied landing in Normandy in June, Laval moved the government to Belfort; one month later, he moved with Pétain and the Vichy government to Sigmaringen in Germany. At the end of the war, Laval sought asylum in Spain, which refused to accept him. He was returned to France for a controversial and particularly rapid trial before the High Court of Justice in Paris. He was found guilty of collaboration on 9 October and sentenced to death. After a failed attempt to kill himself with poison, Laval was shot by a firing squad at the prison of Fresnes on 15 October 1945.

John MacFarlane

See also

Darlan, Jean Louis Xavier François; France, Vichy; Mussolini, Benito; Pétain, Henri Philippe; Weygand, Maxime

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Leahy, William Daniel (1875–1959)

U.S. Navy Admiral of the Fleet who was an adviser to Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S Truman. Born in Hampton, Iowa, on 6 May 1875, William Leahy graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1897. He first served aboard the battleship *Oregon*, taking part in the Spanish-American War and the Boxer Rebellion. From 1899 to 1907, Ensign Leahy served in the Pacific, including the Philippines, and in Panama. During World War I, he formed a friendship with Roosevelt, who was assistant secretary of the navy at the time. In 1918, Leahy won promotion to captain.

He served at sea and also held important posts ashore. Promoted to rear admiral in 1927, he headed the Bureau of Ordnance (1927–1931) and then the Bureau of Navigation (1933–1935). He was made a vice admiral in 1935. In Janu-



U.S. Navy Admiral of the Fleet and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff William D. Leahy. (Library of Congress)

ary 1937, Leahy was promoted to admiral and appointed by President Roosevelt as chief of naval operations (CNO). As CNO, he argued for naval expansion. After retiring from the navy in August 1939, he served as governor of Puerto Rico (September 1939–November 1940). Roosevelt next named him U.S. ambassador to Vichy France.

In May 1942, Roosevelt recalled Leahy to active duty and made him his chief of staff and unofficial chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS). Leahy also presided over the Combined Chiefs of Staff meetings when the United States was the host. Throughout the war years, he was an adviser and confidant to Roosevelt, especially during meetings with Allied heads of state at places such as Casablanca, Cairo, Tehran, and Yalta. A strong nationalist, Leahy did not put much credence in Roosevelt's cherished United Nations. In December 1944, he won promotion to Fleet Admiral, becoming the first naval officer to be so promoted.

When Roosevelt died on 12 April 1945, Leahy became one of President Truman's closest advisers, playing an important role at the Potsdam Conference of July and August 1945. He

opposed dropping the atomic bomb on Japan, urging Truman to continue conventional bombing and to tighten the naval blockade in the belief that Japan was ready to sue for peace. He also feared that the atomic bomb might not work.

After the war, Leahy played a major part in the formation of the National Security Act of 1947. His advice helped lead to the subsequent establishment of the National Military Establishment (NME), later known as the Department of Defense, and the Central Intelligence Group, later known as the Central Intelligence Agency. He continued to play vital roles in the formation and expansion of the National Security Council (NSC), the JCS, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Leahy was an ardent anticommunist who shared Truman's abiding distrust of the Soviet Union. He retired from government service in March 1949 but continued to act as a key adviser to the secretary of the navy. He also helped establish the Naval Historical Foundation and served as its first president. In 1950, Leahy published his autobiography, *I Was There*. He died on 20 July 1959, in Bethesda, Maryland.

William Head

See also

Cairo Conference; Casablanca Conference; Cold War, Origins and Early Course of; Potsdam Conference; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Tehran Conference; Truman, Harry S; Yalta Conference

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Leclerc, Jacques Philippe (Count Philippe de Hauteclocque) (1902–1947)

French army general who commanded Free French forces in Africa and Europe. Born on 28 November 1902 into a distinguished and ennobled military family near Amiens, France, Count Philippe de Hauteclocque would take the nom de guerre of Leclerc during World War II to avoid reprisals against his family in France.

Too young to have fought in World War I, he graduated from the French Military Academy of St. Cyr in 1924 and distinguished himself in combat against rebels in Morocco. He then taught at St. Cyr.

While fighting as a captain during the campaign for France in 1940, Leclerc was wounded and captured by the Germans. They thought he was too weak to move and placed him at a



French General Jacques Philippe Leclerc. (Hulton Archive)

chateau belonging to some of his friends, from which he managed to escape. After a perilous journey through Fascist-controlled Spain and Portugal, he arrived in London in July to join General Charles de Gaulle's Free French forces. Following Leclerc's recuperation and promotion to major, de Gaulle sent him to French Equatorial Africa, where he organized Free French forces.

Starting with only about 20 men, Leclerc defeated Vichy French forces and won control of Gabon and the Cameroons during October and November 1940. By 1942, Free French forces controlled all of French Equatorial Africa. Leclerc, now a colonel, commanded the Desert Army and conducted raids against Italian outposts in the Sahara. In December 1942, he led a march from Lake Chad to Tripoli, covering 2,000 miles in 39 days. Leclerc's actions guaranteed the safety of the Takoradi air route used to ferry supplies from the United States to the Soviet Union. In January 1943, his forces linked up with the British Eighth Army outside Tripoli.

In June 1944, Leclerc assumed command of the 2nd French Armored Division as a major general. He and his unit fought in the Normandy Campaign and in the drive across France. On 23 August, on General Dwight D. Eisenhower's approval, his unit was the first Allied formation to enter Paris.

Promoted to lieutenant general, he then helped liberate both Strasbourg and Bordeaux.

After the Allied victory in Europe, de Gaulle appointed Leclerc to command the French Expeditionary Force sent to restore French control over Indochina; on the way there, he represented France in the formal Japanese surrender. Despite having only 40,000 men, Leclerc speedily restored French authority in Vietnam and Cambodia. Aware of the great difficulties of engaging in jungle warfare against nationalist guerrillas, he was not optimistic about his country's long-term prospects in the area, and he informed the government in a secret report that there would be no victory through force in Indochina. Undercut by French nationalists, Leclerc asked for and received a transfer. In July 1946, he was promoted to full general and appointed to command French forces in North Africa. He died in a plane crash in Algeria on 28 November 1947. France posthumously awarded him the rank of marshal.

Michael S. Neiberg

See also

Africa; de Gaulle, Charles; France, Army; France Campaign; France, Free French; North Africa Campaign; Paris, Liberation of

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Lee, John Clifford Hodges (1887–1958)

U.S. Army general who was responsible for assembling the troops and supplies needed for the Allied invasion of occupied Europe. Born in Junction City, Kansas, on 1 August 1887, John Lee graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1909 and was commissioned in the Corps of Engineers. During World War I, he served as aide to Major General Leonard Wood, commanding general of the 89th Division, and then as chief of staff of the 89th Division. Lee graduated from the Army General Staff College at Langres in 1918 and was actively involved with the planning of the Saint-Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne Offensives. He ended the war as a temporary colonel.

During the interwar years, Lee graduated from the Army War College (1932) and the Army Industrial College (1933). He oversaw numerous harbor and river projects and commanded the San Francisco Port of Embarkation (1940). Promoted to brigadier general in October 1940, the arrogant Lee, whose initials were J. C. H., came to be known as "Jesus Christ Himself." In November 1941, he received command of the 2nd Infantry Division, and in February 1942, he was promoted to major general.

That May, Lee took command of the Services of Supply (SOS) in the United Kingdom to oversee the greatest engi-

neering project of the war: the massive buildup of men and supplies for the invasion of occupied Europe, code-named BOLERO. In addition to commanding the SOS (designated the Communications Zone [COMMZ] on 7 June 1944) and acting as the G-4 (Supply) officer for the European Theater of Operations, U.S. Army Headquarters, Lee served as deputy theater commander, with special responsibility for administration and supply, from January to July 1944. He was promoted to lieutenant general in February 1944.

With the dissolution of the COMMZ at the end of the war, Lee took charge of the successor command—Theater Service Forces, European Theater. In January 1946, he became the commanding general of the Mediterranean Theater and deputy supreme commander of Allied Forces, Mediterranean. Lee retired from the army in December 1947 and died in York, Pennsylvania, on 30 August 1958.

Steve R. Waddell

See also

COBRA, Operation; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Logistics, Allied; Mulberries; Red Ball Express; Somervell, Brehon Burke

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Lee, promoted to lieutenant colonel in February 1941 and colonel that December, had a major role in that effort.

In March 1942, the army established the Airborne Command, and it was headed by Lee, who was made a brigadier general that April. The Airborne Command consisted of two airborne divisions: the 82nd and 101st. Lee was promoted to major general in August 1942, and he took command of the “Screaming Eagles,” the 101st Airborne Division, and accompanied it to Britain for the June 1944 Normandy Invasion. Lee—the oldest parachute-qualified officer among U.S. forces—did not accompany the 101st into battle. He suffered heart attacks in February and March 1944. Medically retired in December 1944, he died in Dunn, North Carolina, on 25 June 1948. His home there has been transformed into an airborne museum.

James M. Bates

See also

Airborne Forces, Allied; Crete, Battle of

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Lee, William Carey (1895–1948)

U.S. Army general, considered the father of U.S. airborne forces. Born in Dunn, North Carolina, on 12 March 1895, William Lee graduated from North Carolina State University and was commissioned through the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) as a second lieutenant in August 1917. He served with the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) in France during World War I, where he commanded an infantry platoon. He then served on occupation duty in Germany through most of 1919. Lee taught military science with the ROTC program at North Carolina State University from 1922 to 1925. Between 1926 and 1929, he served in Panama. He then attended the Tank School at Fort Meade, Maryland, and later became an instructor. Major Lee graduated from the Command and General Staff School in 1938. Assigned to the army's Airborne Project in June 1940, he became the foremost proponent of U.S. parachute and gliderborne infantry formations.

In July 1940, Lee formed the Parachute Test Platoon, and within three months, this organization had grown into a parachute infantry battalion. Following Germany's successful seizure of Crete with airborne forces in May 1941, the British and Americans developed large airborne formations.

Lee, Willis Augustus “Ching” (1888–1945)

U.S. Navy admiral who played a pivotal role in readying American forces to fight a war spanning two oceans. Born on 11 May 1888 in Natlee, Kentucky, Willis Lee graduated from the Naval Academy in 1908. An early gunboat billet with the Asiatic Fleet and a fondness for China earned him the sobriquet “Ching.” An expert marksman, he won five Olympic Gold Medals in 1920 as a member of the U.S. rifle team. Lee advanced steadily through the various grades before World War II and served in numerous capacities, both at sea and ashore, including four tours with the Division of Fleet Training. He returned to that organization as its director in 1941 and 1942.

Promoted to rear admiral in January 1942, Lee subsequently took command of the Pacific Fleet's Battleship Division 6, composed of the recently commissioned fast battleships *Washington* and *South Dakota*. At Guadalcanal, he repulsed a superior Japanese force on the night of 14–15 November 1942. Despite losing his destroyer screen, Lee engaged the Japanese. Through the judicious use of radar, he identified and targeted the battleship *Kirishima*, which fell victim to devastatingly accurate gunfire from the *Washington's* 16-inch batteries. With *Kirishima* mortally damaged, the

Japanese ships withdrew. Lee's victory, in essence, effectively ended Japan's efforts to dislodge U.S. forces from Guadalcanal and was thus a turning point in the Pacific Theater.

Although promoted to commander of the Pacific Fleet's battleships in 1943, Lee never again engaged the Japanese in a decisive surface battle. Eclipsed by naval airpower, his battlewagons were reduced to providing antiaircraft screens for the fast carrier task forces, for which he nevertheless earned recognition. Selected to develop kamikaze countermeasures in July 1945, Lee, who had been made a vice admiral in March, had just formed his task group when the war ended. He died shortly thereafter, on 25 August 1945.

Although Lee was hero of the fighting at sea, his efforts at the Division of Fleet Training remain his greatest contribution to victory. Improving the equipment of combat ships and spearheading the drive to outfit vessels with radar, "Ching" Lee prepared the U.S. Navy for a two-ocean war.

David R. Snyder

See also

Battleships; Guadalcanal Naval Campaign

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Leeb, Wilhelm Franz Josef Ritter von (1876–1956)

German army field marshal who led Army Group North in the invasion of the Soviet Union. Born on the family estate in Landsberg-am-Lech, Bavaria, Germany, on 5 September 1876, Wilhelm von Leeb began his military career as an officer cadet in the Bavarian army's 4th Artillery Regiment in 1895. Commissioned as a lieutenant in 1897, he saw action in the 1900 multinational expedition to rescue the foreign legations in Beijing during the Boxer Uprising. He attended the Bavarian War Academy in Munich and then served on the Bavarian General Staff (1907–1909) and on the Greater General Staff in Berlin (1909–1911).

Promoted to captain in 1911, Leeb was serving on the General Staff of the I Bavarian Army Corps in Munich when World War I began. During the war, he was a staff officer with the Bavarian 11th Infantry Division on the Western, Galician, and Serbian Fronts. He was awarded the Bavarian Military Order of Max Joseph for exceptional bravery, and as a member of the knighthood, he could add the title "Ritter" to his

name. Promoted to major, he participated in the Battle of Kovel against the Russians.

Selected for retention in the postwar German army, Leeb won promotion to lieutenant colonel in 1920. Six years later, he took command of the 7th Artillery Regiment, and in 1928, he was one of two deputy commanders of the 5th Infantry Division at Stuttgart. In 1929, he was deputy commander of the 7th Infantry Division in Munich, and in December of that year, only five years after being promoted to lieutenant colonel, he was advanced to Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general). In 1930, he commanded VII Military District in south Germany. Considered an expert on defensive warfare, Leeb wrote extensively on that subject, including the book *Die Abwehr* (On Defense, published in 1938), and was well known internationally. Indeed, the Soviets incorporated many of the principles he espoused in his prewar publications into their 1936 field regulations. In that regard, Leeb helped shape the Soviet army tactics and operational art that cost the Germans so heavily in World War II. He stressed that in a new war, Germany should initially maintain a strategic defense, force the numerically superior enemy to attack, and reduce its forces through attrition warfare, only then going over to offensive warfare centered on armor. Leeb also wrote a history of his family, earning him the nickname "the Family-Tree General."

Leeb was not fooled by Adolf Hitler, who branded him an "incorrigible anti-Nazi." A thinker rather than a man of action, however, Leeb was never active in the anti-Hitler resistance. Promoted to General der Artillerie (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) in 1934, he then took command of 2nd Army Group at Kessel. Leeb headed the list of senior officers retired on Hitler's insistence after the 1938 Fritsch-Blomberg Affair, being advanced to colonel general.

Recalled to active duty in August 1938 during the crisis over Czechoslovakia, Leeb received command of the newly created Twelfth Army. When Germany secured the Sudetenland without war, Leeb's forces occupied it peacefully, and he then returned to Bavaria and retirement. But in Hitler's preparations for an invasion of Poland, Leeb was again called to active duty in 1939, taking command of Army Group C to defend against a possible Allied attack in the west while the German army invaded and absorbed Poland. Leeb contained the weak French advance into the Saar region and launched a counteroffensive there in mid-October.

Leeb opposed Hitler's plans to invade western Europe and especially neutral Belgium, which he objected to on moral grounds. He circulated a memorandum among other generals, but many of them, intoxicated by the success of the invasion of Poland, regarded him as too cautious and behind the times. Army Group C played only a minor role in the 1940 campaign for France, but Leeb's feints against the French Maginot Line were so successful that the French held many

units there until it was too late to commit them to meet the main German thrust to the north. In the subsequent fighting during the British evacuation at Dunkerque, his forces took 250,000 French prisoners. In July 1940, Leeb was among the generals rewarded by Hitler with promotion to field marshal.

Leeb commanded Army Group North in the invasion of the Soviet Union, for the first time directing a large number of panzer formations, with which he had no experience. Nonetheless, in less than 90 days, his force drove to within 20 miles of Leningrad. However, the Soviets successfully rallied and held the city, resulting in a siege that would last for three years. Leeb was one of the senior German officers who recommended withdrawing to more defensible positions and resuming the offensive later, and his comments about whether Hitler was actually allied with Soviet leader Josef Stalin against the German army were known to the Führer. Frustrated with Hitler's micromanagement of his forces, Leeb asked to be relieved of his command on 16 January 1942. He retired to Bavaria for a third and final time, never again serving in an active capacity. Arrested by the Allies at the end of the war, he was tried and sentenced to three years of imprisonment as a minor war criminal, a severe sentence given his military record. On his release, he lived quietly in retirement. Ritter von Leeb died in Hohenschwangau in Bavaria on 29 April 1956.

Carl O. Schuster and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; France, Battle for; Hitler, Adolf; Leningrad, Siege of; Maginot Line; Saar, French Invasion of; Stalin, Josef

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Leese, Sir Oliver William Hargreaves (1894–1978)

British army general who became commander of the Eighth Army at the end of 1943. Born in London on 27 October 1894, Oliver Leese was educated at Eton. In 1914, after the start of World War I, he joined the Coldstream Guards and served with the regiment in France. Wounded three times during the war, he won the Distinguished Service Order (DSO) as a platoon commander in the 1916 Battle of the Somme.

In 1940, Leese was appointed deputy chief of the General Staff of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) in France. Fol-

lowing the evacuation from Dunkerque, he took command of an infantry brigade in England. He was promoted to major general in 1941 and was later appointed to form and train the Guards Armoured Division. In September 1942, Leese was sent to Egypt to command XXX Corps in Bernard Montgomery's Eighth Army. Montgomery held a high opinion of Leese and declared to the chief of the Imperial General Staff, General Sir Alan Brooke, that "the best soldier out here is Oliver Leese." Leese was assigned to achieve the breakthrough in the Battle of El Alamein, and he subsequently served in the advance across Libya to Tripoli, the Tunisia Campaign, and the amphibious invasion of Sicily.

In December 1943, Leese succeeded Montgomery as commander of the Eighth Army. In that post, he participated in two major offensives: the Fourth Battle of Cassino in May 1944 and Operation OLIVE in August 1944. OLIVE, planned and developed by Leese, achieved considerable success, as it forced the Gothic Line and brought an Allied breakout into the Po Valley. He was promoted to lieutenant general in 1944.

In November 1944, Leese was appointed army group commander in Southeast Asia under Lord Louis Mountbatten. In this position, he provided direction to Lieutenant General William Slim's Fourteenth Army in Burma. Following the fall of Rangoon in May 1945, Leese's career met with disaster when he attempted to dismiss Slim. He believed Slim was both worn out after several years of service in Burma and inexperienced in the amphibious warfare required in the proposed campaign in Malaya. Leese attempted to assign Slim to a less important command but did not have the authority to do so. As a result of this blunder, Leese was himself dismissed in July 1945. He took the sacking with his usual aplomb and returned to England to briefly lead Eastern Command before retiring in 1946. He died in Cefn Coch, Wales, on 22 January 1978.

Bradley P. Tolppanen

See also

Brooke, Sir Alan Francis; Burma Theater; Cassino/Rapido River, Battles of; Dunkerque, Evacuation of; El Alamein, Battle of; Italy Campaign; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Mountbatten, Louis Francis Albert Victor Nicholas; Sicily, Invasion of; Slim, Sir William Joseph; Tunisia Campaign

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Legacy of the War

See page 21.

Leigh-Mallory, Sir Trafford L. (1892–1944)

British air marshal famous for promoting the Big Wing concept in World War II. Born in Mobberley, Cheshire, England, on 11 July 1892, Trafford L. Leigh-Mallory graduated with honors from Cambridge University. He served in the British army in the infantry during World War I but transferred to the Royal Flying Corps in 1916. By war's end, he commanded a fighter squadron.

After the war, Leigh-Mallory remained with the Royal Air Force (RAF) and graduated from both the RAF Staff College and the Imperial Defence College. He also taught at the Army War College. He was promoted to air commodore in 1936 and to air vice marshal in 1938.

In 1937, Leigh-Mallory assumed command of Number 12 Fighter Group, a post he held when the war started. During the Battle of Britain, his primary responsibility was the defense of the Midlands industrial area and reinforcing Num-



British Air Chief Marshal Sir Trafford Leigh-Mallory, August 1941. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

On D-day, Leigh-Mallory commanded 9,000 aircraft over the beaches of Normandy.

ber 11 Fighter Group over southeastern England. He disagreed with his counterpart at Number 11, Air Vice Marshal Keith Park, and the head of Fighter Command, Air Chief Marshal Hugh Dowding, over which fighter tactics best opposed the Luftwaffe.

Leigh-Mallory favored the so-called Big Wing tactic involving multiple squadrons striking the attacking Luftwaffe with all available air assets at once, which, because of the assembly required, meant the defenders were sometimes slow to respond. Park and Dowding supported repeated single-squadron attacks with quicker response times. In actions that bordered on insubordination, Leigh-Mallory boasted he would secure Dowding's removal. That prediction became reality when Air Marshal Sir Charles Portal backed Leigh-Mallory, which led to Dowding's dismissal in November 1940 and Park's transfer the next month. Air Marshal William Sholto Douglas, the new Fighter Command chief, named Leigh-Mallory to command Number 11 Fighter Group.

Under his command, Number 11 Group instituted his Big Wing tactics but with only marginally greater success than previously experienced. Leigh-Mallory began offensive air operations against Luftwaffe airfields in France, and he commanded the air support for the ill-fated August 1942 Dieppe raid. In November 1942, he assumed leadership of RAF Fighter Command. He emphasized operations known

as “rhubarbs,” “circuses,” and “beehives”—hunter-killer flights of hundreds of fighter aircraft, often combined with bombers, that flew at low level over France in search of Luftwaffe targets of opportunity. Such operations were considered ineffective by many, and they incurred grievous losses.

In November 1943, the Combined Chiefs of Staff named Leigh-Mallory commander of the Allied Expeditionary Air Forces for Operation OVERLORD. Promoted to air chief marshal in December 1943, Leigh-Mallory directed Allied fighter attacks in his “Transportation Plan” against railroad marshaling yards in an effort to disrupt German reinforcement efforts against the Normandy beachhead. On D day, he commanded 9,000 aircraft, and his pilots swept the skies over the beaches to clear them of German fighters.

Leigh-Mallory's job of coordinating Allied tactical air forces was largely completed by October 1944, when he was named to head all Allied air forces in the Far East. En route to his new post, he and his wife were both killed when the airplane in which they were passengers crashed near Grenoble, France, on 14 November 1944.

Thomas D. Veve

See also

Britain, Battle of; Douglas, William Sholto; Dowding, Sir Hugh Caswall Tremeneere; Fighter Tactics; OVERLORD, Operation; Park,

Sir Keith Rodney; Portal, Sir Charles Frederick Algernon; Tedder, Sir Arthur William

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LeMay, Curtis Emerson (1906–1990)

U.S. Army Air Forces (later, U.S. Air Force) general who commanded the Twentieth Air Force by the close of the war. Born on 15 November 1906 in Columbus, Ohio, Curtis LeMay graduated from Ohio State University in 1928 with an engineering degree. Completing pilot training at Kelly Field, Texas, he secured a commission in October 1929 as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army Air Corps Reserve and a regular commission in January 1930.

LeMay spent four years with the 27th Pursuit Squadron and then served with other fighter squadrons before being assigned to the 49th Bomb Squadron in 1937. In June 1942, he assumed command of the 305th Bomb Group, flying the B-17 Flying Fortress. That unit's fourth commanding officer within four months, LeMay became known as "Iron Ass" for the relentless pressure he placed on his men. In May 1943, he took command of the 3rd Bombardment Division, and he was promoted to temporary brigadier general that September. On 17 August 1943, LeMay piloted the lead bomber in the 3rd Air Division's bombing raid on Regensburg, Germany. That day, the 3rd lost 24 of 127 planes, but the raid inflicted heavy damage on the aircraft factory that produced nearly 30 percent of Germany's Me-109 fighter aircraft.

Promoted to temporary major general in March 1944, LeMay became the head of the 20th Bomber Command in China. In January 1945, he took over the 21st Bomber Group in Guam in the Mariana Islands. LeMay stressed extensive training and instituted new tactics that included low-level night attacks in the firebombing of Japanese cities. On the night of 9–10 March, his B-29s struck Tokyo in what was the single most destructive bombing raid in history. That July, LeMay assumed command of the Twentieth Air Force, composed of 20th and 21st Bomber Groups.

From 1945 to 1947, LeMay was deputy chief of the Air Force Staff for Research and Development. In September 1947, when the air force became a separate military branch, LeMay, a temporary lieutenant general, took command of



U.S. Army Air Force Major General Curtis Emerson LeMay. (Library of Congress)

U.S. Air Forces in Europe (USAFE) and helped organize the 1948–1949 Berlin Airlift.

In October 1948, LeMay became head of the Strategic Air Command (SAC). He was promoted to general in October 1951. He commanded SAC until July 1957, when he was appointed air force vice chief of staff. In May 1961, LeMay became chief of staff of the air force, remaining in that post until his retirement in February 1965. He had served as a general officer for 22 years.

LeMay published his autobiography in 1965 and was chairman of the board of Network Electronics from 1965 to 1968. In October 1968, he entered politics as George Wallace's vice presidential running mate on the American Independent Party ticket. LeMay was an outspoken proponent of the bombing of North Vietnam, and his campaign generated a firestorm of controversy. He died on 1 October 1990 at March Air Force Base, California.

Arthur A. Matthews

See also

Guam, Battle for; Mariana Islands, Naval Campaign; Schweinfurt and Regensburg Raids; Strategic Bombing; Tinian, U.S. Invasion of; Tokyo, Bombing of (9–10 March 1945)

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Lend-Lease

U.S. military aid program begun during World War II. Designed originally as a means for the United States to assist Great Britain without becoming a belligerent itself, the Lend-Lease program provided more than \$50 billion in aid to 38 nations between March 1941 and June 1947. The British Empire received the most aid under the program (\$31.4 billion), followed by the Soviet Union (\$11 billion).

The immediate impetus for Lend-Lease was the fall of France in 1940, which left Great Britain fighting Adolf Hitler alone. Strapped for cash, Britain could no longer afford to purchase supplies from the United States. Britain's economic crisis notwithstanding, President Franklin D. Roosevelt believed that the United States had to find ways to maintain the resolve of the British, thereby allowing them to continue in the war.

British problems were not the only barrier to be overcome. U.S. firms were hampered from trading with Britain because of restrictions included in the Neutrality Acts that were passed in

the late 1930s. These measures required that trade be conducted on a "cash-and-carry" basis, meaning that American firms could neither extend credit nor transport materials across the U-boat-infested Atlantic Ocean. With Britain nearly out of hard currency, trade

under the cash-and-carry provisions became virtually impossible. The original Lend-Lease authorizations specified that the funds were to be given only to democracies that agreed to pay the loans back in full at the earliest possible opportunity.

From the start, however, Roosevelt envisioned that Lend-Lease would operate much like his domestic New Deal did. It would be a practical and flexible program that was able to meet changing demands. It would also be centrally controlled from the executive branch, leaving Roosevelt the options of deciding which nations would receive aid and what forms that aid would take. Rhetoric notwithstanding, the program was more realistic than ideological.

Yet Lend-Lease was not an entirely idealistic endeavor. Roosevelt also promoted it as being in the direct strategic interests not only of Great Britain but also of the United States. He compared Lend-Lease to lending a neighbor a fire hose when his house was in flames. This act would help save the lender's house from destruction as well, and once the fire was out, the hose would be returned.

To answer the charge of critics who believed that the impoverished British government would never repay Lend-Lease obligations, Roosevelt said that he expected Britain to honor a gentleman's agreement to eventually repay the United States in kind. He linked Great Britain's war to the United States in compelling rhetoric that helped to overcome abiding strains of American isolationism. Roosevelt reinforced these points in a series of "fireside chats" that led to widespread public acceptance of the program.

On 6 January 1941, supporters introduced the Lend-Lease bill, which they patriotically numbered H.R. 1776, in Congress. In a speech delivered soon afterward, Roosevelt connected Lend-Lease to the famous Four Freedoms that defined America's global goals: freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. Lend-Lease, Roosevelt argued, promised to further those aims without putting American lives at risk. After adding an amendment stipulating that the U.S. Navy would not convoy supplies to Britain directly, the bill passed both houses of Congress by large majorities on 8 March 1941. It authorized the president to "sell, transfer to, exchange, lease, lend, or otherwise dispose of" property to any nation whose defense the president deemed "vital to the defense of the United States." As the program's success became more manifest, public opposition to Lend-Lease, always in the minority, became even less vocal.

The emergency faced by the Soviet Union after the German invasion of June 1941 required a reconsideration of the specific provision that Lend-Lease applied only to democracies. In August, Roosevelt had declared that Lend-Lease did not apply to the Soviets, but he was even then accepting a 29-page list of Soviet requests. Despite serious misgivings from anti-Communist members of Congress, where the extension was debated over a four-month span, the United States finally added the Soviet Union to the program in November 1941. Roosevelt agreed with British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill that, whatever the ideological conflict, the Soviets had to be supplied if they were to remain in the war against Germany. Sensitive to the tensions involved in extending Lend-Lease aid to a Communist nation, Roosevelt sent Harry Hopkins, his most trusted adviser, to Moscow to coordinate Lend-Lease assistance there.

The U.S. Office of Lend-Lease Administration worked to overcome myriad complex problems of logistics. Until the

The British Empire received the most aid under the Lend-Lease program at \$31.4 billion.



American-made .38 caliber revolvers shipped to England from the United States under Lend-Lease are unpacked at an English ordnance depot. (Library of Congress)

Allies gained the upper hand in the Battle of the Atlantic, supplying Britain proved difficult, and supplying the Soviet Union necessitated air routes over Africa, sea routes along the Arctic Ocean, and land routes across Persia. Complications with flying supplies over “the Hump”—as the Himalaya Mountains were known—limited U.S. aid to China, though that country still received almost \$2 billion in assistance. Because of the immense logistical difficulties, the vast majority of Lend-Lease aid to China comprised light weapons systems that could be flown in.

Lend-Lease worked in reverse, as well. Thus, Britain shared with the United States radar technology, in which it then led the world. The British also provided technology on jet engines and rocketry. Reverse Lend-Lease of all types amounted to some \$7.8 billion during the war.

Lend-Lease provided a wide range of arms, equipment, food, and raw materials to nations fighting the Axis powers. In the end, munitions formed almost half of the total aid package. Although the British Empire received more than 60 percent of the aid distributed under the program, Lend-Lease assistance proved to be critical to the Soviet Union. The Americans provided the USSR with 34 million sets of

uniforms, 15 million pairs of boots, 350,000 tons of explosives, 3 million tons of gasoline, sufficient food to provide a half pound of food per Soviet soldier a day, 12,000 railroad cars, 375,000 trucks, and 50,000 jeeps. American vehicles and petroleum supplies allowed the Red Army to develop a “deep-offensive” doctrine in 1943 that enabled Soviet units to go greater distances. The Soviet Union could also concentrate on the production of tanks and artillery because of the steady supply of trucks and jeeps arriving from the United States.

Roosevelt and his closest advisers sought to employ Lend-Lease to open the Soviet system to American ideas. In a similar vein, they insisted that any nation receiving Lend-Lease assistance had to agree to open its markets to U.S. products. Thus, Washington finally forced Great Britain to abandon the Imperial Preference System that had provided more favorable trade terms to members of the British Empire.

Lend-Lease paid important dividends on the strategic level, as well. U.S. aid helped to fend off Soviet demands for a second front in western Europe. It also helped the Americans to convince Chinese Generalissimo Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) that he must at least appear to accept the counsel of his American advisers—most notably, the reform-minded Lieutenant General Joseph W. Stilwell. The United States later extended Lend-Lease aid to many Latin American nations, prominently Mexico and Brazil. The program brought these nations closer to the Allies and ensured that the Axis powers would not be able to establish important connections there.

Lend-Lease thus served many key roles during the war. Most critically, it unquestionably shortened the conflict and relieved the suffering of millions. As Allied armies advanced across western Europe, Lend-Lease funds paid for food and livestock shipments to France, the Netherlands, and Belgium. America’s allies certainly appreciated its value. Churchill called Lend-Lease the most unsordid act in history. Although Soviet historians later discounted its value, Joseph Stalin himself said that the Soviet Union could not have won the war without Lend-Lease.

Michael S. Neiberg

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Hopkins, Harry Lloyd; Jiang Jieshi; Logistics, Allied; Roosevelt, Franklin D; Stilwell, Joseph Warren

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Leningrad, Siege of (10 July 1941–27 January 1944)

The longest and most devastating siege of a major urban center in the history of modern warfare. The nightmare that engulfed the population of the Soviet Union's second-largest city lasted from 10 July 1941 to 27 January 1944. The once vibrant city had been built by Peter the Great and was considered Russia's window to the West. But by March 1943, Leningrad and its 3.2 million people had been reduced to a militarized fortress of some 700,000 inhabitants.

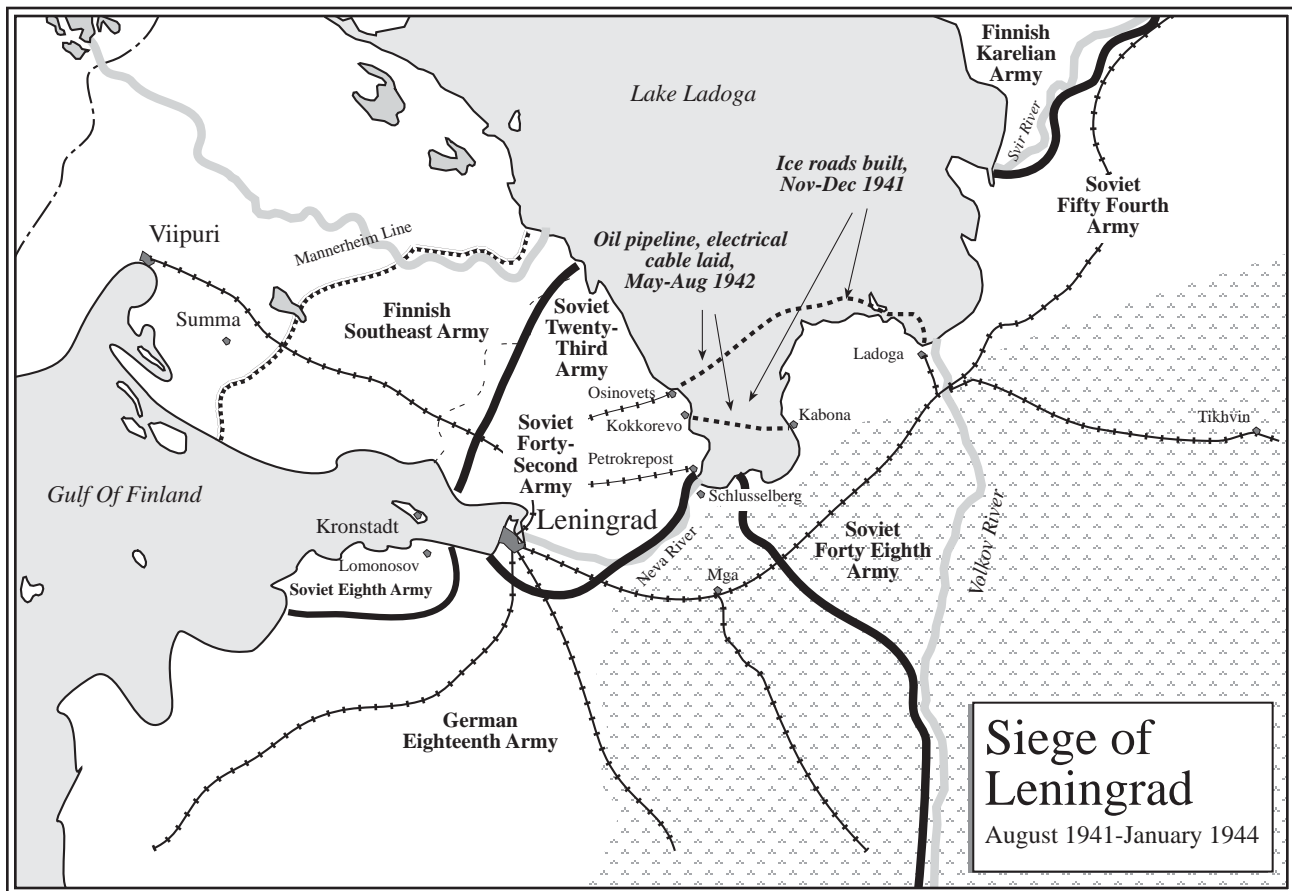
The Germans invaded the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941. The capture of Leningrad—a city described by Adolf Hitler as the “hotbed of Communism”—was one of the major strategic goals of Operation BARBAROSSA. Field Marshal Wilhelm von Leeb commanded Army Group North, advancing northeast toward the city. He believed that his troops would soon take the city in cooperation with the Finns, who had reentered the war. Finnish forces, meanwhile, drove south, both to the east and the west of Lake Ladoga, toward the Svir River and Leningrad.

On 8 July, the German Fourth Panzer Army reached the old fortress of Shlisselburg east of Leningrad, guarding the point at which the Neva River flows out of nearby Lake Ladoga. Taking it cut off Leningrad from the Soviet interior. The siege, which was actually a blockade, officially began on 10 July. Leeb's hopes for a quick victory were dashed, however, when the Finns merely reoccupied the territory taken by the Soviets in consequence of the 1939–1940 Finnish-Soviet War (also known as the Winter War), thus halting some 26 miles north of Leningrad. The refusal of the Finns to push beyond the Svir or their pre-1940 borders was a major factor in the city's survival. Leeb also lost much of his Fourth Panzer Army, which Hitler diverted to the drive on Moscow.

Hitler ordered Leningrad obliterated through artillery fire, air attack, and blockade; moreover, he prohibited any acceptance of a surrender, were one to be offered. In mid-October, he ordered Leeb to make a wide sweep of some 150 miles around Lake Ladoga to link up with the Finns on the Svir River. On 8 November, the Germans took the vital rail center of Tikhvin, about halfway to the Svir. Josef Stalin then shifted major reinforcements north, and in mid-December,



Leningrad inhabitants, including women of all ages, using shovels and picks to help construct antitank ditches during the siege of that city. (Library of Congress)



Hitler authorized Leeb to withdraw. Soviet troops reoccupied Tikhvin on 18 December.

Authorities in Leningrad had done little to prepare the city for a possible blockade. Although the city was believed to be a major German military objective, efforts to evacuate part of the population suffered from bureaucratic delays. The party boss in Leningrad, Andrei Zhdanov, second only to Stalin in the party hierarchy, and Marshal Kliment E. Voroshilov, appointed by Stalin to defend the city, were reluctant to order any measures that might be branded defeatist.

On 11 July, the Leningrad Party Committee ordered the civilian population to take part in the construction of tank traps and other defensive positions in front of the city. Between July and August, nearly half of the population between the ages of 16 and 55 engaged in this effort, which proceeded under constant German artillery and air attacks. The city government also ordered the establishment of some civilian combat units made up of workers, men and women alike, but they were poorly trained and had virtually no weapons.

In normal circumstances, Leningrad was entirely dependent on outside sources for its food and fuel and for the raw materials used in its factories. Now it had to find food for some 2.5 million civilians as well as the forces of the Leningrad Front

and the Red Banner Fleet in the Baltic. By November, rations had been cut to the starvation level. The soldiers and sailors received priority in the allocation of food, and rationing authorities literally held the power of life and death. Rations were cut again and again, beyond the starvation level. People tried to survive any way they could, whether on stray animals and on the glue from wallpaper. Hunger even led to instances of cannibalism. The hardships were not, however, evenly shared, for Communist officials ate well throughout the siege.

Lake Ladoga was the only means of accessing the rest of the Soviet Union. In winter, trucks were able to travel on a "road" across the ice, and in summer, some boats got through. But this route was insufficient to overcome the fuel shortage. The Soviets rebuilt the rail line from Tikhvin, but the Germans bombed and shelled it, as well as the Lake Ladoga route.

In January 1942, Stalin ordered General Kirill A. Meretskov's Volkhov Front to strike the German lines from Lake Ladoga to Lake Ilmen, but after punching a narrow gap in them, the Soviet offensive faltered. When Stalin refused to allow a withdrawal, the Germans cut off the Soviet forces in June and restored their own lines. Soviet authorities, meanwhile, managed to evacuate 850,000 people from Leningrad,

including a large number of children, between January and July 1942.

Hitler's plans for the summer 1942 campaign called for the destruction of Leningrad and the occupation of the area between Lake Ladoga and the Baltic in order to free up the Finns for operations against Murmansk. In August, Meretskov carried out another attack against the eastern part of the German lines. Field Marshal Fritz Eric von Manstein, sent to Leningrad by Hitler, replied with a counterattack in September.

That summer, the Soviets managed to lay both pipelines and electric cables under Lake Ladoga. The Germans brought in E-boats, and the Italians also operated some midget submarines in the lake. In January 1943, in Operation SPARK, Red Army troops in Leningrad (which the Soviets had managed to reinforce and which were now commanded by General Leonid A. Govorov) and Meretskov's forces to the east struck the Germans from the north and east. The offensive was successful, with the two Soviet armies meeting at Shlisselburg on 19 January, thus breaking the siege and opening a 10-mile-wide corridor. On 7 February, a Soviet train reached Leningrad through the corridor and across the Neva on tracks over the ice. Although this line came under constant German attack and had to be repaired daily, it operated continuously thereafter.

On 14 January 1944, Govorov and Meretskov struck German positions, with their forces outnumbering the Germans by a ratio of 2 to 1 in men and 4 to 1 in tanks and aircraft. Yet Hitler refused to authorize a withdrawal, and bitter fighting ensued. Ultimately, the Soviets were successful, driving the Germans back. On 27 January 1944, with the Leningrad-to-Moscow railroad line reopened, Stalin declared the "900-day" blockade at an end.

During the blockade, perhaps 1 million people in Leningrad—40 percent of the prewar population—died of hunger, the majority of them in the 1941–1942 winter. The entire city was within range of German artillery fire, and the bombing and shelling claimed many of the city's buildings and architectural and art treasures, including works from the Hermitage Museum. The travail of Leningrad became the chief subject of Soviet war literature. Similar to the bombings of Dresden and Hiroshima, the siege of Leningrad became a national and even a worldwide symbol of the horror of war.

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See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Hitler, Adolf; Leeb, Wilhelm Franz Josef Ritter von; Manstein, Fritz Erich von; Meretskov, Kirill Afanasievich; Stalingrad, Battle of; Voroshilov, Kliment Efremovich

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Léopold III, King of Belgium (1901–1983)

Belgian king who assumed before the outbreak of war. Born on 3 November 1901 in Brussels, the son of King Albert and Queen Elisabeth of Belgium, Léopold was educated at Eton and served in the army while on school leave. He succeeded his father to the throne in 1934. He had married Princess Astrid of Sweden in 1926. They had three children, but a car accident, with Léopold driving, claimed Astrid's life in 1935. Many Belgians never forgave him.

Léopold was heavily influenced by the German invasion of his country in 1914 and sought to avoid its repetition by taking refuge in neutrality. After the German remilitarization of the Rhineland in March 1936, he withdrew Belgium from its military alliance with France and followed a neutral stance. When war began in September 1939, Léopold rejected appeals from Britain and France for discussions of war plans, for fear of giving Adolf Hitler a pretext to invade his country.

In the end, Léopold's policy did not spare Belgium from German invasion, which occurred in May 1940. British and French forces then moved into Belgium to support that country. However justified in terminating hopeless resistance, Léopold's surrender of the Belgian army on 28 May 1940 after only a brief stand was a violation of pledges given to Britain and France, and it made inevitable the Dunkerque evacuation. Even more dubious was the king's failure to go abroad with his ministers to support a government-in-exile in London. Many Belgians suspected him of both German sympathies and authoritarian preferences. Then, he compounded his unpopularity by marrying a commoner—his children's governess, Liliane Baels—in 1941.

Removed from Belgium by the Germans in 1944, Léopold was freed by U.S. troops in Austria at the end of the war. Since he was being held in Germany when Belgium was liberated in the fall of 1944, his brother, Prince Charles, the count of Flanders, assumed the title of regent. Léopold, meanwhile, resided in Switzerland.

After the war, the question of the future of the monarchy remained in abeyance for several years. There was strong socialist opposition in Belgium to the monarchy, and so, it was not until a referendum in March 1950 gave him a 58 percent favorable vote that Léopold attempted to regain his throne. His return precipitated such a major crisis that he then relinquished control of affairs to his son Baudouin.

When Baudouin reached majority age, Léopold abdicated in his favor, in 1951. Léopold died in Brussels on 25 September 1983.

Annette Richardson and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Belgium, Air Service; Belgium, Army; Belgium Campaign; Belgium, Role in War; Dunkerque, Evacuation of; Hitler, Adolf

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Leyte, Landings on and Capture of (20 October–25 December 1944)

U.S. amphibious operations on Leyte Island in the Philippines. In July 1944, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt met with his Pacific Theater commanders, General Douglas MacArthur and Admiral Chester Nimitz, to determine the next U.S. military objective. MacArthur argued for a return to the Philippines, whereas Nimitz and the navy wanted to bypass these islands entirely in favor of securing Formosa. Ultimately, because sufficient resources were available, Roosevelt decided to focus on the Philippines and a landing at Okinawa in the Ryukyus.

The U.S. Philippine invasion had three main phases: first, the capture of Leyte Island, between the big island of Luzon to the north and Mindanao to the south; then, the capture of Luzon; and finally, the clearing of other Japanese-held islands to the south. A precondition to such an undertaking was the neutralization of Japanese airpower. In wide-ranging pre-invasion operations between 7 and 16 October, Admiral William Halsey's Third Fleet and Lieutenant General George C. Kenney's Far East Air Force struck all Japanese bases within range, while XX Bomber Command B-29 Superfortress bombers attacked Formosa from bases in China, decimating the rebuilt Japanese naval air arm and destroying some 700 Japanese planes and 40 ships.

Japanese leaders knew that they would have to hold the Philippines to prevent the severing of the supply route between Japan and the vital oil and other resources of the Netherlands East Indies. Tokyo was thus prepared, once U.S. forces committed themselves, to gamble what remained of the Japanese fleet on a vast and complex naval operation. This action would culminate in the great Battle of Leyte Gulf.

The Japanese commander in the Philippines, General Yamashita Tomoyuki, had some 350,000 troops to defend the islands. The Japanese miscalculated American intentions, believing that the U.S. effort would be against the big island of Luzon, where Yamashita had placed his Fourteenth Area Army and prepared defensive positions. Meanwhile, U.S. invasion forces headed for Leyte. U.S. planners assembled a vast amphibious force. The 700 vessels of Vice Admiral Thomas Kinkaid's Seventh Fleet transported Lieutenant General Walter Krueger's 194,000-man U.S. Sixth Army, consisting of Major General Franklin C. Sibert's X Corps and Major General John Hodge's XXIV Corps. Rear Admiral Thomas L. Sprague's air-support escort carrier group consisted of 16 escort carriers, 9 destroyers, and 11 destroyer escorts. Rear Admiral R. S. Berkey commanded a close covering group of 4 cruisers (2 of them Australian) and 7 destroyers (2 Australian). Admiral William Halsey's Third Fleet was to provide covering protection and engage the Japanese fleet should it decide to do battle.

On 20 October, following a heavy naval bombardment, four divisions went ashore on Leyte's east coast on a 10-mile-wide front. The landing forces achieved surprise, and Major General Tomochika Yoshiharu's 16,000-man 16th Division offered scant resistance. By nightfall, some 132,400 men were ashore, along with 200,000 tons of supply and equipment. U.S. forces soon seized port and coastal air facilities. An important element in the initial American successes was intelligence provided by Philippine guerrillas who were in continuous communication with the invasion forces. They cooperated closely with the U.S. forces throughout the campaign and also assisted in the rescue of thousands of American civilians and prisoners of war.

MacArthur, complete with corncob pipe and aviator glasses, and Philippine President Sergio Osmeña went ashore on Red Beach with the third wave at 1:00 P.M. on 20 October, and within an hour, MacArthur had announced, "People of the Philippines I have returned." On 23 October, despite the fighting only 2 miles away, MacArthur installed the Philippine government in a formal ceremony in the damaged Tacloban Municipal Building. Meanwhile, Krueger's troops drove inland. By 24 October, they had captured airfields and Tacloban, Dulag, and the provincial capital of Leyte.

Immediately on learning of the landings, the Japanese navy initiated the *shō-gō* plan, and between 23 and 26 October, the U.S. Navy won a decisive victory, defeating the Japanese effort to attack the landing site from the sea. The naval Battle of Leyte Gulf smashed the Japanese navy, ending its days as a major fighting force.

Meanwhile, Yamashita was reinforcing Leyte. Between 23 October and 11 November, he managed to send Leyte some 45,000 reinforcements and 10,000 tons of supplies from Luzon and the Visayas, using destroyers and transports that chiefly entered through the western port of Ormoc. By 25



Landing craft loaded with troops sweep toward the Leyte invasion beaches as American and Japanese planes duel overhead. Troops watch the battle above as they approach the shore, 1 October 1944. (National Archives)

October, the Japanese had concentrated their defensive efforts in the northern part of the island, digging in on “Breakneck Ridge” near the port of Carigara and engaging the 24th Division of X Corps in a month-long battle there.

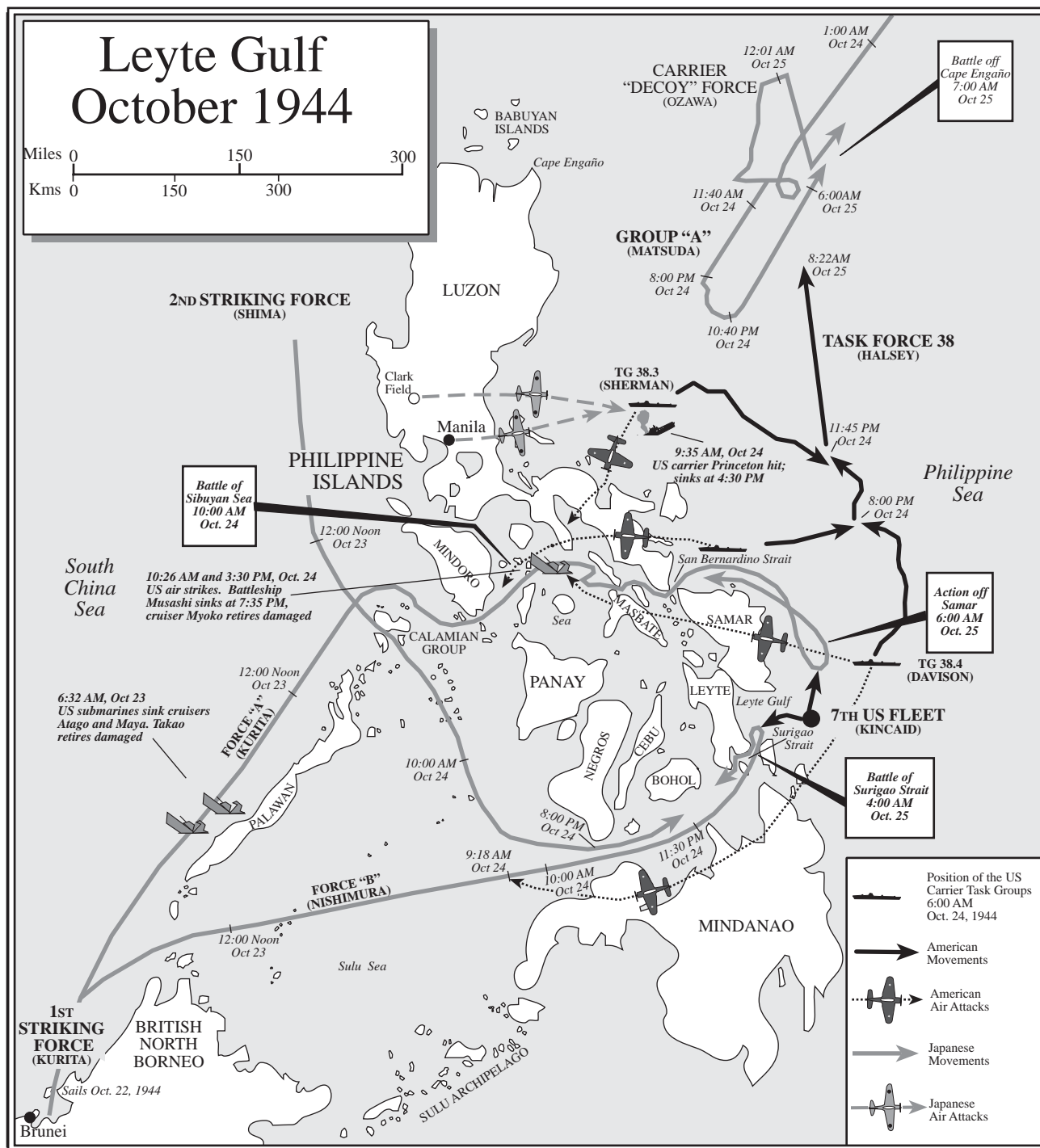
By 2 November, however, U.S. forces had taken Carigara Bay and Abuyog and all of Leyte’s airfields. Gradually, Kenney’s Far East Air Force and Halsey’s Third Fleet aircraft also choked off the stream of Japanese reinforcements. Then, on 11 November, attacks by Third Fleet aircraft decimated a Japanese convoy with 10,000 troop reinforcements.

After the U.S. 7th Infantry Division crossed the center of the island, General Kreuger split Japanese defenses by landing the 77th Infantry Division 3 miles south of Ormoc on 7 December. This assault came only hours before Japanese Field Marshal Terauchi Hisaichi’s convoy of reinforcements attempted a landing and was driven back. Ormoc fell on 10 December when American tanks broke through Japanese

defenses there. The 7th Division linked up with the 77th Division the next day. Japanese forces in the north were now cut off. Organized resistance on Leyte ended on Christmas Day 1944. Sporadic fighting continued into the next spring, but there were no survivors from the Japanese 16th Division, responsible for the infamous Bataan Death March.

Although the unexpected Japanese reinforcements and heavy rains had delayed the conquest of Leyte, the outcome was never in doubt. The Japanese lost some 70,000 men on the island, most of them dead. In addition, another 135,000 Japanese soldiers were cut off, caught behind the American advance. U.S. losses were about 3,500 killed and 12,000 wounded. Meanwhile, in late October, U.S. forces had landed on the adjoining Samar Island, and in mid-December, U.S. forces seized Mindoro in the northern Visayas, just south of Luzon, as an air base for the coming assault on Luzon.

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See also

Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Kamikaze; Krueger, Walter; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; MacArthur, Douglas; Nimitz, Chester William; Philippines, U.S. Recapture of; Sprague, Thomas Lamison; Terachi Hisachi; Yamashita Tomoyuki

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Leyte Gulf, Battle of (23–26 October 1944)

Pacific war naval battle and history's largest naval engagement in terms of the amount of ships, personnel, and area involved. The battle engaged 282 vessels (216 American, 2 Australian, and 64 Japanese) and nearly 200,000 men, and it took place over an area of more than 100,000 square miles. It saw all aspects of naval warfare—air, surface, submarine, and amphibious—as well as the employment of the largest guns ever at sea, the last clash of battleships, and the introduction by the Japanese of kamikaze aircraft. The engagement also involved excellent planning and leadership, deception, failed intelligence, and great controversies.

The battle resulted from U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's decision to follow the conquest of the Mariana Islands with the recapture of the Philippines. This idea was proposed by the commander of Southwest Pacific Forces, General Douglas MacArthur; the chief of naval operations, Ernest J. King, wanted to land on Formosa instead. The latter move made sound military sense, the former political sense.

On 20 October, the U.S. Sixth Army began an invasion of Leyte, with more than 132,000 men going ashore the first day. Warned by the preliminary bombardment, the Japanese put into effect their overly complicated contingency plan. As early as 21 July 1944, the Naval General Staff in Tokyo had issued a directive for an operation in which the Combined Fleet would seize the initiative “to crush the enemy fleet and attacking forces.” On 26 July, the General Staff informed the Combined Fleet commander, Admiral Toyoda Soemu, that the “urgent operations” would be known by the code name SHŌ (VICTORY). The Japanese had four of these operations to combat the next U.S. offensive; SHŌ ICHI-GŌ (Operation VICTORY ONE) covered defense of the Philippine Archipelago, to which the Japanese decided to commit the entire Combined Fleet. Toyoda knew it was a gamble but believed the chance had to be taken. Should the Americans retake the Philippines, they would be in a position to cut Japanese access to oil from the Netherlands East Indies.

Prior to the battle, Japanese naval air strength had been severely reduced in the June 1944 Battle of the Philippine Sea (“the great Marianas turkey shoot”), and between 12 and 14 October, U.S. carrier planes and army B-29 bombers struck Japanese airfields on Formosa, Okinawa, and the Philippines. These strikes denied the Japanese navy badly needed land-based air support and alone doomed the Japanese plan. The Japanese did add extra antiaircraft guns to their ships in an attempt to offset the lack of aircraft, but offensively, they had to rely on naval gunnery and some 335 land-based planes in the Luzon area.

The Japanese plan was to destroy sufficient U.S. shipping to break up the Leyte amphibious landing. There were four prongs in the Japanese attack. A decoy force would draw U.S. naval covering forces north while two elements struck from the west on either side of Leyte, to converge simultaneously on the landing area in Leyte Gulf and destroy Allied shipping there. At the same time, shore-based aircraft were to attack U.S. naval forces offshore.

On 17 October, on receiving information that U.S. warships were off Suhuan Island, Admiral Toyoda alerted his forces. The next day, he initiated SHŌ ICHI-GŌ. The original target date for the fleet engagement was 22 October, but logistical difficulties delayed it to 25 October. Vice Admiral Ozawa Jisaburo's decoy Northern Force (Third Fleet) consisted of the heavy carrier *Zuikaku*, 3 light carriers, 2 hybrid battleship-carriers, 3 cruisers, and 8 destroyers. Ozawa had only 116 aircraft, flown by poorly trained pilots. His force sortied from Japan on 20 October, and on the evening of 22 October, it turned south toward Luzon. At the same time, Japanese submarines off Formosa were ordered south toward the eastern approaches to the Philippine Archipelago, and shortly before 23 October, what remained of the Japanese Second Air Fleet began to arrive on the island of Luzon.

The strongest element of the Japanese attack was the 1st Diversion Attack Force, which reached Brunei Bay in northwest Borneo on 20 October, refueled, split into two parts, and resumed its movement two days later. The Center Force under Admiral Kurita Takeo had the bulk of the Japanese attack strength, including the giant battleships *Musashi* and *Yamato* with their 18.1-inch guns; Kurita also had 3 older battleships, 12 cruisers, and 15 destroyers. Center Force sailed northeastward, up the west coast of Palawan Island, and then turned eastward through the waters of the central Philippines to San Bernardino Strait. Meanwhile, the Southern Force (C Force) of 2 battleships, 1 heavy cruiser, and 4 destroyers, commanded by Vice Admiral Nishimura Shoji, struck eastward through the Sulu Sea in an effort to force its way through Surigao Strait between the islands of Mindanao and Leyte. The Southern Force was trailed by Vice Admiral Shima Kiyohide's 2nd Diversion Attack Force. Shima had 2 heavy cruisers, 1 light cruiser, and 4 destroyers. Shima's warships left the Pescadores on 21 October, steamed south past western Luzon, and refueled in the Calamian Islands. Late in joining Nishimura's ships, Shima's force followed them into Surigao Strait.

Opposing the Japanese were two U.S. Navy fleets: Vice Admiral Thomas C. Kinkaid's Seventh Fleet, operating under General MacArthur's Southwest Pacific Command, and Admiral William F. Halsey's Third Fleet, under the Pacific Fleet commander, Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, at Pearl Harbor. Leyte was the first landing to involve two entire U.S. fleets and also the first without a unified command, which would have unfortunate consequences.



Two Coast Guard-manned LSTs open their bows in the surf that washes on Leyte Island beach, as soldiers strip down and build sandbag piers out to their ramps to speed up unloading operations. 1944. (National Archives)

Seventh Fleet was divided into three task groups. The first consisted of Rear Admiral Jesse B. Oldendorf's 6 old battleships, 16 escort carriers, 4 heavy cruisers, 4 light cruisers, 30 destroyers, and 10 destroyer escorts. The other two elements were amphibious task groups carrying out the actual invasion. Seventh Fleet had escorted the invasion force to Leyte and now provided broad protection for the entire landing area. As most of Halsey's amphibious assets had been loaned to Kinkaid, Third Fleet consisted almost entirely of Vice Admiral Marc Mitscher's Task Force (TF) 38 of 14 fast carriers, with more than 1,000 aircraft, organized into four task groups containing 6 battleships, 8 heavy cruisers, 13 light cruisers, and 57 destroyers. Third Fleet had the job of securing air superiority over the Philippines and protecting the landings. If the opportunity to destroy a major part of the Japanese fleet presented itself or could be created, that was to be Third Fleet's primary task.

The Battle of Leyte Gulf was actually a series of battles, the first of which was the 23–24 October Battle of the Sibuyan Sea. Early on 23 October, the U.S. submarines *Darter* and *Dace* discovered Kurita's Center Force entering Palawan Passage from the South China Sea, and they alerted Admiral Halsey, whose Third Fleet guarded San Bernardino Strait. The submarines sank two Japanese heavy cruisers, the *Atago* (Kurita's flagship) and the *Maya*, and damaged a third. Kurita transferred his flag to the *Yamato*, and his force continued east into the Sibuyan Sea where, beginning in the morning of 24 October, TF 38 launched five air strikes against it. The first wave of carrier planes concentrated on the *Musashi*, which absorbed 19 torpedoes and nearly as many bombs before sinking, taking down half of her 2,200-man crew. Several other Japanese ships were also damaged. In midafternoon on 25 October, American pilots reported that

Kurita had reversed course and was heading west; Halsey incorrectly assumed that this part of the battle was over. He did issue a preliminary order detailing a battle line of battleships known as TF 34, to be commanded by Vice Admiral Willis A. Lee. Admiral Kinkaid was aware of that signal and assumed TF 34 had been established.

Meanwhile, Japanese land-based planes from the Second Air Fleet attacked a portion of TF 38. Most were shot down, but they did sink the light carrier *Princeton* and badly damaged the cruiser *Birmingham*. Also, unknown to Halsey, Kurita's force changed course after nightfall and resumed heading for San Bernardino Strait.

Warned of the approach of the Japanese Combined Fleet, Admiral Kinkaid placed Oldendorf's 6 old Seventh Fleet fire-support battleships (all but 1 a veteran of Pearl Harbor),

flanked by 8 cruisers, across the mouth of Surigao Strait to intercept it. He also lined the strait with 39 patrol torpedo (PT) boats and 28 destroyers. In terms of naval warfare, the 24–25 October Battle of Surigao Strait was a classic case of crossing the T. The PT boats discovered the Japanese moving in line-ahead formation, but Nishimura's force easily beat them back.

The Japanese lost more than 500 aircraft, 29 sea vessels, and more than 10,500 men during the Battle of Leyte Gulf.

Although the battleships often get the credit for the Surigao Strait victory, it was U.S. destroyers that inflicted most of the damage. Their converging torpedo attacks sank the battleship *Fuso* and 3 destroyers. The Japanese then ran into the line of Oldendorf's battleships, which sank all the Japanese warships save the destroyer *Shigure*. Nishimura went down with his flagship, the battleship *Yamashiro*.

Shima's force, bringing up the rear, then came under attack by the PT boats, which crippled a light cruiser. Shima's flagship collided with one of Nishimura's sinking vessels. Oldendorf's ships pursued the retreating Japanese. Another Japanese cruiser succumbed to attacks by land-based planes and those of Admiral Thomas L. Sprague's escort carriers. The rest of Shima's force escaped when Oldendorf, knowing his ships might be needed later, turned back. The battle was over by 4:30 A.M. on 25 October.

Meanwhile, during the night of 24–25 October, Kurita's force moved through San Bernardino Strait, issued from it unopposed, and turned south. In the most controversial aspect of the battle, Halsey left San Bernardino Strait unprotected near midnight to rush with all available units of Third Fleet after Ozawa's decoy fleet, which had been sighted far to the north. Several of Halsey's subordinates registered reser-

vations about his decision, but he would not be deterred. Compounding the error, Halsey failed to inform Admiral Kinkaid, who, in any case, assumed TF 34 was protecting the strait. Halsey's decision left the landing beaches guarded only by Seventh Fleet's Taffy 3 escort carrier group, commanded by Rear Admiral Clifton A. F. Sprague. It was one of three such support groups operating off Samar. Sprague had 6 small escort carriers, 3 destroyers, and 4 destroyer escorts.

Fighting off Samar erupted about 6:30 A.M. on 24 October, as Taffy 3 found itself opposing Kurita's 4 battleships (including the *Yamato*), 6 heavy cruisers, and 10 destroyers. The aircraft from all three of the Taffy groups now attacked the Japanese. Unfortunately, the planes carried fragmentation bombs for use against land targets, but they put up a strong fight, harassing the powerful Japanese warships. Sprague's destroyers and destroyer escorts also joined the fight. Their crews courageously attacked the much more powerful Japanese warships, launching torpedoes and laying smoke to try to obscure the escort carriers. These combined attacks forced several Japanese cruisers to drop out of the battle.

Kurita now lost his nerve. By 9:10 A.M., his warships sank the *Gambier Bay*, the only U.S. carrier ever lost to gunfire, as well as the destroyers *Hoel* and *Johnston* and the destroyer escort *Samuel B. Roberts*. But Kurita believed he was under attack by aircraft from TF 38, and at 9:11 A.M., just at the point when he might have had a crushing victory, he ordered his forces to break off the attack, his decision strengthened by news that the southern attacking force had been destroyed. Kurita then exited through San Bernardino Strait. The four ships lost by Taffy 3 were the only U.S. warships sunk by Japanese surface ships in the entire battle.

At 9:40 P.M., Kurita's ships reentered San Bernardino Strait. As the Japanese withdrew, they came under attack by aircraft from Vice Admiral John S. McCain's task force from Halsey's fleet, losing a destroyer. Meanwhile, Sprague's escort carriers and Oldendorf's force returning from the Battle of Surigao Strait came under attack from land-based kamikaze aircraft, the first such attacks of the war. These attacks sank the escort carrier *St. Lô* and damaged several other ships.

At about 2:20 A.M. on 25 October, Mitscher's search planes, from Halsey's force, located Ozawa's northern decoy force. At dawn, the first of three strikes was launched, in what became known as the Battle of Cape Engaño. Ozawa had sent most of his planes ashore to operate from bases there and thus had only anti-aircraft fire with which to oppose the attack. While engaged against Ozawa, Halsey learned of the action off Samar when a signal came in from Kinkaid at 8:22, followed by an urgent request eight minutes later for fast battleships. Finally, at 8:48, Halsey ordered McCain's TG 38.1 to make "best possible speed" to engage Kurita's Center Force. The task group was en route from the Ulithi to rejoin the other elements of TF 38. Since it had more carriers and planes than any of the three other task

groups in Halsey's force, it made good sense to detach this unit. Several minutes later, Halsey was infuriated by a query from Nimitz at Pearl Harbor: "WHERE IS RPT WHERE IS TASK FORCE THIRTY-FOUR RR THE WORLD WONDERS." (The last three words were simply what was known as "padding," drawn from the poet Alfred Lord Tennyson's "Charge of the Light Brigade," but Halsey took them to be an integral part of the message and felt they were a reproach delivered in an insulting manner.)

At 10:55 A.M., Halsey ordered all 6 fast battleships and TG 38.2 to turn south and steam at flank speed, but they missed the battle. After the war, Kurita admitted his error in judgment; Halsey never did. In fact, Halsey said his decision to send the battleships south to Samar was "the greatest error I committed during the Battle of Leyte Gulf."

By nightfall, U.S. aircraft, a submarine, and surface ships had sunk all 4 Japanese carriers of Ozawa's force, as well as 5 other ships. In effect, this blow ended Japanese carrier aviation. But the battle of annihilation that would have been possible with the fast battleships had eluded Halsey. Still, of Ozawa's force, only 2 battleships, 2 light cruisers, and a destroyer escaped.

Including retiring vessels sunk on 26 and 27 October, Japanese losses in the Battle of Leyte Gulf came to 29 warships (4 carriers, 3 battleships, 6 heavy and 4 light cruisers, 11 destroyers, and 1 submarine) and more than 500 aircraft; in addition, some 10,500 seamen and aviators were killed. The U.S. Navy lost only 6 ships (1 light carrier, 2 escort carriers, 2 destroyers, and 1 destroyer escort) and more than 200 aircraft. About 2,800 Americans were killed, and another 1,000 were wounded. The Battle of Leyte Gulf ended the Japanese fleet as an organized fighting force.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Kamikaze; King, Ernest Joseph; Kinkaid, Thomas Cassin; Kurita Takeo; Lee, Willis Augustus "Ching"; MacArthur, Douglas; McCain, John Sidney; Mitscher, Marc Andrew; Nimitz, Chester William; Oldendorf, Jesse Bartlett; Ozawa Jisaburo; Philippine Sea, Battle of the; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Sprague, Clifton Albert Frederick; Sprague, Thomas Lamison; Toyoda Soemu

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largest single shipbuilding program of World War II. Eighteen shipyards, using assembly-line methods, completed 2,710 Liberty ships, beginning with the *Patrick Henry*, launched on 27 September 1941 (only eight months after the groundbreaking at the new Bethlehem-Fairfield yard), and ending with the *Albert M. Boe*, which was launched in October 1945 by New England Shipbuilding.

The British *Dorington Court* of 1939 was the basis for the Liberty ship design, adapted for welded construction and with improved crew accommodation. Liberties were 441'6" in overall length and 57' in beam, and they registered 7,176 tons gross and 10,865 tons deadweight. Two oil-fired boilers provided steam for a three-cylinder, triple-expansion engine of 2,500 indicated hp that drove the vessel at 11 knots. The commission was criticized for specifying such old-fashioned machinery. However, as it worked out, there was a critical shortage of more modern turbine machinery because of the demands of other wartime expansion programs; moreover, the engines themselves were thoroughly reliable, and there was a substantial force of engine room crewmen who were very familiar with this type of plant.

Speedy construction and delivery was central to the Liberties' contribution to the war effort. An overwhelming majority of the yards in which they were constructed were newly created facilities purpose-built either by the Maritime Commission or by the contractors. Initially, the vessels required around 250 days for completion, but within a year, this was reduced to less than 50 days. The Richmond Shipbuilding Corporation, a subsidiary of Henry J. Kaiser's Permanente Metals Corporation, broke all records by assembling the *Robert E. Peary* in just over four days between 8 and 12 November 1942 and delivering the ship three days later. More important, American shipyards delivered 93 new ships in September 1942, totaling more than 1 million deadweight tons, of which 67 were Liberties.

Liberty ships proved to be very adaptable. Although intended to operate as freighters, they were modified for service as troop transports, tankers, aircraft transports, depot ships, and an array of naval auxiliaries.

Liberty ships were tough, even though they were classified as expendable war materials. Some problems were encountered with unexpected stress fatigue, but the ships often survived considerable combat damage and served successfully throughout the world in all types of weather. Many continued in postwar commercial service for 25 years or more. Two are preserved as tributes to the type's crucial contribution to the Allied victory: the *John W. Brown* at Baltimore, Maryland, and the *Jeremiah O'Brien* at San Francisco.

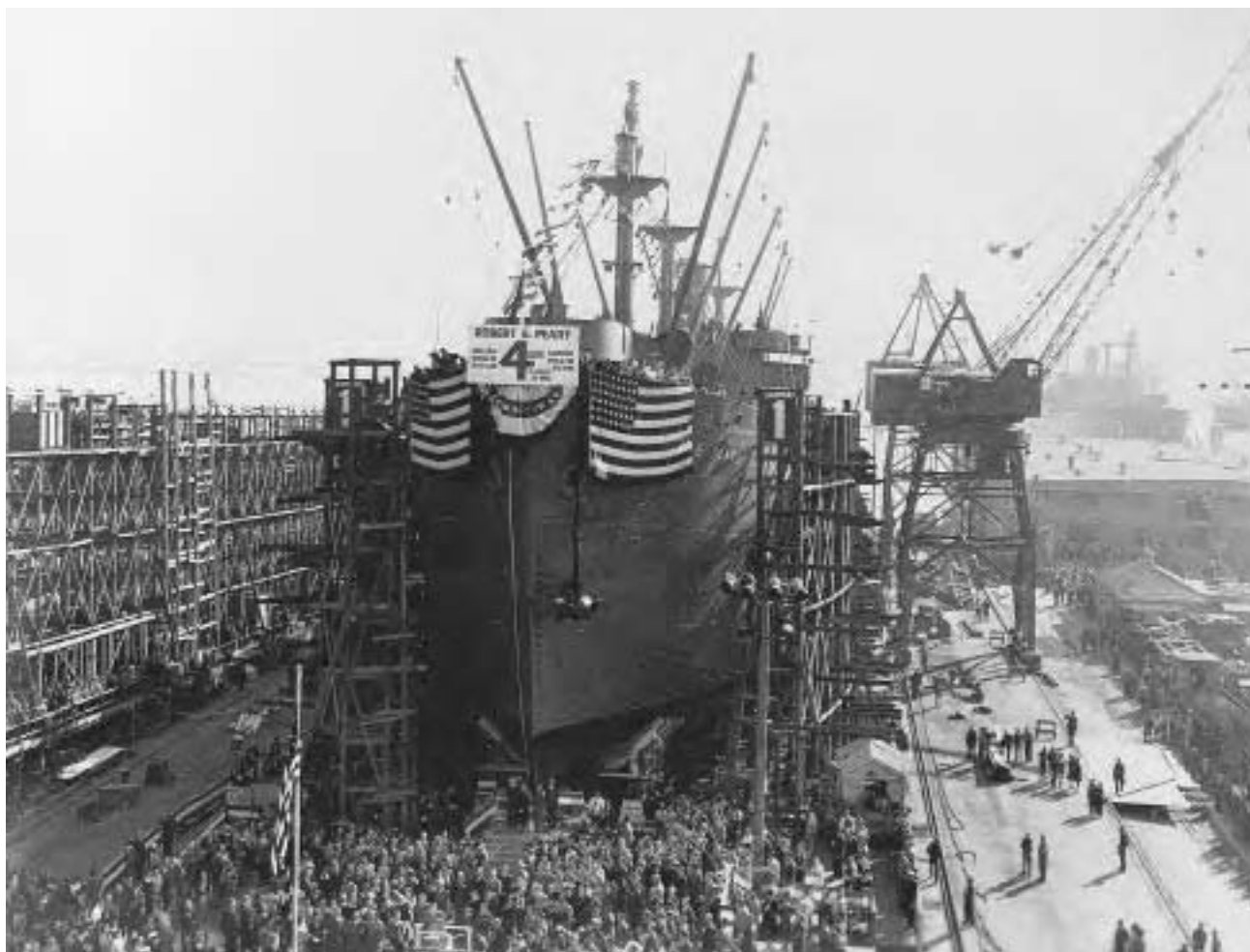
Paul E. Fontenoy

Liberty Ships

The U.S. Maritime Commission's mass-produced "emergency" cargo vessels, whose construction comprised the

See also

Atlantic, Battle of the



The launch of the Liberty Ship *Robert E. Peary*, fitted and delivered in a record four days (the hull and keel took seven days) in the Richmond Shipyards in California, 12 November 1942. (Corbis)

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Lidice Massacre (9–10 June 1942)

German wartime atrocity in Czechoslovakia. On 4 June 1942, SS-Obergruppenführer Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the German Sicherheitsdienst (SD, or Security Service) and Acting Reichsprotektor (administrator) of Bohemia and Moravia,

died of wounds suffered when his car was attacked with grenades in Prague on 27 May 1942. The attack was carried out by two agents of the London-based Czech government-in-exile, Jan Kubis and Jozef Gabčík. German reprisals for the attack on Heydrich were swift and deadly. Ultimately, the Germans raided 5,000 towns and villages; in the process, some 3,180 persons were arrested, and 1,344 were sentenced to death. Adolf Hitler ordered additional severe reprisals against the Czechs, threatening to kill 30,000 of them. This threat was not carried out, but the mining village of Lidice near Kladno, 11 miles northwest of Prague, was chosen for a conspicuous reprisal, presumably because some villagers there had sheltered Heydrich's assassins and had been otherwise identified with the Czech Resistance.

The German operation against Lidice was carried out on 9–10 June by German police and SD personnel led by SS-Hauptsturmführer Max Rostock. German police and SD troops surrounded the village on the evening of 9 June, and the action began the following morning. First, the police and



Ruins of Lidice, Czechoslovakia, following destruction of the village by the Germans. (Library of Congress)

SD men rounded up and took away the children and most of the women. Then, an execution squad of 3 officers and 20 men methodically killed 172 males over the age of 16. Later that day, another 11 workers from the late shift at the Lidice mine were also executed, as were 15 relatives of Czech soldiers serving in Britain who were already in custody, bringing the total number of men murdered to 198. The Germans also executed 71 women in Lidice, and another 7 were taken to Prague, where they, too, were shot. Of the 184 Lidice women transported to Ravensbrück concentration camp and the 11 already in prison, 143 eventually survived. The 98 children in the village were transported to a camp at Gneisenau. Eighty-two of the children were gassed at Chelmno, and 8 are known to have been given to Schutzstaffel (SS) families to raise. In any event, only 16 surviving Lidice children could be identified in 1945. The village of Lidice itself was burned to the ground. The site was then dynamited and bulldozed, and the ground was sowed with grain.

A similar reprisal was carried out on the village of Lezaky, east of Prague, where the radio transmitter used by the Czech

agents was discovered. All of the village's adult inhabitants were killed, and only 2 Lezaky children survived the war. On the orders of SS-Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler, 252 friends and relatives of the Lidice inhabitants were gassed at the Mauthausen concentration camp on 24 October 1942.

No link between Lidice and the Heydrich assassination was ever proven. The village was rebuilt nearby after the war and renamed Nove Lidice. SS-Hauptsturmführer Rostock was executed in 1951 for his part in the Lidice Massacre, which came to symbolize the Nazi oppression of Czechoslovakia.

Charles R. Shrader

See also

Czechoslovakia; Heydrich, Reinhard Tristan Eugen; Hitler, Adolf

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Lighter-than-Air Craft

Barrage balloons, blimps, dirigibles, and zeppelins. A number of disasters during the interwar period, combined with ever advancing airplane technology, caused most nations to move away from using lighter-than-air (LTA) craft for military purposes by World War II. The U.S. Navy lost three dirigibles between the wars: the *Shenandoah* (1923) and *Akron* (1933), both due to adverse weather, and the *Macon* (1935), due to structural failure.

Many countries employed barrage balloons in defending cities or military installations against low-level air attacks. The British staged some 450 large kite balloons around London, which would be sent aloft while trailing large, steel cables that had to be avoided by incoming aircraft. British sources claimed 200-plus “kills” of German V-1 buzz bombs from these barrage balloons. The Soviet Union employed similar technology against German air attacks.

During World War I and in the interwar period, the United States tried several types of LTA technology, with varying

degrees of success. By 1939, the U.S. Navy had determined that rigid airships were not effective in military applications. Nonrigid airships, or blimps, saw the most extensive wartime use. The navy registered 167 blimps, most of which were used to patrol the North American coastline or as long-range air support for convoys in the Atlantic and Mediterranean. Of more than 89,000 total ships escorted by blimps in convoy, only one, the tanker *Persephone*, was lost (25 May 1942) while under airship protection in two world wars. LTA craft could patrol in more varieties of weather than airplanes could, and they were capable of remaining aloft far longer; however, they had extremely limited offensive uses. No submarine kills by blimps have been confirmed, but the blimps were an effective deterrent, forcing the submarines to stay submerged and inactive.

Three different types of blimps were employed during World War II by the U.S. Navy. The G-series came from the navy’s 1935 purchase of the Goodyear *Defender*. The next seven G-series airships held 6 crewmen, measured 192’ in length and 45’ in diameter, and had a volume of 196,000 cu ft and a speed of 60 mph. The K-series comprised the majority of the Navy’s LTA fleet. These blimps housed a 12-man crew,



Dirigible escort above U.S. Navy escort carrier *Casablanca*, 8 August 1943. (National Archives)

measured 251.7' in length and 62.5' in diameter, and had a volume of 425,000 cu ft; they had a top speed of 75 mph and a range of 2,000 mi. Only a few M-Series craft were built. They had distinctive, 117-ft-long cars. These held 10-plus crewmen, had a volume of 647,000 cu ft (refurbished to 725,000 cu ft), and a top speed of 75 mph. These craft were posted along both U.S. coasts, in the South Atlantic, in the Caribbean, and in the Mediterranean.

In the postwar years, LTA technology was never again so widely employed in military use. By the 1960s, nearly all LTA craft were retired from military service.

Matthew Alan McNiece

See also

Antisubmarine Warfare

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Lin Biao (Lin Piao) (1907–1971)

Chinese Communist marshal and commander of the Chinese Communist Fourth Field Army from 1937 to 1951. Born in Huanggang (Huang-kang) County, Hubei (Hupeh) Province, China, on 5 December 1907, Lin Biao (Lin Piao) was the son of a factory owner. In 1925, he moved to Shanghai in Jiangsu (Kiangsu) Province, where he joined the Socialist Youth League and the Nationalist Party—the Guomindang, or GMD (Kuomintang, or KMT). At the Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy in Guangzhou (Canton), Kwangdong (Kwangtung) Province, where he graduated in 1926, Lin met Communist leader Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai), deputy director of the school's Political Department. Lin served with GMD forces in the 1926–1927 Northern Expedition, rising to the rank of major, but in the summer of 1927, he defected with his troops to assist the unsuccessful Jiangxi (Kwangsi) Communist rising.

Lin then joined Communist leaders Zhu De (Chu Teh) and Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) in the 1927–1928 Jiangxi Soviet, commanding Communist troops who resisted the GMD's protracted 1930–1936 “bandit (Communist) suppression campaigns.” In 1934 and 1935, Lin led Communist I Corps in its breakout from GMD encirclement in Jiangxi on the Long March to Yan'an (Yenan), in Shaanxi (Shensi) Province.

Appointed commander of the Eighth Route Army's 115th Division in 1937, Lin gradually expanded his forces into what became the Fourth Field Army after the Communist-

Nationalist anti-Japanese rapprochement. In September 1937, his troops ambushed a Japanese regiment, and Lin featured prominently in the unsuccessful autumn 1940 “Hundred Regiments” Offensive. From then until Japan surrendered in August 1945, Lin concentrated on building up Communist bases and forces behind Japanese lines in northern China, facilitating the Communist position in that region during the postwar conflict between GMD and Communist forces.

Immediately after the war ended, Lin entered Manchuria with 100,000 men. Although GMD troops forced him to retreat northward between April and June 1946, he regrouped; when he resumed the attack in May 1947, he had expanded his army to 500,000 men. Sweeping south throughout China, Lin's army captured several major cities: Shenyang (Mukden) in Liaoning in November 1948, Beijing (Peking) in Hebei in January 1949, and Guangzhou in October 1949.

From November 1950 to April 1951, Lin's Fourth Army spearheaded the Chinese forces that entered the Korean War. In 1955, he became 1 of the 10 marshals of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and in 1959 minister of defense. In 1969, Communist Party Chairman Mao named Lin—his supporter from 1966 to 1969 during the Cultural Revolution—as his heir. But for reasons that remain decidedly obscure, Mao apparently broke with him in 1971. Subsequently, Lin was alleged to have mounted an unsuccessful coup or assassination attempt against Mao, and on 13 September 1971, he died with his family in an airplane crash near the Mongolian frontier while fleeing for asylum to the Soviet Union.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

China, Civil War in; China, Role in War; Jiang Jieshi; Mao Zedong; Zhou Enlai; Zhu De

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Lin Piao

See Lin Biao (1907–1971).

Lindbergh, Charles Augustus (1902–1974)

U.S. aviation pioneer and isolationist leader. Born 4 February 1902 in Detroit, Michigan, Charles Lindbergh attended the University of Wisconsin but left school to study flying in Minnesota in 1922. He then joined a flying circus. He was commissioned in the Army Air Service in 1924, and two years later, he became an airmail pilot. On 20 May 1927, Lindbergh took off in *The Spirit of St. Louis* from Roosevelt Field, Long Island, New York, on the first solo transatlantic flight, and 33.5 hours later, he landed at Le Bourget Field in Paris. Lindbergh returned to the United States a national hero. Awarded the Medal of Honor, he carried out a goodwill tour of North and South America. He and his wife, Anne Morrow Lindbergh, then pioneered air routes that would later be used by commercial airliners.

In 1936, after the kidnapping and death of his infant son in 1932, Lindbergh moved his family to Europe to escape the press. The “Lone Eagle,” as he was known, was invited to inspect the German Luftwaffe and came away convinced of the Germans’ air superiority. He also accepted a decoration from Nazi Germany for his 1927 flight.

Returning to the United States in 1939, Lindbergh became one of the chief advocates of U.S. neutrality after Germany invaded Poland, and he was openly critical of President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s efforts to support the Allies. In a series of speeches across the country, he became the leading spokesperson for the Committee to Defend America First. The animosity between Roosevelt and Lindbergh was acute, and Lindbergh resigned his Air Corps reserve commission. A Madison Square Garden speech he gave on 23 May 1941 produced a popular backlash; threats were made against his life, his books were removed from library shelves, and his hometown even painted over his likeness on the city water tower. In a speech in Des Moines, Iowa, Lindbergh claimed the Roosevelt administration, the British, and the Jews were pulling the United States into the war.

After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Lindbergh urged support for the war effort, and in late December 1941, he offered his services to the military but was rejected because of his prewar position. Seeking to become part of the war effort, he joined the Ford Company to assist in production of the B-24 bomber at its Willow Run plant. Lindbergh then joined United Aircraft, and in 1944, he helped to test fighter aircraft in the Pacific and teach fuel economy techniques. He also flew combat missions and shot down at least one Japanese plane. Returning to the United States, he spent the remaining years of his life championing conservationist causes. He won the 1953 Pulitzer Prize for his autobiography,



Charles A. Lindbergh beside his plane, *The Spirit of St. Louis*. (Library of Congress)

The Spirit of St. Louis. Lindbergh died of cancer on 26 August 1974, in Hana, Maui, Hawaii.

T. Jason Soderstrum

See also

America First Committee; Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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Literature of World War II

The devastation wrought by World War II was immense. This second world conflagration of the century was experienced on all continents and by almost every human being; age-old distinctions between military and civilian populations were gradually obliterated. Decades after hostilities ended, psychological damage lingered, and the financial burden would fall on generations unborn when the war itself was waged. Well into the twenty-first century, books of fact and fiction would endeavor to explain how enlightened peoples could have drifted into such horror. For the writers, there would be no armistice.

This grim drama unfolded in an age when communication was becoming immediate and global and when reading materials of all types and qualities were at last available to almost everyone. The letters, notebooks, diaries, journalism, and official documents generated by the war provided historians an incomparable record, and thousands of poems, short stories, plays, and novels in the major languages provided corroborative testimony that spoke more directly to the masses of people. One of the chief results of this deluge of highly personal writing was the blurring of the distinction between reportage and fiction, along with the refinement of what has been called “documentary fiction.”

The novel and poetry at their best, through the selection of strategic detail and the exploitation of the connotative power of words and images, create empathy and provide that expansion of experience rarely achieved by merely factual documents. Poets do not lie; rather, they probe for a higher truth. Yet Plato, who himself possessed the artistic imagination, warned against the poets. Their characteristic subject was “arms and the man,” and their harrowing descriptions of combat, he feared, would make young men afraid to defend their lands. Since antiquity, major literary talents have taken war as their subject. Yet it seems strange at first that the most total war of all history, World War II, produced no *War and Peace* or even a *Gone with the Wind* to capture the public fancy as a defining epic. Although acclaimed poets expressed wartime sentiments and poetic controversies arose over the clash of ideologies, no single poem moved the masses the way the verses of Siegfried Sassoon and Wilfred Owen had done in World War I. The frustrations of the common soldier entangled in bureaucracy continued to provide black humor, yet no picaresque novel achieved the renown of Jaroslav Hasek’s World War I classic, *The Good Soldier Svejk*.

No overriding myth stirred the literary artists in their struggles against fascism, nazism, and Japanese racism. This war was not fought to make the world safe for democracy. Neither was it believed to be a war to end all wars. After the surrenders, however, almost everyone agreed that the right side had prevailed. Nazi thugs and Japanese bullies had been defeated. British novelist Anthony Burgess pronounced the war a grim but necessary chore.

Even while books proliferated, another medium had captivated the masses with its portrayals of wartime courage and its later postwar celebration. The Hollywood films and, with more self-conscious seriousness, the French “New Wave Cinema” would effectively tell the story. Decades later, television’s History Channel in the United States would take World War II as its special province.

U.S. Literature from World War II

The United States may have been the major winner, economically and culturally, of the war. The nation shed the cultural

inferiority complex that had so long plagued it, as it became evident that it possessed not only an intact publishing industry but some of the most talented writers in the world. Almost alone among warring nations, the United States had been able to maintain the distinction between civilian and armed populations. In Europe, the strong emotions generated by ruined cities and ruined lives could not yet be contemplated in tranquility, but Americans could still experience emotions at some distance from the carnage. Even for U.S. servicemen, the war, despite its horrors, had remained a foreign adventure. The American postwar mood, unlike the existentialist malaise that spread through Europe, was optimistic. Soldiers returned home to resume their lives, start their families, and revitalize society.

The vitality of American fiction writers and their wartime inspiration were soon evident in Norman Mailer’s *The Naked and the Dead* (1948), Irwin Shaw’s *The Young Lions* (1948), and James Jones’s *From Here to Eternity* (1951). These were bulky novels, with more attention to plot and theme than to stylistic finesse. Their milieu, described with as much gritty detail as the sensibilities of the period permitted, was intensely masculine. Female presence seemed unessential in the serious male business of warfare. The novels of Herman Wouk—conservative, old-fashioned books—were also widely read: *The Caine Mutiny* (1951), *The Winds of War* (1971), and *War and Remembrance* (1978) were later successfully filmed.

These books have frequently explored the ethnic intricacies of U.S. society under battle conditions. Thomas Heggen’s *Mister Roberts* (1946) combined satire, humor, and serious themes in its study of the boredom of an assorted crew on a navy cargo ship. As late as 1986, Richard Wiley’s novel *Soldiers in Hiding* placed Japanese American jazz musicians on tour in their ancestral land during the attack on Pearl Harbor. Stranded, they are forced to contend with conflicting loyalties while saving their lives.

In a gentler vein was James Michener’s 1948 *Tales of the South Pacific*, more famous in the Rogers and Hammerstein musical adaptation, *South Pacific*. Against the backdrop of war in the Pacific, a U.S. Army nurse finds love with a courtly European gentleman. Readers also welcomed John Hersey’s reassuring 1944 Pulitzer Prize winner, *A Bell for Adano*, about an American military governor’s efforts to provide justice for a defeated people during the occupation of Sicily.

Several novels used the techniques of satire, fantasy, and surrealism to express their themes. Joseph Heller’s *Catch 22* (1961) was a cynical study of military bureaucracy. *Gravity’s Rainbow* (1973) by Thomas Pynchon was a complicated compendium of wartime allusions, skillfully written but so obscure that it is frequently read with a commentary in hand. One of the most eccentric yet appealing books inspired by personal wartime experience was Kurt Vonnegut’s 1969 novel, *Slaughterhouse Five*. Vonnegut had been a prisoner of

war in a German slaughterhouse during the firebombing of Dresden, and the destruction of that stately city and its people continued to haunt him long after he returned home. His hero, the aptly named Billy Pilgrim, reacts to Dresden's destruction by becoming unhinged in time. Past, present, and future merge for him in a narrative that humorously and poignantly combines surrealism with images and clichés from science fiction.

American poets earnestly surveyed the war-torn world; to many of them, it was further proof of the wasteland modern life inhabited. T. S. Eliot, an American-born British citizen, recorded his reflections on the crisis in *Four Quartets* (1935–1942), the major work of his later years. His younger contemporary, W. H. Auden, an Englishman transplanted in the United States, embraced Christianity as the consolation and sole resolution of the disruptions of the war, rejecting his earlier reliance on Marx and Freud. Auden's collaboration with Christopher Isherwood in the early 1930s had already resulted in several provocative publications; *Journey to a War* had scrutinized Japan's invasion of China. Auden's later poetry was conditioned by his friendship with refugees from Nazi tyranny, and he even provided asylum for the daughter of writer Thomas Mann by marrying her. Two other major poets moved by the war were Randall Jarrell and Archibald MacLeish. Jarrell's experiences in the U.S. Army Air Forces led to a series of embittered poems entitled *Little Friend, Little Friend*, in 1945. MacLeish, who became librarian of Congress during the war years, composed a poetic drama, *The Fall of the City* (1937), as a parable of Adolf Hitler's rise to power.

The American literary establishment experienced a major embarrassment in the highly publicized case of Ezra Pound. From distinguished American lineage, Pound had earlier established himself as poet and mentor to a generation of serious American and British poets. In 1925, he had settled in Italy; by 1941, he was on Italian radio, broadcasting propaganda for his hero, Benito Mussolini. These public rants, increasingly anti-Semitic, continued after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Not surprisingly, on the liberation of Italy, Pound was taken into U.S. custody. In accusing him of treason, the government faced a dilemma. Does one pardon a notorious traitor whose crimes are public, or does one execute a man many believe to be the most important poet of his generation? The problem was evaded when Pound was declared insane and committed to a comfortable incarceration in St. Elizabeth's Hospital near Washington, D.C. There, he held court to his admirers and accepted awards. He was finally allowed to return to Italy, where he died in 1973.

British Literature from World War II

Unlike the United States, Britain endured the war at home as well as on the battlefield. Despite severe paper shortages and the disruptions of civilian life, quality writings appeared

there throughout the period. Elizabeth Bowen and William Sanson wrote of hardships on the home front. A much loved novel of early wartime sacrifice was Jan Struther's *Mrs. Miniver* (1939), filmed by Hollywood in 1942 with an all-star cast headed by the elegant British actress Greer Garson, who projected a reassuring image of courageous domesticity. Vera Brittain, whose writing during World War I had been so moving, attempted unsuccessfully to repeat her earlier success with a melodramatic tale of shell shock and battle fatigue in *Account Rendered* (1944).

British novels after the war made vivid the range of situations the British people, often directly in the line of fire, had endured. Muriel Spark's *The Prime of Miss Jean Brody* (1961) was a story of Edinburgh school girls precariously mentored by their charismatic and misguided teacher. It explored the romantic fascination Mussolini exerted on the imaginations of repressed individuals of romantic temperament. Graham Greene, one of the eminent twentieth-century writers, told of an adulterous love conducted in the ruins of the Blitz in *The End of the Affair* (1951). Greene's descriptions of war-ravished Vienna in *The Third Man* (1950) had presented an ultimate picture of a great city in defeat, though the book was sometimes dismissed as a mere "entertainment." Evelyn Waugh's *Men at Arms* (1952) was the first part of a trilogy about an old British Catholic family swept up in military commitments. Mary Renault's *The Charioteer* (1953) introduced a topic daring for its decade, homosexuality among servicemen in a military hospital.

Two novels are sometimes identified as the outstanding British contributions to the literature of the war. Peter Towry's *Trial by Battle* (1959) described the experiences of a young British officer in Malaya during the Japanese advance. The distinguished critic Frank Kermode said it was "probably the best English novel to come out of the Second World War." Equally admired was J. G. Ballard's *Empire of the Sun* (1984), the fictionalized account of the author's own childhood experiences in occupied China.

Poems occasioned by the war were penned by major British poets. Those with the strongest international reputations were Stephen Spender and Dylan Thomas. A lesser-known collection of "soldier-poets" who were lost in battle or deeply scarred by their combat experiences were honored by the British. They included Alan Lewis, killed in Burma; Keith Douglas, who fell in Normandy; and Roy Fuller and Henry Reed, who survived but with bitter memories.

Soviet Literature from World War II

The Soviets were also victors in the war. Their incomparable reputation as writers of fiction had been well established by the end of the nineteenth century, and Count Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace* ranks beside Homer's *Iliad* as an epical account of warfare. But during World War II, the Soviet

Union's talented men and women of letters had been demoralized by German invaders and inhibited by the harsh regime of Josef Stalin. Whatever censorship they might face, a number of Soviet citizens were still committed to serving with their pens "the holy cause" of the homeland. Ilia Ehrenburg's *The Fall of Paris* (1942) was written to inspire Soviets to avoid the fate of the French, whereas Mikhail Sholokhov's *The Science of Hatred* (1942) protested German brutality toward Soviet children, women, and common soldiers. Konstantin Simonov's *Days and Nights* (1945) praised the heroic Soviet defense of Stalingrad, as would Vasily Grossman's later novel, *Life and Fate* (1980). Vera Panova's *The Train* (1946) vividly detailed the treatment of the wounded and dying on a Soviet hospital train, related with a warmth and compassion that echoes nineteenth-century Russian fiction. Unforgettable was Anatoli Kuznetsov's *Babi Yar* (1967), a "documentary novel" about the murder of 200,000 Soviet Jews outside Kiev in 1941. This episode had also inspired a poem by Yevgeny Yevtushenko in 1962.

German Literature from World War II

It has been said that military histories are written by the victorious. In World War II, however, the losers were often as eloquent as the victors. German writers, at home and in exile, recorded their experiences in journals and novels, with a soul-searching that only intensified with the end of hostilities. Within Germany and Austria, the Nazis had sought to control all artists, and many established German-language writers—such as Thomas Mann, Anna Seghers, Franz Werfel, Robert Musil, and Hermann Broch—had sought early exile from the regime. After the war, other voices could also be more freely raised. Stefan Heym, author of *The Crusaders* (1948), may have been the youngest of the literary dissidents; later, he became a mentor to other middle and east European writers. Bruno Erich Werner's 1949 novel, *The Slave Ship*, was one of the most powerful statements from any party to the war. It identified Nazi-controlled Germany as the "slave ship" of its title. Erich Maria Remarque, who had made his reputation writing about World War I, did not achieve the same success with *Spark of Life* (1952), about starving victims of Nazi concentration camps. By this time, Remarque was well settled in Hollywood and married to a movie star, and he seemed to possess less credibility. Henrich Boll's *Adam, Where Art Thou?* (1955) dealt with the disintegration of Germany and an army demoralized in defeat. In *Dog Days* (1963), Günter Grass handed readers another scathing if surrealistic vision of the Hitler years.

Although German atrocities were freely acknowledged in these books, the courage and skill of the German fighting man was not slighted. Theodor Plievier, as early as 1948, had presented the siege of Stalingrad from the viewpoint of German soldiers. In *Stalingrad: The Death of an Army*, young Germans endure freezing cold, lack of adequate food, and the onset of

disease, eventually perishing alone and far from home. In *Arrow to the Heart* (1950), Albrecht Goes told the story of a German army chaplain sent to attend the execution of a compatriot in the Ukraine in the early years of the Soviet Campaign. Willi Heinrich's *The Cross of Iron* (1956) provided another classic portrayal of endurance; a German platoon on the Eastern Front stoically accepts hardship and prepares for death.

Italian Literature from World War II

It is widely believed, in Italy as elsewhere, that the Italians were halfhearted in their pursuit of the war. Many Italian intellectuals had refused to serve the Fascist cause. Luigi Pirandello, the most famous writer in Italy, had attempted to avoid political entanglements and write his plays and stories in peace, even while accepting Mussolini's patronage. He died in 1936 and was thus spared the bitter decisions other writers had to make, and his reputation accordingly survived intact. Giuseppe Ungaretti and Salvatore Quasimodo continued writing their poetry, trying to serve a higher calling than that of Mussolini, whereas Cesare Pavese and Umberto Saba were keenly anti-Fascist. Ignazio Silone's *Bread and Wine*, written from Swiss exile and first published in 1937, was a powerful indictment of the Fascist regime and its destructive influence on the Italian character.

Whatever their politics, Italian writers were always best at showing the war's effects on the poor and oppressed; they had less interest in writing about military successes or defeats. Possibly the most widely translated Italian novelist of wartime reflection was Alberto Moravia. His 1958 novel, *Two Women*, followed the struggles of a mother and daughter in Rome during the final year of the war. The women suffer at the hands of their Italian compatriots, are further oppressed by the occupying Germans, and finally are ill treated by Allied liberators. Elsa Morante's *History: A Novel* (1974) described life in the Roman slums during the German occupation and the plight of a half-Jewish widow seeking to survive and protect her family. A number of other women writers came to prominence in Italy during this period. Natalia Ginsburg, who was Jewish Italian, was one of the most talented.

Japanese Literature from World War II

World War II was, of course, fought on two major fronts. It is possible that the people who suffered most among all the contending parties were the Japanese. Although the novel, as it is known in the West, was an import to their islands, Japanese writers quickly demonstrated their genius of adaptation. Their fiction is fast finding a broader audience. The best-known World War II novel from the Japanese point of view remains Sholei Ooka's *Fires on the Plain* (1957). It described the emotional collapse of a brave warrior who first witnesses his country's disintegration and realizes that he is no longer sustained by national myth. After he becomes a prisoner of the Americans, he acknowledges the futility of all sacrifices in war.



Foreign editions of *The Diary of Anne Frank*. (Todd A. Gipstein/Corbis)

Akira Yoshimjara's powerful novel *One Man's Justice*, though originally published in 1978, did not become available in English translation until early in the twenty-first century. Though it contained no mention of Pearl Harbor or the atrocities committed by the Japanese against the Chinese and other peoples who fell under their control, it movingly captured the thoughts and emotions of its hero, a Japanese soldier. On the run from a U.S. military tribunal, the soldier feels no guilt for having beheaded an American prisoner of war after the end of hostilities. He has witnessed the sufferings of Hiroshima and does not believe Americans have the moral authority to judge him. They have exterminated his countrymen "as if they were vermin" and, he learns, listened to jazz while returning from their murderous bombing raids.

Considering the magnitude of the event, there are relatively few fictional treatments of the beginning of the atomic age and the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Perhaps more time must pass before these events can be confronted. One well-known novel is, however, based on diaries and interviews with survivors of Hiroshima. This is Masuji Ibuse's *Black Rain* (1985). Although individual sections are powerful, the book—in its piling up of horrors—illustrates

the aesthetic problems of journalism too immediately and directly transmuted into fiction.

The implications of the bomb have been left largely to the futuristic fiction writers. The most provocative books have been Neville Shute's *On the Beach* (1957) and Walter M. Miller's *A Canticle for Leibowitz* (1960). In Shute's novel, the Australian nation awaits, in a matter of days or weeks, the coming of the radiation that has already destroyed the rest of humanity. Miller describes a monastic society of the future that retains a faint memory of the civilization that has been destroyed, as it starts laboriously to rebuild.

Occupation Literature

Occupation literature, with its profound sense of violation, comprises another major category of World War II fiction. During the German occupation of France, film, theater, and literature flourished, sometimes in open collaboration with the oppressor and at other times with cryptic anti-Nazi messages. As a result of the German curfew, the urban French became avid readers, and copies of Paul Eluard's resistance poem "Liberté" were dropped by the thousands into occupied France by the Royal Air Force. *Wartime Pilot* (1942), by

Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, was a poetic narrative of wartime missions, based on the author's adventures as a pioneer aviator. The book, which found special favor with the subjugated French, has been called "the odyssey of the skies."

After the liberation of France, there was freedom to reflect on the national humiliation. Simone de Beauvoir's *The Blood of Others* (1948) placed ill-fated lovers adrift in wartime France. Henri Troyat's 1958 novel, *The Encounter*, examined the German occupation through the eyes of a woman who kept a music shop and loved American jazz. Jean Paul Sartre's *Troubled Sleep* (1959) tried to suggest reasons for the ignoble capitulation of France. The short stories, novels, and plays of both Sartre and Albert Camus—and the existentialist philosophy they expressed—were likewise products of occupation and experiences of the Resistance. But perhaps the most curiously disturbing French writer during the period was Louis-Ferdinand Céline, who vacillated between admiration for and abhorrence of Hitler, between French patriotism and denunciation of his countrymen. Céline first made his reputation with his descriptions of the London underworld during World War I, and his last important works, *Castle to Castle* (1957) and *North* (1960), described the Nazi nightmare world that France became in the war.

The best-loved World War II novel from a French writer was Pierre Boulle's *The Bridge on the River Kwai* (1954), with its generally admiring view of the professionalism of British servicemen, its exploration of the moral ambiguities of wartime, and the humor and irony with which it examined relationships between Japanese officers and British prisoners of war.

World War II Literature of Other Countries

Of the many war novels written in the less widely known languages of participants, several have been translated and merit mention. Tage Skou-Hansen's *The Naked Trees*, translated from Danish and first published in 1959, was a love story from occupied Denmark. The best-known Finnish novel from the war was Paavo Rintala's *The Long Distance Patrol* (1967), detailing the experiences of Finnish soldiers caught between two oppressors, the Soviets and the Germans. A powerful Dutch novel was Hugo Claus's *The Sorrows of Belgium* (1990), which viewed the trauma of a complex society in wartime and the collaboration of certain Flemish nationalists with invading Nazis.

Two Czech novels that have received international acclaim are Josef Bor's *The Theresien Requiem* (1963) and Bohumil Hrabal's *Closely Watched Trains* (1968). Bor fictionalized an actual event, performances of Verdi's *Requiem* for an audience of Nazi officials, including the notorious Adolf Eichmann. The musicians, all prisoners of the Theresienstadt camp, were exterminated after their last concert. Hrabal's novel pictured life in a small, depleted Czech village in the last days of the occupation.

Other East European writers have left unique records. Constantin V. Gheorghiu's *Twenty-Fifth Hour* (1950) was a

grimly picaresque tale of the misadventures of a Romanian peasant held for 13 years in different work camps, caught up in the various bureaucracies, and perplexed in turn by fascists, communists, and democratic governments. Another Romanian novel of note was Zaharia Stancu's *The Gypsy Tribe* (1971), which took as its grim subject the Nazi persecution of Romany peoples.

The Polish writer Monika Kotowska, in *The Bridge to the Other Side* (1963), provided a sensitive rendering of the sufferings of children during the war and its aftermath. The better-known Polish novelist Stanislaw Lem employed the image of a mental hospital to convey the insanity of the Nazi subjugation of Poland in *Hospital of the Transfiguration* (1975).

Istvan Orkeng, a Hungarian, wrote *The Toth Family* (1966), a black comedy indicting the general compliance of his countrymen with nazism. Danilo Kis's *Hourglass* (1984) displayed a Kafkaesque world on the multiethnic borders of Hungary and Yugoslavia, where suicide, murder, and instant disappearance became mundane events.

The most acclaimed Serbo-Croatian novel was Miodrag Bulatovic's *A Hero on a Donkey* (1965), set in Montenegro under the Italian Fascist military presence. With a lighter touch, Bulatovic reinforced the common perception that an Italian occupation was the least of many possible misfortunes. Stasis Tsirkas's *Drifting Cities* (1974) was the most notable Greek novel of the war, with its mysterious locales of Cairo, Jerusalem, and Alexandria and its celebration of the Greek struggle against both fascism and communism.

Two books with special exotic appeal came from Indonesia and Iran, respectively. Ismail Marahimin's *And the War Is Over* (1977) was set in fabled Sumatra, among Dutch prisoners of the Japanese. The book won the highest literary prize offered by Indonesia. *Savushun: A Novel of Modern Iran* (1969) by Simin Daneshvar described Iran during English and Soviet occupations. Although protection of the oil fields is the official concern, one simple family struggles to maintain honor and dignity, despite disease, famine, and the assassination of their patriarch. The book was also notable for its feminine point of view; it was the work of an accomplished Iranian woman novelist.

Holocaust Literature

One subgenre of World War II literature that has grown to immense proportions and is still expanding is Holocaust

The Diary of Anne Frank so captured public imagination that its author is one of the most famous women of all time.



Author Elie Weisel. (Mitchell Gerber/Corbis)

writing. Most of this literature is thinly fictionalized memoir; its motive is “lest we forget” and its message “I alone survive as witness.” Of all the atrocities of the bloody twentieth century, the one that stands out most vividly in the Western collective memory, thanks to the creative writers as much as to the historians, is the extinction by the Nazis of two-thirds of the Jewish population of Europe. *The Diary of Anne Frank* has so captured public attention that its author is now one of the four or five most famous women of all time. Though the diary was a factual report, a coming-of-age memoir of years in hiding from the Nazis, it was artistically formed and bore the marks of an emerging literary talent. Elie Weisel’s *Night* (1960) and Tadeusz Borowski’s “This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen” and other stories (1948) were further examples of strong personal narrative formed by the techniques of fiction. Weisel, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, may be the most famous Holocaust survivor. Though Borowski was not Jewish, he was a prisoner at Auschwitz, and until his untimely death by his own hand after the war, he was a rising star of Polish letters.

Other notable Holocaust writings were not by survivors but by talented novelists who had lived among survivors. *The Shawl* and *Rosa* (1989) were admirably crafted novelettes by Cynthia Ozick, who wrote almost exclusively of Jewish subjects and themes. William Styron’s *Sophie’s Choice* (1979) was another much discussed and debated novel about survival from Auschwitz, though neither Styron nor his heroine was Jewish.

Juvenile Literature from World War II

Juvenile literature, too, has felt the impact of World War II. No feature of the conflict has been ignored in the hundreds of fictional books now available for youth. Combat, ghettos, concentration camps, home front concerns, and the war’s aftermath have all been examined. With a vision more complex and cosmopolitan than could be found in earlier juvenile fiction, the postwar books tried to teach tolerance for all people, the necessity of compassion, and the lesson that war is tragedy rather than adventure. The books, despite their new realism, retained the moralistic messages children’s literature has long conveyed.

Juvenile series books, usually churned out by a writing syndicate under a host of pen names, have for decades engaged children with vicarious adventures, even while they dismayed teachers and librarians. During World War II, Helen Wells took Cherry Ames, her nurse heroine, into jungle tents and military barracks of the South Pacific, as well as conventional military hospitals, in *Cherry Ames, Army Nurse*, *Cherry Ames, Chief Nurse*, and *Cherry Ames, Senior Nurse*, all published in 1944.

Juvenile books have always attempted to help children understand people in foreign lands. V. F. H. Visser’s *Gypsy Courier* (1964), translated from the Dutch, was the story of a 15-year-old Romany boy who delivers messages for the Polish underground and becomes a skilled saboteur of German records. *Petros’ War* (1971), translated from the Greek of Alki Zei, showed the plight of a 10-year-old Greek child confronting both Italian and German enemies. An especially reassuring tale was Betty Green’s *The Summer of My German Soldier* (1973), in which a Jewish girl living in the American South befriends a young German prisoner of war, bringing down the wrath of both her family and community.

The animal story is a staple of juvenile books, and both the heroism and suffering of animals in wartime provide gripping reading. *Poor Elephants: A Sad Story of Animals and People and War* (1979), by Yukio Tasuchiya, was an account of starving elephants in the Tokyo Zoo, when there was no longer food for them or even the means to euthanize them. *Renni the Rescuer* (1940) related the adventures of a dog who rescued the wounded on the battlefield. It was written by Felix Salten, the beloved creator of *Bambi*.

Popular Fiction, Science Fiction, and Fantasy

Popular fiction, which strives primarily to entertain and sometimes to propagandize, also went to war. Frank G. Slaughter, who had given up medical practice to write medical thrillers that entertained people all over the world, moved into the war zone with *Air Surgeon* (1943) and *Battle Surgeon* (1944). In Britain and the United States, Barbara Cartland, Eric Ambler, Agatha Christie, Leslie Charteris, and Mignon Eberhart were among popular writers who found an ultimate background to adventure in the war. As late as the 1980s, Elliot Roosevelt, the son of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, published *A Family Matter*, in collaboration with Sam Toperoff. Although it had no apparent basis in fact, the book postulated a scheme by which Roosevelt would share MANHATTAN Project secrets with the Soviets in exchange for their help in defeating Japan. Not to be outdone by his brother, James Roosevelt, who fancied himself a writer of detective fiction, initiated the Eleanor Roosevelt mystery series, which transformed his mother into a Miss Marple-style detective. In *The White House Pantry Murder*, published in 1987 but set in the 1940s, Eleanor uncovers a Nazi assassination plot in the White House itself.

The genre of science fiction and fantasy, which was the best-selling category in paperback fiction by the 1980s, has also mirrored the themes and concerns of the war. Alternate history or “what-if?” books have been especially provocative. What if the Allies had been unsuccessful and the world had been left to the devices of the Germans and the Japanese? Three notable books outlined a future in which Hitler did win the war: Philip K. Dick’s *The Man in the High Castle* (1962), Robert Harris’s *Fatherland* (1992), and John Barnes’s *Finity* (2000). Henry Turtledove went a step further into the stratosphere, injecting an alien invasion from outer space into the European war in his curious *Worldwar: Striking the Balance* (1997). Perhaps the scariest work of the science fiction genre, which does not seem so far-fetched at the beginning of the twenty-first century, was Ira Levin’s *The Boys from Brazil* (1976), in which the notorious Nazi medical researcher Josef Mengele survives in a South American jungle laboratory and produces multiple clones of Hitler to send forth to adoptive parents throughout the world as little boys. Even more bizarre was Roland Puccetti’s 1972 nightmare fantasy, *The Death of the Führer*. Hitler’s brain is extracted by a Nazi scientist and placed in the body of an unidentified person who is pledged to resurrect the collapsing Reich. Nazi hunters, learning of the feat, begin a search-and-destroy mission. The Brain turns out to be housed in the body of a voluptuous woman, who reveals her secret to a Jewish Nazi hunter she has bedded in the moment of erotic climax.

Hitler’s place as supervillain of a villainous century seems secure in the popular imagination. Fictionalized biographies, works of acknowledged fiction, and unauthenticated tabloid

exposés have assured him this status. Bogus Hitler diaries have appeared, and so great is the thirst for Hitler information that reputable historians and major news magazines have been fooled. Books purporting to be by or about an alleged wife or daughter have attracted the curious. The Führer’s suicide in his Berlin bunker was barely reported before a barrage of quasi-pornographic writings started appearing, detailing the secrets of his love chambers or reporting sightings of him throughout the world.

The vast literature—whether good, mediocre, or downright silly—that has already been spawned by World War II could not be digested in a single lifetime. And a stream of it continues. Although the many journalistic documents of war on two major fronts leave priceless resources for historians, the creative writers have left posterity equally valuable records of the thoughts and feelings of lives forever changed by this global calamity.

Allene Phy-Olsen

See also

Art and the War; Babi Yar; Blitz, The; Dresden, Air Attack on; Eichmann, Karl Adolf; Film and the War; Hiroshima, Bombing of; Hitler, Adolf; Holocaust, The; Legacy of the War; Mussolini, Benito; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Stalin, Josef; Women in World War II

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Lithuania

Largest and most southerly of the Baltic states, occupied by both the Germans and the Soviets during World War II. Lithuania achieved its independence from Russia on 16 February 1918 as a consequence of World War I. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic recognized this independence in a bilateral treaty in July 1920, and this was confirmed in a nonaggression pact between Lithuania and the



German forces landing with their equipment at Memel in Lithuania, May 1939. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

Soviet Union on 18 September 1926, extended to a 10-year period in 1934. In 1939, Antanas Smetona ruled Lithuania as dictator from the capital of Kaunas. Unlike the other Baltic states, Lithuania enjoyed satisfactory relations with the Soviet Union. The nation's vulnerability to its more powerful neighbors was shown in the 1920 Polish seizure of Wilno (Vilna), the old medieval capital of Lithuania. Then, in March 1939, Germany seized Memel.

Lithuania remained independent until implementation of the terms of the nonaggression pact between Germany and the Soviet Union of 23 August 1939. Under the terms of this agreement, Lithuania was originally assigned to Germany, but in return for additional territory in Poland, Germany ceded Lithuania to the Soviet Union's sphere of influence on 28 September.

After the German invasion of Poland in September 1939, Lithuania declared its neutrality. On 10 October, its leaders signed a mutual assistance treaty with the Soviet Union. The Soviets then returned Wilno to Lithuania from Poland in exchange for permission to station Soviet troops on Lithuanian

soil. The Soviet Union also promised not to interfere in Lithuanian internal affairs. On activation of this treaty in June 1940, Soviet troops entered Lithuania, and, pledges to the contrary notwithstanding, the Soviet government carried out subversive activities, arrested several thousand Lithuanians, and subverted the election process, which brought the Communists to power and resulted in the proclamation of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. The new government then voted to join the Soviet Union, as announced by Moscow on 5 August 1940.

The process of the Sovietization of Lithuania then commenced. Lithuanian institutions were done away with, and Soviet laws replaced Lithuanian ones. Soviet authorities abolished religious teaching in the schools, seized private lands, and nationalized industries. At least 40,000 Lithuanians believed to be in opposition to these policies were deported to remote portions of the Soviet Union in early June 1941, just before the German invasion of the USSR in Operation BARBAROSSA.

The German army soon occupied Lithuania and subjected the country to its own control. Industries nationalized by the Soviets now came under Third Reich control. Food and

basic goods were rationed. The Germans also attempted to recruit a Lithuanian Schutzstaffel (SS) division, but so few responded that the effort failed. Tens of thousands of Lithuanians were deported to Germany to serve there as slave laborers. The Germans also encouraged the settlement of native Germans in Lithuania, and efforts to secure “racial purity” led to the killing of some 170,000 Lithuanian Jews, chiefly from the ghettos of Wilno and Kaunas.

The reoccupation of Lithuania by the Soviets, beginning in April 1944, brought the flight of tens of thousands of Germans and Lithuanians westward and a new wave of terror. Once the Soviets had control, they reintroduced the Communist leaders from 1940 and Sovietization, including collectivization in land, deportation of remaining Poles, and persecution of the Catholic Church.

The war claimed at least 25 percent of the population of the country through the deportations and loss of virtually all its minorities, including at least 135,000 Jews, as well as the Germans and Poles. Between 1947 and 1950, Soviet authorities ordered the deportation of some 350,000 additional Lithuanians. The country did not regain its independence until 1991.

Laura J. Hilton and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact

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Litviak, Lidiia (Lilia or Liliia) Vladimirovna (1921–1943)

Soviet air force officer and first woman fighter pilot to shoot down an enemy aircraft in daytime. Born in Moscow on 18 August 1921, Lidiia Litviak became a flying instructor after graduating from the Kherson Flying School. By mid-1941, she had trained 45 pilots. That fall, she joined Major Marina Raskova's 122th Group. Litviak's 586th Fighter Regiment, which flew Yak-1 fighters, became operational in April 1942 and was assigned the defense of military and civilian installations in Saratov.

In September 1942, Litviak was sent with her squadron to Stalingrad. With fighter pilots Raisa Beliaeva, Ekaterina Budanova, and Mariia Kuznetsova, she joined the 437th Fighter Regiment, scoring her first two victories, or “kills,” on 13 September 1942. As her new wing did not fly Yaks, she soon

transferred with Budanova to the 9th Guards Fighter Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Lev Shestakov.

In January 1943, when this wing began acquiring American Bell P-39 Cobras, Litviak and Budanova transferred to the 296th Fighter Regiment (renamed the 73rd Stalingrad-Vienna Guards Fighter Regiment) of 6th Fighter Division, Eighth Air Army, to continue flying Yaks. They were both commissioned as junior lieutenants on 23 February 1943, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Red Army. (Budanova was posthumously proclaimed a Hero of the Russian Federation, the highest Russian military decoration, in January 1995.) Litviak and Budanova both became “free hunters,” searching for targets of opportunity. Litviak's final score stood at 12 autonomous and 3 group victories.

Outnumbered in a dogfight, Guards Senior Lieutenant Litviak was killed on 1 August 1943. Because her Yak was missing, rumors persisted that she had gone over to the Germans. Her loyalty to the Soviet regime was suspect, as her father, the former deputy minister of transportation, had been executed in 1937 in the Great Purges. After her remains, which had been found in 1979, were identified, Litviak was rehabilitated in March 1986. She was posthumously given the Hero of the Soviet Union award by Mikhail Gorbachev on 5 May 1990.

Kazimiera J. Cottam

See also

Raskova, Marina Mikhailovna; Soviet Women's Combat Wings; Women in World War II

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Lockwood, Charles Andrew, Jr. (1890–1967)

U.S. Navy admiral who served as commander of the Pacific Fleet's submarines from 1943. Born on 6 May 1890 in Midland, Virginia, Charles Lockwood graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1912. He commanded submarines during World War I and then evaluated captured German U-boats after the war. He spent most of the interwar years in the submarine service. He taught at the Naval Academy from 1933 to 1935, before becoming chief of staff to the U.S. Fleet submarine commander between 1939 and 1941.

When the United States entered World War II, Lockwood was serving as U.S. naval attaché to Great Britain, a post he retained until March 1942, when he was promoted to rear admiral and became commander of U.S. submarines in the southwest Pacific. Lockwood assumed command during a difficult time. The navy had recently reorganized his command and relocated it to Australia. In addition, U.S. submarine commanders were experiencing serious problems with unreliable torpedoes. Lockwood led the way in ordering tests to determine the cause of torpedo failure. These experiments eventually resulted in securing properly functioning weaponry for the submarines.

In February 1943, Lockwood became commander of submarines in the Pacific Fleet, and that October, he was promoted to vice admiral. Under his direction, the U.S. Pacific submarines became the most effective submarine force in history, utilizing radar, signals intelligence, improved torpedoes, and more aggressive tactics to sink two-thirds (5.3 million tons) of Japanese merchant ships and a third of Japanese warships, at a cost of 52 U.S. submarines sunk.

Lockwood also played an important role in developing procedures to rescue aircraft personnel. In 1943, he adopted a plan that posted submarines in various locations to retrieve downed pilots. This program, dubbed the “Lifeguard League,” led to the safe return of more than 500 Americans shot down over the Pacific.

After the war, Lockwood went on to serve as navy inspector general, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations. He stayed in this capacity until his retirement in September 1947. Over the next two decades, he wrote several books about his experiences. Charles Lockwood died in Monte Serena, California, on 6 June 1967.

R. Kyle Schlafer

See also

Central Pacific Campaign; Convoys, Axis; Radar; Signals Intelligence; Southeast Pacific Theater; Southwest Pacific Theater; Submarines; Torpedoes; United States, Navy; United States, Submarine Campaign against Japanese Shipping

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to locations thousands of miles distant, with climates as varied as the frozen Aleutian Islands, the tropical jungles of New Guinea and Burma, and the deserts of North Africa. The service troops not only had to deliver the goods but also usually had to develop the transportation infrastructure before large quantities of materials could flow efficiently. The Allied powers of Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States proved adept at solving most logistical challenges and getting the required materials to the locations where they were most needed.

The production of war materials was and still is ultimately dependent on resources. Although the Axis powers were short of many strategic materials from the very beginning of the war, the Allies were fortunate to have adequate supplies of the most vital war resources. The United States and the Soviet Union were especially well placed as far as natural resources were concerned, with sufficient supplies of such resources as coal, oil, iron, copper, lead, and zinc. Shortages of tin, nickel, manganese, tungsten, and magnesite were made up from other Allied powers or neutral states. These resources were available as long as the Allies controlled the seas and had sufficient merchant shipping to move them where needed. Latin America produced tin; Canada supplied nickel; and India, South Africa, and Latin America had supplies of manganese. Latin America had tungsten, and the Soviet Union and Australia had magnesite. What one country lacked, another often had in surplus.

No single resource proved more important than oil, and the Allies had adequate supplies of that vital commodity. The United States produced 60 percent of the world's oil in 1937, and Latin America produced 15 percent. Germany, by contrast, produced just .2 percent and depended on Romanian oil, which accounted for 2.4 percent of the world's production in 1937. The Allies drew on American domestic production along with oil from Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Middle East.

The only petroleum problems experienced by the Allies involved the production of sufficient high-octane aviation fuel and the general distribution of petroleum products. The United States eliminated the shortage of high-octane fuel by implementing a major construction program to build additional refineries. The construction of oil tankers, the defeat of the U-boat menace, and the development of pipelines to move fuel—such as the “Pipeline under the Ocean” (PLUTO) for the Normandy Invasion and the petroleum, oil, lubricants (POL) pipeline system across France—all were key to solving the transportation problems. Some campaigns were affected by fuel shortages, such as Lieutenant General George Patton's drive across France in the summer of 1944, but the Allies usually had ample supplies of fuel with only occasional spot shortages, whereas major fuel shortages hindered the Axis powers throughout most of the war.

Logistics, Allied

Logistics—the ability to procure, maintain, and transport military material, facilities, and personnel—was one key to the Allied victory in World War II. The war required the procurement and transportation of vast quantities of materials



Coast artillerymen wait to board the transport USS *Thurston* (AP-77). Their commanders, Major Gordon Dixon (*center*) and Lt. Col. Ronald N. Schartle (*right*) accompany the men, 9 May 1943. (The Mariners' Museum/Corbis)

The four major Allied powers each had special logistical requirements and problems during the war, which they confronted with varying degrees of success. In the end, the combined logistical effort enabled the Allies to defeat the Axis powers.

In the Far East, the Chinese—both the Nationalist Chinese led by Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) and the Communist Chinese led by Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung)—had large numbers of ground forces in the field and millions of troops during the war but limited industrial capability to support them. By 1941, most of China's industrial areas had been overrun by the Japanese, following their invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and China proper in 1937. The Chinese needed whatever aid the other Allies could spare, but geography imposed serious limitations on transporting that aid into the country. Prior to December 1941 and the U.S. entry into the war, Western aid to China was limited to a trickle of supplies arriving through

Burma or was primarily symbolic, such as that provided by the famed Flying Tigers (the American Volunteer Group) commanded by Claire Chennault.

Construction of the Burma Road and later the Ledo Road and the establishment of an air bridge over the Himalaya Mountains enabled greater quantities of aid to reach China, but these provisions were limited in comparison to materials going to Great Britain and the Soviet Union. Japan's invasion of Burma and its subsequent drive toward India imposed further difficulties on providing aid to China. Indeed, getting military assistance there remained a daunting task throughout the war. The success of the air bridge and the Burma and Ledo Roads helped keep the Chinese in the war, thereby tying down the majority of the Japanese army.

The British mobilized when war broke out in 1939, but they were dependent on their overseas empire and trade for foodstuffs and war materials. The timely arrival of merchant ships

loaded with fuel and raw materials was crucial to the long-term survival of the British Isles in the war. If resources could not reach the homeland and British troops overseas expeditiously, then the war would be lost. Thus, the Battle of the Atlantic proved to be the most important campaign of the war for Britain. Maintaining the sea-lanes to its overseas empire, along with securing massive amounts of aid from the United States in the form of Lend-Lease assistance, enabled Britain to remain in the war.

The Soviet Union, which joined the Allied camp in June 1941 after it was invaded by Germany, faced some of the most difficult logistical challenges. With millions of military and civilian casualties and much of its European territory occupied by the German army, the Soviet Union had to mobilize fully its remaining population and endure sacrifices at levels not known in the West. The Soviet logistical effort relied on the complete mobilization of the Soviet citizenry and the use of Siberian resources, supplemented by Lend-Lease materials from the Western Allies.

During the initial campaign of the summer of 1941, the Soviet Union evacuated entire industries, moving factory machinery from the path of the advancing Germans to safety behind the Urals. Workers were also relocated in large numbers so they could put the machinery back into production, often in the dead of winter. The sacrifices of the Soviet people were extraordinary, but by the end of 1942, the Soviet economy was outproducing

To ensure rapid delivery of gasoline, the Allies laid a pipeline under the English Channel to Normandy.

that of Germany in nearly all key areas of armaments production, such as tanks, aircraft, and artillery.

Recognizing that it was vital to keep the Soviet Union in the war, the United States extended Lend-Lease to that country in November 1941, sending large quantities of weapons, trucks, and equipment to the Red Army and also food. Aid to the Soviet Union was sent by one of three routes: by ship to Murmansk, by ship to the Persian Gulf and then by rail to the Soviet Union, or by ship across the Pacific to Vladivostok in Soviet hulls. U.S. shipments of tanks and aircraft equaled less than 10 percent of the total produced by the Soviets, but additional items such as trucks (over 400,000), boots, sugar, foodstuffs, and communications equipment played important roles in helping Soviet forces survive and then take the offensive against the Germans.

In the United States, the Two-Ocean Navy Act of 1940, the expansion of the army and its burgeoning need for weapons, and armaments orders from France and Great Britain all promoted the growth of military industries. The Lend-Lease Act, passed by Congress in March 1941, provided for the shipment

of goods and war materials to nations fighting the Axis powers and helped make the United States the “arsenal of democracy.”

During the war, the United States produced vast quantities of goods for the war effort, including aircraft, tanks, trucks, warships, merchant ships, oil, and agricultural products. Henry J. Kaiser mastered the art of mass-producing merchant ships, and in 43 months of operation, Henry Ford’s Willow Run, Michigan, factory turned out 8,685 B-24 bombers, one every 102 minutes. Its industrial might enabled the United States not only to arm its allies but also to field the best-supplied, most mobile force to that point in military history.

In March 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt approved Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall’s reorganization of the army into the Army Ground Forces, the Army Air Forces, and the Army Service Forces (ASF). Headed by General Brehon Somervell, the ASF was responsible for supplying, quartering, and transporting the ground and air forces. It provided the myriad services required by an army in the field. Meeting the logistical requirements for an expanding military within the continental United States was, in itself, a daunting task, not to mention the job of supporting forces in the European and Pacific Theaters.

Although the Allied invasion of France did not take place until 1944, the buildup for the invasion began in May 1942. Then, in November 1942, Allied forces invaded North Africa in Operation TORCH. The Mediterranean Theater of Operations, Services of Supply command oversaw the American logistical effort in the Mediterranean.

To ensure the safe buildup of supplies in Britain and the continued support of Allied forces in the Mediterranean, winning the Battle of the Atlantic was critical. British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill and Roosevelt met at Casablanca in January 1943 and decided that battle and the bombing of Germany would have the highest priority. The accomplishment of both goals reflected the importance of logistics: the first ensured the safe and timely arrival of war materials from North America, and the second hindered the German and Italian logistical efforts by around-the-clock bombing of Axis industry.

The Normandy Invasion required an immense logistical effort, ultimately involving the transportation of hundred of thousands of troops and millions of tons of cargo. Allied planners knew that they could not count on using French ports, so to ensure that materials could be gotten ashore, the Allies constructed two artificial harbors known as Mulberries and then moved them to the invasion area. The Mulberries were truly an engineering marvel, but they failed to meet expectations because one was destroyed and the other was severely damaged by a Channel storm in late June 1944. To ensure the rapid delivery of gasoline, the Allies laid a pipeline under the English Channel that allowed fuel to be pumped from England to Normandy, where it was decanted into 5-gallon cans

or pumped into large storage tanks until the pipeline could be extended across France.

Once Allied forces were ashore in France, the European Theater, Services of Supply command—known after June 1944 as the Communications Zone (COMMZ)—oversaw the supply and administration needs of the U.S. Army in France. Commanded by Lieutenant General John C. H. Lee, COMMZ played a vital role in keeping the army moving forward. When the Allies broke out of Normandy in Operation COBRA in late July 1944, the First and Third U.S. Armies moved so quickly across northern France that they outran their supply lines. As an emergency measure, the Red Ball Express was activated—a circular truck route on which vehicles moved around the clock to transport fuel, ammunition, and food to the forward units. The route helped fill the gap until French rail lines could be restored. Toward that end, the Allies transported locomotives and rolling stock to France aboard ships. In sum, the Allied logistical effort in the Mediterranean and in western Europe made the defeat of Germany in May 1945 possible. Without adequate logistics support, Allied forces would have been unable to pressure the Germans on multiple fronts and destroy the ability of the Axis states to wage war.

A key to victory in the Pacific Theater was the transportation of men and material across the ocean to newly created bases. Units such as the Seabees carved air and naval bases out of tropical islands in record time. Marines and army units secured suitable islands, and fleet anchorages and depots ashore were established. Before the war, naval leaders assumed that the U.S. Navy would have to fight at vast distances in the Pacific, and they developed the “fleet train” concept, one of the most important factors in the Allied victory in the Pacific. A great fleet of merchant ships, fleet oilers, tenders, and support vessels of all kinds kept the supply lines open and the fleet functioning for long periods at considerable distances from the nearest bases. The U.S. Navy mastered the art of midocean refueling and reprovisioning. U.S. ships were thus able to remain at sea for extended periods, only calling at a fleet anchorage for major repairs or crew rest and relaxation. The ability of the navy to bring everything it needed to establish a fleet anchorage turned peaceful lagoons such as Ulithi into bustling, major port facilities. Logistics proved essential in the China-Burma-India Theater as well. Although low on the overall priority list, the movement of supplies over the Burma Road and the aerial resupply of China over the Himalaya Mountains from bases in northern India helped keep China in the war and tie down the bulk of the Japanese army.

Throughout the war, the use of aircraft to haul supplies to advancing armies or forces cut off from the more conventional forms of resupply became increasingly important. Whether bearing supplies or paratroopers, the cargo planes—the C-46 and C-47—were vital additions to the overall

logistical effort. During the war, both sides learned the limitations in the use of aircraft for resupply, but the Allies had far more transport aircraft than the Axis powers and were able to use them more effectively. Allied aircraft supported airborne operations, supplied troops and evacuated the wounded, and transported high-priority supplies to advancing units of Patton’s Third Army during its drive across France. Transport aircraft were very valuable assets, provided their limitations were understood.

In all theaters of the conflict, logistics proved critical to Allied successes in World War II. When the Axis powers failed to achieve a quick victory in the war, the initiative passed to the Allies, with their far greater collective economic strength. This factor, together with their ability to get these resources to the fighting fronts, helped ensure the Allies’ victory.

Steve R. Waddell

See also

Aircraft, Production of; Aircraft, Transport; Armaments Production; Atlantic, Battle of the; Burma Road; Casablanca Conference; Cash-and-Carry; Chennault, Claire Lee; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; COBRA, Operation; Convoys, Allied; Destroyers-Bases Deal; Lee, John Clifford Hodges; Lend-Lease; Liberty Ships; Logistics, Axis; Marshall, George Catlett; Mulberries; Red Ball Express; Somervell, Brehon Burke; Stalingrad, Battle of; TORCH, Operation

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Logistics, Axis

The war required the procurement and transportation of vast quantities of materials over considerable distances and in climates as diverse as the Arctic, jungles, and deserts. The inability

ity of the Axis powers of Germany, Italy, and Japan to procure, maintain, and transport military material, facilities, and personnel in sufficient quantities played a key role in their eventual defeat in World War II. The Axis logistical effort was handicapped from the very beginning of the war by a combination of factors, including limited resources and production capacity, mismanagement, and transportation difficulties.

As long as they could successfully conduct short and decisive campaigns and avoid protracted conflicts, the Axis powers could compensate for most logistical shortfalls they encountered. But when forced to conduct a lengthy war of attrition against the economic giants—the United States and the Soviet Union—the Axis powers discovered that their logistical shortcomings continually limited their military options, which led directly to their eventual defeat.

Germany began the war with an economy mobilized unlike any other in Europe. Fortunately for the Allies, however, Germany had neither the centrally planned and centrally commanded economy of the Soviet Union or the free enterprise, capitalist-driven economy of the Western Allies. In the end, the German economy, along with those of Italy and Japan, suffered from poor management, which resulted in inefficient production and the misuse of valuable resources. For example, whereas the Allies standardized weapons in order to speed up mass production, the German Luftwaffe at one point was producing 425 different aircraft models and variants. Such diversity made it difficult to mass-produce war materials.

Germany began the war with serious shortages of strategic resources. It imported oil, iron ore, copper, tin, nickel, bauxite, manganese, tungsten, chromium, molybdenum, sulphur and pyrites, phosphates, rubber, rice, maize, wheat, and meat. Some of the shortages could be made up by prioritizing the use of resources and by acquiring new supplies through conquest. The vital resource most in short supply in Europe was oil. Germany produced only .2 percent of the world's oil in 1937. Romania, its chief supplier of oil, produced just 2.4 percent. The Allies, by contrast, had access to nearly all the world's oil production; the Soviet Union had 10.6 percent, the United States 60.4 percent, and Latin America 15.3 percent. Germany had experimented with synthetic fuel production in the interwar years and had had some success, but without imports of oil from Romania throughout the war and from the Soviet Union prior to the German invasion of that country in 1941, the German war machine would have ground to a halt. Germany's Axis allies were in even worse shape with regard to oil. The Axis powers were desperately short of oil throughout the war, which severely limited their mobility, the training of their armed forces, and the overall production of war materials.

Logistical support for the German military improved greatly with the appointment of Albert Speer as the minister of armaments in 1942. He led an effort to centralize the Ger-

man economy, reduce the number of weapon types, and maximize production. Weapons production trebled in three years. However, just when the efforts to centralize production in large assembly plants began to result in increased output, the Allied bombing campaign began in earnest, and the large production facilities were bombed repeatedly by Allied aircraft.

Speer's efforts to boost production could have been even more successful had Adolf Hitler approved the large-scale use of German women in the war economy. Unlike the situation in the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union, only a small percentage of German women were engaged in manufacturing work at the beginning of the war. And instead of mobilizing women for the factories, Germany relied on the use of millions of slave laborers to meet the ever increasing demand for workers. Speer's efforts most certainly prolonged the war, but they came too late to bring Germany victory.

The lack of resources affected German strategy during the war. Supplies of iron ore from Sweden were secure when the Baltic Sea was open, but during the winter, the ore had to be shipped through Narvik in Norway. Keeping the supply route through Narvik open was a prominent factor in the German decision to invade Norway in April 1940. Similarly, the invasion of the Soviet Union, which ultimately proved to be a logistical disaster, was partially prompted by logistical reasons. The wealth of resources there, both agricultural and mineral, would have gone a long way toward making Germany self-reliant in most areas. Hitler's decision to turn the armored forces south to envelop Kiev in August 1941 not only resulted in the surrender of a large Soviet force but also secured the Ukraine, the breadbasket of the Soviet Union. The German 1942 campaign that culminated at Stalingrad was the result of Hitler's attempt to capture the Caucasus oil fields. In 1944, the German army used all available resources in its attempt to keep the Red Army from seizing the Ploesti oil fields in Romania. The loss of Romanian oil, along with the Allied bombing of the German synthetic fuel plants, helped bring about the ultimate defeat of Germany in many ways; for example, it sharply reduced training time for pilots.

Once materials were produced, the sinews of war had to reach the armed forces at the front. Despite the popular image of panzer divisions slicing their way across Europe, the German army was basically a force of foot soldiers supported by horses, wagons, and railroads. Throughout the war, 80 to 85 percent of the army moved on foot and received supplies by wagon from the nearest railhead, and Germany actually used more horses in World War II than it did in World War I. Indeed, the German logistical system for supplying the armed forces had advanced little since World War I, save for the use of trucks by some units. To motorize only 15 percent of its forces, Germany confiscated trucks from the occupied countries whenever possible. As a result, the German military eventually had 151 different types of trucks in service, and it

proved virtually impossible to get the right spare parts to the right trucks expeditiously. The Americans, by contrast, had one primary truck—the rugged 2.5-ton “deuce-and-a-half,” of which over 2 million were produced.

The most important element of the German supply system was the railroad. When the Luftwaffe had air superiority early in the war, the railroads were secure. But by 1943, the Allies were gaining control of the air, and the resulting fighter-bomber and bomber strikes on the German transportation system began crippling the German logistical effort. By the end of the war, German production, even though maximized by Speer’s reforms, was rendered nearly useless when the materials that were produced could not be transported to the front for use by the troops.

The Italian logistical situation was even worse. Italy entered the war unable to support its armed forces in a long conflict. In fact, the nation lacked all the vital resources necessary to fight a major war, regardless of duration. Oil was in short supply, as were most strategic metals. Benito Mussolini’s drive for empire—the invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, as well as the invasions of France, Greece, and Egypt in 1940—failed to improve Italy’s logistical situation. These campaigns actually did more harm than good because they taxed Italy’s limited resources, and the resulting supply lines to its far-flung empire were virtually insupportable. Long and tenuous supply lines to Italian forces in Ethiopia, for example, could not be sustained, and the Italians there fell victim to a British offensive in 1941. Support of Italian forces in Libya required control of the central Mediterranean Sea. Yet by late 1942, the Allies, operating from Malta and bases at Gibraltar and Alexandria, had gained effective control of the Mediterranean Sea.

Italy had too little fuel to produce additional war materials or even to support the tanks and aircraft that it already possessed. The navy lacked the fuel to sortie, so it remained largely in port. The army, as with the German military, was dependent on horses, mules, and wagons, as well as the railroads and a few trucks.

Japan, an island nation, suffered from the same logistical problems. It lacked resources and had to import nearly all its strategic materials in merchant ships. The quest for resources was an important factor in the Japanese moves into Korea in 1904, into Manchuria in 1931, and into China in 1937. The main goal of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere was the economic independence of Japan. When the United States embargoed scrap metal and then oil following Japan’s move into French Indochina between 1940 and 1941, Japan found itself in the awkward situation of having to back down and withdraw from the occupied territory or go to war to solidify its hold on the needed resources. The attack on Pearl Harbor covered the Japanese drive to seize Southeast Asia in order to acquire the oil fields of the Netherlands East Indies and the rubber and tin of Malaya, as well as other strategic resources.

Unfortunately for Japan, the country did not have enough time to develop its newly acquired resources, nor did it have the sealift capacity to transport the materials that were produced. In December 1941, Japan had only 49 tankers totaling 587,000 tons. By contrast, Britain, which was also dependent on foreign oil, had 425 tankers of 2,997,000 tons in 1939, and the United States had 389 tankers of 2,836,000 tons.

The marginal Japanese sealift was steadily reduced during the course of the war by U.S. submarines and airpower. By late 1944 and into 1945, Japan was almost completely cut off from imports, and the overall lack of petroleum products crippled the Japanese war effort even more severely than was the case for Germany. Aerial mining by B-29s also disrupted or destroyed much of the Japanese coastal trade.

Growing Allied air superiority, increasing shortages of merchant ships, the failure to convoy (there were scarcely any escorts available) or implement an effective antisubmarine effort until late in the war, limited resources within Japan itself, and the U.S. strategic-bombing campaign against Japan all but doomed the Japanese supply system to failure. By the last years of the war, bypassed Japanese forces in the Pacific were starving for lack of logistical support. All that the Japanese could do was convert some of their submarines to transports and deliver small quantities of supplies to isolated garrisons. Such stopgap measures did little but briefly prolong the war.

For the Axis powers, logistical factors were always a major concern. German mechanized warfare was ultimately limited by the lack of motor transport available to the German military. But even if Germany had been able to produce more vehicles, the limited availability of fuel would have sharply restricted their use. By 1944, when German single-engine fighter production peaked, the lack of high-octane aviation fuel so limited training that the pilots quickly fell victim to the better-trained and more experienced Allied pilots. The Italians also suffered from a lack of oil from the beginning of the war, and their inability to transport gasoline and replacement weapons and personnel across the Mediterranean in sufficient numbers proved a major factor in the Axis defeat in North Africa. Japan’s inability to protect its merchant fleet and ensure delivery of fuel and other resources from Southeast Asia ultimately destroyed the Japanese economy in 1945 and left the nation on a starvation diet. Axis victories on the battlefield became fewer and farther between as the logistical situation of the Axis powers deteriorated during the course of the war.

Steve R. Waddell

See also

Aircraft, Production of; Armaments Production; Convoys, Axis; Germany, Home Front; Italy, Home Front; Japan, Home Front; Logistics, Allied; Norway, Role in War; Romania, Role in War; Speer, Albert

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Löhr, Alexander (1885–1947)

German air force general and commander of the Twelfth Army in the Balkans. Born at Turnu-Severin (in today's Romania) on 20 May 1885, Alexander Löhr joined the Austro-Hungarian army and became a lieutenant in 1906. He contributed greatly to the buildup of the Dual Monarchy's air service during World War I. In the interwar period, he saw service in the Austrian War Ministry and commanded the aviation branch as a Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general) in 1934.

After Germany's annexation of Austria in March 1938, Löhr joined the German Luftwaffe, and in 1939, he commanded its Fourth Luftflotte. During the invasion of Poland in September 1939, his aircraft destroyed Polish communications and traffic lines. In early April 1941, Löhr was assigned a similar task against Yugoslavia, with the additional charge of paving the way for advancing army units. On the morning of 6 April 1941, without a declaration of war, Löhr's bombers attacked Belgrade. They destroyed the Yugoslav command structure but also killed 1,500 civilians.

Promoted to colonel general on 9 May 1941, Löhr was supreme commander of the bloody German airborne assault of Crete, beginning on 20 May 1941. After the invasion of the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, he commanded 4th Air Force Group in the southern part of the front. In July 1942, Adolf Hitler appointed him to command Twelfth Army in the Balkans (renamed Army Group E in January 1943). From 1943, Löhr additionally acted, with several interruptions, as supreme commander, Southeast. His task was to suppress the resistance movements and defend Greece against Allied landings.

In the summer of 1944, Soviet forces advanced toward Bulgaria and Hungary and threatened to cut off German units in the Balkans. Therefore, Hitler authorized a withdrawal through Yugoslavia to Hungary. Under constant partisan attacks, Löhr's army nonetheless slowed the Soviet advance until the end of the war. A prisoner of war of the Yugoslavian government from 11 May 1945, Löhr was tried for war crimes by a Yugoslav military court, sentenced to death, and executed in Belgrade on 26 February 1947.

Martin Moll

See also

Balkans Theater; Crete, Battle of; Greece, Role in the War; Weichs zur Glon, Maximilian Maria Joseph von; Yugoslavia Campaign (1941); Yugoslavia Campaign (1944–1945)

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Lombok, Battle of (19–20 February 1942)

Pacific naval battle, also known as the Battle of Badeong Strait, fought between Japanese and Allied forces on the night of 19–20 February 1942. The encounter followed the Japanese effort to isolate the important Netherlands East Indies island of Java by an amphibious assault on Bali on the morning of 19 February.

As soon as he received word of the Japanese landing on Bali, Dutch Rear Admiral Karel Doorman, commander of the American-British-Dutch-Australia (ABDA) surface force, ordered a naval attack into Lombok Strait in hopes of destroying the Japanese invasion force. U.S. submarine attacks had earlier failed, largely because of faulty torpedoes, although Allied air strikes had damaged one Japanese transport that was escorted by two Japanese destroyers of Captain Abe Toshio's Destroyer Division 8.

Three waves of Allied warships attacked the two Japanese destroyers. Doorman led the first wave, consisting of the Dutch light cruisers *De Ruyter* and *Java* and three destroyers (one Dutch and two American) in a lengthy line-ahead formation at approximately 11:00 P.M. on 19 February. The two Japanese destroyers returned fire, disabling by gunfire the Dutch destroyer *Piet Hein* and then sinking her with torpedoes. After the first Allied attack had passed through the strait, the Japanese destroyers exchanged fire with one another, although without damage.

The second Allied attack wave arrived at about 1:30 A.M. on 20 February. It consisted of four American destroyers, followed by the small Dutch light cruiser *Tromp*. An exchange of gunfire and torpedoes at ranges as close as 2,000 yards resulted in damage to several Allied ships, including the *Tromp*, and both Japanese destroyers. The remaining two destroyers of Abe's Division 8 now arrived in Lombok Strait to reinforce.

Abe steamed in the opposite direction among three of the Allied destroyers and the *Tromp*. The Japanese destroyer *Michishio* was heavily damaged in the exchange of fire, with

96 killed and wounded. Both sides then disengaged. The third attacking Allied wave arrived in the strait about 5:30 A.M. It consisted of seven Dutch motor-torpedo boats, but these failed to locate the Japanese.

The Battle of Lombok forced the *Tromp* to steam for Australia and repairs, and the two Japanese destroyers returned to Japan for the same purpose. The damaged U.S. destroyer *Stewart* would enter dry dock at Surabaya in the Netherlands East Indies, where she was captured by the Japanese and recommissioned in their navy as a patrol ship. The mix of Allied ships manned by exhausted crews was insufficient to deter the Japanese from their advance on Java. A lack of Allied training, faulty tactics that did not allow for a coordinated attack, and poor luck accounted for this Allied defeat.

Jack Greene

See also

Netherlands Campaign

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Lorraine Campaign (1 September–18 December 1944)

Fall 1944 offensive by the Third U.S. Army in the European Theater. The Lorraine Campaign of 1 September to 18 December 1944 followed the successful Allied breakout from the Normandy beachhead and the rapid pursuit of the retreating German forces across France to the Meuse River between July and September 1944.

After a brief pause at the Meuse to allow their supply lines to catch up, the Allies resumed their advance to the Rhine River in early September. The main effort was an attack through Belgium and Holland toward the Rhine and the Ruhr industrial area by Field Marshal Sir Bernard Law Montgomery's British-Canadian 21st Army Group, assisted by the First U. S. Army of Lieutenant General Omar Bradley's 12th U.S. Army Group. Lieutenant General George S. Patton Jr.'s Third U. S. Army, also a part of 12th Army Group, was assigned the mission of conducting a secondary offensive through Lorraine and across the Moselle River to occupy the Siegfried Line sector covering the Saar and then to seize Frankfurt.

The initial plans for Third Army's operations envisioned a rapid, continuous action spearheaded by armored units to

occupy Lorraine, penetrate the West Wall, and cross the Rhine. However, difficult terrain, bad weather, logistical shortages, and a tenacious German defense delayed the Third Army's arrival at the West Wall until mid-December 1944, at which time several of its key units had to be diverted to block an unexpected German counteroffensive in the Ardennes.

The Province of Lorraine sits astride the traditional invasion route between France and Germany. A plateau ranging from 600 to 1,300 feet in elevation, it has many rivers and ridges that provide natural lines of defense. Its rolling farmlands are frequently broken by dense woods or towns that limit observation and fields of fire in combat situations. Moreover, Lorraine was heavily fortified. The French Maginot Line ran through Lorraine, and the city of Metz had been strongly fortified since Roman times. In 1944, two high-speed highways led from Lorraine into Germany: the first from Metz via Saarbrücken to Mannheim and the second from Nancy through the Vosges Mountains to Strasbourg.

The fall climate of Lorraine is foggy and rainy. The rainfall in autumn 1944 was two to three times above average, with 7 inches of rain falling in November alone. Flooded streams and oceans of mud hampered the mobility of the heavily mechanized American forces, and poor flying weather limited Allied air support. At the start of the campaign, Patton's Third Army had only two available corps: the XII under Major General Manton S. Eddy and the XX under Major General Walton H. Walker. VIII Corps, under Major General Troy H. Middleton, remained tied down clearing German units from the Brittany ports. However, for the first phase of the campaign, Major General Wade Haislip's XV Corps was available, thus giving Third Army a force of three armored and six infantry divisions, supported by the usual array of nondivisional combat and logistical units.

Patton's combat power was limited by the fact that his forces were at the far end of a fragile logistical line. Priority for logistical support had been assigned to Montgomery's 21st Army Group, and the French ports had not yet been fully cleared. Moreover, the U.S. Army was already beginning to run short of infantry replacements.

German forces were in even worse shape, having been badly battered on the Eastern Front and in Normandy. The principal German units facing Third Army were the LXXXII Corps and XLVII Panzer Corps of the German First Army under General der Infanterie (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) Kurt von der Chavallerie, which, on 8 September, was joined with the German Nineteenth Army in Army Group G, commanded by Generaloberst (U.S. equiv. full general) Johannes von Blaskowitz. Many of the German combat units were seriously understrength in both men and horses, their primary means of mobility. Elite units, such as the Waffen-SS and Luftwaffe parachute divisions, were in better shape, but many of the German defenders were in newly formed Volksgrenadier

divisions manned by poorly equipped troops of low quality. Although German lines of communications were shorter, Allied air interdiction made it difficult to move men and supplies to the front.

The campaign opened in early September with only limited success. In the north, the 90th Infantry Division of XX Corps suffered heavy casualties in unsuccessful efforts to cross the Moselle near Metz, but south of Metz, the 5th Infantry Division gained a limited bridgehead over the river. Farther south, XII Corps had better luck after a few setbacks. On 13 September, the 4th Armored Division conducted a double envelopment around Arracourt, 20 miles beyond the Moselle, and forced the German First Army to evacuate the city of Nancy on 14 September.

A German counterattack from the south designed to destroy Third Army before it could link up with the 6th U.S. Army Group advancing from southern France failed when Haislip's newly assigned XV Corps hit and shattered the German left flank. In the center, a German attempt between 19 and 29 September to squeeze out the 4th Armored's Arracourt salient also failed. As a result, General Blaskowitz was relieved as commander of Army Group G by General der Panzertruppen (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) Hermann Balck. On the northern side of the XII Corps salient, in the forest east of Nancy, a weak German force almost broke through the 35th Infantry Division in confused forest fighting between 27 September and 1 October, but the front was restored when Patton committed his army-level reserve, the 6th Armored Division.

On 22 September, Supreme Allied Commander General Dwight D. Eisenhower reaffirmed the logistical priority of Montgomery's 21st Army Group and ordered Patton to restrict his offensive operations. In addition, Patton had to relinquish the 7th Armored Division and eventually the entire XV Corps. Despite serious shortages of gasoline and other supplies, the always aggressive Patton continued local attacks during October, the most important of which was a vain effort to capture Fort Driant on the west bank of the Moselle facing Metz, an attempt that cost the 5th Infantry Division some 500 casualties.

The October pause was also costly for the Germans. General Balck had to transfer two divisions, and several of his higher headquarters, including that of the Fifth Panzer Army, were moved north for the planned Ardennes Offensive. This situation left the German First Army with approximately 87,000 men and 130 tanks to oppose the 250,000 men and 700 tanks of Third Army.

The Allied logistical situation improved at the end of October as the port of Antwerp was restored to use. The commander of 12th Army Group, General Bradley, planned a new offensive, but the First Army on Patton's left was unable to meet the schedule, and Third Army attacked alone on 8 November. Using skillful deception techniques, XX Corps on the left took Metz in a double envelopment between 8 and 19

November. Some of the Metz forts were captured by surprise; others were neutralized and bypassed. North of Metz, in only five days, the Americans constructed the longest Bailey bridge in Europe, allowing the commitment of the new 10th Armored Division to pursue the Germans back to the Saar River.

The XII Corps attacks east of Nancy did not go as smoothly. The 26th Infantry Division suffered over 6,000 casualties in heavy fighting between 18 and 28 November. The 4th Armored Division passed through the 26th Division on 22 November and seized a crossing over the Saar the next day. By accident, the 4th Armored ran into and halted the German Panzer Lehr Division, which was moving to attack the XV Corps, then part of Seventh Army to the south. On the left of XII Corps, both the 35th and 80th Infantry Divisions used artillery and close-air support to reduce German outposts in the old Maginot Line. The 6th Armored Division passed through the 35th Infantry Division on 25 November, but its advance was limited by mud and German fortifications.

The slow advance of Third Army in November was mainly the result of poor weather and a lack of mass, for its nine understrength divisions were spread along a 62-mile front. Nevertheless, by 2 December, the Third Army had reached the West Wall along the Upper Saar. Under cover of fog, a battalion of the 95th Infantry Division crossed the river on the morning of 3 December and seized the bridge at Saarlautern intact. Intense fighting followed as the American troops inched their way through a maze of houses and pillboxes. Heavy battle and nonbattle casualties, plus the declining availability of infantry replacements, limited the American advance. Just as Patton's infantry began to make progress, the Germans launched their Ardennes counteroffensive.

Between 16 and 18 December, Patton halted his advance, spread his divisions to cover wider frontages, and turned the 4th Armored and 80th Infantry Divisions 90 degrees to the left and rushed to attack the left flank of the German advance in the Ardennes, thereby ending the Lorraine Campaign after three and a half months of heavy fighting under trying logistical and climatic conditions.

Charles R. Shrader

See also

Bradley, Omar Nelson; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Maginot Line; Metz, Battle of; Middleton, Troy Houston; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Siegfried Line, Breaking the; Walker, Walton Harris; West Wall, Advance to the; Western European Theater of Operations

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Love, Nancy Harkness (1914–1976)

Squadron commander of the U.S. Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron (WAFS). Born on 14 February 1914 in Houghton, Michigan, Nancy Harkness developed an interest in aviation early in life. At the age of 16, she earned her pilot's license, and while a student at Vassar College, she began a flying school. Harkness earned an air transport rating in 1933. In 1936, she married Robert Maclure Love, who owned Inter-City Aviation, an aircraft sales and service company in Boston.

On 10 September 1942, Love, with the support of Colonel William H. Tunner, head of the Ferrying Division's Domestic Wing of the U.S. Air Transport Command (ATC), orga-

nized 25 women pilots into the WAFS. Headquartered at New Castle Army Air Base in Delaware, the WAFS was formed to deliver planes from factories to military bases.

On 5 August 1943, the WAFS and the Women's Flying Training Detachment (WFTD) merged to form the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP), with Jacqueline Cochran as director of the WASP and its Training Division and Love as director of the Ferrying Division. Love's duties included the administration of six WASP ferrying squadrons and the planning of operational and training procedures.

Love was the first woman to be qualified to fly the North American P-51 Mustang fighter, and by March 1943, she was also proficient in the North American A-36 Apache dive-bomber and 14 other types of military aircraft. She was also the first woman to fly the North American B-25 Mitchell bomber, piloting it coast to coast in record time. Accompanied by Betty Gillies, Love was one of the first two women qualified to fly the Boeing B-17 Flying Fortress bomber. She was also the first woman to deliver a Douglas C-47 Skytrain and to qualify in the Douglas C-54 Skymaster transport.



Nancy Harkness Love, director of the U.S. Women's Auxiliary Ferry Squadron, adjusts her helmet in the cockpit of an Army plane before taking off from an eastern U.S. base. The women under her command ferried aircraft from factories to coastal airports, from which they were flown to overseas battle fronts during 1942 to 1945. (National Archives)

At the end of the war, Love and her husband, a major in the Army Air Forces, were each awarded the Air Medal for their leadership and service in World War II. After the war, Love continued as an aviation industry luminary and became a champion in the fight to have the women who served in WASP recognized as military veterans, a status they received in 1977 shortly after Love's death in Sarasota, Florida, on 22 October 1976.

Amy Goodpaster Strebe

See also

Aircraft, Transport; Cochran, Jacqueline; United States, Army Air Forces; Women in World War II

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Lucas, John Porter (1890–1949)

U.S. Army general and commander of Fifth Army's VI Corps. Born in Kearneysville, West Virginia, on 14 January 1890, John Lucas graduated from the U.S. Military Academy and was commissioned a second lieutenant of cavalry. He served in the Philippines and in the Punitive Expedition into Mexico in 1916. Promoted to temporary lieutenant colonel, he served in France during World War I with the 33rd Infantry Division and was wounded.

Reverting to his permanent rank of captain after the war, he taught military science at the University of Michigan. He transferred to the field artillery and was promoted to major on graduation from the Field Artillery School (1921), where he taught for two years. He graduated from the Command and General Staff School and then taught military science at Colorado Agricultural College (1924–1929). Following a command slot at Fort Bliss, he graduated from the Army War College (1932). He then served on the War Department General Staff. Promoted to lieutenant colonel (1935), he commanded the 1st Field Artillery Regiment at Fort Bragg, North Carolina (1936–1937). He next served on the Field Artillery Board (1937–1940) and was promoted to brigadier general (1940).

After briefly leading the 2nd Infantry Division, Lucas assumed command of the 3rd Infantry Division (July 1941) and was advanced to major general (August 1941). He then commanded III Corps in Georgia (1942–1943). Sent to the

Mediterranean in mid-1943, he served as observer and deputy for Lieutenant General Dwight D. Eisenhower. Following the Allied conquest of Sicily, Eisenhower selected Lucas to command VI Corps in Lieutenant General Mark Clark's Fifth Army, although Lucas was not Clark's choice. Lucas's corps was Fifth Army's principal U.S. Army formation during its slow northward advance from Naples to the German Gustav Line at Cassino.

On 22 January 1944, Lucas commanded an uncontested amphibious landing at Anzio behind the German lines. Mounted with insufficient manpower and logistical support, the effort was undertaken in response to insistent pressure from Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill and the theater land forces commander, General Sir Harold Alexander, who anticipated that it would compel a precipitous German retreat from the formidable Gustav Line and open the way to Rome. Instead of striking immediately to the interior and securing the Alban Hills, Lucas consolidated the beachhead. Field Marshal Albert Kesselring rushed reserves there, and the Germans staged a powerful counterattack. Alexander blamed Lucas for the resultant stalemate, describing the cautious, pessimistic American general as "an old woman." Lucas was relieved on 22 February 1944, replaced by Major General Lucian K. Truscott.

Lucas headed the Fourth Army in Texas (1944–1946) and the Army Advisory Group in China (June 1946–January 1948) and was then deputy commander of Fifth Army in Chicago, where he died on 24 December 1949.

Richard G. Stone

See also

Alexander, Sir Harold Rupert Leofric George; Anzio, Battle of; Cassino/Rapido River, Battles of; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Italy Campaign; Kesselring, Albert; Salerno Invasion; Sicily, Invasion of; Truscott, Lucian King, Jr.

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Luftwaffe

See Germany, Air Force.



Houses in Mondorf, Luxembourg, destroyed during the first day of the German invasion, 10 May 1940. (Library of Congress)

Luxembourg

This small country (with only 293,000 people in 1939) was strategically located between Belgium, France, and Germany. It enjoyed a high standard of living, the consequence of its rich deposits of iron ore. Although Luxembourg declared its neutrality, the German army invaded the country on 10 May 1940 in its campaign against the Low Countries and France. Grand Duchess Charlotte and her government escaped to London, where they established a government-in-exile.

On 29 July 1940, the Germans replaced the military occupation with a civil administration, and on 14 August, Berlin decreed an end to Luxembourg's independence, abolishing its constitution, laws, and governmental institutions. Although the vast majority of Luxembourgers were hostile to the German occupation, some chose to join the German People's Movement for a variety of reasons.

Beginning in April 1941, the Germans deported some 12 percent of Luxembourg's population to Germany. A number of citizens joined one of the five separate resistance movements that sprang up in response to the German occupation.

The Belgian Resistance played an important role in rescuing downed Allied airmen. The Germans executed those who offered direct resistance, and they also suppressed a general strike in 1942 protesting conscription into the German military. More than 25 percent of Luxembourg men who were drafted refused to report for duty, but a total of 2,848 Luxembourgers died in German uniform, including some who were shot for desertion. A number also served on the Allied side, both in the Belgian Brigade and with British military formations. In an effort to "Germanize" the country, the authorities forbade Luxembourgers from speaking French, using French names, and even wearing berets.

Allied troops entered Luxembourg on 10 September 1944, driving the Germans eastward. Extremely heavy fighting took place in Luxembourg during the German Ardennes Offensive (Battle of the Bulge) of December 1944 to January 1945, and Luxembourg was not finally liberated until February 1945. It then became an important Allied staging and supply area until the end of the war.

Luxembourg was hard hit by the war. The country had been stripped of important resources of food, raw materials, and finished goods, and the fighting destroyed or seriously

damaged a third of the country's dwellings. During the war, 5,159 civilian Luxembourgers were killed. After the war, the government punished some 10,000 people for collaboration with the Germans.

Laura J. Hilton

See also

Ardennes Offensive; Resistance

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M

MacArthur, Douglas (1880–1964)

U.S. Army general and, during World War II, supreme commander of Allied forces in the southwest Pacific. Born on 26 January 1880 in Little Rock, Arkansas, the son of General Arthur MacArthur, Douglas MacArthur graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1903 with highest honors and as first captain. Following service in the Philippines and Japan, he became an aide to President Theodore Roosevelt (1906–1907). He took part in the 1914 occupation of Veracruz, Mexico, where he was nominated for the Medal of Honor, and served on the General Staff (1913–1917).

After the United States entered World War I in April 1917, MacArthur went to France as chief of staff of the 42nd Infantry Division. Promoted to temporary brigadier general, he fought with the division in the Second Battle of the Marne. MacArthur then led the 8th Infantry Brigade in the Saint-Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne Offensives. He commanded the 42nd Division at the end of the war.

Following occupation duty in Germany, MacArthur returned to the United States as superintendent of West Point (1919–1922), where he carried out much-needed reforms. He again served in the Philippines and claimed that his extensive service there gave him special insight into the “Oriental mind.” MacArthur was then chief of staff of the army (1930–1935), his reputation suffering in the 1932 Bonus Army Incident when he employed force to oust a protest by World War I veterans in Washington, D.C. In 1935, MacArthur returned to the Philippines as adviser to the Philippine government in establishing an army capable of resisting a Japanese invasion. He retired from the U.S. Army in 1937 and became field marshal of Philippine forces.

Recalled to active service with the U.S. Army in July 1941, MacArthur received command of all U.S. forces in the Far East. Believing his forces could defend the islands, he scrapped the original, sound plan to withdraw into the Bataan Peninsula. His refusal to allow Major General Lewis Brereton to launch an immediate retaliatory strike against the Japanese on Formosa following the attack on Pearl Harbor meant that most of his air force was caught and destroyed on the ground.

Although the Japanese force invading the Philippines was composed of only 57,000 men, half that of MacArthur’s own numbers, many of the general’s men were poorly trained (some were recent inductees), and they were thinly spread. The Japanese had little difficulty taking Manila and much of the island of Luzon. MacArthur then ordered his forces to follow the original plan for withdrawing into the Bataan Peninsula. Unfortunately, the bases there were not ready, and the retreating troops had to abandon precious stocks of supplies and ammunition in the process. Over the next months, MacArthur spent most of his time on Corregidor. Rather than see him become a prisoner of the Japanese, President Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered MacArthur to Australia on 22 February 1942, where he became supreme commander of Allied forces in the southwest Pacific. MacArthur also was awarded the Medal of Honor, an honor that many defenders of Bataan and Corregidor believed was undeserved. Officials in Washington were also miffed by MacArthur’s acceptance of a \$500,000 payment from his friend Manuel Quezon, the Philippine president.

From Australia, MacArthur initially developed a deliberate strategy to return to the Philippines. The slow pace of the Allied advance led Washington to insist on a leap-frogging approach that would bypass strongly held Japanese islands



U.S. Army General Douglas MacArthur. (National Archives)

and positions, such as Rabaul on New Britain Island and Truk. In the spring of 1944, MacArthur's troops invaded New Guinea and isolated Rabaul. By September, they had taken Morotai and the rest of New Guinea.

In a meeting with Roosevelt in Hawaii in July 1944, Admiral Chester Nimitz, who commanded forces in the Central Pacific, proposed moving against Formosa, whereas MacArthur sought to retake the Philippines. The goal of both approaches was to deny Japanese forces access to supplies in the south. The upshot was that Roosevelt agreed MacArthur would be allowed to retake the Philippines, and Nimitz shifted his resources against Okinawa.

MacArthur commanded ground forces in the liberation of the Philippines. In October, U.S. troops landed on Leyte. They then secured Luzon between January and March 1945, followed by the southern Philippines. An invasion of Japan proved unnecessary, and MacArthur, one of those promoted to the new rank of General of the Army, presided over the formal Japanese surrender ceremony on the battleship *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay on 2 September in his capacity as supreme commander of the Allied powers.

President Harry S Truman then named MacArthur commander of Allied occupation forces in Japan. In this position, the general in effect governed Japan as a benevolent despot, presiding over the institution of a new democratic constitution

and domestic reforms. On the beginning of the Korean War in June 1950, Truman appointed MacArthur commander of the UN forces sent there to prevent a North Korean victory. During the perilous UN withdrawal into the Pusan Perimeter, MacArthur husbanded his resources, and in September 1950, he launched a brilliant (but also lucky) invasion at Inchon that cut North Korean supply lines to the south. He then oversaw the United Nations Command (UNC) invasion of North Korea, but his faulty troop dispositions and his disdain for possible Chinese intervention nearly led to disaster. His increasingly public disagreement with Truman over the course of the war—which the administration in Washington sought to limit and MacArthur wanted to widen by attacking China proper—led to his removal from command in April 1951.

MacArthur returned to the United States a national hero. He then retired from the military, accepting the position of chairman of the board of Remington Rand Corporation. His attempt to run for the presidency as a Republican in 1952 quickly collapsed, and the nomination and office went to another general, whom MacArthur held in great disdain—Dwight D. Eisenhower. MacArthur died in Washington, D.C., on 5 April 1964.

T. Jason Soderstrum and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Brereton, Lewis Hyde; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; New Guinea Campaign; Nimitz, Chester William; Okinawa, Invasion of; Philippines, Japanese Capture of; Philippines, Role in War; Philippines, U.S. Recapture of; Quezon, Manuel Luis; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Southwest Pacific Theater; Truman, Harry S; Wainwright, Jonathan Mayhew

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Machine Guns

Relatively small-caliber, automatic-fire, crew-served weapon. The machine gun of World War II was a weapon class in itself. In World War I, machine guns had been, in the main, heavy, water-cooled, belt-fed weapons mounted on heavy tripods and used for trench defense or for long-range suppressive fire. However, the need for machine guns in aircraft and the invention of the British Lewis gun and the U.S. Browning automatic rifle (BAR) in World War I created a new form of machine gun. Germany and the United States were the first nations to develop the light machine gun (lmg)

for infantry assault use. The Germans stripped down their *Machinengewehr 08* (MG-08), fitted it with a bipod and a rudimentary stock, and reduced the operational weight to 28 lbs. The resulting MG-34 with its 75-round drum magazine could be carried by a man on the battlefield. It was produced in large numbers throughout the war. In 1942, the Germans introduced the MG-42. An even better development was the Browning automatic rifle, which fired the American .30–06 rifle cartridge, weighed 19.4 lbs, and was fed by a 20-round box magazine. The French World War I M-1914 Chauchat machine gun remained in service. It came in 7.65 mm, 7.92 mm, and 8 mm models but was of questionable tactical value.

Machine guns of the period operated either by recoil or by gas. Recoil-operated machine guns, such as the German MG-34 and MG-42, often had high rates of fire. When the cartridge was fired, the recoil was used to eject the spent cartridge by pushing the breechblock rearward against a spring, after a suitable safety delay period. The spring then forced the breechblock forward again and in so doing reloaded the weapon, which fired as soon as the breech was locked. Gas-operated weapons used gas from the cartridge discharge, which was bled off from a gas port in the barrel. This operated a gas piston, which interacted with the breechblock to extract and reload the weapon.

Machine guns were classified in the period after World War I as either heavy or light. The heavy versions were still mounted on tripods, equipped with both direct and indirect sighting methods, and used for direct shooting and long-range interdiction fire. The light machine guns, however, were the weapons used prolifically by the infantry. These weapons were often but not always fed by magazines or cartridge strips. They were fitted with bipod legs and could be carried in battle by one man. Normally, because of the high rate of ammunition expenditure, one or two other men accompanied the light machine gunner, carrying spare ammunition and sometimes spare barrels.

Ammunition was supplied to the machine gun in various ways. One method was the strip, in which a number of rounds were held on a metal base that was fed through the gun and then reloaded when empty. This method was used with the French Hotchkiss, the Italian Breda, and the Japanese heavy machine gun. Another method was the magazine, which was a spring-loaded box or drum fitted to the gun that could be replaced when empty. Magazines held about 30 rounds of ammunition, and weapons so fitted included the British Bren, the French M-1931A, the American BAR, the Soviet DP (Degtyarev Pekhotniya [Obratsa] or Degtyarev Infantry [Pattern]) (as a drum), and the Japanese type-96 and similar weapons.

Belt feeds, which allowed sustained long-range fire, were found, for example, on the Browning M-1917A1 and M-1919A4 .30 caliber machine guns, the German MG-34 and MG-42, the

British Besa 7.92 mm gun (mainly used as coaxial tank armament), and the Italian 8 mm Fiat Model 35 machine gun.

One other method was used—the clip box. This box, which held ammunition in rifle clips that were fed automatically into the gun, was a rarity. It was seen on the Japanese Nambu 6.5 mm and the Italian Revelli 6.5 mm. Feed and supply problems rendered these weapons inefficient, and they were soon phased out.

The light machine gun was issued on the basis of one weapon to every 7 to 10 men, meaning that every infantry platoon had three or four lmg's; infantry could also call on support from the heavy machine guns if needed. World War II infantry tactics were based on fire and movement, with the lmg firing and the riflemen of a section moving or vice versa. In the British army during the war, the lmg was considered a support weapon, allowing the riflemen to close on the enemy and to attack with the bayonet. The Germans also saw the lmg as the weapon with which to win a firefight with the enemy, who was then to be rolled up by the infantrymen in the section.

U.S. Army infantry troops were equipped with the BAR of World War I fame as well as light machine guns. The M-1917 series water-cooled, .30 caliber Browning lmg was used by U.S. units throughout the war. It was belt fed and could be carried in the platoon, as well as fitted to just about every vehicle in or near the front line. It led to the M-1919 series, .30 caliber, air-cooled machine guns that were the principal U.S. machine guns of the war. They were only moderately accurate, as they had no butt stock to allow effective fire control but instead were fired with a pistol grip at the rear of the gun body. Backing up these weapons was the .50 caliber Browning. The M-1921 series was originally a water-cooled weapon developed to attack aircraft and observation balloons. Its air-cooled offspring, the M-2 series “Ma Deuce,” was used by every U.S. branch in every environment and theater of the war. It could be fired from a tripod mount or fixed on vehicles and could be set for single-shot fire, although it was not intended for use against personnel. The M-2 .50 caliber was also fitted in a number of aircraft. It is still issued to many armies today.

British infantry used the Lewis gun initially, but this weapon was rapidly replaced by the Enfield version of an lmg produced on license from the Brno arms firm of Czechoslovakia. Known as the Bren gun, it was regarded by many as the finest lmg ever made. The Bren was a .303 caliber, detachable-

The Bren gun was a .303 caliber, detachable-box, magazine-fed, gas-operated weapon with a fire rate of 450 to 540 rounds per minute.



U.S. Army Air Force gunner Sergeant William Watts firing his machine gun at a German aircraft during a bombing mission in 1942. (Franklin D. Roosevelt Library (NLFDR)/National Archives)

box, magazine-fed, gas-operated weapon with a rate of fire of 450 to 540 rounds per minute. It was accurate and had a very quick barrel-change system that coped with rapid firing. The Bren gun served throughout World War II and was well respected, although its rate of fire and the tactical restrictions placed on it meant that it was no match in a firefight with its German equivalent. The British also used the famous Vickers .303 machine gun in a support role.

The Soviets began the war with heavy, wheel-mounted, and shield-protected Maxim M-1910 machine guns, but experience with the Germans led to the rapid development of the DP, a section automatic weapon, fed with 7.62 mm rounds from a top-mounted round drum with a capacity of 47 rounds. This weapon was increasingly backed up by the sub-machine gun, which meant that the firepower of a Soviet section began to approximate that of a German infantry section, although weight and rate of fire figures were still lower.

Machine guns were not only used by the infantry, however. They were also mounted in tanks for protection against infantry, although the Germans' self-propelled Ferdinand gun was not so fitted; as a consequence, German troops suffered greatly from Soviet infantry attacks during the Battle of Kursk. Most tanks had a coaxial rifle caliber machine gun fitted in the turret and another in the hull, the latter operated by the driver, codriver, or radio operator. These machine guns were of great value in suppressing enemy machine guns and artillery when use of the main armament was ineffective or impossible.

The Americans and Germans also linked two or more machine guns for antiaircraft use. Early in the war, the Germans had a small infantry cart fitted with two MG-34 machine guns and the appropriate sights for antiaircraft defense; it was soon found, however, that the cart was too easy a target for the aircraft themselves, and the idea was discon-

tinued. U.S. tanks were equipped with .50 caliber machine guns for anti-aircraft defense, the gun being fitted above the commander's cupola on the tank and capable of a 360-degree traverse and a 90-degree elevation. Although the .50 caliber machine gun was a formidable weapon, it had few anti-aircraft successes and was often used in the ground role for attacking soft-skinned vehicles and buildings.

Aircraft were also fitted with machine guns. The British Spitfire, for example, carried eight .303 caliber machine guns, but these were short-ranged and relatively ineffective against German aircraft. The British also employed the .303 caliber machine gun for bomber defense. The Americans entered the war with the .50 caliber weapon in their aircraft, which could inflict great damage on German and Japanese fighter aircraft. The Germans, however, were using 20 mm and 30 mm cannon from the start, and they soon learned that one hit from such a weapon was worth more than any number of .303 rounds and even a good burst of .50 caliber ammunition.

The British turned to the 20 mm cannon for later versions of their fighter aircraft, and the weapon proved singularly effective. The smaller caliber also meant that more ammunition could be carried per gun as compared with the German 30 mm cannon, but the Germans turned to another air weapon—the anti-aircraft rocket. American fighter aircraft, however, continued to utilize the .50 caliber gun.

Naval use of machine guns was limited, although early World War II warships carried some machine guns for local protection. It was soon found, however, that much heavier weapons were needed for anti-aircraft protection, and in most cases, the light and heavy machine guns went into lockers. Naval aircraft reflected their ground-based counterparts in terms of the weapons fitted on them.

David Westwood

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Anti-aircraft Artillery and Employment; Kamikaze; Kursk, Battle of; Rifles; Submachine Guns; Tanks, All Powers

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numbered 4 million, and 34,000 Malagasy troops participated in fighting preceding the defeat of France.

Madagascar was part of a failed scheme in 1940 to create a settlement colony there for European Jews. Actually, plans to resettle Jews there had been advanced in the late 1930s by the Polish and German governments, but only after the defeat of France in June 1940 did the plan gain wider support from Nazi leaders. The so-called Madagascar Plan involved the relocation of 4 million Jews to the island, which France would transfer to German control. However, nothing came of the plan, which other events soon superseded.

Following the British navy's attack on the French fleet at Mers-el-Kébir, Madagascar's administration proclaimed its allegiance to the Vichy government headed by Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain. In March 1942, acting on information that the Germans were pressing the Japanese to seize Madagascar and establish bases there in order to attack shipping around Cape Horn and gain control of the Indian Ocean, London dispatched to the island an expeditionary force of British, British East African, and South African troops under Major General Robert Sturges, supported by naval forces under the command of Rear Admiral Neville Syfret.

The invasion began on 5 May 1942 with a descent on the northern port city and naval base of Diégo-Suarez, the first major British amphibious assault of the war. Although the invasion achieved total surprise, French resistance led to fighting. In September, other landings occurred on the island, and Vichy French authorities surrendered on 5 November. The fighting had claimed some 1,200 casualties, including 600 Malagasy. In January 1943, the British handed over Madagascar to the Free French. Between 1947 and 1948, there was a major uprising on the island against French rule, resulting in the deaths of between 11,000 and 80,000 people. Madagascar became independent in June 1960.

Gary Kerley

See also

de Gaulle, Charles; France, Vichy; Mers-el-Kébir; Pétain, Henri Philippe

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Madagascar

A French colony since 1896, located off the East African coast in the Indian Ocean. A thousand miles in length, Madagascar is the world's fourth-largest island. In 1939, its population

Madoera Strait, Battle of (4 February 1942)

Naval battle in the Netherlands East Indies. On 10 January 1942, responding to the deteriorating situation in the Far East, the Allies established the joint American-British-

Dutch-Australian (ABDA) Command. The next day, the Japanese began their conquest of the Netherlands East Indies by invading Tarakan in Borneo and Menado in the Celebes. This move was followed by their capture of Balikpapan in Borneo and Kendari in the Celebes on 24 January and Ambon in the Moluccas on 27 January. ABDA Command retaliated with its aircraft and an inconclusive naval strike against Balikpapan.

On 2 February, ABDA naval commander U.S. Admiral Thomas Hart formed the Combined Striking Force in order to concentrate his naval resources to meet the next Japanese move. When a Japanese convoy was spotted assembling at Balikpapan, he ordered a sortie. Hart wanted his warships to strike the Japanese as the convoy approached either Makasser in the Celebes or Bandjermasin in Borneo. Already assembled at Madoera Island, near Java's naval base of Soerabaja, were the ABDA cruisers USS *Houston* and *Marblehead* and HMNS *Tromp*, supported by seven destroyers: the USS *Barker*, *Bulmer*, *John D. Edwards*, and *Stewart* and the HMNS *Banckert*, *Piet Hein*, and *Van Ghent*. When their air reconnaissance sighted these vessels on 3 February, the Japanese gathered 36 Mitsubishi G4M (known as "Betty" in the Allied recognition system) and 24 Mitsubishi G3M ("Nell") bombers, along with 7 Mitsubishi CSM2 ("Babs") reconnaissance aircraft to seek out and destroy this threat.

On the morning of 4 February, Dutch Rear Admiral Karel Doorman led the Combined Striking Force north. No ABDA air cover was available except for the *Houston's* three float-planes. Doorman's concern that his force would be spotted by Japanese aircraft was confirmed at 9:49 A.M. when nine Japanese bombers found his ships passing through the Madoera Strait. For the next two hours, the Japanese concentrated their air attacks on the U.S. cruisers.

The Japanese had only one plane shot down and two damaged. Although the Japanese failed to sink any of the ABDA ships, they did inflict serious damage. The *Houston's* after-turret was knocked out, and the *Marblehead* was so badly damaged that she was forced to steam to the United States for repairs. Doorman was obliged to withdraw his force to Tjilatjap on Java's southern coast. U.S. casualties in the battle totaled 63 dead and 84 wounded. Hollywood dealt with the story of the wounded sailors in the 1944 propaganda film *The Story of Dr. Wassell*, starring Gary Cooper.

Jonathan "Jack" Ford

See also

Banten Bay, Battle of; Darwin, Raid on; Hart, Thomas Charles; Java Sea, Battle of the; Lombok, Battle of; Makassar Strait, Battle of; Menado, Battle of; Netherlands East Indies; Sunda Strait, Battle of

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Magic

See Signals Intelligence.

Maginot Line

Massive French defensive fortifications built between 1929 and 1938 along both the German and Italian frontiers. Bled white by huge losses in World War I's trench warfare, France resolved in the 1920s to defend its borders with an efficient fortified wall to make up for its lack of manpower. The maxim of French defense became "Stingy with manpower; extravagant with steel." In part based on the effective resistance of Verdun's underground forts in 1916, the building of the line became the driving passion of Defense Minister André Maginot.

The Maginot Line was conceived as a self-contained system, eventually consisting of two distinct geographic regions. The main part of the line protected Alsace-Lorraine along the Rhine frontier. The Thionville-Metz region was the most heavily fortified and included the huge Hackenberg fortress, with more than 6 miles of underground galleries separated into sectors by heavy antiblast doors, connecting 17 combat blocks. Less known even today was what some sources call the Little Maginot Line. This line protected the French Alpine provinces facing Italy, including important mountain passes, with about 25 miles of continuing fortification down to the Mediterranean at Menton. One of these forts, Rimplas, was the first of the entire system to be built, beginning in 1928.

In each region, the Maginot Line was made up of advance posts, major forts, support facilities, and lines of communication—all built to a standard plan and widely dispersed to withstand modern artillery attack. Located 3 to 6 miles behind the frontier, major (*gros*) and smaller (*petit*) infantry or artillery forts (*ouvrages*) were built to make effective use of terrain to control transportation routes. Artillery pieces—mortars and howitzers—were especially designed for Maginot Line use and were housed in huge casemates, some with retractable turrets. (The largest howitzers were 134 mm caliber weapons.) Each fort had its own diesel power supply and storage deep underground. The largest forts were served by up to a thousand men able to operate for a month at a time, moved



American soldiers inspect the Maginot Line in 1944. (National Archives)

from one part of a fort to another by underground electric trains (*métro*). Forts were located in positions that gave troops the ability to fire on their neighbors to fend off surface enemy attacks (which did not happen at Eben Emael) without harming the occupants (casemate reinforced concrete was more than 10 feet thick and then further protected with many feet of earth). Command-and-control facilities were often buried 60 or more feet deep, relying on input from fortified observation cupolas, an extensive buried telephone network, and radio links. All entrances (usually one for provisions and another for men) were heavily fortified, featured retractable drawbridges (or lifting bridges), and were made airtight against gas attack. There were also emergency entrances for all forts.

What did the Germans know of the Maginot Line before the war? Actually, they knew quite a bit, much of it learned from the captured Czech border forts that were closely modeled on Maginot examples. Aerial surveys just before the war, spies, and interviews with many who had helped to construct the forts (some of them Germans!) gave the German military a good sense of where the Maginot Line forts were and what they could offer in resistance. The Germans did begin work in 1937 on the Gustav gun, with the intention of using it to crack the Maginot Line.

The Germans were also well aware of the fatal flaw in the Maginot Line's geographic conception. Persuaded that no sizable military force could penetrate the dense Ardennes Forest region of southern Belgium, the line of forts stopped at that point, and only light fortifications (dubbed the Maginot Extension) were built along the Belgian frontier to the English Channel. The French plan was to advance into Belgium and assist their allies at the Belgian border fortresses. The plan depended on having enough time to move the requisite armies.

When the German attack finally came in May 1940, of course, blitzkrieg tactics did not provide that time. Guderian's panzers and infantry broke through the Ardennes and turned the flank of the Maginot Line while other forces drove toward the Channel, cutting off British forces. The French, who could barely advance, were rapidly overwhelmed by the German onslaught.

German attacks never breached the structures of any of the gros ouvrages, though some of the smaller outlying facilities were taken in fierce fighting because the surface forces supporting them had been withdrawn. And despite the German use of huge siege mortars and cannon, no major fort fell. Indeed, the Germans took only a few petit ouvrages on the far western end, even though they expended considerable effort and usually greatly outnumbered the defenders. To the south, the Italians never broke through the Alpine defenses, although they did directly assault the gros ouvrage of Cap Martin overlooking the sea in a failed attempt to gain control of the coast road.

In the end, the Maginot Line accomplished exactly what it was designed to do—protect Alsace-Lorraine and the French

provinces facing Italy. It did not “fail,” despite the fact that some of its forts had not yet been fully armed. The existence of the line, originally designed to give the army time to mobilize and then attack, had clearly lulled France into complacency in the face of a rearming Germany and Italy. The French army fell into a defensive stance and ignored mobile warfare, as the High Command was convinced the line could contain any enemy attack. Only after the Germans occupied two-thirds of the nation did Maginot Line forces surrender with the rest of France.

Forces stationed at many of the forts (e.g., Hackenberg and Simershoff) fought again in 1944 as the Allies neared the German frontier, and some of the fortifications were heavily damaged as they had not been in 1940. After the war, the French reoccupied and partially rearmed the Maginot Line, maintaining some forts into the 1960s; then, they were finally abandoned for good. A few facilities, such as a part of Hochwald, are still used by the French army or air force, generally for storage or communications. A number of ouvrages have been opened as museums; others are used to grow mushrooms or store wine. The rounded cement outlines of Maginot casemates will stand out against the terrain for decades to come.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also

Eben Emael; Gustav Gun

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Mahatma Gandhi

See Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand.

Maidanek

See Concentration Camps, German.

Makassar Strait, Battle of (4 February 1942)

Air-sea battle between Japanese naval airpower and naval forces of the Allied American-British-Dutch-Australian (ABDA) Command. Located between Borneo and Sulawesi, Makassar Strait connects the Celebes Sea to the Java Sea and was a key sea-lane for the Japanese conquest of the Netherlands East Indies. After capturing Kendari on Sulawesi on 24 January 1942 and establishing an air base there, the Imperial Japanese Navy prepared a convoy of troops to seize the town of Makassar on the southern tip of Sulawesi.

ABDA, the Allied command in the Dutch East Indies, was a polyglot force lacking training, air support, and a common language. In contrast, the Japanese were superbly equipped and trained, and they possessed superior airpower. Admiral Thomas Hart, commander of the U.S. Asiatic Fleet and ABDA, ordered the ABDA's naval Combined Striking Force to interdict the Japanese convoy headed toward Makassar. Led by Dutch Rear Admiral Karel Doorman in the Dutch cruiser *de Ruyter*, the mixed fleet included the U.S. light cruiser *Marblehead* and heavy cruiser *Houston*, the Dutch light cruiser *Tromp*, four American destroyers guarding the flanks, and three Dutch destroyers in the rear. Supported by only four flying boats, the Allied formation lacked any form of air cover.

Departing Bunda Roads at midnight on 3–4 February, the force headed north through Makassar Strait. At 9:54 A.M., 37 Japanese twin-engined "Nell" bombers from the Eleventh Air Fleet stationed at Kendari spotted the ABDA formation and attacked. Within minutes, the *de Ruyter* lost antiaircraft fire control due to a near miss from a bomb. Several bombs also straddled the light cruiser *Marblehead*, and near misses jammed its rudders to port, caused a loss of steering control, and sprung bow hull plates, resulting in flooding and a 10-degree list to starboard. The *Marblehead* could only maneuver using its screws. Two bombs then struck the cruiser, tearing open the rear deck and inflicting over 50 casualties. The *Houston* took a bomb on its 8-inch after-turret, and almost 100 men, including all but 2 of the turret crew, burned to death.

With three cruisers struck or damaged and the *Marblehead* crippled and in danger of sinking, Doorman retired through Bali Strait toward Tjilatjap. On 4 February, a U.S. submarine torpedoed and sank a Japanese destroyer off Kendari. Doorman, however, never sighted the Japanese invasion convoy, which sailed to Makassar, landing and capturing that town on 8 February 1942.

Mark E. Van Rhyn

See also

Hart, Thomas Charles; Netherlands East Indies, Japanese Conquest of

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Makin Island, Battle of (20–23 November 1943)

Makin Atoll is part of the Gilbert Island chain in the Central Pacific. It was the site of two World War II battles, both of which occurred on Butaritari, the largest island. Makin is shaped like a long, crooked, handled hammer; the head is 3.5 miles long and the handle about 11 miles long. In the first battle on 17 and 18 August 1942, the 2nd Marine Raider Battalion destroyed the Japanese seaplane base there and decimated the garrison. This outcome had an unfortunate effect for the Americans, for it caused the Japanese to strengthen their defenses in the Gilberts. On Butaritari, they constructed bunkers, trenches, machine-gun nests, gun emplacements, and two deep tank traps; the traps each ran shore to shore across the central part of the handle of the island to defend a 3,000-yard-long area known as the Citadel, where the Americans had landed in 1942. Navy Junior Grade Lieutenant Seizo Ishikawa commanded some 500 Japanese military personnel, and there were 79 Japanese and 200 Korean construction workers.

The invasion of Makin was part of the U.S. campaign against the Gilberts, which included the bloody struggle for Tarawa. The Makin assault force numbered 6,471 men: the 165th Regimental Combat Team and a battalion of the 105th Infantry Regiment of Major General Ralph C. Smith's 27th Infantry Division, originally a National Guard unit. Rear Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner directed operations from the battleship *Pennsylvania*. The navy supported the landing with 3 battleships, 5 cruisers, 13 destroyers, and planes from 5 aircraft carriers.

Beginning at 5:40 A.M. on 19 November 1943, naval gunfire, including 14-inch shells from the battleships *Pennsylvania*, *New Mexico*, and *Mississippi*, pounded Makin. Carrier planes followed a half hour later. The Japanese had no effective means of response.

On 20 November, beginning at 8:30 A.M., the navy's Northern Attack Force put the troops ashore on two beaches on the western part of the island. Later, another force went ashore on the lagoon side. The attackers met little opposition, pushing east toward the Citadel and taking the western Japanese tank barrier by the end of the day.



U.S. soldiers on Makin Atoll in the Gilbert Islands. (Photo by Sergeant John Bushemi/Library of Congress)

Here, the attack bogged down, as the troops allowed themselves to be pinned down by Japanese snipers. On the night of the third day, the Japanese mounted a counterattack, during which they lost more than 50 men. But at 10:30 A.M. on 23 November, the army declared Makin secured. The attackers had suffered 64 men killed in action and another 150 wounded. V Amphibious Corps commander Marine Major General Holland Smith regarded the four days it had taken to secure the island, despite the army's overwhelming superiority in manpower, as "infuriating slow." During the invasion of Saipan the next year, he removed General Ralph Smith from command. Following Makin's capture, army engineers built an airstrip to allow further attacks on nearby Japanese forces.

The capture of the island proved far more costly for the U.S. Navy. During the preliminary bombardment, a turret explosion on the *Mississippi* killed 43 men and wounded 19. Also, the delay in taking Makin caused the supporting warships to remain close by, where they were vulnerable to attack by Japanese sub-

marines sent there from Truk. On 24 November, *I-175* torpedoed the escort carrier *Liscombe Bay*. A terrific explosion tore apart the entire after third of the carrier, and 640 sailors died.

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See also

Gilbert Islands Campaign; Makin Island Raid; Tarawa, Battle of

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Makin Island Raid (17–18 August 1942)

U.S. Marine assault on Makin Atoll in the Gilbert Islands group in the Central Pacific. This operation by the 2nd Marine

Raiders was designed to divert Japanese attention from the Solomons Campaign and to boost American morale. U.S. Pacific Fleet commander Admiral Chester Nimitz decided to employ Lieutenant Colonel Evans F. Carlson's 2nd Raider Battalion. Specific plans called for the two large, 2,700-ton, minelaying submarines *Nautilus* and *Argonaut* to land two companies of 221 raiders on Butaritari Island of Makin Atoll just before dawn on 17 August in order to wipe out the Japanese garrison there. Withdrawing that evening, they were to land the next day on Little Makin Island and destroy its installations. The stated goals were to gather intelligence and take prisoners, destroy Japanese supplies and installations, and distract Japanese attention from the U.S. reinforcement of Guadalcanal and Tulagi.

The submarines arrived off Makin early on 16 August and put the Raiders ashore early the next morning. Unfortunately for the Americans, the premature discharge of a rifle by one of the Marines destroyed the element of surprise. Carlson's Raiders then moved inland and engaged the Japanese troops on Makin Island, virtually wiping them out. Following Japanese air strikes, Carlson decided to withdraw, but rough seas and the failure of outboard engines capsized a number of the boats and stranded Carlson and some 120 Raiders ashore, most of them without their weapons. Fearing he was surrounded, Carlson considered surrender and even sent out a patrol with a surrender note.

On the morning of 18 August, Carlson led a patrol inland and discovered 83 Japanese bodies. Utilizing rubber boats and dugouts made by local peoples, most of the remaining Raiders had returned to the submarines by 11:00 that night. In the raid, the Japanese lost perhaps 160 dead; the Marines had 19 killed and 9 missing. The 9 Marines evaded capture with help from locals until their food ran out. They surrendered on 30 August. The Japanese then took these men to Kwajalein and beheaded them as war criminals. The Raiders had fought well, and Sergeant Clyde Thomason, who sacrificed his life to save several comrades, became the first enlisted Marine in World War II to win the Medal of Honor.

Although the raid did divert attention from Guadalcanal, it also taught the Japanese that they needed to strengthen their defenses. As a result, they heavily fortified Tarawa, which witnessed one of the bloodiest Marine landings of the Pacific War 16 months later.

In 1943, Hollywood produced a movie about the raid, entitled *Gung Ho!* and starring Randolph Scott. Between 2000 and 2001, the remains of the 19 dead Raiders were returned to the United States. Thirteen were interred at Arlington National Cemetery.

William Head

See also

Makin Island, Battle of; Tarawa, Battle of

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Malaya Campaign (1941–1942)

Malaya comprised the 700-mile-long Malay Peninsula and Singapore. The British took Malaya from the Dutch in 1810 during the Napoleonic Wars and established political and administrative control over four of the sultanates on the peninsula in a contractual protectorate relationship known as the Federated Malay States. Protectorate status was extended to the remaining five sultanates by 1914, but these remained outside the federation.

During the mid-nineteenth century, Malaya's economic value grew following the discovery of significant tin deposits there, and after the turn of the century, the rubber industry underwent considerable development. These two resources became critical to upholding the exchange value of sterling, and the peninsula therefore acquired great strategic importance for Britain.

Following World War I, the British government decided to develop Singapore into a large naval base, intended to defend against Japanese expansionism. Construction was slowed by the exigencies of the worldwide depression and was never completed. During the 1930s, the British built a series of airfields on the peninsula in the belief that Singapore and Malaya could best be defended from the air. Malaya's wartime population was about 5.5 million people, of whom only about 2.3 million were indigenous Malay. The remainder were Chinese (2.4 million), Indians (750,000), and other nationalities including the British (100,000).

In October 1940, Air Chief Marshal Sir Henry Robert Brooke-Popham, who had been called from retirement in 1939, was appointed commander in chief, Far East, with his headquarters in Singapore. Brooke-Popham had never served east of Suez and was unfamiliar with the political and military forces girding for war in Southeast Asia. Below him were Sir Shenton Thomas, governor of the Straits Settlements and high commissioner of the Malay States, and the individual service commanders. The senior of these—the general officer commanding (GOC), Malaya, Lieutenant General Arthur Ernest Percival—arrived in May 1941. London rejected Brooke-Popham's requests for more resources and a preemptive strike in southern Thailand against the mounting Japanese threat.



Members of the Australian Army manning an anti-tank gun at a road block in Malaya in 1942. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

When the Japanese finally began their invasion of Malaya with landings along the northeastern coast on the night of 7–8 December 1941, the British were caught unprepared. With insufficient ships and aircraft to create a simultaneous presence in all theaters, Britain had been forced to establish priorities, and the theaters receiving most of the naval and air assets were the Atlantic and North Africa. Consequently, the defense of the peninsula was left to the army, which numbered some 88,600 Australian, British, Indian, and Malay troops. The principal ground units were the understrength 9th and 11th Indian Divisions and two brigades of the 8th Australian Division, as well as the 1st and 2nd Malaya Brigades at Singapore. The British had only 158 aircraft, mostly obsolete types, and no tanks. They also suffered a severe blow when Japanese aircraft sank Admiral Sir Tom Phillips's new battleship, the *Prince of Wales*, and battle cruiser, the *Repulse*, on 10 December when they attempted to oppose the Japanese landings.

The Japanese had devoted extensive planning to the Malayan operation, and the occupation of southern Indochina

earlier in 1941 had formed part of their preparation. Malaya would provide them with tin and rubber resources, a strategic naval base at Singapore, and a jumping-off point for further expansion into the oil-rich Netherlands East Indies and the Indian Ocean.

The invading Japanese forces, commanded by General Tomoyuki Yamashita, went ashore beginning on the night of 7–8 December. Some 60,000 men were centered in three divisions, supported by Vice Admiral Ozawa Jisaburo's Malay Force, 158 naval aircraft, and 459 aircraft of the 3rd Air Division, as well as 80 tanks, 40 armored cars, and several artillery regiments. The Japanese quickly gained air superiority and began a rapid move southward. On 15 December, in a desperate move, Governor Thomas accepted an offer of cooperation from the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) and lifted the official proscription on both it and the Nationalist Party—the Guomindang, or GMD (Kuomintang, or KMT). Many members of these two parties would now be trained in guerrilla warfare and sabotage at the 101st Special Training School, which had been hastily created at Singapore.

In late December, Brooke-Popham was recalled and blamed, unjustly, for the Japanese successes. Kuala Lumpur fell on 11 January. British, Australian, and Indian reinforcements, most of them poorly trained, were sent in through Singapore harbor to the retreating front but could do little to stem the Japanese advance. In a series of short battles in mid-January, the remaining British defenses in southern Malaya were broken, and on 31 January, the defenders blew the causeway linking Singapore with the mainland.

Soon after the invasion had begun in December, General Sir Archibald Wavell, commander of Allied forces in the Far East, had visited Singapore and warned that the island's defenses had to be prepared should mainland units eventually be compelled to withdraw to it. Unfortunately, little serious effort was made to comply with this direction. On 9 February, the Japanese landed on the island's northwest coast. Singapore was now crowded with refugees, its inhabitants demoralized and its facilities stressed.

On 15 February, the British commander, Lieutenant General Percival, surrendered his remaining 70,000 troops. Most of the surviving graduates of the 101st Special Training School took to the jungles to carry on the fight, forming the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA) in March 1942.

Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill described the loss of Malaya as the greatest disaster in British military history. The loss clearly demonstrated that the British had grossly underestimated Japanese capabilities. Furthermore, their commanders had done a poor job in handling the ill-trained and inadequately equipped force they had sent to meet the invasion. The larger lesson of Malaya was that for commitments to be realistic, they had to be supported with sufficient resources.

The long-term repercussions were enormous and irreversible. Even though the British would return to Singapore and the Malay Peninsula at war's end, their stay would be temporary. European prestige and the omnipotent image of the white man in Southeast Asia was forever tarnished, stoking the fires of nationalism and hastening decolonization.

George M. Brooke III

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Netherlands East Indies; Ozawa Jisaburo; Percival, Arthur Ernest; Phillips, Sir Tom Spencer Vaughan; *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse*; Singapore, Battle for; Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival; Yamashita Tomoyuki

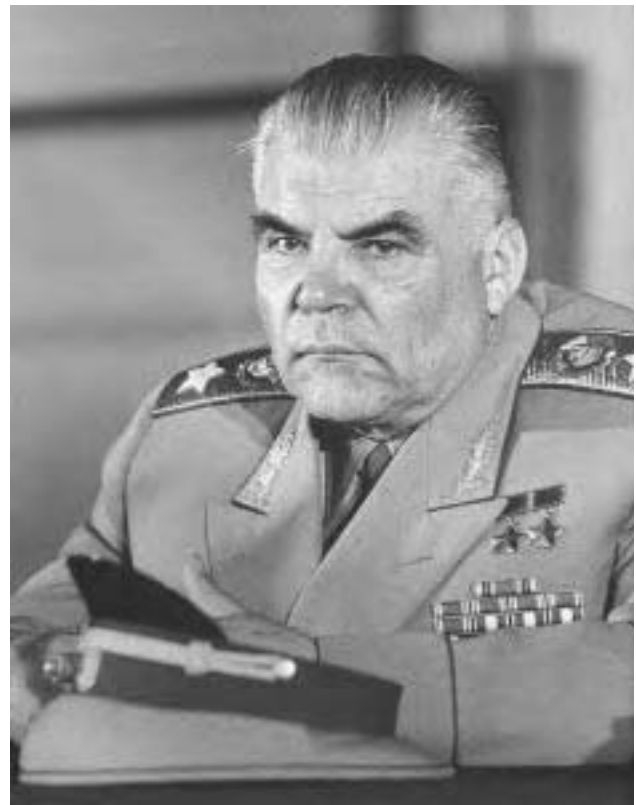
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Malinovsky, Rodion Yakovlevich (1898–1967)

Marshal of the Soviet Union who played an important role in both the Battle of Stalingrad and the Battle of Kursk. Born to a peasant family near Odessa, Russia, on 23 November 1898, Rodion Malinovsky enlisted in the Russian army at the outbreak of World War I. Badly wounded in 1915, he spent several months recuperating before being reassigned as a machine gunner with the Russian Expeditionary Corps in France in April 1916. Malinovsky was decorated for bravery and again wounded. His unit mutinied in the spring of 1917, however, and he was transported to North Africa.

Malinovsky returned to Russia via Vladivostok in August 1919. He made his way along the Trans-Siberian Railway to Omsk, where he joined the Red Army and fought against the White forces. He then served as chief of staff of III Cavalry Corps. In 1926, Malinovsky joined the Communist Party, and a year later, he entered the Frunze Military Academy for a three-year officers' training program. He then went to Spain as a military adviser to the Republican forces in the Spanish Civil War between 1937 and 1938. Returning to the Soviet



Marshal of the Soviet Union Rodion Y. Malinovsky, shown here in 1960. (Photo by Carl Mydans/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Union, he served on the faculty of the Frunze Military Academy as a senior instructor.

In March 1941, Major General Malinovsky assumed command of the new XLVIII Rifle Corps on the Romanian border. In August, following the German invasion of the Soviet Union, he had charge of Sixth Army in Ukraine, where he had no choice but to withdraw before the advancing Germans. Promoted to lieutenant general that November, Malinovsky took command of the Southern Front one month later. Following the ill-fated Kharkov Offensive in June 1942, for which he shared blame, he was reassigned to rear-echelon duty.

During July and August 1942, Malinovsky headed the Don Operational Forces Group before being named to command Sixty-Sixth Army in August. He also developed a long association with Nikita Khrushchev, then a political officer reportedly assigned by Josef Stalin to watch him. Malinovsky next commanded the Voronezh Front in October and the Second Guards Army in November. In the latter capacity, he played a key role in the Battle of Stalingrad, defeating Army Group Don, the German relief force under Field Marshal Erich von Manstein, in December.

Malinovsky was promoted to colonel general in February 1943, commanding the Southern Front that month and the Southwest Front in March. In April, he was promoted to General of the Army. He played a major role in the Battle of Kursk in July 1943 and then spearheaded the drive across Ukraine, taking Odessa in April 1944. His command was redesignated the 3rd Ukrainian Front in October 1943 and the 2nd Ukrainian Front in May 1944. From Ukraine, Malinovsky led Soviet forces into Romania, Hungary, Austria, and Czechoslovakia. In September 1944, he was promoted to marshal of the Soviet Union.

When the war in Europe ended, Malinovsky took command of the Transbaikal Front in the Far East, pushing into Japanese-held Manchuria. A prominent member of the Soviet military hierarchy after the war, he headed the Far East Command between 1947 and 1953 and the Far East Military District from 1953 to 1956. He was then deputy minister of defense from 1956 to 1957, when he succeeded Marshal Georgii Zhukov as minister of defense. In this post, he introduced strategic missiles into the Soviet arsenal and oversaw Soviet military modernization. Malinovsky died in office in Moscow on 31 March 1967.

Michael Share and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Kharkov, Battle of; Kursk, Battle of; Manstein, Fritz Erich von; Stalin, Josef; Stalingrad, Battle of; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Malmédy Massacre (17 December 1944)

Notorious incident involving the murder of unarmed American soldiers during the German Ardennes Offensive (Battle of the Bulge). In the offensive, I Panzer Korps had the task of breaking through Allied lines in the Monschau-Losheim sector and advancing to the Meuse. The 1st SS Panzer Division was on the left wing of the corps, and SS-Obersturmbannführer Joachim Peiper commanded the division's spearhead, known as Kampfgruppe Peiper.

On 17 December, the second day of the offensive, 1st Panzer Division broke through the Allied lines between the Belgian towns of Malmédy and Saint Vith. At the village of Baugnez, Peiper's unit encountered a small group of trucks and jeeps belonging to Battery B of the U.S. 285th Field Artillery Observation Battalion. In the ensuing fight, some 20 U.S. soldiers were killed and Peiper's force took 125 prisoners. Peiper left behind some men to guard the prisoners before moving on to his next objective. A few hours later, another 1st SS column arrived at Baugnez, adding some additional prisoners.

The Germans herded the Americans into a snowy field, where they were held under guard. Meanwhile, another group of separated Americans who had previously escaped from the Germans moved toward the crossroads, and a fire-fight broke out in which more Americans were killed. This engagement led the guards in the field to fire on their prisoners, perhaps believing they would try to escape. The Germans then moved among the wounded, executing them with bullets to their heads. Most of those shot were unarmed. At least 72 men were killed, although some 30 others feigned death and later escaped to American lines.

The incident was the worst atrocity against Americans in the European Theater during the war. News of the event, which became known as the Malmédy Massacre, quickly circulated among Allied troops, and the U.S. Army made the most of it for propaganda purposes, even including civilians who had died in the fighting in the total of persons killed, although many were actually victims of U.S. bombing.

In May 1946, Peiper and 73 members of the 1st Panzer Division, a number of them selected randomly, were brought to trial by a U.S. military court for the Malmédy killings and the murder of soldiers and civilians elsewhere during the offensive. Army prosecutors presented testimony from massacre survivors and civilian witnesses, captured German documents indicating that German troops had been urged to be "ruthless" with prisoners during the offensive, and confessions from some of the accused. In response, the defense argued that pretrial investigations had not been thorough and that confessions had been extorted by mock trials and threats of summary execution. The court dismissed these



Bodies of U.S. Army personnel slain by the Germans after capture near Malmédy, Belgium, 11 December 1944. (Franklin D. Roosevelt Library (NLFDRL)/National Archives)

complaints and convicted all of the defendants. Peiper and 42 others were sentenced to death, and the rest were given lengthy prison sentences.

Questions about the trial results were raised almost immediately, and review boards cited errors in the court's procedural rulings. Several defendants indeed claimed that their confessions had been extracted by physical force, charges that the original prosecutors angrily denied. The army reduced the death sentences to long prison terms, but ultimately, all the defendants, including Peiper, were released from prison within a few years.

Terry Shoptaugh

See also

Ardennes Offensive; Peiper, Joachim

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Malta

British-held island in the central Mediterranean, located only some 60 miles from Sicily. This archipelago of 122 square

miles, with a civilian population of 270,000 people, played a crucial role in the struggle to control the Mediterranean. Just as Malta had been a key location for forces traveling to the Near East in support of the Crusades and during the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, so it proved a vital link in the defeat of Axis forces in North Africa. Formally a British possession since 1814, Malta had the only British port facilities between Alexandria, Egypt, and Gibraltar, but because it was 1,000 miles from the nearest British base, it was difficult both to defend and to resupply.

The governor of the island—Lieutenant General William Dobbie and then, from May 1942, General Lord John Gort—also acted as its military commander. The British used Malta as an air and naval base to interdict Axis supply lines between Italy and Libya. In October 1941, British ships and planes operating from Malta sank two-thirds of the Axis supplies sent to Libya.

Both sides recognized the importance of Malta to operations in the Mediterranean Theater. When Italy declared war on the Allies in June 1940, it immediately began air attacks on Malta, and initially, the British had only a handful of Sea Gladiator biplanes to meet these attacks. The Germans increased the pressure on the island by sending Fliegerkorps X to Sicily to neutralize Malta so that Axis supplies and men might reach North Africa. Beginning in January 1941, Fliegerkorps X struck both the island and the British supply convoys in what became a furious, two-year aerial campaign.

Sustaining Malta became a top priority for the Allies in the Mediterranean Theater. From August 1940 until January 1943, the British pushed 13 convoys through to Malta, all of which sustained losses to Axis naval and air attacks. Critical to Malta's survival was the resupply of fighter aircraft, sent to the island via aircraft carrier. The situation became so desperate and British naval forces were stretched so thin that the United States employed the fleet carrier *Wasp* to fly in Spitfire aircraft during April and May 1942. This was at a time when the U.S. Pacific Fleet desperately needed every available carrier in the Pacific to stem the Japanese advance there.

Despite Allied efforts, the situation in Malta remained precarious for much of 1942. The largest effort to resupply the island came in Operation PEDESTAL in August 1942, when the British sent 4 aircraft carriers, 2 battleships, 7 cruisers, and 24 destroyers to escort a convoy of 14 merchantmen to the island. After numerous air and U-boat attacks, the convoy limped into Malta's harbor on 12 August with just 5 merchant ships, 3 of them damaged. The Royal Navy lost 1 aircraft carrier, 2 cruisers, and 1 destroyer, with another carrier and 2 cruisers damaged. However, PEDESTAL was sufficient to allow operations from Malta to continue. In the spring of 1942, Axis leaders discussed employing Italian and German paratroopers, supported by a sea invasion, to seize the island, but the



British warships in Valletta harbor, Malta 1944. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

Italians' lack of preparation, the desire to move German air units to the Eastern Front, General Erwin Rommel's recent success in Libya, and the memory of the costly Crete operation all led Adolf Hitler to cancel the operation.

By the time the siege of Malta had been lifted in December 1942, more than 1,500 Maltese had died from Axis air attacks. In recognition of their stoutness and to improve their morale during the bleakest of times, Britain's King George VI bestowed on the entire population of Malta the George Cross for valor.

C. J. Horn

See also

Hitler, Adolf; Malta, Air Battles of; PEDESTAL, Operation; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Vereker, John Standish Surtees Pendergast (Lord Gort)

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Malta, Air Battles of (1940–1942)

The island of Malta in the central Mediterranean was ideally placed to interdict Axis lines of communication to Libya and was an important way station for Allied aircraft in transit to North Africa. The air attacks on Malta by the Axis powers were initially intended to reduce the disruption of Axis supplies to North Africa from Malta-based bombers and submarines, but they were also to be the precursor to a planned Axis invasion of the island, Operation HERKULES (the Italian name was C-3).

At the start of World War II, Air Commodore F. H. M. "Sammy" Maynard was the air officer commanding (AOC) Malta. He developed a reputation for hanging on to any useful aircraft that happened to land on the island. Initially, Malta's fighter defense consisted of four antiquated Gloster Sea Gladiator biplanes (three of them popularly known as "Faith," "Hope," and "Charity").

The first Italian bombing attack on Malta was made on 11 June 1940. Bombing continued throughout the summer and autumn, but reinforcements continued to arrive on the island, including a few Hurricane fighters. From mid-

February 1941, the Luftwaffe deployed large numbers of fighters to the battle, and the Royal Air Force (RAF) began to take heavier losses among its Hurricane fighters. Bombing attacks eased off during May 1941 as the Luftwaffe concentrated on Crete. Then, on 22 June 1941, Adolf Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in Operation BARBAROSSA, and many of the Luftwaffe units were diverted to the Soviet front. As a result, defense and interdiction forces on Malta could be strengthened; supply convoys arrived, and attacks on Axis shipping intensified. Also in June, Air Vice Marshal Hugh Lloyd replaced Maynard as AOC Malta.

Malta had become the most important British overseas base in the world, and from the Axis point of view, corrective action was required. In December 1941, Field Marshal Albert Kesselring's Luftflotte 2 of more than 600 aircraft was transferred to Sicily with orders to neutralize Malta. Between December 1941 and April 1942, Kesselring mounted sustained heavy attacks on the island, and the activities of its bomber force were drastically curtailed. In January 1942, no Axis ship supplying North Africa was sunk, and the February Allied supply convoy to Malta was forced to turn back. The total tonnage of bombs dropped on Malta in March and April 1942 was more than the total dropped on London during the whole of 1940.

After February 1942, the British adopted more effective fighter tactics, and 31 Spitfires were delivered from the aircraft carrier HMS *Eagle* during March 1942. Hurricanes were good dogfighters, but given the short distance from Italian airfields (60 miles), they lacked the climb performance to gain an altitude advantage before attacking. With the advent of Spitfires, the defending fighters were able to gain sufficient altitude to attack from above. Malta pilots became adept at high-speed dive and zoom attacks. Many aces were made at Malta, not least of whom was George "Screwball" Beurling (with 31 victories, or kills).

The March 1942 Allied supply convoy to Malta nonetheless suffered very heavy losses, and many ships were sunk; only 5,000 tons of supplies got through. By April, food, fuel, spare parts, and ammunition were all in short supply, and rationing was severe and disease rife; the situation was becoming critical. On 15 April 1942, King George VI took the highly unusual step of awarding the George Cross to the entire island. During April and May 1942, the aircraft carriers USS *Wasp* and HMS *Eagle* delivered a total of 132 Spitfires to Malta. On 10 May, Kesselring, following a particularly poor intelligence assessment, reported to the German High Command that the neutralization of Malta was complete.

Renewed Axis attacks against the island in June were timed to coincide with the advance of the Afrika Korps (Africa Corps) to Egypt. Italian warships forced back an Allied supply convoy from Alexandria, and another convoy from Gibraltar was heavily attacked. But two merchantmen



Inhabitants salvage their belongings from a bombed building in Valetta, Malta. The island of Malta suffered extensive air raids during World War II, with over 2,000 alerts. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

reached Grand Harbor, preventing starvation on the island for another two or three months.

Air Vice Marshal Keith Park was appointed AOC Malta in July 1942, and he instituted an aggressive forward-interception policy to attack Axis raiders as they were forming up. Within a few weeks, this policy had dramatically reduced the effectiveness of the bombing and inflicted increasingly severe losses on the Luftwaffe. During July and August, bombers from Malta again inflicted heavy damage on Axis convoys, greatly assisting the British Eighth Army during the Battles of Alam Halfa and El Alamein. During August, Operation PEDESTAL delivered 53,000 tons of supplies to Malta.

Axis forces made one last series of heavy attacks between 10 and 20 October and were then mostly transferred to North Africa. Raids on the island were gradually reduced thereafter. The siege was lifted altogether on 20 November when Operation STONEAGE delivered another 35,000 tons of supplies, and a further 55,000 tons were delivered in December. The battle officially ended on 31 December 1942.

Andy Blackburn

See also

Afrika Korps; Aircraft, Fighters; Alam Halfa, Battle of; BARBAROSSA, Operation; Crete, Battle of; Crete, Naval Operations off; El Alamein, Battle of; Fighter Tactics; George VI, King of England; Kesselring, Albert; Park, Sir Keith Rodney; PEDESTAL, Operation

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Manchukuo

See Manzhouguo.

Manchuria

See Manzhouguo.

Manchuria Campaign (9 August–5 September 1945)

The Soviet conquest of Manchuria. At the Yalta Conference in February 1945, Soviet leader Josef Stalin promised that the Soviet Union would enter the war against Japan “two to three months” after the conclusion of fighting in Europe. The Soviets began serious preparations for this eventuality in April 1945, when they initiated the transfer of the equivalent of 12 army corps and tremendous amounts of supplies from eastern Europe via the Trans-Siberian Railway, headed east to three commands fronting Manchuria: the Transbaikal Front to the northwest, the 2nd Far Eastern Front to the northeast, and the 1st Far Eastern Front on the east. Force tailoring was evident in the selection of these units: for example, the Sixth Guards Tank Army was chosen for the Transbaikal Front because its experience in the Carpathian Mountains would be vital in crossing the Greater Khingan Mountains of western Manchuria.

For this campaign, Stavka (the Soviet High Command) created the first Soviet theater-level command, under Marshal Aleksandr Vasilevsky. Against the Japanese, the Soviets amassed 1.5 million men, 28,000 guns and mortars, 5,500 tanks, and 4,370 aircraft; they faced the defending Japanese Guandong (Kwantung) Army, which (although it contained 1.2 million men, including forces in Korea, southern Sakhalin, and the Kuriles) was a shell of its former self. Many of its units had been transferred to Japan for the defense of the home islands. The Guandong Army commander, General Yamada Otozō, called up 250,000 reservists for new units, pulled back his border forces, and planned a defense of central Manchuria, where the bulk of the population was located.

Japanese military intelligence, however, failed to perceive the extent of the Soviet buildup and believed the terrain in the Transbaikal, where the Soviets planned their main attack, would be impenetrable to armor. Fearing Japan's use of biological agents developed by Unit 731 at Harbin, the Soviets vaccinated their troops against plague and other diseases and issued masks to them. (In 1946, some Japanese involved in biological warfare were, in fact, tried by the Soviets for war crimes at Khabarovsk.)

The Soviets presented their declaration of war to Japanese Ambassador Satō Naotake in Moscow only minutes before they attacked. Soviet plans called for nearly simultaneous night attacks from the three fronts beginning after midnight on 9 August 1945, all to converge on the central plain of Manchuria. Vasilevsky later acknowledged that U.S.-supplied trucks and fuel landed at Vladivostok were vital in the Soviets' ability to launch this campaign as rapidly as they did.

The main attack was delivered by the Transbaikal Front of Marshal Rodion Malinovsky, operating from Mongolia. The Sixth Guards Tank Army, with 1,019 tanks and self-propelled guns, acted, in effect, as a forward detachment. The intent was to bypass Japanese strong points where possible to preempt the defenses of the Japanese Third Area Army. The Soviets raced for the 6,600-foot-high passes of the Greater Khingan Mountains and managed to cover 300 miles in only three days, encountering more problems from the terrain and fuel shortages than from the Japanese. The Japanese forces held on to Haliar until 18 August. Changchun and Mukden (today's Shenyang) fell on 21 August. Meanwhile, air-landed troops entered Darien and Port Arthur on 19 August, followed by forces sent via rail.

Driving from the Soviet Maritime Provinces, Marshal Kirill Meretskov's 1st Far Eastern Front had to overrun or bypass seven fortified districts held by the Japanese First Area Army. Attacking in a torrential thunderstorm, the Soviets skirted around most fortified areas, leaving their reduction to follow-on forces. Mutanchiang was held by Japanese forces until 16 August. Soviet aircraft dominated the skies, with the few Japanese planes seeking refuge in Korea or Japan.

Although considered of secondary importance to the deeper, pincerlike thrusts of the other fronts, the efforts of the 2nd Far Eastern Front in northern Manchuria, supported by the Amur River Flotilla, tied down some of the best-prepared Japanese forces by crossing the Amur and moving up the Sungari River toward Harbin. Although the Japanese emperor had signed the Imperial Rescript of Surrender on 14 August and the Guandong Army's commander, General Yamada, had accepted it on 18 August, the Soviets were determined to regain the territories lost in the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War. Thus, Soviet forces continued combat operations in Korea until the armistice on 2 September, by which time they had reached the thirty-eighth parallel, and in the Kuriles until



Soviet troops of the Second Far Eastern Front in Manchuria. (Bettman/Corbis)

5 September. The Soviets subsequently turned over a huge cache of Japanese weapons to the People's Liberation Army of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), including 3,700 guns, 600 tanks, and 861 aircraft.

During the campaign, the bulk of the Guandong Army was not committed to battle, but the Soviets estimated 83,737 Japanese were killed compared with Soviet casualties of more than 12,000 dead and nearly 25,000 wounded. Over 100,000 Japanese in Manchuria died after the cease-fire, and an estimated 594,000 Japanese prisoners were taken back to forced-labor camps in the Soviet Union. The last were not released until 1956, on the normalization of relations between Japan and the Soviet Union.

Claude R. Sasso

See also

Guandong Army; Lend-Lease; Malinovsky, Rodion Yakovlevich; Meretskov, Kirill Afanasievich; Stalin, Josef; Vasilevsky, Aleksandr Mikhailovich; Yalta Conference; Yamada Otozō

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MANHATTAN Project

Crash program led by the United States to develop an atomic bomb. The discovery of fission in uranium by Otto Hahn and Fritz Strassman in 1938 led physicists such as Enrico Fermi and Leo Szilard to suggest the feasibility of sustained nuclear chain reactions, promising a quantum leap in destructive

power if harnessed in “atomic” bombs. Szilard approached Albert Einstein in 1939 with the idea of writing a letter to President Franklin D. Roosevelt warning of this possibility and of German research into nuclear fission. Szilard and Einstein’s letter prompted Roosevelt to appoint the Uranium Committee to explore the feasibility of developing an atomic bomb. In the spring of 1940, a British memorandum by Rudolf Peierls and Otto Frisch, entitled “On the Construction of a ‘Super-bomb’; Based on a Nuclear Chain Reaction in Uranium,” concluded that “a moderate amount of Uranium 235 would indeed constitute an extremely efficient explosive.” On the U.S. entry into the war in December 1941, British and American cooperation increased.

Recognizing that a project to build atomic bombs would require immense industrial resources, the Americans took the lead. They organized the MANHATTAN Engineer District of the Army Corps of Engineers in 1942. Vannevar Bush, head of the Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD), appointed Brigadier General Leslie Richard Groves, who had

overseen construction of the Pentagon, to direct the MANHATTAN Project.

Sustaining and controlling a nuclear chain reaction was the first crucial technical step. Fermi’s team accomplished this at the Metallurgical Laboratory at the University of Chicago on 2 December 1942 (the actual nuclear pile occupied a squash court at Stagg Field). Fermi thus proved that a larger reactor could produce enough of a highly fissionable isotope of plutonium (239Pu) to make a bomb. Work began on a reactor complex at Hanford, Washington, to produce the required plutonium.

The uranium 235 (235U) isotope mentioned in the Frisch-Peierls memorandum also held considerable promise as bomb material and was pursued simultaneously. Separation of 235U from 238U was accomplished at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, by gaseous diffusion and electromagnetic separation in an immense plant that covered 43 acres and employed 31,000 people. As work progressed on 239Pu and 235U production, Groves recognized that a central laboratory was needed to design, develop, and assemble the bombs. He chose Julius Robert Oppenheimer to direct what became known as Los Alamos Laboratory. Work began there in the spring of 1943.

Intense secrecy and compartmentalization characterized the MANHATTAN Project, but at Los Alamos, Oppenheimer fos-

tered a spirit of collaboration, camaraderie, and open communication. Design and assembly of the 235U bomb was straightforward in that a guntype method could be used to initiate the explosion. The time-consuming process of separating 235U was the chief difficulty, but Oak Ridge eventually succeeded in isolating enough 235U for Oppenheimer’s team to assemble “Little Boy,” the bomb used against Hiroshima on 6 August 1945.

By mid-1945, Hanford had produced enough 239Pu for three bombs, but they required a complex implosion device with multiple detonators firing simultaneously to create compression waves that would initiate a core explosion. In 1944, to tackle the implosion design challenge, Oppenheimer called on George Kistiakowsky to head the effort to produce the necessary shaped charges. His design was successfully tested at Alamogordo, New Mexico, on 16 July 1945 and used in “Fat Man,” the plutonium bomb that devastated Nagasaki on 9 August 1945. At a cost of \$2 billion, MANHATTAN Project scientists and engineers had achieved the seemingly impossible—producing three atomic devices by August 1945 that fundamentally changed the nature of warfare, vastly enlarging humanity’s capacity for destruction.

Debates about whether the atomic bomb attacks were needed to end the war continue to rage. Certainly, even after it became apparent by 1944 that Germany had abandoned its effort to produce atomic bombs, nearly all members of the MANHATTAN Project team continued to press ahead. The ultimate decision to use the bombs rested with President Harry S Truman, who never doubted that they were a major factor in Japan’s decision to surrender, thereby saving tens of thousands of Allied lives.

The project’s technical success strengthened an emerging military-industrial complex in the United States and led to the formation of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) in 1946. Further research into nuclear weapons production led to the successful test of a hydrogen bomb in 1952, ushering in a new and frightening thermonuclear age.

William J. Astore

See also

Alamogordo; Atomic Bomb, Decision to Employ; Einstein, Albert; Fermi, Enrico; Groves, Leslie Richard; Hiroshima, Bombing of; Nagasaki, Bombing of; Oppenheimer, Julius Robert; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Truman, Harry S

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At a cost of \$2 billion, scientists and engineers had achieved the impossible by creating 3 atomic devices by August 1945 that changed the world.

Manila, Battle for (3 February–3 March 1945)

Battle for the capital of the Philippines, located on the big island of Luzon. Manila was one of the largest cities of South-east Asia, with a population of more than 800,000 people. The Japanese commander in the Philippines, General Yamashita Tomoyuki, had 250,000 men on Luzon, a figure that had been grossly underestimated by General Douglas MacArthur's intelligence chief, Major General Charles A. Willoughby. Beginning on 9 January 1945, General Walter Krueger's Sixth Army assaulted the western coast in the Lingayen Gulf. The Japanese made no effort to contest the landing, and that first day, 68,000 men went ashore. They then drove southward toward Manila. Major General Oscar W. Griswold's XIV Corps had the right flank, and Major General Innis P. Swift's I Corps was on the left. I Corps had the more difficult going.

Beginning on 30 January, units of Lieutenant General Robert L. Eichelberger's Eighth Army began landing north and south of Manila. Major General Charles P. Hall's XI Corps

landed in the Subic Bay area, helping to seal off the Bataan Peninsula and preventing the Japanese from repeating the American defense of 1942. Meanwhile, on 31 January, two regiments of Major General Joseph M. Swing's 11th Airborne Division went ashore at Nasugbu, about 45 miles southwest of Manila. On 3 February, the division's remaining regiment was air-dropped on Tagaytay Ridge, 30 miles south of the city. The next day, elements of the 11th Airborne Division reached Paranaque, just south of Manila.

MacArthur urged a rapid advance. While the 37th Infantry Division of Griswold's corps pushed toward Manila from the north, the lighter and more mobile 1st Cavalry Division also drove on the city. It had just landed to reinforce Griswold's corps, and MacArthur ordered the cavalry division to advance as fast as possible. Elements of the 1st Cavalry reached the northeastern outskirts of Manila on 3 February, the first U.S. unit to do so. As darkness fell, one of its tanks smashed through the gates of Santo Tomas University, releasing 4,000 American prisoners held there.

Rear Admiral Iwabuchi Sanji now defied Yamashita's orders to withdraw from the city and utilized his 18,000 men, mostly naval personnel, to stage a fanatical, month-long,



Smoke and flames pour from the old walled city section of Manila as American troops bombard the Japanese garrison holding out in that part of the city. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

block-by-block and house-by-house defense of the city. As units of the 1st Cavalry and 37th Divisions closed on Manila, Iwabuchi's forces withdrew across the Pasig River, destroying its bridges and setting fire to the highly flammable residential areas. For the next several days, American forces battled these flames.

General MacArthur had hoped that Manila would fall without significant damage to the city. On 6 February, he announced in a communiqué that the complete destruction of the Japanese in Manila was "imminent." To save civilian lives, he ordered that no air strikes be utilized. This order did not pertain to artillery fire, however, and its heavy use by both sides produced many civilian casualties. The doomed Japanese defenders also went on an orgy of murder and rape, killing thousands of innocent Filipinos.

By 22 February, the 37th Division had driven the Japanese defenders into the old walled portion of the city (Intramuros) and the modern business district. In Intramuros, U.S. troops had to fight the Japanese, who were well dug in, one building at a time. Many buildings were simply turned into rubble by the unrestricted support fire, as breaching the buildings with infantry was virtually impossible.

By 26 February 1945, the remaining Japanese resistance was compressed into the three Philippine Commonwealth government buildings off the southeast corner of the walled city. The last organized Japanese resistance was in the Finance Building. Late on 3 March 1945, General Griswold reported that all organized resistance in the Manila area had ended.

The Battle for Manila cost the Americans 1,010 killed and 5,561 wounded. The Japanese lost perhaps 16,000 men in and around the city. In addition, more than 100,000 Filipino civilians were killed in the battle, and perhaps 70 percent of Manila was destroyed. The governmental center was damaged beyond repair, public transportation and electric power were wrecked, and the water and sewer systems required extensive repair. Thirty-nine bridges, including the six major bridges over the Pasig River, were destroyed. Port facilities were so badly damaged that it was mid-April before any ships could unload at Manila Bay.

*Andrew J. Onello and
Spencer C. Tucker*

See also

Bataan, Battle of; Eichelberger, Robert Lawrence; Iwabuchi Sanji; Krueger, Walter; MacArthur, Douglas; Philippines, U.S. Recapture of; Yamashita Tomoyuki

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Mannerheim, Carl Gustav Emil von (Baron) (1867–1951)

Finnish field marshal and president of Finland from 1944 to 1946. Born at Louhisaari in southwest Finland, then part of the Russian Empire, on 4 June 1867, Carl Mannerheim graduated from the prestigious Nikolaevskoe Cavalry School in Saint Petersburg in 1889. Initially commissioned into a dragoon regiment based in Poland, he transferred to the elite Chevalier Guards Regiment in Saint Petersburg in 1890. Following a posting to the Cavalry School, Lieutenant Colonel Mannerheim saw combat in the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War and was promoted to colonel.

Between 1906 and 1908, Mannerheim led a special mission for the Russian government, collecting intelligence along Russia's border areas in the Far East. His excellent reports made a favorable impression on Tsar Nicholas II, whom he met in 1908. Mannerheim then commanded cavalry units in Poland and was promoted to major general. He saw considerable combat during World War I, mostly commanding cavalry divisions under General Aleksei Brusilov. He took command of the 12th Cavalry Division in the 1915 Galician Campaign and participated in the 1916 Brusilov Offensive. After Romania joined the war, Mannerheim transferred to the Transylvanian Alps. Promoted to lieutenant general in June 1917, he headed VI Cavalry Corps.

Mannerheim opposed the March 1917 revolution that deposed the tsar, and following the Bolshevik Revolution of November 1917, he retired from the Russian army and returned to Finland. He then commanded the White Army in Finland, defeating the Communist Red Guards and freeing Finland of Russian troops. Thereafter, he resigned his command and traveled in western Europe. Appointed regent in December, he returned to Finland. After being defeated in the presidential election of July 1919, he retired from public life and traveled widely, including to India.

Mannerheim returned to public service as minister of defense in 1931. As part of a program of bolstering Finland's defenses, he oversaw construction of what became known as the Mannerheim Line, which held invading Soviet troops at the beginning of the 1939–1940 Finnish-Soviet War (the Winter War). He commanded Finnish forces in the Winter War and in the renewal of fighting with the Soviet Union between 1941 and 1944 (the Continuation War). Advanced to field marshal in 1942, Mannerheim became president of Finland in 1944 and negotiated the armistice with the Soviet Union. He retired for reasons of ill health in 1946 and moved to Switzerland to write his memoirs. Mannerheim died in Lausanne, Switzerland, on 28 January 1951.

Michael Share and Spencer C. Tucker



Carl Gustav Emil Mannerheim, president of Finland, 1944–1946.
(Library of Congress)

See also

Finland, Role in War; Finnish-Soviet War (Winter War, 1939–1940);
Finnish-Soviet War (Continuation War, 1941–1944)

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Manstein, Fritz Erich von (originally von Lewinski) (1887–1973)

German army field marshal and commander of Army Group South. Born in Berlin on 24 November 1887 of military stock,

Erich von Lewinski took the name Manstein from his uncle, who adopted him after his father's death in 1896. Manstein received a commission in 1906, serving in his uncle Paul von Hindenburg's regiment. World War I interrupted his studies at the War Academy. He participated in the capture of Namur in Belgium and then served on the Eastern Front, where he was wounded in November 1914. Thereafter, he held staff assignments.

Manstein continued in the German army after the war, and in 1919, he was chief of staff of the Berlin Military District, helping to draw up plans for the 100,000-man German army. In October 1920, he commanded a company of the 5th Infantry Regiment in Pomerania. Promoted to major in 1927, he held staff positions; in September 1929, he was in the Operations Branch of the Truppenamt (the secret General Staff). Promoted to lieutenant colonel, he commanded a battalion of the 4th Infantry Regiment in October 1932. In December of the next year, he was promoted to colonel. In July 1935, he was made head of the Operations Branch of the General Staff, and in October 1936, he was promoted to Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general). In February 1938, Manstein became deputy to the chief of staff of the army, General Ludwig Beck, but his opposition to Adolf Hitler's rearmament program led to his reassignment as commander of the 18th Division in Silesia. That August, he was recalled to serve as chief of staff to General Wilhelm von Leeb's Army Group South. Promoted to Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) in April 1939, Manstein was named chief of staff of Arbeitsstab Rundstedt (Working Staff Rundstedt) and helped plan the invasion of southern Poland and the capture of Warsaw. In August, he was named chief of staff to General Karl Gerd von Rundstedt's Army Group South, a post he held through the Polish Campaign. In October 1939, Manstein was appointed chief of staff to Army Group A under Rundstedt in the west and helped develop an alternative to the strategy for the invasion of France (the Ardennes approach), which Hitler adopted.

In February 1940, Manstein took command of XXXVIII Corps, which he led in the invasion of France. Promoted to General der Infanterie (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) in June 1940, he received command of the LVI Panzer Corps in East Prussia assigned to Colonel General (U.S. equiv. full general) Erich Hoepner's Panzer Group, Army Group North in May 1941. Manstein advanced over 100 miles in the first two days of Operation BARBAROSSA, the invasion of the Soviet Union, and seized the key bridges at Dvinsk. When the commander of the Eleventh Army, Colonel General Eugen Ritter von Schobert, was killed, Manstein was transferred to Army Group South in September to take command and began the conquest of the Crimea. After hard fighting, his forces managed to secure the prize of Sevastopol on 2 July 1942, the day after his promotion to field marshal.

In August 1942, Manstein was ordered to take a stripped-down Eleventh Army to rescue Eighteenth Army south of



German Field Marshal Erich von Manstein. (Corbis)

Leningrad. He fought a series of costly battles with some success, suffering 60,000 casualties in the process. He urged Hitler to concentrate in the center part of the Eastern Front, without success. Briefly moved into Central Army Group's sector, Manstein was ordered by Hitler, in November 1942, to assume command of the newly formed Army Group Don on both sides of Stalingrad, between Army Group A in the Caucasus and Army Group B. Assigned the mission of rescuing Sixth Army in Stalingrad and working with only three panzer divisions, Manstein fought his way to within 35 miles of the German perimeter before being halted. He did succeed in preventing the Soviets from taking Rostov and trapping German Army Group A.

In February 1943, the Soviets drove to the Donets River and recaptured Kursk, Rostov, and Kharkov to the west, leading Hitler to approve a counterattack. Manstein exploited Soviet fuel shortages with a panzer attack from the south that resulted in the recapture of Kharkov and Belgorod in March 1943. He sought to entice the Soviet army's South and Southwest Fronts into a similar indiscretion near Odessa, but Hitler insisted instead on Operation CITADEL to reduce the Kursk

Salient. Although the Germans made some headway in the Battle of Kursk that July, their offensive soon ground to a halt in what was the largest tank battle of the war.

Hitler's policy of refusing to allow withdrawals frustrated Manstein's approach based on an elastic defense, and Manstein's frankness did not ingratiate him with the German dictator. Manstein fought to prevent a Soviet encirclement after being forced to cross the Dnieper. The Soviets finally succeeded in encircling Manstein's forces in the Cherkassy pocket, but he managed to extract the bulk of two corps. He never could convince Hitler to allow the appointment of a chief of staff for the Eastern Front. A March 1944 conference with the Führer at Berchtesgaden led to a heated exchange and Manstein's relief as commander of Army Group South in April. British military historian Basil Liddell Hart has called Manstein the ablest German general of the war.

Manstein declined to participate in the July 1944 putsch against Hitler. He was arrested in May 1945 at the end of the war and held in Great Britain. Tried and convicted in 1949, largely on Soviet insistence, for war crimes involving the executions of Jews, Gypsies, and Crimean Tartars in his rear areas, he was sentenced to 18 years of imprisonment in February 1950. He was freed in May 1953 for medical reasons. Between 1955 and 1956, Manstein headed a committee created by the chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Konrad Adenauer, to advise the government on the creation of a new German army. Manstein died at Irschenhausen, Bavaria, on 11 June 1973.

Claude R. Sasso

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Beck, Ludwig; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Guderian, Heinz; Hitler, Adolf; Hoepner, Erich; Hoth, Hermann; Kharkov, Battle for; Kursk, Battle of; Leeb, Wilhelm Franz Josef Ritter von; Leningrad, Siege of; Paulus, Frederick; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von; Stalingrad, Battle of

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Manzhouguo (Manchukuo or Manchuria)

Name meaning "state of the Manzhus (Manchus)," given by the Japanese to Manchuria after their occupation of that Chinese territory in 1931. The Japanese began establishing a significant military presence on mainland Asia with the Sino-



Japanese troops entering Manchuria in the wake of the so-called Mukden Incident in 1931. (Photo by Keystone//Getty Images)

Japanese War of 1894. In 1900, Japanese forces took part in suppressing the Boxer Uprising and remained in China as one of the occupying powers thereafter. At the end of the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War, Japan controlled Korea and had large numbers of troops in Manchurian China. Its Guandong (Kwantung) Army was formed from these occupying forces, with the mission of supporting Japanese interests in China and Manchuria. In 1928, Manchurian warlord Zhang Zuolin (Chang Tso-lin) was assassinated in a Guandong Army plot to gain greater control of the region. Zhang Xueliang (Chang Hsueh-liang) replaced his father and quickly became an ally of the Nationalist government of Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek).

Amid tensions between the military and political leadership of Japan, the increasingly independent Guandong Army began a military campaign to regain control of Manchuria.

On 18 September 1931, Japanese staff officers of the Guandong Army in southern Manchuria set off an explosion close to the main line of the South Manchuria Railway near Mukden (Fengtien after 1932 and Shenyang today), blaming the act on nearby Chinese soldiers. Guandong Army leaders used the Mukden Incident (or Manchurian Incident) as the excuse to take control of Mukden and mount a campaign to conquer all Manchuria. Presented with a *fait accompli* by its own military, Tokyo nonetheless supported the action.

By October 1931, Japanese forces controlled all of Manchuria. The Japanese falsely claimed that they had acted only in self-defense and insisted that the crisis be resolved through direct negotiations with China. The Chinese government, however, appealed to the League of Nations; this was the first major test involving aggression for that organization. The

League Council was reluctant to initiate tough action against Japan, without the assurance of support from the United States, which was not forthcoming. The British also opposed strong action.

In February 1933, the League Assembly voted to approve the report of its investigating committee, which blamed Japan. It also approved a resolution that called on league states to adopt a doctrine of nonrecognition of Manchukuo (Manzhouguo). Japan alone among the 42 member states voted no. The Japanese delegation then walked out, and Tokyo gave formal notice of its intention to withdraw from league membership.

In March 1932, meanwhile, the Japanese established Manchukuo. Larger than France and Germany combined, this puppet state of Japan had a population of some 34 million people. In March 1933, Japan added to it the Chinese Province of Jehol, and in 1935, it added eastern Chahar.

The Chinese people deeply felt the loss of their five “eastern provinces,” and this led to strong anti-Japanese nationalism in China, especially among the educated classes and students. In 1936, in the aftermath of the Xi’an (Sian) Incident, a united front of Nationalists under Jiang Jieshi and Communists under Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) was formed to oppose Japanese imperialism in China. Tensions continued to mount, and in July 1937, an incident at the Marco Polo Bridge near Beijing (Peking) between Japanese and Nationalist forces precipitated war between China and Japan, marking the effective beginning of World War II in Asia.

Nominally independent, Manchukuo had a Chinese dynastic figurehead in the last Qing (Ch’ing) emperor, Aixinjueluo Puyi (Aisingioro P’u-i, known to Westerners as Henry Puyi), after which the state became known as Manzhoudiguo (Manchoutukuo), but Japanese officials controlled its affairs and instituted an immigration policy that brought in thousands of Korean and Japanese settlers. Some 240,000 Japanese in Manchuria increased to 837,000 inhabitants by the end of the war. Japan maintained its control of Manchuria until the last weeks of World War II.

On 9 August 1945, the Soviets launched a three-pronged offensive designed to capture Manchuria and destroy the vaunted Guandong Army. The Soviet’s bold operation, conducted in difficult terrain against what were considered some of Japan’s best troops, ended by 16 August. The experienced Soviet commanders and their battle-tested formations quickly defeated the defending Japanese forces and gained control of Manchuria.

Soon after the end of the war, U.S. forces acted to support the large-scale redeployment of Nationalist troops to accept the surrender of Japanese forces and regain control of the lost territory. Jiang utilized some of the surrendered Japanese forces in northeast China to fight the Communists in the opening rounds of the Chinese Civil War.

J. G. D. Babb and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Aixinjueluo Puyi; China, Civil War in; China, Role in War; Guandong Army; Jiang Jieshi; Manchuria Campaign; Mao Zedong; Potsdam Conference

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Mao Tse-tung

See Mao Zedong.

Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) (1893–1976)

Chinese political and military leader and founder of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1921 and the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in 1949. Born on 26 December 1893 into a prosperous peasant family in Shaoshan (Shao-shan), Hunan Province, in central China, Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) graduated from the Fourth Teacher’s Training School in Changsha, Hunan, and also read extensively in both Chinese and Western literature, philosophy, politics, and economics, including Marxist theory. Like many other young Chinese intellectuals of his time, Mao embraced revolutionary thinking, and in July 1921, he attended a meeting in Shanghai in Jiangsu (Kiangsu) Province, where the CCP was founded.

Mao became a labor organizer. In the mid-1920s, following Soviet instructions, he and other Chinese Communists cooperated with the Nationalist Party—the Guomintang, or GMD (Kuomintang, or KMT)—of President Sun Yixian’s (Sun Yat-sen). Mao held several posts in the Guomintang, and in 1925, he was appointed secretary of its propaganda department. After Sun’s death that year, Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek)—head of the Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy in Guangzhou (Canton), Guangdong (Kwangtung) Province, which had been cofounded by Communists and Nationalists two years earlier—won control of the GMD.

In 1926, Jiang began to eliminate rival political groupings, purging Communists from GMD positions and launching the 1926–1927 Northern Expedition against assorted warlords. In 1927, he turned against Communists who had escaped his

purge and proceeded to establish a base in Jiangxi (Kiangsi) Province, suppressing several Communist insurrections that year, including the Autumn Harvest Uprising of peasants and guerrillas led by Mao. Joined by renegade GMD army officers Zhu De (Chu Teh) and Lin Biao (Lin Piao), who took their troops to join him, Mao founded the Jiangxi Soviet Republic, a Communist redoubt in the province's southeast area; Mao became chairman of the organization in October 1931. At that time, Mao and Zhu elaborated theories of relying on peasant warfare and guerrilla tactics to win control of China, rejecting orthodox Marxist teachings that the urban proletariat had to be the driving force of revolution. By 1933, their base harbored an army numbering 200,000.

The Communists launched several uprisings in major Chinese cities, posing a threat to the authority of Jiang, who took Beijing (Peking) in Hebei (Hopeh) Province in 1928, unifying all China south of the Great Wall, and headed a new GMD government beginning in October. From 1930 onward, Jiang mounted annual campaigns against the Communist Soviet, and eradicating it apparently ranked higher in his priorities than opposing Japan's 1932 establishment of a puppet government in China's northeastern region of Manchuria.

In 1934, GMD forces encircled the Jiangxi Soviet. Mao and Zhu broke out, leading over 100,000 followers on the epic, 6,000-mile Long March to Yan'an (Yenan) in northern Shaanxi (Shensi); during this march, heavy fighting and harsh conditions reduced their numbers to 7,000, and Mao was forced to abandon two of his own children. In 1935, he was elected CCP chairman. That same year, Jiang ordered troops under Zhang Xueliang (Chang Hsüeh-liang), a prominent northern Manchurian warlord who had pledged allegiance to him, to attack the Communists—orders they rejected, urging all Chinese to join forces against the Japanese. In the December 1936 Xi'an (Sian) Incident in Shaanxi, Zhang kidnapped Jiang and forced him to form a united anti-Japanese front with the Communists.

In July 1937, the Battle of Marco Polo Bridge in Lugouqiao (Lukouch'iao) sparked full-scale war between Chinese and Japanese troops, and in 1938, GMD forces retreated to Chongqing (Chungking) in the southwestern Province of Sichuan (Szechwan). From their Yan'an base, the Communists effectively controlled northwestern China, and the GMD controlled the southwest. Mao's Red Army, rechristened the Eighth Route Army, participated in fighting against Japanese troops, and Communist guerrilla forces operated in Henan (Honan), Zhejiang (Chekiang), and Shandong (Shantung) Provinces. Mao still anticipated that the Communists would eventually gain control of China; meanwhile, he consolidated his authority within his own party, which adopted a constitution accepting his teachings as its official ideology in 1945.

By early 1941, the Communist-Nationalist front had largely broken down after Nationalist units defeated the Communist New Fourth Army near the Changjiang (Yangtze) Valley. From



Mao Zedong, leader of the People's Republic of China (1949–1976). (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

then until 1945, Communists concentrated their energies on establishing guerrilla bases and securing peasant support behind Japanese lines, efforts that harassed the enemy and also helped to assure them ultimate postwar control of these areas. When the war ended in August 1945, incoming Soviet troops facilitated Chinese Communist moves to take control of much of Manchuria. In early 1946, GMD and Communist forces resumed fighting each other, and U.S. attempts in late 1945 and all of 1946 to negotiate a truce foundered due to both sides' deeply rooted antagonism. Civil war continued until January 1949, and the following October, Mao proclaimed the new PRC, which the United States only recognized in January 1979.

Until his death, Mao remained China's supreme leader, dominating the country's politics. He was responsible for several controversial policies, including the November 1950 decision to attack U.S. forces during the Korean War; the economically disastrous Great Leap Forward between 1958 and 1962; and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of 1966, a socially divisive campaign designed to induce a state of permanent revolution in China. On 9 September 1976, Mao died in Beijing, an event presaged by a major earthquake the previous July in Tangshan (T'angshan), Hebei Province, which

to many Chinese symbolized the passing of one of the most forceful characters in Chinese history.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

China, Civil War in; China, Role in War; Jiang Jieshi; Lin Biao; Zhou Enlai; Zhu De

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Maquis

Term describing French guerrilla units that fought as part of the French Resistance. The word *maquis*, which literally means “scrub” or wild brushy land, originated with eighteenth-century guerrilla fighters on Corsica. In World War II, the term identified French men and women who fled to the brush or hills instead of reaching accommodation with the occupying Germans. These resisters formed armed

camps to fight the Germans. As the maquis grew, arms, food, leadership, and training were required. Ultimately, the maquis became affiliated with the Mouvement Unis de la Résistance, under its military chief, Henri Frenay. Frenay appointed Michel Brault, who is said to have originated the term *maquis*, as head of the Service Maquis. Members of the maquis were diverse. They included those determined to fight the Germans and those escaping the Service de Travail Obligatoire (STO), the German compulsory labor service, and they came from all walks of life; students, workers, and farmers were included. Although these Resistance groups were scattered and disconnected, the Western Allies provided some assistance through the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and especially the British Special Operations Executive (SOE). The Allies provided some arms, money, supplies, and training for specialists to the many Resistance groups, including the maquis. Such U.S. and British assistance was limited, however, in part from the fear that the maquis might complicate or even compromise the well-organized invasion plans of the United States and Britain.

Initially, the maquis were based in Vichy France, but after the Germans occupied that area in November 1942, maquis units appeared throughout France. Even some Spanish Republicans formed maquis units. The maquis assisted in



French Maquis resistance fighters wait in ambush on the island of Corsica, 1944. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

rescuing downed Allied airmen and smuggling them out of France so they might return to Britain. These units also conducted limited sabotage attacks against German forces from 1940 to 1943; they also stockpiled weapons, explosives, and supplies dropped by the Allies in order to play a role in the liberation of France. In 1944, all French Resistance groups, including the maquis, were merged to form the Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur (FFI, French Forces of the Interior).

Prior to the Normandy landings, Resistance units throughout France, including the maquis, gathered intelligence on German dispositions. During Operation OVERLORD, the Allied invasion of Normandy, maquis units in northwestern France conducted sabotage operations and destroyed key bridges, rail lines, and communication centers, to isolate the Allied landing sites from German reinforcement. Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force General Dwight D. Eisenhower believed this support was invaluable and worth an estimated 15 extra divisions to the operation. No doubt, this assessment was exaggerated, but the French Resistance contribution was very important.

German reprisals against maquis units were swift and often bloody. Many maquis groups operating far from Normandy were hunted down. Between 18 and 23 July 1944, German forces encircled and wiped out nearly 3,000 maquis on the natural defensive position of the Vercors Plateau in southern France. The Germans also carried out reprisals against French civilians in the area. During the 1944 campaign for France, Germans retreating from the Allied advance or trapped behind enemy lines willingly surrendered to British and American forces to avoid the ferocity of the maquis. Regardless of their exact contribution to the Allied victory, members of the maquis helped to restore French national pride, especially after the debacle of the defeat of the French army in June 1940.

Robert W. Duvall

See also

Eisenhower, Dwight D.; France Campaign; Frenay, Henri; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Office of Strategic Services; OVERLORD, Operation; Resistance; Special Operations Executive

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Mareth, Battle of (20–26 March 1943)

North African battle that sealed the fate of Axis forces in Tunisia. Following the Battle of Kasserine Pass, units of General Erwin Rommel's Afrika Korps (Africa Corps) turned to face General Bernard Montgomery's British Eighth Army, then preparing to attack the German Mareth Line. The latter,

built on a French defensive belt that stretched more than 20 miles from the Mediterranean to the Matmata Hills, anchored the Axis defense in southern Tunisia.

Rommel ordered his panzer divisions south to force Eighth Army to retreat. Montgomery, warned of the impending attack by ULTRA intercepts, reinforced around Medenine and defended in depth. On 6 March, Rommel attacked on a wide front, his advance spearheaded by the 10th, 15th, and 21st Panzer Divisions, but Montgomery's defense forced Rommel against the strengthened center of Eighth Army.

His offensive halted by antitank fire, Rommel renewed his attacks, which were repulsed with costly panzer losses. Because of his deteriorating physical and mental condition, Rommel departed for Germany on 9 March, leaving command of Army Group Afrika to Generaloberst (U.S. equiv. full general) Hans Jürgen Dieter von Arnim.

Montgomery now went on the offensive, ordering XXX Corps to advance directly against the Mareth Line. Its task was to create a gap that would allow the armor of X Corps to advance through the Gabes gap along the coast toward Sfax and eventually Tunis. Montgomery also ordered the New Zealand Corps wide around the west flank of the Mareth Line. This column swung west and then north in an attempt to break through at the Tebaga gap and reach the El Hamma Plain and envelop Army Group Afrika.

On the night of 20 March, 50th Division launched the main frontal assault on the Mareth Line. A foothold established on the morning of 21 March was lost the next day to counterattacks by the 15th Panzer Division. Meanwhile, on the evening of 20 March, the New Zealand Corps reached Tebaga gap, which forced von Arnim to shift the 164th Light Division and eventually 21st Panzer to meet this threat to his flank.

Montgomery now improvised his original plan and ordered 1st Armoured Division to follow the path of the New Zealand Corps to the Tebaga gap, while the 4th Indian Division took a shorter swing left around the Mareth Line. On 26 March, Montgomery's forces breached the Tebaga gap and threatened the continuity of the German defenses. Von Arnim temporarily saved his deteriorating situation by creating a defensive line at El Hamma. When the 4th Indian Division turned the Mareth Line, von Arnim disengaged the bulk of his forces on 27 March, escaping the envelopment.

In the battle, Montgomery demonstrated his ability to improvise when his initial plan failed, although Army Group Afrika managed to escape his trap. Combined with the successful Operation TORCH landings, these developments meant the die was now cast for the Axis powers in North Africa. Rommel had predicted that a failure to seize Medenine would be fatal; the collapse of the Mareth Line signaled the beginning of the final chapter in North Africa, which ended with the Allied capture of Tunis on 7 May 1943.

Thomas D. Veve



A formation of Spitfires on interception patrol over De Djerba Island, off Gabès, Tunisia, on their way to the Mareth Line area, 1943. (Library of Congress)

See also

Afrika Corps; Arnim, Hans Jürgen Dieter von; Bletchley Park; Kasserine Pass, Battle of; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; North Africa Campaign; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Signals Intelligence; TORCH, Operation

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Mariana Islands, Naval Campaign (June–August 1944)

Military campaign in the Central Pacific. After securing the Marshall Islands in early 1944, American military planners

decided that the next step would be to bypass the Japanese-held Caroline Islands (including the stronghold of Truk) in order to seize the Mariana Islands. Located equidistant from the Marshalls and the Japanese home islands, the 15 islands of the Marianas are spread over 400 miles, with the largest, Guam, located at the southern end of the chain. Two other large islands, Tinian and Saipan, are 100 miles north. In U.S. hands, the Marianas would offer a base for a subsequent assault on the Philippine Islands to the west and a strike at the Bonin Islands to the north (only 700 miles from the Japanese home islands), as well as a location for air bases from which B-29 strategic bombers might raid the Japanese home islands.

The Japanese military knew that holding on to these islands was essential to their control of the shipping routes to Southeast Asia, their retention of the Philippines, and the defense of Japan itself. In consequence, the Marshalls would prove much more difficult to seize than were the Gilberts and Marshalls.

For the U.S. commander of Central Pacific forces, Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, the primary objective in Operation FORAGER was to secure Guam, Saipan, and Tinian. Vice Admiral



Japanese aircraft shot down attempting to attack the U.S. Navy escort carrier *Kitkun Bay*, the Mariana Islands, June 1944. (National Archives)

Raymond Spruance's Fifth Fleet would conduct FORAGER. The main naval component was Vice Admiral Marc Mitscher's Task Force 58 of four fast carrier battle groups. Also under Spruance was Vice Admiral Kelly Turner's V Amphibious Force. Its task was to put ashore the ground force of nearly six Marine and army divisions under Lieutenant General Holland Smith. The forces involved in FORAGER deployed from as far away as Hawaii, 5,000 miles from the Marianas.

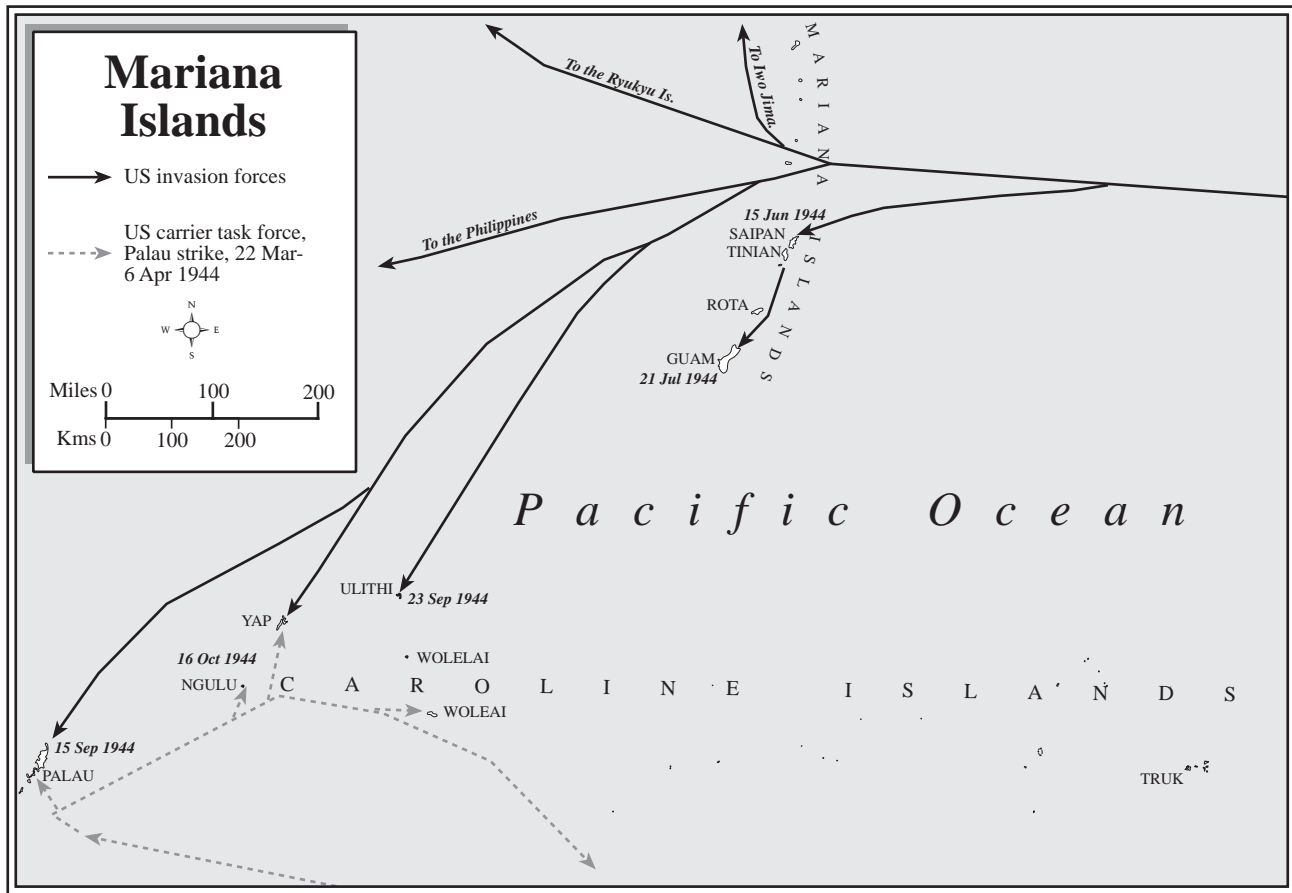
Beginning on 23 February 1944, Mitscher's carrier aircraft repeatedly attacked Japanese air bases in the Marianas, virtually wiping out Japanese airpower. On 15 June, the 2nd and 4th Marine Divisions went ashore on Saipan. Despite intense naval bombardment that pounded the island for two days in advance of the invasion, the Japanese defenders held fast. The Marines did not consolidate their beachhead until late that night, and with army reinforcements, they pushed inland over the next two weeks.

The Japanese had anticipated the U.S. invasion, and on its execution, Admiral Toyoda Soemu, commander of the Japanese Combined Fleet, ordered the 1st Mobile Fleet to

launch Operation A-GŌ, an effort to destroy the Fifth Fleet. The heavily outnumbered Japanese naval forces were supported by land-based aircraft from the Marianas and nearby islands. To meet this Japanese attack, Spruance delayed the amphibious assault on Guam scheduled for 18 June.

From 19 to 21 June, U.S. and Japanese naval forces met in the Battle of the Philippine Sea, essentially a contest of naval airpower and one of the largest and most decisive battles of the war. Superior numbers and pilot proficiency, as well as radar, carried the day for the Americans. The three-day Battle of the Philippine Sea cost the Japanese 3 large carriers and more than 480 aircraft, in what came to be known as the "great Marianas turkey shoot." U.S. losses came to 130 aircraft, with light damage to the battleship *South Dakota*. Spruance then ordered Task Force 58 to fall back on the Marianas, to protect the U.S. shipping there. Spruance was criticized at the time and since for his failure to pursue the Japanese fully, but his primary mission was to cover the assault in the Marianas.

Meanwhile, the struggle for Saipan raged. The Japanese commanders on the island, Lieutenant General Saitō



Yoshitsugu and Vice Admiral Nagumo Chūichi, both committed suicide on 6 July as the remaining Japanese defenders launched wave after wave of suicide charges, the largest of the war; this accelerated the U.S. victory. Thanks to Japan's effective anti-American propaganda, more than 8,000 civilians committed suicide, many by throwing themselves off cliffs on the northernmost end of the island.

Bombardment of Tinian began before Saipan fell on 13 July. The landings on Tinian occurred on 24 July. Marines stormed Tinian's northern coast and encountered little opposition. The situation soon changed, however, when the Japanese defenders regrouped and attacked the Marines in fanatical but futile suicide charges. Tinian was secured by 2 August.

Guam, the most important of the Marianas, had been a U.S. possession for 40 years prior to the war. Actual fighting for Guam began on 21 July, when three American divisions executed near perfect amphibious landings following two weeks of preinvasion bombardment. The ground troops, commanded by Marine Major General Roy Geiger, faced difficult terrain that favored the fanatical Japanese resistance. The

Americans secured Guam by 10 August, although mopping-up operations continued in some areas until the end of the war.

The capture of the Marianas accomplished five key objectives of the Pacific Campaign. The "great Marianas turkey shoot" ended the threat from Japanese carrier-based aviation. Additionally, Guam became one of three major western bases for the Pacific Fleet, and the United States established several air bases on these islands from which to launch massive raids against Japan. U.S. forces were now in position to strike at the Philippines and cut off Japan's oil supply from the East Indies. The U.S. victory in the Marianas also prevented any further Japanese resistance to Allied operations in New Guinea. Finally, the loss of Saipan led to the collapse of Tōjō Hideki's government and his replacement as premier by Koiso Kuniaki.

William P. McEvoy and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Geiger, Roy Stanley; Gilbert Islands Campaign; Guam, Battle for; Koiso Kuniaki; Marshall Islands, Naval Campaign; Mitscher, Marc Andrew; Nagumo Chūichi; New Guinea Campaign; Nimitz, Chester William; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Philippine

Sea, Battle of the; Saipan, Battle of; Saitō Yoshitsugu; Smith, Holland McTyeire; Spruance, Raymond Ames; Tinian, U.S. Invasion of; Tōjō Hideki; Toyoda Soemu; Turner, Richmond Kelly

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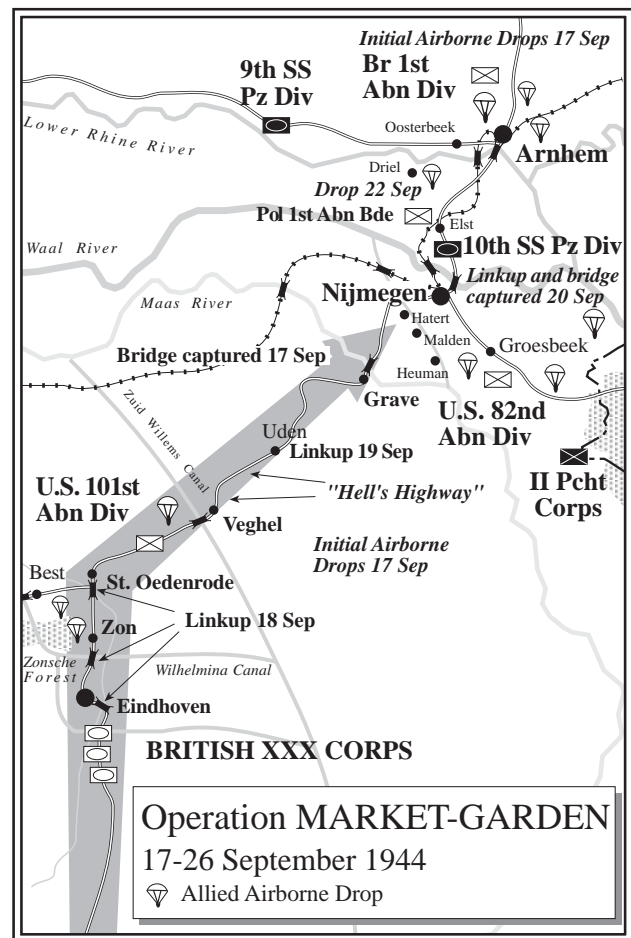
MARKET-GARDEN, Operation (17–26 September 1944)

Anglo-American offensive that included history's largest airborne operation. The brainchild of British Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery, Operation MARKET-GARDEN was designed to catapult the 21st Army Group across the Rhine River into the Ruhr, Germany's industrial heartland, and win the war in 1944. The plan called for three airborne divisions to create a 64-mile-long corridor through which an armored spearhead would pass, ending with Montgomery's forces vaulting the lower Rhine at Arnhem, Holland.

Montgomery conceived this daring plan in the full flush of victory. During the first week of September 1944, Allied intelligence reports painted a picture of a German army in rout that had lost all semblance of cohesion. In light of these reports and having been granted operational control of the newly formed First Allied Airborne Army as well as the U.S. First Army, Montgomery broke with his usual cautious battlefield demeanor and hastily devised MARKET-GARDEN.

The plan called for the establishment of an airborne corridor (MARKET) that would run in a northeasterly direction and comprise, from south to north, Major General Maxwell D. Taylor's U.S. 101st Airborne Division, dropping near Eindhoven, Holland; Brigadier General James Gavin's U.S. 82nd Airborne Division, dropping near Nijmegen, Holland; and Major General Robert "Roy" Urquhart's British 1st Airborne Division, reinforced by Major General Stanisław Sosabowski's Polish 1st Parachute Brigade, dropping outside Arnhem. All airborne forces were to be under the command of British I Airborne Corps commander Lieutenant General Frederick "Boy" Browning.

Lieutenant General Brian G. Horrocks, British XXX Corps commander, led the ground (GARDEN) component and was expected to pass approximately 20,000 vehicles over bridges seized by the 101st and 82nd Divisions and get to Arnhem within 60 hours. Prior to the operation, Montgomery's army group had taken Antwerp but had failed to secure the islands commanding the Scheldt Estuary to the



west. This oversight not only negated use of the port at Antwerp but also allowed the Germans to evacuate elements of nine divisions, totaling over 65,000 men, before they could be cut off and destroyed.

Meanwhile, Hitler had appointed General Kurt Student to form the First Parachute Army from these withdrawing German forces, with the mission of stopping any further Allied advance. Student's force was subordinated to Field Marshal Walther Model's Army Group B. Model, meanwhile, also had at his disposal SS-Gruppenführer Wilhelm Bittrich's II SS Panzer Corps, comprising the 9th SS and 10th SS Panzer Divisions. Unknown to the Allies, these panzer divisions were refitting in the vicinity of Arnhem.

Operation MARKET-GARDEN began with the simultaneous drop of elements of the 101st, 82nd, and British 1st Airborne Divisions in their respective areas during daylight on 17 September. Shortly thereafter, Horrocks's XXX Corps jumped off from its line of departure, the Albert Canal, driving northward toward Arnhem. Although taken by complete surprise, the Germans reacted quickly. They used the restrictive terrain to their advantage, slowing the Allied armor thrust while denying to the airborne elements the swift capture of their



Paratroopers, planes, and gliders fill the skies during Operation MARKET-GARDEN in September 1944. The Allies dropped more than 20,000 paratroopers and landed more than 13,500 glidermen behind German lines in the Netherlands. (Corbis)

respective assault objectives. The Germans were aided by having secured the entire Allied operational plan, carried in defiance of orders by an officer who was killed in the crash of his glider.

Although both the 101st and 82nd Airborne Divisions encountered unexpected resistance, they were able to secure the bridges in their areas by 18 September, with the exception of two: the railroad and highway bridges over the Waal at Nijmegen. Meanwhile, XXX Corps had fought through tough German resistance to link up with the 82nd by the morning of 19 September. On the next day, however, the 3rd Battalion of

the 504th Parachute Infantry Regiment conducted a daylight river crossing and secured the two Waal bridges, opening the way for XXX Corps to continue its advance to Arnhem. Unfortunately for the Allies, elements of Bittrich's II SS Panzer Corps had taken up defensive positions between Nijmegen and Arnhem and blocked any further advance by XXX Corps.

At Arnhem, Urquhart's paratroopers and glidermen landed more than 8 miles from their primary objective, a highway bridge over the lower Rhine in the heart of the city. They succeeded in getting only one battalion, Lieutenant Colonel John D. Frost's 2nd Parachute Battalion, to the northern terminus of

the bridge. The two SS panzer divisions in the city, reinforced by hundreds of German soldiers garrisoned throughout the area, were able to cut off Frost's battalion from the rest of the lightly armed parachute division to the west, as well as from relief from the south. Holding out for three days and four nights, Frost's men were finally overrun as the result of an all-out armor-infantry assault on their positions. The remainder of Urquhart's division, surrounded in the suburb of Oosterbeek to the west, was finally withdrawn to the south of the lower Rhine on 26 September, bringing the operation to a close.

During MARKET-GARDEN, the Allies dropped more than 20,000 paratroopers; landed more than 13,500 glidermen; and air-delivered some 5,200 tons of equipment, 1,900 vehicles, and 560 guns. They were hampered for several days by cloud cover in England, which forced the postponement of follow-on drops, including Sosabowski's Polish paratroopers, leaving the British paratroopers at Arnhem especially short of water, ammunition, and needed reinforcements. British airborne casualties numbered more than 7,200 men, and the 82nd and 101st lost some 1,400 and 2,100, respectively. Horrocks's XXX Corps sustained 1,400 casualties. There is no listing of German casualties throughout the battle area, though they suffered more than 3,000 in Arnhem alone.

Guy A. Lofaro

See also

Airborne Forces, Allied; Gavin, James Maurice; Horrocks, Brian Gwynne; Model, Walther; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Sosabowski, Stanislaw; Student, Kurt

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Marshall, George Catlett (1880–1959)

U.S. Army general, chief of staff of the army, secretary of state, and secretary of defense. If not America's greatest soldier, General of the Army George Marshall was one of the nation's most capable military leaders and certainly one of the most influential figures of the twentieth century. Born in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, on 31 December 1880, Marshall graduated from the Virginia Military Institute in 1901. Commissioned in the infantry in 1902, he then held a variety of assignments, including in the Philippines. He attended the Infantry and Cavalry School, Fort Leavenworth, in 1907 and was an instructor at the Staff College between 1907 and 1908.

After the United States entered World War I, Marshall went to France with the American Expeditionary Forces as



General George C. Marshall, U.S. Army chief of staff. (Library of Congress)

training officer to the 1st Division in June 1917. Promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1918, he became chief of operations of the U.S. First Army, winning admiration for his logistical skills in directing the repositioning of hundreds of thousands of men quickly across the battlefield for the Meuse-Argonne Offensive. After working on occupation plans for Germany, Marshall became aide to General John J. Pershing, who was named chief of staff of the army in 1921.

Beginning in 1924, Marshall spent three years in Tianjin (Tientsin), China, with the 15th Infantry Regiment, then five years as assistant commandant in charge of instruction at the Infantry School, Fort Benning, Georgia, where he helped to train numerous future U.S. generals. He won promotion to colonel in 1932, holding assorted command posts in the continental United States. He was promoted to brigadier general in 1936.

In 1938, Marshall became head of the War Plans Division in Washington, then deputy chief of staff with promotion to major general that July. President Franklin D. Roosevelt advanced Marshall over many more senior officers to appoint him chief of staff of the army as a temporary general on 1 Sep-

tember 1939, the day that German armies invaded Poland. As war began in Europe, Marshall worked to revitalize the American defense establishment. Assisted by pro-Allied civilians such as Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, he instituted and lobbied for programs to recruit and train new troops; expedite munitions production; assist Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union in resisting the Axis powers; and coordinate British and American strategy. After the United States entered the war in December 1941, Marshall presided over an increase in U.S. armed forces from a mere 200,000 to a wartime maximum of 8 million men and women. For this, he became known as the “Organizer of Victory.”

Marshall was a strong supporter of opening a second front in Europe, a campaign ultimately deferred until June 1944. Between 1941 and 1945, he attended all the major wartime strategic conferences, including those at Placentia Bay, Washington, Quebec, Cairo, Tehran, Malta, Yalta, and Potsdam. Marshall was the first to be promoted to the newly authorized five-star rank of General of the Army in December 1944. Perhaps his greatest disappointment was that he did not exercise field command, especially command of the European invasion forces. Roosevelt and the other wartime chiefs wanted him to remain in Washington, and Marshall bowed to their wishes. He was a major supporter of the Army Air Forces, and in 1945, he advocated use of the atomic bomb against Japan.

On the urging of President Harry S Truman, Marshall agreed to serve as special envoy to China (1945–1947). As secretary of state (1947–1949), he advanced the Marshall Plan to rebuild Europe, and he then served as president of the American Red Cross (1949–1950). Truman persuaded him to return to government service as secretary of defense in September 1950. In that capacity, Marshall worked to repair relations with the other agencies of government that had become frayed under his predecessor and to build up the U.S. military to meet the needs of the Korean War and commitments in Europe, while at the same time maintaining an adequate reserve. Marshall opposed General Douglas MacArthur’s efforts for a widened war with China and supported Truman in his decisions to fight a “limited war” and to remove MacArthur as commander of UN forces.

Marshall resigned in September 1951, ending 50 years of dedicated government service. Awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1953 for the Marshall Plan, he was the first soldier so honored. He died in Washington, D.C., on 16 October 1959.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Atlee, Clement Richard; Bradley, Omar Nelson; Collins, Joseph Lawton; Harriman, William Averell; Joint Chiefs of Staff; MacArthur, Douglas; Potsdam Conference; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Sherman, Forrest Percival; Stimson, Henry Lewis; Stratemeyer, George Edward; Tehran Conference; Truman, Harry S; Yalta Conference

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Marshall Islands, Naval Campaign (29 January–22 February 1944)

U.S. amphibious assault on Japanese-held territory in the Central Pacific in the drive toward the Japanese home islands. This campaign came after the U.S. seizure of Tarawa and Makin in the Gilberts.

The Marshall Islands are two parallel coral atoll chains, located with a 400,000-square-mile area. They are about 4 degrees above the equator and 2,000 miles southwest of Pearl Harbor. At the beginning of 1944, the Marshall Islands formed the outermost Japanese defensive barrier in the Central Pacific. The Japanese had received the islands from Germany as a consequence of World War I and had had ample opportunity to fortify them.

Initially, U.S. planners intended to capture the Marshalls and bypass the Gilbert Islands immediately to the south, but in mid-1943, the Joint Chiefs of Staff decided to secure the Gilberts first and then use them as a base to attack the Marshalls. In developing the attack plan, which was completed in early December 1943, the Pacific Fleet commander, Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, overrode his own staff by insisting on bypassing the more heavily fortified outer islands of the atoll.

Aerial photography revealed an airstrip under construction on Kwajalein Island, the hub of Japanese operations in the Marshalls; because that airstrip would be capable of handling bombers, it became the priority. The adjacent islands of Roi and Namur were also to be taken. The final objective was Eniwetok Atoll. Kwajalein is in the center of the Marshalls, just south of Roi and Namur, whereas Eniwetok is located at the northern end of the islands and 300 miles closer to Tokyo. The first step, however, would be to secure Majuro, an undefended atoll. Its lagoon would provide anchorage for support vessels.

Vice Admiral Raymond A. Spruance, commander of Fifth Fleet (and Central Pacific Force), had overall charge of the operation. Rear Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner was in charge of

the Joint Expeditionary Force (Task Force 51) of transports and landing craft, and Marine Major General Holland M. Smith would command the assault once troops were ashore. The attacking forces were arranged in three groups: Rear Admiral Richard L. Conolly commanded the Northern Attack Force, charged with taking Roi and Namur in Kwajalein Atoll; Admiral Turner retained command of the Southern Task Force, with the objective of Kwajalein Island; and Captain D. W. Loomis commanded a reserve force that would stand by during the capture of Kwajalein. Later, this force secured Eniwetok. The assault force, not counting the fast carrier task groups of submarines, numbered 197 ships, lifting a total of 54,000 assault troops, double the number in the Gilberts operation; on Kwajalein, there would be 41,000 U.S. troops versus 8,000 Japanese.

Learning from the experience at Tarawa, U.S. planners provided for a much heavier air and naval bombardment. On 29 January, U.S. carrier aircraft began hitting Japanese positions. Roi was the center of Japanese airpower in the Marshalls, with almost 100 aircraft based there. Its aircraft were obliterated in the sky and on the ground, ending any Japanese air threat that same day. U.S. aircraft and ships pounded Mili,

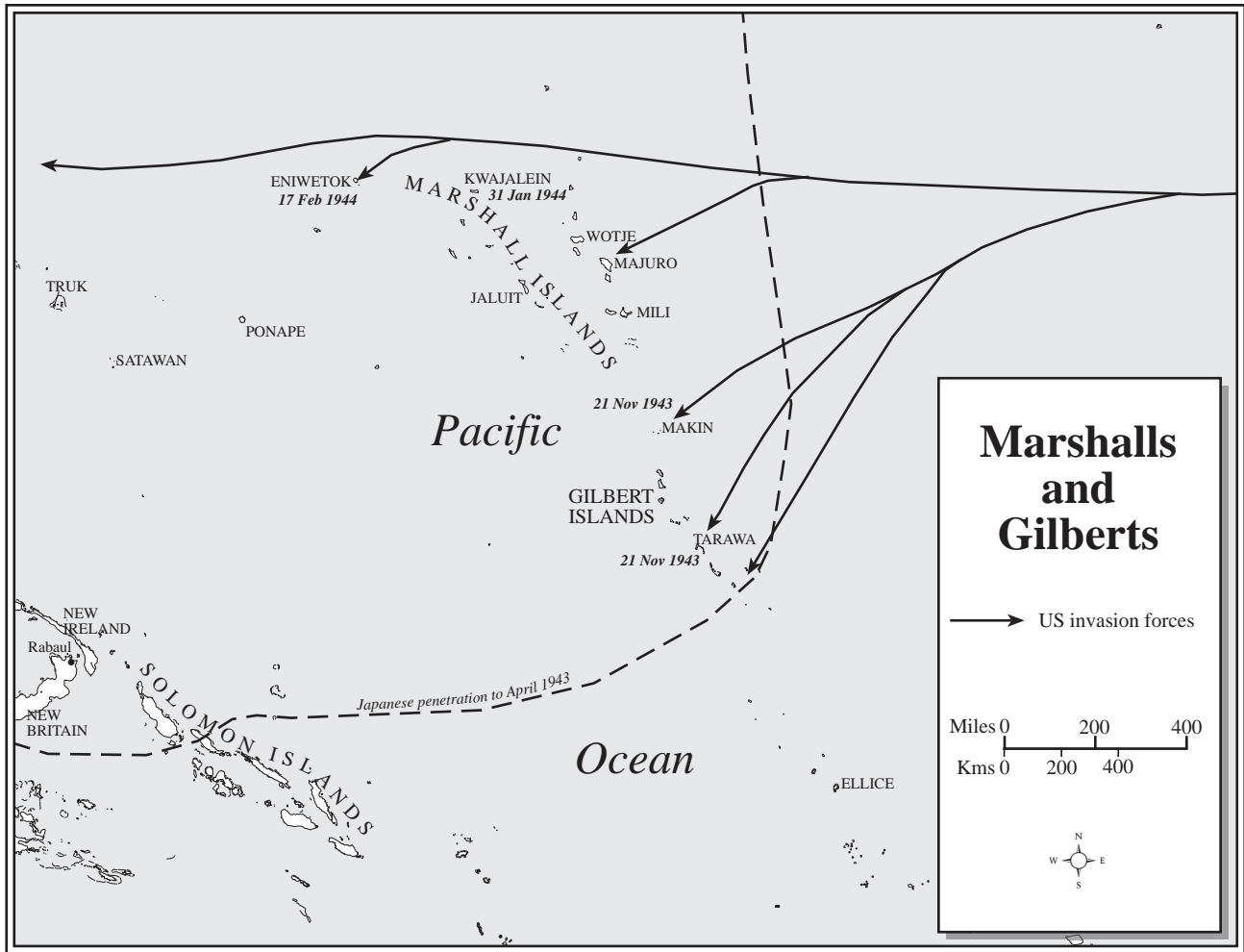
Kwajalein, Roi, Maloelap, Taroa, Jaluit, and Wotje simultaneously with bombs and naval gunfire. Majuro Atoll, composed of 56 islands, was secured between 31 January and 8 February and perfectly served the needs of the mobile supply system.

The primary target was Kwajalein Atoll (Operation FLINTLOCK). On 31 January, troops of the 4th Marine Division landed on Roi and Namur. Unlike operations in the Gilberts, FLINTLOCK had a sufficient number of tracked amphibious landing vehicles (amphtracs, or LVTs) available for the forces, and it also saw the first large-scale use of DUKW amphibian trucks. The prolonged preinvasion bombardment was also effective. Once ashore, the Marines progressed rapidly across the small islands. Japanese resistance ceased by the end of 2 February.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Army's 7th Infantry Division landed on Kwajalein Island. Turner decided first to subject the island to an extensive bombardment from battleships, cruisers, destroyers, and carrier aviation. The preliminary bombardment lasted from 30 January to 1 February. The troops went ashore early on 1 February in near perfect textbook fashion, and Kwajalein was taken on 5 February. After seizing a few



U.S. pilots, pleased over their victory, grin across the tail of an F6F Hellcat on board the USS *Lexington*, after shooting down 17 out of 20 Japanese planes heading for Tarawa, November 1943. (Commander Edward J. Steichen/National Archives)



smaller islands, Kwajalein Atoll was declared secure two days later, at a cost of 372 Americans killed and 1,582 wounded. The Japanese suffered 7,870 killed and only 265 taken prisoner.

At the far western edge of the Marshalls lay Eniwetok Atoll, only 1,000 miles from the Marianas. Eniwetok, whose name translates as “Land between West and East,” came to serve as the staging point for U.S. military operations against the Mariana Islands. Nimitz had not planned to take it until May, but the surprisingly easy victory at Kwajalein emboldened his commanders to move the attack up to February, fearful that a delay would allow the Japanese time to reinforce.

However, Eniwetok lay within striking distance of the massive Japanese base at Truk in the Caroline Islands. This bastion had to be eliminated before operations against Eniwetok could commence. Rear Admiral Marc Mitscher led Task Force 58 to neutralize Truk. His carrier aircraft destroyed more than 200 Japanese aircraft and sank 8 warships and 24 merchant vessels and damaged an aircraft carrier. Mitscher’s raids effectively ended Truk’s value as a major Japanese base.

Code-named *CATCHPOLE*, the operation against Eniwetok was carried out by the 22nd Marine Regimental Combat Team

(RCT) and the 106th Infantry Regiment. The invasion of Eniwetok Atoll began on 17 February with an assault on Engebi Island at the northern end of the atoll. This tiny island was secured by early the next day, but the Japanese defenders who were well dug in on the southern islands of Parry and Eniwetok offered stiffer opposition. Eniwetok Island was secured on 21 February, and Parry Island was declared secure on 22 February. Operations against Eniwetok Atoll claimed 195 American dead and nearly 2,700 Japanese. Only 64 Japanese were taken prisoner.

The fighting ashore had not been easy, but no U.S. ships were sunk and only a few were damaged, although several grounded in the channels between islands. Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) surface ships did not contest the landings, but submarines were present, four of which were sunk. A number of Japanese supply ships, auxiliaries, and patrol ships were also sunk by U.S. forces during the operation.

U.S. successes neutralized Japanese bases on other islands in the Marshalls group, which remained isolated for the remainder of the war. The Marshalls operation saw the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps perfect their amphibious assault tech-

niques. More important, the operation enabled U.S. forces to bypass Truk and the other Caroline Islands and leap 1,000 miles forward to the Mariana Islands, from which U.S. bombers would be able to strike Japan.

William P. McEvoy and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Amphibious Warfare; Conolly, Richard Lansing; Eniwetok, Capture of; Gilbert Islands Campaign; Kwajalein, Battle for; Mariana Islands, Naval Campaign; Mitscher, Marc Andrew; Nimitz, Chester William; Smith, Holland McTyeire; Spruance, Raymond Ames; Tarawa, Battle of; Truk; Turner, Richmond Kelly

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Matapan, Battle of

See Cape Matapan, Battle of.

Matsui Iwane (1878–1948)

Japanese army general and commander of forces involved in the Sino-Japanese War. Born in Aichi Prefecture, Japan, on 27 July 1878, Matsui Iwane graduated from the Military Academy in 1898. He fought in the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War as a captain and was awarded the Military Cross. He was a resident officer in China from 1907 to 1912 and from 1915 to 1919 and in France and Indochina between 1914 and 1915. Promoted to colonel in 1918, he commanded the 29th Infantry Regiment in Japan from 1919 to 1921, then served as a staff officer in the Siberian Expeditionary Force at Vladivostok between 1921 and 1922.

Matsui served as a staff officer in the Guandong (Kwantung) Army from 1922 to 1924 and was promoted to major general in 1923. Between 1924 and 1925, he commanded a brigade, and he was then chief of the Intelligence Division of the Army General Staff (1925–1928).

Promoted to lieutenant general in 1927, Matsui commanded the 1st Division (1929–1931) and served as a delegate to the 1931–1933 Geneva Disarmament Conference, after which he was promoted to full general in 1933. In semiretirement, he served on the Supreme War Council between 1934 and 1935. Matsui was shocked at the Aizawa Incident of 12



Japanese General Iwane Matsui salutes his victorious troops as he enters the walled city of Nanjing, 1938. (Bettmann/Corbis)

August 1935, when Army Minister Lieutenant General Nagata Tetsuzan was assassinated in his office by Lieutenant Colonel Aizawa Saburoagata. Matsui then retired from the army.

After he left the army, Matsui traveled widely in China and met with Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), head of the Nationalist Party—the Guomindong, or GMD (Kuomintang, or KMT); he hoped to reconcile Japan and China. Ordered back to duty with the Japanese army in 1937 following the start of the Sino-Japanese War, he commanded the Japanese forces sent to capture Shanghai in Jiangsu (Kiangsu). Following heavy fighting, his forces took the city. In October 1937, Matsui was appointed to command the Central China Area Army.

In November 1937, his forces began their advance on Nanjing (Nanking), in Jiangsu. On 1 December, Matsui demanded that the Chinese commander, General Tang Shengzhi (T'ang Sheng-chih), surrender the city to the Japanese, but Tang refused. On 10 December, Matsui ordered his forces to attack the city, which fell three days later. During this period and afterward, Japanese troops killed thousands of prisoners of war and civilians in what became widely known as the Rape of Nanjing. Estimates of the number of victims vary widely, from

10,000 to 300,000. Although Matsui did not issue an order for his troops to kill civilians, he was held responsible as the overall Japanese commander at Nanjing.

Matsui returned to Japan in 1938 and was a cabinet adviser from 1938 to 1940, when he retired for a second and final time. Following the war, he was brought before the International Military Tribunal for the Far East on war crimes charges stemming from the atrocities at Nanjing. Found guilty, Matsui was sentenced to death and hanged on 23 December 1948.

Kotani Ken

See also

Jiang Jieshi; Nanjing Massacre

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Matsuoka Yōsuke (1880–1946)

Japanese diplomat and foreign minister from 1940 to 1941. Born in the village of Morozumi in Yamaguchi Prefecture, Japan, on 4 March 1880, Matsuoka Yōsuke went to the United States at age 13, working his way through and graduating from the University of Oregon in 1900. After returning to Japan, he became a diplomat in 1904, and between 1904 and 1921, he developed close ties with the Japanese business community and military.

Matsuoka left the diplomatic service in 1921 to become a director of the South Manchurian Railroad and was its vice president from 1927 to 1929. The following year, he entered the Japanese Diet as a representative of the conservative Seiyūkai Party. In July 1932, he became Japan's representative to the League of Nations in Geneva, where he led the Japanese delegation in walking out following the league's acceptance of the Lytton Commission report on 24 February 1933. A staunch conservative, Matsuoka left the Seiyūkai Party in December 1933, advocating the abolition of political parties. In 1935, he rejoined the South Manchurian Railroad Company, serving as its president until 1939. He was also an adviser to the Japanese cabinet between 1937 and 1940.

From July 1940 to July 1941, Matsuoka was the Japanese foreign minister, taking a strongly pro-Axis position. Outspoken and garrulous, he was known to his friends as "Mr. 50,000 Words." During his time as foreign minister, Japan joined Italy and Germany in the Tripartite Pact of September 1940. In March 1941, Matsuoka traveled to Berlin, where he held talks with Adolf Hitler and German Foreign Minister

Joachim Ribbentrop. Hitler tried to turn the Tripartite Pact into an offensive alliance by convincing Matsuoka that Japan should join Germany in war against Britain, whereas Ribbentrop advocated a Japanese attack on Singapore. Matsuoka was noncommittal.

He then traveled on to Moscow to meet with Soviet leaders. There, on 13 April, he signed a five-year nonaggression pact with the Soviet Union. Following the June 1941 German invasion of the Soviet Union, Matsuoka advocated that Japan join Germany in war against the Soviets, in violation of its neutrality pact with the USSR. He also urged an end to negotiations with the United States. In speeches in Japan, Matsuoka argued for Japanese control of the entire western Pacific.

Matsuoka alienated other members of Japan's cabinet not by his anti-American stance but by his ambition, his obnoxious behavior, and his flouting of the prime minister's position by holding unauthorized talks with the Germans. Indeed, Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro and the entire cabinet resigned on 16 July 1941 so that the government could be reorganized without Matsuoka. The next day, Konoe again became prime minister—but with Vice Admiral Teijiro Toyoda as foreign minister.

Tuberculosis forced Matsuoka to retire from the political scene. At the end of the war, he flirted with the possibility of heading a military government, installed by a coup d'état and committed to a last-ditch resistance to any Allied invasion. He was arrested after the war and brought to trial before the International Military Tribunal for the Far East at Tokyo as a Class "A" war criminal. Matsuoka died in Tokyo on 27 June 1946, before a verdict could be rendered on his guilt or innocence.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Hitler, Adolf; International Military Tribunal: Far East; Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact; Konoe Fumimaro; Ribbentrop, Ulrich Friedrich Willy Joachim von; Tripartite Pact

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Mauthausen

See Concentration Camps, German.

McAuliffe, Anthony Clement (1898–1975)

U.S. Army general who was acting commander of the 101st Airborne Division during the Ardennes Offensive. Born on 2 July 1898 in Washington, D.C., Anthony McAuliffe attended West Virginia University for one year before entering the U.S. Military Academy, where he graduated and was commissioned a second lieutenant of field artillery in 1919. McAuliffe served at Fort Lewis, Washington (1920–1921); at the Presidio in San Francisco (1921–1922); and at the Presidio in Monterey, California (1922–1923). In 1923, he was promoted to first lieutenant and stationed at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii. In 1926, he was assigned to Fort Riley, Kansas, and then was stationed at Fort Heyle, Maryland, the next year.

From 1932 to 1936, he was in Hawaii. Winning promotion to captain in May 1935, McAuliffe graduated from the Command and General Staff School in 1937 and from the Army War College in 1940. He became a major in 1940 and served on the General Staff. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1941 and to colonel the following year.

On 8 August 1942, McAuliffe was advanced to brigadier general and made artillery commander of the 101st Airborne Division. He parachuted into Normandy with the division in June 1944 and took part in Operation MARKET-GARDEN that September. McAuliffe was serving as acting commander of the 101st Division when the German Ardennes Offensive began on 16 December 1944. His division's defense of the strategic town of Bastogne (20–26 December) was important in stopping the German attack. The unit was surrounded by advancing German troops, but McAuliffe replied to the German demand of



General Maxim Weygand (*left*), former commander in chief of the French Army, and U.S. Army Major General Anthony B. McAuliffe (*right*), commander of the 103rd Infantry Division of Seventh Army, at Innsbruck, after McAuliffe's men rescued Weygand and other French generals and statesmen from captivity at Itter Castle in the Tyrolean Alps. (Photo by Horace Abrahams/Keystone/Getty Images)

surrender with the classic curt message “To the German Commander. Nuts! The American Commander.” His men held out until relieved by elements of Third Army. Promoted to major general in March 1945, McAuliffe commanded first the 103rd Infantry Division and then briefly the 79th Infantry Division, which he led into Austria by the end of the war.

Following World War II, McAuliffe commanded the Airborne Center at Fort Bragg, North Carolina (1945–1946). He then held staff positions in Washington; in 1951, he was promoted to lieutenant general. Two years later, McAuliffe took command of Seventh Army in Germany, and between 1955 and 1956, he commanded the U.S. Army in Europe. He retired from the army in 1956 as a full general and became a senior executive at American Cyanamid Company in New York City (1956–1963). McAuliffe died in Washington, D.C., on 11 August 1975.

Darius Bernotas

See also

Airborne Forces, Allied; Ardennes Offensive; Bastogne, Battle for; MARKET GARDEN, Operation; Normandy Invasion and Campaign

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McCain, John Sidney (1884–1945)

U.S. Navy admiral who commanded a carrier task force in the Pacific. Born in Teoc in Carroll County, Mississippi, on 19 August 1884, John Sidney “Slew” McCain attended the University of Mississippi and the U.S. Naval Academy, where he graduated in 1906. Commissioned as an ensign, he embarked on a successful career as a surface warfare officer, during which he commanded two vessels and rose to the rank of captain. In 1936, he qualified as a naval aviator. His audacious decision to become a pilot led to his command of two naval air stations (Coco Solo and San Diego) and the aircraft carrier *Ranger* (from May 1937 to July 1939).

Promoted to rear admiral in February 1941, McCain received command of the Aircraft Scouting Force, Atlantic. In May 1942, he took command of all land-based naval aircraft in the South Pacific in the Guadalcanal Campaign. That October, he was assigned to Washington as chief of the Bureau of Aeronautics. McCain was promoted to vice admiral and advanced to deputy chief of naval operation for air in August 1943.

In August 1944, McCain returned to the Pacific Theater to command a carrier task group under Vice Admiral Marc Mitscher, and he participated in the Battles of the Philippine



U.S. Rear Admiral John S. McCain, October 1942. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Sea and Leyte Gulf. In October, he took command of Carrier Task Force 38 from Mitscher, who in turn relieved him in January 1945. McCain returned to the same command in May 1945. He coordinated the highly effective air campaigns at Peleliu and Okinawa, and several carrier raids into Japanese home waters, and he also developed tactics to deal with Japanese kamikaze attacks. In only one month, his planes sank 49 Japanese ships and destroyed over 3,000 aircraft on the ground. Although in failing health and hurt by the finding of a court of inquiry into his actions during a typhoon in December 1944, McCain remained aboard the battleship *Missouri* to witness the formal Japanese surrender on 2 September 1945 before returning home to Coronado, California. He died on 6 September 1945 of a heart attack. Congress promoted him to full admiral posthumously.

Bradford Wineman

See also

Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Kamikaze; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; Mitscher, Marc Andrew; Okinawa, Invasion of; Peleliu, Battle of; Philippine Sea, Battle of the

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McMorris, Charles Horatio "Soc" (1890–1954)

U.S. Navy admiral who helped to plan offensives in the Central Pacific. Born on 31 August 1890 in Wetumpka, Alabama, Charles McMorris graduated fifth in his class from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1912. Nicknamed "Soc" or "Socrates" for his intelligence, he took part in the 1914 U.S. Navy landing at Veracruz, Mexico, and served on destroyers in the North Atlantic during World War I.

McMorris then held a variety of assignments, including instructor in seamanship and history at the Naval Academy (1925–1927, 1930–1933). In the interval, he commanded destroyers. From 1933 to 1935, he was a navigator on the battleship *California*. McMorris graduated from the Naval War College in 1938, served as operations officer for the Scouting Force (1938–1939), and then served in the same capacity with the Hawaiian Department (1939–1941).

In January 1941, promoted to captain, McMorris became war plans officer on the staff of Admiral Husband Edward Kimmel, commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet. In April 1942, he took command of the heavy cruiser *San Francisco*. Promoted to rear admiral, he assumed command of Task Force 8 that December and provided gunfire support for the 7th Infantry Division as it retook Attu Island in the Aleutians. On 26 March 1943, some 200 miles west of Attu and without air support, he fought the Battle of the Komandorski Islands, repelling a stronger Japanese naval force under Vice Admiral Hosogaya Boshiro.

In June 1943, McMorris became chief of staff to Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet and Pacific Ocean Area. He helped plan the Central Pacific offensives of the war's final two years and remained in his post until February 1946. Promoted to temporary vice admiral in September 1944, he took command of the Fourth Fleet in 1946. He served on the General Board from 1947 to 1948. In June 1948, he became a permanent vice admiral, commanding the 14th Naval District and Hawaiian Sea Frontier until he retired in September 1952. McMorris died in Honolulu, Hawaii, on 11 February 1954.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Kimmel, Husband Edward; Komandorski Islands, Battle of the; Nimitz, Chester William; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign

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McNair, Lesley James (1883–1944)

U.S. Army general responsible for training American ground forces in the war. Born in Verndale, Minnesota, on 25 May 1883, Lesley J. McNair graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1904 and was commissioned in the artillery. He was an observer of French artillery in 1913. He served in the Mexican Punitive Expedition in 1916 and then deployed to France with the 1st Infantry Division as a lieutenant colonel in June 1917, where he served with George C. Marshall as an assistant chief of staff. That August, McNair was transferred to the training section of the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) General Staff at Chaumont, where he was promoted first to colonel in June 1918 and then to brigadier general in October 1918 (the youngest in the U.S. Army).

Reverting to his permanent rank of major after the war, McNair held a succession of routine assignments and graduated from the Army War College in 1929. He was again promoted to colonel in May 1935 and to brigadier general in March 1937, commanding an artillery brigade. McNair had already come to the notice of his friend George Marshall as a talented organizer and trainer of soldiers. In 1939, he became



U.S. Army Lieutenant General Lesley J. McNair, January 1942. (Photo by Thomas D. Mcavoy/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

commandant of the Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

Army Chief of Staff General Marshall then placed him in charge of organizing and training all of the army's ground forces in World War II. McNair was promoted to major general in September 1940 and to lieutenant general in June 1941. He became chief of army ground forces in March 1942.

The training assignment was a task for which McNair was perfectly suited and one that he performed brilliantly. He insisted on rigorous and realistic training, and he set high standards for officers. In this post, he often went into the field to see for himself the results of his training programs. During one inspection trip to see the 1st Infantry Division in Tunisia in the spring of 1943, McNair was wounded. While substituting for General George C. Patton Jr. as commander of the fictitious First U.S. Army Group in the United Kingdom, McNair visited Normandy, France. He was killed there on 25 July 1944 by bombs that fell short near Saint-Lô prior to the U.S. breakout in Operation COBRA. The first U.S. Army lieutenant general to be killed in action, McNair was promoted to full general posthumously in July 1954.

John F. Votaw

See also

Carpet Bombing; Marshall, George Catlett; Patton, George Smith; Saint-Lô, Battle of; United States, Army

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McNaughton, Andrew George Latta (1887–1966)

Canadian army general and commander of the First Canadian Army until his controversial replacement in 1943. Born on 25 February 1887 at Moosomin, North-West Territories (now Saskatchewan), Andrew McNaughton served with distinction in World War I. Appointed counterbattery staff officer at corps headquarters in January 1917, he skillfully applied his scientific training to counterbattery work and played a key role in developing the superb artillery arm that contributed mightily to the Canadian Corps victories in 1917 and 1918. In October 1918, McNaughton was promoted to brigadier general and given command of the Canadian Corps heavy artillery.

After the armistice, McNaughton remained in the Permanent Force (Canadian army). While serving as chief of staff from 1929 through 1935, he pioneered many modernizing innovations, a considerable achievement given the stringent budgets of the depression years. Major General McNaughton was chosen to command the 1st Canadian Division in Sep-

tember 1939. Thereafter, his rise was rapid: Canadian Corps commander and lieutenant general in July 1940 and Canadian First Army commander in April 1942. During the early war years, McNaughton's public reputation was unchallenged; he was a link to the glories of the Canadian Expeditionary Force and embraced as a commander who would forge his army into "a dagger pointed at the heart of Berlin," to use his own phrase.

In reality, McNaughton's prickly temperament, poor judgment in selecting subordinates, administrative deficiencies, and obsession with technological details made it clear to most insiders—British *and* Canadian—that he was unfit to command a large force in the field. A consensus that his performance during Exercise SPARTAN in England in 1943 was a disaster proved the final straw for his many British critics, especially Field Marshal Sir Alan Brooke. The Canadian government agreed, and it fell to Minister of National Defence J. L. Ralston to relieve McNaughton in December 1943 on grounds of "health" and replace him with Henry Crerar.

An embittered McNaughton returned to Canada. When a conscription crisis erupted in the autumn of 1944 and Prime Minister Mackenzie King sacked Ralston, McNaughton—the only senior general still favoring the voluntary enlistment system—entered the cabinet as his old nemesis's replacement. Within a month, however, the government enacted limited overseas conscription, and McNaughton's political career fizzled.

In contrast to the turmoil of his World War II service, McNaughton enjoyed a highly successful postwar career as a diplomat, serving as Canada's representative on the UN Atomic Energy Commission (1946–1948), the International Joint Commission (1950–1962), and the Permanent Joint Board on Defence (1950–1958). McNaughton died in Montebello, Quebec, on 11 July 1966.

Patrick H. Brennan

See also

Brooke, Sir Alan Francis; Canada, Army; Crerar, Henry Duncan Gregory; King, William Lyon Mackenzie

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Medals and Decorations

Military medals are awards given to soldiers to recognize their service or their participation in a battle or campaign. Decora-

tions are awards given for combat heroism, for outstanding achievement, or for meritorious service for a specific period of time. In most but not all countries that fought in World War II, campaign and service medals had a round shape, whereas decorations tended to take on a variety of shapes, with stars and crosses predominating (see Tables 1 through 4). Although not military medals or decorations in the strictest sense, badges for weapons and equipment qualifications and special skills were also awarded; they comprised a widely developed system in most countries. Some of these badges, such as the U.S. Army's Combat Infantryman Badge, often carried greater prestige than most campaign medals and many decorations.

Some countries, including Great Britain and the United States, had specific decorations that were only awarded for combat valor and others that were only awarded only for service. In Germany and France, by contrast, most decorations could be awarded for either valor or service, and it was impossible to tell the difference once the award was on a soldier's uniform. The Soviet Union, which had the widest array of medals and decorations, had a composite system. Some countries, such as France, Belgium, and the United States, also had a system of awards for entire units, both for valor and service.

In the United States and Germany, all decorations were open to all ranks. In Britain and, to a lesser degree, in France and the Soviet Union, certain decorations were only for offi-

Table 1
Relative Precedence of U.S. Military Decorations of World War II

1. Navy Medal of Honor (1861)
Army Medal of Honor (1862)
2. Distinguished Service Cross (1918)
Navy Cross (1919)
3. Army Distinguished Service Medal (1918)
Navy Distinguished Service Medal (1918)
4. Silver Star (1918)
5. Legion of Merit (1942)
6. Distinguished Flying Cross (1926)
7. Soldier's Medal (1926)
Navy and Marine Corps Medal (1942)
8. Bronze Star Medal (1942)
9. Air Medal (1942)
10. Navy Commendation Medal (1944)
Army Commendation Medal (1945)
11. Purple Heart (1932)

Note: Parenthetical dates are the years in which the awards were established.

Sources: Kerrigan, Evans E., *American Medals and Decorations*, New York: Mallard Press, 1990; Rosignoli, Guido, *Ribbons of Orders, Decorations, and Medals*, New York: Arco Publishing, 1977.

Table 2
Relative Precedence of British Orders and Decorations of World War II

1. Victoria Cross (1856)
2. George Cross (1940)
3. Order of the Garter (1348)
4. Order of the Thistle (1687)
5. Order of the Bath (First through Third Classes) (1399)
6. Order of Merit (1902)
7. Order of St. Michael and St. George (1818)
8. Royal Victorian Order (First through Third Classes) (1896)
9. Order of the British Empire (First through Third Classes) (1917)
10. Order of the Companions of Honour (1917)
11. Distinguished Service Order (1886)
12. Royal Victorian Order (Fourth Class) (1896)
13. Order of the British Empire (Fourth Class) (1917)
14. Imperial Service Order (1902)
15. Royal Victorian Order (Fifth Class) (1896)
16. Order of the British Empire (Fifth Class) (1917)
17. Distinguished Service Cross (1914)
18. Military Cross (1914)
19. Distinguished Flying Cross (1918)
20. Air Force Cross (1918)
21. Distinguished Conduct Medal (1854)
22. Conspicuous Gallantry Medal (1855)
23. George Medal (1940)
24. Distinguished Service Medal (1914)
25. Military Medal (1916)
26. Distinguished Flying Medal (1918)
27. Air Force Medal (1918)
28. British Empire Medal (1917)

Note: Parenthetical dates are the years in which the awards were established.

Sources: Hall, Donald, and Christopher Wingate, *British Orders, Decorations, and Medals*, Saint Ives, UK: Balfour Publications, 1973; Hieronymussen, Paul, *Orders and Decorations of Europe*, New York: Macmillan, 1967; Rosignoli, Guido, *Ribbons of Orders, Decorations, and Medals*, New York: Arco Publishing, 1977.

cers, and others were only for enlisted personnel. In most countries with a dual system, the highest combat decoration could be awarded to both officers and enlisted soldiers. Some countries, including France, had a system of decorations that could be awarded to civilians as well as to military personnel. Others, such as Britain, generally had separate awards for civilians. The United States had a mixed system, in which certain military decorations could be awarded to civilians, and some could not. For example, Virginia Hall, an Office of Strategic Services operative (and technically a civilian), became the only woman ever awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, the second-highest combat decoration of the United States.

Medal of Honor and Victoria Cross Recipients in World War II A Representative Sampling of Citations

Private William C. Barrett, U.S. Army

Date of action: 6 June 1944

Place: vicinity of St. Laurent-sur-Mer, France

Citation: For gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his own life above and beyond the call of duty on 6 June 1944, in the vicinity of St. Laurent-sur-Mer, France. On the morning of D-day, Pvt. Barrett, landing in the face of extremely heavy enemy fire, was forced to wade ashore through neck deep water. Disregarding the personal danger, he returned to the surf again and again to assist his floundering comrades and save them from drowning. Refusing to remain pinned down by the intense barrage of small arms fire and mortar fire poured at the landing points, Pvt. Barrett, working with fierce determination, saved many lives by carrying casualties to an evacuation boat laying off shore. In addition to his assigned mission as guide, he carried dispatches the length of the fire-swept beach; he assisted the wounded; he calmed the shocked; he arose as a leader in the stress of the occasion. His coolness and his dauntless daring courage while constantly risking his life during a period of many hours had a inestimable effect on his comrades and is in keeping with the highest traditions of the U.S. Army.

Private Harold G. Kiner, U.S. Army

Date of action: 2 October 1944

Place: near Palenberg, Germany

Citation: With four other men, he was leading in a frontal assault 2 October 1944, on a Siegfried line pillbox near Palenberg, Germany. Machine-gun fire from the strongly defended enemy position 25 yards away pinned down the attackers. The Germans threw hand grenades, one of which dropped between Pvt. Kiner and two other men. With no hesitation, Pvt. Kiner hurled himself upon the grenade, smothering the explosion. By his gallant action and voluntary sacrifice of his own life, he saved his two comrades from serious injury or death.

***Sergeant Gerry H. Kisters, U.S. Army
(later promoted to first lieutenant)***

Date of action: 31 July 1943

Place: near Gagliano, Sicily

Citation: On 31 July 1943, near Gagliano, Sicily, a detachment of one officer and nine enlisted men, including Sgt. Kisters, advancing ahead of the leading elements of U.S. troops to fill a large crater in the only available vehicle route through Gagliano, was taken under fire by two enemy machine guns. Sgt. Kisters and the officer, unaided and in the face of intense small arms fire, advanced on the nearest machine-gun emplacement and succeeded in capturing the gun and its crew of four. Although the greater part of the remaining small arms fire was now directed on the captured machine-gun position, Sgt. Kisters voluntarily advanced alone toward the second gun emplacement. While creeping forward, he was struck five times by enemy bullets, receiving wounds in both legs and his right arm. Despite the wounds he continued to advance on the enemy, and captured the second machine gun after killing three of its crew and forcing the fourth member to flee. The courage of this soldier and his unhesitating willingness to sacrifice his life, if necessary, served as an inspiration to the command.

***First Lieutenant Jack Lummus, U.S.
Marine Corps***

Date of action: 8 March 1945

Place: Iwo Jima

Citation: For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty as leader of a rifle platoon attached to the 2nd Battalion, 27th Marines, 5th Marine Division, in action against enemy Japanese forces on Iwo Jima in the Volcano Islands, 8 March 1945. Resuming his assault tactics with bold decision after fighting without respite for two days and nights, 1st Lt. Lummus slowly advanced his platoon against an enemy deeply entrenched in a network of mutually supporting positions. Suddenly halted

by a terrific concentration of hostile fire, he unhesitatingly moved forward of his front lines in an effort to neutralize the Japanese position. Although knocked to the ground when an enemy grenade exploded close by, he immediately recovered himself and, again moving forward despite the intensified barrage, quickly located, attacked, and destroyed the occupied emplacement. Instantly taken under fire by the garrison of a supporting pillbox and further assailed by the slashing fury of hostile rifle fire, he fell under the impact to a second enemy grenade but, courageously disregarding painful shoulder wounds, staunchly continued his heroic one-man assault and charged the second pillbox, annihilating all the occupants. Subsequently returning to his platoon position, he fearlessly traversed his lines under fire, encouraging his men to advance and directing the fire of supporting tanks against other stubbornly holding Japanese emplacements. Held up again by a devastating barrage, he again moved into the open, rushed a third heavily fortified installation and killed the defending troops. Determined to crush all resistance, he led his men indomitably, personally attacking foxholes and spider traps with his carbine and systematically reducing the fanatic opposition, until, stepping on a land mine, he sustained fatal wounds. By his outstanding valor, skilled tactics, and tenacious perseverance in the face of overwhelming odds, 1st Lt. Lummus had inspired his stouthearted marines to continue the relentless drive northward, thereby contributing materially to the success of his regimental mission. His dauntless leadership and unwavering devotion to duty throughout sustain and enhance the highest traditions of the U.S. Naval Service. He gallantly gave his life in the service of his country.

***First Lieutenant Jack W. Mathis, U.S.
Army Air Corps***

Date of action: 18 March 1943

Place: over Vegesack, Germany

Citation: For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty in action with the enemy over Vegesack, Germany on 18 March 1943. First Lt. Mathis, as leading bombardier of his squadron, flying through intense and accurate antiaircraft fire, was just starting his bomb run, upon which the entire squadron depended for accurate bombing, when he was hit by the enemy antiaircraft fire. His right arm was shattered above the elbow, a large wound was torn in his side and abdomen, and he was knocked from his bombsight to the rear of the bombardier's compartment. Realizing that the success of the mission depended upon him, 1st Lt. Mathis, by sheer determination and willpower, though mortally wounded dragged himself back to his sights, released his bombs, then died at his post of duty. As the result of this action the airplanes of his bombardment squadron placed their perfect attack against the enemy. First Lt. Mathis' undaunted bravery has been a great inspiration to the officers and men of his unit.

Sergeant Ralph G. Neppel, U.S. Army

Date of action: 14 December 1944

Place: Birgel, Germany

Citation: He was leader of a machine gun squad defending an approach to the village of Birgel, Germany, on 14 December 1944, when an enemy tank, supported by 20 infantrymen, counterattacked. He held his fire until the Germans were within 100 yards and then raked the foot soldiers beside the tank killing several of them. The enemy armor continued to press forward and, at the point-blank range of 30 yards, fired a high velocity shell into the American emplacement, wounding the entire squad. Sgt. Neppel, blown 10 yards from his gun, had 1 leg severed below the knee and suffered other wounds. Despite his injuries and the danger from the onrushing tank and infantry, he dragged himself back to his position on his elbows, remounting his gun, and killed the remaining enemy riflemen. Stripped of its infantry protection, the tank was forced to withdraw. By his superb courage and indomitable fighting spirit, Sgt. Neppel inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy and broke a determined counterattack.

Seaman First Class James R. Ward, U.S. Navy

Date of action: 7 December 1941

Place: Pearl Harbor, Hawaii

Citation: For conspicuous devotion to duty, extraordinary courage, and complete disregard of his life, above and beyond the call of duty, during the attack on the Fleet in Pearl Harbor by Japanese forces on 7 December 1941. When it was seen that the U.S.S. Oklahoma was going to capsize and the order was given to abandon ship, Ward remained in a turret holding a flashlight so the remainder of the turret crew could see to escape, thereby sacrificing his own life.

Private Rodger W. Young, U.S. Army

Date of action: 31 July 1943

Place: New Georgia, Solomon Islands

Citation: On 31 July 1943, the infantry company of which Pvt. Young was a member was ordered to make a limited withdrawal from the battle line in order to adjust the battalion's position for the night. At this time, Pvt. Young's platoon was engaged with the enemy in a dense jungle where observation was very limited. The platoon suddenly was pinned down by intense Japanese [fire from a] machine gun concealed on higher ground only 75 yards away. The initial burst wounded Pvt. Young. As the platoon started to obey the order to withdraw, Pvt. Young called out that he could see the enemy emplacement, whereupon he started creeping toward it. Another burst from the machine gun wounded him the second time. Despite the wounds, he continued his heroic advance, attracting enemy fire and answering with rifle fire. When he was close enough to his objective, he began throwing hand grenades, and while doing so was hit again and killed. Pvt. Young's bold action in closing with this Japanese pillbox, and thus diverting its fire, permitted his platoon to disengage itself, without loss, and was responsible for several enemy casualties.

Lance-Sergeant John Baskeyfield, British army

Date of action: 20 September 1944

Place: Arnhem, Holland

Deed: On 20 September 1944 at Arnhem, Holland, Lance-Sergeant Baskeyfield was in charge of a 6-pounder anti-tank gun and in the course of the engagement, when two Tiger tanks and at least one self-propelling gun were destroyed, the lance-sergeant was wounded and all his crew became casualties. Nevertheless he continued to man his gun quite alone, keeping the enemy at bay, until it was put out of action, when he crawled to another 6-pounder and proceeded to man that single handed. He fired two shots at a self-propelling gun, one of which was a direct hit, and was preparing to fire a third when he was killed.

Flight Officer Lieutenant Eric James Brindley Nicolson, Royal Air Force

Date of action: 16 August 1940

Place: near Southampton, England

Deed: On 16 August 1940 near Southampton, England, Flight Lieutenant Nicolson's Hurricane was fired on by a Messerschmitt 110, injuring the pilot in one eye and one foot. His engine was also damaged and the petrol tank set alight. As he struggled to leave the blazing machine he saw another Messerschmitt, and managing to get back into the bucket seat, pressed the firing button and continued firing until the enemy plane dived away to destruction. Not until then did he bail out, and when he landed in a field, he was unable to release his parachute owing to his badly burned hands.

Captain L. E. Queripel, British army

Date of action: 19 September 1944

Place: Arnhem, Holland

Deed: On 19 September 1944 at Arnhem, Holland, Captain Queripel displayed the highest standard of gallantry during the whole of a period of nine hours of bitter and confused fighting. Under heavy fire he carried a wounded sergeant to the regimental aid post and was himself wounded in the face. Later, when it became necessary to withdraw he insisted, despite the protests of his men, in remaining behind to cover their withdrawal, armed only with his pistol and a few hand grenades. This was the last occasion on which he was seen.

(continues)

Medal of Honor and Victoria Cross Recipients in World War II A Representative Sampling of Citations (cont.)

**Lieutenant Colonel V. B. Turner,
British army**

Date of action: 27 October 1942

Place: El Aqqaqir (Kidney Ridge), Western Desert, Egypt

Deed: On 27 October 1942 at El Aqqaqir (Kidney Ridge), Western Desert, Egypt, Lieutenant Colonel Turner was commanding a battalion of the Rifle Brigade. After overcoming a German position, the battalion fought off desperate counter-attacks by 90 tanks, destroying or immobilising more than 50 of them. During the action, one of

the 6-pounder guns was left with only one officer and a sergeant, so Colonel Turner joined them as loader, and between them they destroyed another five tanks. Not until the last tank had been repulsed did he consent to having a wound in his head attended to.

Charles L. Keese

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Prior to the nineteenth century, military awards were few in number and usually reserved for the most senior officers. In the majority of the European monarchies, these tended to be members of military classes of the country's various orders of knighthood. Decorations began to be awarded to the enlisted ranks when Napoleon Bonaparte established the Legion of Honor in 1802 to recognize distinguished military and civilian service. In practice, however, this honor was awarded to privates and noncommissioned officers, which led to the establishment in 1852 of the *Medaille Militaire*. In 1813, Kaiser Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia established the Iron Cross, available to all ranks. In 1856, during the last year of the Crimean War, the British established the Victoria Cross (VC) as their highest military decoration. Unlike virtually every other British decoration through the end of World War II, the VC was open to all ranks.

The United States established the Medal of Honor (often erroneously called the Congressional Medal of Honor) at the start of the Civil War. The navy version was authorized on 12 December 1861 and the army version on 12 July 1862. Originally, it was awarded to enlisted men. Officers became eligible for the Army Medal of Honor in 1863 and for the Navy Medal of Honor in 1915. The Army and Navy Medals of Honor also differed in that, from the start, the former could be awarded for acts of combat valor only. The Navy Medal of Honor could be awarded for peacetime acts of heroism until 1942. Between 1917 and 1942, the navy even had two different designs for the medal, one for combat and one for noncombat.

Probably the first campaign medal in the modern sense was the British Military General Service Medal, established in 1847 and awarded to all soldiers who had participated in the Peninsular Campaign against Napoleon more than 30 years

earlier. By the time of World War II, most of the belligerent nations had well-established systems of medals and decorations, with a clearly delineated hierarchy to the decorations. Starting in 1939, all sides established campaign medals to recognize participation in the major campaigns or battles.

American campaign and service medals indicated a soldier's geographic participation. The three primary medals were the European–African–Middle Eastern Campaign Medal, the Asiatic–Pacific Campaign Medal, and the American Campaign Medal. The latter medal was awarded for 30 days of service outside the continental United States but within the theater of operations (such as coastal patrol) or for a total of one year within the continental United States. A small bronze star device affixed to the medal ribbon indicated each individual campaign in which a soldier participated. One silver star device represented five bronze star devices. At the end of the war, all U.S. soldiers also received the World War II Victory Medal.

Great Britain's World War II campaign medals deviated from normal practice in that they were in the shape of a six-pointed star, rather than round. They included the Atlantic Star, Air Crew Europe Star, Africa Star, Pacific Star, Burma Star, Italy Star, France and Germany Star, and 1939–1945 Star for six months of service in an operational area. Soldiers from the Commonwealth nations also received the British campaign stars, but in many cases, those countries also augmented the British awards with their own service medals. Such countries (and, in some cases, provinces) included India, Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Southern Rhodesia, and Newfoundland.

The Soviet Union had the widest array of campaign medals, which fell into five broad categories: (1) Defense Medals, awarded to both soldiers and civilians who actively

Table 3
Relative Precedence of Soviet Orders and Decorations of World War II

1. Hero of the Soviet Union (1934)
2. Hero of Socialist Labor (1938)
3. Order of Lenin (1930)
4. Order of Victory (1943)
5. Order of the Red Banner (1924)
6. Order of Suvorov (Army, 3 classes) (1942)
7. Order of Ushakov (Navy, 2 classes) (1944)
8. Order of Kutuzov (Army, 3 classes) (1942–1943)
9. Order of Nakhimov (Navy, 2 classes) (1944)
10. Order of Bogdan Khmel'nitsky (3 classes) (1943)
11. Order of Alexander Nevsky (Army and Air Force) (1942)
12. Order of the Patriotic War (2 classes) (1942)
13. Order of the Red Star (1930)
14. Order of the Badge of Honor (Civilians) (1935)
15. Order of Glory (Army and Air Force, 3 classes) (1943)
16. Order of Mother Heroine (Civilians) (1944)
17. Order of the Glory of Motherhood (Civilians) (1944)
18. For Valor (1938)
19. For Meritorious Service in Battle (1938)
20. Ushakov Medal (Navy, 2 classes) (1944)
21. Nakhimov Medal (Navy, 2 classes) (1944)

Note: Parenthetical dates are the years in which the awards were established.

Sources: Rosignoli, Guido, *Ribbons of Orders, Decorations, and Medals*, New York: Arco Publishing, 1977; Werlich, Robert, *Russian Orders, Decorations, and Medals*, Washington, DC: Quaker Press, 1981.

participated in the defense of certain cities and areas—Leningrad, Moscow, Odessa, Sevastopol, Stalingrad, Kiev, the Caucasus, and the Soviet Arctic; (2) Capture Medals, awarded to soldiers who participated directly in the attacks on certain enemy cities—Budapest, Königsberg, Vienna, and Berlin; (3) Liberation Medals, awarded to soldiers for the capture of east European cities occupied by the Germans—Belgrade, Warsaw, and Prague; (4) Victory Medals, awarded for both Germany and Japan, despite the fact that the Soviet Union was at war with Japan for only 21 days; and (5) Anniversary Medals, awarded starting with the twentieth anniversary in 1965. The Russian Federation continued the practice, issuing a fiftieth Anniversary Medal in 1995.

Although France fell on 17 June 1940, its government-in-exile under General Charles de Gaulle awarded a number of medals, and the newly formed Fourth Republic instituted several others after the war. The limited nature of France's participation in the war also limited the scope of its campaign and service medals, which focused on resistance activities and combat service as part of larger Allied formations. The pri-

mary French decoration of the war was the Croix de Guerre (1939–1945). It was established in September 1939 as a continuation of the Croix de Guerre first established during World War I and was awarded to both individuals and entire units. French campaign medals included the Free French Forces Medal, War Medal (1939–1945), Medal for Those Deported or Interned for Acts of Resistance, Medal for Those Deported or Interned for Political Reasons, Cross for Combat Volunteers, Italian Campaign Medal, Cross for Combatant Volunteers in the Resistance, and Medal for Patriots in Forced Labor.

Germany had an enormous array of awards, decorations, and qualification badges during World War II, although it did not establish a system of campaign medals. The Germans had only one real campaign medal, the Medal for the Winter Campaign in the East (1941–1942), widely known among the soldiers as “the Order of the Frozen Flesh.” Instead of using campaign medals, the Germans recognized participation in

Table 4
Relative Precedence of German Military Decorations of World War II

1. Grand Cross of the Iron Cross (1813/1939)
2. Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross with Gold Oak Leaves, Swords, and Diamonds (1944)
3. Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross with Oak Leaves, Swords, and Diamonds (1941)
4. Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross with Oak Leaves and Swords (1941)
5. Pour le Mérite with Oak Leaves (1810)*
6. Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross with Oak Leaves (1940)
7. Pour le Mérite (1740)*
8. Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross (1939)
9. War Order of the German Cross in Gold (1941)
10. Knight's Cross of the War Cross of Merit in Gold (1944)†
11. Knight's Cross of the War Cross of Merit in Silver (1940)†
12. War Order of the German Cross in Silver (1941)
13. Iron Cross First Class (1813/1939)
14. War Cross of Merit First Class (1939)†
15. Iron Cross Second Class (1813/1939)
16. War Cross of Merit Second Class (1939)†
17. War Medal for Merit (Civilians) (1940)

Note: Parenthetical dates are the years in which the awards were established; where two dates appear, these are the years in which the awards were established and later reestablished.

* Not awarded after 1918 but still worn on German uniforms during World War II

† Awarded without or with Swords to indicate a direct connection to military operations

Sources: Hieronymussen, Paul, *Orders and Decorations of Europe*, New York: Macmillan, 1967; Littlejohn, David, and C. M. Dodkins, *Orders, Decorations, Medals, Badges of the Third Reich*, Mountain View, CA: R. J. Bender, 1968; Williamson, Gordon, *The Iron Cross: A History, 1813–1957*, New York: Blandford Press, 1984.



President Harry S Truman decorating 1 of 28 servicemen who received Medals of Honor in a ceremony in the East Room of the White House, 23 August 1945. (Harry S. Truman Library (NLHST)/National Archives)

some (but by no means all) battles with either cuff titles or small metal shields that were also worn on the cuff of the uniform. The cuff titles included Spanien (Spain), Kreta (Crete), Afrika, Metz, and Kurland. The cuff shields included Narvik, Cholm, Krim (Crimea), Kuban, and Demjansk.

The premier German decoration of World War II was the Iron Cross, which had been a purely Prussian award before World War I. Under Adolf Hitler, the Iron Cross was reinstated on 1 September 1939. But whereas the Iron Cross prior to World War II came in only two classes plus a Grand Cross, Hitler also initiated a Knight's Cross between the First Class and the Grand Cross. As the war progressed, four more levels of the Knight's Cross were added. Reichsmarschall (Reich Marshal) Hermann Göring was the only recipient of the Grand Cross, and Stuka pilot Hans-Ulrich Rudel was the only recipient of the Knight's Cross with Golden Oak Leaves, Diamonds, and Swords, an award created specifically for him.

Italy's medals and decorations were a complex mixture, reflecting the country's changing status during the war. Italian awards were issued first by the Kingdom of Italy and then by the Republic of Italy and the Social Republic of Italy simultaneously. Instituted in 1833, the Medal for Military Valor was awarded in Gold, Silver, and Bronze Classes. The Medal for Naval Valor was instituted in 1836, and the Medal for Aeronautical Valor was introduced in 1927. Lesser Italian decorations included the War Cross for Military Valor and the War Cross for Military Merit.

Italy awarded campaign medals for the Ethiopian Campaign, the Spanish Campaign, the Spanish Civil War, the French Campaign, the Albanian Campaign, and the African Campaign, as well as the Cross of the Italian Expeditionary Corps in the Soviet Union. Italy also issued a commemorative War Medal for service between 1940 and 1943 and a Liberation Campaign Medal for the 1943–1945 period. After the war,

an unofficial campaign ribbon also appeared to commemorate service in the military forces of the Italian Social Republic.

The Republic of China had a vast and bewildering array of decorations and orders, and it is very difficult to establish their relative order of precedence with any real precision. The most important military decorations included: the Order of the Precious Tripod, the Order of National Glory, the Order of the Blue Sky and White Sun, the Order of Loyalty and Bravery, the Order of the Cloud and Banner, and the Order of Loyalty and Diligence. The Order of the Precious Tripod came in eight classes, the Order of the Cloud and Banner came in nine, and all the rest came in one class. The Order of Loyalty and Bravery was awarded only for acts of great valor while wounded. No other country had such an award.

The fascination of Nationalist leader Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) with his fledgling air force was reflected in the group of Chinese air decorations established in the late 1930s. The premier flying award was the Order of Rejuvenation, which came in three classes. To qualify for the First Class, an airman had to shoot down at least nine enemy aircraft, fly 300 combat missions, and have 900 hours of flight time. The Second Class required six enemy aircraft downed, 250 missions, and 750 hours. The Third Class required three aerial victories, 200 missions, and 600 hours. The requirement for aerial victories effectively meant only fighter pilots could qualify for the order. Thus, the Chinese also had three additional aviation orders, all of a single class, that did not require shooting down enemy aircraft. The Air Force Order of Ho-T'u was awarded for 600 combat missions, the Air Force Order of Ancient Symbols for 500 missions, and the Air Force Order of Ch'ien Yuan for 400 missions. The number of required missions for each order was exactly double the numbers of missions for the three respective classes of the Order of Rejuvenation. Finally, the Chinese also awarded the Air Force Order of Great Unity to distinguished air commanders.

During the war, the Chinese government had offered to present a special campaign medal to American servicemen serving in China. The U.S. government demurred, but the government of Taiwan resurrected the idea in the late 1970s and awarded the medal to all American veterans who could prove they had served in China. Most of those who received the World War II China War Memorial Medal were veterans of the U.S. Fourteenth Air Force and its predecessor organizations, the China Air Task Force and the American Volunteer Group (the Flying Tigers).

Most Japanese decorations and orders were instituted in the late nineteenth century. Japan's premier decoration was the Order of the Chrysanthemum, which was only awarded to members of the royal family and foreign heads of state. The Order of the Rising Sun came in eight classes and was awarded for exceptional civil or military service. The Order of the Sacred Treasure, also in eight classes, was conferred for distinguished civil or military service. The primary Japanese

award for combat heroism was the Order of the Golden Kite, which came in seven classes.

During the war, Japan established several awards for the various occupation and puppet regimes it set up in China. In 1936, Emperor Aixinjueluo Puyi of Manchukuo initiated the Order of the Pillars of State and the Order of the Auspicious Cloud, both for Japanese officers and Chinese officials who cooperated with the Japanese occupation. When the Japanese invaded China proper, they established another puppet regime called the Reorganized National Government of China. In 1943, that government instituted the Order of United Glory, also for Japanese officers and Chinese collaborators.

David T. Zabecki

See also

Aixinjueluo Puyi; de Gaulle, Charles; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Hitler, Adolf; Jiang Jieshi; Rudel, Hans-Ulrich

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Meiktila, Battle of (28 February–28 March 1945)

Burma saw some of the more bitter fighting of the Pacific Theater. By mid-1944, however, the tide in Burma had turned, and it was the Japanese who were on defensive. In the first half of that year, Lieutenant General William Slim, commander of Fourteenth Army, blunted Japanese General Mutaguchi Renya's U-gō Offensive before Kohima and Imphal, then liberated northern Burma by the end of the year. Early in 1945, Slim's forces went on the offensive in central Burma. Utilizing new techniques of aerial resupply, Slim directed a drive against the Japanese geographic defense line of the Irrawaddy River.

Meiktila, the center of Japanese logistical infrastructure in the area, was also a gateway to the cities of Rangoon and Mandalay and an equally important center of communication for the entire Burma Theater. Meiktila's airfields were key: capture of these would allow aerial resupply of Allied ground operations throughout the entire theater of operations.

In an effort to trap and destroy Japanese Lieutenant General Katamura Shihachi's Fifteenth Army at Meiktila, Slim resorted to an elaborate deception plan. Code-named CLOAK, it involved sending radio signals from a nonexistent headquarters at Shwebo on his left flank to convince Katamura that Slim's IV Corps was about to drive on Mandalay from that direction. At the same time, Slim secretly moved IV Corps, made up of the 17th Indian Division and 225th Tank Brigade, south down the Mykittha Valley and then across the Irrawaddy River near Pakokku, 100 miles south of Mandalay. On 13 February, IV Corps made a surprisingly easy crossing of the Irrawaddy. The tanks then dashed to cut off Meiktila, easily sweeping aside Japanese-puppet Indian National Army forces.

The Battle of Meiktila opened on 28 February. Major General D. T. Cowan, commander of the 17th Division, had charge of the attack. Meiktila was basically a logistics and medical center, and the Japanese had few fighting units there, other than battalions for airfield defense. In all, there were only 4,000 men. Organized Japanese resistance soon collapsed, but the defenders then broke into small bands, forcing the British to clear the town street by street and house by house. This bloody task was carried out by ruthlessly efficient Gurkha troops.

Meiktila was secured on 3 March, with more than 2,000 Japanese dead and 48 taken prisoner, along with 48 guns. Slim called the capture of Meiktila in only four days "a magnificent feat of arms" and immediately rushed in supplies by air from India in order to prepare for the inevitable Japanese counterattack.

The Japanese response was not long in coming. Burma area commander Lieutenant General Kimura Heitaro had already ordered Lieutenant General Takehara Saburō's 49th Division to Meiktila. Other Japanese units also were committed, including regiments from the 2nd, 18th, and 33rd Divisions. The battle was renewed on 6 March. Although the Japanese managed to cut off the Indian 17th Division at Meiktila and for a time threatened the airfields, Slim was able to bring in a brigade by air. On 16 March, Thirty-Third Army commander Lieutenant General Honda Masaki took command of the 18th and 49th Divisions, with orders to retake Meiktila. But with XXXIII Corps and the remainder of IV Corps coming up, Honda halted the Japanese counterattack, and on 28 March, he ordered Japanese forces to withdraw.

Slim's plan had succeeded brilliantly. The capture of Meiktila opened the way for the British to take Rangoon. Mandalay fell in March and Rangoon in May, but Meiktila was the key to the campaign.

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See also

China-Burma-India Theater; Imphal and Kohima, Sieges of; Kimura Heitaro; Slim, Sir William Joseph

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Menado, Battle of (11–12 January 1942)

Initial Japanese attack on the Netherlands East Indies, which featured the first Japanese use of paratroopers. The ultimate prize for the Japanese in the South Pacific was the island of Java. To reach it, the Japanese seized several intermediate locations so that their subsequent advances would be covered by land-based air. Menado, located on the northernmost peninsula of the island of Celebes, met Japanese needs because it had both a good harbor and a nearby airfield.

On 9 January 1942, the First Eastern Invasion Force departed Davao in the southern Philippines for Menado. Ten transports carried 2,500 marines of the 1st Sasebo Special Landing Force. This naval force consisted of two reinforced battalions. Among the supporting units was a tank company equipped with Model 95 light tanks. Five minesweepers and two submarine chasers provided close support. Rear Admiral Tanaka Raizo commanded a covering force of one light cruiser and eight destroyers, and stronger Japanese naval forces provided distant cover.

The Dutch defenders on Celebes were heavily outnumbered. The garrison had 1,500 men, but fewer than 400 were regular soldiers. The remainder were local militia troops and retired soldiers. Heavy weapons were limited, along with communications equipment.

The Dutch were surprised when the Japanese came ashore at Menado beginning at 4:00 A.M. on 11 January. The defenders fell back toward the city itself, but they were hampered by poor communications. The Japanese quickly took the key road centers, and Dutch forces near the beach were overwhelmed, unable to oppose the light Japanese tanks. Soon, the Japanese controlled both the harbor area and the town.

Shortly after 9:00 A.M., the Japanese inserted into the battle the 1st Yokosuka Special Landing Force, a battalion-sized naval parachute unit under Toyoaki Horiuchi, to seize the nearby airfield at Langoan. Twenty-seven G3M1-L transports ("Nell" in the Allied code system) flying from Davao dropped 334 men onto the field. The Japanese made many mistakes in their first combat airdrop. The altitude was too high and the winds too strong, scattering men and equipment over a wide area and allowing the Dutch defenders to inflict heavy casualties. The Japanese commander and 34 of his men were killed, and 90 others were wounded. The paratroopers were largely

ineffectual. On 12 January, an additional 185 paratroopers were dropped at Langoan in reinforcement. The airfield fell the same day, although the Dutch were able to sabotage it somewhat during the fighting. The field was not restored to service until 24 January. Following the surrender, the Japanese executed a number of the surrendered Dutch defenders by beheading or bayoneting. After the war, Captain Toyoaki was tried for this war crime and executed in September 1948.

Many of the Dutch defenders attempted to escape into the jungle to wage guerrilla war against the Japanese invaders, but most were caught and executed. By 12 January, the Japanese had secured both the harbor and airfield, which were then used as staging areas for subsequent Japanese moves farther south.

Tim J. Watts

See also

Netherlands East Indies, Japanese Conquest of; Tanaka Raizo

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Menzies, Robert (1894–1978)

Australian politician and prime minister during the war years. Born on 20 December 1894 at Jeparit, Victoria, Australia, Robert Menzies attended Wesley College in Melbourne and the University of Melbourne, where he graduated with honors in 1916. Admitted to the bar two years later, he became a successful lawyer but remained interested in politics. He entered Victoria's state legislature in 1928 and became deputy premier of Victoria in 1932, resigning to enter the Federal Parliament in Canberra in 1934; there, he served as attorney general and became the leader of the United Australia Party (UAP). Because of his activity in battling dockworkers, who refused to load scrap metal for Japan in 1938, he acquired the nickname "Pig-iron Bob." He was also known as "Ming the Merciless."

Following the death of the prime minister, Joseph Lyons, Menzies assumed that office on 26 April 1939, at the head of a minority government. He supported British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's policy of appeasing Germany but immediately led Australia into World War II after the British declaration of war. Menzies introduced compulsory military service and then sent three Australian divisions to the Middle East. He barely survived the national election of September 1940.

In early 1941, Menzies went to London to alert the British government to the threat posed by Japan, but his efforts had

no effect. He did, however, develop a close relationship with British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, and he attended a number of cabinet meetings, including those where it was decided to dispatch troops to Greece—a decision for which he was roundly criticized in Australia. Menzies also toured the war zone of the Middle East before returning to Australia in May 1941. He had sought an imperial war cabinet that would include the Dominion prime ministers, but Churchill strongly opposed this concept.

Australian military defeats under British leadership sharply divided the UAP, and pressure from various quarters forced Menzies to resign in August 1941. He was replaced by his deputy, Arthur Fadden, although he continued as minister of defense. In October 1941, however, the Labour Party, headed by John Curtin, was voted into power. Menzies's wide unpopularity led him to resign the UAP leadership.

Menzies showed a remarkable ability to learn from his mistakes, and from the remnants of the UAP, he put together a new party, the Liberals, which he led to a landslide victory in 1949. He courted the middle class and, under the slogan "Populate or perish," encouraged European emigration to Australia. Knighted in 1963, he was known as the "Queen's man" because of his loyalty to the British royal family. Menzies retired in 1966, having led the Liberals to seven electoral victories. He died on 15 May 1978 in Melbourne.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Australia, Army; Australia, Role in War; Chamberlain, Arthur Neville; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Curtin, John Joseph

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Meretskov, Kirill Afanasievich (1897–1968)

Marshal of the Soviet Union who commanded the 1st Far Eastern Front in 1944. Born in Nazaryevo, near Moscow, on 7 June 1897, Kirill Meretskov began as a factory worker but joined the Communist Party in 1917, entering the Red Guard. Wounded twice during the Russian Civil War, he decided to make the army a career and was a member of the first class of Red Army officers produced by the newly established General Staff Academy (later the Frunze Military Academy). His

studies were interrupted by fighting during both the Russian Civil War and the Russo-Polish War of 1920.

Meretskov rose rapidly through the ranks thereafter, mostly in staff positions. By 1922, he was a brigadier general and chief of staff of a cavalry corps in the Belorussian Military District. During the next decade, he held a variety of posts in the Chief Personnel Directorate and the North Caucasus and Moscow Military Districts. Meretskov was selected for secret training in Germany in 1931. After a tour in the Special Red Banner Far Eastern Army (1935–1936), he went abroad, first as an observer to Czechoslovakian military maneuvers and then as a military adviser to the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War. He returned to the Soviet Union during Josef Stalin's purges of the army and was assigned as deputy commander of the General Staff.

In 1938, Meretskov headed the Leningrad Military District. When Stalin decided on war with Finland, Meretskov was given only three days to prepare an attack by four armies. The attack was a disaster, and he lost his command. He nonetheless participated in the successful phase of the Finnish war and was promoted to General of the Army in June 1940.

Meretskov took over as chief of the General Staff in August 1940, but his tenure was short-lived after his performance, again with little preparation time, in a briefing of a bilateral strategic war game against the Germans, in which General Georgii Zhukov played the German side. Zhukov succeeded Meretskov as chief of staff in January 1941.

Meretskov was subsequently arrested on false charges but was released in September 1941 and assigned as the Stavka (Soviet High Command) representative in Leningrad. He then commanded the Volkhov Front between the Leningrad and Northwest Fronts until April 1942, when he was transferred to the Western Front as Zhukov's deputy commander. Stalin, recognizing his error in judgment, restored Meretskov to command of the Volkhov Front, which helped break the siege of Leningrad in early 1944.

Meretskov assumed command of the Karelian Front in February 1944 and forced Finland from the war that October. Promoted to marshal of the Soviet Union that same month, he received command of the 1st Far Eastern Front in Manchuria, which carried out a supporting attack in the most heavily fortified Japanese-held area (opposite Soviet Primorye) and helped crush the Japanese Guandong (Kwantung) Army in a nine-day campaign in August.

Meretskov was given assignments to keep him out of the limelight, serving finally as an assistant minister of defense from 1955 until his retirement in 1964. He died in Moscow on 30 December 1968.

Claude R. Sasso

See also

Finland, Role in War; Finnish-Soviet War (30 November 1939–March 1940); Finnish-Soviet War (25 June 1941–4 Septem-

ber 1944); Guandong Army; Leningrad, Siege of; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Merrill, Frank Dow (1903–1955)

U.S. Army general and leader of the famed Merrill's Marauders. Born in Hopkinton, Massachusetts, on 4 December 1903, Frank Merrill enlisted in the army in 1922. In 1925, he received an appointment to the U.S. Military Academy, where he graduated in 1929. Merrill also earned a B.S. degree in military engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

In 1938, Captain Merrill was assigned as assistant military attaché at the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo. Fascinated by East Asian culture, he studied both the history and languages of Japan and China. In early 1941, Major Merrill was transferred to Manila as an intelligence officer on the staff of General Douglas MacArthur. He was in Burma on a mission that December when the Japanese attacked the Philippines. He was then reassigned to the China-Burma-India Theater.

In spring 1942, Merrill was promoted to lieutenant colonel, but he was wounded in action in May when the Japanese pushed Allied forces out of Burma. In October 1943, Merrill became operations chief for Lieutenant General Joseph Stilwell and organized the 5307th Composite Unit (Provisional) in India, modeled after British Brigadier General Orde C. Wingate's Chindits. This regiment-sized infantry formation of nearly 3,000 men was designed for long-range penetration operations and relied entirely on air drops for supplies; it was the first U.S. ground unit to fight on the Asian mainland since the Boxer Uprising of 1900. Merrill assumed command of the 5307th in January 1944 and led Merrill's Marauders, as the outfit became known. Named Galahad, the 5307th took part in operations in north Burma during late February 1944, first in conjunction with two Chinese divisions and later with British Chindits. Over the next four months, the Marauders marched more than 1,000 miles through some of the densest jungles and over some of the highest peaks in Asia. Although consistently outnumbered, they participated in 5 major battles—Walabum, Shaduzup, Inkangahtawug, Nhpum Ga, and Myitkyina Airfield—and 30



U.S. Army Brigadier General Frank D. Merrill, at his headquarters behind Japanese lines in Burma. (Bettman/Corbis)

minor engagements against the veteran Japanese 18th Division. The 5307th sustained significant losses due both to the fighting and to disease. By August, the unit was at one-third strength, and Stilwell decided to disband it.

Merrill suffered a heart attack in the middle of Galahad's actions and was replaced. Promoted to major general in September 1944, he became chief of staff of Tenth Army and fought in the conquest of Okinawa in 1945. In March 1947, Merrill was part of the U.S. military advisory group sent to the Philippines as it gained full independence. He retired from the army in 1948 and then became highway commissioner of the state of New Hampshire. Merrill died on 12 December 1955 at Fernandina Beach, Florida.

William Head

See also

Burma Theater; Chindits; MacArthur, Douglas; Myitkyina, Siege of; Stilwell, Joseph Warren; Wingate, Orde Charles

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Mersa Matrûh, Battle of (28 June 1942)

An engagement in which an Egyptian fortress was seized by Field Marshal Erwin Rommel's Afrika Korps (Africa Corps).

Mersa Matrûh is located approximately 60 miles from Egypt's border with Libya. With Tobruk captured on 21 June 1942, Rommel decided on an immediate advance into Egypt. This approach abandoned the original Axis plan calling for a halt at the border to await the reduction of Malta, which would have ensured Axis supply lines on the drive toward the Suez Canal.

In spite of severe fuel shortages and mechanical breakdowns, Rommel's forces pushed eastward in hopes of enveloping and destroying the British Eighth Army. The Afrika Korps spearhead entered Egypt with fewer than 50 operational tanks, and its speedy advance outstripped fighter coverage, which brought vicious attacks by the Allied Desert Air Force. Nonetheless, on 25 June, advanced elements of the Afrika Korps reached the outskirts of Mersa Matrûh.

The Eighth Army's commander, Lieutenant General Neil N. Ritchie, hoped to make a stand at Mersa Matrûh rather than withdraw to Alamein. On 25 June, General Sir Claude Auchinleck relieved Ritchie and assumed command of Eighth Army himself. He decided to fight using Ritchie's plan, with two strong wing elements of X and XIII Corps and a weakened center. He also instructed his corps commanders to withdraw rather than risk envelopment.

Rommel resumed his advance on 26 June by ordering his Italian infantry to fix X Corps inside Mersa Matrûh's defenses while his armor swung east on the escarpments south of the city, hoping to envelop all British forces to his front. Afrika Korps now found itself heavily engaged with the 2nd New Zealand and 1st Armoured Divisions of XIII Corps and unable to advance. Rommel's 90th Light Division overran Auchinleck's weakened center and, by the afternoon of 27 June, was in striking distance of the coast behind Mersa Matrûh.

Following Auchinleck's orders not to become decisively engaged, the XIII Corps commander, Lieutenant General William H. Gott, broke off the battle and withdrew toward Alamein, not realizing that he had the Afrika Korps in a precarious situation. The withdrawal enabled the 90th Light Division to reach the coast at 7:00 P.M. on 27 June. This move cut off X Corps, which was unaware that XIII Corps had retired.

Rommel besieged Mersa Matrûh on 28 June. The X Corps commander, Lieutenant General William George Holmes, ordered his units to break out of the city that night and escape to Alamein. In spite of bitter fighting, much of the corps reached friendly lines because of the weakened condition of Rommel's forces. Axis troops entered Mersa Matrûh on 29 June, capturing 8,000 British personnel and quantities of weapons and supplies. Afrika Korps then continued its pursuit, reaching Alamein on 30 June.

Mersa Matrûh was Rommel's last victory in the Libyan-Egyptian theater. He had exposed his Afrika Korps to defeat, but Eighth Army had failed to take advantage of the situation.

The battle exhausted much of what little strength was left in Rommel's dash into Egypt after the seizure of Tobruk, however. On the British side, the defeat at Mersa Matrûh sent Eighth Army to its final defensive barrier at Alamein, a mere 60 miles from Alexandria, but Auchinleck had preserved most of his command.

Thomas D. Veve

See also

Afrika Korps; Auchinleck, Sir Claude John Eyre; Mellenthin, Friedrich Wilhelm von; North Africa Campaign; Ritchie, Sir Neil Methuen; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Tobruk, First Battle for, Second Battle for, Third Battle of

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Mersa Matrûh, Battle of (7 November 1942)

Battle in Egypt in which Field Marshal Erwin Rommel's Panzerarmee Afrika (Panzer [or Tank] Army Africa) eluded capture by Lieutenant General Bernard Montgomery's pursuing Eighth Army, following shortly on the Battle of El Alamein. Mersa Matrûh is located about 60 miles from the border with Libya. Montgomery planned to pursue the beaten Rommel and envelop Axis forces before they could escape westward, but he had not allocated any particular forces for this effort prior to the Battle of Alamein. Rommel's temporary halt at Mersa Matrûh offered Eighth Army a chance to surround and destroy Panzerarmee Afrika.

Rommel, who hoped to delay his retreat long enough to allow his infantry an opportunity to avoid capture, ordered his armored troops to fall back to Matrûh on 5 November. Montgomery sent 1st Armoured Division on a wide sweep to the southwest to try to reach Matrûh from the rear. Heavy rains impacted the movement of both armies. Despite poor road conditions and resupply problems, much of Rommel's remaining mechanized forces made it to Matrûh. Both 15th Panzer Division and 90th Light Division reached Matrûh safely, but 21st Panzer Division, short on fuel, was surrounded by 22nd Armoured Brigade. The 21st Panzer Division then took up a "hedgehog" (circular) defense, eventually abandoning most of its remaining tanks.

Heavy rains, minefields, and undelivered fuel supplies prevented Montgomery's armor from advancing farther, saving Panzerarmee Afrika from encirclement. Certainly, the poor weather hampered air strikes by the Desert Air Force, which would have been virtually unchallenged by the Luftwaffe. On 7 November, with three pursuing divisions halted,

1st Armoured Division slowly moved forward along the coast road. But not until the evening of 8 November did the division's patrols enter Matrûh, well after Rommel's departure.

Rommel believed Montgomery's caution allowed his own escape at Mersa Matrûh, whereas Montgomery blamed it on the heavy rains. Since the weather affected both sides equally, it was not the sole determinant. Montgomery had not prepared for a pursuit, and he failed to press his advantage by striking deeper into the desert behind Rommel. Further, the Alamein victory may have so exhausted Eighth Army that an effective pursuit was impossible.

Thomas D. Veve

See also

El Alamein; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; TORCH, Operation

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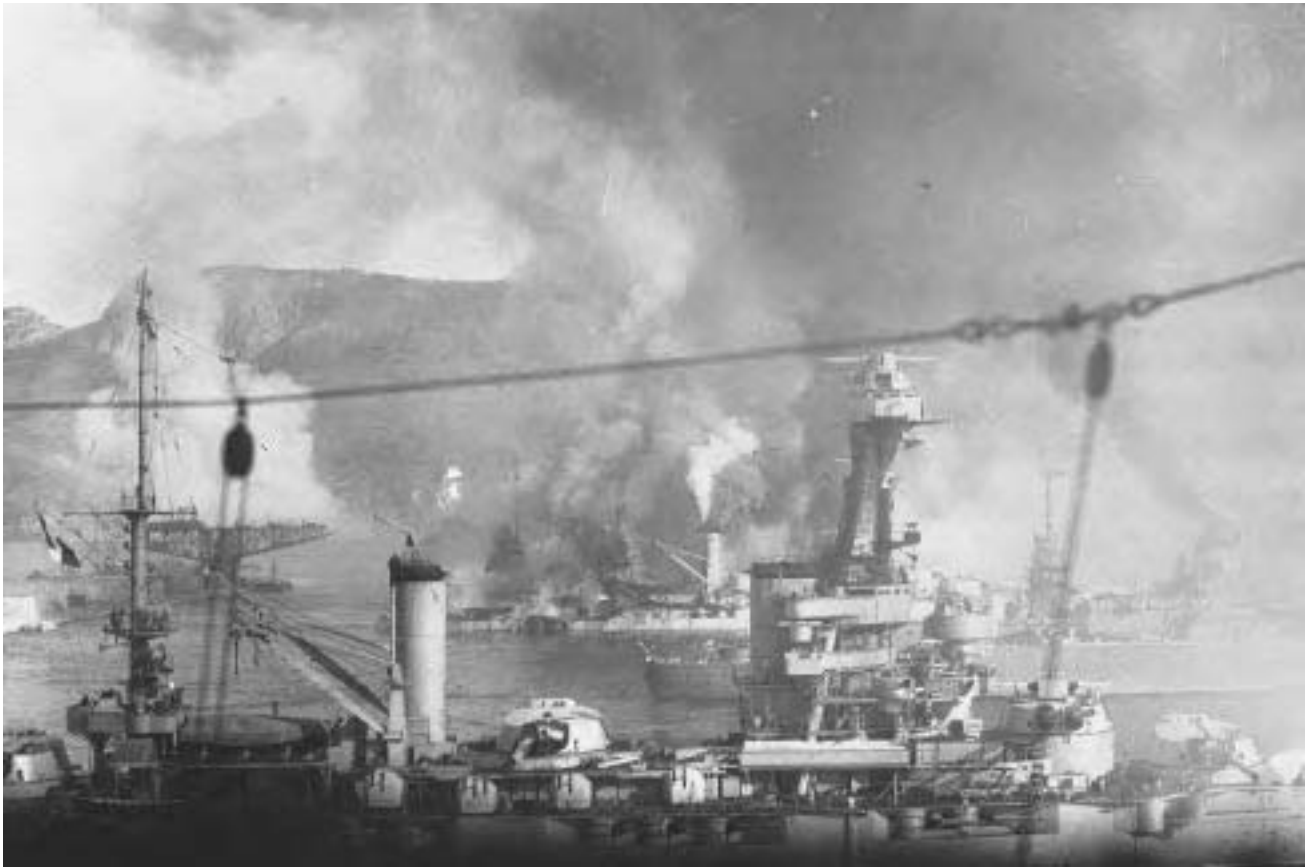
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Mers-el-Kébir (3 July 1940)

Naval engagement fought between British and Vichy French ships. This battle, which took place on 3 July 1940 at the naval harbor outside Oran in French Algeria, was the most dramatic part of Operation CATAPULT, the British effort to secure the French navy or at least keep it from falling into German hands. British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill ordered Vice Admiral James Somerville's newly formed Force H to steam to Oran and deliver an ultimatum to Vice Admiral Marcel Bruno Gensoul. The French commander was offered the choice of joining his ships with the British and continuing the fight against the Germans and Italians; sailing them with reduced crews to a British port, with the crews to be promptly repatriated; sailing them with reduced crews to a French port in the West Indies; or scuttling them. If Gensoul refused all these options, Somerville would open fire and sink the French ships.

Somerville had the battle cruiser *Hood*, the battleships *Resolution* and *Valiant* (all 3 with a main armament of eight 15-inch guns each), the aircraft carrier *Ark Royal*, 2 light cruisers, and 11 destroyers. Gensoul commanded the modern fast battle cruisers *Strasbourg* and *Dunkerque*, 2 older modernized battleships, 6 superdestroyers, and a seaplane tender, along with some small craft. At nearby Oran were additional warships.

Somerville arrived at Mers-el-Kébir early on 3 July. Gensoul tried to stall negotiations as he signaled for help from



French battleship *Bretagne* on fire and sinking following British shelling at Mers El Kebir, Algeria, 3 July 1940. (Bettmann/Corbis)

nearby French naval forces, while the *Ark Royal's* aircraft dropped five magnetic mines in the harbor entrance. The mining occurred at about 1:30 A.M. After the French signal was intercepted by the British and decoded, London insisted that Somerville act quickly. At dawn, the *Hood* led the *Resolution* and then the *Valiant* in a battle line and opened fire, utilizing spotting aircraft. The French ships were covered in smoke as they attempted to raise steam and leave the harbor. The range fell to about 15,300 yards.

As both sides had been observing each other for hours and taking the range and with the French ships initially stationary, British fire was quite accurate. The confined waters, the process of getting under way, and the location of the Mers-el-Kébir fort on a ridge overlooking the harbor between the opposing ships all conspired to make it difficult for the French ships to return fire accurately. The French managed to straddle the *Hood* with shells once or twice, and some shell fragments hit her and wounded two men, but no other damage was inflicted on the British ships.

The British fired 36 salvos of 15-inch shells. The *Dunkerque*, hit four times and forced to beach, nonetheless managed to fire 40 13-inch rounds. These rounds and the increasing accuracy of the 9.4-inch and 7.6-inch guns of the French coastal batter-

ies forced the British battle line to the west, away from the harbor entrance. On 6 July, British torpedo planes attacked the *Dunkerque*, further damaging her and taking her out of the war for two years.

The *Bretagne* sustained the worst damage. The second British salvo of several shells hit and penetrated her thin deck armor, causing a massive explosion and capsizing her, resulting in the death of her captain and 976 men out of a crew of 1,012. The battleship *Provence* was hit several times and damaged. She later steamed to Toulon for extensive repairs. The French destroyers, meanwhile, proceeded independently to sea; all escaped save the *Mogador*. She was hit on the stern and disabled. The others joined the *Strasbourg*, which fled the harbor and, although chased by the *Hood*, made it to Toulon.

The *Ark Royal* lost three planes during the battle, and 2 of its men were dead. The French had 1,297 men killed and another 351 wounded. Cheering French sailors met the *Strasbourg* at Toulon, though she had lost 5 men due to an engineering accident during her voyage. Two light destroyers from Oran also steamed to Toulon, and the seaplane tender *Commandant Teste* (undamaged in the action) and six Gloire-class light cruisers from Algiers made Toulon on 5 July. The light destroyers and small craft from Mers-el-Kébir had withdrawn

to Algiers, and one sloop, the *Rigault de Genouilly*, was sunk by a British submarine.

The battle was so one-sided because the French were surprised and their ships were at anchor without having their steam up. The fight at Mers-el-Kébir ruptured Anglo-Vichy France relations and almost brought a Vichy declaration of war against Britain. However, despite this episode, which to this day still rankles the French, the French navy honored its pledge not to surrender its ships to the Germans. In November 1942, it scuttled its ships at Toulon rather than see them fall into German hands.

Jack Greene

See also

CATAPULT, Operation; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Somerville, Sir James Fownes; Toulon

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Messe, Giovanni (1883–1968)

Italian army general who took command of the First Italian Army in 1943. Born at Mesagne (Apulia), Italy, on 10 December 1883, Giovanni Messe volunteered for the Italian army in 1902 as a private. As a noncommissioned officer in 1903, he took part in the international intervention in China following the Boxer Uprising. In 1910, he went to the Modena Military School and was commissioned on graduation, thereafter taking part as a lieutenant in the 1911–1912 Italo-Turkish War. During that conflict, he was promoted to captain.

In World War I, Messe was a battalion and Arditi (shock troops) unit commander, distinguishing himself during a successful counterattack in June 1918 on Mount Grappa. In 1920, he fought in Albania as an assault unit commander. Promoted to colonel, he was assigned to the War Ministry, and from 1935, he commanded the Celere Brigade (a mobile unit). He took part in the 1935–1936 Ethiopian Campaign as a brigadier general and deputy commander of the Cosseria Division, and on his return to Italy, he was named deputy commander of mobile troops. In April 1938, Messe took command of the 3rd Celere Division. He was then sent to Albania as deputy commander of occupation troops. On 21 December 1940, following Italy's invasion of Greece, Messe was assigned command of the Special Army Corps, formed to check the Greek counteroffensive.

In July 1941, Messe was promoted to temporary lieutenant general and assigned to the Soviet Union as commander of the

Corpo di Spedizione in Russia (CSIR, Expeditionary Corps in Russia). In July 1942, Messe's unit was renamed the XXXV Corps, and he continued as its commander. Promoted to full general on 31 January 1943, he was assigned to Tunisia as commander of the First Italian Army, which included the Italian units formerly under Field Marshal Erwin Rommel's command. On 8 May 1943, following a number of defensive battles, First Army surrendered to the Allies. Messe had been promoted to marshal a few days before the surrender. Repatriated on his demand in November 1943, he was appointed chief of staff of the new Italian army on the Allied side. He held this post until 1945. Messe wrote two books of memoirs. Probably the best Italian army senior commander of the war, he was widely respected by his own troops and his German allies.

In 1953, Messe entered the Italian Parliament as a senator in the Christian Democratic Party. Two years later, he founded and became the head of the Unione Combattenti d'Italia (UCI, Italian Veterans Association), which had a strong monarchist bent. In 1957, he was elected to Parliament as a member of the Monarchical Party, and in 1963, he was elected to the same body as a representative of the Liberal Party. Messe died in Rome on 18 December 1968.

Alessandro Massignani

See also

Eastern Front; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Tunisia Campaign

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Messerschmitt, Wilhelm “Willy” Emil (1898–1978)

German aircraft designer and developer of the most widely produced World War II aircraft. Born in Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany, on 26 June 1898, Willy Messerschmitt developed a relationship with early German glider pioneer Friederich Harth. Together, they designed and built numerous gliders before Harth was mobilized for World War I. In 1916, Messerschmitt was drafted for military service but was discharged for medical reason a year later. Following the war, he continued his engineering studies and graduated from the Technische Hochschule in Munich.

Endeavoring to capitalize on the growing glider craze in Germany, Messerschmitt founded his own company, Flugzeugbau Messerschmitt. After some success with powered designs, he entered into a partnership with Bayerische



German aviation designer and production chief Wilhelm Messerschmitt, ca. 1940. (Photo by Hulton Archives/Getty Images)

Flugzeugwerke (BFW) in 1927. BFW's big opportunity came in 1934 after Adolf Hitler rose to power and began to rearm Germany. Messerschmitt's low-wing monoplane, the Bf-109, won a competition that also involved German aviation giants Heinkel, Arado, and Focke-Wulf. The Bf-109 became the most widely produced fighter of World War II. Between 1939 and 1945, more than 33,000 were built.

Messerschmitt's company also pioneered developments in jet- and rocket-propelled aircraft. The Me-163 Komet rocket-powered fighter was the first of its type in the war. On 28 July 1944, it attacked Boeing B-17s from the U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) over Merseburg, beginning a new phase of air warfare. Much more successful was the Me-262. Entering service in the autumn of 1944, it was the world's first operational jet fighter. However, this plane appeared too late in the war and in insufficient quantity to have a major impact.

After the war, Messerschmitt was arrested and imprisoned for employing slave labor. Released after two years in prison, he began to rebuild his business, beginning with sewing machines, housing, and a compact car. In 1958, he resumed work in aviation, combining with two other manu-

facturers to form Messerschmitt-Bolkow-Blohm. Messerschmitt was honorary chairman of this company until his death in Munich, Germany, on 15 September 1978.

M. R. Pierce

See also

Germany, Air Force; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Hitler, Adolf; Jet and Rocket Aircraft; Udet, Ernst

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Metaxas, Ioannis (1871–1941)

Greek army general and dictator of Greece from 1936. Born on the island of Ithaca on 12 April 1871, Ioannis Metaxas was commissioned in the army on graduation from the Greek Military Academy in 1890. Following service in the 1897 Greco-Turkish War, he studied in Berlin. Metaxas served on the Greek General Staff during the 1912–1913 Balkan Wars. He became army chief of staff in 1913.



Greek dictator Ioannis Metaxas. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

At the beginning of World War I, Metaxas favored an alliance with the Central Powers. A staunch monarchist, he left Greece following the forced abdication of King Constantine in 1917 and returned with the king three years later. Metaxas entered the Greek Parliament in 1926, and in 1936, he seized power and became dictator, with the justification of preventing a communist takeover. During his rule, the Greeks successfully repelled the Italian invasion that began in October 1940 and indeed went on the offensive the next month, occupying much of Albania. Metaxas died on 29 January 1941, before Germany intervened in Greece.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Greece Campaign (28 October 1940–March 1941); Greece, Role in War

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Metz, Battle of (19 September–22 November 1944)

One of the few siege-warfare battles of the Western Front in Europe during World War II and the most costly single battle of the war for the U.S. Third Army. Lying in the Moselle River valley in Lorraine, Metz was in the path of Lieutenant General George S. Patton’s U.S. Third Army in its quest to reach the Rhine. Bypassing Metz would lengthen the Third Army supply lines by some 100 miles. Furthermore, Metz lay astride one of the principal invasion routes between Germany and France and would be an important staging point for an Allied drive into Germany through Trier, the Kaiserslauten Pass, and the Saverne gap.

Metz had long been a key fortress, and its defenses faced in both directions. The strongest defenses actually faced west. As part of the prewar French Maginot Line fortress system, Metz had an inner circle of 15 forts and a perimeter defense of 28 steel and cement bastions. The Germans had added a number of 210 mm and 105 mm guns in revolving steel turrets, which could withstand direct fire. The defense of Metz was entrusted to Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) Heinrich Kittel’s 14,000-man 462nd Volksgrenadier Division.

On 10 September, 12th Army Group’s commander, Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley, ordered Patton’s Third

Army to advance toward Mainz and Mannheim, Germany. With little knowledge of the fortifications in his path, Patton assigned the capture of Metz to Major General Walton Walker’s XX Corps. Walker ordered the 5th and 90th Infantry Divisions, supported by the 81st Chemical Mortar Battalion, to take the fortress. The American attack on the outer ring of the German defenses began on 27 September, with 5th Division carrying the brunt of the attack.

Without major preparations, the Americans mounted a frontal assault into the area of greatest German strength and were repulsed. Even the addition of a combat command of the 7th Armored Division failed to dislodge the Germans. The battle then disintegrated into a protracted siege, similar to the static warfare of World War I. Fall rains worsened conditions, turning the ground to mud. Although air support was called in, 500 lb bombs had little effect on the German fortifications. The Americans utilized smoke screens as they moved to take the villages around the forts, but all attempts in September and early October to take the fortress failed, and the rains continued amid mounting American casualties. Patton’s efforts were also handicapped by the shift in logistics support to the north for Operation MARKET-GARDEN, the failed effort to secure a crossing over the Rhine at Arnhem.

Between 3 and 15 October, the 5th Infantry Division again tried to take the forts through direct assault but failed. The centerpiece of that effort was Fort Driant, the newest and most powerful of the Metz forts. In addition to infantry and tank destroyers, Walker employed 23 battalions of artillery. The assaulting infantry battalion took 50 percent casualties before the attack was canceled.

Third Army was reequipped and resupplied for the November general offensive, and XX Corps was reinforced by the addition of the 95th Infantry and 10th Armored Divisions. The offensive opened on 9 November with a diversionary attack by the 95th Infantry Division on Maizières-les-Metz, distracting the German defenders. Walker then slipped his 90th Infantry and 10th Armored Divisions farther north and crossed the Moselle River, taking Fort Königsmacker. The forces then captured Forts Valstrofe and Distroff. The 90th Infantry Division now closed on Metz from the north, the 95th Infantry from the west and northwest, and the 5th Infantry Division from the south and southwest. This time, the Americans abandoned costly frontal assaults in favor of bypassing strong points and then reducing them with demolition charges.

The first American troops entered Metz on 17 November. The Germans managed to remove some of their defenders from the city, in defiance of Adolf Hitler’s orders that it be held to the last, until the escape hatch was closed by the linkup of the 5th Infantry and 90th Infantry Divisions east of Metz on 19 November. Although Metz surrendered two days later, some Germans chose to obey Hitler and fight on. The last

Metz fort, Jeanne d'Arc, did not surrender until 13 December. Following the fall of Metz, the next U.S. objective was the Siegfried Line.

Gene Mueller and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Bradley, Omar Nelson; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Patton, George Smith; Walker, Walton Harris

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Mexico

When World War II began in Europe, the controversial administration of Mexican President Lázaro Cárdenas (1934–1940) was coming to an end, and there was considerable uneasiness over the approaching presidential elections in 1940. Mexico's new president following the 1940 elections was the moderate General Manuel Avila Camacho, who had served as Cárdenas's minister of war. Avila Camacho's presidency (1940–1946) encompassed the entire wartime period.

Although the Mexican people were initially divided over which side to support in the conflict, Avila Camacho followed a strongly pro-Allied course from the beginning of his administration. After the U.S. entry into the war in December 1941, Mexico quickly broke diplomatic relations with Germany, Japan, and Italy. The Mexican government also froze Japanese assets and ordered all Axis nationals out of coastal and defense



Bracero program laborers harvesting carrots in 1942. (National Archives/Corbis)

areas. There was, however, little domestic support for a declaration of war. It was not until German submarines sank two Mexican oil tankers that Mexico declared war in May 1942.

Mexico's involvement in the war meant closer relations with the United States. Washington wanted bases for U.S. troops in Mexico, whereas Mexico wanted economic and military aid. The United States never got the type of base agreement it sought, but there was close cooperation between the two countries in military matters. Mexico received military aid under the U.S. Lend-Lease program, and the two nations established a joint defense committee to coordinate military activities. Mexico also established an obligatory military service law, affecting men between the ages of 18 and 45.

Mexico was one of only two Latin American countries (Brazil being the other) to furnish combat troops; Mexico provided the 201st Fighter Squadron, which was equipped with U.S. aircraft and trained in Texas. The 201st served in the Philippines Campaign and had two men killed in training and five in combat. A more important form of military cooperation was the U.S.-Mexico agreement permitting the United States to draft Mexican citizens residing in the United States and even to recruit in Mexico itself. As a result, some 250,000 Mexicans served in the U.S. armed forces during the war, with 14,000 seeing combat. Mexican combat veterans received some 1,000 Purple Hearts and 1 Medal of Honor.

Mexico's wartime response also involved internal security measures. Mexico adopted a program of surveillance, relocation, and deportation aimed at Axis nationals. The Mexican government forcibly relocated Japanese and Japanese Mexicans living in coastal areas and along the U.S. border. Several German agents were detained, and Axis nationals who could not prove Mexican citizenship were deported.

Mexico's greatest contribution to the war was economic. The country provided a variety of strategic materials needed for the war effort: copper, oil, lead, mercury, and zinc. Agricultural products also figured prominently in exports, even though Mexico experienced problems in feeding its own people during the war. Mexico helped to relieve labor shortages in the United States by agreeing to the *bracero* (day laborer) program, a government-regulated system of contract labor under which Mexican workers found employment in the United States. Originally intended to meet the need for agricultural laborers in the U.S. Southwest, the program was expanded in 1943 to include nonagricultural workers as well. Some 300,000 Mexicans worked under the program during the war years. The war had negative economic consequences for Mexico as well; austerity measures, inflation, and rationing affected the daily lives of its citizens. In June 1944, the Avila Camacho administration even suspended the traditional siesta, the afternoon closing of offices and businesses.

World War II had a profound and long-term impact on Mexico's domestic and foreign policies. The war was particu-

larly important in promoting the government's new development approach, with its emphasis on rapid industrialization based on import substitution. The close military ties between Mexico and the United States did not continue after the war, but the already intimate economic connection became even more pronounced. The *bracero* program—conceived to meet a wartime need—continued until 1964. World War II confirmed and increased the dominant role played by the United States in the Mexican economy.

Don M. Coerver

See also

Latin America and the War; Lend-Lease

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Middleton, Troy Houston (1889–1976)

U.S. Army general and commander of the First Army's VIII Corps at the end of the war. Born near Georgetown, Mississippi, on 12 October 1889, Troy Middleton graduated from Mississippi A&M College in 1909 and enlisted in the U.S. Army the following year. He received a commission in 1912. Middleton served on the Mexican border in 1916, and during World War I, he commanded both the 39th and 47th Infantry Regiments in combat, becoming the youngest colonel in the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF). Future General of the Army George C. Marshall considered Middleton "the outstanding infantry regimental commander on the battlefield in France."

Following the war, Middleton served in the U.S. occupation forces in Germany. Reduced to his permanent rank of captain on his return to the United States, he taught at the Infantry School at Fort Benning. He graduated from the Infantry Advanced Course in 1922, the Command and General Staff School in 1924, and the Army War College in 1929. Forced to resign from the army in 1937 because of an irregular heartbeat, Middleton became the dean of administration at Louisiana State University (LSU). The university president was discovered embezzling funds in June 1939, and Middleton was appointed acting vice president and comptroller, bringing the school out of the crisis.

Because of physical problems, including an arthritic knee, Middleton was not recalled to active duty with the army as a lieutenant colonel until January 1942. In June, he was pro-

moted to brigadier general and became assistant commander of the 45th “Thunderbird” Division. In October 1942, he took command of the division, leading it in the invasions of Sicily and Salerno.

Although hobbled by trouble in his “good” knee, Middleton was appointed to command VIII Corps of General Omar N. Bradley First Army in March 1944, and he led it to the end of the war. His corps played a significant role in the Ardennes Offensive (Battle of the Bulge). Later, suspecting that the Germans had few men in Koblenz, he made a successful surprise attack on the city. His corps crossed the Rhine near the well-known Lorelei—something no other invader had ever attempted because of the unfavorable terrain. Finally, his corps met Soviet forces near the Czech border between Chemnitz and Plauen.

Despite being one of the best U.S. corps commanders in the European Theater, Middleton was not promoted to lieutenant general until June 1945. Retiring from the army that August, he returned to LSU as comptroller, then served as president from 1951 to 1962. Middleton died in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, on 9 October 1976.

Uzal W. Ent

See also

Ardennes Offensive; Bastogne, Battle of; Bradley, Omar Nelson; Clark, Mark Wayne; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Germany, Collapse of; Marshall, George Catlett; Rhine Crossings; Salerno Invasion; Sicily, Invasion of

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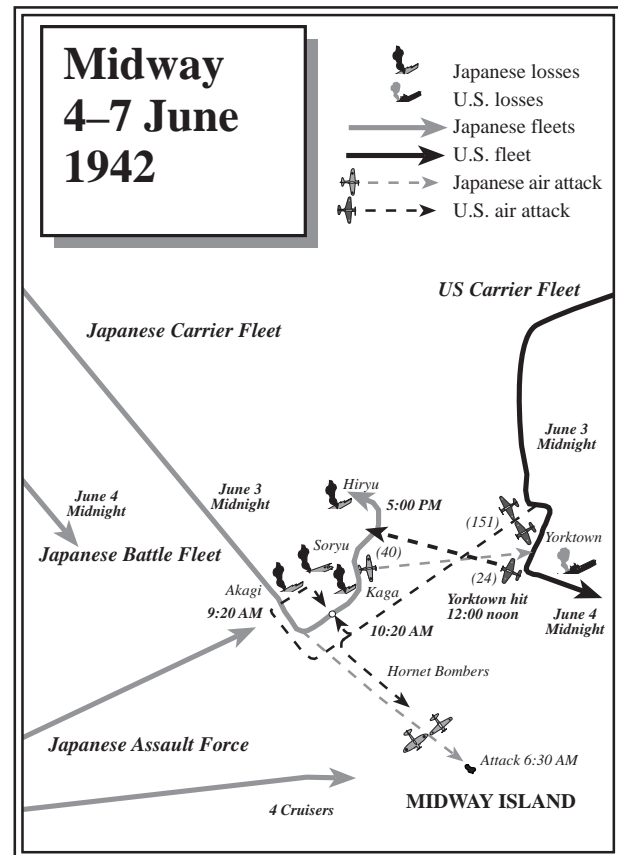
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Midget Submarines

See Submarines, Midget.

Midway, Battle of (3–6 June 1942)

Decisive naval engagement of World War II that turned the tide of the war in the Pacific. Beginning in January 1942, the Japanese attempted to extend their defensive perimeter by seizing bases in Papua and New Guinea and in the Solomon Islands, which would be used to support future operations against New Caledonia, Fiji, and Samoa. By early March, they had taken the entire north coast of Papua and New Guinea and begun preparations for an amphibious invasion of Port



Moresby. On 7–8 May, these events resulted in the Battle of the Coral Sea when the Japanese invasion force encountered an American carrier force. In the first naval battle in which neither fleet sighted the other, the aircraft carrier *Lexington* was sunk and the carrier *Yorktown* was heavily damaged. However, the Japanese had their light carrier *Shoho* sunk, and the loss of its air cover caused the invasion force to turn back. At the same time, the Americans damaged the carrier *Shokaku*. The Americans were able to repair the *Yorktown* in time for the next battle, whereas *Shokaku* could not be readied for that second and decisive fight. The second carrier, *Zuikaku*, also did not participate due to a shortage of aircraft. Thus, on balance, the Battle of the Coral Sea was a strategic U.S. victory.

A second battle soon developed after the Japanese turned their focus on the strategic island of Midway. Despite the setback at Coral Sea, the Japanese continued with their plans to seize Midway Island and bases in the Aleutians. Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku, commander in chief of the Combined Fleet, convinced the Imperial General Staff that the capture of Midway would allow Japan to pursue its Asian policies behind an impregnable eastern shield of defenses in the Central Pacific. The capture of Midway would serve as a dramatic response to the April 1942 U.S. raid on Tokyo. It would also deprive the United States of a forward base for submarines, and it would be a stepping stone for the capture of Hawaii.

A TURNING POINT
Battle of Midway

At the beginning of June 1942, the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) held the initiative at sea in the Pacific Theater. For six months after the successful Japanese attack on Hawaii on 7 December 1941, the Japanese enjoyed a string of stunning victories. All this changed with the Battle of Midway between 3 and 6 June.

In the Battle of the Coral Sea in May, the Japanese gained a slight tactical victory but suffered a strategic rebuff in that they called off their invasion of Port Moresby in New Guinea. Moreover, two of their aircraft carriers involved in the battle were unable to participate at Midway. The Coral Sea battle was, however, another inducement for the Japanese to move against Midway.

The commander of the IJN Combined Fleet, Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku, developed the overly complex and polycentric Midway operation. Drawing on Japanese naval successes to that point in the war, he and his advisers were overconfident and tended to denigrate U.S. capabilities, which would prove to be a key factor in their defeat in the approaching battle. According to his plan, Yamamoto expected to capture Midway and several islands in the Aleutian chain to expand the Japanese defense perimeter. The most important part of the plan, however, was to entice the U.S. fleet (especially the carriers) into a major sea engagement in which it would be destroyed. Yamamoto then hoped to use Midway as a base of operations for an invasion of Hawaii. At the least, he expected the island to provide Japan with an important airstrip that could be used for surveillance of the U.S. fleet.

For this operation, Yamamoto assembled the largest task force in the 70-year history of the Japanese navy and the greatest armada to date in the Pacific

Ocean. Although the Americans were greatly disadvantaged in terms of numbers of ships, the Pacific Fleet commander, Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, had a tremendous advantage in that the Americans were able to read IJN radio transmissions and thus gain a good idea of Japanese intentions. Nonetheless, given the sharp difference in military strengths in the battle, there was no guarantee that the engagement would end as it did. Indeed, luck played a pivotal role, for the U.S. dive-bombers caught the Japanese carriers at their most vulnerable time, while their aircraft were on deck being rearmed.

The Battle of Midway, in which the Japanese lost four fleet carriers and the Americans only one, was a major defeat for Japan and one of the few true turning points in the war. In addition to the carriers, the Japanese also lost many of their superbly trained and experienced pilots and aircrew, as well as most of the trained aviation support and maintenance personnel. The IJN fleet's air arm never recovered from these losses, especially since the Japanese did not have an effective pilot-replacement system.

The victory was also a stunning psychological defeat for the Japanese. Overconfidence gave way to something akin to despair. The consequences of the battle were, in fact, considered so devastating to morale that the military and government went to extraordinary lengths to conceal the outcome from the Japanese people.

Midway did not mark the end of the Japanese navy as an effective fighting force, but it did end its absolute dominance at sea. The loss of four fleet carriers and their air complements meant that Japanese ascendancy in battleships and cruisers counted for little because

these surface ships would be forced to rely on Japanese land-based aircraft for protection.

The Battle of Midway gave the Americans an invaluable breathing space until late in 1943 when the new Essex-class fleet carriers became available. Only two months after the battle, U.S. forces launched their counteroffensive with the invasion of Guadalcanal on 7 August 1942. Midway was, as Nimitz himself put it, "the battle that made everything else possible."

Dana Lombardy, T. P. Schweider, and

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Aircraft Carriers; Coral Sea, Battle of; Midway, Battle of; Nagumo Chūichi; Nimitz, Chester William; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Spruance, Raymond Ames; Yamamoto Isoroku

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A Japanese *Mogami*-class heavy cruiser after having been attacked by U.S. carrier-based naval aircraft during the Battle of Midway. (Library of Congress)

Perhaps most important, it would draw out the U.S. aircraft carriers, giving the Japanese the opportunity to destroy them.

Admiral Yamamoto sent out the bulk of the Japanese fleet. For the operation, he would use some 200 ships—almost the entire Japanese navy—including 8 carriers, 11 battleships, 22 cruisers, 65 destroyers, 21 submarines, and more than 600 aircraft. His plan called for diversionary attacks on the Aleutian Islands both to distract the Americans from Japanese landings on Midway and to allow the Japanese to crush the U.S. reaction force between their forces to the north and at Midway. The Aleutian operation would also secure the islands of Attu and Kiska, placing forces astride a possible U.S. invasion route to Japan.

Yamamoto correctly assumed that the U.S. Pacific Fleet commander, Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, would have to respond to a landing on Midway. When the Pacific Fleet arrived in the area, Japanese carrier and battleship task forces, waiting unseen to the west of the Midway strike force, would fall on and destroy the unsuspecting Americans. Yamamoto believed that the *Yorktown* had been sunk in the

Coral Sea fight and that the *Enterprise* and *Hornet* were not likely to be in the Midway area when the strike force attacked the island. He was not correct. This miscalculation was one of several breakdowns in Japanese intelligence and communication that contributed to the eventual American victory.

For the Aleutians, Yamamoto committed an invasion force of 2,400 men in three escorted transports, a support group of two heavy cruisers and two light carriers, and a covering force of four older battleships. The battle began in the Aleutians with air strikes on 3 June, followed by landings three days later. The Aleutian phase of the operation went well for the Japanese. Carrier aircraft inflicted heavy damage on the U.S. base at Dutch Harbor, and the Japanese then made unopposed landings on Kiska and Attu. They kept this toe-hold on continental U.S. territory until mid-1943.

Despite the Japanese success in the Aleutians, the action there proved to be superfluous to the coming battle at Midway. U.S. intelligence had broken the Japanese naval code, putting the basic outlines of the Midway plan into American hands and thus allowing the Americans to disregard the attacks on the



U.S. Navy Douglas SBD Dauntless dive bombers shown during the attack on the Japanese fleet off Midway, 4–6 June 1942. Visible in the center is a burning Japanese ship. (National Archives)

Aleutians in favor of concentrating on Midway. The Pacific Fleet was ready with three fleet aircraft carriers, including the *Yorktown*. She had been hastily repaired at Pearl Harbor to allow operations in only 2 days instead of an estimated 90 and was sent back to sea with an air group formed of planes from other carriers. She sailed just in advance of a picket line of Japanese submarines that Yamamoto hoped would intercept ships departing Pearl. The U.S. ships were concentrated in an ambush position some 350 miles northeast of Midway, awaiting the westward advance of Yamamoto's armada.

On 3 June, American naval reconnaissance planes sighted, at a distance of 600 miles, the Japanese armada of some 185 ships advancing on Midway. The battle began when Boeing B-17 Flying Fortress bombers from Midway Island struck without effect at the Japanese carrier strike force, about 220 miles southwest of the U.S. fleet. That same night, four Consolidated patrol bombers (PBYS) from Midway staged a torpedo attack and damaged an oiler, although she was able to regain her place in the formation.

Early on 4 June, Nagumo sent 108 Japanese planes from the strike force to attack and bomb Midway, while the Japa-

nese carriers again escaped damage from U.S. land-based planes. However, as the morning progressed, the Japanese carriers were soon overwhelmed by the logistics of almost simultaneously sending a second wave of bombers to finish off the Midway runways, zigzagging to avoid the bombs of attacking aircraft, and rearming to launch planes to sink the now sighted U.S. naval forces. American fighters and bombers, sent from Midway airfields, and aircraft from three U.S. carriers attacked the Japanese fleet. But three successive waves of U.S. torpedo-bombers were virtually wiped out during their attacks on the carriers from 9:30 to 10:24 A.M.: Japanese fighters and antiaircraft guns shot down 47 of 51 planes. The Japanese now believed that they had won the battle.

The Japanese First Air Fleet commander, Nagumo Chūichi, had ordered planes returning from strikes on Midway to rearm with torpedoes to strike the American ships. But as this effort was in progress at about 10:30 A.M., 37 dive-bombers from the carrier *Enterprise* at last located the Japanese carriers in their most vulnerable state, while their decks were cluttered with armed aircraft, ordnance, and fuel. The Japanese fighters in the air were also down low, having dealt with the torpedo-bomber

attacks. Within the span of a few minutes, three of the four Japanese carriers—the *Soryu*, *Kaga*, and *Akagi*—were in flames and sinking. Planes from the only intact Japanese carrier, the *Hiryu*, now struck back, heavily damaging the *Yorktown*. In late afternoon, the *Hiryu* also was hit and badly damaged. The Japanese abandoned her the next day.

During the battle between the U.S. and Japanese naval forces, the two fleets neither saw each other nor exchanged gunfire; all contact was made by Japanese carrier-based planes and American land- and carrier-based aircraft. Yamamoto’s first reaction on learning of the loss of three of his carriers was to bring up his battleships and recall the two light carriers from the Aleutians in hopes of fighting a more conventional sea battle. But the loss of the *Hiryu* and Nagumo’s gloomy reports led him to call off the attack on Midway. Yamamoto still hoped to trap the Americans by drawing them westward into his heavy ships, but the U.S. task force commander, Rear Admiral Raymond Spruance, refused to play his game and reported to Nimitz that he was unwilling to risk a night encounter with superior Japanese forces. By the night of 6 June, the Battle of Midway was over. It had been costly for Japan. In the battle itself, the Japanese had lost 4 fleet aircraft carriers and 332 aircraft, most of which went down with the carriers. The Japanese also had a heavy cruiser sunk and another badly damaged. Three destroyers and a fleet oiler were damaged as well, and a battleship was slightly damaged. The Americans lost the aircraft carrier *Yorktown*, 1 destroyer, and 147 aircraft (38 of these being shore based).

The Japanese navy was still a formidable fighting force, but once it lost the four fleet carriers and their well-trained aircrews and maintenance personnel, the continued Japanese preponderance in battleships and cruisers counted for little. The subsequent Japanese defeat in the protracted fight for Guadalcanal was due principally to a lack of air assets. It can be reasonably stated that the Battle of Midway was indeed the turning point of the long struggle in the Pacific Theater.

James H. Willbanks

See also

Aleutian Islands Campaign; Coral Sea, Battle of the; Japan, Navy; Nagumo, Chūichi; Naval Warfare; Nimitz, Chester William; Signals Intelligence; Spruance, Raymond Ames; Tokyo, Bombing of (18 April 1942); United States, Navy; Yamamoto Isoroku

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Mihajlović, Dragoljub “Draza” (1893–1946)

Yugoslavian army officer and guerrilla leader. Born at Ivanjica, Serbia, in 1893, Dragoljub Mihajlović, nicknamed “Draza,” entered the military academy in Belgrade in 1908 but interrupted his studies to serve with distinction in the 1912–1913 Balkan Wars and World War I. Mihajlović rose to the rank of colonel and was, for a time, inspector general of fortifications. When the Germans invaded Yugoslavia in April 1941, he organized resistance to the Axis occupation forces in the mountains of western Serbia.

Mihajlović’s Četniks (Chetniks, named after the Serbian guerrillas who had fought the Turks) were mostly promonarchist Serbs. Mihajlović was promoted to general in December 1941, and in June 1942, he became minister of war in King Peter II’s Yugoslav government-in-exile.

Already reluctant to pursue a vigorous campaign against the Axis occupation forces lest he provoke reprisals against Yugoslav civilians, Mihajlović correctly understood that a rival resistance group, the procommunist Partisans led by Josip Broz (Tito), posed a greater threat to the restoration of a Serb-dominated monarchy than did the Axis powers, especially as Tito and most of his followers were Croats, the Serbs’ traditional rivals for power. Accordingly, Mihajlović and Tito focused on fighting each other rather than the Germans and Italians, with whom they both also collaborated when it suited their purposes.

At first, the Četniks enjoyed Allied support, but Mihajlović was systematically discredited by communist sympathizers among the British. Pressured by Soviet leader Josef Stalin at Tehran, the Allies agreed to shift their support to Tito. In December 1943, the British halted all aid to the Četniks, and in May 1944, King Peter formed a new government and named Tito as minister of war.

Abandoned by the Allies, the Četniks were soon overpowered, and Mihajlović went into hiding. He was captured by the communists on 13 March 1946, tried for collaboration with the Axis powers, and, despite protests by Western governments, executed in Belgrade on 17 July 1946. In March 1948, U.S. President Harry S Truman secretly awarded Mihajlović the Legion of Merit for rescuing some 500 Allied airmen and for his role in helping to defeat the Axis powers.

Charles R. Shrader

See also

Balkans Theater; Partisans/Guerrillas; Stalin, Josef; Tehran Conference; Tito; Truman, Harry S; Yugoslavia; Yugoslavia Campaign (1941); Yugoslavia Campaign (1944–1945)

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Mikołajczyk, Stanislaw (1901–1966)

Polish political leader and premier of the Polish government-in-exile in London. Born on 18 July 1901 at Holsterhausen in Westphalia, Germany, Stanislaw Mikołajczyk was an active member of the insurrectionist Sokoly movement during the 1918–1919 uprising against the Germans in Wielkopolska (Great Poland). In 1920, he graduated from agricultural secondary school and became a private in the Polish army, participating in the Russo-Polish War (1919–1921). In 1922, he joined the large, moderate-rightist Polish Peasants' Party (PSL), and in 1927, he helped found the Wielkopolska Union of Rural Youth in Poznan.

Mikołajczyk emerged as a major figure in Polish politics as he rose through the ranks of the PSL, serving as a Parliament member from 1930 to 1937 and leading peasant strikes in 1937. He fought as a private in the campaign of September 1939, after which he was interned in Hungary before escaping to France on Poland's defeat. From December 1939, he was vice president of the Polish National Council in Paris (the Parliament-in-exile) until his evacuation to London on Germany's occupation of France.

In 1941, Mikołajczyk was appointed deputy premier and minister of the interior in General Władysław Sikorski's Polish government-in-exile in London (the London Poles). One of his principal tasks was to maintain ties with the resistance in Poland. On Sikorski's death in July 1943, Mikołajczyk replaced him as premier. He lacked the national prestige of his predecessor, but he also inherited an impossible political situation, with the Soviet Union demanding that the Curzon Line set by the Allied powers after World War I be made the new eastern border of Poland. The November 1943 Tehran Conference made clear the difficult diplomatic situation in which the London Poles were placed.

In October 1944, British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill traveled to Moscow and met with Soviet leader Josef Stalin. They invited a delegation from the London Poles, including Mikołajczyk, to join them for discussions with Soviet leaders and members of the rival, Soviet-sponsored Lublin Polish Committee (the Lublin Poles), in what was to be a final opportunity for reconciliation. Mikołajczyk was open to some com-



Leader of the Polish government-in-exile in London Stanislaw Mikołajczyk, shown here in 1948. (Photo by Nat Farbman/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

promise, but his colleagues among the London Poles were not. Frustrated by his own increasingly fractious government and the lack of Allied support for the Warsaw Rising, Mikołajczyk resigned on 24 November 1944. Moscow then broke off relations with the London-based government-in-exile.

Probably no genuinely representative Polish government would have been prepared to yield the concessions or exhibit the spirit requisite for Soviet security. Strong British and U.S. pressure, especially at the February 1945 Yalta Conference, induced the communists to admit Mikołajczyk (as deputy premier) and three other representatives to the government, and the West then reluctantly recognized the Lublin Poles as the legal government.

Not until January 1947 did the Polish regime feel confident enough to call elections. The old Polish Peasants' Party had been so completely infiltrated that, on his return to Poland, Mikołajczyk started a new peasant organization, known as the Polish People's Party. The government directed its full attention against it and Mikołajczyk, branding him a British agent or worse. Given the circumstances, no one was surprised when the government bloc, which included the nominal participation of several captive parties, won 394 out of 444 seats in the Parliament.

In October 1947, Mikołajczyk fled Poland, which was completely dominated by the communists by then. Mikołajczyk reached New York in November 1947 and settled in the United States, continuing to champion the Polish cause in exile. He died in Chevy Chase, Maryland, on 13 December 1966.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Poland, Role in War; Sikorski, Władysław Eugeniusz; Stalin, Josef; Tehran Conference; Warsaw Rising; Yalta Conference

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Milch, Erhard (1892–1972)

German air force general who was instrumental in developing the Luftwaffe. Born on 30 March 1892 in Wilhelmshaven, Germany, Erhard Milch enlisted in the German army in 1910, rising to the rank of lieutenant in the artillery. He became an air observer in 1915, and although not a pilot, he received command of a fighter squadron as a captain in October 1918.

Milch resigned from the army in 1921 to pursue a career in civil aviation and rose to be the chief executive of Lufthansa, the German national airline. He became close friends with Hermann Göring in the process, and when the latter was appointed Reich commissar for air, Milch followed as his secretary of state. Milch is widely credited for laying the organizational groundwork for the Luftwaffe during this period. In many ways, he was the man who built the Luftwaffe into the world's most powerful air force by 1939, but he also shared responsibilities for its shortcomings during the war. Although not technically a member of the armed forces from 1921, Milch was made a Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general) in 1934, a Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) in 1935, and Generaloberst (U.S. equiv. full general) in 1938.

He was named inspector general of the Luftwaffe in 1939, and his lone field command of the war came in 1940 when he directed Fifth Air Force in Norway. For this service, he earned the Knight's Cross and was promoted to field marshal by Adolf Hitler in July 1940. Milch advised an immediate descent on Britain following the evacuation of the British Expedi-

tionary Force (BEF) at Dunkerque, but the idea was rebuffed by Hitler. Milch also expressed grave reservations about attacking the Soviet Union but was again ignored. Following the suicide of Ernst Udet in 1941, he took over his position as director of air armament. He then tripled aircraft production and improved aircraft maintenance procedures. Milch found himself increasingly estranged from both Göring and Hitler, who disliked his realistic assessments. They also rejected his belief that Germany's survival lay in having large numbers of fighters to protect industrial production.

Milch pushed development of new aircraft, but Göring removed him from his posts in July 1944. Taken prisoner by the British in May 1945, he was sentenced to life imprisonment for war crimes, chiefly the use of forced labor in production. He was released from prison in 1954 and died on 25 January 1972 in Wuppertal-Barmen, Germany.

Matthew Alan McNiece

See also

Britain, Battle of; Dunkerque, Evacuation of; Germany, Air Force; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Udet, Ernst

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Military Medicine

Military medicine during World War II was marked by advances in triage and transport, management of shock, and treatment of infectious diseases. The war also witnessed the emergence of aviation and submarine medicine and the misuse of human experimentation, resulting in new standards for medical research.

Better transportation and triage were made possible by improved triage systems dating to World War I. By 1939, military surgeons recognized the importance of early management of battlefield trauma. Medics trained and equipped to control blood loss and administer analgesics at the initial site of injury were attached to individual combat units. Injectable morphine dispensed on the battlefield lessened both pain and shock during evacuation. Taking the model developed by the Royal Army Medical Corps, transport from the field was organized in stages, with each step assigned a specific range of duties.

The first stop after field stabilization was the regimental collecting station, where hemostatic bandages and splints could be applied. The collecting stations also had plasma or blood available to manage shock, and staff there could secure adequate ventilation, including tracheostomies if needed. From the collecting station, men could be moved to semimobile field



An American soldier wounded by shrapnel being given a blood plasma transfusion during the campaign of Sicily, July 1943. (Library of Congress)

hospitals equipped to perform emergency surgery. The field hospitals were the first stage fully staffed with physicians. From the field hospital, men could be moved to fixed-station or general hospitals, where more complex procedures (neurosurgery, chest surgery, orthopedic reconstructions, and the like) could be performed and where men expected to return to duty could convalesce. General and rehabilitation hospitals in the zone of the interior could provide major reconstruction (predominantly orthopedic and plastic surgical procedures) and long-term rehabilitation if necessary. Depending on the severity of the injury, a wounded man could exit the system and return to duty at any point in the chain.

Semimobile medical units were linear descendents of the French *auto-chir*, a World War I attempt to create motorized field hospitals. A high level of mobility was less important in that relatively stationary war, and development of the freely movable hospital only blossomed in World War II. These “auxiliary surgical teams” remained somewhat difficult to transport and were limited in the services they could provide,

but they were an important interim step toward the mobile army surgical hospitals (MASH units) of Korea and Vietnam.

Aeromedical evacuation, although tried in a crude way in World War I, came into its own in World War II. The process largely involved the use of fixed-wing aircraft (for U.S. forces, mostly C-47s, C-54s, and C-54As) to move men from field or general hospitals to facilities in the zone of the interior. Medical air transport became especially sophisticated in the long distances of the Pacific war, where the U.S. Army Nurse Corps developed the expertise in managing patients during prolonged transit that engendered current civilian and military flight nurses.

The island war in the Pacific presented unique problems in medical evacuation: the distances were inordinately long, and there was almost never an accessible general hospital to augment basic field hospital care. Although hospital ships had been used since the mid-1800s and had reached a high degree of sophistication under the Japanese in their war with Russia, the U.S. Navy employed them to unprecedented advantage in World War II. At the beginning of the war, the

navy had only two hospital ships (the *Relief* and the *Solace*), and only one of these was in the Pacific. During the war, the United States commissioned an additional eight hospital ships and developed an entire class of troop transports equipped to provide limited hospital services. The navy also deployed a series of adapted landing craft—LST(H)s (landing ships, tank [hospital])—manned with 4 surgeons and 27 corpsmen and capable of serving as a field hospital for up to 350 wounded. Hospital ships, required by the navy to be held well back from areas of direct combat, served essentially the same role as land-based general hospitals.

Although some new surgical techniques, particularly in vascular surgery, were developed during the war, the primary advances were in the early management and treatment of physiologic effects of trauma. As noted, medics made almost immediate hemostasis and pain management a standard. Understanding of the mechanisms and treatment of shock came early in the war. Shock is clinically characterized by a fall in blood pressure, a rise in the pulse, coolness and discoloration of poorly perfused extremities, and mental changes ranging from anxiety through confusion to coma. The syndrome's common denominator is failure of the heart and circulatory system to supply adequate blood to the body's organs. In the early years of the war, clinicians first realized that poor perfusion was the common factor in various types of shock. Blood loss, loss of body fluid such as that caused by weeping burn wounds, sepsis with its toxic bacteriologic by-products, and extreme cold can all cause the circulatory system to fail. The physiologic effects of that failure can (at least temporarily) be ameliorated by increasing the amount of fluid in the system.

Soviet scientists in the 1930s had shown that plasma—blood with the red cells removed—could be effectively used to treat shock. Plasma had two signal advantages: unlike whole blood, it was not type-specific, and it could be readily stored for long periods. Plasma could be started by medics at the front, and it was widely administered from the early days of the war.

Recognizing the need for blood and plasma, the British started a national blood-banking program early in the war, a collection and storage system the Americans later adopted, enlarged, and improved. As the war progressed, plasma's limitations as a replacement for lost blood became evident, and the use of whole blood to treat shock became more prevalent. Although civilian donors played a major role in supplying the blood banks, most donations came from combatants themselves, with medics providing a disproportionate share. In addition to whole blood, military surgeons had cardiac stimulants and vasoconstrictors, such as adrenaline and ephedrine, to augment perfusion.

Military medicine also saw significant advances in the management of infectious diseases during World War II.

These improvements primarily involved the treatment and control of tropical diseases, control of diseases resulting from poor sanitation aggravated by dietary deficiency, and chemical treatment of infections.

The Pacific war forced Japanese and Allied soldiers to fight in areas where tropical infections, especially malaria, were endemic. In the latter part of 1942 and early 1943, American soldiers in the Solomons were hospitalized for malaria at a rate of 970 per 1,000 per year, with 100,000 men ultimately contracting the disease. The unacceptable loss of fighting men led General Douglas MacArthur to form the Combined Advisory Committee on Tropical Medicine, Hygiene, and Sanitation. The committee used preventive measures to bring an 85 percent decrease in the hospitalization rate within six months.

When the war started, quinine was the agent of choice in treating malaria, but the Japanese captured the drug's major sources of supply. The antimalarial Atabrine was developed as a synthetic substitute, and although soldiers had to be forced to take it because of its bitter taste and tendency to turn the skin yellow, 2.5 billion doses had been dispensed by war's end.

Vigorous efforts were used to control the anopheles mosquito that carried the disease, including oil coating of breeding ponds and spraying with the newly developed chemical insecticide DDT. As a result of these preventive measures, less than 1 percent of hospitalized American personnel had malaria by the end of 1943. The Japanese did not do as well. They had access to quinine but were ineffective in distributing it. In addition, their soldiers were often underfed, and their rice-based diet resulted in vitamin deficiencies—particularly B1 deficiency or beriberi—that increased susceptibility to infectious disease.

Besides malaria, soldiers in the Pacific Theater suffered from dengue fever (an untreatable, incapacitating, but usually self-limited viral disease), various forms of infectious diarrhea, and fungal skin diseases (collectively termed “jungle rot”).

Typhus, a louse-borne rickettsial disease, was the most threatening infectious disease in the European Theater. When the Western Allies landed in French North Africa in November 1942, the area was in the midst of a typhus epidemic that ultimately infected over 500,000 civilians. The U.S. Army received a vaccine mass-produced by a process developed in the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and only 11 men from a force of nearly half a million contracted typhus. Allied troops arrived in Europe vaccinated against typhus,

American soldiers in the Solomons were hospitalized for malaria at a rate of 970 per 1,000 per year.

typhoid, paratyphoid, and smallpox, but malaria remained a significant problem, especially in Italy, because Allied soldiers resisted taking Atabrine.

In addition to preventative vaccination, DDT was used to kill body lice that carried the infection. The new chemical agent stayed in clothes, so people could be dusted without removing their garments (an important factor in the North African Muslim culture), and the clothing no longer had to be sterilized or destroyed. Effective delousing was also important in limiting typhus outbreaks in the USSR, eastern Europe, and Germany as the war ended; it was especially useful in controlling epidemics among concentration camp survivors when those facilities were liberated.

One of the most important advances in the treatment of wartime trauma was the use of antibiotics. German scientist Gerhard Domagk, working at I. G. Farbenindustrie, had synthesized Prontosil in 1935, and scientists at the Pasteur Institute in Paris had adapted that chemical to the more effective sulfanilamide, an antimicrobial that could be applied directly to a wound or taken orally. Sulfa drugs were used prophylactically and therapeutically from the first months of the war. Sir Alexander Fleming had accidentally discovered the antibacterial properties of penicillin in 1929, but the drug was difficult and expensive to make and was not widely used until 1940, when scientists at Oxford produced a concentrated form suitable for clinical application. The drug remained so expensive that it was routinely recovered from patients' urine, purified, and reused.

Improvements in aviation and submarine technology outstripped the ability of humans to adapt to newly accessible environments. Frenchman Paul Bert had described the physiologic effects of extreme altitude on balloonists in the previous century, but the extremes of temperature, pressure, and oxygen tension became acute concerns as great depths and nearly stratospheric altitudes were reached. Warplanes had service ceilings well beyond the survival capabilities of humans without artificial pressurization. Supplemental oxygen was required above 10,000 feet, and daytime bombing missions at altitudes in excess of 25,000 feet were often the rule. At these altitudes, temperatures ranged as low as 50 degrees below zero, posing significant risk of frostbite or even hypothermic shock. A dive-bomber could descend at 30,000 feet per minute (compared with a commercial airliner's usual rate of 400 feet per minute), a rate that introduced serious risk of barotrauma to the middle ear, sinuses, or intestines. Pooling of blood in the extremities due to extreme gravitational forces from rapid acceleration caused loss of vision and unconsciousness. Allied pilots taped their legs and abdomens to protect against blackouts, and the Germans manufactured the first pressurized body suit with the same goal. Rapid ascent either from the ocean to the surface or the surface to high altitudes produces intravascular nitrogen bubbles, lead-

ing to the syndrome of joint pain and stroke collectively referred to as the bends.

Human experimentation carried out by the German and Japanese military medical establishments led to permanent changes in standards for scientific research. The Japanese used Soviet and Chinese prisoners of war and civilians in biowarfare experiments in Manchuria and performed anatomy experiments on living American prisoners in Japan. The Germans used concentration camp inmates to perform experiments on pressure and cold tolerance that, although undeniably inhumane, provided information that remains unique. Allied military surgeons were called on to help assess the Axis physicians' behavior after the war, and the resulting Nuremberg Code still sets the standards for ethically appropriate human experimentation.

Jack McCallum

See also

Combat Fatigue; International Military Tribunal: Far East; International Military Tribunal: The Nuremberg Trials

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Military Organization

Militaries are hierarchical organizations. Long ago, army commanders learned through trial and error that a given number of soldiers operating on the battlefield as part of a coordinated and synchronized team functioned far more effectively than an equal or even a larger number of individual combatants. In the classical period, the ancient Greeks developed the phalanx, and the ancient Romans developed the century, the cohort, and the legion. By World War II, there was an amazing similarity in the names and the structures of the various echelons of most of the world's armies. There was somewhat less similarity among the navies and air forces of the various nations.

Armies

The primary unit in almost all armies was the section, or squad (*Gruppe* in German), consisting of 8 to 12 soldiers and led by a junior-ranking noncommissioned officer (NCO), usually a corporal or a sergeant. Most armies further divided



Members of a Royal Air Force Hurricane Squadron, the first to fly over Dieppe, France during the Dieppe raid of August 1942. (Bettmann/Corbis)

the infantry squad into two or three teams, each with a specific function, such as carrying and manning a light machine gun. In artillery units, the section made up the crew of a single gun. In armor units, the crew of a single tank was the primary unit.

The platoon (*Zug* in German) consisted of three or four squads and up to 30 soldiers, commanded by a junior lieutenant and assisted by a midlevel sergeant. In the British army, the lieutenant was called a platoon commander. In the U.S. Army, he was known as a platoon leader. In the U.S. Army, the company was the lowest level at which an officer exercised full command authority. As World War II progressed, attrition of combat units forced many armies to place NCOs in charge of platoons; some NCOs eventually won battlefield commissions in this manner. The term *platoon* derived from the French word *peloton*, which simply means “a group of men,” and was first used to describe any group of soldiers who fired their weapons in unison.

The company (*Companie* in German), consisting of three or four platoons, is one of the oldest of all military organizations. It traces its lineage directly to the Roman century, commanded by a centurion. By World War II, companies in most armies numbered between 100 and 250 soldiers, depending on the type. In artillery units, the company-sized unit was known as a battery (with between two and six gun sections, depending on the size of the gun), and in a cavalry unit, the company-sized unit was called a troop. The company commander was assisted by a senior first lieutenant as the executive officer and a senior NCO as the first sergeant. In almost all armies except those of the British Commonwealth, the company, battery, or troop commander was a captain. The British assigned majors as company commanders and still do so to this day.

In the early seventeenth century, Maurice of Nassau introduced the battalion, patterned on the ancient Roman cohort. Commanded by a lieutenant colonel, the World War II battalion (*Battallion* in German) consisted of three to five

companies, totaling between 400 and 800 soldiers depending on the type of unit. In cavalry organizations, the battalion-sized unit was called a squadron—which was in no way equivalent to a naval squadron or an air force squadron. In most armies, the equivalent artillery unit was also called a battalion, but in the German army it was called an *Abteilung*. The battalion is the lowest echelon at which a commander has a dedicated staff to assist him in planning and conducting operations.

The regiment (*Regiment* in German), commanded by a colonel, is another of the oldest of military formations. Evolving from the ancient Roman legion, the World War II regiment consisted of three or four battalions and had between 1,000 and 3,000 soldiers. Nominally, the next echelon above the regiment was the brigade (*Brigade* in German), but there was a great deal of variation at this particular level from army to army. In the U.S. Army of World War II, a brigade was generally an organization separate from a division, consisting of three or more battalions and commanded by either a colonel or a brigadier general, depending on its size and mission. In the German army, a brigade consisted of two regiments as part of a divisional structure. After World War II, the U.S. Army abandoned the regiment and made the brigade the echelon between the division and the battalion.

The division (*Division* in German) first appeared at the end of the eighteenth century. Composed of two or more brigades or regiments, plus a full range of supporting arms and services, the World War II division was the lowest echelon capable of semi-independent combined-arms operations. Depending on its type (infantry, armored, airborne, cavalry), the division had from 12,000 to 18,000 soldiers. Rather than brigades or regiments, a U.S. armored division of World War II was organized into three combat commands (A, B, and Reserve), which could be task-tailored from the division's battalions from operation to operation. That system was the forerunner of the U.S. Army's modern division-brigade system.

In most armies, the division was commanded by a major general, but in the German and Soviet armies, a lieutenant general led the division. Despite the difference in rank titles, a divisional commander in all cases was the equivalent of a two-star general. Because of high attrition rates among senior officers in the German army, however, it was not uncommon for a German division to be commanded by a colonel.

Two or more divisions composed a World War II corps (*Korps* in German). A product of the mass armies of the French Revolution, a corps of Napoleon's day was commanded by a marshal. During World War II, the standard rank of a corps commander was lieutenant general (or three-star equivalent). In the U.S. Army, however, most of the corps commanders were senior major generals who had successfully commanded at the divisional level. In addition to its subordinate divisions,

a corps also had a number of separate battalions and brigades of supporting arms and services, which it routinely allocated to the divisions to reinforce them for specific operations. Depending on the number of subordinate divisions, a corps could have from 50,000 to 80,000 soldiers. The Japanese equivalent of a corps was called an army, and it directly controlled its subordinate divisions. Corps were always designated in Roman numerals, for example, V Corps. All echelons below that corps were always designated in Arabic numerals, for example, 3rd Infantry Division.

The echelon above the corps was the army (*Armee* in German), sometimes called the field army but also known as the numbered army to distinguish it from the army as a whole (*Heer* in German). In most militaries, the army was commanded by a full general (four-star equivalent), but the majority of U.S. armies in World War II were actually commanded by lieutenant generals. At the end of the war, the most successful of the army commanders, among them George S. Patton, received their fourth star. The Japanese equivalent to a field army was called an area army. Armies are designated by spelling out their numerical designation, for example, Third Army.

The army group (*Heeresgruppe* in German), which first appeared in World War I, is the largest battlefield command in military history. An army group is commanded by either a full general (four-star equivalent) or a field marshal (equivalent to a five-star general). In the Soviet army, the army group was known as a front. Army group designations used Arabic numerals, for example, 12th Army Group.

Above the level of the army group, most World War II militaries had at least one or two additional echelons of command. A theater was responsible for directing all the military activity in a given geographic area of operations. The commander of a theater usually held the title commander in chief (abbreviated as CinC). On the German side, the theater commander held the title of Oberbefehlshaber (OB). The OB only commanded the forces of a single service. In the integrated Anglo-American command structure, a CinC was a joint commander, meaning he had direct command authority over all land, naval, and air forces in his theater. Allied navies and the Royal Air Force (RAF) also use the title CinC for those who commanded both the support units (the shore establishment for navies or the air base and logistics structure for the RAF) and operational units.

At the highest levels of military command in World War II, each nation had a body of military officers that formed the supreme command, presiding over all military activities and reporting directly to the country's political leadership. Britain had the Imperial General Staff, and the United States had the Joint Chiefs of Staff. For the conduct of World War II, however, the two bodies formed a combined committee known as the Combined Chiefs of Staff. The highest Soviet

military body was called the Stavka. The Germans had a supreme command for each of its three services: Oberkommando des Heeres (OKH) for the army, Oberkommando der Kriegsmarine (OKM) for the navy, and Oberkommando der Luftwaffe (OKL) for the air force. Making matters more complicated still, there was a supreme command of the armed forces sitting over them, the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (OKW). Unfortunately for Germany, the four supreme commands spent almost as much time fighting each other as they did fighting the Allies.

Marines

Almost all marine organizations of World War II were relatively small and specialized. Although they were components of their respective navies, they were all organized along army lines. The U.S. Marine Corps was by far the largest of World War II—larger, in fact, than the entire armies of some nations. The corps was the highest level of command echelon in the U.S. Marine Corps of World War II.

Air Forces

The organization of most air forces was similar to that of armies. The flight was the lowest echelon (composed of four to eight planes in 1939 and four planes by 1940) and was commanded by a lieutenant in the German service, a flight leader in the RAF, and a first or second lieutenant in the U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF). The equivalent Italian unit was the *sezione* (section), which consisted of three planes until 1941 and two planes after that. Nonflying units had no standard personnel strength, although a flight generally consisted of no more than 20 personnel and a nonflying squadron rarely numbered more than 400. Squadrons (*Staffeln* in the Luftwaffe and *squadriglia* in the Italian air force) consisted of two to four flights and a headquarters flight (which was made up of two planes in a flying unit); they were commanded by captains (in fighter squadrons) or majors (in bomber units) in the U.S. service or the equivalent rank of squadron leader in the RAF. German *Staffeln* and Italian *squadriglia* were usually commanded by captains but might be commanded by majors in some cases.

Above the squadron level, the echelons of command differed among the various air forces. For the RAF, the higher echelons were structured along territorial and aircraft-type lines, and the next level of command was the wing, which consisted of the aircraft assigned to a single airfield (and each airfield might have one to four squadrons). The U.S. Army Air Forces called the next echelon a group, and it was made up of two to four squadrons. The units were commanded by lieutenant colonels in the USAAF or wing commanders in the RAF, although some American bomber groups were commanded by colonels. By 1944, most American bomber groups were commanded by colonels. The Soviet air force grouped

squadrons into 60-plane regiments commanded by majors (for fighters) or lieutenant colonels (for bombers). The equivalent German and Italian formations were the *Gruppe* and the *gruppo*, respectively, and normally were commanded by majors, although some bomber units were commanded by lieutenant colonels.

A U.S. wing consisted of two to four air groups; that echelon was known as a *Geschwader* in the German air force and as a *stormo* in the Italian air force. In all but the Royal Air Force, this was the highest echelon equipped with a single type of aircraft (fighters, bombers, etc.), and it was commanded by a colonel in the U.S. Army Air Forces or the equivalent—an Oberst in the German air force and a colonel in the Italian. In 1944, many American bomber wings were commanded by brigadier generals.

An RAF group captain (equivalent to a colonel) commanded a base, which consisted of two to four airfields located fairly close together. From 1942 on, an air commodore (U.S. equiv. brigadier general) commanded several bases within a designated area. The air commodores reported to the commander in chief of a numbered RAF group, who was normally an air vice marshal (U.S. equiv. major general). The RAF was unique among the air forces of World War II in that its commanders below the theater level commanded only aircraft of a specific type or mission. All but the Soviet air force used this structure primarily for their nonflying air force units. For example, a German *Luftgau* (air district) commanded primarily the nonflying support units within its area of responsibility and was headed by an Oberst (U.S. equiv. colonel), and several districts constituted a *Division* under a Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general). The Italian air force utilized a similar command structure for its units above the *stormo* level within Italy, calling them *squadra aeree*, but its *aeree* commands for external regions (such as its African colonies, Sardinia, and the Dodecanese Islands) commanded all air force units within their *aeree*, regardless of type or mission. These *squadra aeree* were commanded by major generals.

For the other air forces, operational commands were based on the number of flying units and the support units assigned them. The German air force organized several *Geschwader* of the same type of aircraft into an air division (*Luftdivision*) under a Generalmajor. A *Luftkorps* (air corps) might be established to support a specific campaign or theater (e.g., *Luftkorps Afrika*), but that was done only three times in the war. The Soviet air force structured its aerial units along the same lines as its army, with air brigades and air divisions built around air regiments of varying aircraft types and missions. An air division or corps might support a Soviet army, whereas a numbered air army of one or more air corps would support a front. For the U.S. Army Air Forces, the command echelon above the wing was the numbered air force,



The U.S. 93rd Infantry Division, reactivated on 15 May 1942, was the first all-African American division to be formed during World War II. Here men of the Division are shown in training at Fort Huachuca, Arizona in 1942. (National Archives)

which was commanded in 1942 and 1943 by a major general whose forces included fighter and bomber groups as well as all support units assigned to them. Initially, a numbered air force was considered the equivalent to a division command, but most were commanded by lieutenant generals in 1944, as the size of some numbered air forces grew. Also, by 1944, the Western Allies had four tactical air commands (TACs)—two-star commands assigned to support the ground campaign. A TAC's various fighter, fighter-bomber, attack, and bomber squadrons were drawn from numbered air forces and assigned to provide close-air support, usually to an army group but on rare occasions to an army. The German equivalent to the numbered air force was the *Lufflotte*, or air fleet, which was commanded by a *Generalleutnant* (U.S. equiv. major general). The Italian air force had *aeree divisioni*, each commanded by a *generale di divisione* (U.S. equiv. major general), but they commanded only aircraft of a single type (bomber, fighter). The next echelon for the U.S. Air Forces

was the theater command, which controlled one or more numbered air forces. In 1944, the U.S. Army Air Forces Mediterranean, for example, was commanded by a lieutenant general, whereas the commander of the U.S. Army Air Forces Europe in 1944 was a full (four-star) general.

Navies

Nations organized their navies along their own unique lines, but in general, seagoing organizations and designations were based on size and ship type, and shore-unit organizations and designations were based on shore-unit size. Destroyers, submarines, and smaller seagoing units were organized in squadrons (in the U.S. and French navies), flotillas (in the British, Italian, and Soviet navies), and *Geschwader* (in the German navy) of 4 to 18 units. Theoretically, 2 to 3 squadrons constituted a flotilla, but that structure was done away with by all but the Italian navy before World War II. Except for the Soviet navy, a destroyer squadron/flotilla consisted of 4 to 6

destroyers of the same class, commanded by a captain (equivalent to an army or air force colonel), with the title of commodore. The Soviet navy assigned 2 or more destroyer squadrons to a flotilla, commanded by a captain first rank (senior to a Royal Navy/U.S. Navy captain but not a flag officer). In European navies, the commodore commanded the flotilla or Geschwader flagship (which was often modified to carry additional communications equipment), as well as the flotilla itself. The U.S. Navy was unique in that it provided its squadron commanders with a small staff.

The fast-attack squadron, flotilla, or Geschwader consisted of 10 to 18 fast-attack boats commanded by a commander (equivalent to a lieutenant colonel). In the British service, the flotilla commander also commanded the tender that provided the boats with their maintenance, logistics, and communications support. Navies sought to have squadrons and flotillas deploy and fight together as teams, but as the war wore on and maintenance requirements increasingly dictated unit availability, squadrons occasionally deployed with units from another squadron or flotilla. Cruisers and larger ships were organized into divisions of two or more units of the same class, commanded by a rear admiral (equivalent to an army major general).

Before 1939, most naval officers expected to fight their warships in divisions and squadrons and trained accordingly. Airpower's proven effectiveness in the 1940 Norwegian and 1941 Pearl Harbor Campaigns changed all that. Fleets deployed and fought in naval formations equivalent to army combined-arms teams. The Royal Navy called those organizations forces and designated them alphabetically (Forces C and D, for example, fought off Crete); the U.S. Navy designated them task groups. A Royal Navy force could consist of as little as a cruiser supported by a pair of destroyers, or it could be centered around a battleship, supported by one to four cruisers of varying types, possibly an aircraft carrier, and one or two destroyer flotillas. Smaller Royal Navy forces were commanded by either a very senior captain or a rear admiral. The largest, normally those established by the Admiralty, were commanded by a vice admiral.

Before December 1941, U.S. Navy task groups were centered around a battleship under the command of a rear admiral, normally the battleship's division commander. After Pearl Harbor, however, they were formed around aircraft carriers. Destroyers, cruisers, and battleships were stationed around the carrier to augment its anti-aircraft firepower and screen it against submarines.

Convoys constituted a special case in the Western navies. They were commanded by one-star "commodores"; the one-star commodore was a wartime rank that was senior to a captain but junior to a rear admiral. Typically a retired navy or merchant ship captain, a convoy commander was in charge of a convoy's merchant ships and, nominally at least, its escorts.

In practice, however, the escort commander deployed his ships as he believed the situation dictated and kept the convoy commander informed, coordinating his actions as required to best protect the convoy. Soviet, German, and Italian navies assigned convoy command to the senior naval officer present; usually but not always, he was the escort force commander.

The U.S. Navy established an echelon above the task group level in 1942, called the task force. Navy task forces consisted of two or more task groups and were commanded by senior rear admirals in 1942. Before late 1943, two or more U.S. Navy task forces constituted a numbered fleet, commanded by a vice admiral. Odd-numbered fleets operated in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, and even-numbered fleets served in the Atlantic and European waters. However, as the navy expanded and numbered fleets came to consist of up to a dozen task forces, some numbered fleets (the Third and the Seventh, whose designations were spelled out just as numbered armies were) came to be commanded by full (four-star) admirals by late 1944. The much smaller Royal and Italian navies placed their largest forces directly under their respective admiralties until they were allocated to a regional or functional commander (e.g., the commander in chief Mediterranean or commander in chief Home Fleet for Britain or, for Italy, a specific mission); these officers were either rear admirals, vice admirals, or admirals, depending on the size and importance of the command. By 1942, the U.S. Navy had two theater-level fleet commanders, called commanders in chief, with the rank of admiral; they were in charge of all shore establishments, numbered fleets, aircraft, ships, submarines, and units within their assigned area of responsibilities. One commanded the Atlantic Fleet and the other the Pacific Fleet (which was also responsible for the Indian Ocean). Admiral Chester Nimitz, commander in chief Pacific, became an Admiral of the Fleet (five-star equivalent) in 1945.

The Kriegsmarine (German navy) organized its smaller combatants into Geschwader, and its cruisers served under the Kreuzer division (the title was changed to Kampfgruppe in 1944). However, only its destroyers, submarines, and smaller units deployed in units. Doctrinally, major German naval units were to deploy in Kampfgruppen. In theory, German naval Kampfgruppen consisted of the units supporting a battleship that deployed under a Konteradmiral (U.S. equiv. rear admiral) or Vizadmiral (U.S. equiv. vice admiral) for a specific mission. Once deployed, the Gruppe operated under one of the navy's three geographic area commanders (Kommando der Marine Oest, Kommando der Marine West, or Kommando der Marine Nord). In practice, however, the Germans never had enough major surface units to implement the system. For example, the *Bismarck* operation was led by the fleet commander himself, Admiral Günther Lütjens. Most German surface units deployed alone and had their operations coordinated either by the Oberkommando der Kriegsmarine (OKM), the Kommando der

Marine West, or the Kommando der Marine Nord, depending on whether they were operating outside the North Atlantic, in the North Atlantic, or in the North and Norwegian Seas, respectively.

The U.S. Navy called its shore-based units either activities, commands, or bases. An activity was a small shore unit with a single mission (maintenance, fuel or ordnance support, ship repairs, etc.), under an officer in charge (ranging from a lieutenant to a lieutenant commander, or the equivalent of an army captain to a major, respectively). The Royal Navy did not refer to activities but designated all its units as commands, with the commander's rank determined by unit size. In the U.S. Navy, a command either consisted of several activities or was a larger unit that conducted a specialized mission but was too large to be treated as an activity. A command could deploy detachments to support a specific mission for short periods of time; an activity rarely had the resources to do so. Lieutenant commanders, commanders, and captains were in charge of commands. A base typically hosted several activities and commands, both shore-based and seagoing. In all navies, captains commanded bases.

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See also

Airborne Forces, Allied; Airborne Forces, Axis; Combined Chiefs of Staff; France, Air Force, Army, Navy; Germany, Air Force, Army, Navy; Great Britain, Air Force, Army, Navy; Italy, Air Force, Army, Navy; Japan, Air Forces, Army, Navy; Joint Chiefs of Staff; Nimitz, Chester William; Soviet Union, Air Force, Army, Navy; United States, Army, Army Air Forces, Marine Corps, Navy

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Milne Bay, Battle of (25 August–6 September 1942)

Important Pacific Theater battle on New Guinea involving Australian, U.S., and Japanese troops. In late August 1942, the Japanese continued their advance southeastward down

New Guinea's northern coast. Their destination was Port Moresby, initially denied to them by the Battle of the Coral Sea. Milne Bay, on New Guinea's southeast tip, offered a harbor and good sites for airfields. The Australians and Americans had already built one airfield, and two more were under development, all part of the Allied defense of Port Moresby.

On 24 August 1942, Japanese light cruisers *Tenryu* and *Tatsuta*, three destroyers, two submarine chasers, and two transports left Rabaul, transporting 612 naval troops of Kure 5th Special Naval Landing Force and 197 men of Sasebo 5th Special Naval Landing Force. Another 362 navy cadre and civilians of the 16th Naval Construction Unit were also aboard. These troops were to take the Allied airfields.

The Japanese landed at Milne Bay on the night of 25 August and ran into trouble in the form of torrential rains, swamps, mud, and flooded streams. They also encountered many more Allied troops than anticipated. The Japanese navy had estimated Australian forces at Milne Bay at about a battalion, but the Australians had recently reinforced their garrison and had six battalions present from the 7th and 18th Australian Infantry Brigades under Major General Cyril A. Clowes. In and around the airfields were 9,458 Australians and Americans. The Australians also had 34 P-40 fighter aircraft.

The Japanese landed 5 miles from the beaches where they had planned to land and 8 miles from their objective. They had no useful maps, nor did they have mechanized equipment to haul supplies inland. The Australian P-40s bombed and strafed beached supplies, oil drums, and barges and thereby destroyed most of the Japanese food stocks. Bombs from a B-17 bomber also damaged a Japanese transport unloading supplies.

Another Japanese landing unit, actually part of the initial effort, never made it to shore. Some 350 Kure 5th Special Naval Landing Force troops aboard seven powered barges stopped at Goodenough Island for a break. Nine P-40s attacked and sank all seven barges, stranding the men. Japanese reinforcements (568 men of the Kure 3rd and 200 men of the Yokosuka 5th Special Naval Landing Forces) arrived on 29 August aboard three destroyers and three patrol boats.

Despite an early setback, the Australians fought the Japanese to a standstill at the edge of the easternmost airfield. By 30 August, the Japanese at Milne Bay were short of supplies. Rain, mud, malaria, air attacks, and infantry combat wore them down. A final assault on the airfields during the night of 30 August failed. The Australians then counterattacked and drove the Japanese back toward their landing sites.

The Japanese then decided to cut their losses and evacuate the survivors. As a consequence of the Allied air threat and because the Japanese needed only to evacuate men and not equipment or supplies, they employed two light cruisers and destroyers in the evacuation effort. They removed their wounded on the night of 4–5 September; the main body of the

force departed the next night. One Japanese destroyer was lost during the withdrawal, sunk by U.S. aircraft.

The Battle of Milne Bay was a tremendous psychological boost for the Allies. Until then, the Japanese had repeatedly defeated Allied ground forces. Japanese aggressiveness and spirit had previously triumphed over Allied soldiers and matériel—but not at Milne Bay. The Allied repulse administered to crack special naval landing forces helped convinced Allied soldiers that they could defeat the Japanese.

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See also

Coral Sea, Battle of the; New Guinea Campaign; Southeast Pacific Theater

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MINCEMEAT, Operation

Major British deception preceding Operation HUSKY, the Allied assault on Sicily. Even as Allied forces cleared Tunisia of Axis troops, their leaders were debating their next target in the Mediterranean. Although British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill wanted a thrust into the Balkans, the Allies settled on Sicily, to be followed by an assault on southern Italy. Operation MINCEMEAT was a British deception to convince the Germans and their Axis partners, the Italians, that the invasion would instead occur in the Greek Isles and Sardinia.

A British intelligence officer, Lieutenant Commander Ewen Montagu of the navy, conceived the idea of using the corpse of a man who had died of pneumonia, a disease that has all the physical characteristics of a drowning. He would be given a false military identity to convey papers that would reach the Germans. On 18 April 1943, at Greenock, Scotland, the British submarine *Seraph* took on board a specially constructed steel container weighing about 400 pounds and marked “Handle with Care—Optical Instruments.”

Eleven days later, early on 30 April, the *Seraph* surfaced off the southern coast of Andalucia, Spain. Officers sworn to secrecy then opened the container and removed a soggy corpse dressed in the uniform of an officer of the Royal

Marines. The body, which had been preserved in ice, had a briefcase affixed with the royal seal chained to one wrist. The officers then inflated the “Mae West” life jacket worn by the corpse, offered a few prayers, and pushed “Major Martin” overboard to drift inland with the tide. Later, a half mile to the south, the same officers turned an inflated rubber life raft upside down and pushed it and a paddle off the submarine.

A Spanish fisherman recovered the body off Huelva and turned it over to the authorities. The British had chosen this location because a German intelligence officer was known to be in the area. The Spanish identified the corpse from its papers as that of Major William Martin of the Royal Marines. It appeared from the condition of the body that it had been in the water for several days, and the Spanish concluded that the death resulted from an airplane crash at sea. They then allowed German intelligence to examine the body and the attaché case. To keep up the ruse, the British demanded that the case be returned without delay. The Spanish finally turned it over on 13 May, and subsequent tests in London revealed that it had indeed been tampered with, its contents in all probability passed on to the Germans.

The briefcase contained presumably sensitive papers and private letters from British leaders in London to theater commanders in North Africa. The Germans could only conclude from the contents that operations against Sicily were only a feint and that the Allies would next invade the Greek islands (Operation BARCLAY) with 11 British divisions. A few days later, a large American force was to invade Sardinia, Corsica, and southern France.

The deception confirmed what the Germans already believed, but there is no evidence that the Italians were deceived. Adolf Hitler, however, sent reinforcements, including the 1st Panzer Division from southern France, to Greece. This unit might have been decisive had it been dispatched to Sicily. Clearly, the invading forces of Operation HUSKY benefited immensely from the MINCEMEAT deception.

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See also

Deception; Sicily, Invasion of

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Mines, Land

Two basic forms of land mines existed in World War II—antipersonnel and antitank mines. Antipersonnel mines are primarily based on static omnidirectional (360-degree), static directional (180-degree), and bounding omnidirectional (360-degree) models. Often injury rather than death



Members of the British Army Officer Cadet Training Unit observe techniques for the laying of land mines, 1943. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

was viewed as a more desirable outcome from the use of land mines because of the logistical strain it could create on an opposing force. For this reason, many mines were developed and emplaced to maim rather than kill. Antitank mines were used either in an antimobility or a catastrophic-kill function. Beyond their destructive effects, land mines were also useful to channel enemy forces into kill zones, to create impassable barriers to maneuver, to engage in the area denial of key points, to deny matériel resources via booby-trapping, and to psychologically affect opposing troops.

U.S. land mines were based on both antipersonnel and antitank requirements. The two standard U.S. antipersonnel mines were the M-2 and the M-3. The M-2 was a 6.5 lb bounding mine based on a modified 60 mm mortar shell. This was a mine that would leap into the air and explode, causing far more shrapnel damage to troops than a mine exploding at ground level. It could produce a 30 ft casualty radius. The M-3 was a larger 10 lb mine made out of cast iron and filled with TNT. It could be buried or used in an above-ground, booby-trap mode. It also had a 30 ft casualty radius.

At the start of World War II, the standard U.S. antitank mine was the M-1. This simple mine used a cross-shaped metal pressure detonator, known as a “spider,” that fit over the mine. The M-1 was later replaced by the heavier M-5, which weighed 14.5 lbs. The additional weight allowed for a greater explosive charge to be packed in the mine, which then could better disable a tank tread or destroy a lighter vehicle. The even more effective M-6 was developed next. It weighed 20 lbs. A lighter M-7 weighing 4.5 lbs was also fielded against lighter vehicular threats.

The British forces used both antipersonnel and antitank mines. The British No. 75 “Hawkins,” an antipersonnel mine shaped like a rectangular food tin, was carried by paratroopers and U.S. forces. British forces also utilized U.S. land mines as part of the American aid effort. British minefields were used extensively in North Africa. French mines were based on World War I and interwar designs. One example was the 14.5 lb light antitank mine. This pressure-sensitive mine had a rectangular steel body and was filled with 5.12 lbs of high explosives. It was employed in defensive mine belts to help protect the Maginot Line.

Soviet and German military forces were the principal innovators in land mines during the war. Soviet mine advances were primarily antitank in nature because of the continued operational encirclement threat posed by German panzer divisions. The 1941 AKS was likely the first full-width-attack, tilt-rod-actuated mine. The Red Army employed fusing based on both seismic (VZ-1) and magnetic devices and deployed the first radio-controlled mines in 1942. At Kursk in 1943, the first use of a flame mine took place. Calling on their harsh experiences in the Russo-Finnish War of 1939, Soviet forces also utilized stake mines (based on improvised grenade booby traps), mine daisy chaining, low metal mines, and well-defined countermine assault techniques. The Soviets also employed antitank dog mines during the war. Specially trained dogs carrying explosive mine packs were taught to run under German tanks. The mines were then detonated on the command of the dog handler or set off by a timing mechanism. The technique was not very effective.

German innovations in land mines included the bounding antipersonnel mine of the 1930s. This was known as the “S” mine or the “Bouncing Betty” mine. Scatterable antipersonnel mines, such as the SD-2B Schmetterling, were first used in Poland in 1939 and dropped by fixed-wing aircraft. Side-attack mines based on the Panzerfaust antitank rocket grenade were employed on the Eastern Front in 1943. Booby-trapped antihandling devices, attached to land mines, were also developed by German forces in the war. A chemical mine, known as the “Bounding Gas Mine 37” and based on the mustard gas agent, was developed, but it was never fielded. About 40 types of German antitank mines existed, with the Terrlermine 42, Terrlermine 43, and Terrlermine 35 (two variants) being the most common. The Germans developed numerous types of friction, pull, and pressure igniters for their land mines.

The Japanese were not known as innovators in land mines, but they fielded both land mine types and were adept at booby traps. The Model 93 (1933) “tape-measure mine” was an antipersonnel device that weighed 3 lbs. The mine had four metal rings on the side for carrying it and for emplacement and a brass dome fuze. The Model 99 (1939) armor-piercing mine was developed for use against tanks and the iron doors of pillboxes. This 2.11 lb mine was carried in a stiff canvas pouch and had four permanent magnets attached via khaki webbing to the outer edge of the mine body. It was carried by individual soldiers and was usually coupled with another for greater armor penetration by placing the opposite magnetic poles of the four outer-edge magnets together. The fielding of a Japanese antitank “satchel charge-like” mine, rather than a traditional antitank mine, represents a tactical limitation. This limitation was somewhat made up for by the existence of the Model 96 (1936) dual-use land and water mine and the Bangalore torpedo. The Model 96 carried a 46 lb explosive

charge, and the Bangalore torpedo had sections weighing 10 lbs each (most of that a TNT-cyclonite explosive mixture).

Robert J. Bunker

See also

Antitank Guns and Warfare; Chemical Weapons and Warfare; Maginot Line; Mines, Sea; Tanks, All Powers

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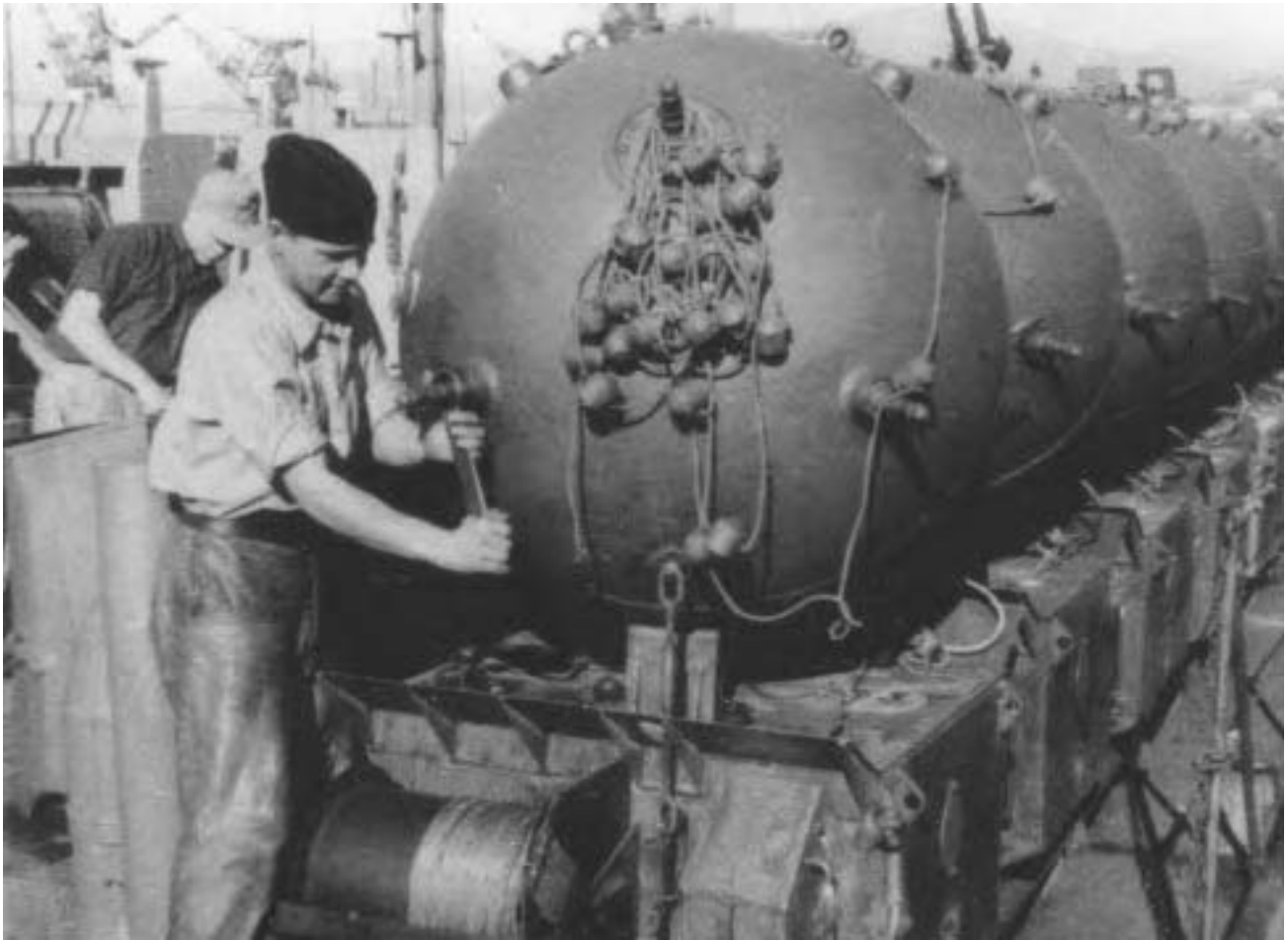
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Mines, Sea

As a result of the experiences of World War I, combatants were much better prepared for mine warfare in 1939 than that had been in 1914. All belligerents expected to be committed to a mining campaign. Major advances in mine warfare before and during World War II included the widespread use of influence (i.e., acoustic, magnetic, and pressure-actuated) mines and large-scale aerial mining and the broad application of antisweeping devices. In moored mines, the trend, except in Germany, was to replace the acid-filled Herz horns with electric switch horns.

In spite of prewar financial limitations and errors in judgment, Great Britain entered the war with an adequate stock of mines—both technically and quantitatively. These included some 1917 H.II Herz horn type moored contact mines, but the standard moored contact mine was the switch horn type Mark XVII. It could be configured to take a charge of 320 or 500 lbs and could be laid with a depth setting of up to 303 ft. In 1939, Great Britain had both moored (M Mark I) and air-laid ground magnetic mines (A Mark I) available for deployment. Both were based on the magnetic induction principle (the horizontal magnetic field of a ship induced an electric current in a coiled rod) and proved so satisfactory that they remained in service throughout the war. The airborne ground mine was subsequently modified, in order to conserve scarce materials (A Mark II, III, and IV), to improve compatibility with bomb gears (A Mark V, 1940), and to include acoustic actuation (A Mark VI, 1944).

The majority of the mines laid by Great Britain were dropped by aircraft; hence, the British effort for a ship-laid ground mine was confined to the magnetic M Mark III, a cylindrical device that was introduced in April 1941. The charge weight was increased from 1,500 lbs to 1,600 lbs of amatol (or 1,750 lbs of minol) in 1942, and in 1943, acoustic mechanisms



Arming German UMB-mines. Snaglines with cork floats are attached to the Herz horns (1941). (Photo courtesy of Dirk Steffen)

were added. An upgraded model with improved sensitivity and a pressure firing unit was canceled in 1944. Owing to the wartime shortages of TNT and RD (cyclonite), most British mines had 50/50 ammonium nitrate/TNT (amatol) explosive charges. This low-quality explosive was later improved by the addition of around 20 percent aluminum powder (minol).

Of all belligerents, Germany displayed the greatest creativity and activity in the field of mine technology. It developed a large number of sophisticated mines before and during World War II, with a focus on influence mines. The intense interservice rivalry between the German navy and the air force severely hampered the development of airborne mines, although ultimately, the project was successful. For moored contact mines, the German navy relied on the eminently successful EM designs of World War I, the most common being the EMA (331 lb charge), the EMB (497 lb charge), and the EMC (661 lb charge). The Germans also perfected the art of sweep obstruction. Many of the EM-type mines were fitted with chains (to resist wirecutters) and *Kontaktauslösung* (KA) gear, comprising a 98 ft Tombac tube over the

upper part of the mooring wire, which, when subjected to the upward drag in sweeping, closed a switch and fired the mine.

The best-known German influence mine was probably the LMA airborne parachute magnetic ground mine; when one was retrieved on 22 November 1939, the British were alerted to the fact that the Germans, too, had a capability in noncontact mines. Unlike the British magnetic mines, the German mines were actuated by a change in the vertical component of the magnetic field (the dip needle principle). The LMA had a 661 lb charge and a practical depth limit of 130 ft. It was superseded by the larger (1,554 lb charge) LMB with magnetic (1939), acoustic (1940), combined magnetic/acoustic and magnetic/pressure (1944) firing. The development of the BM 1000 (1,500 lb charge) greatly improved the efficacy of German aerial mining. That mine was dropped without parachute from altitudes of up to 19,700 ft in water depths up to 115 ft, and it was regularly equipped with a variety of antisweeping and antilifting devices. For minelaying from torpedo tubes of submarines and E-boats, the Germans produced the TMA (moored magnetic) and TMB (ground

magnetic and acoustic) mines. Both weapons suffered from serious construction defects that limited their endurance on the seabed to 6 to 12 months.

The construction of the Atlantic Wall, Germany's seaward defense against the Allied invasion, inspired the KMA anti-invasion mine. This was a shallow-water ground mine with a 165 lb charge set in a rectangular concrete block anchor and surmounted by a steel tripod frame with a single Herz horn on top. The total height of the mine was 8 ft, 10 inches, and it could be fitted with a snagline for depths of 16 to 33 ft. German charge weights in general were conspicuously heavy by international standards in order to compensate for the generally poor quality of the explosive fillings, usually made up of a mixture of ammonium nitrate, sodium nitrate, potassium nitrate, cyclonite, ethylene diamine dinitrate, and aluminum—TNT being an exception.

Many of the mines employed by Italy during the war were left over from World War I, some of them from the Austro-Hungarian Empire service. Some Italian mines were specifically built for deployment in warm-water conditions, such as off Libya. The P200 appeared in 1936. It weighed about 2,244 lbs and had an explosive charge of 441 lbs.

The Soviet navy relied mainly on material developed before 1917, such as the M06, M08, and M12. Conditions in the Soviet Union between 1917 and 1941 had stifled mine development, yet the Soviet navy put to use a handful of mines developed in the interwar period.

Notably, Italy and the United States distinguished themselves as substantial mine producers, the latter with an emphasis on submarine and air-laid mines such as the Mk 12/3 and the Mk 12/4 (1,200 lb Torpex charges). Japan, as during World War I, neglected mine development and relied solely on a handful of obsolescent moored contact mines.

Dirk Steffen

See also

Atlantic Wall; Minesweeping and Minelaying

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quite considerable efforts made in during World War I. The aim of mining was either tactical, by sinking specific enemy ships, or strategic, by assisting in dislocating enemy war efforts in general and contributing to the security of friendly sea lines of communications through the destruction or threat of destruction of enemy forces. The aim of mine countermeasures, in turn, was to permit warships and merchant vessels to use the seas and enter and leave ports as necessary for the furtherance of the war effort and the support of the population, without unacceptable damage or losses from mines.

A grand total of 636,000 mines and sweep obstructors were laid in European waters between 1939 and 1945. Some 95,400 more were laid in the western Pacific between 1941 and 1945. On balance, both sides laid roughly the same number of mines. The Allies lost a total of 1,406,037 tons of merchant shipping to mines—almost exclusively in European waters—representing 6.5 percent of their entire merchant ship losses. The Axis powers lost 660,533 tons of merchant shipping in the European Theater and 397,412 tons in the Pacific. Strategically, the Allies were more effective than the Axis powers in disrupting and obstructing the enemy's seaborne traffic. This was particularly true in the Pacific Theater of Operations, where Japanese minelaying operations had virtually no impact on Allied naval operations. By contrast, a well-conceived American aerial mining operation, in which 15,800 mines were laid in Japanese and Korean waters between December 1944 and July 1945, all but paralyzed Japanese coastal traffic and hastened the collapse of the Japanese Empire's tottering economy.

Several factors impacted minelaying and minesweeping in World War II. First, mines were increasingly of the influence type; second, aircraft emerged as an effective means of delivery; and, third, the use of sweep obstructors and evaders and antilifting devices became commonplace, to the point where mine forces deliberately targeted enemy countermeasure forces and aimed to tie down valuable resources. Again, the Allies had comparatively better success in this respect: throughout the war, the German navy employed about twice as many minesweepers and about one and a half times as many personnel in the war against sea mines in European waters than did its adversaries.

Minelaying distinguished between the two fundamental principles of offensive and defensive mining. Both sides expended a considerable part of their stock for the latter purpose. Great Britain alone laid 185,000 mines in defensive minefields in all theaters of war. Defensive minefields were usually laid by surface craft. Their purpose was to augment coastal defenses by providing operational depth seaward against maritime incursions and invasions. Frequently, a channel between the coast and the minefields was kept open for coastal traffic, thus offering a certain degree of protection to shipping while freeing flotilla craft from tedious coastal escort and patrol duties.

Minesweeping and Minelaying (Sea)

The mine war at sea between 1939 and 1945 was a vast enterprise in terms of men and material that dwarfed the already

Offensive minefields were ideally laid covertly, inviting the use of aircraft and submarines. The former offered an additional advantage because they could penetrate deep into enemy-controlled sea spaces in great numbers and even attack inland waterways. Famous aerial mining operations included those by the Royal Air Force (RAF) against the Kiel Canal on 12–13 May 1944 (11 mines) and against the German oil shipments on the Danube between May and October 1944 (1,200 mines). Both operations caused significant economic disruptions of the German war machine. Of the 76,000 mines laid offensively by Great Britain in European waters, 55,000 were laid by aircraft, mostly by the RAF's Bomber Command.

A variant of both the defensive and the offensive minefield was the tactical minefield. This minefield was usually laid on the basis of tactical intelligence reports or educated guessing in what was assumed would be the probable path of a very specific target. During their advance through the Baltic states in August 1941, for instance, the Germans laid a tactical minefield off Jumida, Estonia, knowing that a heavily escorted Soviet troop convoy from Tallinn had to take that route. On 28 and 29 August, 25 Soviet troop transports out of 29 within the targeted convoy foundered on the minefield. Additionally, because the Germans had deliberately also targeted escorts and minesweepers with shallow-depth mines, the Soviets lost 2 destroyers, 9 minesweepers, and several small patrol craft. This outcome was the largest single tactical success in the history of mine warfare.

The minesweeping effort on all sides necessarily rose to the enormous challenge posed by the extensive minelaying campaigns—both quantitatively and qualitatively. Great Britain had built only 21 fleet minesweepers between 1933 and 1939. During the war years, these were augmented by a further 283 minesweepers. To this substantial minesweeping fleet came hundreds of motor minesweepers and auxiliary minesweepers. By May 1944, the Royal Navy had over 650 trawlers on sweeping duties alone. The Germans entered the war with a number of World War I–vintage sweepers as well as a dozen of very sophisticated, 784 ton M-35–type minesweepers under construction and dozens of cheap but capable *Räumboote* (motor minesweepers), the numbers of which would total 300 at the end of the war. In spite of the eventual mass production of over 400 simplified M-type sweepers, the German navy, too, had to expand its capabilities further, and it requisitioned hundreds of civilian ships for minesweeping duties. As with Great Britain, Germany also built commercial trawlers for minesweeping duties.

In 1939, most minesweeping forces were geared for operations against moored contact mines. To that end, the minesweepers carried an Oropesa gear, or A-sweep, consisting of a steel wire (up to .5 inches in diameter and 1,500 ft long), which was streamed behind the minesweeper. The end of the sweep-wire was fitted with wirecutters and supported by a float known as an Otter. The sweep was held at a prede-

termined depth by a horizontal kite near the stern of the towing vessels, and the angle to the ship's course was maintained by a vertical kite beneath the Otter. The A-sweep could be streamed on one or both sides of the ship. Minesweepers so equipped steamed in a diagonal formation on overlapping tracks. Small A-sweeps streamed from the stem post provided bow protection. Mine cases that rose to the surface after the mooring wires had been cut were usually destroyed by gunfire.

To protect fields of moored mines from sweepers, minefield planners frequently resorted to sweep obstructers such as chains on mooring wires, fuse settings that exploded the mines when swept, and other gear that would destroy or foul the sweeps or endanger the minesweepers. The Germans earned a particular reputation for indulging in this type of warfare, and they deployed minefields that contained up to 30 percent sweep obstructers. Sweep evaders, such as sprocket wheels that would let the sweep-wire pass through the mine's mooring wire, and delayed-rise or multiple-rise mines additionally thwarted sweeping efforts.

The advent of ground-influence mines required different sweeping techniques. For sweeping magnetic mines, navies developed a towed current-bearing cable, called the L-sweep. This equipment consisted of two cables streamed behind the minesweeper that generated a pulsating electric current, which, when passed through the cables and the seawater, produced a magnet tow. In order to overcome dependence on the seawater's conductivity and to improve the individual ship's sweep efficiency, the Royal Navy and later the German navy introduced the closed-loop system. The loop shape of the current-bearing cable was maintained by attaching it to A-sweep wires. Acoustic influence mines required the use of noisemakers. The Allied Pipe Noise Maker ("Foxyer"), originally developed as a decoy for the German T-5 homing torpedo, was eminently well suited to that task. Noisemakers were usually streamed in conjunction with the magnetic sweep.

The improvement in sweeping techniques quite naturally called for responses by minefield planners and mine designers. An easy way to delay any sweeping attempt was to increase the sweep effort necessary to clear a given sea space by laying combined fields of moored contact and ground-influence mines. Ship counters that ignored a certain amount of passes were an even better way to achieve the same effect. This concept was perfected by the British MX organization, which specialized in the modification of standard mines. The MX-modified mine was only actuated when first influenced by a strong magnetic field (i.e., a sweeper) and then by a weaker one within a certain time span. The Germans countered by preceding their U-boats with two minesweepers or *Sperrbrecher*s (literally, barrage breakers), to which the MX organization in turn responded by setting the counters to allow the pass of two strong minefields before it detonated the mine under a third, weaker, magnetic field. The Germans ultimately

adopted the rather wasteful measure of employing three mine-countermeasures vessels.

The ultimate hurdle for mine countermeasures during the war, the pressure mine, was never mastered satisfactorily. For this reason, both sides hesitated to employ it, for fear that it would be captured and used by the enemy. The Germans waited until June 1944 before desperation drove them to lay that type of mine. When the Allies responded with like devices, the Germans used their Sperrbrecher as expendable decoy ships against the pressure mines. Short of crawling through a minefield at speeds of less than 4 knots, this was the only viable method of countering pressure mines.

Dirk Steffen

See also

Mines, Sea

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Minsk, Battle for (27 June–9 July 1941)

Large German encirclement operation on the Eastern Front. Under Adolf Hitler's Führer Directive 21 for the invasion of the Soviet Union, Operation BARBAROSSA, Army Group Center had responsibility for the destruction of Soviet forces in Belorussia. The Germans considered this an essential prerequisite to subsequent drives on Leningrad and Moscow. Toward that end, when the Germans invaded the Soviet Union on 22 June, Field Marshal Fedor von Bock's Army Group Center was the most powerful of the three German army groups. Bock commanded three field armies, along with two of the four available panzer groups. His southern wing, charged with advancing just north of the Pripet Marshes, consisted of Field Marshal Günther von Kluge's Fourth Army of 21 infantry divisions and Colonel General Heinz Guderian's 2nd Panzer Group of one cavalry, five panzer, and three panzergrenadier divisions. In the north, attacking from East Prussia, Colonel General Adolf Strauss's Ninth Army had 12 infantry divisions and Colonel General Hermann Hoth's 3rd Panzer Group had four panzer and four panzergrenadier divisions. In reserve, Bock had Colonel General Maximilian von Weichs's Second Army. To support his ground effort, Bock could rely on the largest German air fleet on the Eastern Front at the time, Field Marshal Albert Kesselring's 1,000-aircraft Second Luftflotte.

Bock's invading German forces were actually matched in terms of numbers and matériel by the Soviet Western Front, consisting of four armies commanded by Colonel General Dimitry G. Pavlov. Unfortunately for the Soviets, three of these armies—the Third, Fourth, and Tenth—were positioned in the westward-protruding Bialystok salient, which turned into a trap for them. The Soviet Thirteenth Army was more to the east, near Minsk.

Pavlov, however, was handicapped not only by manpower dispositions that had been forced on him but by Defense Commissar Marshal Semen Timoshenko's Directive No. 3 that required all fronts, regardless of circumstance, to take the offensive. In the event of a German invasion, the Northwestern and Western Fronts were to launch coordinated attacks from Kaunas and Grodno, respectively. But the front commanders, despite having two mechanized corps each, were unable to mount a coordinated offensive. Still, General Pavlov appointed Lieutenant General Ivan Boldin to form a "shock group" and attack south of Grodno, near Brest. But Boldin soon found promised support unavailable and a German encirclement of his forces a distinct possibility.

Disgusted with Pavlov, Timoshenko replaced him with Lieutenant General Andrei I. Yeremenko. In the meantime, Timoshenko ordered Pavlov to hold Minsk and the Slutsk Fortified District with the Thirteenth Army and his second-echelon mechanized corps.

Pavlov was then ordered to withdraw his armies from the Bialystok salient, where they were now threatened by Hoth's 3rd Panzer Group sweeping around Minsk from the north through Vilno-Molodechno, while Guderian's 2nd Panzer Group drove around the city from the southwest through Baranovichi. On the night of 25–26 June, Pavlov ordered his four armies to withdraw east, but this plan succeeded no better than his earlier offensive. Hoth had torn a 60-mile gap between the retreating Eleventh Army of the Soviet Northwest Front moving to the northeast and the Third Army of the Western Front retreating southeast by attacking along the frontal boundary. Boldin's force, aiding Major General K. D. Golubev's Tenth Army, pleaded for an air drop of fuel and ammunition. By 26 June, it had withdrawn into thick forest south of Minsk. Pavlov had assigned Fourth Army the task of holding Shchara and defending the Slutsk Fortified District in the southwest, only to discover Slutsk had sent all its weapons to Brest.

The Battle for Minsk was joined by 26 June as Pavlov withdrew with his staff to Moghilev, leaving the weak Thirteenth Army to defend Minsk, even as the inner encirclement progressed as part of the "double battle of Bialystok-Minsk." Slutsk fell to the Germans the next day as the German spearheads raced toward the Berezina River. Pavlov's Third and Tenth Armies were withdrawing toward Minsk, hoping to break the inner encirclement despite having little ammunition, but both were cut off by 28 June, along with Thirteenth

Army. Pavlov's pride, the VI Mechanized Corps—a unit that began the campaign with more than 1,000 tanks—was shattered, its commander killed.

On 29 June, Yeremenko took command from Pavlov, who was sent to Moscow. Meanwhile, Yeremenko lost the race to the Berezina to the German panzers. The savaged Soviet Western Front was scattered over a 200-mile area, as Minsk had fallen on 29 June. By 9 July, German mopping-up operations ended. In the operation, the Germans claimed to have destroyed five Soviet armies and taken nearly 324,000 prisoners, 1,809 guns, and 3,332 tanks.

The Soviets, led by surviving commanders such as Boldin, took advantage of the spring rains and managed to break out about 300,000 men. Although Josef Stalin's inept decisions had contributed greatly to the Soviet military failures to that point, Pavlov was made the scapegoat for the Minsk disaster and shot, along with Fourth Army commander General A. A. Korobkov and XLI Rifle Corps commander General I. S. Kosobutsky, both of whom had managed to escape the German trap. Smolensk was the next German objective.

Claude R. Sasso and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Bock, Fedor von; Guderian, Heinz; Hoth, Hermann; Kesselring, Albert; Kluge, Günther Adolf Ferdinand von; Pavlov, Dimitry Grigorevich; Timoshenko, Semen Konstantinovich; Weichs, zur Glon, Maximilian Maria Joseph von; Yeremenko, Andrei Ivanovich

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Miquelon

See Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, Seizure of.

Mitscher, Marc Andrew (1887–1947)

U.S. Navy admiral and commander of a fast carrier task force in the Pacific. Born on 26 January 1887 in Hillsboro, Wisconsin, Marc Mitscher grew up in Washington, D.C., and entered the U.S. Naval Academy in 1906. On his graduation in 1910, he served with the fleet until 1915, when he seized an opportunity to enter naval aviation, becoming naval aviator number 33.

Mitscher spent much of World War I conducting catapult experiments. In 1919, he participated in the U.S. Navy's



U.S. Admiral Marc A. Mitscher, in a boatswain's chair. (Library of Congress)

first attempted transatlantic flight, although his particular aircraft only reached the Azores. Between the wars, Mitscher remained in aviation through a variety of administrative and operational postings, including stints aboard the carriers *Langley* (1929–1930) and *Saratoga* (1934–1935), as well as with the Bureau of Aeronautics (1930–1933 and 1935–1937).

In 1938, Mitscher was promoted to captain. Three years later, he was the first commanding officer of the carrier *Hornet*, and his ship launched Lieutenant Colonel James H. Doolittle's raid on Tokyo in April 1942. Promoted to rear admiral, Mitscher commanded all air operations in the Solomon Islands in 1943. In 1944, he assumed command of Fast Carrier Task Force 58/38 (38 if William Halsey commanded, 58 for Raymond Spruance). In March 1944, Mitscher was promoted to vice admiral. Excluding a brief rest period from October 1944 to January 1945, he remained with Task Force 58/38 for many of the greatest Pacific battles, including the Marshalls, the Marianas, Leyte Gulf, Iwo Jima, Okinawa, and raids on the Japanese home islands.

In July 1945, Mitscher became deputy chief of naval operations for air. In March 1946, he commanded Eighth Fleet,

then assumed the post of commander in chief, Atlantic Fleet in September. Mitscher died of heart failure in Norfolk, Virginia, on 3 February 1947.

Rodney Madison

See also

Aircraft Carriers; Aircraft, Naval; Doolittle, James Harold "Jimmy"; Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Iwo Jima, Battle for; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; Mariana Islands, Naval Campaign; Marshall Islands, Naval Campaign; Midway, Battle of; Nimitz, Chester William; Okinawa, Invasion of; Philippine Sea, Battle of the; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign; Spruance, Raymond Ames; Tokyo, Bombing of (18 April 1942); Truk; United States, Navy

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Model, Walther (1891–1945)

German field marshal and army group commander involved in many of the major operations in the European Theater. Born in Genthin, Germany, on 24 January 1891, Walther Model joined the army in 1909 and served during World War I, rising to captain. He remained in the Reichswehr after the war, and in 1935, he was appointed head of its Technical Warfare Section.

Promoted to Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general) in March 1938, Model served as chief of staff of IV Corps in the September 1939 invasion of Poland. He was made a Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) in April 1940 and led 3rd Panzer Division in the invasion of France and the Low Countries in May 1940. He next participated in the invasion of the Soviet Union, Operation BARBAROSSA, and was advanced to General der Panzertruppen (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) in October 1941 and given command of XLI Panzer Corps. In January 1942, Model took over Ninth Army; the next month, he was promoted to Generaloberst (U.S. equiv. full general). An aggressive, capable commander and a supporter of Adolf Hitler, Model nonetheless helped convince Hitler to delay plans for Operation CITADEL, leading to the German defeat in the Battle of Kursk.

Model became commander of Army Group North in January 1944 and was promoted to field marshal that March. The same month, he took over an army group in the southern USSR. Again and again, he proved his astonishing talent in defensive warfare, hampering the Soviet advance. Hitler sent his expert in defensive warfare to various places where an Allied breakthrough was imminent. Model became known as "Hitler's Fireman."



German Field Marshal Walther Model. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Transferred to the Western Front in August 1944 as supreme commander, West, Model initially believed he could replicate his successful defensive tactics developed in the east. Enormous Allied superiority, especially in airpower, disabused him of this notion. After only 18 days, he reverted to command of Army Group B only, and in September, he blunted the Allied drive to take Arnhem in Operation MARKET-GARDEN. In December 1944, he was increasingly drawn into planning the Ardennes Offensive (the Battle of the Bulge) under Field Marshal Karl Gerd von Rundstedt, who was pessimistic over the outcome.

In 1945, Model was tasked with defending the Ruhr. He clashed with Hitler when the latter refused to allow him to retreat. He committed suicide on 21 April 1945, in Lintorf near Duisburg, Germany, on the destruction of his encircled army group. Model was one of few German generals who did not hesitate to contest Hitler's orders when he believed them wrong. Preoccupied with the immediate military situation, he was not interested in politics or overall military strategy.

Martin Moll

See also

Antwerp, Battle of; Ardennes Offensive; BARBAROSSA, Operation; Eastern Front; France Campaign; Germany, Collapse of; Kursk, Battle of; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Ruhr Campaign; Scheldt, Battles; West Wall, Advance to the

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Molotov, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich (1890–1986)

Soviet foreign minister from 1939 to 1949. Born Vyacheslav Skriabin in the village of Kukarka, Viatsk Province, Russia, on 9 March 1890, Molotov attended secondary school in Kazan. He became involved in underground revolutionary activities, and in 1906, he joined Vladimir Lenin's Bolshevik faction of the Social Democratic Party. In 1909, he was arrested and exiled. On completion of his sentence in 1911, Molotov moved to Saint Petersburg, where he joined the staff of the Bolshevik journal *Pravda*. While there, he met Josef Stalin, who was one of the editors. By the time of the Bolshevik Revolution in November 1917, Molotov had become one of Stalin's most loyal followers, and as Stalin's star ascended in the 1920s, so did that of Molotov.

In 1926, he became a full member of the Politburo, where he led attacks on Stalin's political adversaries, such as Leon Trotsky. During the 1930s, Molotov faithfully assisted Stalin in carrying out agricultural collectivization and the massive purges of the party and armed forces, for which Stalin rewarded his diligent henchman with a succession of increasingly important positions.

In May 1939, Molotov replaced the internationalist Maksim Litvinov as foreign minister. Although he had no diplomatic experience, his appointment served as a signal that Stalin was seeking to reach accommodation with Nazi Germany. Accordingly, on 23 August 1939, Molotov and German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop signed the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact in Moscow. In November 1940, Molotov went to Berlin to confer with Adolf Hitler about further defining German and Soviet spheres of influence, but the negotiations failed, and Hitler decided to attack the Soviet Union.

When the German invasion commenced on 22 June 1941, it was Molotov, not Stalin, who informed the nation in a radio broadcast; Stalin apparently was incapacitated by shock.



Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov signs the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact in Moscow on 23 August 1939 as German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop and Soviet leader Josef Stalin look on. (Corbis)

During the war, Molotov dealt extensively with the Soviets' western allies, but by the end of the war, his stubborn pursuit of Soviet goals and disagreeable demeanor made him one of the symbols of the emerging Cold War.

After World War II, Molotov went into political eclipse. He stepped down as foreign minister in 1949, and he was expelled from the Communist Party in 1962 following a dispute with Nikita Khrushchev. Rehabilitated in 1984 after spending two decades in political obscurity, Molotov died in Moscow on 8 November 1986.

John M. Jennings

See also

Cold War, Origins and Early Course of; German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact; Ribbentrop, Ulrich Friedrich Willy Joachim von; Stalin, Josef

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Montélimar, Battle of (21–28 August 1944)

Key battle following the Allied invasion of southern France, Operation DRAGOON. The battle around Montélimar saw the heaviest fighting of the northerly advance. DRAGOON, delayed by a shortage of landing craft, began on 15 August 1944. Lieutenant General Jacob Devers commanded 6th Army Group, composed of U.S., French, Canadian, and British troops. Landing initially at Saint-Tropez, the Allies quickly secured the ports of Marseille and Toulon. Having failed to stop the Allies, the Germans made the logical decision to withdraw. On the night of 17 August, the German Armed Forces High Command ordered Generaloberst (U.S. equiv. full general) Johannes Blaskowitz's Army Group G to evacuate southern France. German forces then began to move to the northeast.

To cut off the Germans and capture as many as possible, VI Corps commander Major General Lucian K. Truscott organized a mobile task force under his chief of staff, Brigadier General Frederick B. Butler, on 17 August. Its job was to drive north, link up with the French Resistance, and try to cut off General Friedrich Paul Wiese's retreating German Nineteenth Army. It set out on 18 August. Task Force Butler advanced north along the Rhône River, and on the night of 20 August, Truscott ordered it to move the next morning to the town of Montélimar east of the Rhône, through which Highway 7 and a railroad line ran north. Its task was to set up blocking positions up the Rhône River valley in that vicinity. Truscott guessed correctly that the Germans intended to use the valley as their major escape route north. Major General John E. Dahlquist's 36th Division would then come up in support. Task Force Butler began arriving in the area on 21 August. As most bridges across the Rhône had been destroyed, the Americans hoped to trap General Wend von Wietersheim's 11th Panzer Division at Montélimar.

The eight-day battle there took place beginning on 21 August in a rough quadrilateral area about 15 miles north and 10 miles east of Montélimar. Despite Truscott's repeated orders to move as quickly as possible, the 36th Division was handicapped by an acute shortage of gasoline. The 141st Regiment of the 36th Division did not begin arriving at Montélimar on 23 August. Repulsed by German artillery, it had to settle for securing positions north of the town and east of Highway 7. Dahlquist, meanwhile, believed his men held the town itself and the highway.

Most German units were still south of Montélimar, and by 24 August, the American units had set up blocking positions. The Germans were now forced to find other escape routes east of Montélimar. Three German divisions, the 198th Infantry, 337th Infantry, and 11th Panzer, were ordered to hold off the

36th Division to the south, while opening escape routes north. The Germans captured an American operations order, and on 25 August, the Germans struck at the hinge between the 141st and 142nd Regiments at Bonlieu. After two assaults, they breached the American line there. A substantial numbers of Germans troops and tanks escaped north through this opening toward the Drôme River before it was closed on 27 August. Other German troops managed to push up Highway 7, although they were subject to heavy artillery fire. Still others made their way west across the Rhône bridges, usually at night to avoid American artillery and aircraft strafing attacks. Not until 28 August did the U.S. 141st Regiment finally gain full control of the heights north of Montélimar, allowing the remainder of the 36th Division to enter the town and conduct mopping-up operations.

Although the Americans failed to entrap the Germans, they did inflict losses of 2,000 motor vehicles, 1,000 horses, 5 railroad guns, and 40 other artillery pieces. They also took more than 3,000 prisoners. Unfortunately for the Allies, most of the Germans had escaped north to continue the fight.

Laura J. Hilton and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Devers, Jacob Loucks; DRAGOON, Operation; OVERLORD, Operation; Truscott, Lucian King, Jr.

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Montgomery, Alfred Eugene (1891–1961)

U.S. Navy admiral who commanded carrier divisions in the Pacific Theater. Born in Omaha, Nebraska, on 12 June 1891, Alfred Montgomery was commissioned as a line officer on graduation from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1912. He briefly served aboard cruisers before transferring to submarines and commanded the *F-1*, which was lost in a collision while on maneuvers in December 1917. As a lieutenant commander, Montgomery commissioned and commanded the *R-20* between 1918 and 1920.

Montgomery earned his pilot's wings at Pensacola, Florida, in 1922 and was closely identified thereafter with naval aviation. In the late 1920s, he was the air officer of the aircraft carrier *Langley*, the U.S. Navy's first carrier. A full commander by 1930, he commanded the Seattle Naval Air

Station until 1932. He was executive officer of the carrier *Ranger* in the Pacific from 1934 to 1936 and her captain in the Atlantic from 1940 to 1941. Montgomery remained on board as chief of staff and aide to the commander, aircraft, Atlantic Fleet in 1941 and 1942. In June 1942, as a rear admiral, he took command of the Naval Air Station, Corpus Christi, Texas.

From August 1943, Montgomery commanded Carrier Division 12, and later Carrier Division 3 in the Pacific Theater. He was almost continually engaged in operations until December 1944, commanding task groups that were usually composed of four fast carriers with escorting vessels. He participated in nearly all of the major Pacific engagements of that period, including the major fleet actions in the Battles of the Philippine Sea (June 1944) and Leyte Gulf (October 1944). He gained a reputation as an aggressive, forceful leader.

Rotated back to the United States, Montgomery commanded the air component of the West Coast Fleet (1945) and, as a vice admiral, the Pacific Fleet Air Forces (1945–1946), rising by 1947 to command of the Fifth Fleet and then the First Task Fleet. Reverting to rear admiral, he held commands in Alaska and Bermuda before retiring in June 1951 in the grade of vice admiral, leaving his final assignment as commander of fleet air at Jacksonville, Florida. Montgomery spent his last years in Seattle, Washington, and died at Bremerton, Washington, on 15 December 1961.

Richard G. Stone

See also

Leyte Gulf, Battle of; Philippine Sea, Battle of the

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Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law (First Viscount Montgomery of Alamein) (1887–1976)

British army field marshal who was instrumental in the planning and execution of key engagements in North Africa and Europe. Whether considered a latter-day Marlborough or Wellington or “the most overrated general of World War II,” Bernard Law Montgomery remains the most controversial senior Allied commander of World War II. Montgomery was born in Kennington, London, on 17 November 1887. His father became the Anglican bishop of Tasmania, but the family returned to Britain when Montgomery was 13. He attended Saint Paul’s day school, Hammersmith, and entered the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, in 1907. The next year, Montgomery was commissioned into the Royal Warwickshire Regiment. Montgomery served in India, and in

World War I, he fought on the Western Front and was wounded in the First Battle of Ypres in 1914. He was then posted to a training assignment in England but returned to the front to fight as a major in the 1916 Battle of the Somme. Montgomery ended the war as a division staff officer. Following occupation duty in Germany after the war, he graduated from the Staff College at Camberley in 1921 and returned there as an instructor five years later. In 1929, Montgomery rewrote the infantry training manual. He then served in the Middle East, commanded a regiment, and was chief instructor at the Quetta Staff College from 1934 to 1937. Between 1937 and 1938, he commanded 1st Brigade. He then took charge of the 3rd Infantry Division, which he led in France as part of the British Expeditionary Force after the start of World War II. He distinguished himself in the British retreat to Dunkerque in May and June 1940, and in July, he took charge of V Corps in Britain, protecting the English south coast.

In April 1941, Montgomery assumed command of XII Corps, which held the crucial Kent area in England. Montgomery established himself as a thorough professional soldier and had no time or patience for the amateur traditions observed by many of his colleagues. Playwright George Bernard Shaw called him “that intensely compacted hank of steel wire.” He was also very much the maverick.

Montgomery helped plan the disastrous Dieppe raid of August 1942 but left to command the First Army in the planned Allied invasion of North Africa. On 13 August, following the death of General W. H. E. Gott, he took command of Eighth Army in Egypt, repulsing Field Marshal Erwin Rommel’s attack at Alam Halfa between August and September 1942.

Montgomery rebuilt Eighth Army’s morale. Known for his concern for his men’s welfare, he was also deliberate as a commander. In the Battle of El Alamein in October and November 1942, his superior forces defeated and drove west German and Italian forces under Rommel. His less-than-rapid advance allowed the bulk of the Axis forces to escape. Montgomery was made a full general that November.

Following the Axis surrender in the Battle of Tunis of May 1943, Montgomery played an active role in planning Operation HUSKY, the invasion of Sicily, and he led Eighth Army in the invasions of both Sicily in July and Italy in September. He returned to Britain to assist in planning Operation OVERLORD, the Allied invasion of Normandy, then temporarily commanded its land forces in the landing until General Dwight Eisenhower moved his headquarters to France in September.

Promoted to field marshal in September 1944, Montgomery commanded the British 21st Army Group. He sought to finish the war by the end of the year with a daring invasion of Germany across the Rhine at Arnhem in Operation MARKET-GARDEN, a surprise from the conservative Montgomery. The plan, however, failed that same month. Montgomery’s forces defended the north shoulder in the Ger-



British Army General Bernard L. Montgomery observes his tanks moving forward, November 1942. (National Archives)

man Ardennes Offensive (the Battle of the Bulge) in December. At a later press conference, “Monty” gave the impression that he had saved the day for the Americans in the Ardennes, necessitating a statement by British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill that the battle had basically been an American show. Montgomery then directed the drive into northern Germany.

Following the war, Montgomery commanded British occupation troops in Germany between May 1945 and June 1946. From 1946 to 1948, he was chief of the Imperial General Staff. He next served as chairman of the Western European commanders in chief from 1948 to 1951 and commander of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces in Europe and deputy supreme commander between 1951 and 1958. He retired in September 1958. A prolific writer, he personally drafted his memoirs that same year. Montgomery died at Isington Mill, Hampshire, England, on 24 March 1976.

Colin F. Baxter and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Alam Halfa, Battle of; Ardennes Offensive; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Dieppe Raid; El Alamein, Battle of; Gott, William Henry Ewart “Strafer”; Italy Campaign; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Sicily, Invasion of; Tunis, Battle of

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Moreell, Ben (1892–1978)

U.S. Navy admiral who oversaw the construction of military facilities across the globe before and during the war years.

Born on 14 September 1892 in Salt Lake City, Utah, Ben Moreell was raised in St. Louis, Missouri. After graduating from Washington University with a degree in civil engineering and four years with the Engineering Department of the city of St. Louis, Moreell was commissioned a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Civil Engineer Corps (CEC) of the U.S. Navy in 1917. He spent World War I in the Azores.

After the war, Moreell remained with the navy. He then served at bases in the United States and in Haiti. From 1926 to 1930, he was with the Bureau of Yards and Docks. After a period in France studying European engineering techniques at the *École Nationale des Ponts et Chaussées*, Moreell returned to the bureau. In 1937, President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks and chief of the Civil Engineers of the U.S. Navy, as a rear admiral.

In his new position, Moreell oversaw the construction of U.S. bases around the world. To build the infrastructure required by the navy during the war, he spent \$9.25 billion. By the time the United States entered the war, Moreell had 70,000 men engaged in construction projects worldwide. All bases were built by private firms employing civilian laborers, and wherever possible, Moreell worked on a cost-plus-fixed-fee contract basis rather than cost-plus-percentage contract basis. Worried that construction would stop in the event of war because civilians were prohibited by international law from carrying weapons, Moreell recommended the creation of a militarized construction battalion.

Following the U.S. entry into the war and the capture of U.S. construction workers by the Japanese, Moreell received authorization from the Bureau of Navigation on 5 January 1942 to recruit a naval construction regiment, composed of three battalions. Taking their name from the initials for "construction battalions," the Seabees greatly aided the naval war effort by building air bases, docks, roads, bridges, and other facilities around the world. During the war, the Seabees constructed 40 domestic bases and 600 advanced bases in the Pacific and Atlantic. The Seabees' contribution was honored in Moreell's 1945 Distinguished Service Medal citation: "Displaying great originality and exceptional capacity for bold innovation . . . to the end that the Fleet received support in degree and kind unprecedented in the history of naval warfare."

Moreell advanced to the rank of vice admiral in February 1944, the first CEC officer to hold that rank, and was made an admiral in June 1946. He retired from active duty that September and then headed a number of construction and steel businesses. Moreell died in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on 30 July 1978.

Pamela Feltus

See also

Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Seabees; United States, Navy

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Morgenthau, Henry, Jr. (1891–1967)

U.S. secretary of the treasury and friend and adviser to President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Born in New York City on 11 May 1891, the son of a prominent and politically active Jewish real estate speculator whom President Woodrow Wilson appointed as the U.S. ambassador to Turkey, Henry Morgenthau chose to become a gentleman farmer on an estate in Dutchess County, New York. There, a neighbor, the rising young Democratic politician Franklin Roosevelt, soon became his close friend and political adviser. From 1929 to 1932, when Roosevelt was governor of New York State, Morgenthau was his commissioner of conservation.

In 1933, Roosevelt became president of the United States and appointed Morgenthau to head the Farm Credit Association. A year later, Morgenthau became secretary of the treasury, a position he retained until Roosevelt's death in April 1945, serving as one of the president's most trusted advisers on both domestic and international affairs.

An early and tenacious opponent of fascism, Morgenthau argued from the mid-1930s that the United States could not remain aloof from international affairs, and he urged forceful U.S. action in both Europe and Asia. He supported economic sanctions against aggressor nations, and in 1937, he prevailed on Roosevelt to assist China financially against Japan. In 1941, when Japan occupied bases in southern French Indochina, Morgenthau advocated a complete American economic embargo of Japan. He likewise urged the imposition of economic sanctions on Germany, and following the September 1938 Munich crisis, he even suggested that Roosevelt launch an American "defensive war" against Adolf Hitler's Germany. Understandably, Morgenthau was also a leading advocate of massive increases in U.S. defense spending.

Almost a year before Pearl Harbor, the Treasury Department was heavily involved in developing the Lend-Lease program of military assistance to Great Britain and other nations, which had been passed by Congress in spring 1941. Morgenthau successfully financed the extremely costly U.S. war effort while keeping inflation and interest rates low. Under his direction, well-organized campaigns persuaded the American public to purchase over \$12.9 billion in war bonds.

Morgenthau headed the U.S. delegation to the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference, where proposals were drafted for two

financial institutions to fund postwar reconstruction—the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. He also strongly supported the creation of the United Nations, an agency he anticipated would enable rich states to facilitate development in poorer nations.

In early 1944, Morgenthau complained to Roosevelt of the State Department's disinterest in assisting Jewish Holocaust survivors in Europe, impelling Roosevelt to create the War Refugee Board. Later that year, hoping to destroy defeated Germany's future war-making potential, Morgenthau drafted a harsh proposal to divide that country into separate states and dismantle its industrial capacity. At the September 1944 Quebec Conference, he initially persuaded Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill to accept this plan, a decision State and War Department officials subsequently succeeded in reversing.

After Roosevelt's death in April 1945, Morgenthau's influence quickly declined. Three months later, he resigned and returned to his farm. For the next decade, he energetically chaired Jewish philanthropic organizations, raising funds for Israel. Morgenthau died at Poughkeepsie, New York, on 6 February 1967.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Lend-Lease; Quebec Conference (12–16 September 1944); Roosevelt, Franklin D.; United Nations, Formation of

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Mortars

The mortar began as a short, high-angle-fire weapon used in siege warfare. During World War I, it was well adapted to static trench warfare, and all participants had some version of the weapon. Mortars were the ideal infantry weapon, and their plunging fire rendered them most effective in trench warfare. Proper trench mortars, for which the two chief criteria were ease of use and portability, appeared in 1915. World War I mortars ranged in size from light 7.62 cm trench



U.S. Army private fires a 4.2 inch mortar at Forbach, France during the drive for the Saar. (Bettmann/Corbis)

mortars firing a 9 lb projectile to heavy and difficult to move 340 mm mortars firing a projectile weighing 430 lbs. As infantry artillery, mortars could provide dedicated barrages for companies and battalions without recourse to true artillery units. Most mortar crews were infantrymen who were trained to use the weapon and were part of their unit. This meant that each unit within its parent could call for fire support when it was needed.

The mortar developed from the heavy trench mortar of World War I into the Brandt- and Stokes-type mortars of the 1930s. The latter were battlefield weapons that could be carried by a man and could deliver an effective shell without the time delay of conventional artillery. Set up and firing was a quick process, and in view of the relatively short range of mortars, fire control and correction were easy, even for front-line infantry.

The mortar, in comparison with artillery, has the benefit of simplicity, and it is cheaper to manufacture than a gun or howitzer. As with the howitzer, it has a high angle of fire. Its shell has excellent antipersonnel characteristics. As it descends from the near vertical, the shell, when detonated, produces a 360-degree blast and shrapnel effect, unlike the less effective low-angle gun shell. The mortar also can be used

Table 1
Mortar Statistics

	<i>United Kingdom</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>USSR</i>	<i>Japan</i>	<i>Italy</i>
Light mortars						
Caliber	2 inch	5 cm	60 mm	50 mm	50 mm	45 mm
Shell weight (in pounds)	2.25	1.98	3–4	1.9	1.75	1.025
Range, maximum (in yards)	500	550	2,000	800	700	585
Medium mortars						
Caliber	3 inch	8 cm	81 mm	82 mm	80 mm	81 mm
Shell weight (in pounds)	10	7.72	7–15	6.72	7.4	6.9
Range, maximum (in yards)	2,800	2,625	3,290	3,400	3,100	4,430

to overcome obstacles to direct fire, such as buildings, trenches, and hills. Lighter mortars are mobile, especially in terrain into which guns have difficulty penetrating, such as mountainous and wooded ground.

Technically, unlike the gun, the mortar has a low chamber pressure and a smooth barrel, factors that reduce wear on the barrel and thus prolong the effective accuracy and life of the weapon. As a tactical weapon, it is easy to conceal, and it can be fired from a trench, making it possible, although never really desirable, to have mortars in the front line.

In World War II, participants used light and medium mortars at the beginning, with much heavier mortars appearing later, particularly on the Eastern Front in the Soviet Union (see Table 1). Light mortars, of approximately 5 cm or 2-inch caliber, were used by, among others, the Germans, British, Japanese, and Americans. They were issued at the platoon level, the idea being to provide every platoon with a short-range weapon for immediate support. The mortar proved of some value for laying a small smoke screen, but it was soon realized that the high-explosive content of the shell was too small to be effective. The illumination shell, however, proved to be of great value at night, enabling a platoon to light up its front in an instant.

The Germans developed their World War I mortars along the lines of both the Brandt and the Stokes patterns to produce the 8 cm Granatwerfer 34, which was issued to all German army battalions in the support or heavy weapon companies that also controlled the heavy machine guns. The German employment of mortars in World War II was closely linked to their use of machine guns in both attack and defense, and their medium mortar teams gained a solid reputation for their work in supporting their infantry.

The Germans, however, regarded the Soviets as the masters of the mortar. The Soviets issued a series of 5 cm mortars, but these were overshadowed by their larger-caliber weapons. The 82 mm mortar Type M36 (and later, its successors) was the main infantry mortar, and although it fired only a 6.7 lb bomb, the number of mortars available in the Soviet battalion was so high that the effect on the Germans was often catastrophic.

The Soviets had a great liking for the mortar, and they began to bring in heavy mortars, increasing in caliber to 160 mm. These large-caliber weapons did not so much outrange their smaller brethren as outweigh them in the amount of explosive they could drop onto a target. Whereas the 82 mm shell weighed less than 6.71 lbs, the 160 mm shell weighed 89.7 lbs. Explosive fillers were 4.5 and 62 lbs, respectively, which meant that the explosive content of the latter was 14 times that of the former.

The Western Allies generally stuck to the 3-inch or 80 mm mortar during World War II because Allied artillery and air support meant that they did not have to develop new, light-weight methods of delivering shell on the battlefield. For the Germans, however, rocket-propelled shell, such as the 28/320 mm Schweres Wurfgerät 40 and 41 and the 180 mm Raketengranate 4331, meant easier, quicker, and cheaper shell manufacture and the means to deliver high weights of shell at less cost in money and in time on the battlefield.

Although strictly speaking not mortars, the Soviet Katyusha, or “Stalin Organ,” rocket weapons caused the Germans to look carefully at small rocket-propelled shells. They already had the multibarreled Minenwerfer weapons, and soon, they dispensed even with barrels for firing these projectiles. The 28 cm and 32 cm Nebelwerfer 41 shells and many similar projectiles were

fired from their packing cases. The shells' weight was such that they did not need sophisticated sighting systems, just an area to be hit. These latter-day mortars proved effective in battle, and they were the forerunners of today's Multiple Launch Rocket Systems (MLRS).

Development of the mortar in World War II followed two diverse paths. The first was the Allied weapons, where range, bomb, and accuracy improvements were seen as most important. These developments led to rifled-barrel mortars, proximity-fused and rod-detonated shells, and sighting systems nearly as complex as artillery gunsights. The conflict on the Eastern Front, however, led to greatly increased calibers and multibarreled mortars, essential against large masses of attacking infantry.

David Westwood

See also

Artillery Doctrine; Artillery Types

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Moscow, Battle of (30 September 1941-April 1942)

Second major German offensive to seize the Soviet capital following the initial efforts of Operation BARBAROSSA. After phase one successes in Operation BARBAROSSA during June and July 1941, the Wehrmacht appeared to have unimpeded routes to Leningrad, Moscow, and Kiev. However, phase two proved more difficult for several reasons. Soviet defenses were stiffening after the initial shock of the invasion, and an additional 5 million men in the reserve forces were mobilized and thrown into battle. Also, German leader Adolf Hitler and his generals debated what course of action was best for phase two. The generals considered Moscow the main objective because it was a vital communication and industrial center and the Soviet capital and because a battle for it offered the best chance of destroying the Red Army and ending the campaign. Hitler, however, initially thought taking Leningrad and linking up with the Finns should have priority in order to secure the Baltic completely. By mid-August, Hitler changed his mind and focused the main effort on gaining the resources of the Ukraine and Caucasus, relegating both Leningrad and Moscow to secondary status. He even reinforced his Army Group South, stripping panzer forces from the other two army groups.

Phase two finally began with an assault on Kiev, which fell to the Germans on 19 September and netted 650,000 prison-

ers. Then, fall rain and mud slowed the German advance in the south. Progress toward Leningrad also ground to a halt, partly because of increased resistance but also because Hitler conceived a new plan. In that plan, which he directed on 6 September, Leningrad was to be encircled, put under siege, and starved into submission, and the Crimea, the Donets Basin, and the Caucasus were to be taken for the coal and oil resources that would fall to German use. The encirclement and capture of Moscow received highest priority, panzer forces previously transferred to the other army groups were now returned to Army Group Center, and operations began on 30 September. Commencement of the new plan, Operation TAIFUN (TYPHOON) effectively brought to an end Operation BARBAROSSA.

The battle for Moscow breaks generally into three phases: the first German offensive encompassed the period from 30 September to nearly the end of October; the second German offensive took place between 17 November and 5 December; and the Soviet counteroffensive lasted from 6 December to spring 1942. General Heinz Guderian's 2nd Panzer Group of Army Group Center spearheaded the offensive. It took Orel on 3 October and 17 days later captured 665,000 Soviet prisoners around Vyazma and Bryansk. On 6 October, the Germans broke through the Rzhev-Vyazma Line and advanced toward the Mozhaisk Line, an improvised line of fortifications thrown up by the Soviets 50 miles west of Moscow during summer 1941. The Germans bypassed the Mozhaisk Line on the south and captured Kaluga on 12 October and Kalinin two days later. On 18 October, the Soviets abandoned Mozhaisk itself after heavy fighting.

Also on 6 October, the *rasputitsa* (literally, time without roads, caused by the fall and spring rain and mud in the USSR) began with the first wet snow, and alternating rain and snow fell almost continuously. At the same time, reinforcements from the Far East Command were on their way to the Moscow Front. These troops had been freed when the Japan-based Soviet spy Richard Sorge assured Josef Stalin that the Japanese would honor their nonaggression pact. On 10 October, Marshal Georgii Zhukov, pulled from commanding the defense of Leningrad where he had been sent only weeks before, took command of Moscow's defense. With the help of the weather and with the defenders' backs pressed against the capital, Soviet resistance solidified as the Germans advanced. For the first time in the war, the Soviets were able to confront the Germans head on and force them to fight for every mile.

On 15 October, with the Germans driving to within 50 miles of the capital, the Soviet government and diplomatic community were evacuated from Moscow to Kuibyshev on the Volga. This caused a panic among the Muscovites the next day; they believed they had been abandoned. The announcement on 17 October that Stalin was in the Kremlin, where he remained throughout the war, returned the city to relative

calm. On 20 October, the State Defense Council declared the capital under a state of siege in order to deal swiftly with any other acts of civil disorder.

By 18 October, local Soviet counterattacks and the weather slowed the German advance, and between then and the beginning of November, the Germans made very little progress. It was in this context that, on 7 November, ceremonies commemorating the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution were held in Red Square and Stalin made his “Holy Russia” speech, seeking to mobilize resistance to the invaders. The German failure to capture Moscow with the October offensive raised Soviet civilian and military morale and gave the Soviet High Command time to assemble large strategic reserves to the east. However, at the beginning of November, everything pointed to the Germans’ preparation for another all-out attack.

The first major blow fell on 16 November in the Kalinin-Volokolamsk sector, and in two days, the Germans entered Klin, north of Moscow, and Istr, only 15 miles west—the closest the Germans were able to get to Moscow in force. To the south, Tula, which had been connected to Moscow by a narrow bottleneck, was encircled on 3 December for a short time, but the Soviets counterattacked and quickly reopened the Moscow highway. On 4 December, temperatures fell to well below freezing and remained there, stalling the German offensive.

On 6 December, the Soviets launched their winter counteroffensive along the Moscow Front from Kalinin in the north to Yelets in the south. By 1 December, 70 Soviet Far East divisions and another 27 from Central Asia had been transferred to the west. Approximately 20 of these entered the fight around Moscow in December. Although the German offensive, after heavy fighting in December and the first half of January, made fairly good progress in the northern and southern flanks of the front, the advance due west of Moscow was much less successful. The Soviets’ plan had been to encircle the Germans west of the capital, but Hitler had purged some of his generals in Army Group Center and had taken supreme command himself and ordered a stiffening of the defense east of the Rzhev-Vyazma-Gzhatsk-Yukhnovo Line. By the end of January 1942, the Red Army counteroffensive came to a virtual standstill. Fierce combat in the Moscow area continued from January until the end of April 1942, by which point the German army had been driven back up to 160 miles from the Soviet capital.

The German failure to take Moscow within six months of its invasion of the Soviet Union was as important symbolically as militarily. It demonstrated both the Soviet determination and ability to defend the capital city and the inability of Hitler to conquer the Soviet Union as he had western Europe. Apart from being a substantial propaganda blow to

Germany, the Battle of Moscow proved there were definite limits to German military power and marked the end of the German blitzkrieg on the Eastern Front.

Arthur T. Frame

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Eastern Front; Guderian, Heinz; Sorge, Richard; Stalin, Josef; Vyazma-Bryansk, Battles for; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Moscow Conference (19–30 October 1943)

First meeting of the “Big Three” Allied foreign ministers, yielding the Four-Power Declaration. U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt prodded Soviet leader Josef Stalin in 1943 for a meeting of the Allied heads of state, and the Soviet leader reluctantly agreed but suggested their foreign ministers get together in advance. Hoping to enlist the Soviets in the general American plans for postwar cooperation, 72-year-old U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull flew to Moscow, enduring his first airplane trip. Hull understood that Roosevelt intended to resolve the thorniest questions with Stalin at their subsequent meeting. British Foreign Minister Anthony Eden generally favored broad American internationalist ideas but more correctly also hoped to forestall Soviet expansionism and protect the interests of the exiled Polish government in London, recently infuriated by stories of mass Soviet executions of Polish military officers in the Katyń Forest.

Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov chaired the 12-day meeting in the old Spiridonovka Palace, intent on burnishing the image of Allied cooperation, securing firmer assurances regarding the timing of Operation OVERLORD, and asserting the Soviet Union’s right to play some role in Italy. (Moscow had loudly complained the Anglo Americans had made a separate peace after Benito Mussolini’s collapse.) Hull and Eden affirmed that OVERLORD, the invasion of northern France, would commence in the spring of 1944, though Eden shared British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill’s nagging hints of possible modest delays.

Hull's crowning achievement was the acceptance of the statement of general principles regarding postwar cooperation and creation of the United Nations. For Hull, it was particularly important that the Soviets and British accept the Chinese among the signatories, thereby acknowledging China's status as a major power—one of the “Four Policemen,” in Roosevelt's view. The Soviets agreed to the declaration but only after revising it so as to retain greater freedom in how they might use military or political forces in eastern Europe after the war. Perhaps naively, Hull and Roosevelt thought Moscow's commitment to the general principles of cooperation, embodied in the United Nations, outweighed resolving any specific problems at that stage. Conversely, Eden sought a self-denying pledge from the Soviets regarding future conduct along their western borders, and he suggested a statement affirming nations' rights to self-determination, similar to the Declaration for Liberated Europe that emerged from the Yalta Conference some 15 months later. But, receiving little support from Hull, Eden failed to budge the Soviets, who would go no further than stating their desire to see an independent Poland—but one favorably disposed toward Moscow.

The conferees set up two joint commissions to address postsurrender issues in Italy and the rest of Europe and proclaimed their intent to punish Nazi war criminals. Having agreed on some general principles and set the stage for later, more substantive discussions, the diplomats concluded their work on 30 October. At the closing banquet, Stalin unambiguously volunteered to join the war against Japan after Hitler was defeated. Hull left feeling tremendously pleased by this and by Soviet support for the United Nations. Roosevelt pronounced the spirit of the conference to have been “amazingly good,” but Eden and new U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union Averell Harriman, among others, were already worried about Soviet intentions in eastern Europe.

Mark F. Wilkinson

See also

Cairo Conference; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Cold War, Origins and Early Course of; Eden, Sir Robert Anthony; Harriman, William Averell; Hull, Cordell; Katyń Forest Massacre; Molotov, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich; OVERLORD, Operation; Poland, Role in the War; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stalin, Josef; Tehran Conference; Yalta Conference

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Moulin, Jean (1899–1943)

French Resistance leader. Born in Béziers (Hérault), France, on 20 June 1899, Jean Moulin was educated as a lawyer. A promising young politician, Moulin was France's youngest prefect in 1940, in charge of the Department of Eure-et-Loire, which includes the city of Chartres. After the armistice, he refused a German order to sign a document falsely accusing Senegalese troops of atrocities. Imprisoned and tortured, Moulin tried to commit suicide.

Ordered by the Germans to remove several leftist mayors in his department, Moulin instead fled France and arrived in London in October 1941, where he became connected with several key resistance groups, most notably those with leftist inclinations. The leader of the Free French, General Charles de Gaulle, soon recognized Moulin's value. At de Gaulle's urging, Moulin parachuted with two assistants into southern France in January 1942, with instructions to unite the fractured resistance groups.



French Resistance leader Jean Moulin. (Photo by Hulton Archives/Getty Images)

In early 1943, Moulin established the *Mouvements Unis de la Résistance* (MUR, meaning “wall” in French), an umbrella organization for resistance groups in the south. Moulin returned briefly to Britain to arrange with the Special Operations Executive (SOE) for air drops of arms, radios, and propaganda material. Back in France in May, Moulin presided over the first meeting of the *Conseil National de la Résistance* (CNR) in Paris on 27 May; of the meeting brought together resistance groups from all regions and ideological perspectives, including the anti-Gaullist communists.

Shortly after the founding of the CNR, Moulin was betrayed by an informer and was arrested by the Gestapo in a suburb of Lyon on 21 June. Aware that he had vast knowledge of all resistance cells in France, the Gestapo chief in Lyon, Klaus Barbie, personally oversaw extensive torturing. Moulin refused to talk despite five days of torture. He died on a train on 8 July 1943, probably at Metz, while being transported to Germany. The charismatic Moulin is regarded as the greatest hero and martyr of the French Resistance, who prevented the various groups from engaging in internecine warfare (although after his death, the anti-de Gaulle and pro-de Gaulle factions drifted apart). Today, the Gestapo headquarters in Lyon where he was tortured is a museum of the French Resistance. In 1964, his remains were reinterred in the Pantheon in Paris.

Michael S. Neiberg

See also

de Gaulle, Charles; Maquis; Resistance; Special Operations Executive

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Mountbatten, Louis Francis Albert Victor Nicholas (First Earl Mountbatten of Burma) (1900–1979)

British navy admiral who became supreme commander of the South-East Asia Command (SEAC) in 1943. Born at Frogmore House on the grounds of Windsor Castle on 25 June 1900, “Dicky” Mountbatten was the second son of Admiral of the Fleet Prince Louis of Battenberg (the family adopted the less Germanic name of Mountbatten in 1917). Educated at the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, and Cambridge University, Mountbatten then accompanied his cousin Edward, the

prince of Wales and future King Edward VIII, on a tour of the Far East.

Mountbatten entered the Royal Navy in 1916 during World War I and served in the Grand Fleet. He rose rapidly in the ranks, gaining expertise in communications. His first command was the destroyer *Daring* in 1934, and he was promoted to captain in 1937. In June 1939, he took command of the destroyer *Kelly*, and in September, he was appointed captain of 5th Destroyer Flotilla. The *Kelly* was mined once, torpedoed twice, and finally sunk off Crete on 23 May 1941. The exploits of the *Kelly* were the subject of Noël Coward's 1942 film *In Which We Serve*, which Mountbatten promoted.

Mountbatten's exploits, dash, and popularity brought him to the attention of Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, who selected him to be director of Combined Operations, with the rank of vice admiral. While he was director, several important raids were conducted, most notably against the French seaport of Dieppe on 19 August 1942. This operation was a costly failure, and Mountbatten bears much responsibility for this. The reverse did not affect his popularity, however, and it did provide lessons for future amphibious operations, particularly the Normandy Invasion of June 1944.

In August 1943, Churchill convinced President Franklin D. Roosevelt to make Mountbatten supreme commander of SEAC. He took up his post in October, first at Delhi in India and later at Kandy in Ceylon. Mountbatten was present at the summit conferences at Cairo in December 1943 and Potsdam in July 1945. As SEAC commander, he made a number of important decisions, including the decision to continue fighting during the monsoon season, which resulted in the defeat of the Japanese Fifteenth Army. He took steps to reduce malaria, and he restored Allied morale. He also played a key role in the defense of Imphal by diverting air assets there. Mountbatten personally took the Japanese surrender at Singapore on 12 September 1945. The British government did not wish to inflame nationalist sentiment in Burma. As the war ended, Mountbatten therefore ordered that Burmese who had at some point collaborated with the Japanese occupation should not suffer reprisals unless they had been personally involved in atrocities. Mountbatten remained at his post until May 1946.

Appointed the last viceroy and first governor-general of India, Mountbatten presided over the independence and division of India into the two states of India and Pakistan. He received an earldom in 1947. Mountbatten was first sea lord between 1955 and 1959, helping to carry out a restructuring of the British armed forces. He then became chief of the Defence Staff in 1960, retiring five years later. On 27 August 1979, Mountbatten was assassinated by the Irish Republican Army while at his vacation home, County Sligo, in the Republic of Ireland.

Eugene L. Rasor



British Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, commander of the South-East Asia Command, reads a dispatch at Gatow Airport in Berlin, Germany, before the Potsdam Conference, 24 July 1945. (Harry S. Truman Library (NLHST)/National Archives)

See also

Burma Theater; Cairo Conference; China-Burma-India Theater; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Crete, Naval Operation off; Dieppe Raid; Great Britain, Navy; Imphal and Kohima, Sieges of; India

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Mulberries (Artificial Harbors)

Artificial harbors constructed to support the Allied invasion of France in June 1944. Early invasion planning for the Allied assault on occupied Europe quickly revealed the need for securing a major port to support the invasion forces and ensure the operation's success. The Dieppe raid of 19 August 1942 by British and Canadian forces demonstrated to the Allied planners that ports were too difficult to assault directly. It also validated fears that German defenders would be able to destroy vital facilities before a port could be captured.

If the Allies could not capture a major port, they would have to build their own. The British War Office began the planning



Supplies being unloaded at the U.S. Mulberry at Omaha Beach off Celleville, France. (Bettmann/Corbis)

and construction of two artificial anchorages and ports to support the upcoming Allied invasion of France. The Combined Chiefs of Staff officially approved the artificial port concept at Quebec in August 1943. The project was code-named **MULBERRY**. The Allies would fabricate the two artificial ports in England, tow them across the English Channel, and establish them off the French coast. Mulberry A would support the American invasion beaches, and Mulberry B would support the British beaches.

The prefabricated ports incorporated numerous components that had code names of their own. The first step in the process involved the creation of artificial anchorages known as **Gooseberries**. Engineers accomplished this feat by positioning and sinking a number of blockships on D day, 6 June 1944, to create artificial anchorages. Five such anchorages were created, two off Omaha Beach for the Americans and three off the British and Canadian beaches. The ships utilized were obsolete American, British, Dutch, and French warships and merchant vessels.

Two of the anchorages served as the foundation for the two Mulberries. The outermost breakwater consisted of bombardons, large floating constructions that were 200 feet in length, 25 feet across, and weighed 1,500 tons. These were located approximately 5,000 feet out from the high-water line. They enclosed an outer harbor, and 1,000 to 1,500 yards closer to shore, a row of sunken ships known as **Corncocks** and large concrete caissons known as **Phoenixes** created another breakwater to shelter the inner harbor. The floating and sunken breakwaters protected a series of piers, pier heads, and moorings for large vessels, such as Liberty ships, and smaller landing craft.

Plans called for Mulberry A to have three pier heads, two pontoon causeways, and moorings for seven Liberty ships and five large and seven medium coasters. It was to have a capacity of 5,000 tons of cargo and 1,400 vehicles per day. Construction began on 7 June 1944, with a planned completion date of 24 June. Construction proceeded rapidly. On 10 June,

the engineers completed the Omaha Gooseberry, followed on 13 June by the Utah Gooseberry. On 16 June, the first landing ship, tank (LST) pier went into operation at Omaha, with one vehicle landing every 1.6 minutes. By midnight on 17 June, U.S. Navy engineers working on Mulberry A had placed all 24 bombardons and 32 of 52 Phoenixes, along with mooring facilities for two Liberty ships. They also had completed the western LST pier, with work on the eastern pier under way.

As that work progressed, construction on pontoon causeways at both beaches continued. The first and second pontoon causeway at Omaha entered service on 10 and 20 June, respectively. At Utah, the first opened on 13 June and a second on 16 June. The initial concept of the artificial port appeared to be proving its worth. Work on the British Mulberry B proceeded at a similar pace.

Unfortunately for the Allies, the worst Channel storm in a half century hit the Normandy coast on 18 June, halting all landing operations for three days and, more important, destroying Mulberry A and forcing the Americans to abandon the artificial port. The destruction of Mulberry A made the capture of the port of Cherbourg all the more important. Further, as feared, the German defenders put up a stiff resistance, and the port did not fall until 27 June and only after it had been effectively destroyed. The first Allied cargo did not arrive through Cherbourg until 16 July and even then only in small amounts. By the end of July, cargo arriving in Cherbourg constituted only 25 percent of the total arriving over the beaches at Omaha and Utah.

The great storm also seriously damaged Mulberry B off the British beaches, but it could be repaired. General Dwight D. Eisenhower, commander of the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF), ordered that Mulberry A not be rebuilt and that parts from it be used to complete Mulberry B to the original specifications. When completed, Mulberry B became known as the Harbor at Arromanches. By October, the port enclosed 2 square miles of water and could berth 7 Liberty ships and 23 coasters at the same time. Intended only for use until French ports were repaired and put back into operation, the artificial harbor remained in service until closed on 19 November. By the end of December, disassembly had begun.

While the contribution of the Mulberries did not meet preinvasion expectations due to the destruction by the storm, the artificial harbors proved invaluable in the Allied supply effort. Fortunately for the Allies, DUKW amphibious trucks and LSTs proved more effective in moving supplies over the beaches than expected and were able to compensate for the shortfalls from the Mulberries. The combination of tonnage delivered over the beaches, through the Mulberries and through captured French ports, enabled Operation OVERLORD to succeed, leading to the victory in France. The Mulberries were an engineering marvel that further demonstrated the

Allied technical expertise and ability to turn resources into military power.

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See also

Amphibious Warfare; Dieppe Raid; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Liberty Ships; Logistics, Allied; Normandy Invasion and Campaign

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Munich Conference and Preliminaries (1938)

International conference at which the major powers agreed to the territorial dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, yielding the Sudetenland to Adolf Hitler. Hitler's expansion of power both domestically and internationally in the late 1930s was predicated on a mixture of belligerence, bluff, bullying, and inspired political insight. His theme of incorporating all Germans into Germany allowed him to move east, where he astutely believed that the Western democracies would not make a stand. In March 1938, he assimilated Austria, but he claimed to have no interest in Czechoslovakia at that time. This situation did not sit well with the largely German population of the Sudetenland, in western Bohemia.

The Czech government in Prague was not particularly concerned. Unlike Austria, the Czechs had strong military and defensive alliances with France and the Soviet Union. The Sudetenland was an industrial area and hurt by the world economic depression, which only worsened discontent created by the sense that the Czech government discriminated against its German citizens. A Nazi movement emerged in the Sudetenland, and its leader, Konrad Henlein, met with Hitler in late March 1938 and called for immediate justice for his people. The Führer, well aware of Czech advantages, preferred what he called a more "evolutionary" arrangement.

Nonetheless, only a month later, Henlein made a speech at Karlsbad demanding autonomy and other concessions for the Sudetenland. Disturbances and clashes between German Czechs and the police followed. The French government openly said that France would fight if Germany intervened. British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain had previously warned that such a conflict would draw in other nations. Chamberlain did not, however, believe that the Czech situation justified war.



Benito Mussolini (*left*) and Rudolf Hess (*right*) arrive at the Führerhaus for the Munich conference, September 1938. (Library of Congress)

He questioned the viability of an artificial multinational state created only as a consequence of World War I. He convinced French Premier Édouard Daladier to join in pressing Prague to make a deal, while at the same time hinting to Berlin that intervention could lead to war.

Czech President Eduard Beneš offered a conciliatory approach to meeting the Sudeten German demands, and on 18 May, there were talks between representatives of the Sudeten Germans and the Czech government. The next day, however, reports of German troop movements caused widespread confusion. Over the next few days, Prague ordered partial mobilization, Sudeten Germans clashed with police, and France and Britain warned Germany about intervention. Hitler, outraged by press implications that he had been forced to back down, told German military leaders on 28 May that he would finish with the Czechs by 1 October.

With tension growing, French Foreign Minister Georges Bonnet told Chamberlain that he was prepared to force concessions from Prague, although officially, France stood by its commitments to defend Czechoslovakia. For his part, Chamberlain was more than ever determined to avoid war, though he remained committed to supporting France. Chamberlain then received Czech permission to send Lord Runciman as mediator, while continuing to warn Hitler of the threat of war. Runciman had about six weeks until Nazi Party meetings in the second week of September, where Hitler was expected to publicly demand concessions. Bonnet assured Chamberlain that if Runciman's efforts led to a British proposal, Paris would support it, and Prague could go along or stand alone. On 4 September, Runciman informed Beneš that the Czechs would have to accept Henlein's Karlsbad points, and two days later, Beneš yielded. Then talks broke down because of reports that Czech police had abused a Sudeten official.

On 12 September, Hitler spoke in Nuremberg, demanding redress for the Sudetenland but suggesting no specific remedy. Riots followed immediately thereafter in the Sudetenland, raising the specter of insurrection, which the Germans had long said would provoke their intervention.

On 13 September, Chamberlain requested a meeting with Hitler, which took place three days later at Berchtesgaden; Chamberlain made his first flight in an aircraft to attend. Hitler posed as a moderate, calling only for self-determination for the Sudeten Germans. Although he could secure no specifics, Chamberlain decided that annexation of areas with populations that were 50 percent or more German would satisfy the Führer. Hitler then agreed not to act unless there was a major incident, and Chamberlain returned to London to consult colleagues and allies. Once the French agreed to the 50 percent plan, Beneš was told to accept it or face German invasion.

On 22 September, Chamberlain again met Hitler, this time at Godesberg, only to find that the Führer now had upped the ante. He had a map showing areas Germany would occupy by

1 October, and he demanded that all Czech officials be withdrawn from them by that date and that all military, economic, or traffic establishments be removed. The Sudeten Free Corps was already occupying towns. Chamberlain then balked, asserting that this was neither self-determination nor what had been agreed on. London and Paris reluctantly decided to withdraw their advice to Prague not to mobilize, and the Godesberg Conference ended on 24 September. War seemed inevitable.

Over the next few days, the British and French looked for a solution. Although they continued to warn Hitler in rather vague terms, they also made clear to Beneš that the only way to avoid a German attack was to accept the German demands. Hitler continued to insist on concessions. It thus appeared that he might have to carry out his threat to use force and that a general European war might result.

U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt then made a direct appeal to Hitler, urging an international conference. On 28 September, Italian dictator Benito Mussolini talked to Hitler and secured his agreement for such a meeting. Perhaps Hitler's acceptance was prompted, in part, by the unenthusiastic reception Berliners accorded to a German motorized division moving through Berlin on 27 September, which left the German leader in a rage.

Chamberlain, Daladier, and Mussolini met with Hitler in Munich on 29 September. The USSR was not invited, and Czechoslovakia itself was not officially represented; this was because the object was to give Hitler the Sudetenland and avoid war. At Munich, Hitler was on his worst behavior, treating Chamberlain in the most brusque and peremptory fashion. After the conference, Hitler vowed to his confidants that he would never again be cheated out of a military victory and that he would attack and destroy the British and the French. This astonishing reaction to his diplomatic triumph showed clearly that Hitler sought war.

The Munich Agreement, dated 30 September but actually signed just after midnight on 1 October, gave Hitler everything he demanded: evacuation would take place between 1 and 10 October under conditions arranged by an international commission, which would also determine plebiscite areas. Early on the morning of 1 October 1938, German troops marched across the frontier, and two days later, Hitler made a triumphal entry into Eger, the unofficial capital of the Sudeten Germans. Other nations of central Europe also joined in the division of Czechoslovakia. Poland demanded and received some 400 square miles around Teschen with roughly 240,000 people, only 100,000 of whom were Poles, and in November, Hungary annexed some 4,800 square miles of Czechoslovakia with a population of about 1 million people.

Seen in retrospect—and psychological and morale factors notwithstanding—the West, unprepared as it was, would have been better off fighting in September 1938 rather than

capitulating at Munich. Britain and France might have secured as allies the Soviet Union and Poland, but even discounting them, the German army would have been forced to fight on two fronts: against both France and Britain and against Czechoslovakia. Despite Hitler's boasts, Germany was unprepared for war in September 1938. The Luftwaffe possessed 1,230 first-line aircraft, including 600 bombers and 400 fighters, but nearly half of them were earmarked for use in the East, leaving the remainder too thinly stretched to counter any serious aerial offensive by the French Air Force and the Royal Air Force (RAF). The Luftwaffe also suffered from deficiencies, including a shortage of bombs. On the ground, Germany had only five fighting divisions and seven reserve divisions available to stand against eight times that number of French divisions.

Of course, the Western democracies were also weak militarily. Britain's rearmament program had begun only in 1937. France had many more artillery pieces than Germany, but it was deficient in aircraft, with only 250 first-quality fighters and 350 bombers of perhaps 1,375 front-line aircraft. If the Allies had fought Germany in 1938, however, they could have counted on 35 well-armed and well-equipped Czech divisions, supported by substantial numbers of artillery pieces and tanks and perhaps 1,600 mixed-vintage aircraft.

Those responsible for the Munich debacle later claimed that it bought time for the Western democracies to rearm. Winston Churchill noted in his memoirs that British fighter squadrons equipped with modern aircraft rose from only 5 in September 1938 to 26 by July 1939 (and 47 by July 1940), but he also observed: "The year's breathing space said to be 'gained' by Munich left Britain and France in a much worse position compared to Hitler's Germany than they had been at the Munich crisis."

The Munich Conference had far-reaching international influence. Chamberlain and Daladier were warmly received by welcoming crowds when they returned home, especially the British prime minister when he reported that he believed he had achieved "peace in our time." The Munich Agreement, however, effectively ended the French security system. Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia now all doubted French commitments to defend them, and Stalin was further alienated from the West. He told associates that Chamberlain and Daladier had given in to Hitler in order to facilitate Germany's *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the east) and bring about a war between Germany and the Soviet Union. For the German Resistance, Munich was also a disaster. Even the most diehard of plotters realized that the opportunity to eliminate Hitler had vanished.

Despite Hitler's pledges that the Sudetenland was his last territorial demand in Europe, events soon proved the opposite. The very day after Munich, Hitler told his aides that he would annex what remained of Czechoslovakia at the first opportunity. Within a few months, he took advantage of the

internal situation in that country. In March 1939, he supported the leader of the Slovak Popular Party, Jozef Tiso, who sought complete independence for Slovakia. On 14 March, Slovakia and Ruthenia declared their independence from the rest of Czechoslovakia. That very day, Hitler summoned Czech President Emil Hácha to Berlin. One day later, Luftwaffe commander Hermann Göring threatened the immediate destruction of Prague unless Moravia and Bohemia were made Reich protectorates. Hácha fainted. When he was revived, he signed a communiqué placing "the fate of the Czech people and country in the hands of the Führer of the German Reich." On 15 March, Nazi troops occupied what remained of Czechoslovakia. The Czech lands became the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, and Slovakia became a vassal state of the Reich, with little more independence than Bohemia-Moravia.

Fred R. van Hartesveldt and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Beneš, Eduard; Chamberlain, Arthur Neville; Daladier, Édouard; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Hitler, Adolf; Mussolini, Benito; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Tiso, Jozef

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Murphy, Audie Leon (1924–1971)

U.S. Army soldier and officer who fought across the European Theater and was awarded the Medal of Honor. Born near Kingston, Texas, on 20 June 1924, Audie Murphy was the seventh of 12 children in a sharecropper family. His father abandoned the family when Murphy was 12, and young Murphy helped put food on the table by shooting rabbits. He became a crack shot. When he was 16, his mother died, and he took a job at a store.

Murphy attempted to enlist in the Marines following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, but he was turned down because he was both too small and too young. He enlisted in the army on his eighteenth birthday and was assigned to the 15th Regiment of the 3rd Infantry Division. He first came under enemy fire in Sicily in July 1943. He then fought in Italy, France, and Germany.

Murphy became the most decorated U.S. soldier of the war, earning 33 medals and being wounded three times. Advanc-



U.S. Army Lieutenant Audie Murphy, ca. 1945. (Library of Congress)

ing to sergeant, he received a battlefield commission as a second lieutenant in October 1944. He was awarded the Medal of Honor for his actions at the Colmar pocket on 26 January 1945 during a German attack on his position. He called down artillery fire on his own location and jumped onto a burning tank destroyer and manned its .50 caliber machine gun. Despite being wounded, he then led a counterattack.

Murphy left the service in September 1945 as a first lieutenant. Thereafter, he parlayed his fame and youthful good looks into a movie career. He played himself in the 1955 movie based on his 1949 autobiography, *To Hell and Back*. He also starred in *The Red Badge of Courage* and appeared in some 40 other films. Murphy suffered from personal problems, however, including alcoholism, drug addiction, and gambling. Nearly bankrupt, he died in an airplane crash near Roanoke, Virginia, on 28 May 1971.

Jarod V. Parker

See also

Colmar Pocket, Battle for the; Italy Campaign (1943–1944); Sicily, Invasion of

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Music of World War II

Several musical trends defined themselves in the years between the wars. Some composers placed great emphasis on the sounds of their respective ethnic cultures through the use of folk music and folklore. Others, concerned by the widening rift between composer and audience, created what was called in Germany *Gebrauchsmusik* (utility music), music intended for students and amateurs as opposed to music for its own sake. Neoclassicism remained an influential style (particularly in the United States), the composers of which retained aspects of past musical forms while incorporating new and unfamiliar elements. There were also more and more composers who espoused a radical aesthetic that broke with European tradition. This radicalism led to the evolution of atonality (a free chromaticism that avoided the traditional tonal hierarchy used throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) and serialism (music written using a systematic ordering of the 12 pitches, also without regard to a tonal center).

In many respects, a great deal of the music that predated the war was written in reaction to World War I, although the responses could be quite subtle (the moving *Cello Concerto* of Sir Edward Elgar [1857–1934] is essentially a war memorial). Nationalism took on a political aspect during the years between the wars and was seen as a means of establishing an ethnic identity in an increasingly intolerant world. Composers such as the Hungarians Béla Bartók (1881–1945) and Zoltán Kodály (1882–1967) used folk songs and folk instruments in their music (Kodály's *Háry János Suite* [1926] and Bartók's *Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta* [1936] showed the influence of regional musics that they collected in the early years of the century). Nationalism surfaced in the United States as well, perhaps best exemplified by Aaron Copland (1900–1990), whose ballets *Billy the Kid* (1938) and *Appalachian Spring* (1944) drew on uniquely American themes. Two of his works directly connected with the war were the *Fanfare for the Common Man* (1942), the result of a commissioning project in which composers wrote fanfares for brass and percussion on patriotic themes, and *Lincoln Portrait* (1942), for narrator and orchestra. Both received numerous performances during the war years.

Soviet composer Dmitri Shostakovich (1905–1975) composed his *Symphony No. 7* (1941) as a musical response to the heroic defense of Leningrad. Shostakovich had served briefly in the Leningrad Volunteer Home Guard before being evacuated. A photograph of the composer wearing his fireman's helmet appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine in 1942. This work had no fewer than three major conductors (Leopold Stokowski, Artur Rodzinski, and Sergei Koussevitsky) fighting over American premier rights. The numerous performances



Dinah Shore and Bing Crosby entertain at USO show in France, October 1944. (Bettmann/Corbis)

the symphony received were a propaganda boon for both Soviet and American audiences.

Austrian composer Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951) was forced into exile during the war years. After emigrating to the United States, he took a teaching position at the University of California, Los Angeles. Schoenberg composed two important responses to the war: *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte* (1942), a setting of the poem by Lord Byron that in Schoenberg's hands became a not-so-veiled reference to Hitler, and the terrifying *Survivor from Warsaw* (1947), ostensibly based on events that took place in the Warsaw ghetto.

There were also composers who responded to the war from the concentration camps: *Quartet for the End of Time* (1941) by Olivier Messiaen was premiered on 15 January 1941 in Stalag VIIIA at Görlitz before an audience of fellow prisoners of war. Composers Pavel Haas (1899–1944), Hans Krása (1899–1944), and Viktor Ullmann (1898–1944) were among many that were incarcerated at Terezín (Theresienstadt) who ultimately would die in the gas chambers. Ullmann's opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* (1944) was composed at Terezín and was in rehearsal before the Nazis shut the per-

formance down shortly before deporting the composer to Auschwitz.

The end of the war saw a complete break from nineteenth-century romanticism. Although the newer musical languages were often not conducive to conventional memorials, there were some significant responses. The *War Requiem* by English composer Benjamin Britten (1913–1976), using the text of the requiem mass and the poetry of World War I poet Wilfred Owen, was written for the reconsecration of Coventry Cathedral in 1962 and is one of the most powerful antiwar statements in the history of music. There was also the brilliant *Threnody for the Victims of Hiroshima* (1960) by Polish composer Krzysztof Penderecki (born in 1933). The war marked the end of an era for art music, and the postwar world would ultimately demand a very different kind of music.

The war years were a time when jazz and popular music were essentially identical (compare this with the Vietnam years, when there was a clear distinction between jazz and popular music, that is, rock and roll). Jazz had begun to surface as a major musical force in the United States in the years immediately following World War I, and by the late 1920s, it had reached a point where it could evolve past its Dixieland roots into something new. This new form came in the form of the big bands. Throughout the 1930s, a wide range of these bands worked to solve the problems of getting a large ensemble to “swing,” and by 1938, they were appearing at such august venues as Carnegie Hall. This new swing music was performed by popular bands led by Glenn Miller, Harry James, Count Basie, Duke Ellington, Benny Goodman, and countless others.

The popular songs of the time were closely associated with these bands. Important vocalists, including Bing Crosby, Dinah Shore, Frank Sinatra, Ella Fitzgerald, and the Andrews Sisters, recorded many of these songs. The influence of this music was enormous: in a very real sense, American popular music was *the* popular music of World War II.

The U.S. Army, recognizing the importance of this music, entered the business of providing music for the troops in both European and Pacific Theaters through the Special Services Division of the Army Service Forces. Many of the bands ultimately ended up in uniform, performing overseas, sometimes in circumstances of great danger. Band leader Glenn Miller was killed in 1944 when his plane went down in the English Channel en route to a performance in France.

Jazz, as the official music of World War II, was almost exclusively an American phenomenon; in Adolf Hitler's Germany, jazz was prohibited and actively disparaged. In a now notorious exhibition in 1938, jazz was labeled *Entartete Musik* (degenerate music). Hitler saw the condemnation of American jazz as part of a larger plan to liberate Germany from the “deadly embrace” of “Jewish cultural bolshevism.” As a result, “popular” music in Germany consisted largely of official patriotic songs associated with the Reich, folk songs,

and some sentimental ballads. Strangely enough, one of these sentimental ballads had the unusual distinction of being popular on virtually every front in Europe. “Lili Marlene,” originally written by German soldier Hans Leip in 1915 and set to music by Norbert Schultze in 1938, was as popular with Allied troops as it was with the Germans. An English version was devised shortly after the song became popular in Germany and was made famous by Marlene Dietrich in 1943. There was even a version in French. Since the musical cultures in Europe all stemmed from the same musical roots, this “sharing” of songs is perhaps not surprising. Of course, no such sharing was possible in the Pacific, although Allied troops were kept current with the latest popular songs by broadcasters such as “Tokyo Rose.”

The range of popular songs was enormous. There were patriotic songs, designed to inspire support for the war effort as well as for the realities of day-to-day life during the war (“Cowards over Pearl Harbor,” “America Calling,” “There’ll Always Be an England,” and “Rosie the Riveter”). There were songs directly related to military service, some with specific references to the commanding officers (“Keep Your Powder Dry,” “Nimitz, Halsey and Me,” “Here’s to You, MacArthur”). Sentimental songs of love and separation were particularly popular (“We’ll Meet Again,” “White Cliffs of Dover,” “In the Mood,” made popular by the Glenn Miller Band, “Cleanin’ My Rifle [And Dreamin’ of You]”) as well as novelty songs (“Lalupaluza Lu,” “Little Bo Peep Has Lost Her Jeep,” and “Boogie-Woogie Bugle Boy”). Some songs made unmistakably violent references to the enemy (which read somewhat awkwardly in light of modern sensibilities): “Mow the Japs Down!” “Der Fuehrer’s Face,” popularized by Spike Lee, “Hey, Tojo! Count Yo’ Men!” and “You’re a Sap, Mister Jap.” World War II also witnessed the spread in the United States of country and western music, taking it well beyond its Appalachian and western roots. Young soldiers took this largely rural music into the military camps and urban defense plants, which contributed to its growing popularity not only in the more urban northern United States but ultimately overseas as well.

The end of the war spelled the end of the big band era. Jazz moved on to a grittier style known as bebop, and the popular audience began to turn to another form of music that began to rise from roots in rhythm and blues: rock and roll. This would become the music of another war.

Jeffrey Wood

See also

Art and the War; Propaganda; “Tokyo Rose”

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Mussolini, Benito (1883–1945)

Italian dictator from 1922 to 1943. Born in Predappio, near Forlì in Romagna, Italy, on 29 July 1883 to a blacksmith Socialist father and a schoolteacher mother, Benito Amilcare Andrea Mussolini was named after the Mexican revolutionary and president Benito Juárez. He attended local schools and earned a teaching diploma in 1901. His mother wanted him to be a schoolteacher, but Mussolini found the profession too boring.

As an adolescent, Mussolini had joined the revolutionary or syndicalist branch of the Italian Socialist Party. He found that he enjoyed the role of agitator, fomenting strikes and establishing unions. At age 19, he fled to Switzerland to avoid compulsory military service. He stayed there for three years, doing odd jobs and living on money sent by his mother. He intermittently attended some university classes and served time in jail. An amnesty caused Mussolini to return to Italy and perform his military service. He then edited a socialist newspaper, *La Lotta di Classe* (The Class Struggle) at Forlì and was secretary of the local Socialist Party at Forlì. His opposition to war with the Ottoman Empire in 1911 and 1912 earned him national prominence. He was now one of the leaders of the left wing of the Italian Socialist Party. In 1913, he became editor of the Socialist daily *Avanti*, published in Milan.

On the outbreak of World War I, however, Mussolini abruptly modified his socialism by embracing Italian nationalism and urging intervention on the Allied side. This interventionist position caused his expulsion from the Socialist Party. Mussolini then founded a French-financed daily, *Il Popolo d’Italia* (The People of Italy). In October 1914, he also founded the prowar group *Fasci Rivoluzionario d’Azione Internazionalista* (Revolutionary Fasci for International Action) to bring about intervention in the war. In December of that year, the group became the *Fasci di Azione Rivoluzionaria* (Fasci for Revolutionary Action). The word *fascio* recalled the bundle of sticks carried by the lictors of ancient Rome, representing state power; one stick might be broken, but fastened together, the sticks were unbreakable. Mussolini like to call up ancient glories, and this bundle of sticks later became the emblem of Fascist Italy. His belief that the proletariat should unite and create a formidable organization before seizing power was the germ of the Italian Fascist movement. Following Italy’s entry into the war on the Allied side



Benito Mussolini (*left*) and Adolf Hitler (*right*) in Munich, Germany, June 1940. (National Archives)

in May 1915, Mussolini was called up for the army and served until 1917 on the Austrian front, reaching the rank of corporal. He was wounded slightly and discharged.

On the return of peace, the Socialist Party resumed its agitation. Mussolini's reaction to this was to organize ex-soldiers in the *Fascio di Combattimento* (Combat Bands) in March 1919. Mussolini carefully built the Fascist organization, paying special attention to the Blackshirt squads, militia supported with financial contributions (not always voluntary) from businessmen and landlords. Distinguished by their black shirts and Roman salute, the Blackshirts were clashing with Socialists and Communist groups by the summer of 1919. Mussolini's policy was to meet every act of violence with greater violence, and between 1921 and 1922, a veritable civil war with the Socialists raged through the length of Italy.

The Fascist political program was little more than devotion to their leader ("Il Duce"), Italian nationalism, "law and order," and opposition to communism. After they came to

power, the Fascists claimed they had saved Italy from communism. There is, however, little support for that in fact. Certainly, Mussolini did exploit middle- and upper-class fears of socialism and communism.

In the 1921 elections, the Fascists gained less than 10 percent of the vote, but the size of the organization (300,000 members by the end of September 1922) made force—or the threat of it—a possible route to power. By September 1922, Mussolini was openly demanding that he be named premier. In late October, some 10,000 of his followers converged on Rome. During this March on Rome, Mussolini remained safe in Milan until he was informed that it had succeeded, a fact carefully concealed by Fascist historians.

When King Victor Emmanuel III refused to authorize martial law, Premier Luigi Facta resigned, and on 29 October 1922, the king called Mussolini as premier. It was all quite legal—or almost so. On November 25, threatened with new elections held under Fascist supervision, Parliament conceded Mussolini full powers for 1 year; he held them for 20.

A new election law and the trampling of the rights of the opposition in 1924 gave the Fascists 374 of 535 seats. Mussolini then proceeded to disband the opposition parties and secure complete power as *Il Duce*. He alone made the decisions, and he was not only head of state but also foreign minister, chief of the armed service branches, minister of the interior, and minister of the colonies. This concentration of authority produced chaos rather than efficiency. Restoring the economy also proved elusive. The only real domestic achievements of his regime were advances in literacy (Fascist education was more formative than informative) and the 1929 accord with the Vatican (the Lateran Treaty).

Mussolini's dominant motivations were his personal vanity and desire for adulation; not surprisingly, flattery was a key factor in his undoing. He became captivated by his own myth of the invincible leader and came to believe his own propaganda that only he could make the right decisions and that his intuition was always correct. Serious study and discussion were not Mussolini's style. He rushed to rapid decisions, often with unfortunate results. He also changed his mind frequently and precipitously, and he was totally inept as a war leader. He ordered military campaigns begun on short notice, with no thought of the need for detailed planning. The hallmarks of the Italian state and military under Mussolini were administrative confusion and incompetence.

Mussolini pursued an aggressive foreign policy, beginning with the Italian bombardment of the Greek island of Corfu in 1923. Alienation from the West over Italy's 1935 invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) and support of the Fascist side in the 1936–1939 Spanish Civil War led to a rapprochement with Adolf Hitler's Germany.

This Rome-Berlin Axis became a formal alliance in 1939. The year before, Mussolini had allowed Hitler to annex Austria; four years previously, he had helped uphold Austrian independence against an attempted Nazi coup. He also was a prime mover behind the agreement at Munich in September 1938 that led to the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. In April 1939, Mussolini ordered the invasion of Albania.

When the general European war began in September 1939, Mussolini, fearful that Germany would not win, declared Italy's nonbelligerency. With Germany about to defeat France and being anxious to join in the spoils, he declared war on France on 10 June 1940 and sent Italian divisions into southeastern France and into Egypt from Libya, with little military success. He also insisted on sending obsolete Italian aircraft to participate in the Battle of Britain. In October 1940, without consulting with Hitler, he ordered Italian forces to invade Greece from Albania. The Greeks promptly drove the Italian forces out, leading Hitler to come to the rescue of his hard-pressed ally in the spring of 1941. Mussolini also sent Italian forces to assist the Germans in their invasion of the Soviet Union, a step that was particularly unpopular in Italy.

Following Allied victory in North Africa and the successful Allied invasion of Sicily, the Fascist Grand Council voted to depose Mussolini on 25 July 1943. Hitler ordered him rescued by German commandos, and Mussolini was then installed as nominal leader of a puppet state in northern Italy, under complete German control. In September 1943, Italy switched sides in the war. As the end of the war approached, Mussolini and his mistress, Clara Petacci, attempted to flee northern Italy with a German convoy in April 1945. Partisans captured them on 28 April and shot both that same day. Their bodies and those of other members of Mussolini's government were taken to Milan and strung up there, upside down, in the great square, the Piazzale Loreto. Mussolini's body was later rescued and buried in the family mausoleum.

Mussolini never accepted responsibility for his failures but blamed others, when he alone was responsible. He claimed the Italian people were not worthy of him. He may have been the least brutal of the major dictators of World War II, but he was bad enough. To the end, his chief motivation was personal power rather than the good of the Italian people.

Annette Richardson and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Albania, Role in the War; Italy, Home Front; North Africa Campaign; Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy

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Myitkyina, Siege of (May–August 1944)

The key military objective of the 1944 Allied Northern Burma Campaign in the China-Burma-India (CBI) Theater of Operations. U.S. Lieutenant General Joseph "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell had command of Allied forces in the battle and subsequent "siege." The action began in late April 1944 with attacks in the Mogaung Valley by predominantly Chinese troops, followed by a general Allied effort against the airfield and railroad center of Myitkyina. The aim of the campaign was to reduce Japanese pressure on the air resupply route from India to China over the Himalayas ("the Hump") and to clear a vital road link along the ground line of communications under



U.S. Colonel Charles Hunter (center), commanding Merrill's Marauders at Myitkyina airfield in Burma, pointing out some action to U.S. Lieutenant General Joseph Stilwell (left). (Photo by Time Life Pictures/US Army/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

construction from Ledo, India, to Kunming, China (the Ledo Road, later known as the Stilwell Road). British, Chinese, Burmese, and U.S. troops (Merrill's Marauders, the 5307th Composite Unit [Provisional]) captured the airfield on 17 May, but they could not eliminate stubborn resistance by elements of the Japanese 18th and 56th Divisions in the Myitkyina area until 3 August.

The Allied operation, code-named *END-RUN*, was conducted by three separate combat brigade-sized elements organized around the battalions of Merrill's Marauders (code-named *GALAHAD*). H Force, consisting of the 1st Battalion, the 150th Regiment of the 50th Chinese Division, and a battery of the 22nd Chinese Division artillery moved south on 30 April. M Force, the 2nd Battalion with attached Burmese Kachins, began its operations on the southernmost axis on 7 May. K Force consisting of the 3rd Battalion of *GALAHAD* and the 88th Regiment of the 30th Chinese Division began the advance to Myitkyina on 28 April. These three formations were accompanied by U.S. and Chinese support troops, including mobile hospitals, engineers, and animal transport units.

The 17 May attack completely surprised the 700 to 800 Japanese troops defending Myitkyina Airfield. Colonel

Charles Hunter's H Force spearheaded the attack and secured the field and supporting facilities. A U.S. engineer unit, a Chinese infantry battalion, and a British anti-aircraft unit were quickly airlifted into the field. Allied reinforcements also arrived in preparation for the difficult task of taking the town and supporting defensive positions. Initial attempts by Chinese forces to take the town were unsuccessful, and a stalemate ensued. Both sides sent in reinforcements and built strong points that were difficult to overrun.

British forces under General Sir William Slim, fully engaged against the Japanese in the west around the Imphal and Kohima area near the Burma-India border, were unable to provide major combat formations for the Northern Burma Campaign. Major General Orde C. Wingate died in a plane crash on 25 March; his Special Forces, or "Chindits," were placed under the command of Major General W. D. A. Lentaigne. Elements of this force were put under Stilwell's direct command and fought their way north to support the effort around Myitkyina. Unable to quickly consolidate initial gains against stubborn Japanese resistance, Stilwell ordered the exhausted Marauders to continue the fight. He also brought in U.S. combat engineers working on the Ledo Road to serve as infantry, and he called for additional Chinese reinforcements.

Over the next two months, both sides conducted small-scale attacks, with no significant change in the military situation on the ground. By late July, however, continued Allied efforts, supported by increased air sorties and added artillery, began to take their toll on the Japanese defenders. Determined and often bitter small-unit actions wore down the Japanese, and during the last three days of July, Allied forces made significant advances. On 3 August, Myitkyina was declared secure. The key U.S. formation, Merrill's Marauders, fought on doggedly and remained in the field until victory, despite being decimated by combat casualties and losses from sickness and disease. The unit ceased to exist as a viable combat formation and was eventually replaced by the Mars Force under the command of Lieutenant General Daniel Sultan. However, it was the Chinese units, which had shown that they could stand with veteran Japanese formations, that were the key to the eventual Allied victory in northern Burma.

Although delayed by stubborn Japanese resistance, the difficult terrain, and the challenges of coordinating Allied forces, Stilwell's Northern Burma Campaign was a success. With the fall of Myitkyina, the Allies were one step closer to opening a secure ground supply line to China and to setting the stage for a major offensive to drive the Japanese from Burma. General Stilwell, principal architect of the campaign, was relieved of his duties in the CBI in mid-October and replaced as commander of U.S. combat forces in Burma by General Sultan.

J. G. D. Babb

See also

Burma Theater; Chindits; Hump, The; Imphal and Kohima, Sieges of; Slim, Sir William Joseph; Stilwell, Joseph Warren; Sultan, Daniel; Wingate, Orde Charles

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N

Nagano Osami (1880–1947)

Japanese navy admiral. Born in Kochi on 15 June 1880, Nagano Osami graduated from the Naval Academy in 1900. Nagano participated in the siege of Port Arthur in a land-based naval artillery unit during the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War. He was an instructor at the Naval Academy in 1906 and studied in the United States at Harvard University from 1913 to 1915.

Promoted to captain in 1918, Nagano commanded a cruiser in 1919 and 1920. He was the naval attaché to the United States from 1920 to 1923 and visited the United States again in 1927 and in 1933. Promoted to rear admiral in 1928, Nagano commanded the Naval Academy from 1928 to 1930. He headed the Japanese delegation at the London Naval Conference of 1935–1936, where he proposed equality of total naval tonnage with the British and U.S. navies, a proposal the western powers rejected.

In 1936, Nagano became minister of the navy in the Hirota Kōki cabinet. In 1937, he was appointed commander in chief of the Combined Fleet. From April 1941 to February 1944, Nagano served as chief of the Naval General Staff, in which position he tended to follow recommendations presented by his subordinates. Nagano believed that war with the United States was inevitable and he thus had little interest in U.S.-Japanese negotiations to avoid it. At the same time, although Nagano believed the Japanese navy could not defeat the U.S. Navy in war, he did not oppose the plans of Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku, commander of the Combined Fleet, to attack Pearl Harbor.

In April 1943, Nagano was promoted to admiral of the fleet. After the Japanese surrender, he was arrested and jailed in Sugamo Prison in Tokyo. He was charged as a war criminal

before the International Military Tribunal for the Far East. He died on 5 January 1947 before the end of the trial.

Kotani Ken

See also

Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Yamamoto Isoroku

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Nagasaki, Bombing of (9 August 1945)

Second U.S. atomic bombing of a Japanese city. Following the Japanese refusal to surrender following the Hiroshima bombing on 6 August 1945, Twentieth Air Force headquarters on Guam issued Field Order 17 on 8 August, directing that, on the following day, the second atomic bomb on Tinian Island be dropped on another Japanese city. Kokura was designated as the primary target, and Nagasaki, a city of some 230,000 persons, was the alternate.

At 3:49 A.M. on 9 August, Boeing B-29 Superfortress bomber *Bockscar* (sometimes written as *Bock's Car*), commanded by Major Charles Sweeney, departed Tinian. It was followed by a second B-29 as scientific observer and a third as photographic observer. The *Bockscar* carried a plutonium nuclear-fission bomb nicknamed “Fat Man” that was 10 ft 8 inches long and



Nagasaki, Japan, showing damage from the atomic bomb, August 1945. (Photo courtesy of Andrew J. Waskey)

5 ft in diameter, with a payload greater than that of the Hiroshima bomb. The plutonium 238 isotope core consisted of two melon-shaped hemispheres surrounded by a ring of explosive charges designed to drive the sections together, achieving “critical mass” and a chain reaction releasing 22 kilotons of energy in one-millionth of a second.

Sweeney flew to Kokura but found it overcast and circled for 10 minutes. Despite the clouds, bombardier Kermit Beahan believed they could bomb visually. Sweeney, concerned about a faulty valve that limited fuel, decided to divert to Nagasaki, which was also partly obscured by clouds. Beahan believed he could bomb by radar, but a break in the clouds allowed him to bomb visually, using the Mitsubishi shipyards as his aiming point.

The *Bockscar* released the bomb from 31,000 ft at 11:02 A.M. local time. The bomb detonated 53 sec later, approximately 1,500 ft over the city, destroying everything within a 1,000 yd radius. An intense blue-white explosion pushed up a pillar of fire 10,000 ft, followed by a mushroom cloud to 60,000 ft.

Although the bomb missed its intended aiming point by 8,500 ft, it leveled one-third of the city. Called the “Red Circle of Death,” the fire and blast area within the Urakami Valley section destroyed more than 18,000 homes and killed 74,000 people. Another 75,000 were injured, and many later died from wounds or complications. Blast forces traveling in excess of 9,000 mph damaged buildings 3 mi away, and the concussion was felt 40 mi from the epicenter. “Ashes of Death” from the mushroom cloud spread radiation poisoning, killing all who were not killed outright within 1,000 yd of the epicenter. The bomb might have killed thousands more, but it detonated away from the city center in a heavy industrial area, vaporizing three of Nagasaki’s largest war factories but “minimizing” deaths.

Sweeney made one complete circle of the city to determine damage and then left after fuel concerns and heavy smoke made other circuits futile. Critically low on fuel, he flew to Okinawa, landing at Yontan Field about 12:30 P.M., his gas tanks virtually empty. After refueling, *Bockscar* flew to Tinian, arriving there at 10:30 P.M. local time after a 20-hour flight.

Included in the instrument bundle dropped from the observation plane was a letter addressed to Japanese physicist Professor F. Sagane that urged immediate surrender and threatened continued atomic destruction of Japanese cities. Written by three American physicists, the letter was a bluff, as no other atomic bombs were then ready. Nonetheless, the second atomic attack, coupled with the 8 August declaration of war by the Soviet Union, provided Japanese Emperor Hirohito with the excuse to end the war.

Mark Van Rhyne

See also

Atomic Bomb, Decision to Employ; Hirohito, Emperor of Japan; Hiroshima, Bombing of; Japan, Surrender of; MANHATTAN Project; Truman, Harry S

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Nagumo Chūichi (1886–1944)

Japanese navy admiral. Born in Yamagata Prefecture on 25 March 1886, Nagumo Chūichi graduated from the Naval Academy in 1908 and from the Naval Staff College in 1920. Promoted to commander in 1924 and known as a torpedo expert, Nagumo commanded several cruisers before taking command of a destroyer squadron in 1930. He also became a strong advocate of naval air power, even though he was not an aviator and lacked carrier experience.

Advanced to vice admiral in 1939, Nagumo took command in April 1941 of the First Air Fleet, which concentrated Japan's six most powerful aircraft carriers into a single force. He opposed the Pearl Harbor operation advocated by his chief air officer Genda Minoru, the air fleet's air wing commander Fuchida Mitsuo, and commander of the Combined Fleet Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku. Nevertheless, his carriers attacked on 7 December 1941, crippling the U.S. Navy's battle fleet. Nagumo was criticized in some quarters for his caution in refusing to carry out additional air strikes against port facilities or to attempt to locate and destroy U.S. aircraft carriers then at sea.

Nagumo's First Air Fleet next undertook strikes on Rabaul and Port Darwin before beginning operations in the eastern Indian Ocean that devastated Allied naval power in the region. The fleet returned to Japan to refit in the spring of 1942. The carriers *Shokaku* and *Zuikaku* were detached to



Vice Admiral Nagumo Chūichi, Commander of the task force that attacked Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, ca. 1940s. (Corbis)

support the Port Moresby operation that ended with withdrawal after the Battle of the Coral Sea. Following their refit, the other four carriers sortied as the principal striking force for the Midway operation, which ended in their loss.

The defeat at Midway ruined Nagumo's reputation. Afterward, he commanded carriers during the Guadalcanal Campaign, and in August and October 1942 he inflicted losses on American forces in the Solomon Islands, but he also sustained heavy damage to his own air groups. Regarded as excessively cautious, Nagumo was relegated to a series of second-line shore commands until recalled to frontline service in late 1943 as commander of the 6,000-member force assigned to defend Saipan against an impending American assault. The invasion began on 13 June 1944 and Nagumo, foreseeing another defeat for which he would be blamed, committed suicide on 6 July 1944.

Paul E. Fontenoy

See also

Aviation, Naval; Coral Sea, Battle of the; Darwin, Raid on; Fuchida Mitsuo; Genda Minoru; Guadalcanal, Naval Campaign; Indian Ocean, Japanese Naval Operations during March–May 1942; Midway, Battle of; Saipan, Battle of; Yamamoto Isoroku

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Nanjing (Nanking) Massacre (13 December 1937–22 January 1938)

Six-week period of atrocities and terrorism after Japanese troops captured the Chinese capital of Nanjing (Nanking) in Jiangsu (Kiangsu) Province. In July 1937, outright war began between Japan and China after the Marco Polo Bridge/Lugouqiao (Lukouch'iao) Incident. Chinese Nationalist

forces under Guomindang (GMD, [Kuomintang, KMT] Nationalist) President Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) initially offered strong resistance to the Japanese invasion, holding out at Shanghai—the country's greatest port city and the site of a major international settlement—from 13 August to 9 November 1937.

The Nationalist troops then fell back, moving inland in a near rout on the Nationalist capital of Nanjing, a symbolic location home to more than 1 million Chinese. Jiang was not prepared to abandon it without a fight, but no defense or evacuation plans had been made. Another of Jiang's objectives in defending both Shanghai and Nanjing, home to numerous foreign embassies, was to attract worldwide attention and win foreign support for China's anti-Japanese war.

In early December, Japanese troops converged on Nanjing. After Chinese troops rejected Japanese demands to surrender, on 9 December the Japanese opened a massive



Chinese prisoners being buried alive by their Japanese captors outside the city of Nanjing, during the infamous rape of Nanjing, 7 November 1938. (Corbis)

assault. Three days later, the Chinese defenders fell back across the Changjiang (Yangtze) River, and the following day the 6th, 9th, and 116th Divisions of the Japanese army entered the city as two Japanese navy flotillas arrived up the Changjiang River. During the ensuing six weeks, the Japanese occupiers deliberately instituted a reign of terror, apparently designed to cow China's population into ready submission to Japanese invasion. Frustration over Jiang's refusal to surrender, which Japanese leaders had expected him to do before the end of 1937, might have been another factor contributing to the reign of terror.

Entering the city on 13 December, Japanese forces fired on streets crowded with refugees, wounded soldiers, and civilians. They also fired on many thousands of refugees who were attempting to escape by swimming the river. The occupying forces used machine guns, swords, bayonets, fire, live burial, and poison gas to massacre captured Chinese soldiers and any young men suspected of being such. Scattered atrocities and murders, often marked by great brutality, continued throughout the city for six weeks, as did heavy looting. Counts of how many soldiers and civilians died in the Nanjing Massacre vary widely, ranging from 42,000 to 300,000. During this period, Japanese soldiers raped an estimated 20,000 women, most of whom were then killed.

The Nanjing Massacre shocked the west and generated extensive international sympathy for China, although this did not necessarily translate into tangible support and assistance. It was an early example of the use of organized brutality to cow and terrorize civilian populations characteristic of many World War II military occupations. As the twenty-first century began, memories of the Nanjing Massacre remained bitter in China; a major museum commemorating the event exists in Nanjing. In contrast, Japanese officials sought for many decades to deny that the episode ever took place, or at least to minimize its scale, and it was omitted from official Japanese accounts of the war. In the late 1990s, however, several Japanese journalists and academics who investigated the subject mounted dedicated efforts to bring the event to the attention of the Japanese people.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

China, Role in War; Jiang Jieshi; Shanghai, Battle of

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Nanking Massacre

See Nanjing Massacre.

Napalm

Incendiary material made from thickened gasoline. Napalm was developed by American scientists at Harvard University early in the war to improve the performance of petroleum-based incendiary weapons. It was available in late 1942. Napalm powder, an aluminum/soap mix, draws its name from the components *naphthene* and *palmitate* combined and mixed with gasoline to create a gel that was then used in bombs or as an improved fuel for flamethrowers. Other nations developed similar materials; the British mix was named *Perspex*. Liquid napalm was a sticky compound with improved burning characteristics and good stability for safe handling.

Napalm was originally delivered in a 100 lb chemical-weapons bomb, the M47. In the strategic bombing campaign against Japan, napalm incendiaries were responsible for the significant destruction of Japanese cities by fire. Boeing B-29 pathfinder aircraft dropped the M47, and the bulk of the following bombers dropped clusters of 6.2 lb M69 bombs. The M69 ignited and ejected the napalm fill from its tail after a delayed fuze allowed the bomb to penetrate the building that it hit. After mid-1944, the U.S. tactical air forces employed a wide variety of sizes of firebombs or napalm bombs against Japanese forces and defensive positions. These bombs were often auxiliary fuel tanks that were simply filled with the napalm mix and equipped with an igniter. Napalm attacks were often cited for their psychological value as well as for their physical destruction. After World War II, *napalm* continued to be used as a generic term for fire-producing weapons, even though the original components that provided the name were no longer used.

Jerome V. Martin

See also

Aviation, Ground-Attack; B-29 Raids against Japan; Dresden, Air Attack on; Flamethrowers; Incendiary Bombs and Bombing; Strategic Bombing; Tokyo, Bombing of (9–10 March 1945)

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Narvik, Naval Battles of (10 and 13 April 1940)

Anglo-German naval battle during the Norwegian Campaign of 1940. The Battle of Narvik comprises two separate engagements near that Norwegian port, the first on 10 April and the other on 13 April.

On 9 April 1940, the Germans landed powerful forces in Norway. To the northern port of Narvik they sent 10 large destroyers, auxiliary vessels, and some 2,000 ground troops. A small Norwegian warship at Ofotjord notified Narvik of the German approach on the night of 8–9 April. Early on 9 April, the Norwegian coastal battleship *Eidsvold* intercepted the German warships and ordered them to turn back. The Germans refused, demanding that the *Eidsvold* surrender to them. When the Norwegian captain refused and prepared to ram the lead German destroyer, the Germans opened fire with torpedoes, sinking the *Eidsvold*, which lost all but 8 of her crew of 193. The Germans then also torpedoed and sank the coastal battleship *Norge*; she went down with 110 of her crew, and another 89 survived. No Germans were casualties in this battle.

That same day, British Captain B. A. W. Warburton-Lee, commanding the 2nd Destroyer Flotilla of five destroyers, was ordered to sink or capture German ships and transport near Narvik and recapture the town at his discretion. His flotilla consisted of the flagship *Hardy*, *Havoc*, *Hotspur*, *Hostile*, and *Hunter*. The British ships arrived undetected off Narvik early on the morning of 10 April, their approach concealed by a snowstorm. Warburton-Lee ordered his flotilla to attack German vessels in the harbor, and the British destroyers sank two German destroyers and several merchant ships and damaged three other destroyers. Five other German destroyers were concealed in fjords, and as the British withdrew they were attacked on the flanks with torpedoes. In the engagement that followed, the *Hardy* was hit several times and beached, the *Hunter* was sunk, and the *Hotspur* was damaged but managed to escape. The Germans then withdrew because of a shortage of fuel. On the way out of the Vestfjord to the sea, the *Havoc* and *Hostile* took under fire a German ammunition ship, which caught fire, exploded, and sank. Warburton-Lee was among the British dead; he was posthumously awarded the Victoria Cross.

The British were determined to sink the remaining German destroyers at Narvik, and on 13 April the Admiralty dispatched Rear Admiral W. J. Whitworth, who was in command of the battleship *Warspite*, and nine destroyers to the site. The battleship's reconnaissance plane engaged and sank the German submarine *U-64* and warned of German destroyers lying in ambush positions in side fjords. A



The German capture of Narvik in northern Norway. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

destroyer action commenced outside Narvik harbor in the early afternoon. Fire from the *Warspite*'s guns caused the German destroyers to retire to the Rombaks and Herjangs fjords, to where they were pursued and where they were destroyed. In the engagement on 13 April, the British ships sank eight German destroyers and only incurred serious damage to two destroyers. Whitworth was also ordered to land forces at the harbor at his discretion. Aircraft from the British carrier *Furious* struck the harbor ahead of the *Warspite*'s arrival. Whitworth declined to send his marines and sailors into action against approximately 2,000 German soldiers there, but he recommended that a military force be dispatched forthwith to exploit the situation because the Germans had limited ammunition reserves and their motor transport had been captured at sea on 11 April. No force was sent until 28 May.

Combined with other losses sustained, the Germans paid a heavy price for their operations in Norway. However, Adolf Hitler considered the loss acceptable because it would protect his northern flank, secure continued access to vital Swedish iron ore, and provide bases for submarines and German surface raiders.

Britton W. MacDonald

See also

Norway, German Conquest of

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Narvik, Operations in and Evacuation of (24 April–7 June 1940)

The British naval victories of 10 and 13 April 1940 off the northern Norwegian post of Narvik cleared the way for an Allied amphibious assault. Narvik itself was important as the only winter transshipment point for high-grade Swedish iron ore to Germany. In executing such an operation, there was marked disagreement between the Admiralty, which pushed for an immediate landing, and more cautious army leaders, who realized the difficulties of a campaign in the late Norwegian winter. This clash of opposites was reflected in the two men selected to lead the campaign: Admiral William H. Boyle, Lord Cork and Orrery; and Major-General Piers Mackesy. The

two were never briefed together, their instructions were contradictory, and they only met for the first time on 15 April.

On 24 April, in a blinding snowstorm, the Royal Navy bombarded Narvik. Poor visibility prevented observers from determining if German resistance had been broken, and the operation was aborted after three hours. Although the Royal Navy continued to bombard Narvik regularly, Mackesy refused to conduct a direct assault. By 10 May, the Allies had assembled 30,000 Norwegian, British, Polish, and French mountain troops and two battalions of the Foreign Legion. Opposing them was a ragtag German force of paratroopers, Austrian mountain troops, and seamen from the 10 sunken German destroyers of the previous naval battles off the port—in all, some 4,000 men under the command of Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) Eduard Dietl. However, reinforcements and supplies were already coming in by rail via Sweden, and soon German troops and aircraft would be available from the south.

Commander of the Franco-Polish expeditionary force to Norway Brigadier General Antoine Béthouart was experienced in leading troops in rough terrain. He opposed both Lord Cork's boldness and Mackesy's caution, preferring to work his way up the peninsula in stages until he reached Narvik. The assault



A man runs through wreckage in front of a large house in flames, following Luftwaffe air raids during the German occupation of Narvik, Norway, 2 June 1940. (Photo by R. Gates/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

began at Bjervik on the night of 13 May. Darkness minimized Luftwaffe interference in operations while allowing the Allies to make use of naval gunfire support. The success of this first attack led the British to remove the timid Mackesy from his post the next day and replace him with Lieutenant General Claude Auchinleck, which helped improve inter-Allied relations. It did not alleviate other problems faced by the multinational force, including shortages of supplies, winter equipment, and interpreters. Nevertheless, the Allied forces gradually closed on Narvik from its western approaches.

The impending defeat of the Allies in France soon rendered the Allied position in Norway untenable, and on 25 May the British War Cabinet ordered that Narvik be captured and then Norway evacuated. When the order was relayed to Lord Cork, he was not authorized to notify either the Norwegians or the French of the decision. Lord Cork disobeyed and told B  thouart but not the Norwegians.

On the night of 27–28 May, the Allies launched their final assault on Narvik. Heavy resistance by the Germans gained sufficient time for Luftwaffe bombers to attack the naval flotilla and drive it from Narvik, depriving the attackers of heavy artillery support. Fierce German counterattacks nearly drove the invasion force back into the sea, but support from British Hurricane fighters, coupled with desperate assaults by Norwegian troops and French Foreign Legion troops, turned the tide. By the evening of 28 May, Norwegian units entered the town.

Evacuation of the Allied force began almost immediately afterward, on 1 June. Again disobeying orders, Lord Cork prevailed on the British ambassador to inform the Norwegian government of the evacuation. On the evening of 7 June, the last Allied units reboarded their transports for the journey to Britain. Two days later, the Norwegian forces disbanded and an armistice came into effect.

The struggle for Narvik demonstrated conclusively the importance of air supremacy, which was held throughout by the Germans. The Allied defeat there dashed any Allied hopes of maintaining a foothold in Norway.

David H. Olivier

See also

Auchinleck, Sir Claude John Eyre; Narvik, Naval Battles of; Norway, German Conquest of (1940)

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pean and Pacific Theaters. The traditional adage “a ship’s a fool to fight a fort” had seemed borne out at Gallipoli in World War I. During the interwar years, most navies therefore neglected support of joint operations. For example, the U.S. Navy developed no bombardment ammunition for its battleships until 1940; the Japanese did not do so until 1942. Thus, the amphibious landings of World War II supported by effective naval gunfire present one of the great, if unexpected, success stories of twentieth-century military operations.

During the North African Campaign in 1941 and 1942, the British found most useful two old monitors, the *Erebus* and the *Terror*, which had been originally built to support British troops in Belgium in World War I. With the Allies trying to regain a foothold on the continent in 1943, naval gunnery assets proved one of their trump cards. In the invasions of French North Africa, Sicily, Salerno, and finally Anzio, U.S. and British warships provided great assistance to Allied troops ashore.

Naval gunfire really came into its own in 1944 during the Normandy Invasion, Operation OVERLORD. Promises that heavy bombers would substitute for field artillery, unavailable until at least two days after the initial landings, proved hollow when most bombs fell behind the beaches. Fortunately, the Allies had mustered a strong bombardment force of 137 warships, including 7 battleships, 2 monitors, 23 cruisers, and 105 destroyers. At Omaha Beach, 9 U.S. and 3 British destroyers moved as close as 900 yd to the shore to destroy German guns with counterbattery fire. U.S. Lieutenant General Omar Bradley concluded, “The Navy saved our hides.” He remarked on another occasion, “I would gladly have swapped a dozen B-17s for each 12-inch gun.” At Normandy, Allied warships fired approximately 141,000 rounds of 4-inch. and larger shells, a majority of which were controlled by aerial spotters. In concluding that naval gunfire was approximately 10 times as accurate as bombing, the British also noted that casualties from friendly fire were rare. German Field Marshal Erwin Rommel reported to Adolf Hitler that Allied naval gunfire was so effective “that no operation of any kind by either infantry or tanks is possible in the area commanded by this rapid-fire artillery.” Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt counted naval gunfire as one of the three principal factors in the German defeat at Normandy. Following the Saint-L   breakout, British warships continued to assist Allied troops advancing along the coast into November 1944, the veteran battleship *Warspite* shooting until her guns were worn out.

In the Pacific, naval gunfire support proved at least as important as in Europe. In their first test in this role, U.S. warships at Tarawa destroyed nearly all the Japanese artillery positions and wire communications. However, many enemy machine guns remained operational and inflicted heavy casualties on the attacking Marines. In consequence, naval gunfire preparation for the next landing, Kwajalein, was more extensive. The official report concluded, “The entire

Naval Gunfire, Shore Support

Gunfire from ships offshore was one of the great assets making possible Allied amphibious landings in both the Euro-



The 6-inch guns of the U.S. light cruiser *Philadelphia* firing in support of the Allied landing in southern France, August 1944. (Corbis)

island looked as if it had been picked up to 20,000 feet, then dropped. All beach defenses were completely destroyed.”

Thus, the Japanese increasingly sited their defenses specifically to avoid naval gunfire. At Iwo Jima, their deep tunnels enabled many soldiers to escape the extensive three-day bombardment, although the big naval guns, often firing at ranges of less than 2 miles, destroyed over 60 percent of the Japanese coastal artillery in the target area. The defending general, Kuribayashi Tadamichi, reported: “The firepower of the American warships and aircraft makes every landing possible.” In contesting the final Allied invasion of the war at Okinawa, the Japanese command deliberately chose to burrow into the coral ridges in the southern portion of the island to escape the fury of naval gunfire. Still, U.S. warships fired in support of troops 23,210 battleship projectiles and 261,000 5-inch to 8-inch rounds.

During the war, the tonnage of ordnance laid down by Allied warships backing invasions totaled five or six times

that delivered by aviation. The Axis powers gave far less attention to naval gunfire support, although the Italians did build some coastal monitors. In the closing stages of the war, the Germans employed the pocket battleship *Admiral Scheer* in support of retreating German units on the Courland coast.

Only once did Japanese battleships bombard Allied troops. On 14 October 1942, at Guadalcanal, the *Kongo* and *Haruna* fired nearly 900 14-inch projectiles, mostly at Henderson Field. Given the small size of the target area, this proved the most devastating bombardment fired against U.S. troops in any war.

Malcolm Muir Jr.

See also

Anzio, Battle of; Battle Cruisers; Battleships; Bradley, Omar Nelson; Destroyers; Guadalcanal, Land Battle for; Iwo Jima, Battle for; Kuribayashi Tadamichi; Kwajalein, Battle for; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Okinawa, Invasion of; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von; Salerno Invasion; Tarawa, Battle of

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Naval Warfare

Naval operations conducted on a truly global basis were critical in the outcome of World War II. Unlike fighting on land, the struggle at sea proceeded more or less according to expectations. In September 1939, Allied naval superiority was even more marked than in World War I. Britain had one of the world's two largest navies (the other being the United States), and France had the world's fourth largest fleet. Although challenged by German U-boats and later by Japanese surface warships, Allied strength at sea enabled Allied powers to tap the world's resources, transport men and supplies vast distances, and provide naval bombardment and logistics support to amphibious operations, while largely denying these capabilities to the Axis powers. Both sides resorted to convoys as protection against surface raiders and submarines.

Naval technology at the beginning of World War II was little changed from that of World War I. Warships of the 1920s and 1930s were larger and faster than in World War I, and surface ships boasted improved gunnery control. With the exception of radar, however, there had been few technological breakthroughs. The aircraft carrier, which had appeared at the end of World War I, although it was regarded as an important ship type, was not yet seen as the new capital ship.

In 1939, the world's admirals still gave the battleship primary place. The Japanese hoped to secure a decisive edge in the war at sea with the powerful Yamato-class battleships. Their doctrine called for a decisive contest at sea, and the Yamato-class seemed to promise that. Built in great secrecy and displacing nearly 73,000 tons fully loaded and armed with 9 × 18.1-inch guns, the *Yamato* and *Musashi* (2 others were projected, 1 was finished as an aircraft carrier, and the fourth was never completed) were the largest battleships ever built. The United States built 10 modern battleships, more than all three Axis nations combined. The 4 U.S. Navy Iowa-class battleships, although they displaced only 57,500 tons fully loaded and armed with 9 × 16-inch guns, were faster and

not that much off the Yamato-class in capability. The great battleship confrontation at sea—a World War II Battle of Jutland—never occurred.

The primacy of the battleship changed with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, especially when the Japanese sank the British battleship *Prince of Wales* and battle cruiser *Repulse* from the air off Malaya. Unlike the U.S. battleships at Pearl Harbor or the Italian battleships attacked by British aircraft in Taranto harbor in November 1940, the two British capital ships were under way and firing anti-aircraft weapons. From this point on, ships that ventured out without aircraft protection did so at their peril.

The once-mighty battleships never engaged one another in decisive fleet action (apart from the Battle of Surigao Strait during the October 1944 Battle of Leyte Gulf), but the torpedoes fired from U.S. destroyers and torpedo boats probably inflicted the greatest damage. Battleships proved their usefulness in shore bombardment, as anti-aircraft platforms (virtually all warships received increased numbers of anti-aircraft guns), and as “armored oilers” to accompany the aircraft carriers, the new titans of the seas.

Britain's concern over operating its aircraft carriers in narrow seas such as the North Sea or Mediterranean, which would subject them to attack from land-based aircraft, led to the introduction of an armored flight deck. The four-ship *Illustrious*-class, which entered service in 1940 and 1941, carried heavier anti-aircraft protection, an armored flight deck, and an armored “box” protecting the aircraft hangar. These additions provided greater protection but also limited British carriers to fewer aircraft than their U.S. and Japanese counterparts.

British naval resources were stretched thin at the start of hostilities, and although duties and scope of operations roughly corresponded to those of World War I, ships were far fewer. Thus, instead of major surface actions, the majority of the fighting at sea in the European Theater centered on the destruction and protection of seaborne trade, especially in the Atlantic Ocean, which was the critical area of operations. The Royal Navy's chief responsibility was to maintain Britain's seaborne lines of communication, on which the very survival of the nation depended. The Royal Navy transported the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) to France and then to Greece, and it reinforced and supplied garrisons in North Africa, among other places. It also rendered invaluable service by extracting the BEF from France in 1940 and from Greece and Crete in 1941. Had the Royal Navy not been able to execute these operations, Britain could have been forced from the war.

Many of the French ships were modern, the result of a major building program undertaken in the years immediately before the war that had drained sizable resources from the army. French naval strategy at the beginning of the war centered on cooperation with the Royal Navy. The French North Atlantic Fleet had two principal missions: to work with

the British in protecting merchant shipping and escorting convoys and to use its most powerful assets, built around the battle cruisers and organized in the *Force de Raid*, against German surface raiders.

For the German navy, war came a half decade early. When Adolf Hitler took power in 1933, the Kriegsmarine was basically a coastal defense force. Hitler wanted a powerful navy that might one day challenge Britain—or even Britain and the United States—for Atlantic mastery, but he assured German navy chief Grand Admiral Erich Raeder that he had no intention of waging war with Britain. In November 1937, Hitler had stated that war would not occur before 1943 or 1945. Raeder thus set out in the Z Plan of January 1939 to construct a balanced fleet of battleships and battle cruisers, aircraft carriers, cruisers, destroyers, and a force of 249 submarines. He fixed 1948 as the date for its completion, but Hitler gave him a deadline of six years (i.e., 1945). With a lead time on capital ship construction of as much as three or four years, the outbreak of the war thus caught the German navy with the wrong mix of vessels. Germany's sole aircraft carrier, the *Graf Zeppelin*, was never completed. Italy, neutral until 1940, had an impressive medium-sized navy, but its operations, apart from submarines, were largely confined to the Mediterranean.

The Soviet Union projected by 1943 a powerful oceangoing fleet, but by the time of the German invasion in 1941, the largest surface additions were four Kirov-class cruisers. The Soviet naval minister in Moscow was subordinate to the army, and ships were under the control of front commanders; thus the navy played little part in World War II.

When the war began, the overwhelming Allied naval superiority promptly drove German shipping into neutral or home ports. Except in the Baltic, the German flag disappeared from the seas. The British were content, however, to institute a naval blockade of Germany with the aim of denying Germany vital imports but also preventing sorties into the Atlantic of powerful German surface ships. Such a blockade from 1914 to 1918 had been a key factor in the German defeat. However, the blockade of 1939 had little effect on Germany, given its economic arrangements with the Soviet Union and Italy. After Germany's victories of 1940 and 1941 in Denmark, Norway, the Low Countries, France, Yugoslavia, and Greece, moreover, Germany could tap the agricultural and industrial production of most of Europe.

Raeder sought to pursue a commerce-raiding strategy, and he struck back with surface raiders, land-based aviation, mines, and, above all, submarines. His goal was to disrupt Britain's seaborne trade and starve Britain into submission. Germany had a submarine commander of genius in Karl Dönitz, who had assumed control of the U-boat program in 1935, but the paucity of U-boats made it impossible for Dönitz to wage any meaningful campaign against Allied ship-

ping. Dönitz believed that the only way Germany could pressure Britain was through interdicting its Atlantic shipping lanes, and he estimated that 90 submarines on station would ensure success. This meant that a force of some 300 submarines was required. At the start of hostilities, though, Dönitz had only 56 U-boats, of which 46 were ready for action; only 26 were suitable for Atlantic operations. Once the war began, Raeder suspended the Z Plan and gave priority to submarine construction and a commerce-raiding strategy, but much valuable time had been lost.

The April 1940 Norwegian Campaign ended as a brilliant strategic success for Hitler, but it also ruined the German surface navy. The Kriegsmarine lost 3 cruisers and 10 destroyers, half the German total, as well as having several other ships damaged. On the plus side, the many Norwegian fjords provided additional bases for German surface raiders and submarines. The greatest gain for Germany in this regard came in the defeat of France in June 1940. The acquisition of the French Atlantic coastline immensely benefited the U-boat war in the Atlantic, and by early August 1940, German submarines were operating from Lorient on the Bay of Biscay. These bases provided easier access to the Atlantic shipping lanes, and the French repair facilities were superior to the overburdened shipyards in Germany, translating into more U-boats at sea.

After the defeat of France and the loss of its powerful navy, Britain found itself in desperate naval straits. A new naval threat now arose in the form of a belligerent Italy, opening the Mediterranean Sea as a major theater of war. The Italian Fleet posed a severe strategic threat to the key British lines of communication through the Mediterranean. Italy had some excellent ships, and its navy, although far weaker in total strength than that of Britain, was concentrated, giving it what appeared to be local naval superiority. The Italian navy, however, lacked radar until 1942, and it was deficient in night-fighting equipment, antiaircraft protection, and antisubmarine capabilities. The Italians also did not have a naval air arm, which Benito Mussolini and Italian admirals had opposed, claiming that Italy was itself an aircraft carrier. There was no doctrine, however, for employment of land-based aviation in concert with naval units.

Oil from the Persian Gulf and other resources vital to the British war effort passed through the Suez Canal into the Mediterranean, then through the Straits of Gibraltar into the Atlantic and to Britain. Without this route, British shipping would have to go all the way around the Horn of Africa.

In the struggle in the Mediterranean, Allied code-breaking was vital. Intelligence from *ULTRA* provided information to the British about the timing of Axis convoys. Malta also proved critical. The British were able to hold it and use it to harry Axis reinforcement and resupply of North Africa. By the end of 1942, British aircraft were sinking many of the Axis

ships involved in supplying Axis forces in the Mediterranean, with a profound impact on the North African campaign.

Meanwhile, a grim struggle was under way in the Atlantic. The campaign here was certainly one of the key contests of the entire war, for without victory in the Atlantic Theater, Britain would have certainly been forced to sue for peace. On the outbreak of war, the Allies had promptly resorted to convoys. The convoy system was predicated on reducing the number of targets and on the assumption that the more targets there were, the more likely they were to be found. Large numbers of merchant ships would steam together, protected by escort vessels. The U-boats might still sink some vessels, but the percentage of losses would be significantly less. Further, the submarines themselves ran the risk of being sunk by the convoy-escorting destroyers and destroyer escorts.

By May 1943, half of the world's 5,600 merchant ships afloat in 1939 had been sunk by attack.

Meanwhile, it was 1941 before the U-boat building program really emerged. Dönitz asserted that he would have won the Battle of the Atlantic in 1941 or 1942 had he possessed the 300 U-boats he deemed necessary at the beginning of the war. It is probably a false claim, as a higher rate of sinking of merchantmen

would only have forced the Allies to shift assets earlier, including shifting long-range aircraft to Coastal Command. Dönitz's submarines lacked effective radar until near the end of the war, and they struggled—at least in the first year—with defective torpedoes, the same problem that plagued the Americans at the beginning of their submarine campaign against Japan.

To compensate for Allied superiority, Dönitz developed new tactics for his submarines, the most important of which was the Rudeltaktik (pack tactics, which the Allies referred to as the “wolf pack”). Groups of 15 to 20 submarines would spread out along the Atlantic sea-lanes. Merchantmen traveling alone would be immediately attacked, but in the case of a convoy, the submarine would shadow it and radio for reinforcements. The closest U-boats would then converge for a night surface attack, which would maximize confusion for the defenders and minimize the possibility of submarine detection. The submarines would then submerge and reorganize for a second attack.

To enable his submarines to remain on station for longer periods, Dönitz sent out supply submarines. The Germans also had success in code-breaking. The German navy's *B-Dienst* intelligence service listened to Allied radio traffic and broke the British convoy codes, enabling Dönitz to direct his boats to where he believed enemy ships would be. The

Germans also used aircraft, particularly the long-range Focke Wulf Fw-200, with great effectiveness against Allied convoys in the eastern Atlantic when they came within range of German air bases.

British defenses of the vital Atlantic trade routes were strengthened in May 1941 when the U.S. navy began escorting convoys between the United States and Iceland. Then, in June 1941, Canada created the Canadian Escort Force for the same purpose. The Royal Canadian Navy grew dramatically in size during the conflict and played a key role in the Battle of the Atlantic.

By June 1941, however, the Germans had sunk some 5.7 million tons of Allied shipping. British shipyards were able to launch only 800,000 replacement tons. Large Italian submarines, several of them operating from Bordeaux, were also effective. The Germans virtually controlled the Atlantic for more than a year after America's entry into the war. By May 1943, half of the world's 5,600 merchant ships in 1939 had been lost. May was probably the month when the tide of battle turned and the Allies went on the offensive.

A combination of factors brought the Allies victory in the Battle of the Atlantic. The convoy system was important, but so too was technology, primarily 10 cm radar sets that could be carried aloft in long-range aircraft, sonar, improved depth charges, rockets fired from aircraft, and forward-thrown antisubmarine “hedgehogs” or “mousetraps” (small depth charges known to the British as “squids”). The high-intensity Leigh light on aircraft illuminated the sea at night. Radio detection equipment was vital, and long-range aviation helped close the so-called Black Hole in the Middle Atlantic. Intelligence also played a role, chiefly ULTRA intercepts of U-boat communications that guided aircraft to the submarines. The creation of hunter-killer groups of escorts and escort carriers designed for 15 aircraft, each operating independently of the convoys, carried the war to the submarines. It is also true, however, that Allied and interservice cooperation was far too long in coming.

For the Allies, the Battle of the Atlantic was a close-run thing, and it claimed significant resources. German submarines sank 2,452 Allied and neutral ships, totaling 12.8 million gross register tons. During the war, the British merchant marine lost 40,248 men and the Royal Navy another 73,642. The Royal Air Force (RAF) Coastal Command sustained losses of 5,866 men and 1,777 aircraft. The Royal Canadian Navy lost 1,965 men, and U.S. Navy losses in the battle were 2,443 men. The Germans also paid a high price. During the war, Germany built 1,162 submarines. Of 830 operational U-boats, 784 were lost (696 destroyed by enemy action). Of 40,900 Germans who served in submarines, 25,870 perished and more than 5,000 were taken prisoner. U-boat crew fatalities were thus 63 percent, and the overall loss rate was 76 percent, the highest for any service in the war.



U.S. and British ships ride at anchor in the harbor at Hvalfjord, Iceland, May–June 1942. (Corbis)

In the vast Pacific Theater, sea power was the most important element. The fight here was largely a U.S. Navy enterprise, and it ended in perhaps the most comprehensive victory in naval history. In going to war with the United States, Japanese leaders completely miscalculated in several key areas. They assumed that the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) could cripple the U.S. Navy, carry out a series of conquests to secure desired natural resources, and build a defensive ring that would hold the U.S. Navy at bay until it gave up and recognized the inevitability of a new Japanese empire. Yet the defeat of Japan was certain. The key to victory in the Pacific war lay in numbers of ships and planes—and Japan, with a vastly inferior industrial base, was bound to lose that race to the United States. Beginning in 1943, significant numbers of the new Essex-class carriers and accompanying vessels reached the fleet.

Another important factor in the U.S. Navy victory over Japan was the concept of the fleet train, which enabled carrier task forces to operate for extended periods of time and at great

distances from their bases. The fleet train was a vast enterprise that included supply ships, tankers, repair vessels, dry docks, and tenders for seaplanes, destroyers, and submarines. As a result, the U.S. Navy enjoyed unparalleled mobility; its strategic reach in the war was unmatched by any other navy. It was this capability that made possible the recapture of Pacific islands that had been taken by the Japanese, from which long-range land-based strategic bombers could attack the Japanese mainland. It also enabled the navy to establish large fleet anchorages in remote locations such as at Ulithi.

An essentially defensive policy forced the IJN to disperse its assets. In the course of the war, Japan's navy was never able to support individual isolated Japanese strongholds before the Americans overwhelmed them. Japan's leaders also miscalculated their vulnerability in a war against merchant shipping. Obsessed with carrying out fleet actions against the U.S. Navy, the IJN gave scant consideration to the protection of Japan's highly vulnerable merchant trade. Anti-submarine warfare was all but ignored. In December 1941,

the IJN had but four purpose-built escort vessels, and it was not until the autumn of 1942 that any escorts were equipped with sonar. The United States led Japan by a wide margin in antisubmarine technology.

Japan was highly dependent on imports and yet boasted only a marginal shipping capacity. Even with their early successes, the Japanese would not be able to capture, build, or salvage the necessary tonnage to replace even modest losses. As it turned out, U.S. submarines devastated the Japanese merchant marine. The United States outbuilt Japan in submarines by 2:1. The U.S. Navy entered the war with 114 submarines; Japan had 64. During the war, the United States built another 206, and Japan only built 116. In the entire conflict, the United States lost 52 submarines and Japan lost 128. During the Pacific war, the U.S. Navy became the most successful practitioner of the *guerre de course* (war against commerce) in history. One could argue that the submarine was the most important factor in the Allied victory in the Pacific. In effect, the United States succeeded where Germany failed in both world wars.

The United States built long-range submarines of 2,000 tons with 10 torpedo tubes each. Although the Japanese produced some fine boats and actually built the largest submarines of the war (3,500 tons and carrying 3 disassembled planes) with exceedingly long range (in 1942, Japanese submarines shelled the Pacific U.S. coast), their submarine strategy was flawed. They directed their submarines against U.S. warships. Although the Japanese enjoyed some successes, operating against enemy warships took a high toll. Later, the Japanese used their large submarines chiefly to supply isolated garrisons such as the one at Rabaul. The obvious target for their submarines was U.S. cargo vessels, but the Japanese never went after the long and vulnerable U.S. supply lines.

U.S. submarines, moreover, had a deep-dive capability. The standard diving depth for submarines was 300 ft, but U.S. boats could reach 400 ft without stressing the hull and could go deeper if necessary. This was one of the best-kept secrets of the war, and enemy depth charges usually exploded above them. But for the first two years of the war, U.S. submarines suffered because they carried inferior torpedoes. The magnetic pistol to explode the charge under the target ship often did not function correctly. The torpedoes also circled, and at least one U.S. submarine, the *Tang*, was sunk by one of its own "fish." In late 1943, however, new contact pistols were installed, and by 1944 the navy had a new magnetic pistol.

From the beginning of the war against Japan, the United States waged unrestricted submarine warfare. In December 1941, Japan had 5.4 million tons of merchant shipping—only a marginal capacity. The Japanese constructed or acquired another 3.29 million tons during the war, but U.S. submarines sank 6.9 million tons of merchant ships (1,113 vessels). U.S. submarines also extracted a heavy toll of Japanese

warships, sinking 201 totaling 577,000 tons. The Japanese were so short of aviation fuel by 1944 that they could scarcely train pilots. In American submarine successes, code-breaking (*MAGIC*) played a major role.

The June 1942 Battle of Midway marked the turning point of the war in the Pacific, but the October 1944 Battle of Leyte Gulf, the largest naval battle in history, finished off the Japanese Fleet as an organized fighting force. Japanese courage and tenacity were overcome by American determination and numbers. In February 1945, the five carrier task groups operating against the Japanese home islands included 119 warships, yet only 4 of them had been in service before December 7, 1941. By 1945, the U.S. Navy counted 23 battleships, 19 fleet carriers, 1 light carrier, 108 jeep carriers, 351 destroyers, and 255 submarines. The U.S. Navy was, in fact, larger than all the other navies of the world combined.

Spencer C. Tucker and Thomas J. Weiler

See also

Amphibious Warfare; Antisubmarine Warfare; Atlantic, Battle of the; Aviation, Naval; Convoys, Allied; Convoys, Axis; Dönitz, Karl; Hunter-Killer Groups; Liberty Ships; Naval Warfare; Norway, German Conquest of; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse*; Radar; Raeder, Erich; Signals Intelligence; Sonar; Taranto, Attack on; United States, Submarine Campaign against Japanese Shipping; Wolf Pack

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Netherlands, The

In 1940, the Netherlands numbered about 9 million people. The country was strategically located on the North Sea and had important overseas possessions in the Netherlands West

Indies and Netherlands East Indies. The Netherlands itself had not been at war with another state since 1815, and when World War II began, Queen Wilhelmina declared the nation's neutrality. Adolf Hitler sent the queen his personal assurances that he would respect Dutch neutrality.

The Dutch government made no plans with other nations, not even with neutral Belgium, for a concerted defense. The Dutch defensive strategy, known as Fortress Holland, called for blowing up bridges and dikes in the hope of stopping a German invasion, but it failed to take into account the realities of modern warfare. On paper, the Dutch army appeared impressive. General H. G. Winkelman commanded 400,000 men in 8 divisions and 4 brigades plus several smaller units. The army was, however, poorly armed and trained. It had not a single tank and only 26 armored cars and 656 obsolete artillery pieces. Its Military Aviation Division possessed only 175 aircraft, of which 132 were serviceable and only 72 were modern. The navy was modern but small. It consisted of 4 cruisers (another was almost complete), 8 destroyers, 16 minesweepers, 24 submarines, and several torpedo boats and auxiliary craft. Most of it, however, was in the Pacific to defend the Netherlands East Indies.

Beginning at 3:00 A.M. on 10 May 1940, German forces invaded the Netherlands. Queen Wilhelmina proclaimed the invasion a flagrant violation of international law. The Germans used 1,000 aircraft to attack Dutch airfields and military installations, and most Dutch aircraft were destroyed the first day. The Germans also used parachute and airborne forces effectively, as well the Eighteenth Army. Nonetheless, the Dutch put up stout resistance, especially along major rivers. Hitler ordered the capture of the Dutch Royal Family, but they escaped from the Hague to Britain aboard two British destroyers. With negotiations already in progress, but as an inducement to bring about a speedy Dutch surrender so that their forces could be released for the fighting in France, on 14 May the Germans bombed Rotterdam, destroying much of the city center and causing considerable civilian casualties. Later that same day, Winkelman ordered Dutch forces to lay down their arms.

Also on 14 May, Wilhelmina established a government-in-exile and announced in a radio broadcast to the Dutch people her determination to continue the fight. The government-in-exile secured most of the ships of the important Dutch merchant marine. Its 640 ships, not counting 200 smaller vessels, was of immense help to the Allies. Several participated in the Dunkerque (Dunkirk) evacuation, and the merchant marine played a key role in the Battle of the Atlantic. Ultimately, half of the ships were lost in the war, and some 3,000 Dutch seamen were killed. In early 1942, the Japanese occupied the East Indies, leaving only Suriname in South America and such islands as Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao in the Netherlands West Indies under the free Dutch government in London.



A Dutch father, who himself has been severely wounded in his head, hand, and leg, stares in horror at the mutilated corpse of his little girl, Amsterdam, Netherlands, ca. 1940. (Library of Congress)

The Nazis held the Dutch to be fellow Aryans, and Hitler intended to incorporate the Netherlands into a greater Germany. To win the support of the Dutch, Hitler ordered that German occupying forces be on their best behavior. He also released Dutch prisoners of war as a conciliatory gesture. At the same time, the Germans worked to tie the economy of the Netherlands to that of Germany.

On 26 May, Hitler established a government in the Netherlands with Arthur Seyss-Inquart (1892–1946) as Reichskommissar. Hitler deliberately ignored Dutchman Anton Mussert, head of the small National Socialist Movement (Dutch Nazi party) in the Netherlands, although he did grant him the honorific title of De Leider (leader) of Holland. Seyss-Inquart had full administrative authority. In October 1941, Seyss-Inquart abolished the Dutch Parliament and instituted the German judicial system. Labor unions lost their autonomy, and remaining political parties (the Communist and Socialist Parties had been immediately banned) were forced into one political entity, the National Unity Party, although it, too, was disbanded within a year. Censorship was complete; Germany maintained control over the mass media and issued fines for

municipal authorities that violated German rules. Education was reorganized along German lines with the promotion of Nazi racial theories and the rewriting of textbooks.

The British naval blockade during the war cut off traditional markets and access to the Dutch colonies overseas; factories had difficulty securing materials for production; and there was rampant inflation. Rationing was enforced, but food and consumer goods became scarce. The Germans sought to exploit the Netherlands economically, and this agriculturally rich country was forced to deliver most of its produce to Germany. The economic situation worsened after 1943, as the Germans expropriated whatever they deemed useful to their war effort, including personal property. As early as 1941, skilled Dutch workers were transported against their will to the Reich to work in German factories. This practice intensified as the war continued.

Jews were a special target. Legislation deprived 140,000 Dutch Jews from participation in Dutch society and then deprived them of their livelihoods. By 1944, some 110,000 Dutch Jews had been removed from the Netherlands altogether and sent to concentration camps; only 5,000 returned after the war. The other 30,000 survived by going into hiding. Jewish losses in the Netherlands were the highest, in terms of percentage, in western Europe.

Resistance was negligible during the first two years of the German occupation and was mostly passive. But Nazi methods were abhorrent to the Dutch, and by 1943 resistance became active. Resistance groups robbed banks, conducted sabotage, and even assassinated Germans. Not until September 1944, however, were the resistance groups unified.

Some Dutch collaborated with the Nazis, revealing the location of Jewish hiding places, for example. After the war, more than 100,000 people were arrested for collaboration, and approximately half of them were brought to trial.

On 17 September 1944, when the Allies initiated Operation MARKET-GARDEN to secure a crossing over the Rhine River at Arnhem, P. J. Gerbrandy, prime minister of the Dutch government-in-exile, called on Dutch railroad workers to strike, and they heeded the call. In response, Seyss-Inquart shut down shipments of food by rail and canal that were essential to feed much of the population. The winter of 1944–1945 is remembered as the Hunger Winter, and some 20,000 Dutch died of starvation. Misery was compounded by the immense cold. There was no access to coal, electricity, wood, or running water.

During the latter stages of the fighting, defensive flooding inundated large areas, with resultant damage from sea water. Many homes were also destroyed in the fighting. Trade was at a standstill, and the economy was in a shambles. German occupation costs alone had robbed the economy of 8 billion guilders. The Netherlands was by far the worst affected by the war of any western European state.

After the war, the Dutch temporarily brought back the death penalty and executed the most blatant Nazi collaborators. Seyss-Inquart was tried at Nuremberg, found guilty, and executed. The war also caused the Netherlands to abandon its policy of neutrality in favor of a defensive pact with Belgium and Luxembourg and later membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Annette Richardson and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Hitler, Adolf; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Resistance; Rotterdam, Destruction of; Wilhelmina, Queen of the Netherlands

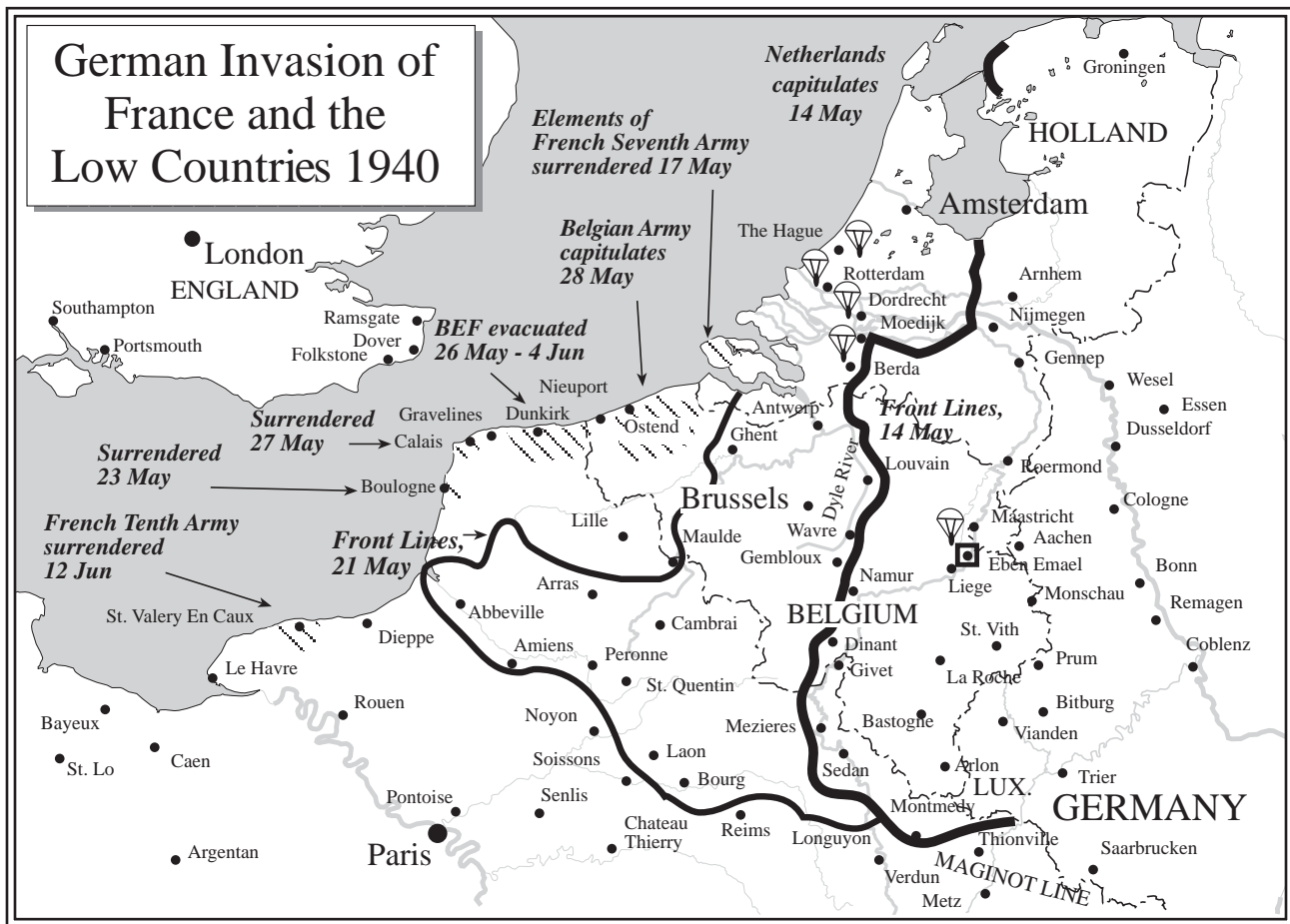
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Netherlands Campaign (10–15 May 1940)

In May 1940, the Germans launched CASE YELLOW, their attack against France and the neutral Low Countries. In the case of the Netherlands, the country was overrun in five days and suffered heavy losses. The German strategy to invade western Europe called for an attack through neutral Belgium and the Netherlands as well as across the Franco-German border farther south to enable the German forces to carry out a grand sweeping movement. Known as Operation SICHELSCHNITT (THE CUT OF THE SICKLE), it was in effect a reverse of the World War I Schlieffen Plan designed to trap advancing British and French forces in Belgium.

General Henry G. Winkelman's Netherlands army of 8 infantry divisions plus 2 in reserve faced Colonel General Fedor von Bock's Army Group B consisting of General of Artillery (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) Georg von Kuchler's Eighteenth Army of 11 divisions (9 infantry and 1 each of cavalry and tanks) and Colonel General Walther von Reichenau's Sixth Army with 17 infantry and 2 panzer divisions. The Dutch forces were basically militia with little training and no fighting experience. They also had no tanks and hardly any antitank weapons. Although some Dutch units fought well, the army as a whole broke down rather rapidly.



The attack against Fortress Holland, as the defensive strategy was known, began in the early hours of 10 May 1940. As in the previous month's offensive against Norway, an air assault spearheaded Germany's operation. Most of these air assaults were successful, as with 12 seaplanes landing at Rotterdam and their 120 troops on board securing 3 important bridges. This was at some cost to German air assets. On 10 May alone, the Luftwaffe lost some 170 aircraft and had about the same number damaged. Most key defensive installations were in German hands by the middle of the first day, however. Of the crucial bridges over the Juliana Canal, the Germans captured all but one completely intact. Although by 12 May Allied bombers began to target key bridges in the Netherlands, most bridges had already been secured by the Germans, allowing their forces to advance rapidly.

On 13 May, Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) Alfred Ritter von Hubicki's 9th Panzer Division managed to achieve a breakthrough toward the bridges at Moordijk 15 miles south of Rotterdam, captured intact by German paratroopers at the start of the operations. Two of these structures were then the longest road and rail bridges in the world. This move enabled the Germans to advance to Rotterdam and split the Netherlands in two. Counterattacks by the French Seventh Army failed to retake

the bridges and establish contact with Dutch forces. The French then were forced to fall back toward Antwerp, making the Dutch position untenable. Recognizing that further resistance would not reverse the situation, the Netherlands government considered capitulation. On 13 May, Queen Wilhelmina, other members of the Dutch Royal Family, and the government fled to Britain, where a government-in-exile was quickly established.

The resistance of Netherlands forces had surprised the Germans, and they wanted to end the campaign quickly to enable forces there to be shifted to France. When on 14 May the Germans demanded the surrender of Rotterdam, the Dutch at first refused. In one of the most controversial decisions of the war, Reichsmarschall and commander of the German air force Hermann Göring then decided to employ Ju-87 Stuka dive-bombers of Fliegerkorps IV against the city to hasten Dutch capitulation. Talks began at noon, but faulty communications meant that the air attack went forward and the city center was virtually destroyed. On 15 May, the Netherlands surrendered. In the five-days campaign, the Netherlands had lost 2,890 dead and 6,900 wounded. There are no separate German casualty figures for the Netherlands fighting. The Netherlands remained under German occupation for the next four years.

Thomas J. Weiler



German soldiers observe burning buildings as their forces attack Rotterdam in May 1940. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

See also

Belgium Campaign; Blitzkrieg; Bock, Fedor von; France, Battle for; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Küchler, Georg von; Netherlands, The; Reichenau, Walther von; SICHELSCHNITT, Operation; Sitzkrieg; Western European Theater of Operations; Wilhelmina, Queen of the Netherlands

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Netherlands East Indies

Indonesia was a Dutch possession during World War II and was known as the Netherlands East Indies (NEI). The world's largest archipelago, it is located in southeast Asia straddling the equator and sitting astride major strategic shipping

routes from the Pacific Ocean to the Indian Ocean. The NEI extends over a vast area some 2,275 miles wide by 1,135 miles long and comprises some 17,000 islands, 6,000 of which are inhabited. The largest of these islands were Java, Sumatra, Dutch Borneo, Dutch New Guinea, Celebes, western Timor, and the Moluccas. The 1940 population of the NEI was about 70 million people, of whom 1 million were Chinese and 250,000 were of Dutch extraction. About 70 percent lived on Java. The islands had as many as 300 different ethnic groups speaking 365 languages.

The NEI was immensely rich in natural resources, including oil (more than 59 million barrels produced in 1940), tin, bauxite, and coal. It also produced rubber, copra, nickel, timber, quinine, and important foodstuffs such as rice, sugar, coffee, and tea. The NEI thus represented a major prize for Japan in World War II, especially as Japan had no oil of its own.

Dutch rule in the islands was paternalistic and exploitive; the Indonesians were treated as little more than children. Some 90 percent of the population was illiterate; only a minority attended school in 1940, and few jobs were available for educated Indonesians in a bureaucracy dominated by the Dutch. The authorities ruthlessly crushed any nationalist sentiment, and repressive measures in the 1930s created a wide psychological breach between rulers and ruled.

In May 1940 in Europe, German forces quickly overran the Netherlands, although the Dutch Royal Family and some government officials escaped abroad and established a government-in-exile in London. The advisory Volksraad (People's Council) at Batavia, the NEI legislative body on Java, declared its loyalty to the London government but was soon virtually autonomous. It did refuse Japanese trade demands and obeyed the decision by the Dutch government-in-exile in August 1941 to cut off the export of oil to Japan.

The Netherlands government-in-exile, acting in concert with the British and U.S. governments, declared war on Japan after Japan attacked the United States at Pearl Harbor. Japan desperately needed the resources of the NEI and sought to add the NEI to its Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. Tokyo quickly dispatched a large number of troops to secure the islands as soon as possible. Beginning on 20 December 1941, units of Lieutenant General Imamura Hitoshi's Sixteenth Army landed on oil-rich Dutch Borneo as well as Celebes and the Moluccas. The poorly equipped Royal Netherlands East Indies Army resisted as best it could, supported by some British, Australian, and U.S. forces. With their few air assets soon destroyed, all the Allies could do was to delay briefly the Japanese advance. The Japanese navy crushed Allied naval forces in the Battle of the Java Sea, and on 8 March the Dutch surrendered on Java. Resistance continued in Dutch Borneo and Celebes until October 1942, and the Japanese never did conquer all the islands.



Antitank gun crew of the Netherlands East Indies Army, 9 December 1941. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Following their victory, the Japanese sent the Indonesian soldiers home and arrested some 170,000 Europeans, including 93,000 Dutch soldiers. All were treated inhumanely on starvation diets, which caused the deaths of 40 percent of the adult males, 13 percent of the women, and 10 percent of the children. Under the Japanese administrative division of the NEI, Java and Madura came under the jurisdiction of the Sixteenth Army. Strategically important Sumatra was controlled by the Twenty-Fifth Army, and the Celebes, the Moluccas, and Dutch New Guinea were under Japanese navy administration. The Japanese army and navy remained at odds, and there was no unified policy for the islands, which in any case differed sharply in size, population, and economy.

Many Indonesians initially welcomed the Japanese as liberators. However, Japanese rule was far more ruthless and exploitive than that of the Dutch. The Japanese took advantage of nationalist sentiment and worked with those leaders whose approach was to seek at least public accommodation with them. The systematic Japanese plunder of resources began immediately after the invasion. Japan also mobilized as many as 2 million unskilled laborers. More than 270,000

of these were sent overseas, but only 50,000 to 70,000 of them returned.

Because of a shortage of labor and the arrest of Dutch administrators, production fell off sharply. By 1943, rubber production was at one-fifth and tea at one-third of pre-1941 levels. Rice output fell 25 percent. The occupation currency issued by the Japanese also rapidly declined in value. By 1945, it was only worth 2.5 percent of face value. Severe shortages and acute economic hardship resulted. The closing of the export market also hurt the economy. In any case, thanks to Allied submarines, shipment of NEI resources to the Japanese home islands, especially desperately needed oil, steadily declined during the course of the war.

Japanese authorities early prohibited all political activities in the islands. They also banned use of Dutch and English and insisted on Japanese language instruction in the schools. Western symbols—statues, for example—were torn down, and streets were renamed. The Japanese ruthlessly crushed all dissent but worked with Indonesian nationalist leaders to help administer the islands under their “guidance.” Clearly, Japanese leaders hoped to annex the islands outright. In Jan-

uary 1943, as a means of securing support for the Japanese war effort, Japanese Prime Minister Tōjō Hideki announced that Burma and the Philippines would be made independent within a year. However, there was no such mention of independence for the NEI until 7 September 1944 (by Prime Minister Koiso Kuniaki), and then only at some unspecified future date.

As the tide of war sharply turned, the Japanese sought to mobilize Indonesians against the Dutch. This included heavy use of propaganda; military training for the young; and creation of a 25,000-man auxiliary military force, the Heiho, which served with the Japanese, and another volunteer force, the 57,000-man Peta, as a guerrilla operation under Indonesian command.

Support among Indonesians for Japan ebbed as the economy declined and as the Japanese seized rice stocks and requisitioned labor. In some cases, also, the Japanese army treated the population brutally. The occupation had the effect of crystallizing Indonesian opposition to foreign rule, and at the end of the war the nationalists moved into the vacuum. On 17 August 1945 at Jakarta, they proclaimed the archipelago independent of the Netherlands and then promulgated a new constitution. The Dutch government in the Netherlands initially refused to accept these actions. Not until 1949 did it bow to the inevitable and agree to an independent Republic of Indonesia.

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See also

Imamura Hitoshi; Java Sea, Battle of the; Koiso Kuniaki; Netherlands East Indies, Japanese Conquest of; Tōjō Hideki; United States, Submarine Operations against Japan Shipping

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Netherlands East Indies, Japanese Conquest of (1942)

The desire of Japanese leaders to secure the vast oil and mineral resources of the Netherlands East Indies was one of the principal reasons they took their country to war against the United States. The islands of the Netherlands East Indies (NEI), however, extended over a vast area some 2,275 miles wide by 1,135 miles long.

The Japanese planned a three-pronged semi-simultaneous strategy to secure the archipelago's resources as quickly as possible. In the east, their forces would move from forward bases in the southern Philippines on the islands of Ambon and Timor to sever communications and reinforcements from Australia. In the center, forces from the Philippines would push southward through Borneo and Celebes. In the west, Japan forces would move against Sumatra as soon as Singapore was conquered. Finally, when all initial objectives were secured, the three forces would combine for an assault on Java, the center of Allied naval operations in southeastern Asia and headquarters of the joint Allied military command, ABDA (Australian-British-Dutch-American).

Formed on 15 January 1942, the ABDA was charged with the defense of Malaya, Singapore, the Netherlands East Indies, and the northwestern coast of Australia. British General Sir Archibald Wavell commanded from Lembang, Java. He did what he could to rally his defenders, but Japanese resources were vastly superior. On 20 December, units of Lieutenant General Imamura Hitoshi's Sixteenth Army, having left from Mindanao, the Philippines, landed on Dutch Borneo, Celebes, and the Moluccas. On 11 January, Japanese paratroops saw their first action in the war when about 500 were dropped and secured an airfield on Celebes. Supported by the 21st and 23rd Air Flotillas, the Japanese also captured oilfields in Dutch Borneo and airfields at Kendari in Celebes and Ambon in the Moluccas. On 16 February, 460 Japanese paratroopers assisted other Sixteenth Army forces in taking the major oil refinery at Palembang in southern Sumatra. Japanese paratroopers also took part in the 19 February invasion of East Timor. Australian reinforcements bound for Timor turned back after Japanese bombers from Kendari began attacking the transports. On 19 and 27 February, Japanese raids destroyed much of the defenders' land-based aircraft fleet.

On the seas, the Allies had some success on the night of 23–24 January, when U.S. destroyers sank three Japanese transports off Balikpapan. Wavell hoped to concentrate his isolated assets, but protection of convoys took most of his surface ships, leaving only submarines and a handful of destroyers to defend the whole of the Indies.

For the defense of Java, the last of the Japanese objectives, the Allies had 12 Dutch and 2 Australian infantry battalions,

a U.S. artillery regiment, a home guard of 40,000 inexperienced volunteers, and some 90 aircraft. Land commander Lieutenant General H. ter Poorten placed his best troops at the extremities of the islands, where he expected the Japanese to come ashore. On 25 February, however, the ABDA command was dissolved and the Dutch governor-general on Java assumed command of the remaining forces.

Having secured their other land objectives, the Japanese put to sea two invasion forces for Java under Vice Admiral Ibo Takahashi. On 27 February 1942, the Japanese won a naval victory over Allied warships in the Battle of the Java Sea. Then, on 1 March, the Japanese landed in several locations on Java with the capital of Bandung as their ultimate objective. These assaults met only minimal resistance. The 48th Division reached the capital by 7 March, and the 56th Regiment broke off to assault Tjilatap, the chief port on the southern coast.

On 8 March, General ter Poorten surrendered 93,000 men of the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army. The Japanese also took as prisoners some 5,000 Australian, British, and U.S. military personnel. That same day, Japanese forces landed in northern Sumatra. By the end of the month, they had conquered all of Sumatra and had begun an invasion of Dutch New Guinea. Resistance continued in Dutch Borneo and Celebes until October 1942 and on Timor until December 1942. Part of Dutch New Guinea continued under Dutch control, and the Japanese never did conquer all of the 1,300 islands of the Netherlands East Indies.

Matthew H. Burgess and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Java Sea, Battle of the; Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival

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Neuengamme

See Concentration Camps, German.

NEULAND, Operation (February 1942–September 1943)

German submarine campaign in the Caribbean. In the shadow of Operation PAUKENSCHLAG (DRUMBEAT), the German

U-boat offensive against the American East Coast, the German U-boat command conceived a second offensive against Allied shipping in American waters. This new operation was named NEULAND and was aimed at Allied oil and gasoline shipments in and from the Caribbean Sea. The destruction of large numbers of tankers had a serious impact on both the U.S. and the British economies because, whereas the losses of dry-cargo tonnage were quickly replaced by new construction, tanker losses were not.

Operation NEULAND, as with DRUMBEAT, began like a thunderclap against a poorly prepared enemy, even though Admiral Karl Dönitz had dispatched only five large Type IX U-boats to the Caribbean. On 15 February 1942, two U-boats entered the two most important oil ports of the western hemisphere, Saint Nicholas on Aruba and Willemstad on Curaçao, where they torpedoed several tankers and attempted to shell the refineries. Meanwhile, the other three U-boats created havoc along the crude oil routes from Lake Maracaibo (Venezuela) and in the anchorage of Trinidad, the main Allied base in the region.

Although the Caribbean had been formally integrated into the U.S. seaward defense organization in July 1941, the initial response to the German threat was completely uncoordinated and ineffective. Between 1 February and 1 June 1942, German and Italian submarines encountered only minimal resistance in the Caribbean and sank 52 tankers (out of a total of 114 Allied tankers sunk in that period). The results were devastating: oil imports to Great Britain, which had stood at 1.1 million tons in February 1942, dropped to 623,000 in May. On 2 May, the British government asked the U.S. government for a loan of 700,000 tons of tanker tonnage to avert fuel starvation of the British war effort. The United States complied by transferring a total of 854,000 tons to Great Britain and Canada. The measure incurred a temporary rationing of oil in the northeastern United States until sufficient tank car and pipeline capacity, a more efficient allocation of tanker tonnage, and, ultimately, new tanker construction alleviated the situation during the second half of 1942.

Neither did the introduction of convoys in the Caribbean bring instant relief. The largely American escort forces in the Caribbean were initially inadequately equipped and too inexperienced to take on the battle-hardened U-boat veterans.

Nevertheless, by September 1942, the convoy system had forced the U-boats to concentrate around Trinidad in search of prey. Since February, the antisubmarine forces had accounted for six U-boats and had damaged several more. For the Germans, however, this was still a favorable exchange rate, given the destruction of 187 Allied merchant ships in the Caribbean to that point.

Whereas the offensive against the U.S. East Coast fizzled out in August 1942, the offensive in the Caribbean continued in October when the boats of the first wave returned after the



Tankers from Convoy TM.1 ablaze after a German U-boat attack. (Photo courtesy of Dirk Steffen)

necessary rest and maintenance period. In spite of the stiffened resistance and ceaseless American air patrols, German U-boats sank another 160 Allied merchant ships in the Caribbean Theater until the end of the year. During the 319 days of the offensive, the U-boats had thus sunk a total of nearly 1.9 million tons of Allied shipping in the Caribbean, or 36 percent of all Allied merchant ship losses in 1942 worldwide.

The second part of the offensive came to a climactic end with the destruction of two tanker convoys: TM.1, bound from Trinidad to Gibraltar, and TB.1, bound from Trinidad to Bahia (Brazil). In a spectacular four-day action from 8 to 12 January 1943, five U-boats sank seven of TM.1's nine tankers. The shadow of defeat that hung over the German U-boat campaign in early 1943, however, did not spare the Caribbean Theater. The reassignment of many boats to meet the Allied invasion fleet of North Africa (Operation TORCH) and the Allied air offensive in the Bay of Biscay, which forced many U-boats to abort their missions, resulted in a lull in Caribbean activities. When the German U-boat command attempted to revive the Caribbean Theater following the collapse of the main U-boat campaign in the North Atlantic

in May 1943, the offensive ended in failure before it could begin in earnest. Of 44 U-boats assigned to the renewed operation, 7 were lost in the Caribbean, but, even worse, 22 more—including 11 U-tankers and auxiliary U-tankers vital to the operation—were sunk during transit through the Bay of Biscay and through the Atlantic. The few fuel-starved U-boats that had made it into the Caribbean were hastily recalled after the loss of the U-tankers, and from September 1943 onward U-boats ventured into Caribbean only occasionally to maintain a diversion of Allied antisubmarine assets.

Dirk Steffen

See also

Antisubmarine Warfare; Atlantic, Battle of the; Bay of Biscay Offensive; "Black May"; Convoys, Allied; Dönitz, Karl; DRUMBEAT, Operation; TORCH, Operation

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New Britain, Landings (December 1943)

New Britain is an island in the northern Solomon Islands. Rabaul, the major Japanese air and naval base in the South Pacific, was located at the eastern end of the Solomon Islands. In 1942 and 1943, the major Allied effort in the Pacific war was centered on Operation CARTWHEEL, which was designed to neutralize Rabaul. Operation CARTWHEEL began in August 1942 with an Allied landing at Guadalcanal in the southern Solomons.

During the next year, the Allies advanced up the Solomons and along the northern coast of New Guinea so that by the fall of 1943, they were approaching New Britain. At the same time, Allied air raids eliminated Rabaul as a significant threat to future operations. Even though there seemed no reason to capture Rabaul, General Douglas MacArthur, commander of the Southwest Pacific Area, intended to establish

a presence on New Britain. An amphibious assault against the Japanese stronghold, which was defended by nearly 90,000 Japanese troops and naval personnel, was deemed too costly, but the western end of the island was defended by only 7,500 Japanese, who were cut off from reinforcements by a lack of roads, rugged terrain, and Allied air and naval superiority.

MacArthur planned a two-pronged attack. The 112th Cavalry Regiment would land at Arawe on the southwestern coast of New Britain to attract and pin down Japanese reserves, while the 1st Marine Division would land at Cape Gloucester on the northwestern coast, where the Japanese had two airstrips. From these airstrips and a patrol-torpedo (PT) boat base at Arawe, MacArthur would complete the isolation of Rabaul.

The New Britain landings began on 15 December 1943, when the 112th Cavalry Regiment landed at Arawe and established a strong perimeter against little resistance. On 26 December, two Japanese battalions launched a counterattack



United States soldiers landing at Cape Gloucester, New Britain Island, Papua, New Guinea. (Photo by US Navy/Getty Images)

but were beaten back, and in mid-January 1944 the 112th Cavalry eliminated the last pockets of Japanese resistance.

The Cape Gloucester landing began on 26 December. The Marines easily overwhelmed local Japanese resistance, although Japanese bombers sank the U.S. destroyer *Brownson*. By 30 December, the Marines captured Cape Gloucester; however, to secure the lodgment they had to expand their perimeter to two fortified hills on the western side of Borgen Bay. In fierce fighting made more difficult by swamps and heavy rains, they seized Hill 660 on 14 January 1944, ending any Japanese threat to Cape Gloucester.

New Britain now became a backwater as Allied forces moved west along the New Guinea coast. The Americans were content to protect their lodgments rather than mount an advance against Rabaul. But the Australian 5th Division, which replaced the Americans at the end of 1944, launched minor offensives against the Japanese that lasted until the end of the war. Total Allied casualties in the New Britain campaign were more than 2,000 killed and wounded. The Japanese lost more than 20,000 dead. In retrospect, given the air superiority the Allies had acquired over Rabaul by November 1943 and the seizure of the Huon Peninsula on New Guinea in early 1944, the New Britain landings were of little influence in the course of the war.

John Kennedy Ohl

See also

Macarthur, Douglas; Rabaul; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign; Southeastern Pacific Theater

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New Georgia, Battle of (July–October 1943)

The New Georgias are an island group in the central Solomon Islands, which were occupied by Allied forces from the South Pacific Area Command in the summer of 1943. The Battle of New Georgia was part of Operation CARTWHEEL, the Allied campaign to neutralize the Japanese base at Rabaul on New Britain Island at the northern end of the Solomons. At the end of June 1943, Major General John Hester's New Georgia Occupation Force (NGOF), which included Hester's 43rd Infantry Division, landed on islands in the New Georgia group to capture the airfield at Munda Point on the northwest coast of the

main island of New Georgia. Major General Sasaki Noboru commanded 10,500 Japanese troops on the island group.

The main U.S. advance toward Munda, entrusted to the 43rd Division, started on 5 July from Zanana Beach five miles east of the airfield. It immediately stalled in the face of fierce Japanese resistance, a shortage of supplies, poor leadership and inexperience, forbidding terrain, and jungle conditions. As the advance sputtered, the 37th Infantry Division and units from the 25th Infantry Division were committed, and Major General Oscar W. Griswold, commander of the XIV Corps, replaced Hester as commander of the NGOF. Griswold later replaced Hester as commander of the 43rd Division with Major General John Hodge.

Meanwhile, the Allied landings sparked a series of naval battles off New Georgia. On the morning of 6 July in the Battle of Kula Gulf, a U.S. Navy task force intercepted a Japanese squadron bringing reinforcements and supplies to New Georgia Island. The Americans lost a light cruiser while sinking two Japanese destroyers. A week later, in the Battle of Kolombangara, U.S. and Japanese task forces again tangled in an engagement in which the Japanese lost a light cruiser and the Americans a destroyer, and in the Battle of Vella Gulf on 6–7 August, a U.S. Navy task force of six destroyers smashed a Japanese squadron of four destroyers transporting 900 men and supplies to New Georgia. The Americans sank three of the Japanese destroyers, resulting in the deaths of some 1,000 Japanese. Thereafter, the Japanese gave up any hope of expelling the Americans from the island group.

Griswold launched a major offensive against Munda on 25 July supported by massive air, artillery, and naval bombardment. Initially, the Americans gained little ground, but after days of brutal close-in fighting, Griswold's men slowly pushed the outnumbered Japanese from their positions. On 5 August, following Noboru's decision to pull back because of heavy casualties, the 43rd Division captured Munda Airfield. During the next weeks, despite an aggressive pursuit, most of the remaining Japanese defenders escaped to nearby islands. In September, the Americans seized Baanga, Arundel, and Vella Lavella Islands. In early October, the campaign came to an end when the Japanese evacuated 9,000 defenders of Kolombangara Island to Bougainville Island 100 miles to the north.

The New Georgia operation provided the Allies with several good airfields and brought them closer to Rabaul. U.S. losses were 1,094 dead and 3,873 wounded, as well as several thousand casualties from disease and battle fatigue. Japanese losses are not known, although the XIV Corps reported 2,483 Japanese dead exclusive of those on Vella Lavella.

John Kennedy Ohl

See also

Kolombangara, Battle of; Kula Gulf, Battle of; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign; Southeastern Pacific Theater; Vella Lavella, Land Battle of; Vella Lavella, Naval Battle of



American soldiers cross a stream in the New Georgia Islands, 1943. (Corbis)

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New Guinea Campaign (8 March 1942–13 September 1945)

Important Pacific Theater land campaign that became the focal point for Australia's military efforts. The northeastern corner of the island of New Guinea, along with New Britain

Island, were granted to Australia as a League of Nations mandate after World War I. The southeastern corner of New Guinea contained the Australian colony of Papua.

On 23 January 1942, Japanese forces under Major General Horii Tomitaro invaded New Britain, capturing Rabaul from its Australian garrison, known as Lark Force. Moving into mainland New Guinea on 8 March, Japanese forces then occupied Lae and Salamaua. The Australian defenders (code-named Kanga Force) retreated to the mountain town of Wau while the Japanese moved against the ports of Madang, Finschhafen, and Wewak. For the next 10 months, there was a stalemate as both sides poured resources into the Papuan Campaign.

When the Papuan Campaign ended on 25 January 1943, 1,000 Japanese survivors escaped into New Guinea. That month the Japanese dispatched to New Guinea Lieutenant General Adachi Hatazo's Eighteenth Army. This included the 6th Air Division. The Japanese 41st Division deployed to

Wewak, the 20th Division deployed to Madang, and part of the 51st Division was dispatched to Lae/Salamaua.

To oppose the Japanese, General Douglas MacArthur had the U.S. 32nd and 41st Divisions and the Australian 6th and 7th Divisions and a militia brigade. The 32nd Division was not immediately available as a consequence of battle losses, and two of the brigades of the Australian 7th Division were temporarily deployed to Ceylon. The remaining brigade was sent to New Guinea to reinforce the militia brigade there. Australia was raising more militia, and its veteran 9th Division returned from Egypt in February. MacArthur also had the U.S. Fifth Fleet as well as the Royal Australian Air Force and the small U.S. Seventh Fleet comprising U.S., Australian, and Dutch warships.

To recover the initiative, Adachi ordered his 102nd Regiment to attack Wau on 16 January. By 28 January, the Japanese had driven Kanga Force to the edge of Wau Airfield, but the Australian 17th Brigade then flew in under Japanese fire to reinforce Wau. The fighting lasted until 30 January, when

the Japanese retreated to Salamaua. This defeat depleted the Japanese forces available to defend Lae/Salamaua. Thus on 28 February, the bulk of the Japanese 51st Division boarded 8 merchantmen at Rabaul and, escorted by 8 destroyers, this force sailed for Lae.

On 1 March, Allied aircraft spotted this convoy in the Bismarck Sea. MacArthur's air commander, Lieutenant General George Kenney, attacked with 181 aircraft. Employing skip-bombing techniques, during 2–5 March Kenney's planes destroyed all 8 Japanese transports and 4 destroyers, resulting in the loss of some 3,700 men. Only 850 Japanese soldiers reached Lae. In retaliation, the Japanese launched I Operation to destroy Allied air power in Papua and Guadalcanal. Between 11 and 14 April, Japanese aircraft struck Oro Bay, Milne Bay, and Port Moresby, destroying 2 Dutch merchantmen and 45 Allied planes. But Japanese aircraft losses were higher.

Both sides now slowly built up their forces. The Japanese used barges and submarines to reinforce Lae/Salamaua. MacArthur flew troops into Wau. During April, the Aus-



U.S. infantry advance past the wreckage of a Japanese plane near the Kamiri airstrip in New Guinea. The island of Noamfoor was taken within two days, and the Americans moved on to Saipan to achieve the same result, ca. 1944. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

tralian 3rd Division assembled at Wau and began to push toward Salamaua. MacArthur needed a coastal base for his twin offensives against Lae and Salamaua, and in the Seventh Fleet's first amphibious operation, the U.S. MacKechnie Force (named for Colonel Archibald R. MacKechnie) seized Nassau Bay on 29 June 1943. The Americans then moved up the coast toward Salamaua, linking up with the Australians on 21 July. Distracted by this threat, the Japanese were surprised by a U.S. airborne drop on Nazab in the Markham Valley on 1 September. Allied forces quickly constructed airfields to receive the 7th Division, which began an inland advance on Lae. The 9th Division then landed north of Lae on 4 September. The encircled Japanese abandoned Salamaua on 17 September and Lae the next day and retreated into the interior.

Pursued by the 7th Division, the Japanese conducted a fighting withdrawal through the rugged terrain of the Markham and Ramu Valleys. It took the Australians a month to overcome a key Japanese position at Sattleberg. To prevent these Japanese from reaching Finschhafen on the coast, the Australian 20th Brigade landed farther west at Scarlet Beach on 22 September. Now isolated, the defenders of Finschhafen joined the Japanese exodus inland on 2 October. Adachi tried to retake Finschhafen by counterattacking Scarlett Beach on 20 October, but his forces were defeated. MacArthur had found a winning strategy. He used the Australians to engage the Japanese while his American forces bypassed Japanese strongholds.

On 23 December 1943, U.S. Marines invaded New Britain Island. The Allies then constructed air bases there, enabling them to neutralize Japanese aircraft from Rabaul. On 2 January 1944, the U.S. 126th Regiment invaded Saidor and began a coastal drive on Madang. Meanwhile, the Australians pursued the Japanese overland toward Bogadjim, where a supply road led to Madang. Japanese defenses that were centered around Shaggy Ridge were taken on 23 January.

On 29 February 1944, U.S. forces invaded the Admiralty Islands north of New Guinea, severing the Japanese Eighteenth Army's lifeline to Rabaul. Then, on 10 February, the Australians linked up with the Americans at Saidor. The Japanese High Command reacted to this by withdrawing their defense line to Wewak, supported by a new base at Hollandia in Dutch New Guinea. The Japanese then sent their 6th Air Division from the Netherlands East Indies to defend these bases. Radio intercepts revealed these plans to MacArthur, who ordered an air offensive against Wewak and Hollandia. From 30 March to 16 April, the Fifth Air Force obliterated the 6th Air Division, destroying 390 planes and killing 2,000 Japanese pilots and air personnel.

After the fall of Bogadjim on 17 April 1944, the road to Madang was open to the Allies. Adachi evacuated his Madang headquarters, intending to fall back on Wewak and Hollandia. On 24 April, the Australians entered Madang. Two days previously, U.S. forces had invaded Hollandia and Aitape.

The Allied capture of Aitape 125 miles east of Hollandia blocked the escape of the Eighteenth Army. Now desperate, Adachi used his dwindling resources to transport three regiments to Aitape. Their unexpected attack on 11 July drove the U.S. 32nd Division to the Driniumor River. Fighting continued until 25 August, when the Japanese retired to Wewak.

During October 1944, the Australians replaced the Americans at Aitape. MacArthur's return to the Philippines was to be an American operation, with the Australians consigned to containing the bypassed Japanese. But the Australian government wanted Wewak retaken. This pointless offensive had little air or naval support, as that support had gone to the Philippines. On 23 May 1945, Wewak fell to the Australians, and Adachi retreated into the Prince Alexander Range for a last stand. The remnants of the Eighteenth Army surrendered there on 13 September 1945.

Jonathan "Jack" Ford

See also

Admiralty Islands Campaign; Australia, Role in War; Bismarck Sea, Battle of; Blamey, Sir Thomas Albert; Buna, Battle of; Coral Sea, Battle of the; Curtin, John Joseph; Darwin, Raid on; Hollandia, Battle of; Horii Tomitaro; Kokoda Trail Campaign; MacArthur, Douglas; Milne Bay, Battle of; New Britain Island; Papuan Campaign; Rabaul; Southwest Pacific Theater

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New Zealand, Role in War

With a population of only 1.6 million people in 1939, New Zealand made a major effort in World War II; it suffered the highest proportion of soldiers killed of any Commonwealth participant, and its expenditure on the war as a percentage of gross national product equaled that of Britain. New Zealand declared war on Germany shortly before midnight on 3 September 1939 (the same date as Great Britain). Two days later, Prime Minister Michael Joseph Savage affirmed his country's support for Britain: "Where she goes, we go; where she stands, we stand." The only real opposition to New Zealand's participation in the war came from the country's small Com-



Labor resources of New Zealand, with a total population of less than 2 million, were strained by the demands of wartime. Women worked in farms and factories to ensure production of food and provide facilities for American soldiers in the South Pacific. (Photo ca. 1940, Library of Congress)

munist Party. Apart from mines laid off its ports by auxiliary cruisers, New Zealand never came under actual attack by Axis forces.

New Zealand immediately pledged to raise a division-strong expeditionary force to serve with Commonwealth forces, to train pilots for the Royal Air Force (RAF), and to expedite shipments of food—chiefly meat, butter, and cheese—to help feed Britain (before the war, 97 percent of New Zealand food exports went to the UK). Wellington also released the New Zealand Division of the Royal Navy for service at the discretion of the British government, and it transferred other assets, including aircraft and personnel, to British command. Finally, the government initiated programs to enhance New Zealand's own military capabilities.

In June 1940, the government introduced conscription. Price controls, wage stabilization, and rationing were all gradually implemented to secure adequate supplies of food for export to Britain and help feed U.S. troops in the Pacific and to protect the economy. In July 1940, the General Assembly

formed a war cabinet, and in 1942 a national unity government came into being. For the first time in its history, New Zealand established diplomatic missions with non-Commonwealth nations, including the United States.

During the war, some 306,000 men were called up for military service. In June 1942, New Zealand had 157,000 in its armed services, 50,000 of them serving overseas. This represented half the adult male population aged 18 to 45 and 30 percent of the adult male workforce. One effect of this mobilization was a dramatic increase of women in the workforce, including in war-related industries. Also, at its peak in 1942, some 75,000 women served in organizations under the Women's War Service Auxiliary. Efforts were also initiated to mobilize the Maori population of 90,000 people, including the formation of a Maori Battalion organized along tribal lines.

In 1939, the Royal New Zealand Air Force (RNZAF) consisted of 2 bomber squadrons. During the war, the government maintained 2 reconnaissance squadrons in New Zealand and 2 in Fiji. New Zealand's main contribution early

in the air war, however, was to train RAF aircrew. At the beginning of the war, more than 500 New Zealanders served in the RAF; at the end of the conflict there were more than 10,000, including those in 7 New Zealand squadrons. RNZAF servicemen were in Great Britain undergoing training when the war began. These crews and their planes fought with the RAF in the Battle of Britain, in which 129 RNZAF pilots died. RNZAF pilots also served on Malta and in Africa. By the end of the war, the RNZAF had 83 aces.

To protect against German raiders in the Pacific, the British turned over a variety of aircraft to New Zealand, including reconnaissance aircraft and bombers. However, most of the planes were outdated, and the entry of Japan into the war necessitated the formation of New Zealand-based air squadrons. These fell under the operational command of the United States.

The RNZAF made a significant contribution to the air war in the Pacific; 7 squadrons and a radar squadron supported the Guadalcanal Campaign and 5 fought in the battles for the Eastern Solomon Islands. Some 45,000 served in the RNZAF during the war, one-third of them in the Pacific. By the end of the war, the RNZAF had grown from 766 personnel and 102 aircraft to 42,000 personnel with 1,336 aircraft. One-quarter of pilots aboard British carriers at the end of the war were from New Zealand. The RNZAF recruited women, and by August 1943 the

Women's Auxiliary Air Force numbered 4,000 personnel.

In 1939, the New Zealand Division of the Royal Navy consisted of 2 new light cruisers, the *Achilles* and *Leander*; a minesweeper trawler; and 2 British escort vessels. The *Achilles* participated in the December Battle of the Río de la Plata against the German pocket battleship *Admiral Graf Spee*. Since the country's navy was initially part of the Royal Navy, some 7,000 New Zealanders who volunteered for service were assigned to

British ships. Meanwhile, efforts were made to increase the nation's own naval resources. During the war, the navy added 2 corvettes, 16 minesweepers, 12 antisubmarine patrol boats, and more than 100 other craft. In October 1941, King George VI authorized the formal creation of the Royal New Zealand Navy (RNZN) with its own command structure, independent of the Royal Navy.

RNZN forces concentrated on minesweeping and defensive minelaying operations and provided convoy protection

for merchant vessels in the Pacific. They also escorted troopships on their way to Europe and the Middle East and hunted German commerce raiders. When Japan entered the war, the RNZN vessels joined the British Far East Fleet, but after the sinking of the British Navy battleship *Prince of Wales* and battle cruiser *Repulse*, the nation's naval assets in the Pacific were placed under the auspices of the U.S. forces until the return of the British navy in 1944. New Zealand forces participated in the July 1943 Battle of Kolombangara. Women also served in the RNZN; in 1944, there were 500 women in the New Zealand section of the Women's Royal Naval Service.

The initial ground contribution came in the form of the Second New Zealand Expeditionary Force (2nd NZEF, so designated to distinguish it from the First Expeditionary Force of World War I). Major General Bernard Freyberg, who had won the Victoria Cross during the Battle of the Somme in 1916, commanded the 2nd NZEF, whose members were commonly referred to as the "Kiwis." The New Zealand Division (designated 2nd Division in June 1942) represented, in terms of percentage of population, the equivalent of 25 British divisions). In June 1940, the government began conscripting men, and over the next five years it called up 306,000 men. At the peak in September 1942, there were 157,000 New Zealanders in the armed services, of whom 50,000 were stationed overseas. This was an astonishing effort for such a small nation.

Troops from the New Zealand Division were sent to Egypt at the onset of the war and then fought in the Balkan Campaign in 1941. Following the evacuation of the British Expeditionary Force from Greece, Freyberg was appointed commander on Crete with two New Zealand brigades. There the Kiwis lost almost half their number as casualties or prisoners of war. In New Zealand, the Battle for Crete was seen as a testament to the toughness of the Kiwi troops. New Zealand troops fought in the Battle of El Alamein in 1942 and in the Italian Campaign.

After Japan entered the war, public sentiment demanded the return of troops to protect New Zealand from Japanese invasion. To forestall the recall of New Zealand forces from the Middle East, British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill called on Washington to take up the slack, and the U.S. government agreed, as in the case of Australia, to reinforce New Zealand. The soldiers intermingled with the local population, and by the end of the war, there had been some 1,400 marriages between U.S. servicemen and New Zealand women. The New Zealand government attempted to raise another division of troops to fight in the Pacific, but after two years, it found it could neither spare the manpower nor did it have the financial resources. Consequently the division was disbanded. In 1944 the government released more than 9,000 men from this 3rd Division for civilian work, half of whom went into agriculture.

Kiwi forces fought in several battles in the Pacific, most notably in the Solomon Islands and in the invasion of the

During World War II, New Zealand suffered 11,671 dead, 15,749 wounded, and 8,469 taken prisoner, which was 6.7% of the population.

Treasury Islands in 1943. They also relieved American units for service elsewhere, including on Vella Lavella. Royal New Zealand Army (RNZA) units also provided a variety of combat support functions, including engineering and logistics for Allied forces in the Pacific. Women served in the RNZA as well. Formed in 1941, the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps had 4,600 members in July 1943.

In the war, New Zealand suffered 11,671 dead (6,839 in the army, 4,149 in the air force, 573 in the navy, and 110 in the merchant navy), 15,749 wounded, and 8,469 prisoners taken. This amounted to some 6.7 percent of the population.

Thomas Lansford and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Australia, Role in War; Britain, Battle of; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Crete; El Alamein, Battle of; Freyberg, Bernard Cyril; Guadalcanal, Land Battle for; Italy; Kolombangara, Battle of; Plata, Río de la, Battle of; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign; Vella Lavella, Land Battle of

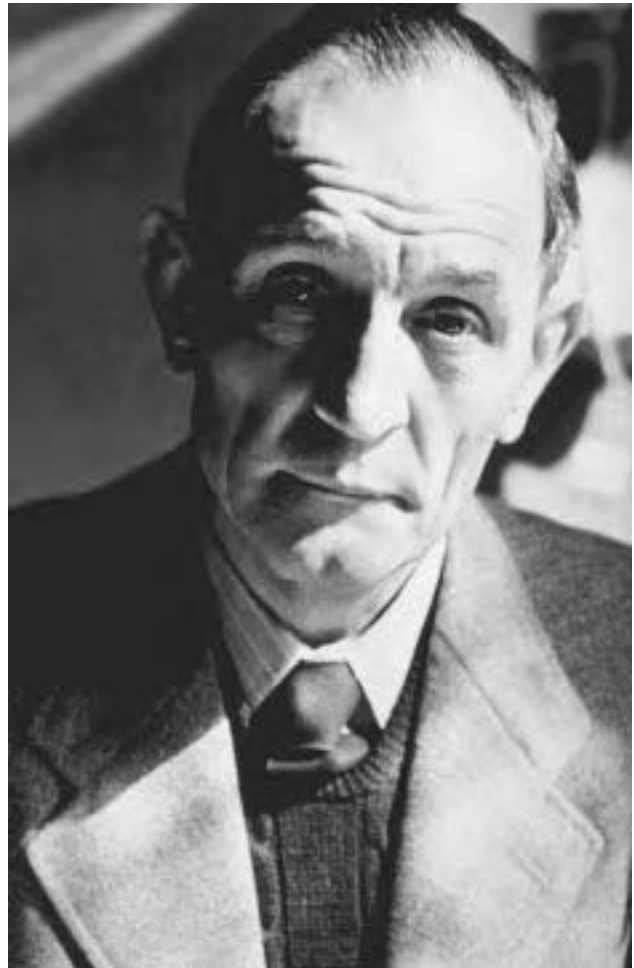
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Niemöller, Martin (1892–1984)

German clergyman and opponent of national socialism. Born on 14 January 1892 in Lippstadt, Westphalia, the son of a Lutheran pastor, Friedrich Gustav Emil Martin Niemöller joined the navy in 1910 and served with distinction as a U-boat captain during World War I. Following the war, Niemöller studied theology at the University of Münster and was ordained a Lutheran minister in 1924. In 1931, he accepted a pastoral post in Berlin-Dahlem.

Niemöller initially supported the National Socialists and voted for the party beginning in 1924. After Adolf Hitler came to power in January 1933, however, Niemöller became concerned about Nazi attempts to control the churches, and he opposed government interference in religious matters. He helped lead religious opposition to the regime and helped to found the Pastors Emergency League in September 1933 and



German clergyman Martin Niemöller. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

the Confessional Church, formed in opposition to Nazi-imposed church organization, in May 1934.

After a verbal confrontation with Hitler during a meeting in January 1934, Niemöller found himself targeted by the Nazi regime. Arrested in July 1937 by the Gestapo and tried on charges of “attacks against the State” and “abuse of the pulpit,” he received a sentence of seven months, but the court considered it already served. Immediately after the trial, the Gestapo again seized Niemöller and sent him to Sachsenhausen concentration camp as “the Führer’s personal prisoner.” In 1941, Niemöller was transferred to Dachau, where he remained for the rest of the war.

Surviving the concentration camps, Niemöller helped draft the Stuttgart Confession of Guilt. This document stated that German Protestant churches had been morally responsible for failing to resist the Nazis. He also opposed German rearmament and became a peace activist. Martin Niemöller died in Wiesbaden on 6 March 1984.

R. Kyle Schlafer

See also

Bonhoeffer, Dietrich; Concentration Camps, German; Germany, Home Front; Hitler, Adolf; Religion and the War

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Nimitz, Chester William (1885–1966)

U.S. Navy Admiral of the Fleet and commander of the Pacific Fleet. Born far from the sea on 24 February 1885 in Fredericksburg, Texas, Chester Nimitz graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1905. He then served with the U.S. Asiatic Fleet, steadily advancing in rank and position. Promoted to lieutenant in 1910, he assumed command of the submarine *Skipjack* in 1912. He then studied diesel engine construction in Europe and supervised construction of the U.S. Navy's first diesel ship engine. On U.S. entry into World War I in April 1917, Lieutenant Commander Nimitz served as chief of staff to the commander of submarines in the Atlantic Fleet (1917–1919).

Following the war, Nimitz was appointed to the Navy Department staff in Washington, and in 1920 he transferred to Pearl Harbor to oversee construction of a new submarine base there. Over the next 20 years, he served in a wide variety of submarine billets as well as aboard battleships and destroyers. He also spent several tours in Washington and helped establish the first Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps programs in American universities. He won promotion to rear admiral in 1938.

When Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941, Nimitz was chief of the Bureau of Navigation. On 31 December 1941, on the recommendation of navy secretary Frank Knox, President Franklin D. Roosevelt promoted Nimitz to full admiral and appointed him commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, replacing Admiral Husband E. Kimmel at Pearl Harbor. Although a single U.S. command in the Pacific would have been far more advantageous, General Douglas MacArthur would not agree to serve under a naval officer. As a result, two commands emerged. As commander in chief, Pacific Ocean Area, Nimitz directed all U.S. military forces in the Central Pacific and provided support to MacArthur and his Southwest Pacific forces.

Although the Allies made the war against Japan secondary to their Europe First strategy, Nimitz did not delay his plans to halt Japanese expansion, retake Japan's gains, and push the war to the Japanese homeland. Using information provided by American code-breakers about Japanese plans, Nimitz halted the Japanese invasion of Port Moresby in the Battle of the Coral Sea in May 1942 and the Japanese effort to take Midway that



U.S. Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet, 1944. (Bettmann/Corbis)

June. The latter battle transferred the initiative to the Americans. Nimitz and MacArthur cooperated in a series of island-hopping campaigns that progressed closer and closer to the Japanese mainland. Nimitz's forces took the Gilbert Islands in November 1943, the Marshall Islands in February 1944, and the Mariana Islands in August 1944. In October, he joined MacArthur's forces to retake the Philippines. Nimitz's accomplishments were recognized in December 1944 by his promotion to the newly established five-star rank of Admiral of the Fleet. In early 1945, Nimitz directed the offensives against Guam, Iwo Jima, and Okinawa. His forces were preparing to invade Japan when the Japanese surrendered. On 2 September, Nimitz signed the formal Japanese surrender aboard the battleship *Missouri* in Tokyo bay.

Nimitz returned to Washington in October and assumed the post of chief of naval operations. For the next two years, he supervised the postwar demobilization of men and ships and provided input into the development of nuclear-powered submarines. Nimitz retired in December 1947. In the following years, he briefly served as adviser to the secretary of the navy and for two years he was the United Nations commissioner for Kashmir. Nimitz died on 20 February 1966 near San Francisco, California.

James H. Willbanks

See also

Coral Sea, Battle of the; Japan, Navy; Kimmel, Husband Edward; Knox, William Franklin; MacArthur, Douglas; Midway, Battle of; Pacific Theater; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Signals Intelligence; Yamamoto Isoroku

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Normandy Invasion (D day, 6 June 1944) and Campaign

The cross-Channel invasion of France. U.S. officials, principally army chief of staff General George C. Marshall, had long sought the earliest possible invasion of France as the way to win the war in the shortest possible time. They supported both GYMNAST, a British cross-Channel invasion contingency plan for late 1942, and ROUNDUP, a 48-division invasion of France projected to occur by April 1943. The failure of the Allied raid on Dieppe, France (Operation JUBILEE), on 19 August 1942, however, led the Americans to concede to the British position that a cross-Channel invasion was many months, if not years, in the future. Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill and British planners, meanwhile, sought to interest the United States in a more opportunistic approach that would include operations in the Mediterranean Theater, and the Americans reluctantly went along.

This led to Operation TORCH, the Allied invasion of North Africa, and to subsequent British and U.S. landings in Sicily and Italy. The United States insisted, however, that the Italy Campaign would be a limited effort. At the Tehran Conference in November 1943, Soviet leader Josef Stalin had pressed President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Churchill for the cross-Channel invasion. Stalin agreed to mount a major offensive by the Soviets on the Eastern Front to coincide with the landing. He also pressed Roosevelt to name the commander of the invasion force, and shortly after the conference Roosevelt appointed General Dwight D. Eisenhower to the post of Supreme Commander, Allied Expeditionary Forces.

Fortress Europe and its coasts of Holland, Belgium, and France bristled with all manner of German fortifications and booby traps. Organization Todt had begun erecting defenses there in mid-1942. Over the next two years, the Germans used

some 17.3 million cubic yards of concrete and 1.2 million tons of steel in thousands of fortifications. Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, who had command of Army Group B and the coastal defenses, disagreed with German commander in chief West Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt. Rommel, well aware from the campaign in North Africa what complete Allied domination of the air would mean, believed that, if it was to be stopped at all, the invasion had to be defeated on the beaches. Rommel told Adolf Hitler, “If we don’t manage to throw them back at once, the invasion will succeed in spite of the Atlantic Wall.” Rundstedt and Hitler placed their hopes in a large mobile reserve that would defeat the Allied forces once they were ashore. Indeed, Hitler seems to have welcomed the inva-

sion as a chance to engage and destroy the British and U.S. forces. In Britain, the Allied armies could not be touched; in France, they could be destroyed. Hitler was convinced that the Allied effort would result in another Dieppe. “Let them come,” he said. “They will get the thrashing of their lives.”

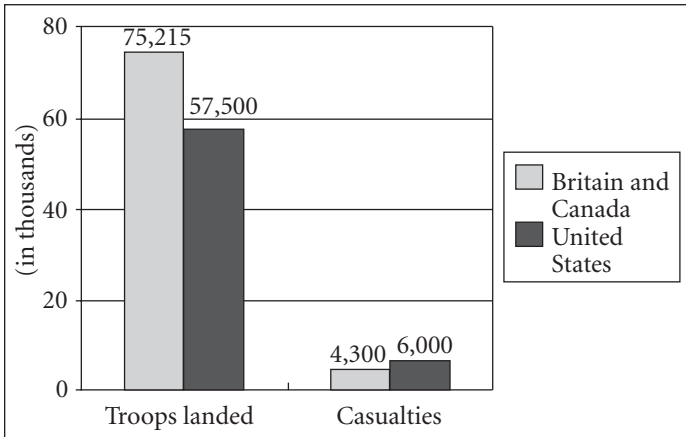
Rommel did what he could, supervising the construction of elaborate defenses, the placement of a half million foreshore obstacles, and the laying of some 4 million mines. Rommel had at his disposal in the Fifteenth Army in northern France and the Seventh Army in Normandy a total of 25 static coastal divisions, 16 infantry and parachute divisions, 20 armored and mechanized divisions, and 7 reserve divisions. The Germans were weak in the air and on the water, however. The Third Air Fleet in France deployed only 329 aircraft on D day, whereas German naval forces in the area consisted of 4 destroyers and 39 E-Boats. Germany also deployed several dozen U-boats, most from French ports, during the campaign.

Meanwhile, U.S. and British aircraft worked to soften the German defenses and isolate the beachheads. Between 1 April and 5 June 1944, Allied aircraft flew 200,000 sorties in support of the coming invasion and dropped 195,000 tons of bombs. The Allies lost 2,000 of their own aircraft in the process, but by D day they had largely isolated the landing areas, and they had achieved virtually total air supremacy.

The Germans also greatly strengthened the Channel port defenses, which Hitler ordered turned into fortresses. All of this was for nought because, as German Minister of Armaments Albert Speer noted, the Allies came over the beaches and “brought their own port with them. . . . Our whole plan of defense had proved irrelevant.” In one of the greatest military engineering achievements in history, thousands of men labored in Britain for months to build two large artificial harbors known as “Mulberries.” Plans called for these, after the

The Normandy invasion required more than 14,000 aircraft and 5,500 ships.

Allied Troops and Casualties, Normandy Invasion, D-Day



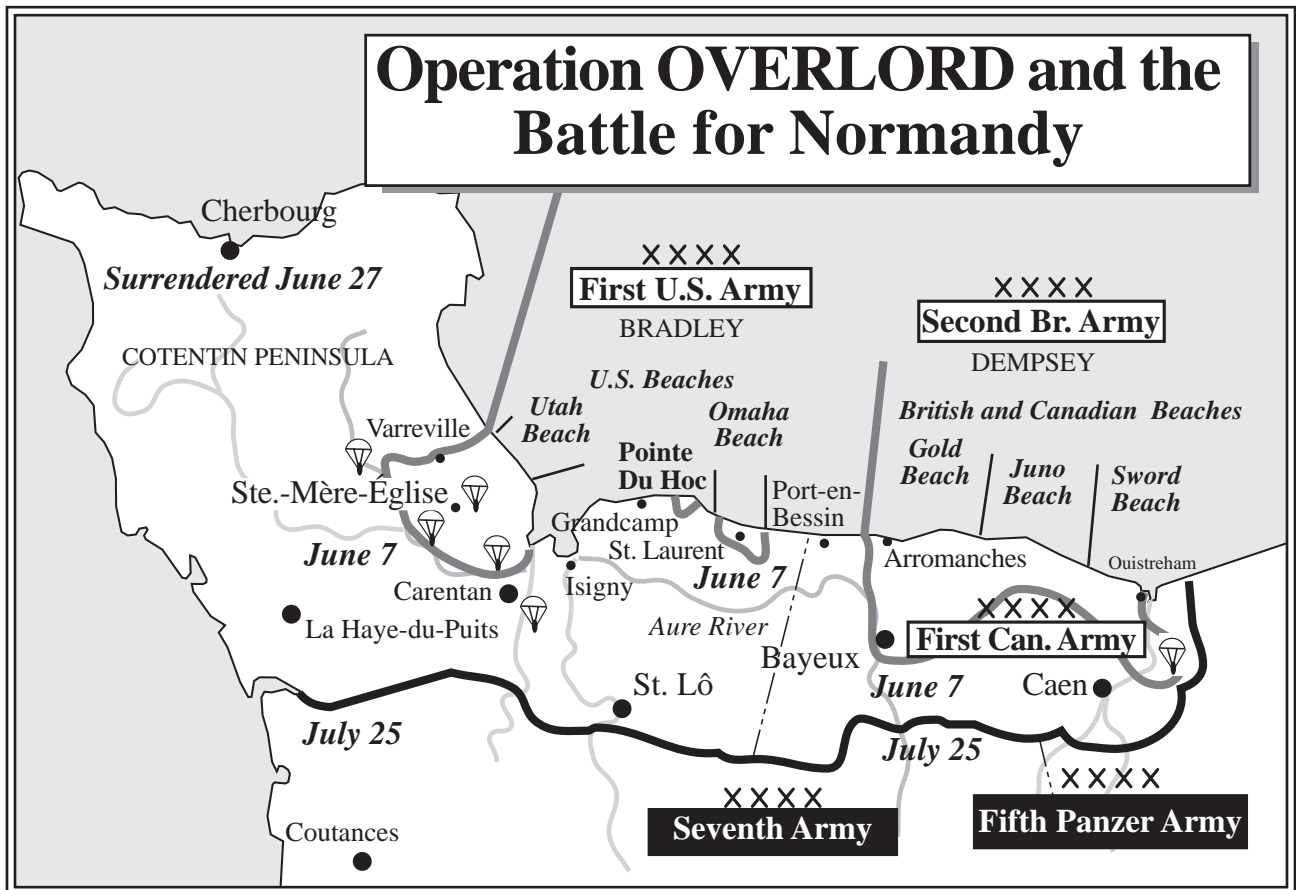
initial Allied landings, to be hauled across the Channel from Britain and sunk in place. Their importance to the Allied cause may be seen in that, by the end of October, 25 percent of stores, 20 percent of personnel, and 15 percent of vehicles had passed through Mulberry B.

The Allies worked out precise and elaborate plans for the mammoth cross-Channel invasion, code-named **OVERLORD**, to occur on the Cotentin Peninsula in Normandy. British Admiral Bertram H. Ramsay had overall command of the

naval operation, code-named **NEPTUNE**, and British General Bernard Montgomery exercised overall command of the land forces. The object of the operation was “to secure a lodgement on the continent, from which further offensive operations can be developed.”

The landing itself would be preceded by a night drop of paratroopers. General Marshall, an enthusiastic supporter of airborne forces, urged the use of five airborne divisions, but Eisenhower had his doubts, and as it transpired, only three were used: the British 6th and the U.S. 82nd and 101st. The lightly armed paratroopers, operating in conjunction with the French Resistance, had the vital task of securing the flanks of the lodgment and destroying key transportation choke points to prevent the Germans from reinforcing their beach defenses. The German 21st Panzer and 12th Schutzstaffel (SS) Panzer divisions were stationed just outside Caen. If they were permitted to reach the beaches, they could strike the amphibious forces from the flank and roll them up.

The amphibious assault would occur early in the morning after the airborne assault with 5 infantry divisions wading ashore along the 50-mile stretch of coast, divided into 5 sectors. The designated beaches were, from west to east, the U.S. 4th Infantry Division (Utah), the U.S. 1st Infantry (Omaha), the British 50th Infantry (Gold), the Canadian 3rd Infantry





American soldiers landing at Normandy under German fire during the D day invasion of France, 6 June 1944. (Bettmann/Corbis)

(Juno), and the British 3rd Infantry (Sword). Operation **OVERLORD** proved a vast undertaking. The airborne forces alone would require 1,340 C-47 transports and 2,500 gliders. Ten thousand aircraft would secure the skies. Naval support for the invasion would come from 138 bombardment warships, 221 destroyers and other convoy escorts, 287 minesweepers, 495 light craft, and 441 auxiliaries. In addition, there were 4,000 landing ships and other craft of various sizes.

Invasion commander General Eisenhower faced a difficult decision, given terrible weather in the days preceding the planned landing. Informed by his chief meteorologist that a break in the weather might occur, Eisenhower decided to proceed. This decision worked to the Allies' advantage, for the Germans did not expect a landing in such poor weather. The French Resistance was informed by radio code, and the airborne forces took off.

The airborne operation involving 23,400 U.S. and British paratroops occurred on schedule on the night of 5–6 June, but thick cloud banks over Normandy caused pilots to veer off course to avoid midair collisions. German antiaircraft fire,

jumpy flight crews, and Pathfinders who were immediately engaged in firefights on the ground and unable to set up their beacons led to premature drops and to paratroopers being scattered all over the peninsula. Some were even dropped into the English Channel, where they were dragged down by their heavy equipment. Gliders crashed into obstacles, and they and the paratroopers came down in fields that had been deliberately flooded by the Germans as a defensive measure. Much equipment was thus lost. Nonetheless, the wide scattering of forces caused confusion among the defenders as to the precise Allied plans. Officers collected as many men as they could, and improvised units were soon moving on the objectives, most of which were secured.

Success was likely if the Allies could establish a bridgehead large enough to allow them to build up their strength and overcome the German defenders. Once they broke out, the Allies would have the whole of France for maneuver, because their armies were fully mechanized and the bulk of the defending German forces were not. The only possibility of German success was for the defenders rapidly to introduce panzer



Bomb damage in Cherbourg, France in June 1944 during the Normandy Campaign. (National Archives)

reserves, but this step was fatally delayed by two factors. The first was Allied naval gunfire support and air superiority of 30:1 over Normandy itself (there were large numbers of ground-support aircraft, especially the P-47 Thunderbolt and the P-51 Mustang). The second factor was Hitler's failure immediately to commit resources available elsewhere. Hitler was convinced that the invasion at Normandy was merely a feint and that the main thrust would come in the Pas de Calais sector. Allied intelligence played a key role in deluding him.

The British "doublecross" system worked to perfection. Every German agent in Britain was either dead, jailed, or working for British intelligence. The British actually controlled the entire German spy network in the United Kingdom and used it to feed disinformation to the Germans. Operations FORTITUDE NORTH and FORTITUDE SOUTH also deceived Hitler. Operation FORTITUDE NORTH caused him to believe that the Allies intended to invade Norway from Scotland, leading him to maintain and even reinforce substantial German units there; FORTITUDE SOUTH led Hitler to believe that the main Allied effort in France would come in the form of a subsequent landing in the Pas de Calais area, the narrowest point of the English Channel, and that the lodgment in Normandy was only a feint. To this end the Allies created the "First U.S. Army Group" under

Lieutenant General George S. Patton, still without command following an incident in which he had slapped soldiers suffering from combat fatigue in Sicily. The Germans expected the aggressive Patton would command any Allied invasion of the Continent. First U.S. Army Group, a notional formation of 18 divisions and 4 corps headquarters, contributed nothing to OVERLORD but did confuse the Germans.

Not until late July did Hitler authorize the movement of the Fifteenth Panzer Army from the Pas de Calais to Normandy. In effect, the deception totally immobilized 19 German divisions east of the Seine. Although units of the Fifteenth Army were moved west to Normandy before that date, this was done piecemeal and hence they were much easier for the Allies to defeat.

Meanwhile, the Normandy invasion began. In the days before the invasion, some 2,700 vessels manned by 195,000 men were on the move. They transported 130,000 troops, 2,000 tanks, 12,000 other vehicles, and 10,000 tons of supplies. At about 5:30 A.M. on June 6, 1944, the bombardment ships opened up against the 50-mi-long invasion front, engaging the German shore batteries. The first U.S. assault troops landed 30 to 40 minutes later, and the British landing craft were ashore 2 hours later.

The landing was in jeopardy only on Omaha Beach, where, because of rough seas, only 5 of 32 amphibious duplex-drive tanks reached the shore. Support artillery was also lost when DUKW amphibious trucks were swamped by the waves. Some landing craft were hit and destroyed, and those troops of the 1st Infantry Division who gained the beach were soon pinned down by a withering German fire. U.S. First Army commander Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley even considered withdrawal. At 9:50 A.M., the gunfire support ships opened up against the German shore batteries. Destroyers repeatedly risked running aground to provide close-in gunnery to assist the troops ashore; indeed several destroyers actually scraped bottom. It was nearly noon before the German defenders began to give way. The 1st Infantry Division overcame German opposition with sheer determination reinforced by the knowledge that there was no place to retreat.

The landings on the other beaches were much easier. Overall, for the first day, the Allies sustained some 10,300 casualties—4,300 British and Canadian and 6,000 U.S. A recent study suggests that a nighttime landing would have produced fewer casualties. The Allies had used nighttime landings with great success in the Mediterranean, but Montgomery believed that overwhelming Allied air and naval power would make a daytime landing preferable. Still, the losses were comparatively light.

Unfortunately for the Allies, during 19–20 June a force 6–7 storm blew out of the northwest and severely damaged Mulberry A in the American sector. It also sank well over 100 small craft and drove many more ashore, bringing to a halt the discharge of supplies. Vital ammunition stocks had to be flown in. Mulberry A was abandoned, but a strengthened Mulberry B provided supplies to both armies until the end of the war.

The Allies put ashore 75,215 British and Canadian troops and 57,500 U.S. forces on D day and 1 million men within a month. Eventually, the United States committed 60 divisions to the battle for the Continent. The British and Canadians never had more than 20, and as the disparity grew, so too did U.S. influence over military and political strategy. Churchill was understandably insistent that Montgomery exercise prudence and not sacrifice his men needlessly, which would reduce British influence even further.

The Allied ground offensive, meanwhile, proceeded more slowly than expected. Hitler ordered his armies to fight for every inch of ground rather than withdraw along phase lines as his generals wanted. This decision by Hitler at first delayed the Allied timetable. However, it also greatly accelerated the ultimate defeat and ensured that it would be costly. Complete Allied air superiority devastated the Germans by day and forced them to move largely at night. The French Resistance also played an important role, providing the invading Allied forces with intelligence information and impeding German

resupply efforts through sabotage and the destruction of rolling stock and bridges.

The Normandy countryside proved ideal defensive terrain. Over the centuries, the dividing lines between individual fields had been allowed to grow up into tangled hedgerows. This *bocage* resisted passage and slowed the Allied advance to a crawl. On June 17 and 18, the Germans blocked Montgomery's efforts to take the city of Caen. Major General J. Lawton Collins's U.S. VII Corps had more success on the Allied right, gradually pushing across the base of the Cotentin Peninsula. On 18 June, it turned north to liberate the important port of Cherbourg, while the remainder of Bradley's army maintained an aggressive defense. Cherbourg fell on 27 June, but its German defenders destroyed the harbor facilities, and it would take U.S. engineers under Major General Lucius Clay six weeks to get the harbor facilities back in operation.

Not until Operation COBRA on 25–31 July were the Allies able to break out. Bradley's U.S. First Army forced the German line west of Saint-Lô, and Collins's VII Corps made the main effort. All northern France was open for the highly mechanized Allied units to maneuver. On 15 August, Allied forces also came ashore on the French Mediterranean coast in Operation DRAGOON. The German defenders were now in full retreat, but it remained to be seen if the Allies could maintain their fast-lengthening supply lines and end the war in the west before the Germans had a chance to recover.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Airborne Forces, Allied; Bradley, Omar Nelson; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Clay, Lucius DuBignon; COBRA Operation; Collins, Joseph Lawton; Counterintelligence; Deception; Dieppe Raid; DRAGOON Operation; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; FORTITUDE, North and South, Operations; Hitler, Adolf; Marshall, George Catlett; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Mulberries; Ramsay, Sir Bertram Home; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von; Speer, Albert; Stalin, Josef; Tehran Conference; Todt Organization

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Norstad, Lauris (1907–1988)

U.S. Army Air Forces general. Born on 24 March 1907 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, Lauris Norstad graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1930. Commissioned in the cavalry, he was soon assigned to the Army Air Corps. After a series of operational assignments in the Air Corps, he graduated from the Air Corps Tactical School in 1939 and was promoted to captain the next year. In November 1940, he was the assistant chief of staff for intelligence at General Headquarters, Air Force. He was promoted to major in June 1941 and to lieutenant colonel in January 1942. In February 1942, Norstad served as a member of commander of Army Air Forces Lieutenant General Henry Arnold's personal advisory council and conducted studies on strategic issues. He was promoted to colonel in July 1942 and became the assistant chief of staff for operations of the Twelfth Air Force. In this capacity, he traveled to London and helped plan the air component of the invasion of North Africa, Operation TORCH.

After the invasion, Norstad also assumed broader responsibility as assistant chief of staff for operations for Northwest African Air Forces. Promoted to brigadier general in March 1943, that December he became director of operations of the Mediterranean Allied Air Forces. He helped plan and direct the air operations during the invasions of Sicily and Italy and air support for the campaign in Italy, including the interdiction efforts of Operations STRANGLE and DIADEM.

In August 1944, Norstad returned to Washington with dual responsibilities as chief of staff for the Twentieth Air Force and deputy chief of the air staff. His staff responsibilities changed when he was made assistant chief of the air staff for plans in May 1945. The next month, he was promoted to major general. In his Twentieth Air Force role, Norstad was directly involved in planning the final bombing campaign against Japan, including the dropping of the atomic bombs.

After the war, Norstad served as the director of plans and operations of the War Department, and in 1947 he became the first vice chief of staff for operations of the new U.S. Air Force. In October 1950, General Norstad began a series of senior European assignments in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. He initially served as commander of U.S. Air Forces in Europe (1950–1953) with combined responsibility as Commander, Allied Air Forces Central Europe. In July 1952, he was



U.S. Air Force General Lauris Norstad, shown in 1956. (Bettmann/Corbis)

advanced to full general. He was then elevated to air deputy to the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (1953–1956) and then to Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (and to commander in chief of U.S. European Command when it was created). He served as Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, from November 1956 until he retired in January 1963. Norstad died in Tucson, Arizona, on 12 September 1988.

Jerome V. Martin

See also

Arnold, Henry Harley "Hap"; Atomic Bomb, Decision to Employ; B-29 Raids against Japan; Eaker, Ira Clarence; Incendiary Bombs and Bombing; Italy Campaign; LeMay, Curtis Emerson; North Africa Campaign, 1940–1943; STRANGLE, Operation; Strategic Bombing; TORCH, Operation

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North Africa, Role in the War

In 1939 all the countries of the Maghreb—the Mediterranean coastal region of North Africa stretching from the Atlantic

shoreline of Morocco to Libya's border with Egypt—were under administration by one or more of the European colonial powers of France, Spain, and Italy. This was a relatively recent development: although Spain had possessed tiny island enclaves along the Barbary coast since the late *reconquista* period, the first serious encroachment did not begin until 1830, when the French began their conquest in Algeria. Morocco and Libya had not been incorporated into the European orbit until the eve of World War I. Although the Maghreb had a long history of previous colonial suzerainty from Ottoman Turkey, the problems of administering such a vast and forbidding region—1.8 million square miles spread over 38 degrees of longitude—meant that Constantinople's hold had been traditionally weak, and the indigenous peoples were very conscious of their autonomous heritage. World War II was to provoke an even greater desire among the inhabitants for national independence, establishing the conditions for the tumultuous decolonization saga of the 1950s.

Each North African state was organized under unique constitutional arrangements, and the states' wartime experiences were a product of peculiar local circumstances and events; but several general conditions applied to some degree throughout the whole of the Maghreb. Geographically, the region was composed of a fertile coastal strip running along the Mediterranean shoreline that contained most of the farms and larger settlements and a barren desert hinterland broken by the Atlas mountain chain. The population was predominantly Arabic and Berber, the Berbers tending to live in semi-autonomous nomadic tribes away from the coast. About 10 to 15 percent of the inhabitants were colonists, a heterogeneous mixture of southern European stock—Spanish, French, Italian, and Maltese. This elite community owned most of the best land, controlled the local political and legal administrations, and was vociferously opposed to any attempt by their metropolitan governments to make concessions to the local population.

Resistance to the imperial regime usually came in three forms, either singly or in combination. If the Europeans had maintained a traditional client ruler, that ruler might—however complacent his manner—become the focus of patriotic opposition. Religious revivalists and unconquered tribal chieftains sometimes provided a premodern call to arms. Most significantly of all, the small class of local European-educated residents that had been nurtured to serve in each colony's petty bureaucracy became politicized during the 1920s and 1930s, spawning nationalist parties that demanded civic rights and representative assemblies. These parties were typically banned and their leaders incarcerated in periodic bouts of colonialist repression.

The outbreak of European war did not immediately disturb the Maghreb. The territories of French Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia sent regiments of indigenous and settler

troops to man the Franco-German border, but their neighbors in Spanish Morocco and Italian Libya remained neutral. Italy's entry into the war on 10 June 1940 and the swift French collapse a few weeks later transformed the situation. For the next two years, Libya was a fiercely contested battleground in the war between the British Western Desert forces and the Italians, later reinforced to spectacular effect by German General Erwin Rommel's Afrika Korps. The French North African colonies spurned General Charles de Gaulle's entreaties to continue the war against the Axis powers, and Vichy administrators remained loyal to the Henri Pétain government—a decision made all the easier by the Royal Navy's preemptive strike on units of the French fleet at Mers-el-Kébir in northwest Algeria on 3 July 1940.

In November 1942, the combined Anglo-American forces of Operation TORCH landed on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, with subsidiary operations around Oran and Algiers. These met scattered and indifferent resistance, and after a few days the local Vichy authorities—who had already seen their home government overrun by the Germans as a retaliatory measure—capitulated to the Allies. The subsequent inheritance of French North Africa was a matter of intrigue, with claimants including the former Vichy commander in chief Admiral Jean Darlan (assassinated a month after the landings) and the feuding Free French commanders de Gaulle and General Henri Giraud.

Despite American opposition, de Gaulle proved more politically adept than his rivals, and it was ultimately the Gaullist-dominated Comité Français de la Libération Nationale that secured power. During this period, the Axis forces had been defeated in Egypt, and with Libya secured for the Allies, the final military encounter took place in Tunisia. In May 1943, the Germans and Italians were finally expelled from the African continent. France's triumphant reconquest of the Maghreb was at best a partial victory, however: its humiliation in 1940 had not gone unnoticed by the indigenous population, and the heady Allied rhetoric of liberation was seized on by local nationalists who saw little victory in a mere transition between imperial occupiers.

Each of the North African colonies was affected differently by the war. Algeria was the keystone of French North Africa, and uniquely among the Maghreb territories, it was administered as a metropolitan *département* with a governor-general answering to the Ministry of the Interior in Paris. Its 6.6 million Arab and 1 million European settler (*colon*) population lived mostly along the Mediterranean shore, with the massive Saharan hinterland given over to army patrols and scarcely governed Berber nomads. Moderate assimilationist reformers like the Young Algerians had given way by the 1920s to more radical nationalist campaigners, such as Ahmed Messali Hadj, who were subsequently persecuted by the colon-led authorities. An attempt by the Popular Front government in 1936 and

1937 to grant full French citizenship to certain Algerians without stripping them of their Islamic property and marriage rights—a traditional bar to naturalization—met with such tenacious resistance from the settlers that it was abandoned. After the armistice in 1940, the colons accepted the new Vichy regime with little outward dissent, the appointment of the highly esteemed General Maxime Weygand as the new delegate general for North Africa helping to smooth the transition. Their focus of attention remained the crushing of nationalist activism. In March 1941, Hadj's Parti Populaire Algérien was broken up and its leaders sentenced to long prison terms.

Following the TORCH landings and Algeria's reversion to the Allied cause, there were new nationalist initiatives, predominant among them the "Manifesto of the Algerian People" presented to the authorities in February 1943 by its author Ferhat Abbas (later first president of the Algerian Republic). Governor General Marcel Peyrouton provisionally accepted Abbas' manifesto, which called for wholesale reforms of the colony's legal and political structure and the end to the hegemony of the colon elite, but as French sympathies proved ever more lukewarm, Abbas' lobbying group, Amis du Manifeste et de la Liberté, was suppressed on charges of sedition. The Free French government did make some effort to address the changing realities of imperial politics: in 1943, de Gaulle spoke of a new compact with the indigenous peoples as a reward for their loyalty during the war, and the following year the Brazzaville Conference on colonial reconstruction expounded a new model of autonomous self-government, if not outright independence. But Algeria's wartime story ended disastrously on V-E Day when a celebratory crowd in Sétif turned into a pro-nationalist demonstration and was fired on by troops; a cycle of reprisals and even greater counterreprisals ensued in which tens of thousands of people, mostly Algerians, were killed. This souring of the hopes for a postwar rapprochement prefigured the brutal civil war of a decade later.

Unlike its larger neighbor, Tunisia was a protectorate (established in 1881) with a ruling indigenous monarch, the Bey of Tunis, who theoretically maintained absolute rule with only the "guidance" of the French resident general. Relations between the 200,000 settlers and 2.6 million indigenous people were somewhat less abrasive than in Algeria, but the colony had nonetheless gone through several political disturbances during the 1920s and 1930s. The most important nationalist force was the Destour, or Constitution, Party, which lobbied without success for a greater Arab role in Tunisian affairs. In 1934, lawyer Habib Bourguiba created a radical breakaway party, the Neo-Destour; four years later, this splinter group was broken up in a repressive purge, and Bourguiba was transported to a French metropolitan prison.

Politics under the Vichy regime were complicated by the evident Italian desire to include Tunisia in its regional sphere of influence. In June 1942, a new bey, Sidi Mohammed el

Moncef, took the throne: his obvious sympathy for the nationalists alienated the French authorities from him, but when Vichy fell in November 1942 he was feted by the Italians in the hope that they could win him over to their cause. Bourguiba and the other Neo-Destour leaders were also transferred to Italian custody as potential puppet rulers, but neither the monarch nor the attorney were persuaded by this line of reasoning. When Axis forces evacuated Tunisia in the spring of 1943, the bey was promptly deposed and Bourguiba, who had returned to Tunis that March, fled into exile.

On the western edge of the Maghreb, Morocco was also under a protectorate established after the 1912 Agadir crisis by the Treaty of Fez. Nominally a united country under a single sultan, Morocco was in reality partitioned between French and Spanish zones, with the town of Tangier (the traditional diplomatic center) having international status. The French, who controlled 90 percent of the country, spent the interwar years developing the cities of the Atlantic coastline, building a new administrative capital at Rabat, and expanding the port of Casablanca. By 1939, the population stood at 6.25 million, including about 190,000 European settlers. As with the other Maghreb colonies, Morocco had its persecuted nationalist parties such as the Comité d'Action Marocaine: there were also more traditional forms of interwar dissent, such as the so-called Rif Rebellion in 1926 and the Berber tribes' resistance to the "pacification" of the interior.

But it was Sultan Mohammed Ben Youssef who was at the heart of anti-French loyalties, especially after the Vichy takeover. He objected to the repeal of the 1872 Crémieux decree that had given North African Jews rights of citizenship and refused to accede to resident general Auguste Noguès' demand that he retire from the capital after the TORCH landings. Youssef's greatest coup was his private meeting with U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt during the 1943 Casablanca Conference, in which the American leader expressed his sympathy for eventual Moroccan independence. The following year, an Independence Party formally petitioned the occupying Allied administration for the right to self-government: the French responded with some unconvincing accusations of collaboration between nationalists and the Axis forces, and in accompanying riots in Fès, several demonstrators were killed.

Libya, the second largest but most sparsely populated of the Maghreb states, was occupied by Italy in 1911 during its war with Ottoman Turkey. The coastal provinces of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica fell relatively quickly, but pacification of the Berber hinterland continued for the next two decades and was accelerated with great brutality in the 1930s by generals such as Rodolfo Graziani and Pietro Badoglio. By the outbreak of war, Italian settlers made up about 10 percent of Libya's 900,000 people. The country's poverty and scattered population centers precluded the development of a strong nationalist movement before 1939, but the unpopularity of

the Italian regime was made evident by the enthusiasm with which Libyans greeted their British “conquerors” during the war. After Italy’s final ejection from its North African territory, few traces of colonial culture survived long.

Alan Allport

See also

Africa; Badoglio, Pietro; Casablanca Conference; Darlan, Jean Louis Xavier Francois; de Gaulle, Charles; France, Role in War; France, Vichy; Giraud, Henri Honoré; Graziani, Rodolfo; Mers-el-Kébir; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; TORCH, Operation; Tunisia Campaign; Weygand, Maxime

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North Africa Campaign (1940–1943)

The campaign in North Africa was fought over control of the Suez Canal. Great Britain depended on the canal for access to Middle Eastern oil and raw materials from Asia. The Suez Canal and the Mediterranean also formed the primary lifeline to Britain’s overseas dominions. The ground campaign in North Africa and the naval campaign for the Mediterranean, therefore, were two sides of the same strategic coin.

The fight to control North Africa began in October 1935 when Italy invaded Ethiopia (Abyssinia). Britain, meanwhile, stationed a significant military force in Egypt to protect the Suez Canal. Britain and France also agreed to divide the responsibility for maintaining naval control of the Mediterranean, with the main British base in Egypt at Alexandria.

Italy was the unknown variable in the Mediterranean strategic equation. A neutral Italy would mean that British access to the vital sea-lanes would remain reasonably secure. However, operating from its main base at Taranto in southern Italy and supported by Italian air force bases on Sicily and Sardinia, the seemingly powerful Italian navy had the potential to close off the Mediterranean. When Germany invaded France in June 1940, Italian dictator Benito Mussolini could not resist the opportunity to grab his share of the spoils. On 10 June, Italy declared war on Great Britain and France.

The British and Italian armies initially faced each other across the Libyan-Egyptian border in an area known as the Western Desert. Italian Marshal Rodolfo Graziani had some 250,000 ground troops in Libya, and General Sir Archibald Wavell, British commander in chief of the Middle East, had only 100,000 soldiers to defend Egypt, Sudan, and Palestine.

The British army, however, was far better organized, trained, equipped, and led.

Graziani reluctantly moved into Egypt on 13 September 1940, halting at Sidi Barrani just short of the British main positions at Mersa Matrûh. The Battle of Britain was then reaching its climax, and the beleaguered British were facing a possible German invasion. By October 1940, however, the threat from Operation SEA LION had eased, and the British began to reinforce Wavell. Through December, 126,000 more Commonwealth troops arrived in Egypt from Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and India. On 9 December, the Western Desert Force, commanded by General Sir Richard O’Connor, attacked at Sidi Barrani.

The British drove the Italian Tenth Army from Egypt and achieved a major victory on 3 January 1941 at Bardia, just inside Libya. Driving deeper into Cyrenaica (eastern Libya), the British captured the vital port of Tobruk on 22 January. Continuing forward, O’Connor trapped the Italian Tenth Army at Beda Fomm on 7 February 1941. In just two months, two British divisions advanced 500 miles, destroyed 10 Italian divisions, and captured 130,000 prisoners. The British suffered only 555 dead and some 1,400 wounded.

Shortly after the British successes in North Africa, Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill decided on 22 February to send British troops to Greece. Most of those forces were withdrawn from Cyrenaica, leaving Wavell with only five brigades in Libya. But just a few weeks earlier, German leader Adolf Hitler had decided to reinforce the Italians in North Africa with German forces. On 8 January, the Luftwaffe’s Fliegerkorps X started operating from bases in Sicily against Allied shipping headed for Benghazi in Libya. The British forward units in Libya were forced to resupply through Tobruk, more than 450 miles away. Two German divisions and two additional Italian divisions were sent to Libya from Italy. On 12 February, Lieutenant General Erwin Rommel took command of the German divisions. In short order, Rommel’s force grew into the three-division-strong Deutsches Afrika Korps.

Rommel probed El Agheila on 24 March and continued driving rapidly to the east, despite Hitler’s orders to maintain an overall defensive posture. The Germans surrounded Tobruk on 10 April but were unable to take the fortress by a coup de main. Rommel left a siege force of mostly Italian units and continued his drive toward the Egyptian border. But the Tobruk garrison held out for 240 days and tied down vital Axis manpower in Rommel’s rear area. Rommel’s main force, meanwhile, reached Sollum on the Egyptian border on 14 April, and the Germans occupied the key terrain of the Halfaya Pass.

Churchill pushed for an immediate counteroffensive, but Wavell wanted to gain control of the Halfaya Pass first. On 15 May, the British launched Operation BREVITY under the command of Brigadier William Gott. Rommel skillfully parried the thrust and then counterattacked. By 27 May, the Germans

recaptured the Halfaya Pass, but they then began to run out of supplies and had to halt. They dug in and reinforced their positions, using the 88 mm anti-aircraft guns in an anti-tank role. The British came to call the heavily fortified and fiercely defended pass “Hellfire Pass.”

Churchill continued to pressure Wavell for action. Operation *BATTLEAXE* began on 15 June with a frontal attack through the Halfaya Pass toward Sollum. The German 88 mm anti-aircraft guns stopped the British armor, and the Germans then counterattacked. The British lost 91 tanks, and Operation *BATTLEAXE* was over by 17 June. Churchill relieved Wavell four days later and replaced him the following month with General Sir Claude Auchinleck. General Sir Alan Cunningham (the brother of Admiral Andrew Cunningham) took command of the Western Desert Force, which had been redesignated the British Eighth Army.

Rommel’s force in North Africa slipped to near bottom priority for logistical sustainment after Germany attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941. By November 1941, Rommel had 414 tanks, 320 aircraft, and 9 divisions (three German), 4 of which were tied down in the siege of Tobruk. The British had some 700 tanks, 1,000 aircraft, and 8 (larger) divisions. Operation *CRUSADER* opened on 18 November with British XIII Corps advancing on the Halfaya Pass and XXX Corps

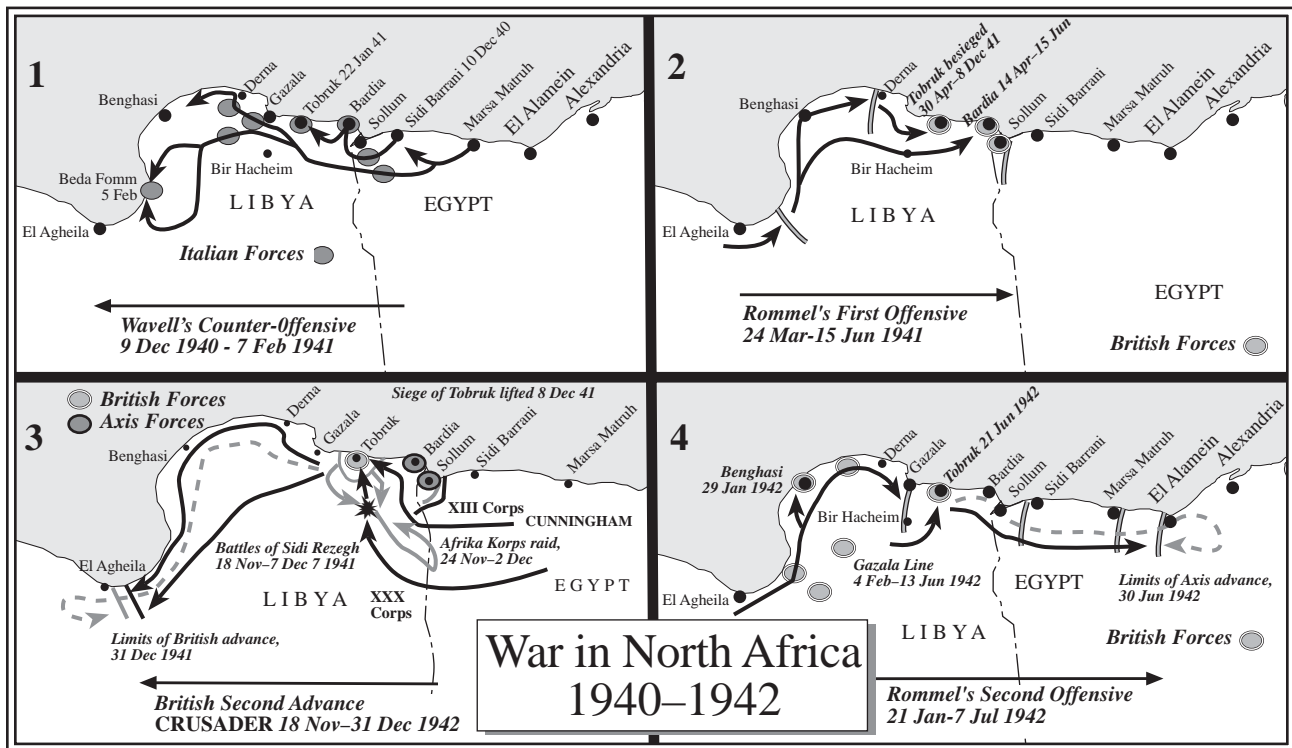
attempting to sweep around Rommel’s southern flank to reach Tobruk. Following a string of fierce tank battles on 22 and 23 November, Rommel drove deep into the British rear with two panzer divisions and the Ariete Armored Division in an attempt to relieve the Axis forces at Halfaya and simultaneously to cut off the Eighth Army.

As the British tank losses rose, Cunningham wanted to halt the operation. Auchinleck relieved Cunningham and replaced him with Major General Neil Ritchie. The British finally broke through to Tobruk on 29 November. Overwhelmed by attrition to his forces, Rommel began to withdraw on 7 December. The Germans retreated back across Cyrenaica, reaching El Agheila on 6 January 1942. Operation *CRUSADER* was a victory for the British, but they were unable to exploit it because of a lack of reinforcements.

Rommel launched his second offensive on 21 January 1942. Within days he drove the British back almost 300 miles, halting on 4 February between Gazala and Bir Hacheim. Both sides then concentrated on building up their strength for the next four months. Rommel resumed operations on 26 May with Operation *VENEZIA*, his attack against the Gazala Line. Both forces were roughly equal in strength, but Ritchie’s armored units were widely dispersed, whereas Rommel kept his concentrated. Rommel swept his armor around the Free



German Field Marshal Erwin Rommel talks to Afrika Korps troops within the defenses of the Libyan coastal town of Tobruk during the fighting in North Africa. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)



French Brigade at Bir Hacheim on the southern end of the line and turned north, cutting across the Allied rear. A secondary attack in the north by Axis forces pinned down the Allied forces there.

By 28 May, the Axis armored units behind the Allied lines were in trouble. Rommel had lost more than one-third of his tanks, and the rest were short of fuel and ammunition. On 29 May, the Italian Trieste Division managed to clear a path through the center of the Gazala Line, and that opening became a lifeline to Rommel's panzers. On 30 May, Rommel consolidated his remaining armor in a defensive position that came to be called "the Cauldron."

On 5-6 June, Rommel successfully beat back Ritchie's series of piecemeal counterattacks against the Cauldron. On 10-11 June, the Axis finally drove the Free French from Bir Hacheim, and on 11 June, Rommel's panzers broke out of the Cauldron. The Eighth Army once more started falling back to the Egyptian border. On 15 June, German tanks reached the coast, and Rommel shifted his attention to Tobruk, which fell on 21 June. Along with the vital port, the Axis forces captured 2,000 tons of much-needed fuel and 2,000 wheeled vehicles.

The British fell back to Mersa Matrûh about 100 miles inside Egypt. Rommel, now promoted to field marshal for his victory at Gazala, pursued. Auchinleck relieved Ritchie and personally assumed command of the Eighth Army. Rommel had only 60 operational tanks, but he still attacked at Mersa Matrûh on 26 June and routed four British divisions in three

days of fighting. The British fell back again another 120 miles to the east to the vicinity of El Alamein, less than 100 miles from Alexandria.

Auchinleck was determined to hold near El Alamein. Although under constant pressure from Rommel's forces, Auchinleck improvised a fluid defensive line anchored on Ruweisat Ridge a few miles south of the El Alamein perimeter. Rommel attacked on 1 July, intending to sweep around El Alamein, but Auchinleck skillfully battled Rommel to a standstill over the course of three weeks of fighting. Auchinleck then launched a major counterattack on 21-22 July but made no progress. Exhausted, both sides paused to regroup.

Despite the fact the British had finally halted Rommel's advance, Churchill relieved Auchinleck in early August and replaced him with General Sir Harold Alexander as commander in chief of the Middle East. Sir William Gott was promoted to general and placed in command of the Eighth Army. On 7 August, while flying to Cairo to take up his appointment, Gott was killed when a German fighter attacked his airplane. Churchill then selected Lieutenant General Bernard L. Montgomery to succeed Gott in command of the Eighth Army.

On 31 August 1942, Rommel launched what he believed would be the final attack to carry the Axis forces to the Nile. Montgomery, however, had made extensive preparations around El Alamein, based on a plan developed by Auchinleck. Montgomery also had the advantage of knowing Rommel's plan through ULTRA intercepts. Rommel intended to sweep

around to the south of Ruweisat Ridge and cut off El Alamein from the rear. However, the British had laid extensive minefields and had heavily fortified Alam Halfa Ridge behind and southeast of El Alamein. Rommel's attack ran short of fuel and stalled by 3 September. Montgomery counterattacked immediately but halted as soon as the Axis forces were pushed back to their starting positions. Taken together, the battles of Ruweisat Ridge and Alam Halfa were the real operational turning point of the war in North Africa.

Montgomery used the time after Alam Halfa to plan carefully a set-piece counterattack from El Alamein. Rommel, meanwhile, returned to Germany on sick leave. When Montgomery finally launched the attack, the British had an overall force superiority ratio of three to one. Rommel immediately returned from Germany when the battle of El Alamein started on 23 October 1942. The Allies tried for five days to break through the Axis positions and took 10,000 casualties in the process. On 31 October, Montgomery renewed the attack with strong support from the Royal Air Force. Critically short of fuel and ammunition, Rommel was forced to disengage on 3 November. The following day, the 1,400-mile Axis withdrawal to Tunisia began.

For the next three months, Montgomery followed rather than aggressively pursued Rommel and the Axis forces across the northern coast of Africa. Rommel reached the Tunisian border at the end of January 1943. By the time he got there, however, another Allied force was waiting for him.

On 8 November 1942, four days after Rommel began his long withdrawal, the British and Americans initiated Operation TORCH, the invasion of Northwest Africa. U.S. Lieutenant General Dwight D. Eisenhower had overall command. In a coordinated series of landings, the Western Task Force under Major General George S. Patton Jr. landed on the Atlantic coast near Casablanca; the Center Task Force under Major General Lloyd Fredendall landed just inside the Mediterranean around Oran; and the Eastern Task Force under Major General Charles Ryder landed near Algiers. Although all the landing sites were in Vichy French territory, the ultimate objectives of the operation were the Tunisian city of Tunis and the port and airfield complex at Bizerte.

The Germans reacted by sending troops from Sicily to Tunisia on 9 November. From the moment the Allies landed, the campaign in Northwest Africa and the race for Tunis were a logistical battle. The side that could mass forces more quickly would win. For the Germans, control of the Tunis complex was critical to prevent Rommel from being trapped between Montgomery in the east and the newly formed British First Army in the west. On 28 November, the Allies reached Tebourba, only 12 miles from Tunis, but an Axis counterattack drove them back 20 miles in seven days. In January 1943, the winter rains and resulting mud brought mech-

anized operations to a halt in northern Tunisia. The Axis side had temporarily won the race.

Waiting for better weather in the spring, the Allies continued to build up their forces. Lieutenant General Sir Kenneth Anderson's British First Army was organized into three corps—the British V Corps, the U.S. II Corps, and the French XIX Corps. The Axis forces in northern Tunisia now consisted of Colonel General Jürgen von Arnim's Fifth Panzer Army. Once Rommel's Panzerarmee Afrika crossed into southern Tunisia, it occupied positions in the old French fortifications of the Mareth Line. Rommel's 10 divisions were well below half strength, with a total of only 78,000 troops and 129 tanks. Before he had to face Montgomery, rapidly closing from the rear, Rommel intended to eliminate the threat of the British First Army to his north. On 14 February, the Germans launched the first leg of a two-pronged offensive, with von Arnim's forces attacking through the Faid Pass for Sidi Bou Zid. The following day, Rommel in the south attacked toward Gafsa. The bulk of Rommel's forces, however, remained along the Mareth Line. By 18 February, the Kasserine Pass was in Axis hands, and the U.S. Army had suffered its first major defeat at the hands of the Germans. Rommel tried to advance north through the Kasserine Pass on 19 February, but he did not get the support he expected from von Arnim. Hampered by a divided German command structure and the rapidly massing Allied reinforcements, the attack stalled.

The Allies recaptured Kasserine Pass on 25 February. Rommel returned to the Mareth Line and prepared to face Montgomery. When the Eighth Army reached Tunisia, the Allies reorganized their command structure along the lines agreed to at the Casablanca Conference. General Eisenhower became the Supreme Commander of all Allied forces in the Mediterranean west of Tripoli. Alexander became Eisenhower's deputy and simultaneously commander of the 18th Army Group, which controlled the First and Eighth Armies, and the now separate U.S. II Corps commanded by Patton. On 24 February, the Axis powers also realigned their command structure, with Rommel becoming the commander of Armeegruppe Afrika, which included the Afrika Korps, von Arnim's Fifth Panzer Army, and the Italian First Army under General Giovanni Messe. For the first time, the Axis powers had a unified command structure in Africa.

Montgomery's units crossed into Tunisia on 4 February, reaching Medenine on 16 February. Hoping to catch the British off balance, Rommel on 6 March attacked south from the Mareth Line. Warned by ULTRA, Montgomery was ready. Immediately following the failure of the Medenine attack, Rommel returned to Germany on sick leave. Von Arnim assumed overall Axis command, and Messe took command in south Tunisia. On 20 March, Montgomery attempted a night penetration of the center of Mareth Line. That attack

failed, and on 23 March he shifted the weight of his main attack around the southwestern flank of the line through the Matmata Hills. By 26 March, the British broke through the Tebaga gap, forcing the Italian First Army and the remainder of the Afrika Korps back to the north. Under continuous pressure from the Eighth Army on one side and U.S. II Corps on the other, the Axis forces withdrew north to Enfidaville.

On 7 April 1942, the Allied First and Eighth Armies linked up, squeezing the Axis forces into a tight pocket. On the east coast, the Eighth Army took Gabes on 6 April; Sfax on 10 April; Sousse on 12 April; and Enfidaville on 21 April. In the north, the U.S. II Corps, now under Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley, took Mateur on 3 May and Bizerte on 7 May. Montgomery's 7th Armoured Division also captured Tunis on 7 May. The remaining Axis forces in Tunisia were caught in two pockets, one between Bizerte and Tunis and the other on isolated Cape Bon.

Von Arnim surrendered his forces on 12 May, and Meese surrendered his on 13 May. The Royal Navy, waiting in strength offshore, made sure that few Germans or Italians escaped to Sicily by sea. Axis losses in Tunisia alone totaled 40,000 dead or wounded, 240,000 prisoners, 250 tanks, 2,330 aircraft, and 232 vessels. British and American casualties were 33,000 and 18,558, respectively. For the entire North African Campaign, the British suffered 220,000 casualties. Total Axis losses came to 620,000, which included the loss of three field armies. The losses were large for what amounted to a secondary theater for both sides.

David T. Zabecki

See also

Alam Halfa, Battle of; Alexander, Sir Harold Rupert Leofric George; Anderson, Kenneth Arthur Noel; Arnim, Hans Jürgen Dieter von; Auchinleck, Sir Claude John Eyre; Bradley, Omar Nelson; Casablanca Conference; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Cunningham, Sir Alan Gordon; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; El Alamein, Battle of; Fredendall, Lloyd Ralston; Gazala Battle of; Gott, William Henry Ewart "Strafer"; Graziani, Rodolfo; Hitler, Adolf; Kasserine Pass, Battle of; Mareth, Battle of; Mersa Matrûh; Mersa Matrûh, Battle of; Messe, Giovanni; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Mussolini, Benito; O'Connor, Richard Nugent; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Ritchie, Sir Neil Methuen; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Ruweisat Ridge, Battles of; SEA LION, Operation; Signals Intelligence; Tobruk, First Battle of; Tobruk, Second Battle of; Tobruk, Third Battle of; TORCH, Operation; Tunis, Battle of; Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival

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North Cape, Battle of (26 December 1943)

Naval battle fought between British and German naval units on 26 December 1943 off Norway. In the autumn of 1943, the western Allies agreed to send 40 merchant ships a month to the Soviet Union via the Arctic to Murmansk. The chief German resistance was likely to come from two German submarine flotillas in Norway, but German navy commander Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz sought to employ German surface units as well. Dönitz had planned to use the battleship *Tirpitz* for this purpose, but she had been damaged in a British midget submarine raid in September. Gaining permission from Adolf Hitler also proved difficult, but Dönitz persevered, and in December 1943 he was ready to attack. On 19 December, he informed Hitler that the Germans would attack the next eastbound convoy. ULTRA intercepts and increased German air, surface, and submarine activity provided advance warning to British Home Fleet commander Admiral Sir Bruce Fraser of the German plans.

On 20 December, convoy JW 55B of 19 merchant ships sailed eastbound, and two days later the corresponding homebound convoy of 22 merchant ships departed Kola Inlet. Each convoy had a close escort of about a dozen destroyers. Long-range protection of both convoys fell to Vice Admiral Robert Burnett with the cruisers *Norfolk*, *Belfast*, and *Sheffield*.

On 22 December, Luftwaffe reconnaissance aircraft spotted the eastbound convoy JW 55B. The British deciphered this sighting report and the order to all U-boats in the area to close with the convoy. Fraser guessed that German surface units in Norway, led by the battleship *Scharnhorst*, would join the hunt, and he departed Iceland on 23 December with the battleship *Duke of York* (flag), light cruiser *Jamaica*, and four destroyers. Fraser's intention was to position his own surface forces between the Germans and their base at Altenfjord.

On 25 December, the homeward convoy had cleared the danger point, and four of its destroyers were therefore shifted over to the outward convoy. Meanwhile, Burnett's cruisers

were closing from the southeast. German Rear Admiral Erich Bey led the *Scharnhorst* and five large fleet destroyers to sea on 25 December from Altenford. His orders were contradictory; he was to attack the convoy but not to engage heavy enemy units encountered. Early the next morning, the Admiralty signaled to Fraser that the *Scharnhorst* was most probably at sea.

Bey then ordered his destroyers to fan out ahead and sweep for the British convoy. The weather was appalling, marked by darkness and snow squalls. At 7:30 A.M. on 26 December, Bey detached his destroyers to look for the convoy to the southwest. They must have come very close to it, but they did not sight it, and in the process, they lost touch with the *Scharnhorst*.

At 9:00 A.M., the *Belfast* secured a radar contact on what proved to be the *Scharnhorst* about 30 miles from the convoy. The range then rapidly closed. At 9:30 A.M., the *Norfolk* opened fire and probably hit the *Scharnhorst* with her second or third 8-inch salvo, which may have knocked out the battle cruiser's radar and convinced Bey to break off the action without replying. The four British destroyers detached from the westbound convoy now reached Burnett. Rather than pursue the *Scharnhorst*—the traditional job for cruisers in a covering role—Burnett turned northwest to protect the convoy. He gave as his reasons the poor visibility, the *Scharnhorst's* superior speed in heavy seas, and his conviction that the Germans would renew the attack.

Bey did indeed return. Shortly after noon, the *Belfast* reported a radar contact. A second action ensued that involved all three British cruisers and lasted about 20 minutes. Again, the British observed hits on the German ship. The four destroyers were unable to carry out a torpedo attack because they were on Burnett's port bow, and the *Scharnhorst* turned away in the opposite direction.

Bey now headed south. This time Burnett pursued, continuously supplying position, course, and speed information that allowed Fraser to intercept. Fraser's ships were closing from one side and Burnett's from the other. The *Duke of York* picked up *Scharnhorst* on radar at 45,500 yards and locked in her gunnery radar at 25,800 yards. The *Scharnhorst* was hit with the first salvo; however, she was a fast and well-armored ship, and Bey responded with a burst of speed. Returning fire, he tried to open the range. He was almost successful, but a British salvo disabled one of the *Scharnhorst's* boiler rooms at a critical juncture, and Fraser's cruisers and destroyers fired from both flanks a total of 55 torpedoes, of which probably 11 hit. The *Scharnhorst* went down at 7:45 P.M. The British ships searched for survivors, but only 36 of the *Scharnhorst's* 3,000-man crew were recovered. The last capital-ship duel in European waters ended in a British victory.

James Levy

See also

Convoys, Allied; Dönitz, Karl; Fraser, Bruce Austin; Hitler, Adolf

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Northeast Europe Theater

In August 1939, the Soviet Union and Germany concluded a nonaggression pact that allowed Adolf Hitler to begin his invasion of Poland without fear of Soviet intervention. In return, the Soviets acquired territory in the Baltic states and eastern Poland. With the defeat of France in June 1940, Soviet troops occupied the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and then incorporated them into the Soviet Union.

World War II operations in northeastern Europe may be divided into three stages: the Russo-Finnish War of 1939–1940; the German invasion and conquest of Denmark and Norway in spring 1940; and the struggle in the Baltics, Finland, and northwestern Russia between the Soviet Union on the one side and Finland and Germany on the other from June 1941 until fall 1944. Sweden remained officially neutral during the war.

Soviet leader Josef Stalin initiated the Russo-Finnish War (also known as the Winter War) when Finnish leaders refused his demands for the Karelian isthmus and bases. Although Stalin offered more territory than he demanded (albeit in the far north), Finnish leaders believed the Soviets were bluffing. On 30 November 1939, five Soviet armies crossed the border. The main attack came in the southeast from the Leningrad area in the direction of Finland's second-largest city, Viipuri (Vyborg).

The unprepared Soviet forces were soon halted by deep snow and woods, but also by the fierce and stubborn Finnish resistance. A major share of blame for the failure of the Soviets to win the war quickly rested with Stalin, who had refused to take Finland seriously. Stalin personally intervened to reject the plan advanced by chief of staff Marshal Boris M. Shaposhnikov that entailed a careful buildup and employment of the best Soviet troops, even those from the Far East. Many of the Soviet units were poorly trained scratch formations. Worse, the Soviet troops were unprepared for winter fighting.

By January 1940, Soviet troops had moved deep into Finnish territory in the north. In the southwest, however, the Finns halted the main Soviet thrust at the so-called Mannerheim Line. After the Soviets regrouped and brought up reinforce-



Headlines announcing the German invasion of Norway, London, April 1940. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

ments, it was only a matter of time before Finland was defeated. At the beginning of February, the Red Army began another determined attack, managing to achieve a breakthrough after two weeks. Finland surrendered on 12 March 1940.

Under the peace terms, Finland was forced to surrender more territory than Stalin had originally demanded, including eastern Karelia and large areas in the northeast as well as a naval base at Petsamo. Although Finland lost 25,000 men killed and a comparable number of wounded, the Soviets lost perhaps 250,000 killed and a comparable number of wounded. One consequence of the war was that it convinced Hitler that his armed forces could defeat the Soviet Union easily.

Hitler believed that the Allies intended to occupy Norway, and he was determined to beat them there. Securing Norway would guarantee the Germans access to vital Swedish iron ore, which in the winter came from the Norwegian port of Narvik. The many fjords along the Norwegian coast would also provide bases for German submarines and surface raiders into the north Atlantic, as well as airfields from which the Luftwaffe

might attack Britain. Acquiring Denmark would mean additional foodstuffs, especially dairy products, for the Reich.

The German assault on Norway and Denmark began on 9 April 1940. With virtually no military means to defend itself, Denmark succumbed in less than a day. The occupation of Norway, spearheaded by air attacks, saw the first real employment of paratroopers near Oslo and the port city of Stavanger. At the same time, German amphibious landings took place at Narvik, Trondheim, Bergen, Kristiansand, and Oslo. Allied forces landed in Norway beginning on 15 April. While British troops in the south had to be evacuated after two weeks, a combined Norwegian, British, French, and Polish force gained a foothold in the north, taking Narvik on 28 May. The Germans sent reinforcements to the north to recapture it. This, combined with the German invasion of France, forced the Allied expeditionary force to withdraw on 8 June. Norway capitulated two days later.

The Norwegian Campaign brought immense gains to Germany, but it also badly damaged the German surface navy.

Germany lost 3 cruisers and 10 destroyers, half of the navy total. Hitler had secured additional food production for the Reich and protection for his northern flank on the Baltic. Most important, the Kriegsmarine had locations for naval bases nearer to the Allied Atlantic convoy routes. From these bases, it would launch attacks into the North Atlantic and later the Allied PQ Arctic convoys bound for the Soviet Union.

Both Norway and Denmark were under occupation until the German capitulation. The Germans established a puppet state in Norway headed by home-grown Nazi Vidkun Quisling, whose name became synonymous with "traitor." King Haakon VII escaped abroad on June 7, and after the Allies evacuated Narvik, he set up a government-in-exile in Britain. Most of the country's 4.7 million tons of merchant shipping now passed into Allied hands, an invaluable addition. In 1941, 40 percent of foreign tonnage destined for English seaports was Norwegian. By the end of the war, Hitler had some 400,000 men and major artillery assets in Norway, providing security and protecting it against invasion although it was a serious drain on stretched German resources.

Operation BARBAROSSA, the attack on Soviet Russia, began in the early hours of 22 June 1941. Army Group North's 4th Panzer Group and Sixteenth Army advanced through Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia toward the Russian border. At the northern end of the line, German troops were aided by Finnish forces. Finland rejoined the war against the Soviet Union as a cobelligerent. In the so-called Continuation War, 16 revamped Finnish divisions recaptured the territory lost earlier to the Soviet Union. The Finns refused, however, to shell Leningrad. In the winter of 1941, when Soviet lines were stretched to the breaking point, a determined Finnish assault would undoubtedly have given the Germans Leningrad, with uncertain consequences for the war in the east.

The Finns had originally planned to unite their troops with German Army Group North around Leningrad. On 1 September, they reached the former Finnish-Soviet border. Mannerheim now essentially went over to defensive operations. Soviet resistance stiffened, and after capturing Petrosawodsk and Medweschjegorsk on the western and northern shore of Lake Onega, the Finns established a defensive position slightly inside Soviet territory in December 1941.

To the south, German forces in Operation BARBAROSSA had come close enough to Leningrad by 1 September to start shelling the city. A week later, Leningrad had been cut off from the last land connection, and Hitler decided to starve the city into capitulation. Food supplies ran out after a month, and in November, 11,000 people died. Even though the Soviets managed to supply the city via the frozen Lake Ladoga in winter, up to 20,000 people died each day of starvation, exhaustion, and disease. Attempts to relieve the city between 19 August and the end of September 1942 were defeated by the German Eighteenth Army. On 11 January 1943, the Soviets

managed to establish a small corridor south of Lake Ladoga through which they could also deliver supplies. The siege ended in January 1944 after 900 days. Other than that, the northern sector of the Eastern Front saw only limited action between fall 1941 and January 1944.

Pressed by the Soviet Leningrad, Wolchow, and 2nd Baltic Fronts, German Army Group North then withdrew from the Leningrad area in January 1944 and fled toward the Baltic coast. By the end of April, the Soviets had recaptured most of their pre-June territory in the Baltics. As Army Group Center also had fallen back, Army Group North was now certain to be cut off. The 3rd Belorussian Front, the northern front of the Soviet drive on Army Group Center, took Vilnius on 13 July.

In July and August, the Red Army's three Baltic fronts occupied the eastern parts of Latvia and Lithuania. German army defensive positions fell in succession. Tallinn (Reval) fell on 22 September and the Germans fled to the islands of Dagö and Ösel. The Red Army captured Riga on 15 October. Already at the end of September, the whole of Army Group North was trapped in Courland, where it remained until the end of the war, although the German navy carried out perhaps its most brilliant operation of the war, evacuating many troops and German civilians by sea.

By October 1944, Soviet forces had advanced into Eastern Prussia, and fighting now took place inside Germany. After stopping at Memel, the 1st Baltic and the 2nd and 3rd Belorussian Fronts advanced on Königsberg (Kaliningrad) and the coast, trapping German troops and civilians against the Baltic Sea for the remainder of the war. Those who could not be evacuated surrendered on 9 May 1945 with the rest of the German army.

In June 1944, the Soviet Karelian and Leningrad Fronts began an invasion of Finland on both flanks of the Ladoga Lake. West of the lake, they overwhelmed defenses at the Mannerheim Line. Vyborg was taken on 20 July. To the north and east, even though they failed to achieve a breakthrough, the Soviets forced the Finns to retreat and took the Murmansk Railway. In northern Finland the Soviet Fourteenth Army threw back German forces at Liza, supported by a large amphibious landing near Petsamo.

In accordance with the 19 September 1944 armistice ending Finnish participation in the war, Finland had to help eject German forces from its soil, since Hitler refused to extract them. By the end of the month, the Germans had withdrawn completely into Norway. In late January 1945, the Soviets reached the coast west of Danzig and the mouth of the Vistula River. By the end of the month, the Soviets had passed Posen (Poznan). By early February, the Red Army had reached the Oder within 40 miles of Berlin, surrounding large German troop concentrations at Posen and Breslau. Neither side gave quarter in the bitter fighting, and as they advanced,

Soviet troops took their revenge on the Germans with as many as 3 million civilian casualties, as well as looting and rapes.

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See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Finnish-Soviet War (Continuation War); Finnish-Soviet War (Winter War); Hitler, Adolf; Leningrad, Siege of; Norway Campaign; Norway, Role in War; Quisling, Vidkun Abraham Lauritz Jonsson; Shaposhnikov, Boris Mikhailovich; Stalin, Josef

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Norway, Air Service

In 1940, Norway had on order 60 U.S. Curtiss Hawk 75A-6 and A-8 fighters, 36 Douglas 8A-5 attack aircraft, and 24 Northrop N-3PB torpedo seaplanes. On order were 20 twin-engine Italian Caproni light bombers and 12 twin-engine German Heinkel He-115 torpedo floatplanes. When it was invaded in April 1940, Norway had only in service only 6 of the Heinkels and 4 of the Capronis. The Norwegians also had a collection of obsolete biplanes: Fokkers from 1935, MF.11 seaplanes from 1931, and 11 Gloster Gladiator fighters. Flying all these aircraft, Norwegian pilots fought gallantly but were overwhelmed by the Luftwaffe.

Following the German conquest of their country, Norwegian airmen in exile resumed combat, flying within the framework of the British Royal Air Force (RAF). New arrivals were trained at Island Airport near Toronto, Canada. In April 1941, the Norwegian Naval Air Service, based in Iceland, began operations as Squadron 330 of the RAF Coastal Command. Flying Northrop N-3PB single-engine seaplanes, the Norwegians flew convoy escort and antisubmarine patrol. In 1943, the squadron moved to the Shetland Islands and was equipped with long-range four-engine Short Sunderland flying boats.

A second naval squadron, Squadron 332, went into action in 1943. Based in Scotland, it flew Catalina flying boats and Beaufighter and Mosquito fighter-bombers. The Catalinas reconnoitered German shipping along the coast of Norway, which was then attacked by the Beaufighters and Mosquitoes.

In July 1941, Norwegian army pilots formed RAF Squadron 331. Based in the Orkney and Shetland Islands, it flew

Hurricane fighters in defense of the major naval base at Scapa Flow. A second Squadron, 332, was deployed in January 1942. That April, both units were equipped with Spitfire Vbs. Both formations were moved in May 1942 to North Weald air base outside London. Flying offensive operations across the Channel, the Norwegians distinguished themselves in heavy fighting. Consequently, they were among the first to receive the formidable Spitfire IX in October 1942. In 1943, Squadron 331 ranked first and Squadron 332 third in German warplanes shot down by the RAF. The leading Norwegian ace Svein Heglund destroyed 17 enemy fighters. Fourteen other Norwegian pilots were also aces.

In November 1944, the army and naval air arms combined to form the Norwegian air force. By the end of the war, this Luftforsvaret numbered 2,600 men and 79 combat warplanes.

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See also

Norway, German Conquest of; Norway, Role in War

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Norway, Army

The Norwegian army of 1940 was an infantry force organized as a trained reserve within a framework of officer cadres. On mobilization, it would field 6 divisions containing 16 infantry regiments, 4 artillery regiments, 3 mounted infantry regiments, and support units. Norwegian soldiers were armed with the 1894 model Krag-Jørgensen 6.5 mm rifle and the Madsen light machine gun. Colt 7.92 mm machine guns and 81 mm mortars were in short supply. Artillery was of World War I vintage: 228 77-mm guns and 36 120-mm howitzers. Possessing no antitank guns, the Norwegians had no effective defense against German light tanks.

Army supply depots were located in the major population centers along the coast. Unfortunately, the Germans seized many of these depots by surprise when they invaded in April 1940. The swift German assault also disrupted Norwegian preparations, with the result that the army was only partly mobilized for hostilities.

In these chaotic conditions and under unremitting German air attack, Norwegian army commander General Otto Ruge waged a tenacious defensive campaign. Many Norwegian soldiers, cut off from their assigned units, joined any formation they could find. Such stubborn resistance enabled the royal family and government to escape capture and sail to England, where a Norwegian government-in-exile was established.

Abandoned by his British and French allies, Ruge surrendered his surviving forces on 10 June 1940.

Norwegians in exile mounted several commando operations against key objectives in Norway thereafter. However, most of these raids were undertaken within the framework of the British Special Operations Executive (SOE) organization. Norwegian ground forces in exile were devoted to preparing a peaceful and stable liberation of the homeland. Based in Scotland, the Norwegian Brigade mustered 4,000 men organized in two infantry regiments and one artillery battalion. Under British command, the Norwegians were outfitted with English weapons and equipment.

Within Norway, resistance to German occupation began immediately. Demobilized veterans formed the *Militär Organisasjonen* or *Milorg*. Initially quite successful, *Milorg* was devastated by Gestapo infiltration of its ranks in 1942 and subsequent mass executions. An outstanding leader, Jens Christian Hauge, enabled *Milorg* to recover from this setback. *Milorg* grew from 20,000 men in 1941 to 40,000 by 1945. Between fall 1944 and spring 1945, *Milorg* trained and armed its formations in three secret mountain bases. During the war, many Norwegians fled across the border to neighboring Sweden, and beginning in 1943, Swedish authorities permitted the training of Norwegian “police” in special camps. By 1945, about 14,000 Norwegians had received military training in Sweden.

As the war drew to a close, German forces in Finland withdrew into northern Norway, leaving a charred wasteland down to Lyngen Fjord. Into this vacuum, 3,200 Norwegian troops were sent from Scotland and Sweden. When German forces in Norway capitulated on 8 May 1945, *Milorg* mobilized. On 13 May, Crown Prince Olav, commander of all Norwegian forces, returned to Oslo. On 26 May, the rest of the Norwegian Brigade returned to Tromsø. Norway was liberated peacefully.

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See also

Haakon VII, King of Denmark; Norway, German Conquest of; Norway, Role in the War

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flict with Great Britain, Germany should seize Norway, the Shetland and Faroe Islands, and Iceland. Only thus could the German fleet escape the confines of the North Sea and gain a dominant strategic position in the North Atlantic. These arguments deeply influenced the leadership of the German navy. Admiral Erich Raeder, chief of the German navy, repeatedly pressed these views on Adolf Hitler.

At the outset of the war, however, Hitler supported neutrality in Scandinavia. This would ensure a continued flow of Swedish iron ore to Germany. The Swedish ores had an iron content of 60 percent, permitting great economies in the production of steel. Low in phosphorus, Swedish ore produced the best steel. Between December and April when the Baltic was frozen, iron ore from Swedish mines was sent by rail to the ice-free Norwegian port of Narvik and thence through neutral Norwegian coastal waters to German ports.

First Lord of the Admiralty Winston L. S. Churchill was keenly aware of the importance of this ore traffic and determined to halt it. The British and French planned an expedition to aid the Finns when the Soviet Union attacked Finland in November 1939, but in reality this plan was a cover for the Allied seizure of Narvik and the ore fields in northern Sweden. The end of the war in Finland compelled the Allies to abandon this plan. Churchill now sought to mine Norwegian waters, forcing German ore ships to sea where they could be taken. This violation of Norwegian neutrality would undoubtedly provoke a German reaction, allowing the British to land troops in Norway.

Convinced that the Allies were planning a Norwegian intervention, Hitler began in February 1940 to prepare for the German occupation of Denmark and Norway, Operation *WESERÜBUNG* (*WESER EXERCISE*). The invasion was scheduled for 20 March, but ice in the Baltic delayed it until 9 April. Meanwhile, the British began their minelaying operation in Norwegian territorial waters early on 8 April.

Churchill and the British were surprised by the magnitude of the German operation. For the assault on Norway, Hitler committed 5 infantry divisions, 2 regiments of mountain troops, and a battalion of light tanks: 66 PzKpfw Is and Iis. Operation *WESERÜBUNG* would also see the first use of paratroops (3 companies) in combat. To seize 6 Norwegian coastal cities, the German navy transported 8,850 soldiers in 2 battleships, a pocket battleship, 2 heavy cruisers, 3 light cruisers, 14 destroyers, and smaller vessels. The remaining 54,500 troops would be sent in once these objectives were secure.

The Luftwaffe amassed more than 1,000 aircraft for the operation. Fast, heavily armed twin-engine Me-110 fighters possessed the range required to operate in this theater. Flying from captured airfields, Stuka dive-bombers proved devastatingly accurate. The most daring feature of German air operations was the first large-scale use of transport aircraft to deploy troops, support units, and supplies into the attack. More than 500 took part.

Norway, German Conquest of (1940)

In 1929, German Admiral Wolfgang Wegener argued in *The Sea Strategy of the World War* that in the event of future con-



Soldiers handing over rifles and other firearms to German soldiers following their country's surrender to German forces, 2 May 1940. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

Norwegian defenses were woefully deficient. Of 63 warships in the Norwegian navy, only 4 small destroyers and a minelayer were modern. All but 10 of the 150 Norwegian warplanes were obsolete biplanes. (On order were 152 modern warplanes, 120 of them from the United States.) The Norwegian army lacked sufficient numbers of heavy machine guns and artillery, and it possessed no antitank guns. Much of the Norwegian population lived in coastal cities where mobilization centers and arsenals were located. Surprise German attacks captured much Norwegian equipment and disrupted Norwegian mobilization.

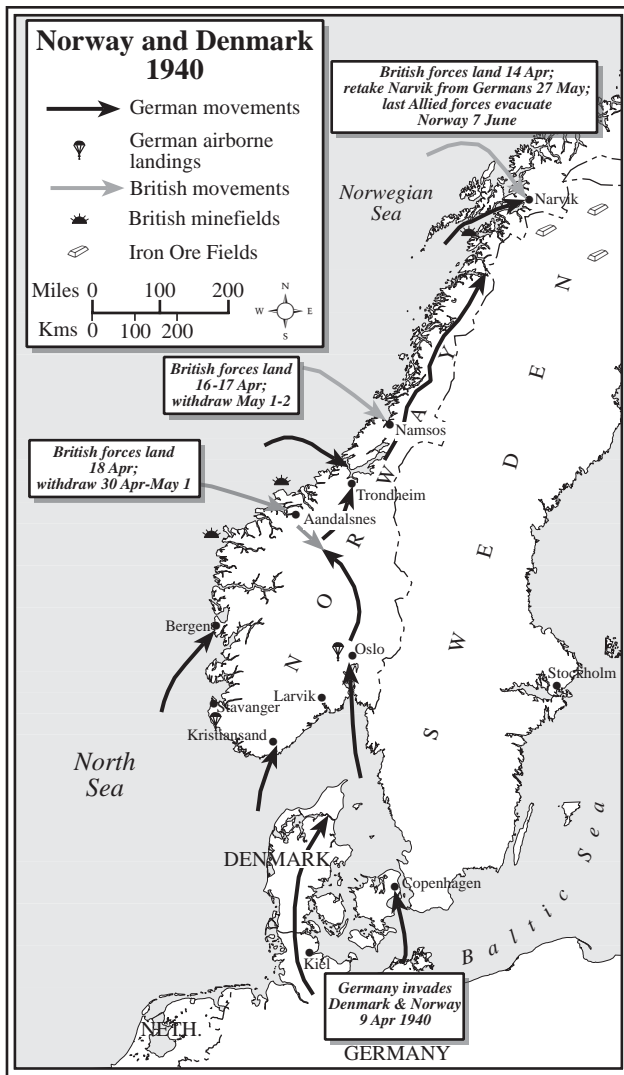
German preparations for the invasion were noted by British and Norwegian authorities. The British misread both the timing and the scale of the German attack, and Norwegian government attention was riveted on the British violation of Norway's neutrality. Thus the Norwegian Parliament authorized mobilization of the navy and air services but only 7,000 soldiers.

The Germans secured most of their immediate objectives. German paratroopers seized Sola, the largest Norwegian air base, and by 11 April, 200 German warplanes, especially Stukas, were flying from the captured airfield. The fortress of

Oscarsborg commanded the water approach to Oslo. It mounted 3 11-in. guns, installed in 1905, and a torpedo battery. Scorning the weaponry as antiquated, the Germans assumed Oscarsborg was no longer manned. Firing at point-blank range and using torpedoes, the Norwegians sank the German heavy cruiser *Blücher* with heavy loss of life, and the German convoy it had been escorting was forced to withdraw. The Germans then took Oslo's Fornebu airport, and transport planes landed two battalions of troops who soon occupied the Norwegian capital. But King Haakon VII and his family, the government, and the parliament had already left Oslo.

The British navy struck swiftly at the German fleet. On 10 April, British destroyers attacked German destroyers at Narvik. Backed by the old battleship *Warspite*, the British attacked again on 13 April, sinking the last of the 10 German destroyers. But British warships operating off the central Norwegian coast without fighter protection came under attack from approximately 90 Luftwaffe bombers. The Royal navy quickly decided not to risk major warships within range of German air power.

German army commander General Nikolaus von Falkenhorst organized his forces in highly mobile groups, effectively



supported by light tanks as ski troops from Bavaria and Austria repeatedly outflanked enemy defensive positions. Norwegian army commander General Otto Ruge sought to delay the German advance until Allied forces could arrive. Norwegian troops, poorly trained and armed, were in chaotic disorder and came under heavy air attack. But Ruge rallied his men and fought tenaciously in the narrow mountain valleys of central Norway. Such delaying actions made Allied expeditions to Norway possible.

The Allies committed 12,500 soldiers to central Norway. By 20 April, three battalions of British and three battalions of French mountain troops were at Namsos 127 miles northeast of Trondheim, and two British battalions (later reinforced by three additional battalions) were at Åndalsnes, 100 miles southwest of the major Norwegian city and transport hub. In a pincers movement, the two forces were intended to recapture Trondheim. But confusion in unit deployment led to chaos in logistical support in Britain. Allied troops arrived

without necessary items, from ski bindings to artillery. The swift advance of the Germans forced the British at Åndalsnes to turn south and wage a series of defensive battles. Meanwhile, a Luftwaffe airlift reinforced the garrison in Trondheim. Allied bases at Namsos and Åndalsnes were reduced to ashes by German bombing. To the disappointment of the Norwegians, the Allies abandoned central Norway by 3 May.

Isolated at Narvik, the three battalions of German mountain infantry were supplied by Ju-52 transports and seaplanes flying at maximum range. On 15 April, a British guards brigade that included Scottish, Irish, and Welsh battalions arrived at Harstad, 70 miles from Narvik. Three battalions of French mountain infantry arrived later. But conflicting orders and clashing command personalities deadlocked Allied operations in the north.

Beginning on 10 May, the Germans launched a massive attack against France, the Netherlands, and Belgium. Compelled to consolidate their forces, the Allies decided to seize Narvik, destroy its ore-loading facilities, and then evacuate the royal family and government of Norway and Allied troops.

Disputes between the British army and navy were put aside, and a new army commander, Lieutenant General Claude Auchinleck, arrived on 11 May. Reinforcements ably led by French Brigadier General Antoine-Marie Béthouart included four battalions of Free Polish infantry and two battalions of the French Foreign Legion. Norwegian troops held the mountains ringing the town. Six hundred local Norwegians improved the air base at Bardufoss, and 14 Gladiator biplanes and 16 modern Hurricanes successfully covered the seizure of Narvik and the subsequent evacuation of Allied forces. On 28 May, French, British, Polish, and Norwegian troops ousted the Germans from Narvik and drove them to the Swedish border. The evacuation of 25,000 Allied soldiers was completed by 8 June. A British cruiser transported the Norwegian monarch and government to Britain. General Ruge disbanded his forces, and hostilities ended in Norway on 10 June.

In fighting on land, the Germans lost 3,692 men killed and missing, the Norwegians 1,335, and the French and Poles 530. The English lost 1,896 dead, missing, and severely wounded. The Luftwaffe lost 242 aircraft; the British lost 112 aircraft. In fighting at sea, the British lost an aircraft carrier, 2 light cruisers, and 7 destroyers. The French and Poles each lost a destroyer. The Norwegian Campaign badly damaged the German surface navy; its losses included 1 heavy cruiser, 2 light cruisers, and 10 destroyers. It now had only 3 cruisers and 4 destroyers undamaged, although other damaged ships could be repaired.

After repairs at Narvik, the flow of Swedish iron ore—the main reason Germany conquered Norway—continued without interruption to the end of the war. The strategic advantage of Norwegian bases came into play as the war unfolded. Based in Norwegian fjords, the battleship *Tirpitz* pinned down much of the battleship strength of the Royal



German soldiers move heavy artillery forward in an attempt to stop Allied forces during their April 1940 invasion of Norway. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

Navy. Convoys to Russia were decimated by the Luftwaffe flying from northern Norway and submarines. But Germany was never able to use Norway as a springboard to the Faroes, Shetlands, and Iceland. The British took the Faroes under their protection on 12 April and Iceland on 10 May. The keys to the North Atlantic remained firmly in Allied hands.

An unforeseen result of the Norwegian fiasco was the resignation of Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain on 10 May following the debacle in central Norway. Winston L. S. Churchill, ironically the architect of the disaster, then became prime minister. His leadership would be effectively employed in the difficult summer and fall of 1940. Based in London, indomitable King Haakon VII and his Free Norwegians continued the struggle to liberate their homeland.

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See also

Auchinleck, Sir Claude John Eyre; Chamberlain, Arthur Neville; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Finnish-Soviet War (Winter War, 1939–1941); Germany, Navy; Haakon VII, King of Denmark; Hitler, Adolf; Norway, Army; Norway, Navy; Norway, Role in War; Raeder, Erich; Ruge, Otto

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Norway, Navy

The Norwegian navy of 1940 was largely an antiquated collection of obsolete warships and fishery protection ships. Norway had not fought since the Napoleonic Wars, and in

1933 the defense budget was the smallest in recent history. It grew in the late 1930s as world tensions increased, but the modest naval construction program was undertaken too late.

In 1940, the Norwegian navy consisted of two armored coast defense ships launched in 1900 and forming the Panserskipsdivisjon (armored ship division). Two other older coast defense ships lay disarmed at Horten, a naval base outside of Oslo. The first two would be sunk at Narvik in 1940, and the latter two would be captured by the Germans and rearmed as anti-aircraft guardships. In terms of modern ships, Norway had a minelayer and four 600-ton torpedo boats. Several destroyers and torpedo boats were under construction at the time of the German attack. The remainder of the fleet consisted of 4 destroyers and 11 torpedo boats, all built before 1920; 9 submarines, and miscellaneous warships, one of which dated from 1858!

Commander of the navy Rear Admiral H. E. Diesen was viewed as a political admiral. The officer corps had been gutted in the early 1930s as a consequence of budgetary constraints, and a substantial element within it supported Vidkun Quisling's Norwegian Nazi Party. However, most officers rallied to king and country when Germany invaded.

The dramatic event for the Norwegian navy in the war was the German invasion of Norway in April 1940. It was a surprise on two levels. It was a strategic surprise, as Norwegian leaders were more concerned by an invasion or limited naval action by the Allies, primarily the British navy. They did not foresee an attack from the smaller Germany, which would not have command of the seas. The Germans also achieved surprise at the operational level, although a steady stream of warnings of German warships and troopships moving north arrived in the hours before the attack.

After two months of fighting, 13 warships of the Norwegian navy and about 500 officers and sailors reached British ports. Only one of these ships was modern. The remaining Norwegian naval vessels were either sunk or incorporated into the German navy. The Norwegian navy used its older warships for training and patrol and minesweeping operations, and the Norwegian government-in-exile added to these ships more than 50 whaling ships that had been operating in the polar regions when Norway had been invaded. These 300- to 500-ton ships saw British and Norwegian service as minesweepers and in clandestine operations. More than 200 of the latter operations occurred in Norwegian waters as part of the "Shetland Bus."

During the war, the Norwegian navy secured under Lend-Lease 5 U.S. World War I-era destroyers and 7 British-built destroyers. It obtained an additional 3 submarines, 7 corvettes, 3 submarine chasers, and 1 patrol craft, together with 29 motor torpedo and motor launches that saw much action in the Channel and in Norwegian coastal waters.

Norwegian navy ships participated in the Battle of the Atlantic, helped protect the convoys to Murmansk, and took

part in Operations TORCH and OVERLORD. Of major combatants, Norway lost in battle 1 submarine while attempting to land agents in Norway, as well as 2 destroyers and 3 corvettes in the Atlantic. The Norwegian navy also operated a modest naval air arm from Scotland for patrols in the Norwegian and North Seas.

Norway's greatest contribution at sea during the war was its merchant marine. The fourth largest in the world, it amounted to more than 1,000 ships totaling more than 4.8 million tons. These supplied valuable revenue to the government-in-exile in London, but over 500 ships were lost in the course of the war. By 1945, Norway emerged with an effective and sizeable navy ready to help lead the way into collective military action under the banner of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Jack Greene

See also

Atlantic, Battle of the; Germany, Navy; Narvik, Naval Battles of; Narvik, Operations in and Evacuation of; Norway, German Conquest of; Quisling, Vidkun Abraham Lauritz Jonsson

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Norway, Role in War

When Norway regained independence in 1905, Danish Prince Carl was selected king of the new nation and assumed the throne as Haakon VII. In 1940, German leaders expected little or no resistance to their surprise assault on this nation of almost 3 million people. Against great odds, Haakon VII rallied his government and his people and fought the Germans. During the campaign, until he was removed to Great Britain by sea on 7 June, Haakon became known for his coolness under fire, decisiveness, and dry wit. Haakon was no stranger to London; as a prince he had married the daughter of Edward VII. He soon established an effective government-in-exile. Organized within the framework of the British armed forces, Free Norwegians fought with distinction in the Allied cause and suffered about 1,100 killed in the war.

In occupied Norway, German authorities attempted to impose Norwegian traitor Vidkun Quisling on the Norwegians. In 1931, Quisling had been minister of defense in an Agrarian Party government. He founded his own fascist party in 1933, but it garnered only 1.8 percent of the vote in the general elections of 1936. Nevertheless, Quisling attracted the support of Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg, who arranged for Quisling to meet Adolf Hitler. German leaders, hoping for a bloodless occupation of Norway, saw in Quisling a promising means to that end. Following the invasion, however, Norwe-



A coastal oil facility goes up in flames from British attacks on German-occupied Vaagso Island off the Norwegian coast on 27 December 1941. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

gians overwhelmingly rejected Quisling. Although Quisling was styled minister president, the Germans treated him with scorn. After the war, Quisling was tried as a traitor and shot.

Resistance to German occupation began immediately after formal hostilities ceased on 10 June. Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Paal Berg organized it. Armed resistance was embodied in the *Militär Organisasjonen* or *Milorg*, recognized in October 1941 by the Norwegian government-in-exile as the Home Forces. Early in 1943, the exceptionally able Jens Christian Hauge thoroughly reorganized and unified *Milorg*. He also brought the civilian and armed resistance movements together.

Seeking to avoid reprisals against the small population, the resistance emphasized civil disobedience. When in 1942 Quisling attempted to make the schools a tool for Nazi indoctrination, the teachers refused to bow to his demands. They endured miserable conditions in concentration camps from May to the fall of 1942, when Quisling relented and allowed the schools to reopen and the teachers regained their freedom. Although the resistance stressed nonviolent means, 1,357 Norwegians lost their lives.

Norway made an immense contribution to the Allied war effort with its merchant fleet. With 4.7 million tons of shipping, the Norwegian merchant marine was the world's fourth largest and was among the most modern. The Norwegians possessed almost as much oil-tanker capacity as the larger British merchant fleet. Norwegian ships became an essential element in the Atlantic convoys so vital to survival and victory in the Mediterranean and European theaters. In 1941, 40 percent of foreign tonnage destined for English seaports was Norwegian. In the course of the war, 706 Norwegian merchant vessels, almost half of the total tonnage, were sunk. Of its 25,000 seamen, approximately 4,000 were killed.

Most military operations in Norway were executed within the framework of the British Special Operations Executive (SOE). In March and December 1941, commando and SOE raids were unleashed against fish oil factories in the Lofoten Islands that produced glycerin, which is used for explosives. But German reprisals against civilians were savage, and Norwegians held the raids responsible for these. A Norwegian section was then established in SOE. This group was entrusted with joint British-Norwegian planning of future operations in Norway.

A key objective proved to be the hydroelectric plant, Norsk Hydro, at Vemork in the mountains of Telemark, which the Germans were using to produce heavy water, in which hydrogen atoms were replaced by atoms of deuterium. The Germans planned to use heavy water as a moderating agent for a nuclear reactor. At great risk, Norwegian scientists and engineers conveyed the information necessary to attack the installation. On the night of 27–28 February 1943, a Norwegian team ably led by Lieutenant Joachim Ronneberg clambered down a steep ravine, crossed the frozen Maan River, and entered the plant by a tunnel. Containers of heavy water were destroyed and machinery was damaged, and the Norwegians escaped unscathed. Working strenuously, the Germans restored heavy water production by June. The Germans then planned to transfer the heavy water and production apparatus to Germany. The shipment had to traverse Lake Tinnsjö. On 20 February 1944, Lieutenant Knut Haukelid and his team sank the ferry in deep water. Ultimately, German nuclear research failed for many reasons, but delays caused by Norwegian sabotage put nuclear weapons out of German reach.

Following the conquest of Norway, Hitler remained deeply concerned about an Allied invasion of north and central Norway. The large-scale raids on the Lofotens greatly reinforced Hitler's fears. Indeed, Winston L. S. Churchill, throughout 1942, urged an Allied seizure of north Norway, which the British chiefs of staff wisely blocked. However, as Operation JUPITER, the plan was used as a cover for the real Allied invasion of North Africa in 1942. Playing to Hitler's fears, JUPITER as a deception measure was a brilliant success. By 1943, the Germans had 12 infantry divisions stationed in Norway and 250 batteries of heavy guns deployed at key points along the coast. Germany's steel and arms industry did depend heavily on high-quality Swedish iron ore sent in the winter months by rail to the ice-free Norwegian port of Narvik and then by ship through coastal waters to German ports. To protect this vital traffic, the German army felt compelled to screen the coast with troops and guns.

Until the end of the war, however, Hitler expected a major Allied invasion of Norway. Consequently, approximately 400,000 German troops, among the best soldiers in the German army, were stationed in Norway at the end of the conflict. The Germans also deployed to Norway some 1,000 guns of 100 mm or larger caliber. These were manned by 13 naval artillery battalions and 12 army coast artillery regiments. Thus Norway diverted a significant German force from the decisive Russian and European Theaters of the war.

Sherwood S. Cordier

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Haakon VII, King of Denmark; Hitler, Adolf; Norway, Air Services; Norway, Army; Norway, German

Conquest of; Norway, Navy; Quisling, Vidkun Abraham Lauritz Jonsson; Rosenberg, Alfred; Special Operations Executive

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Novikov, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich (1900–1976)

Soviet army marshal. Born in the village of Kryukovo in Kostroma Province on 19 November 1900, Aleksandr Novikov was called up for the Red Army in 1919 during the Civil War. He joined the Communist Party in 1920. He took part in the bloody suppression of the Kronstadt Revolt in March 1921, where he was impressed with the role of aircraft in a ground-attack role. In 1921, Novikov attended the field academy of the Red Army at Vystrel, and in 1927 he attended the Frunze Academy. In 1933, despite his defective eyesight, Novikov secured a transfer from the infantry to the air force and learned to fly. In 1935, he took command of the 42nd Light Bomber Squadron, and in March 1936 he won promotion to colonel.

Novikov managed to avoid the great purge of the military, although many of his colleagues were arrested and shot in 1937 and 1938. Novikov became chief of staff of the Karelian Front during the 1939–1940 Soviet-Finnish Winter War. As a major general, he commanded aviation in the Leningrad Military District, which became the Northern Front after the June 1941 German invasion of the Soviet Union.

Novikov became deputy commander of the Red Army Air Force in February 1942. Promoted to lieutenant general in April, he received command of the Red Army Air Force, a post he held until March 1946. In this position, Novikov was responsible for coordinating Soviet air assets in Stalingrad, Kursk, and Operation BAGRATION. Promoted to colonel general in 1943, Novikov was the first Soviet marshal of aviation and one of only two officers to be made chief marshal of aviation in the war. Following the defeat of Germany, Novikov directed air actions against the Japanese Guandong (Kwantung) Army in Manchuria.

Arrested in March 1946 in a purge of the military as Stalin removed war heroes, Novikov was held under strict confine-

ment from 1946 to 1953 but he was released in May 1953 following Josef Stalin's death. Rehabilitated the next month, he held a succession of important posts, including commander of long-range aviation units and deputy chief of staff of the now-independent Soviet air force in 1954–1955. Novikov retired in 1956 because of ill health. He died in Moscow on 3 February 1976.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Belorussia Offensive; Kursk, Battle of; Manchuria Campaign; Soviet Union, Air Force; Stalin, Josef; Stalingrad, Battle of

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Nuclear Weapons

Weapons using energy released from the nuclei of atoms to generate destructive power. Nuclear energy is created when atoms are split in fission or when atoms are combined in the fusion process. During the 1920s and 1930s, scientists suggested that the energy within atoms could be used to produce an incredible source of power, including the potential to create weapons significantly more destructive than any then in existence. Early in World War II, Germany, Japan, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States had research programs examining the potential of nuclear weapons.

Although the German nuclear program had significant potential because of a strong prewar scientific community, it failed to produce a weapon. Historians debate the reason for the German failure, with arguments citing a lack of resources and high-level support, basic technological and scientific errors or failures, and possible intentional slowdowns by German scientists. The Japanese program, with some assistance from Germany, made limited progress in basic research but did not come close to producing a viable weapon. Soviet nuclear research activities were disrupted by the German invasion in June 1941 and the occupation of the Soviet industrial heartland. However, the Soviet research effort was reborn in late 1942, motivated by appeals from Russian physicists and reports of nuclear advances in Germany as well as Britain and the United States. The Soviet nuclear weapons project continued throughout the war and afterward. Assisted by information provided by an active espionage network in the United States and Great Britain and the contributions of captured German scientists, the Soviets exploded a nuclear device on 29 August 1949.

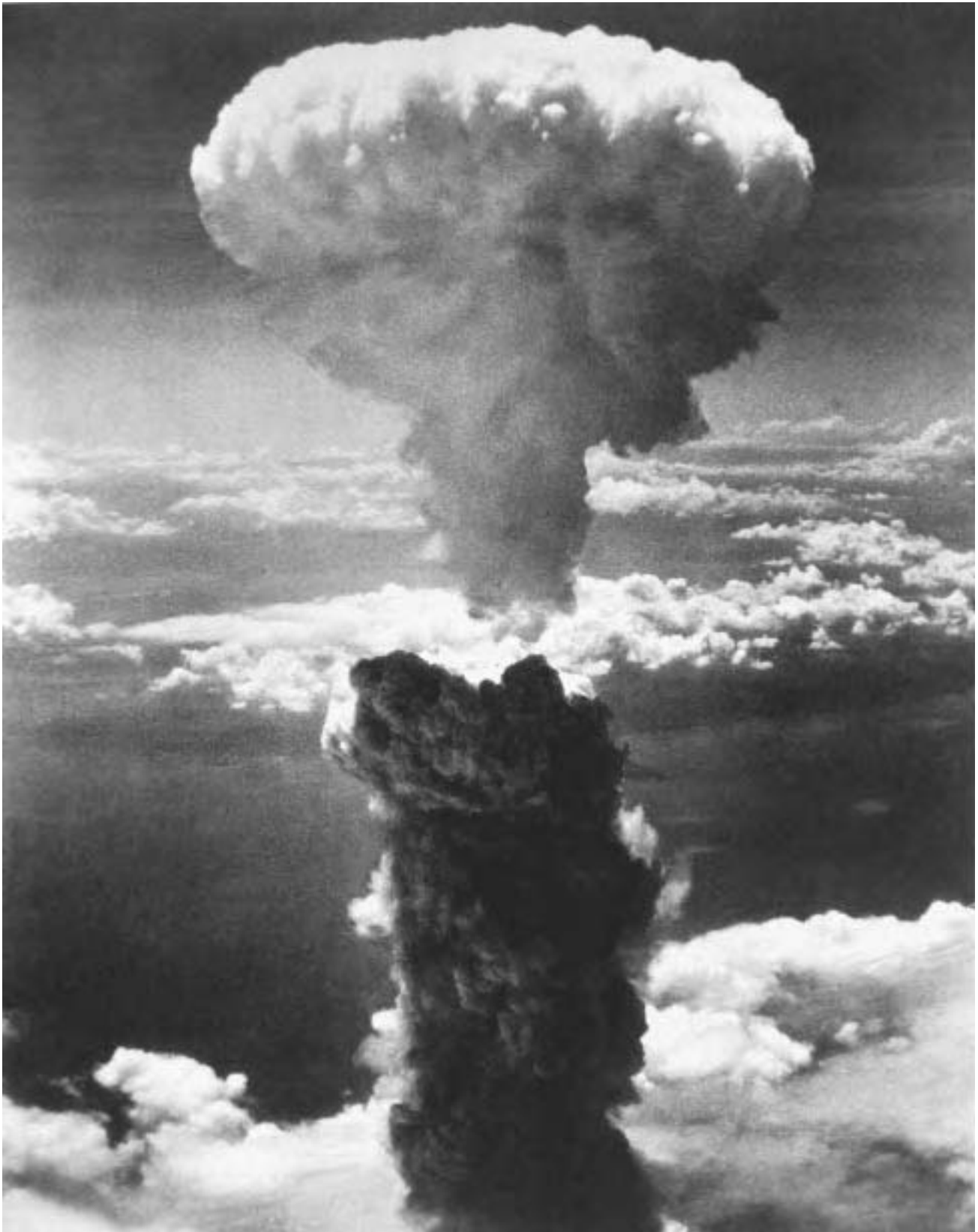
Only the Americans, assisted by British, Canadian, and émigré scientists, were successful in developing an atomic

bomb during the war. The perception of a significant German scientific capability, reinforced by intelligence reports of progress in nuclear matters, was a strong motivation for the British and American research efforts. In the United States, émigré scientists including Leo Szilard and Enrico Fermi were key participants in and advocates of nuclear research. In August 1939, Albert Einstein wrote a letter to President Franklin D. Roosevelt that drew attention to the potential of the concept and gained increased government support for the American scientific research effort.

The U.S. government accelerated its nuclear research activities in August 1942 by creating a highly secret top-priority program that was given the cover designation of "Manhattan Engineer District," normally shortened to the MANHATTAN Project. Brigadier General (later Major General) Leslie Groves, a U.S. Army engineer, directed the program. The central research facility was established at Los Alamos, New Mexico, with support provided by a nationwide network of facilities including university laboratories, industrial sites, and major new nuclear production sites at Hanford, Washington, and Oak Ridge, Tennessee. The MANHATTAN Project was a massive undertaking that involved solving the theoretical foundations for nuclear fission and fusion designs and then the practical engineering challenge of creating a functional weapon.

The MANHATTAN Project produced two successful atomic bomb designs. Both designs brought sufficient fissile material together quickly to create a supercritical mass, which was triggered into a rapid fission chain reaction by an initiator that injected neutrons into the mass. The result was the explosive release of the binding nuclear energy. The simplest design used a gun assembly to fire one subcritical mass, termed a *bullet*, into a second subcritical mass, the target, to create a supercritical mass. The gun-assembly weapon used uranium-235 as fuel and was the design of the "Little Boy" bomb dropped on Hiroshima on 6 August 1945. The second approach used an implosion technique and plutonium-239 as the fuel. The implosion design used shaped conventional high-explosive charges to compress a subcritical mass into a denser mass that became supercritical. The implosion design was used for the first atomic test explosion on 16 July 1945, when a device named "Gadget" was detonated at the Trinity Site on the Alamogordo Bombing Range in New Mexico. The "Fat Man" bomb dropped on Nagasaki on 9 August 1945 was also an implosion design.

The two bomb designs included significant emphasis on safety. In addition to designed safety and arming procedures, key parts of the bombs were not inserted until after the B-29s of the 509th Composite Group took off from their base on Tinian Island. This procedure was intended to prevent a full nuclear explosion if an accident occurred, although the Little Boy design still had significant inherent safety problems. Both bombs used radar altimeters for fusing and had a barometric altimeter as a backup.



A dense column of smoke rises more than 60,000 feet into the air over the Japanese port of Nagasaki, the result of an atomic bomb (the second atomic weapon employed in warfare) dropped on that industrial center on 8 August 1945 from a U.S. B-29 Superfortress. (National Archives)

The effects of nuclear weapons are generally described in terms of a comparable amount of thousands of tons of conventional explosives, kilotons, of yield. The “Little Boy” bomb was estimated to have the explosive power of 15 kilotons and the “Fat Man” bomb 21 kilotons. This description does not fully describe the effects of these weapons, as in a normal bomb design approximately half of the yield was produced in blast energy, approximately one third of the energy was thermal radiation, and the remainder was released in the form of radiation.

Although the atomic bombs created by the MANHATTAN Project used nuclear fission, the fusion process had been considered in the theoretical discussions and was recognized as having even greater destructive potential. The fusion weapon design, often referred to as the “Super,” was not produced until after the war. Fusion weapons, known as thermonuclear weapons or hydrogen bombs, used a fission detonation to trigger the fusion reaction, which generated significantly higher destructive power. The United States detonated the first fusion device, with a yield of 10 megatons (million tons), in October 1952 in a South Pacific test. The development and use of atomic bombs in World War II and the subsequent development of thermonuclear weapons had a significant effect on postwar military forces and national security policies, especially in the form of deterrence doctrines that dominated the Cold War period.

Jerome V. Martin

See also

Arnold, Henry Harley “Hap”; Atomic Bomb, Decision to Employ; B-29 Raids against Japan; Einstein, Albert; Fermi, Enrico; Groves, Leslie Richard; Hiroshima, Bombing of; Japan, Surrender of; LeMay, Curtis Emerson; MANHATTAN Project; Nagasaki, Bombing of; Oppenheimer, Julius Robert; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Strategic Bombing; Truman, Harry S

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Nuri al-Said (Nuri as-Said) Pasha (1888–1958)

Iraqi political leader. Born in Kirkuk (Iraq) in 1888, the son of a minor religious functionary, Nuri al-Said Pasha received

a military education. He graduated from a military academy in Istanbul in 1905 and the next year was commissioned an officer in the Ottoman army. Nuri first saw service in Iraq, and in 1910 he returned to Istanbul for additional training at the Staff College. He became active in politics and joined the Ahd Party in 1912.

During World War I, Nuri participated in military operations against the British but was captured. In 1916, he joined the Allied Sharifian Arab army led by Amir Faysal I, which was supported by Great Britain and commanded by Major General Edmund Allenby. Nuri then distinguished himself in battle in the Arab revolt against Ottoman rule. After the revolt, Faysal briefly led an Arab state with its capital in Damascus, where Nuri participated in its administration. He attended the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 as military adviser to Faysal and was appointed chief of staff of the Iraqi army in 1920. The French destroyed Faysal’s state in 1920, but in 1921 Faysal became the first king of Iraq. Nuri became prime minister in 1930.

While prime minister, on 30 June 1930, Nuri signed a treaty with British High Commissioner Sir Francis H. Humphrys that granted independence to Iraq. Nuri was prime minister on 14 different occasions. Pro-British, he supported the Hashemite dynasty under King Faysal. When Faysal died in 1933, much of the Iraqi population, especially the young, disagreed with Nuri’s views. Conflicts arose at the start of World War II when Nuri supported the British and declared war on Germany in 1940.

In April 1941, Rashid Ali Gailani staged a coup and forced Nuri and his supporters into exile. While Rashid was in power, he ignored Italy’s declaration of war against Britain and permitted anti-British propaganda and activities. In May 1941, however, the British sent in military forces and crushed the Rashid Ali regime. Nuri then returned to Iraq and served as prime minister with British sponsorship from 1941 to 1944. Nuri maintained political dominance and sought to create a union of Arab states with British support. A believer in Arab unity, he sought to unite Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Trans-Jordan, and Yemen.

Iraq became a charter member of the Arab League in 1945. At the end of World War II, however, there was strong nationalist feeling in Iraq and resentment toward the West, while Nuri favored continued ties with the Western powers. In February 1958, Nuri sponsored a union with Jordan, but this led to another change of government. In July 1958, Iraqi army units led by Karim Kassem overthrew the monarchy. On 14 July 1958, Nuri al-Said was killed by an angry mob in Baghdad.

M. David Yaman

See also
Iraq



Iraq Premier Nuri As Said, shown here in 1957. (Photo by Howard Sochurek/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

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Nuri as-Said

See Nuri al-Said Pasha.

O

O'Connor, Richard Nugent (1889–1981)

British army general. Born in Sringar, Kashmir, on 21 August 1889, Richard O'Connor was educated at Wellington College and the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and was commissioned in the Scottish Rifles in 1909. In World War I, he was posted to the 7th Division on the Western Front and took part in some of the sharpest battles of the war, including the First Battle of Ypres, Neuve Chapelle, Givenchy, Loos, and the Somme. In June 1917, O'Connor assumed command as a temporary lieutenant colonel of the 1st Battalion, the Honourable Artillery Company, which participated in the Battle of Third Ypres (Passchendaele) in October. The 7th Division moved to Italy that November, where his battalion served with distinction.

O'Connor reverted to captain at the end of the war. Post-war service included attendance and an instructor assignment at the Staff College, Camberley. In 1936, he was again promoted to lieutenant colonel and commanded the 1st Camerons. O'Connor was almost immediately promoted and assumed command of the Peshawar Brigade on the northwest frontier in India. After two years there, he was promoted to major general and took charge of the 7th Division in Palestine, which also meant he was military governor of Jerusalem.

In June 1940, O'Connor moved his division to Egypt, and as a lieutenant general, he took command of the small Western Desert Force in Egypt. When Italian forces under Marshal Rodolfo Graziani invaded in September, O'Connor skillfully led his vastly outnumbered troops in Operation COMPASS to destroy an Italian army, capture vast numbers of prisoners and quantities of equipment and supplies, and secure the

port of Tobruk on 21–22 January 1941. In 10 weeks, at a cost of fewer than 2,000 casualties, his forces inflicted 12,000 killed and missing and took 138,000 prisoners, including 5 generals, 400 tanks, and 850 guns.

Following the arrival of the German Afrika Korps in North Africa in February 1941, Lieutenant General Erwin Rommel launched a counterattack in March that enjoyed success in large part because much of the Western Desert Force had been sent to fight in Greece. O'Connor was then commanding British troops in Egypt, but Wavell ordered him to the front to serve as adviser to his successor, Lieutenant General Philip Neame. O'Connor and Neame were captured by a German patrol on 6 April. Both men escaped from a prisoner-of-war camp in Italy in September 1943 and managed to reach Britain.

O'Connor returned to duty in January 1944 and commanded VIII Corps from the Normandy Invasion but was posted to India in November 1944 to head first the Eastern and then Northwestern Command, when he was promoted full general in April 1945. He later served as adjutant-general to the forces in 1946 and 1947. He retired in September 1947. O'Connor died in London on 17 June 1981.

Britton W. MacDonald

See also

Falaise-Argentan Pocket; GOODWOOD, Operation; Graziani, Rodolfo; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; North Africa Campaign

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British General Sir Richard O'Connor in 1948. (Photo by Topical Press Agency/Getty Images)

Office of Strategic Services (OSS)

The Office of Strategic Services (OSS) was a U.S. foreign intelligence agency and forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency. The OSS was created in June 1942 and disbanded on 1 October 1945. President Franklin D. Roosevelt established the OSS at the urging of Colonel William J. Donovan, a prominent lawyer and former U.S. assistant attorney general who served in the army during World War I, winning the Medal of Honor, and then took an interest in intelligence matters. At the beginning of World War II, Donovan, who had close connections with like-minded British intelligence operatives and with Roosevelt, persuaded the president that the United States needed a centralized civilian-run intelligence agency that would report directly to the White House. In July 1941, before the United States entered the war, Roosevelt established for this purpose the Office of Coordinator of Information, headed by Donovan. A few months after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, this agency metamorphosed into the Office of Strategic Services, which was to report directly to the newly created Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The OSS undertook a wide variety of activities. In the United States, Donovan recruited academics for research and analysis functions. The OSS also mounted numerous covert activities, operating in both the European and Pacific war theaters. Ultimately, the OSS employed several thousand personnel. It had particularly close links with British intelligence services, which Donovan regarded as providing a desirable model for a potential U.S. agency. OSS European operations were based in London and headed by Colonel David K. E. Bruce, who subsequently became U.S. ambassador to France, West Germany, and Britain. OSS operatives (one of the more flamboyant ones was Allen W. Dulles, who spent the war in Switzerland cultivating contacts in Germany and Italy) infiltrated Axis-occupied territory, aiding resistance groups and providing the U.S. military with firsthand intelligence. In the Asian Theater, OSS agents worked closely with nationalist forces in China and Indochina, and as the war drew to a close they reported favorably though unavailingly to Washington on both the Chinese Communist movement led by Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) and its Vietnamese counterpart headed by Ho Chi Minh.

Despite its successes, the OSS attracted fierce criticism from the American military, particularly General Douglas MacArthur, commander of U.S. forces in the southwest Pacific; military espionage operatives; and other rival intelligence agencies, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Donovan's forthright style did little to allay such tensions. The OSS recruited its operatives disproportionately from the American social elite to which Donovan belonged, winning it the nickname "Oh So Social" and enabling detractors to denigrate its accomplishments. Immediately after the war ended, in September 1945 President Harry S. Truman disbanded the OSS, ignoring Donovan's forceful pleas to establish a centralized U.S. intelligence agency. Within a few months, however, rising Cold War tensions led Truman to reverse this decision. The OSS was the de facto precursor of the Central Intelligence Agency, established by presidential executive order in 1946 and, more formally, by act of Congress in 1947. Many CIA operatives, including several influential directors—among them Allen W. Dulles, Richard Helms, and William Colby—began their intelligence careers as OSS agents. The CIA's subsequent heavy reliance on covert operations was another legacy that can be traced directly to its World War II OSS heritage.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Donovan, William Joseph; Ho Chi Minh; MacArthur, Douglas; Mao Zedong; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Special Operations Executive; Truman, Harry S

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Built for the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), this tiny “M.B.” camera—no larger than its namesake, a matchbox—could be easily hidden in a man’s hand and used to take a picture under the cloak of such a simple gesture as lighting a cigarette or reading. Eastman Kodak designed and built 1,000 of these cameras for use by OSS agents and underground forces during the war, ca. 1940s. (Bettmann/Corbis)

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Oikawa Koshiro (1883–1958)

Japanese navy admiral and minister of the navy. Born in Iwate Prefecture on 8 February 1883, Oikawa Koshiro graduated from the Naval Academy in 1903 and from the Torpedo School in 1910 as a torpedo specialist. He entered the Naval War College in 1913 as a lieutenant commander. During 1915–1922, he was aide-de-camp to Crown Prince Hirohito. Oikawa took command of the 5th Destroyer Squadron in 1922, and as a captain he commanded the cruisers *Kinu* and *Tama*. In 1924, Oikawa became the chief of the Operations Department of the Naval General Staff. After promotion to rear admiral in 1928, he was assigned to be chief of staff of the Kure Naval District. In 1932, he assumed command of the 1st Air Squadron.

Appointed superintendent of the Naval Academy in 1933, Oikawa took command of the Third Fleet in 1935. Continuing his rapid rise, he became director of the Air Command in 1936. Promoted to vice admiral in 1938, he assumed command of the China Fleet. In 1940, he had charge of the Yokosuka Naval District. In September 1940, Oikawa was appointed minister of the navy.

As naval minister, Oikawa was involved in making two fateful decisions: the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy in September 1940 and the declarations of war against the United States and the United Kingdom. Although many in the Imperial Navy, including Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku, opposed the Tripartite Pact, Oikawa was pressured to approve it. Although he privately told Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro that he lacked confidence in the navy's ability to fight the United States, he later refused to speak as plainly to other cabinet members. Many have criticized his attitude, which stemmed from his desire to get along with everyone. Oikawa left his post in October 1941, easily giving way to General Tōjō Hideki's rejection of his choice of Admiral Toyoda Soemu, a well-known opponent of army policies, to be his successor.

Oikawa next became superintendent of the Naval War College and military adviser to the emperor. In November 1943, he headed the new Grand Escort Command Headquarters, composed of four escort carriers and a naval air group, to protect Japanese convoys against U.S. submarine attack. In August 1944, he resumed his position as chief of the Naval General Staff, although mounting Japanese defeats led to his withdrawal in April 1945. Oikawa died at Tokyo on 9 May 1958.

Kita Yoshito

See also

Hirohito, Emperor of Japan; Konoe Fumimaro, Prince; Tōjō, Hideki; Toyoda Soemu; Tripartite Pact; Yamamoto Isoroku

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Okamura Yasuji (1884–1966)

Japanese army general. Born in Tokyo on 5 May 1884, Okamura Yasuji graduated from the Military Academy in 1904 and the Army War College in 1913. Okamura had three periods of service on the army General Staff: 1914–1917, 1923–1925, and 1928. Promoted to major in 1919, he was resident officer in Europe in 1921 and 1922 and then in Shanghai from 1925 to 1927. Promoted to colonel, he commanded a regiment. As vice chief of staff of the Guandong (Kwantung) Army, Okamura



Japanese General Okamura Yasuji (left), Commanding General of Japanese forces in China. (Collection Violett/Getty Images)

helped plan the Japanese takeover of Manchuria in 1931 and 1932. Promoted to major general and appointed deputy commanding general of the Shanghai Expeditionary Army in February 1932, Okamura was sent to break the boycott of Japanese goods following the takeover of Manchuria.

Okamura was next military attaché to the puppet Japanese state of Manzhouguo (Manchukuo) in 1933 and 1934. He was then chief of the Intelligence Division of the army General Staff in 1935 and 1936. Promoted to lieutenant general in 1936, Okamura commanded the 2nd Division in Manchuria from 1936 to 1938. Okamura played an important role in the Sino-Japanese War as commander of Eleventh Army in China from 1938 to 1940. He was well informed regarding Chinese affairs, especially the Nationalist government of Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), and was reluctant to escalate the war.

Promoted to full general in 1941, Okamura headed the North China Area Army. In 1944, he became commander of the Japanese Expeditionary Army in China and launched Operation ICHI-GŌ, a major offensive in central and south-eastern China, from mid-April 1944 to February 1945.

Employing 410,000 troops, the Japanese made major territorial gains and realized their goals of eliminating U.S. air bases in China for the strategic bombing of Japan and opening land communications from north China to French Indochina. Okamura halted the advance because he feared the Soviet Union would enter the war against Japan.

Although Okamura and his 1 million Japanese soldiers in China had never been defeated by the Chinese, he surrendered unconditionally in Nanjing (Nanking) on 9 September 1945. After the war, Okamura was brought to trial by the Nationalist government of China. Okamura had developed close ties with members of the Nationalist government, so it came as no surprise when he was found innocent. He then worked with the Nationalist government from 1946 to 1948. The Chinese Communists tried to capture him, but Okamura escaped to Japan. In February 1950, Okamura arranged to send his former staff officers, known as the Pai Tuan (White Company) to Taiwan to assist the Nationalist government there.

Kotani Ken

See also

ICHI-GŌ, Operation; Jiang Jieshi; Sino-Japanese War

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be some of the most effective of the war. The *Wahoo* was soon the navy's most effective submarine, sinking 16 Japanese vessels totaling 45,000 tons between May and July 1943.

In July 1943, O'Kane was ordered to fit out and take command of the new submarine *Tang*. He commanded the *Tang* throughout her career, implementing and improving on the tactics that he and Morton had previously developed. On 24 October 1944, during her fifth war patrol, while between Taiwan and the Philippines in an attack on a Japanese convoy, one of the *Tang*'s own Mark XVIII torpedoes malfunctioned, circled back, and sank her. Only O'Kane and eight of his crew survived the sinking; they were picked up by Japanese ships. The *Tang* was credited with sinking 24 Japanese ships totaling 93,285 tons.

O'Kane spent the duration of the war in a Japanese prisoner-of-war camp. For the *Tang*'s final patrol, O'Kane was awarded the Medal of Honor. O'Kane remains the highest-scoring submarine commander in U.S. naval history.

In 1949, O'Kane commanded Submarine Division 32. Promoted to captain in 1953, he attended the Naval War College and then commanded Submarine Division 7 at Pearl Harbor. O'Kane held various commands after the war, including the Navy Submarine School at New London and Submarine Squadron 7. O'Kane retired from active duty in 1957 as a rear admiral. He died at Petaluma, California, on 16 February 1994.

Edward F. Finch

See also

Submarines; Torpedoes; United States, Submarine Operations against Japan Shipping

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O'Kane, Richard Hetherington (1911–1994)

U.S. Navy officer. Born in Dover, New Hampshire, on 2 February 1911, Richard O'Kane graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1934 and began a series of tours aboard cruisers and destroyers. He entered the submarine service in 1938. After duty aboard the minelaying submarine *Argonaut*, O'Kane reported to the submarine *Wahoo* in early 1942. When Lieutenant Commander Dudley W. Morton took command of the *Wahoo* after her second war patrol, O'Kane became her executive officer. Morton and O'Kane then worked closely to develop more aggressive submarine tactics, which proved to

Okinawa, Invasion of (Operation ICEBERG, March–June 1945)

Last major battle of World War II in the Pacific and the largest and most complicated amphibious operation in the theater. Okinawa, the largest of the Ryukyu Islands and only 350 miles from the Japanese home island of Kyushu, had long been regarded as the last stepping-stone before a direct Allied attack on Japan. The island is 60 miles long and at most 18 miles wide. Japan had gained possession of the island in 1875. Japanese leaders considered the defense of Okinawa as their last chance to hold off an invasion of the homeland, and they



A marine of the 1st Marine Division fires on a Japanese sniper with his tommy-gun as a companion ducks for cover. The division was working to take Wand Ridge before the town of Shuri on Okinawa. (Corbis)

were prepared for their forces to battle to the death. Allied strategists decided that a major amphibious operation, code-named *ICEBERG*, would be mounted to take the island to secure harbor and air-base facilities for the projected attack on the Japanese home islands. Taking the island would also sever Japanese communications with south China.

Admiral Raymond Spruance, commander of Fifth Fleet, had overall charge of the invasion operation. The covering force included 18 battleships and 40 carriers in Vice Admiral Marc A. Mitscher's Fast Carrier Force (TF-58) and the British component commanded by Vice Admiral H. B. Rawlings (TF-57, a battleship and four carriers, plus supporting ships, 22 in all). The lifting force of Vice Admiral Richmond K. Turner's Joint Expeditionary Force, TF-51, comprised some 1,300 ships. Operation *ICEBERG* included the largest number of ships involved in a single operation during the entire Pacific war.

The land assault force consisted of U.S. Army Lieutenant General Simon Bolivar Buckner's Tenth Army of some 180,000 men. Tenth Army included Major General Roy S. Geiger's III Marine Amphibious Corps (1st, 2nd, and 6th Divisions) and Army Major General John R. Hodge's XXIV Army Corps (7th, 27th, 77th, and 96th Divisions). The Japanese defenders were formed into the Thirty-Second Army (Ryukus). It comprised four divisions (9th, 24th, 62nd, and the 28th on Sakishima) plus additional units. Lieutenant General Mitsuru Ushijima commanded about 130,000 men, including the 20,000-man Okinawan Home Guard. The Japanese constructed a formidable defensive system, particularly on the southern part of the island.

The invasion was originally scheduled for 1 March 1945, but delays in the Philippines Campaign and at Iwo Jima caused *ICEBERG* to be delayed for several weeks. The operation began with the occupation of the Kerama Islets, 15 miles west of Okinawa,

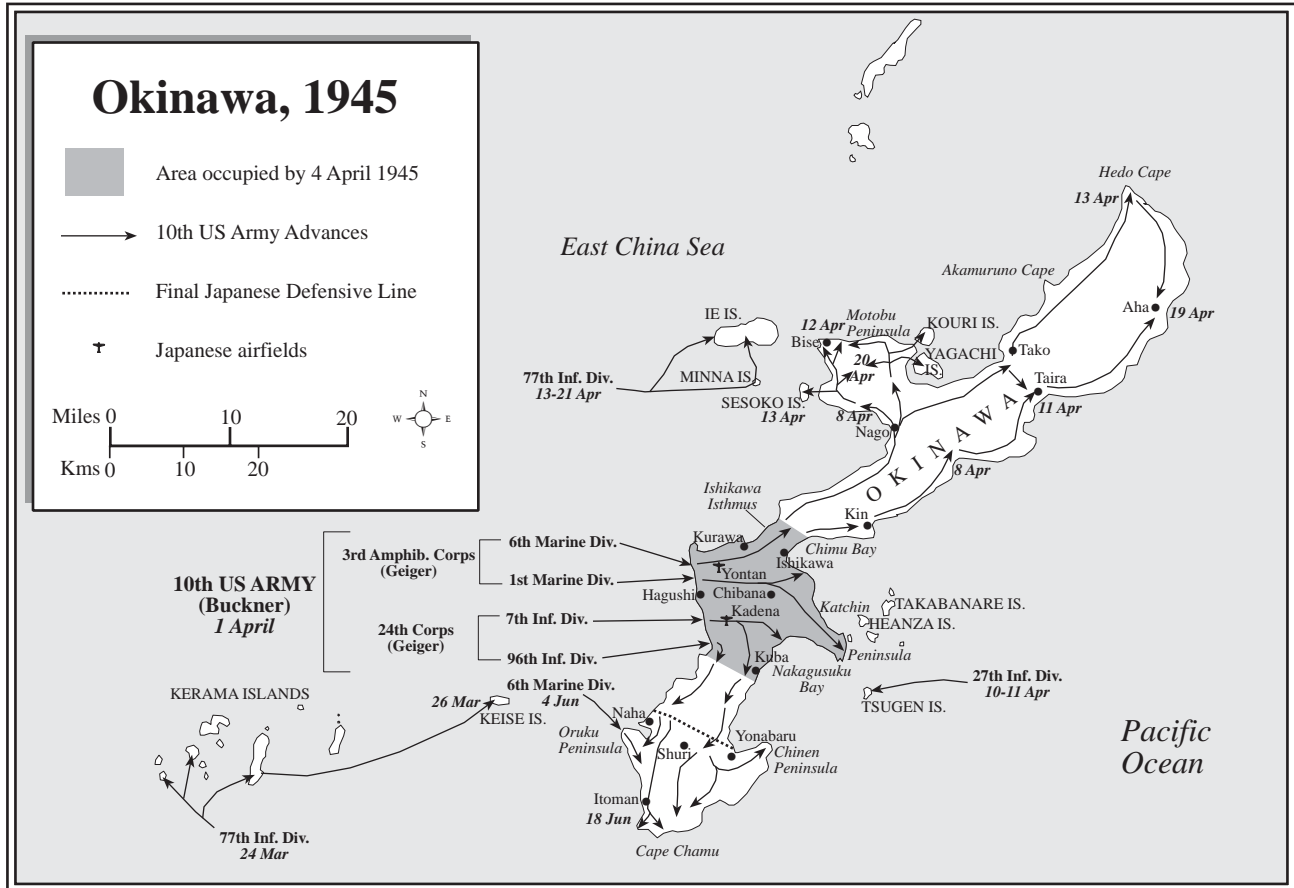
on 16 March 1945. Five days later, a landing was made on Keise-Jima, from which point artillery fire could be brought to bear on Okinawa itself. Then on 1 April, Easter Sunday, the landing began with a feint toward the southeastern shore of the island. The real assault was made by 60,000 U.S. troops landing on the central stretch of Okinawa's west coast. They quickly seized two nearby airfields and advanced east to cut the island's narrow waist. The Marines and Army troops attained most of their initial objectives within four days.

Ushijima had concentrated the bulk of his defenders out of range of Allied naval guns off the beaches and behind the strong Shuri line at the southern end of the island. There, the Japanese planned to inflict as much damage as possible on the invaders, supported by the last units of the Imperial Fleet and kamikaze raids. U.S. forces encountered the Shuri line for the first time on 4 April. They fought for eight days to take a ridge and clear the Japanese from numerous caves. Fighting was intense as the Japanese defended every inch of ground. The 1st Marine Division finally took Shuri Castle on 29 May. The Japanese then withdrew to the south to establish another defensive line at Yaeju Dake and Yazu Dake. Fierce fighting continued until most Japanese resistance had been eliminated by 21 June. During the battle for Okinawa, both com-

manders died within five days of each other; General Buckner died of shrapnel wounds inflicted by Japanese artillery at a forward observation post on 18 June, and General Ushijima committed suicide on 23 June.

While the battle had raged ashore, fighting in the waters around the island was just as intense. Japanese kamikaze attacks reached their highest level of the war as the suicide pilots flung themselves against the Allied fleet. Several thousand pilots immolated themselves against U.S. and British ships, sinking 36 and damaging another 368. The largest kamikaze was the giant battleship *Yamato*, dispatched to Okinawa with sufficient fuel for only a one-way trip. She was to inflict as much damage as possible before being destroyed; the Japanese hoped the *Yamato* might finish off the Allied fleet after the latter had been weakened by kamikaze attacks, then beach her-

The land assault of the U.S. Tenth Army consisted of some 180,000 men against the Japanese Thirty-Second Army of about 130,000 men.



self as a stationary battery. This mission came to naught on 7 April when the *Yamato* was attacked by U.S. carrier aircraft. Hit repeatedly by bombs and torpedoes, she sank long before reaching the invasion site.

Okinawa was officially declared secure on 2 July. Both sides had suffered horrendous casualties. More than 107,000 Japanese and Okinawan military and civilian personnel died. On the U.S. side, the army lost 12,520 dead and 36,631 wounded. The Marines suffered 2,938 dead and 13,708 wounded. The navy lost 4,907 men killed and 4,874 wounded, primarily from kamikaze attacks. The navy was the only service in the battle in which the dead exceeded the wounded. This figure was greater than the navy's casualties in all U.S. wars to that date. The Battle of Okinawa was the costliest battle for the Americans of the Pacific war; this was used to support the case for bringing the war to an end by means other than the invasion of Japan itself and certainly influenced the decision by the United States to use atomic bombs.

James H. Willbanks

See also

Atomic Bomb, Decision to Employ; Buckner, Simon Bolivar, Jr.; Geiger, Roy Stanley; Iwo Jima, Battle for; Kamikaze; Mitscher, Marc Andrew; Spruance, Raymond Ames; Turner, Richmond Kelly; Ushijima, Mitsuru

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Oldendorf, Jesse Bartlett (1887–1974)

U.S. Navy admiral. Born in Riverside, California, on 16 February 1887, Jesse Oldendorf graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1909 as a passed midshipman and was commissioned an ensign two years later. During World War I, Lieutenant Oldendorf served on North Atlantic convoy duty. He next served as engineering officer on a cruiser and aboard a former German transport. A series of shore billets followed. From 1924 to 1927, Oldendorf commanded the destroyer *Decatur*. He then attended both the Army and Navy War Colleges (1928–1930). Following service on the battleship *New York*, Oldendorf served as an instructor at the Naval Academy (1932–1935). He then was executive officer on the battleship *West Virginia*. Promoted to captain in March 1938, he

took command of the heavy cruiser *Houston* the next year. In 1941, he was assigned to the staff of the Naval War College.

Promoted to rear admiral in January 1942, Oldendorf held a series of commands in the Aruba-Curacao and Trinidad sectors of the Caribbean and then commanded a task force in the Atlantic Fleet. In January 1944, Oldendorf was transferred to the Pacific and assumed command of Cruiser Division 4, which supported U.S. operations in the Marshall Islands, against Truk, and in the Mariana Islands and Peleliu. In October 1944, Oldendorf commanded Seventh Fleet's Fire Support Force of six prewar battleships (five of which had been rebuilt following the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor), four heavy cruisers, four light cruisers, and numerous destroyers and patrol-torpedo (PT) boats, all supporting the U.S. amphibious landing on Leyte Island in the Philippines.

On the night of 24–25 October, Oldendorf positioned his forces in Surigao Strait between Leyte and Mindanao to meet Vice Admiral Nishimura Shoji's Japanese Southern Force, part of the SHO-1 plan to destroy U.S. forces off the landing site. In a classic "crossing the T," Oldendorf placed his battleships across the mouth of the strait to rain shells on Nishimura's ships, which were proceeding in single-file line. At the same time, Oldendorf's destroyers and PT boats lining the strait launched torpedoes from the flanks. Oldendorf's ships also engaged a trailing Japanese force, the Second Diversion Attack Force, which was commanded by Vice Admiral Shima Kiyohide. Oldendorf's ships scored one of the most complete American naval victories of the war—sinking both Japanese battleships, two of four cruisers, and four of eight destroyers without U.S. loss.

Promoted to vice admiral in December 1944, Oldendorf ended the war in command of Battleship Squadron 1 and Battleship Division 4 in support of landings in the Lingayen Gulf, Luzon. After recovering from an injury, he commanded Task Force 95 at Okinawa from June to November 1945.

In November 1945, Oldendorf took charge of the 11th Naval District and San Diego Naval Base. He ended his career in command of the Western Sea Frontier and the "moth-ball" fleet at San Francisco (1947–1948). Oldendorf received promotion to admiral on his retirement from the navy in September 1948. He died at Portsmouth, Virginia, on 27 April 1974.

Edward F. Finch and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Leyte Gulf, Battle of; Mariana Islands, Naval Campaign; Marshall Islands, Naval Campaign; Okinawa, Invasion of; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Peleliu, Battle of; Truk

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Ōnishi Takijirō (1891–1945)

Japanese navy admiral. Born in Hyōgo on 2 June 1891, Ōnishi Takijirō graduated from the Naval Academy in 1912. Promoted to ensign in 1913, he studied at the Gunnery School in 1914 and 1915 and was assigned to Yokosuka Naval Station from 1916 to 1918. One of the pioneers of Japanese naval air forces, Ōnishi learned to fly in 1915. He served as Japanese naval attaché in Britain and traveled in Britain and France from 1918 to 1922 to study naval aviation.

In the mid-1920s, Ōnishi served as an instructor in the Kasumigaura Air Training Corps under Captain Yamamoto Isoroku. In the 1930s, he served in various staff and line positions in naval aviation, including heading the Training Section of the Naval Aviation Department. Promoted to rear admiral in 1939, Ōnishi took command of the 2nd Combined Air Corps, which flew shore-based, long-range Mitsubishi G3M ("Nell" in the Allied code system) bombers. Based in Hankow, he commanded strategic bombing operations in the Sino-Japanese War. In early 1941, Ōnishi was appointed chief of staff to Vice Admiral Tsukahara Nishizo, commander of Eleventh Air Fleet, the first entirely shore-based air fleet of this kind.

In January 1941, commander of the Combined Fleet Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku ordered Ōnishi, then regarded as Japan's foremost expert on naval aviation, and Genda Minoru, commander of the naval air group at Yokosuka, to plan an attack by carrierborne aircraft against the U.S. Pacific Fleet base at Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands. At the outbreak of the Pacific war, the Eleventh Air Fleet based in Taiwan made a decisive contribution to the Japanese military effort by destroying U.S. air power in the Philippines.

Ōnishi then held important administrative posts, including chief of the Naval Aviation Department and deputy chief of the Aerial Weapons Department of the Ministry of Ammunition. In the latter capacity, he had the unenviable task of trying to reconcile navy-army demands for resources in aircraft production.

In October 1944, Ōnishi was appointed commander of the First Air Fleet in the Philippines. Facing a desperate situation, Ōnishi adopted the tactic of suicide air attacks against U.S. warships. On his order, the first kamikaze operation was implemented. Thereafter, Ōnishi commanded kamikaze attacks from the Philippines and then from Taiwan until he was called back to become vice chief of the Navy General Staff in May 1945.

At the end of the war, Ōnishi strongly opposed Japanese acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration. On learning of the sur-

render, he committed ritual suicide in Tokyo on 16 August, leaving behind a statement expressing deep gratitude to those who had sacrificed themselves in kamikaze missions.

Kotani Ken and Tohmatsu Haruo

See also

Genda Minoru; Japan, Air Forces; Kamikaze; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; Okinawa, Invasion of; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Potsdam Conference; Yamamoto Isoroku

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Oppenheimer, Julius Robert (1904–1967)

U.S. scientist who helped develop the atomic bomb. Born in New York City on 22 April 1904, Robert Oppenheimer was a gifted and precocious child. Graduating summa cum laude in three years from Harvard University, he did his graduate work at the Cavendish Laboratory in Cambridge and at Göttingen under Max Born. A brilliant dissertation on quantum theory confirmed a vocation and his status as a leading theoretical physicist. In 1929, he accepted joint appointments in physics at the University of California, Berkeley and at Caltech.

Ambitious and possessing an incredibly quick and agile mind, Oppenheimer attracted a coterie of stellar students at Berkeley. A chain smoker with a penchant for martinis, he stood six feet and weighed 125 pounds. Economic depression and the rise of fascism piqued his interest in the Communist Party, and he later married a former party member. Yet his left-leaning political stance failed to deter Brigadier General Leslie R. Groves from recruiting him to lead a centralized laboratory for the construction of atomic bombs. Groves recognized Oppenheimer's genius for science, his extensive connections and ability to recruit talent, and, most important, his improvisational and organizational skills and his determination to prove his patriotism. Overriding objections from army counterintelligence, Groves appointed Oppenheimer in October 1942 to lead the laboratory.

Oppenheimer assembled his initial team of approximately 30 scientists at Los Alamos in April 1943. Because Oppenheimer encouraged a sense of community and open communication, the team overcame seemingly intractable difficulties to produce a working nuclear device in just over



American physicist Julius Robert Oppenheimer, ca. 1940s. (Corbis)

two years. Despite intellectual assertiveness that bordered on arrogance, Oppenheimer proved to be the indispensable man of the MANHATTAN Project. His unqualified success earned him the Presidential Medal of Merit in 1946.

In 1947, Oppenheimer became director of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton and chairman of the General Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission. Initially entranced by the “technically sweet” challenge of building atomic bombs, he later remarked that, with Hiroshima, physicists “have known sin.” His opposition to the hydrogen bomb within the febrile climate of McCarthyism led to hearings in 1954 that stripped him of his security clearance. Rehabilitated by 1963, he received the Enrico Fermi Award. Oppenheimer died at Princeton on 18 February 1967.

William J. Astore

See also

Alamogordo; Einstein, Albert; Fermi, Enrico; Groves, Leslie Richard; Hiroshima, Bombing of; MANHATTAN Project; Nagasaki, Bombing of

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Oradour-sur-Glane Massacre (10 June 1944)

German atrocity against French civilians. During World War II, German armed forces—both Wehrmacht and Waffen-Schutzstaffel (Waffen-SS)—committed an untold number of atrocities. Although the vast majority occurred in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, western Europe witnessed several notorious German war crimes, including the massacre of innocent men, women, and children at Oradour-sur-Glane.

Located 15 miles northwest of Limoges in central France, the small village of Oradour, although it lay within the German zone of occupation from June 1940, managed to escape the horrors of World War II for the better part of four years. This all changed, however, on 10 June 1944, when *Sturmbannführer* Otto Dickmann and troops from the 1st Battalion of the 2nd SS Panzer Division (Das Reich) entered the village, slaughtered its inhabitants, and looted and burned its houses and buildings.

Commanded by *Obersturmbannführer* Heinz Lammerding, Das Reich, one of the original Waffen-SS divisions, had been transferred from the Eastern Front to Montauban in southern France in early 1944. In the immediate aftermath of the Allied Normandy Invasion of 6 June, Das Reich received orders to redeploy to the Normandy Front. As it made its way north, the division came under attack from French Resistance forces and engaged in several firefights. On 9 June, the Resistance captured one of the division’s officers, the popular *Sturmbannführer* Helmut Kampfe. Possibly, the massacre at Oradour was in reprisal for this act.

On entering the village, the panzergrenadiers who made up Das Reich’s 1st Battalion forced the startled residents to assemble in the central square. Separating the men from the women and children, the Germans herded the former into barns and the latter into the village church. They then burned both barns and church, tossing in grenades for good measure and gunning down those who tried to flee. After plundering and setting fire to other buildings, the 1st Battalion withdrew. A total of 642 victims, including 207 children, lay dead. Only 7 villagers (5 men, 1 woman, and a child) managed to escape. Das Reich proceeded to the Normandy Front without encountering further Resistance activity.

At war’s end, French authorities decided to maintain Oradour-sur-Glane as it had been left by the Das Reich Division, transforming the remnants of the village into a national monument. As for the perpetrators, 7 Germans and 14 Alsations were tried by a French military court at Bordeaux in



Burnt corpses of some of the victims of the massacre by the German SS Das Reich Division in Oradour-sur-Glâne. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

1953. The court found 20 of the defendants guilty and sentenced 2 to death and 18 to imprisonment at hard labor for terms ranging from 5 to 20 years. Amnesties and pardons, however, led to all 20 being freed within 5 years.

Bruce J. DeHart

See also

Malmèdy Massacre; *Maquis*; Waffen-SS

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ther punishment, it also removed their families from ration lists. Many Red Army soldiers were captured through no fault of their own for lack of ammunition or because they had been surrounded. Leading figures such as General Georgii Zhukov pointed out the negative effect this would have on morale, but Stalin insisted on carrying out Order 270. It was first employed against Lieutenant General A. I. Eremenko, who retreated with his men east from the Bryansk Front in late August 1941. This order was followed by Order 0064, which ordered execution for those “who did not do their duty” (i.e., retreat, surrender) and Order 227, which insisted that the Red Army take “not one step further back.”

Read to every Soviet soldier, since many were illiterate, these measures were bitterly resented by leaders such as Zhukov, who not only realized the real situations in which Soviet soldiers had been forced to surrender, but who also believed that both Stalin and Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov had collaborated with the Germans themselves in the 23 August 1939 nonaggression pact with Germany. Despite wide knowledge of these orders within the Soviet Union, the documents concerning them were not made public officially until Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was in power, nearly 50 years after the war.

Margaret Sankey

See also

German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact; Molotov, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich; Soviet Union, Army; Soviet Union, Role in War; Stalin, Josef; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Organization, Military

See Military Organization.

Organization Todt (OT)

See Todt Organization.

Order 270

Issued by Soviet dictator Josef Stalin on 16 August 1941, Order 270 classified as traitors all Soviet soldiers who were captured by the Germans and held as prisoners of war. As fur-

Origins of World War II

See page 3.

Ōshima Hiroshi (1886–1975)

Japanese soldier and diplomat who unknowingly served the western allies in World War II as a chief source of intelligence. Born in Gifu Prefecture, Japan, on 19 April 1886, Ōshima Hiroshi came from a prominent family well known for its distinguished service to the Japanese emperor and its admiration of Germany. Following graduation from the Military Academy in 1905, Ōshima rose steadily in rank and assignment. As a major in the early 1920s, he served as an attaché in the Japanese legations in Germany, Austria, and Hungary. He was singularly unimpressed by these war-torn European societies and, in particular, detested the struggling democratic Weimar Republic.

The 1930s provided unique opportunities for Ōshima. Not long after the National Socialists and Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany, Colonel Ōshima, largely through the influence of militarists and pro-Axis elements in the Japanese government, was appointed senior military attaché in the Imperial Japanese Embassy in Berlin. Ōshima was at once both comfortable and effective in his new post. Speaking nearly flawless German, he wholeheartedly approved of the Nationalist Socialist movement. Thus, with the aid of political and military contacts in both Tokyo and Berlin, Ōshima soon gained direct access to the upper echelons of the government and met privately with Hitler for the first time in the autumn of 1935. Through a great deal of intrigue and maneuvering, Ōshima progressed from the rank of colonel and position of attaché in 1934 to lieutenant general and ambassador in 1938.

The rabidly anticommunist Ōshima worked hard to conclude the 1936 Anti-Comintern Pact, which would culminate in the Tripartite Pact of Germany, Italy, and Japan in 1940. However, Hitler's rush to war in September 1939 weakened and temporarily discredited Ōshima's plans, thus triggering his recall by the Tokyo government not long after the German invasion of Poland.

The Japanese government was impressed by the successes of German armed forces, first in Poland and then the next year in Denmark, Norway, the Benelux countries, and France. As a result, Ōshima was reappointed ambassador to Germany. Hitler was delighted to receive Ōshima in February 1941. Certainly Ōshima was excited by the exuberance of a victorious Nazi Germany. He and Hitler widely agreed on political and military matters in their numerous meetings, and Ōshima became something of a Hitler confidante.

By this time, however, the U.S. Army Signal Intelligence Service (SIS) had solved the most sophisticated of Japanese diplomatic ciphers, known to it as Purple. The circle was complete: Hitler and his senior assistants confided their



Adolf Hitler receives Ambassador Ōshima's credentials in the Berghof while Joachim von Ribbentrop looks on, 27 February 1941. (Photo courtesy of Carl Boyd/National Archives)

strategic intentions and military thinking to Ōshima, who reported to Tokyo by the supposedly secret high-grade Japanese diplomatic cipher, but his reports (more than 2,000 of them) were quietly intercepted, deciphered, and translated. Soon these reports were on the desks of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill and their senior intelligence staffs. U.S. Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall regarded Ōshima's reports as his main basis of information for unmasking Hitler's intentions in Europe.

Ōshima escaped from Berlin in April 1945, soon to surrender in the Alps to U.S. forces. In July, he was interned in the United States until the Japanese government surrendered. Afterward, he was taken to Japan, where he was indicted and tried as a war criminal at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East. Found guilty of overall conspiracy against peace on 12 November 1948, he was sentenced to life imprisonment. However, in December 1955, Ōshima was paroled from prison. He was granted clemency in April 1958.

Hiroshi Ōshima died in Chigasaki, Japan, on 6 June 1975, shortly before SIS successes in solving Japanese World War II ciphers were declassified and the reports made available to archival researchers. Thus, Ōshima died still unaware that, throughout his wartime assignment, his Berlin mail and Tokyo replies were read in Washington and London.

Carl Boyd

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Hitler, Adolf; International Military Tribunal: Far East; Japan, Army; Japan, Role in War; Marshall, George Catlett; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Signals Intelligence; Tripartite Pact

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OSS

See Office of Strategic Services.

OT

See Todt Organization.

OVERLORD, Operation (Planning)

Operation OVERLORD, the invasion of Normandy, France, on 6 June 1944, was the Western Allies' greatest operation of World War II and the finest hour of Anglo-American cooperation. Only the United States and the British Empire could have successfully undertaken the largest and most dangerous amphibious assault in history. The operation was so complicated that U.S. Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall said it "almost defies description." The Allies assembled 2 million troops of numerous nationalities, nearly 5,000 ships, and 11,000 aircraft without the Germans knowing where or when the invasion would take place.

British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, already thinking offensively shortly after the evacuation of the British Expeditionary Force from Dunkerque in May–June 1940, established the Office of Combined Operations to plan raids on

Nazi-occupied Europe. A cross-Channel invasion became likely after the December 1941–January 1942 ARCADIA Conference in Washington, which reaffirmed British-U.S. determination to defeat Germany first. General Marshall flew to Britain in April to propose an early opening of the second front (code-named SLEDGEHAMMER), and although he returned to Washington in the belief that an invasion of the Continent would take place within a year, the British sent Vice Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, head of Combined Operations, to Washington in June to tell the Americans that a cross-Channel invasion was not possible in 1942. This was confirmed in the disastrous Allied Dieppe raid of 19 August 1942.

At the January 1943 Casablanca Conference, where U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to exploit Allied success in North Africa, they also stipulated that preparations for a cross-Channel attack should continue. Shortly after Casablanca, General Frederick E. Morgan was appointed chief of staff to the Supreme Allied Commander (designated COSSAC), and a small Anglo-American planning group began work in Norfolk House, St. James's Square, London, on what would become the greatest military operation in history. Its objective was to mount an invasion with a target date of 1 May 1944 "to secure a lodgment on the Continent from which further offensive operations can be carried out."

By the end of July 1943, the Anglo-American COS-SAC staff had produced a 113-page plan for OVERLORD. Limited by a lack of amphibious landing craft, the initial plan called for a three-division assault along a 30-mile front. After a weekend conference at Largs in Scotland, planners selected the Normandy coast as offering the best chance for success. An invasion there would be most likely to surprise the Germans, who would expect the invasion to occur in the closed point to Britain, the Pas de Calais, and who concentrated their defenses on that stretch of the French coast. Normandy was within the maximum range of Allied air cover. The Allies hoped that it would result in early capture of the port of Cherbourg. The disastrous failure of the Dieppe raid, in which the attacking Canadians suffered 60 percent casualties, appeared to rule out a direct attempt to seize a major port. The Allied answer was to build, to tow across the Channel, and to assemble their own artificial harbors, known as Mulberries.

The Allies assembled 2 million troops of numerous nationalities for OPERATION OVERLORD without the Germans knowing where or when the invasion would take place.



U.S. soldiers reach the shore during D day on the Normandy coast, 6 June 1944. (Bettmann/Corbis)

COSSAC planners examined meticulously the requirements necessary for successful invasion. These included such variables as weather, tide and moon conditions, and sand on the landing-site beaches. All were designed to produce a solution to the ultimate question of where and how a cross-Channel invasion could be launched.

An essential part of planning for OVERLORD included an elaborate deception plan, the largest of the war by either side. Originally the brainchild of COSSAC staff, the operation, code-named FORTITUDE, involved a massive effort to deceive Germany about the date and place of the invasion. It saw the “creation” of a nonexistent U.S. army to mislead the Germans into believing that the Normandy landings were merely a feint and that the main landing would be under the command of Lieutenant General George S. Patton in the Pas de Calais. The ruse reinforced the already existing German conviction that the main landing would indeed take place in that part of France closest to Britain. Another part of FORTITUDE was to draw off resources from France by convincing the Germans

that the Allies also intended to invade Norway. Both aspects of FORTITUDE worked to perfection.

On 6 December 1943, Roosevelt named General Dwight D. Eisenhower as Commander of Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF), which replaced COSSAC. Morgan continued on as deputy chief of staff, SHAEF. Both Eisenhower and British General Bernard L. Montgomery, who was designated ground forces commander for D day, argued for a month’s delay of the invasion until June in order to obtain another month’s production of the critically important landing craft. Acquisition of these was necessary to increase from three to five the number of divisions in the initial assault. The delay would also allow increasing the number of airborne divisions to protect the flanks of the 50-mile beachhead from two to three. Churchill opined that the invasion “seemed to be tied up in some god-damned things called LSTs [landing ship tank].”

The scale of preparations for OVERLORD was staggering. In the four months before D day, plans poured forth from

SHAEF and Allied armies. The First U.S. Army, in association with the Western Naval Task Force and the Ninth Tactical Air Force, planned the landings on Omaha and Utah Beaches. The Second British Army, in association with the Eastern Naval Task Force and the British Second Tactical Air Force, planned the landings on Sword, Juno, and Gold Beaches. The Ninth Air Force's plan for the invasion alone ran 847,500 words in 1,376 pages and weighed more than 10 pounds.

By June 1944, there were 1,536,965 U.S. troops in Britain. Stockpiles of equipment for the invasion came to 2.5 tons and included everything from artillery and bulldozers to dental chairs and tanks. Wags remarked that only the barrage balloons overhead kept the British Isles from sinking under the weight of men and equipment. Administrators required each unit landing in France to carry a 30-day supply of blank forms and stationery. Approximately 7 million tons of oil were stored in the United Kingdom.

On the eve of D day, 2,700 vessels (not counting the 1,897 smaller landing craft carried in the landing ships) were steaming toward Normandy. No fewer than 195,000 sailors manned the invasion fleet, carrying 130,000 troops, 12,000 vehicles, 2,000 tanks, and nearly 10,000 tons of stores. Overhead, thousands of Allied fighters provided a protective umbrella for the invasion force.

Fortunately, OVERLORD planners had the invasions of North Africa, Sicily, and Italy, as well as amphibious operations in the Pacific, as guides for their D day planning. Allied planning for OVERLORD, based on honest debate, cooperation, and teamwork, laid the groundwork for the massive defeat of the German army in the Battle of Normandy.

Colin F. Baxter

See also

ARCADIA Conference; Cairo Conference; Casablanca Conference; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Dieppe Raid; Dunkerque, Evacuation of; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; FORTITUDE, Operation; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Mulberries; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Patton, George Smith

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Ozawa Jisaburo (1886–1966)

Japanese navy admiral. Born in Miyazaki Prefecture on 2 October 1886, Ozawa Jisaburo graduated from the Naval Academy in 1909. While he was young officer, Ozawa served as a torpedo officer on several ships and as instructor at the Torpedo School. He served in destroyers from 1918 to 1921. Promoted to lieutenant commander in 1921, he graduated from the Naval War College the same year. He commanded destroyers in 1924 and 1925 and then was assigned to the staff of the Grand Fleet as a specialist in torpedo tactics. Promoted to commander in 1926, he was an instructor at the Torpedo School and also traveled in Europe and the United States for nine months.

Promoted to captain in 1930, Ozawa commanded a destroyer division in 1930 and 1931, and next he was an instructor of tactics at the Naval War College. In 1934 and 1935 he commanded first the cruiser *Maya* and then the battleship *Haruna*. He was promoted to rear admiral in 1936, and in 1937 Ozawa was assigned as chief of staff of the Combined Fleet. He next commanded the 8th Cruiser Squadron and the 3rd Battleship Squadron, served as superintendent of the Torpedo School (1938), and commanded the 1st Fleet Air Group (1939).



Japanese Vice Admiral Ozawa Jisaburo. (Corbis)

Overview of World War II

See page 15.

Despite his lack of expertise in this area, Ozawa was a forceful advocate for naval aviation. Promoted to vice admiral in 1940, Ozawa was appointed superintendent of the Naval War College in September 1941. In 1941, he assumed command of the Southern Expeditionary Fleet. On the outbreak of the Pacific war, from December 1941 to March 1942 his fleet supported the Japanese invasions of Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies. He also conducted a successful commerce raiding operation into the Indian Ocean during March and April 1942.

In November 1942, Ozawa took command of the Third Fleet, and in March 1944 he commanded the 1st Mobile Force (Carrier Force), which incorporated all remaining Japanese aircraft carriers. Ozawa suffered disastrous defeats in the June 1944 Battle of the Philippine Sea (Operation A-GO) and in the October 1944 Battle of Leyte Gulf (Operation SHO-1). In the latter, Ozawa's mission was to serve as bait, his carriers luring Admiral William F. Halsey's Third Fleet north in order to leave the U.S. landing site in Leyte Gulf undefended. In the battle, Ozawa's force suffered heavy losses, although he himself is remembered in Japanese naval history as a brave and

capable commander and one of the leading exponents of naval aviation.

From November 1944, Ozawa was simultaneously vice chief of the Naval General Staff and president of the Naval Staff College. In May 1945, when Toyoda Soemu assumed the office of chief of staff of the navy, Ozawa became the last commander of the Combined Fleet. Ozawa died in Tokyo on 9 November 1966.

Hirama Yoichi

See also

Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; Malaya Campaign; Netherlands East Indies, Japanese Conquest of; Philippine Sea, Battle of the; Toyoda Soemu

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P

Pacific Theater

See Central Pacific Campaign; Southeast Pacific Theater; Southwest Pacific Theater.

Palatinate Campaign (March 1945)

Defeat by the western Allies of German forces west of the Rhine River. When German forces retreated from the West Wall (known to the Allies as the Siegfried Line) in February and March 1945, there were insufficient fortified positions between them and the Rhine. In spite of this fact, German commander in chief West Field Marshal Albert Kesselring insisted on the principle of no retreat unless absolutely necessary. Thus, the Germans were driven back to the river by the advancing Allied armies at a considerable cost to both the attacking and defending forces in terms of men and matériel.

In early March, Allied commanders carefully studied the area then known as the Palatinate (Pfalz) as they consolidated their victories in the adjoining Rhineland and pummeled the West Wall in and around the Saarland. On 17 March, Supreme Allied Commander General Dwight D. Eisenhower decided to permit Lieutenant General George S. Patton's Third U.S. Army to attack southeastward toward Kaiserslautern and the Rhine from the direction of Trier. Simultaneously, Lieutenant General Courtney Hodges's First U.S. Army, on Patton's left (northern) flank in the Rhineland, was spreading out from the initial bridgehead at Remagen. Patton's line of advance was to go deep and cut across the axis of attack by Lieutenant General Alexander Patch's Seventh U.S.

Army, which was on Patton's right and was still slugging its way through the West Wall but was headed northeastward, also toward Kaiserslautern. Patton was to cut off the Germans being driven backward by Patch before they could flee across the Rhine. The First French Army, under General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny, yet farther south, was on Patch's right flank and likewise was attacking northeastward toward Speyer and the Rhine from the Saar and Strasbourg regions.

From 17 March to 24 March, the Germans fought a desperate delaying action while the western Allies marched inexorably onward. General Herman Foertsch's First German Army, along with portions of General Erich Brandenburger's Seventh German Army, bore the brunt of the Allied two-pronged attack. The Third U.S. Army cut a swath of territory several miles wide across the northern half of the Palatinate and the southern Rhineland all the way to the Rhine. At the same time, the Seventh U.S. Army and the First French Army pushed through the West Wall and then chased the shattered defenders from their improvised fallback positions.

In these circumstances, large numbers of German soldiers discarded their uniforms and donned whatever civilian clothing they could find in an effort to escape. German officials directed the evacuation of the civilian population to the degree possible. Policemen and firemen disappeared too, as did the civilian officials themselves along with their incriminating Nazi files. German cities fell in rapid succession. Bad Kreuznach and Bingen capitulated on 18 March. Worms fell into American hands on 19 March, and the same fate befell Zweibrücken, Mainz, Idar-Oberstein, and Kaiserslautern on 20 March.

As the situation developed, the only possible escape route for the Germans was through the heavily forested Haardt



Allied forces crossing the Rhine River at Remagen, March 1945. (Corbis)

Mountains (Pfaelzer Forest) south of Kaiserslautern. However, that route had limited roads and trails, which soon were either blocked or covered by the pursuing American ground and air forces. Landau, Neustadt, Germersheim, and Doerrenbach surrendered on 22 March. Bergzabern surrendered on 23 March and Speyer and Leimersheim did likewise on 24 March.

Only mopping-up operations remained by 25 March. Many German cities were badly damaged in the fighting. Bad Kreuznach, Kaiserslautern, and Ludwigshafen were more than 25 percent destroyed. Pirmasens and Worms lost at least 50 percent of their structures, and in Mainz and Zweibrücken more than 75 percent of the buildings were reduced to rubble.

The Palatinate Campaign featured elaborate, well-coordinated offensive maneuvers by the various U.S. land and air forces and the First French Army. German forces, on the other hand, managed an improvised, stubborn delaying action until the very end in the face of overwhelming odds. Because military operations did not follow Germany's internal political boundaries, it is difficult to assign casualties on either side to spe-

cific geographic areas. However, in the combined Rhineland-Palatinate Campaign, there were 20,000 American and 60,000 German military dead and wounded. Additionally, the Americans captured 250,000 German prisoners of war. By the end of March, the victorious combat forces were headed eastward at high speed, and U.S. Military Government detachments were left in charge throughout the Palatinate.

Dewey A. Browder

See also

Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Hodges, Courtney Hicks; Lattre de Tassigny, Jean Joseph Marie Gabriel de; Patch, Alexander McCarrell, Jr.; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Remagen Bridge; Rhine Crossings; Rhineland Offensive

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Papagos, Alexandros (1883–1955)

Greek army general and political leader. Born on 9 December 1883 in Athens, Alexandros Papagos attended military academies in Athens and Brussels, Belgium, and was commissioned in the army in 1906. He fought in the 1912–1913 Balkan Wars and served in Anatolia in the 1919–1922 Greco-Turkish War, commanding first a battalion and then a regiment. Promoted to major general in 1927 and to lieutenant general in 1934, in 1935 Papagos became minister of war. The next year, he became army chief of staff under General Ioannis Metaxas when the latter seized power and became dictator.

Papagos took command of the Greek army in September 1940 and prepared Greek forces for the anticipated Italian invasion of Greece, which began on 28 October 1940. Under the leadership of Papagos, Greek forces halted the Italian invasion and then assumed the offensive. Papagos adroitly confined Greek military operations to the mountain areas, where the Italians could not exploit their technological advantage. Papagos's forces defeated the Italian Ninth Army and then invaded Italian-held Albania. He halted another Italian offensive in March 1941. Following the German invasion beginning on 6 April 1941, Greek forces fought bravely, but Papagos was slow to withdraw them to the Aliakmon Line; he could not halt Field Marshal Wilhelm List's Twelfth Army, even with British assistance. Taken prisoner, Papagos was sent to Germany and imprisoned at Dachau.

Papagos was released by U.S. troops in 1945 and returned to Greece. Recalled to active duty in 1947, he was promoted to the rank of general and reappointed commander in chief of the army in January 1948. Papagos used American aid to defeat communist insurgents in the ensuing civil war. Hailed as the savior of democratic Greece, Papagos was advanced to the rank of field marshal in October 1949.

Papagos resigned his military posts in May 1951. He then formed the conservative Greek Rally Party, which he led to victory in the November 1952 elections. As prime minister, Papagos strengthened ties with the West, improved the Greek economy, and signed an alliance with Yugoslavia and Turkey in August 1954. Greece's greatest soldier of modern times and one of its most adroit political leaders died in office in Athens on 4 October 1955.

David M. Bull and Charles R. Shrader



Greek Prime Minister Field Marshal Alexandros Papagos and his wife, shown here c. 1952. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

See also

Greece, Army; Greece, Role in War; Greece Campaign (28 October 1940–March 1941); Greece Campaign (April 1941); List, Sigmund Wilhelm Walter; Metaxas, Ioannis

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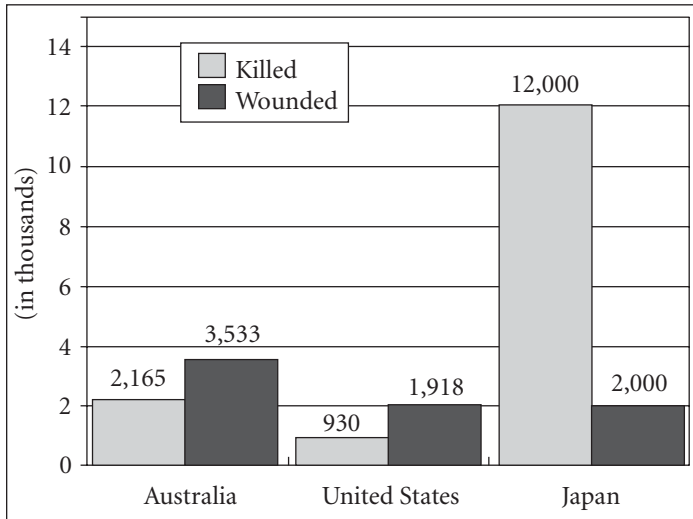
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Papuan Campaign (July 1942–January 1943)

Important Pacific Theater land campaign and U.S. General Douglas MacArthur's first victory. Papua was Australian-controlled territory in the southeastern corner of the island of New Guinea. On 8 March 1942, the Japanese moved into New Guinea, occupying Lae and Salamaua. Engaged in their Philippines and Burma Campaigns, the Japanese did not advance on Papua. Instead they subjected its capital, Port Moresby, to air attack. Having lost their 8th Division defending Singapore and the Netherlands East Indies, the Australians were alarmed by these events. While veteran Australian troops were fighting in Egypt, their homeland was being defended only by militia, obsolete planes, and a few ships.

On 17 March 1942, General MacArthur reached Australia from the Philippines. He found he had insufficient forces to

Troop Casualties, Papuan Campaign



defend his new command and none to spare for the relief of the Philippines. MacArthur's appointment as Southwest Pacific Area commander reassured the Australian government that U.S. aid would be forthcoming. Australia was already withdrawing two divisions from the Middle East. The 6th Division arrived during March, and the 7th Division returned in April. On 6 April, the U.S. 41st Division reached Australia, followed by the U.S. 32nd Division by 14 May. The Royal Australian Air Force reequipped while the U.S. Fifth Air Force formed in Australia. The U.S. Navy could spare few ships for MacArthur, however.

To isolate Australia from further reinforcements, the Japanese navy tried to seize Port Moresby. But during the 4–8 May 1942 Battle of the Coral Sea, the Japanese suffered their first major naval defeat. The loss of four of their aircraft carriers in the next large naval engagement, the 4–6 June Battle of Midway, prevented the Japanese navy from attacking Port Moresby again. Subsequently, the Japanese initiated plans for an overland strike against the port.

Anticipating this Japanese move, MacArthur sent U.S. engineers and Australian troops to Milne Bay to construct a strategic airfield on Papua's eastern tip. He also ordered two Australian militia battalions, code-named Maroubra Force, to Buna, a possible north-coast landing site. Commanded by Colonel Bill Owen, Maroubra Force began its march on 7 July 1942 along the narrow track called the Kokoda Trail across the formidable Owen Stanley Mountain Range separating Port Moresby from Buna.

Maroubra Force was spread along the track when Colonel Yokoyama Yosuke's 2,000 Japanese troops of the 144th Regiment invaded Buna and Gona on 21 July. Two days later, Yokoyama attacked Owen's vanguard at Awala. A Papuan battalion fled into the jungle. B Company of the 39th Battalion

retreated to Oivi. Encircled on 27 July, the Australians withdrew through the jungle around Kokoda Airfield, regrouping at Deniki.

Between 28 July and 10 August, the Australians fought desperately. Kokoda was retaken twice, but Owen was among those killed. The Japanese had superior numbers and drove the Australians back to Deniki. They lost that place on 14 August and retreated to Isurava. On 29 July, Allied aircraft damaged the Japanese transport *Ayatozan Maru*, but Major General Horii Tomitoro and 11,450 reinforcements reached Buna by 21 August. American landings at Guadalcanal on 7 August, however, increasingly diverted Japanese resources there.

Concerned over the Japanese progress, MacArthur ordered the 7th Australian Division to Papua on 3 August. Its 18th Brigade went to Milne Bay, and the 21st Brigade started up the Kokoda Track on 18 August. As few transport planes were available, Papuan carriers delivered supplies.

On 25 August, the Japanese invaded Milne Bay as a flanking move against Port Moresby. Allied aircraft sank some barges at Goodenough Island, stranding some Japanese. Their main force landed at Ahioma, however; spearheaded by two tanks, it drove the Australian forward units back toward the vital airfield. Japanese reinforcements arrived on 29 August. On 31 August, the Australians defeated the Japanese attacks across the airfield. By 7 September, the Japanese had evacuated 1,300 survivors. It was their first land defeat of the war.

At Isurava, the exhausted 39th Australian Battalion was joined on 25 August by the 21st Brigade's lead battalion. Fresh Japanese troops supported by artillery attacked the next day. For four days, a crucial battle raged. Outflanked and then pursued by the Japanese, the Australians destroyed Myola supply dump and prepared to defend Efogi. Delivering reinforcements to Gona on 2 September, the Japanese attacked with 5,000 troops on 8 September. The exhausted, hungry, and malarial Australians retreated to Ioribaiwa Ridge on 11 September.

Reinforced by two battalions of the 25th Brigade, the Australians counterattacked. Defeated, they withdrew to Imita, the last ridge before Port Moresby, on 17 September. Horii's troops, suffering from disease and starvation, were preparing to attack Imita when, on 25 September, the Japanese High Command made Guadalcanal its priority and ordered Horii to retreat. Two days later, Australian patrols found Ioribaiwa abandoned. The Australians then began the pursuit.

Horii's fighting withdrawal held the Australians for a week at Eora. On 2 November, Australian troops entered Kokoda. At Oivi on 10 November, the Australians drove the Japanese from the track, and Horii drowned crossing the Kumusi River. Few of his soldiers reached Buna, which was garrisoned by Japanese marines and base troops.

In late September, MacArthur ordered Major General Edwin Harding's 32nd Division to Papua. MacArthur wanted



Belts of ammunition hang over branches in the jungle of New Guinea as American soldiers carry cases of cartridges up to the front line for offensive operations against Japanese in the Buna area, ca. 1942. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

his Americans to use the Kapa Kapa Track to take Buna from the rear. From 6 October their vanguard Mendendorp Force spent two harrowing weeks crossing the mountains. Luckily, airfield sites were discovered on the north coast that enabled an airlift in of the remaining Americans.

On 17 November, the Japanese landed 1,000 reinforcements, who moved into the formidable Buna and Gona defenses. These comprised a system of concealed log bunkers with cleared fields of fire covered by artillery and machine guns. Commencing on 19 November, Allied attacks on Buna and Gona stalled before these bunkers. Dissatisfied, MacArthur replaced Harding with Lieutenant General Robert Eichelberger, who was told to “take Buna or die.” Allied aircraft stopped four Japanese supply convoys reaching Buna, but 500 reinforcements landed on 2 December and another 800 arrived on 14 December.

Misunderstanding the terrible conditions in Papua, MacArthur decided not to bypass the starving Japanese. A bloody battle of attrition followed. Artillery and aircraft could

not neutralize the bunkers, so tanks were used instead. The Australians finally took Gona on 9 December. The American Warren and Urbana Forces next invested Buna, which fell on 2 January. Japanese resistance continued at Sanadanda until 18 January.

In the Papuan Campaign, the Australians lost 2,165 dead and 3,533 wounded; the Americans sustained 930 American dead and 1,918 wounded; and the Japanese suffered 12,000 dead and 2,000 wounded.

Jonathan “Jack” Ford

See also

Admiralty Islands Campaign; Australia, Role in War; Bismarck Sea, Battle of; Blamey, Sir Thomas Albert; Buna, Battle of; Coral Sea, Battle of the; Darwin, Raid on; Eichelberger, Robert Lawrence; Hollandia, Battle of; Horii Tomitoro; Kokoda Trail Campaign; MacArthur, Douglas; Milne Bay, Battle of; New Britain Island; New Guinea Campaign; Rabaul; Southwest Pacific Theater

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Parachute Infantry

Development of troop-carrying aircraft before and during the war allowed for the deployment of parachute infantry in cohesive units behind enemy lines to secure key objectives or to act in a reinforcing role. Noting that artillery observers used parachutes to escape from damaged balloons in World War I, American Colonel Billy Mitchell envisaged parachuting infantry as an airborne assault force to break the stalemate of trench warfare. Mitchell suggested assigning the 1st Infantry Division in an air assault role to be carried to drop zones behind enemy lines by aircraft. Friendly aircraft would then provide subsequent air support. The war ended before the plan could be implemented.

The Soviet Union was the first to carry out extensive experiments with parachute troops. Beginning in 1922, Soviet troops were dropped successfully from aircraft. The Soviet Union made extensive progress by encouraging parachuting and gliding as national sports. Paratroopers captured a corps commander during a 1930 training exercise. By 1936, there were 115 parachute training schools in the Soviet Union at which civilians made 1.6 million jumps from towers and 30,000 jumps from aircraft. During a 1936 exercise, a group of 1,500 infantrymen parachuted onto an “enemy-held” airport, securing it before being reinforced by air-landed, then armored, forces. Although foreign military observers were greatly impressed, apathy on the part of western governments precluded an equivalent effort in these states.

In 1927, Italy adopted the Salvator parachute. Unlike aircraft seat-mounted, ripcord-operated parachutes, the Salvator was carried on the individual’s back and connected to the aircraft by a static line. Beginning in 1938, Italy trained two battalions in military parachuting. This force was expanded during the war and made several operational drops. The Italians adopted the German parachute as their standard because the Salvator led to too many injuries.

Germany was the first to effectively use airborne troops in battle. Through its secret military agreements with the Soviets, German advisers attached to the Red Army took note of Red Army experiments, although the concept of parachute troops lagged until Adolf Hitler came to power. Large numbers of highly trained paratroops deploying rapidly behind enemy lines, or smaller groups seizing key objectives, proved

ideal for the new practice of blitzkrieg. Because Germany was surrounded by numerous linear defensive works, such as the Maginot Line, it encouraged the evolution of the concept of vertical envelopment. To that end, a Major Immanns, with 15 officers and 70 soldiers, established a parachute training school in Stendal, Bavaria, in 1936. Political infighting dogged early training. The army wanted a battalion for rapid reinforcement; the air force desired troops for demolition tasks where air defense was too hazardous for bombers; and the Schutzstaffel (SS) sent a platoon to be trained without any specific rationale. Even the Nazi political arm, the Sturmabteilung (SA), wanted two battalions: one parachute and one that would be air-landed.

On 4 July 1938, Colonel (soon Generalmajor [U.S. equiv. brigadier general]) Kurt Student was ordered to fuse this disparate group into an airborne division by 1 September. Student subsequently created the 7th Flieger Division of nine battalions: two parachute and seven air-landed. In all, there were 9,000 troops (minus aircrew). Despite having components stripped away that winter, by September 1939 Student rebuilt an airborne force of one parachute division (the Luftwaffe’s 7th Flieger Division) and one air-landing division (the German Army’s 22nd Infantry Division).

The effectiveness of this new form of waging war was demonstrated with the invasion of both Norway and Denmark on 9 April 1940. Incredibly, four objectives in two separate countries were assigned to only the 1st Parachute Battalion. Despite high winds, low cloud, and confusing orders, paratroopers of this single battalion occupied Norway’s Forneblu Airfield (Oslo) and Sola Airfield (Stavanger), Denmark’s Aalborg Airfield, and the Vordingborg Bridge to Copenhagen. German airborne forces subsequently secured bridges and routes across the Netherlands and the Belgian frontier in May 1940 on the occasion of Germany’s invasion of France and the Low Countries. Although the Scandinavian operations had alerted the west to German capabilities, innovative techniques carried the day. These included attacking Eben Emael fortress by glider troops and securing a Rotterdam bridge by landing at its abutments in seaplanes.

That winter, the airborne army expanded into XI Flieger Corps, adding supporting elements such as signals, medical and supply battalions, an assault engineer regiment, and a squadron of reconnaissance aircraft. In April 1941, the paratroopers headed south, where they contributed to victory in Greece by blocking the British retreat across the Corinth Canal.

In late May 1941, German forces carried out an airborne invasion of Crete. It was a close-fought battle, and many of the air-landing troops were killed when their gliders broke up on the rocky objectives. Through ULTRA intercepts, the Allied defenders were aware of the German landing sites and planned accordingly. Although British and Commonwealth



German parachute troops dropping on the island of Crete, June 1941. (Bettmann/Corbis)

troops were defeated and driven from Crete, the operation cost the paratroopers some 5,000 dead and 2,500 wounded of an attacking force of 22,000. Adolf Hitler then decided that the days of paratroopers were over, and the German units became elite infantry during the rest of the war.

Early discussions between the Japanese and the Germans ensured that Japan was also aware of the potential of airborne troops. Japanese parachute training extended over a 6-month period and produced very few graduates. With the arrival of German instructors, the courses were shortened to approximately 8 weeks, with slight variations between the army and navy schools. By late 1941, 100 German instructors were guiding the instruction of more than 14,000 men in 9 training centers. The army's airborne forces were contained in a 5,575-member all-ranks Raiding Group, consisting of a Raiding Flying Brigade with directly assigned aircraft and a Raiding Brigade of 2 parachute battalions, support elements, and 2 never-manned glider battalions. Assigning the aircraft directly avoided the problems experienced by some other

armies, in which the airborne forces were members of the army and the aircraft belonged to the air force. This Raiding Group spent most of the war held on home-islands reserve. A second, smaller Raiding Brigade was established to provide troops for operations in China.

The Japanese navy created two special naval landing forces, each with a strength of 844 officers and men. Early naval paratroop operations all met with success, but at varying costs. The 1st Yokosuka Special Naval Landing Force secured Menado Airfield on the Celebes on 11 January 1942. The paratroopers were scattered, suffered losses, and required reinforcements. Fortunately for them, the Japanese had air superiority. Three days later, however, because of the distance to the targeted oil fields at Palembang (Sumatra), there was inadequate air support, and the daytime preparatory bombing served merely to alert the defenders. With the Japanese approach route directly over several anti-aircraft units, the drop was scattered. The oil fields were captured the next day with the aid of a reinforcing parachute drop.

Having learned Japanese operating procedures, the Allies began countering the weaker airborne forces. Thus, the Japanese airborne assault on Timor on 21 February 1942 commenced with a feint assault by paratroops several miles from the actual objective's drop zones. With the Dutch defenders reacting to the deceptive attack, the main body of paratroops easily secured and held the Allied communications lines until follow-on amphibious forces overran the island. Although the Japanese did conduct several additional parachute operations during the war, these tended to be smaller-scale missions. The initiative passed to the Allied forces.

The Allied response to early parachute experiments was varied, although the underlying theme was usually neglect or hostility. The French, for example, began training airborne troops in 1937, but France's army was defeated before the troops could be used. On 21 June 1940, the British established the Central Landing School in Ringway to develop expertise in glider and parachute operations the day before Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill made his noteworthy call for the formation of a corps of at least 5,000 parachute troops. Not until October 1941, however, was Major General Frederick Browning ordered to form the 1st Airborne Division; a second, the 6th Airborne Division, was authorized in April 1943.

A common problem for fledgling paratroopers was a lack of support in the form of aircraft and doctrine. British airborne forces, however, faced special impediments, given the concentration of resources in home defense. At first, the British used obsolete bombers; the paratroopers jumped either from a platform where the tail turret was previously or through a hole cut in the aircraft's floor. The arrival of American Dakota aircraft by 1942 led to changes in many of the British techniques. By 1945, Britain fielded two airborne divisions, each consisting of two parachute brigades and an air-landing (glider) brigade.

As noted, the Soviet Union had been a leader in parachute operations, but during the war Soviet airborne forces usually dropped onto territory they already held or into partisan-prepared drop zones. Such missions stiffened partisan morale and reinforced ground troops already in location. This policy seems to have resulted from a disastrous three-brigade paratroop operation in June 1942 wherein the Germans eliminated the Soviet force.

The United States experimented with military parachuting on a small scale in the late 1920s, but the army largely ignored military parachuting until the German successes early in World War II. In August 1940, a test platoon of volunteers made a mass jump, and the next month the chief of infantry authorized the establishment of the 501st Parachute Battalion. Army chief of staff General George C. Marshall was profoundly impressed by the German success in Crete. Convinced that the concept of "vertical envelopment" was here to stay, he then initiated plans to field substantial American airborne forces.

With the subsequent expansion of airborne forces, the four American battalions established by February 1942 (501st, 502nd, 503rd, 504th) each became Parachute Infantry Regiments (PIRs) comprising three subordinate battalions.

The expansion also reinforced the requirement for higher command elements. The 82nd Infantry Division divided, becoming the 82nd Airborne Division and the 101st Airborne Division, each equipped with two parachute regiments and one glider regiment of 13,000 personnel. Further expansion provided for the 17th (December 1942) and 13th Airborne Divisions (August 1943), both destined for the European Theater, and the Pacific Theater's 11th Airborne Division (February 1943). In all, between 1941 and 1945 American airborne forces increased from 600 to more than 65,000 men.

The 503rd PIR made the first U.S. combat jumps into Algeria and Tunisia on 8 and 15 November 1942. Almost a year later, on 5 September 1943, the 503rd PIR also conducted the first U.S. Pacific Theater airborne assault at Markham Valley, New Guinea. For this operation, it was augmented by an Australian artillery troop, which underwent a one-jump parachute qualification mere days before the combat jump. The 503rd PIR also carried out an airborne drop on Corregidor Island in the Philippines on 16 February. The 503rd PIR was atypical of U.S. parachute organizations in that it operated independently of a higher airborne formation, although the Panama-based 550th and 551st PIRs were initially independent before being absorbed into the 82nd Airborne Division. They saw action in Italy, southern France, and during the Battle of the Bulge. On 24 February, a parachute company from the 11th Airborne Division's 511th PIR jumped at Los Baños Prison in the Philippines in a coordinated operation to release 2,147 internees there.

As the war progressed, Allied airborne formations were used on large-scale multinational operations. The Normandy Invasion, for example, used American, British, and Canadian paratroopers; operations in the Netherlands used American, British, and Polish troops. The parachute operations supporting the Sicily invasion (September 1943) convinced the U.S. Army of the requirement for integral combat support, such as artillery and engineers. This necessitated larger gliders, since parachuting artillery and jeeps in adequate quantities was not feasible until after the war.

Haphazard parachute drops often marked operations. During the Sicily invasion, for example, the 505th PIR was scattered over 65 square miles. Many of the planes bearing the 504th PIR were shot down by mistake by U.S. Navy and ground troops, which believed they were German aircraft. The Normandy drops 11 months later proved no better organized, but this worked in their favor. German efforts to reinforce the beaches were hampered because they could not determine the extent of the threat since the paratroopers were so widely scattered, thus allowing the amphibious foothold.



Paratroopers and gliders taking part in Operation MARKET-GARDEN, during which the Allies dropped more than 20,000 paratroopers and landed more than 13,500 glidermen behind German lines, 1944. Allied airborne casualties numbered some 10,700 men. (Corbis)

The most memorable parachute campaign was Operation MARKET-GARDEN, the planned effort to sweep across the Netherlands, outflank the Siegfried Line, and secure a Rhine River crossing at Arnhem. The U.S. 101st and 82nd Divisions eventually secured bridges in the Eindhoven and Nijmegen areas, respectively, and the British 1st Airborne Division and the Polish Parachute Brigade were virtually annihilated attempting to seize the Arnhem Bridge. The plan was flawed from the start, given inadequate airlift, drop zones too distant from objectives, leadership's refusal to listen to intelligence reports about German strength, a narrow route susceptible to counterattacks, and inflexibility worsened by inefficient communications.

As part of their Rhine crossing operations, on 24 March 1945 the western Allies mounted Operation VARSITY in the Wesel area east of the river. It involved 21,692 Allied para-

troopers and glidermen of the British 6th Airborne and U.S. 17th Airborne Divisions of Major General Matthew B. Ridgway's XVIII Airborne Corps along with 614 jeeps, 286 artillery pieces and mortars, and hundreds of tons of supplies, ammunition, food, and fuel. A total of 1,696 transports and 1,348 gliders participated in the operations, and some 240 B-24 bombers were specially rigged to drop supplies and equipment. The airborne forces quickly secured most of their objectives, virtually wiping out the defending German 84th Division, with 3,500 Germans taken prisoner. Although VARSITY was a success, the airborne forces sustained higher casualties than did the Allied ground units in their Rhine crossings.

Airborne forces played important roles in the war. They would continue to be used by all the world's major militaries in the postwar period.

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See also

Airborne Forces, Allied; Airborne Forces, Axis; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Crete, Battle of; Eben Emael; Maginot Line; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Marshall, George Catlett; Menado, Battle of; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Ridgway, Matthew Bunker; Sicily, Invasion of; Signals Intelligence; Student, Kurt

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Paris, Liberation of (19–26 August 1944)

The Allied plan for the liberation of France called for the destruction of occupying German armed forces and rapid movement toward Germany to end the war in Europe as quickly as possible. The Allies planned to bypass the French capital of Paris on the assumption that once German forces had been isolated there, they would soon surrender. Supreme Allied Commander General Dwight D. Eisenhower issued orders to commander of French Forces of the Interior General Pierre Joseph Koenig that there be no uprising in the city with consequent diversion of Allied troops there, but political events dictated otherwise.

Beginning with a strike by French gendarmes, the civilian police, on 15 August 1944, two factions of the French Resistance movement vied for the credit of liberating the French capital. The well-organized and more numerous Communist wing of the Resistance advocated a complete uprising in Paris, hoping that with popular credit for liberation of Paris they would have a significant advantage in taking power in France after the war. Gaullist Free French Resistance leaders in Paris were well aware of this plan, and although they feared destruction of the city by the Germans in any uprising, they grew increasingly concerned that an Allied failure to act would jeopardize future Gaullist control of the French government.

German general of infantry General Dietrich von Choltitz had taken command of the greater Paris area on 7 August 1944. Choltitz had established his military credentials on the Eastern Front, especially in heavy fighting that led to the capture of Sevastopol in July 1942. Choltitz had the reputation of following his orders to the letter, and these, delivered to him in a personal meeting with German leader Adolf Hitler, called for the destruction of Paris before allowing it to fall into Allied hands. Hitler instructed Choltitz to begin preparations for the destruction of the city.

On 19 August, when Allied forces were still more than 50 miles from the city to the north and south, Gaullist elements

in Paris preempted their Communist rivals by seizing the Paris prefecture of police. On learning of this action, the larger Communist organization sprang into action and initiated a general uprising within the city. Choltitz immediately deployed infantry backed by tanks around the city, and the fighting spread. German tanks opened fire on the prefecture of police. The citizens of Paris were no longer intimidated by the Germans, and Resistance fighters fought the Germans with what weapons they possessed, mostly small arms and homemade gasoline bombs that they used against German vehicles. By 23 August, more than 400 street barricades were in place, and localized intense fighting was occurring in many areas of the city.

Both Hitler and Eisenhower were soon aware of the fighting in the city. As the number of German casualties steadily mounted, Choltitz was faced with a dilemma. Plans were in place for the destruction not only of public works and buildings, but also monuments and museums in Paris. Swedish consul general in Paris Raoul Nordling pleaded with Choltitz to save the city and attempted on his own initiative to arrange a cease-fire in Paris. However, commander of Communist forces Henri Tanguy (alias Colonel Rol) refused.

Choltitz had his orders; he also had serious doubts about Hitler's mental condition and he did not wish to become notorious for all time as the destroyer of one of the most beautiful cities in the world. Choltitz could not cede the city to the insurgent civilians without resistance, because his family members were in Germany; his not-unreasonable fear of reprisals against them apparently had some bearing on his decisions. Choltitz, however, minimized the combat in various ways, especially by his decision to move the bulk of German combat forces outside the city and into formal tactical defensive positions oriented toward the approaching Allied armies in areas beyond the city limits. During the fighting, he also withheld the use of heavy artillery.

On 21 August, Major General Philippe Leclerc, against Allied orders, turned his 2nd Free French Armored Division north toward Paris. Meanwhile, within the city, Resistance leaders met and decided to continue fighting. Choltitz, now determined to spare the city, sent Nordling to the Allies to ask that they enter Paris. Choltitz pledged to hold off destroying the city until they arrived. Eisenhower then agreed that Leclerc's division should move into Paris. At the same time, Choltitz rejected repeated orders from Berlin to begin the destruction of the French capital.

By 23 August, fighting in parts of Paris was intense. That day, Nordling conferred with commander of U.S. 12th Army Group Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley. Impressed by what Nordling told him, Bradley ordered the U.S. 4th Infantry Division to move into Paris before Choltitz could change his mind.

By early 24 August, Leclerc's tanks had reached Rambouillet 20 miles south of Paris. De Gaulle arrived at the



Crowds of French citizens line the Champs Élysées to view Allied tanks and half-tracks pass through the Arc de Triomphe, on the liberation of Paris, 25 August 1944. (Library of Congress)

Chateau of Rambouillet that same day. Fighting was now raging in virtually every section of the city. Late on 24 August, Leclerc's tanks arrived in Paris. Part of his division moved through the Porte d'Orleans, and the rest entered by the Porte de Vanves. By 11:30 P.M., Leclerc's tanks were in front of the Hôtel de Ville (city hall) in the center of Paris, and the bells of Notre Dame pealed out the good news to the populace.

On 25 August, French and U.S. forces eliminated pockets of German resistance, and at 3:00 P.M. Choltitz and his staff surrendered to French officers. Many of the German troops, unaware of the surrender, continued to fight. De Gaulle arrived in the city that evening, and the next day he and the Resistance moved on foot from the Arc de Triomphe to Notre Dame Cathedral for a celebratory mass. Although there was sniper fire, both events proceeded.

It is impossible accurately to assess casualties in the liberation of Paris. Although the cost in casualties to Allied forces

was slight, the liberation of Paris and the need to feed the city were heavy loads on an already overburdened Allied supply system. But the cost of a destroyed Paris would have been far higher, and the liberation of the French capital was a great psychological boost to the Allies in their effort to defeat the Third Reich.

Robert Bateman and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Bradley, Omar Nelson; Choltitz, Dietrich von; de Gaulle, Charles; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; France Campaign; Koenig, Marie Pierre Joseph François; Leclerc, Jacques Philippe de Hauteclocque

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Paris Peace Treaties (10 February 1947)

Following preliminary draft treaties prepared by the deputy foreign ministers of the major Allied powers, the Council of Foreign Ministers met in the faded glory of the Luxembourg Palace in Paris in two sessions of several weeks each from July to October 1946. There were sharp exchanges and disagreements among the former allies but, after further discussions in New York City in November 1946, the peace treaties were signed at the Quai d'Orsay in Paris on 10 February 1947. The main provisions of the five peace treaties with Italy, Finland, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria are as follows:

Italy

The most difficult of the territorial discussions centered on Italy. At the end of the war, Yugoslavia had attempted to secure land at the expense of Austria and Italy, and the conferees spent much time discussing the Italo-Yugoslav frontier. Ultimately, they adopted the compromise put forth by the French. The port city of Trieste, which was 80 percent Italian, became a Free Territory under the authority of the United Nations Security Council. Fiume (Rijeka), Istria (to include the Italian city and naval base at Pola), and most of the Julian March were awarded to Yugoslavia, as was Zadar, a partly Italian city in Dalmatia. Yugoslavia and Albania also secured from Italy some islands in the Adriatic. The status of Trieste was not finally resolved until 1954, when improved relations between the two states led to Italy receiving the city and Yugoslavia the area around it.

France secured some strategic territory from Italy along their common frontier in the Tenda-Briga sector, and Greece obtained the Greek-inhabited Dodecanese Islands off southwestern Turkey, which the Italians had gained from Turkey after World War I. Italy did retain control of the Tyrol south of Brenner Pass, claimed by Austria. Ethiopia was recognized as independent, and Italy lost its overseas colonies of Libya, Eritrea, and Somaliland, which were now under British control. There was no immediate agreement on their disposition, with the conferees agreeing that, should there be no resolution within one year, their future fate would be decided by the United Nations. This is indeed what happened, with all three states moving toward independence. Italian reparations were set at \$360 million, and the Italian army was limited to 250,000 men.

Finland

Finland was reduced to its 1940 borders following the Finnish-Soviet War of 1939–1940, thereby losing the Karelian isthmus and Vyborg as well as land north and east of Lake Ladoga and some land in Lapland. In addition, Finland was now forced to yield Petsamo, its only Arctic port. The Soviet Union also secured a lease on the Porkkala Peninsula on the Gulf of Finland near Helsinki as a naval base in exchange for the return of Hango.

Hungary

Hungary was obliged to return to Romania that portion of Transylvania that it had occupied. Hungary was again reduced to the post-World War I borders of the 1919 Treaty of Trianon, with the exception that it was also forced to yield a small amount of territory to Czechoslovakia at Bratislava. Czechoslovakia, in turn, had to relinquish to the Soviet Union a portion of sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, which now gave the Soviet Union a direct border with both Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Hungary's reparations were set at \$300 million.

Romania

Romania was obliged to recognize as final its 1940 loss of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina to the Soviet Union. It was also forced to cede the southern Dobruja to Bulgaria, but it regained the portion of Transylvania that Germany had forced it to cede to Hungary. Romania also had to pay reparations in the sum of \$300 million.

Bulgaria

Bulgaria received the southern Dobruja, which Germany and Italy had insisted it give to Romania in 1940. Bulgaria was assessed \$70 million in reparations.

All five states also agreed to restore the legal and property rights of the victorious powers, to dissolve fascist organizations, and to guarantee human rights and fundamental freedoms. All treaties, save that with Finland, contained provisions that the occupying Allied nations would withdraw their troops, although the Soviet Union retained the right to maintain forces in both Hungary and Romania to safeguard its lines of communication to Austria until it concluded a peace treaty with that nation in 1955.

Because of sharp disagreements between the western Allied powers and the Soviet Union and the coming of the Cold War, no formal peace treaties were agreed to by the former Allies with either Germany or Japan.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, and Romania, Roles in War

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Park, Sir Keith Rodney (1892–1975)

British air force air chief marshal. Born at Thames near Auckland, New Zealand, on 15 June 1892, Keith Park joined the New Zealand artillery during World War I and earned a commission during the 1915 Gallipoli Campaign. Park transferred to the Royal Flying Corps in 1916 and, flying Bristol fighters, scored an estimated 20 victories by war's end. Remaining with the new Royal Air Force after the war, Park joined Headquarters, Fighter Command in 1938 as senior air staff officer under Air Chief Marshal Hugh Dowding.

In April 1940, Dowding named Park commander of Number 11 Fighter Group, which defended London and southeast England. After providing vital fighter coverage for the Dunkerque evacuation, Number 11 Group faced the onslaught of the Luftwaffe during the Battle of Britain. Park clashed with his counterpart at Number 12 Fighter Group, Air Vice Marshal Trafford Leigh-Mallory, over fighter tactics. Park believed in radar early warning and single-squadron intercepts of the German bombers before they could reach their intended targets, whereas Leigh-Mallory favored the slower-reacting, multiple-squadron Big Wing tactics. When the Air Ministry backed Leigh-Mallory, Park was relieved in December 1940 after the Battle of Britain had essentially been won.

Following assignments with Training Command and in Egypt, Park was ordered to Malta in July 1942 to organize air defenses on that crucial island. Park used the same fighter tactics at Malta that he had used with Number 11 Fighter Group. His air defenses caused the Luftwaffe to expend precious resources needed in North Africa. Park also counterattacked, hitting German supply convoys as they left Italy and striking Axis positions throughout the theater.

In January 1944, Park became an air officer commanding in the Middle East, and in February 1945 he transferred to South-East Asia Command as head of all Allied Air Forces there. Park was promoted to air chief marshal in August 1945 and played a key role in the Allied reconquest of Burma.

Over Park's objections, the Air Ministry retired him from active service in 1946. Entering private business with Hawker

Sidley Aircraft, Park returned home to his native New Zealand in 1948. He died in Auckland on 6 February 1975.

Thomas D. Veve

See also

Blitz, The; Dowding, Sir Hugh Caswall Tremeneere; Dunkerque Evacuation; Fighter Tactics; Great Britain, Air Force; Leigh-Mallory, Sir Trafford L.; Malta; Portal, Sir Charles Frederick Algonon; Tedder, Sir Arthur William

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Partisans/Guerrillas

Indigenous combatants operating in enemy-held territory and conducting military and paramilitary operations. During World War II, numerous Allied partisan or guerrilla units operated in Axis-controlled areas, carrying out intelligence-gathering, sabotage, pilot-rescue, and harassment operations. Partisans worked together in organized units.

Motivations for joining partisan movements varied widely. Many became members as an act of survival; others joined from ideological motivations or to protect their families. Some groups were made up of escaped prisoners of war and political prisoners. Regardless of why they joined, partisans assumed an incredible burden as well as the risk of being shot out of hand if they were apprehended.

Early on, partisans spent much of their efforts merely establishing their organizations and working to sustain them by securing food, supplies, weapons, and ammunition. Late in 1942, as Axis battlefield fortunes turned, the partisans began conducting raids against railways and supply depots. Some even participated in assassinations of Axis officials.

Life for the partisans was difficult. For their own security, they tended to live in, and operate from, inhospitable terrain such as mountains, swamps, and deep forests. Partisans had to endure primitive living conditions, malnutrition, lack of medical assistance, and enemy patrols. They took inspiration from successful operations of this type in the past, such as the guerrillas of Spain against the French army during the Napoleonic Wars.

The British Special Operations Executive (SOE) and the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS) established contact with many partisan units, helping to coordinate their activities and to supply them with weapons and matériel. In return, the partisans provided intelligence, assisted Allied operatives and

downed airmen, and conducted limited sabotage and assassination operations. In some cases, partisans found themselves pawns in the geopolitical contest by the various Allied powers during the war, as was the case in Yugoslavia and Greece.

Partisan units varied in strength and tactics from country to country. Space does not allow discussion of even a majority of such movements, but some of the most famous of partisans were the Polish Home Army; the French maquis; the Greek ELAS (National People's Liberation Army); the Yugoslavia Partisans; and fighters in the Soviet Union. Numerous other partisan groups also operated in Europe and in the Pacific. As a rule, the more crucial the role that partisan groups played in liberating their country from occupation, the more likely there were to have a major part in establishing and running its postwar government.

Poland

Although Poland was defeated by Germany in September 1939, many Poles continued the fight. Resistance groups coalesced into the Polish Home Army, which sought to combat the occupation of the country by both German and Soviet troops. With nearly a fifth of the country in forests, the Poles had a natural base for unconventional warfare. The Polish Home Army did provide useful intelligence to the western powers and, once the tide of war had turned, began to attack German supply trains and tie down German forces that might otherwise have been at the front. Their most spectacular action by far, however, was the Warsaw Rising of August–October 1944. When Soviet forces arrived at the city limits of the Polish capital, the Home Army came out in the open and battled the Germans for control. The Soviets refused for more than two months to move to assist the Poles. The Home Army fought on virtually alone until it was defeated. Warsaw was largely destroyed in the fighting. Some accurately viewed the Soviet refusal to act as a deliberate decision to effect the destruction of the natural Polish leadership and thus help ensure Soviet control of Poland in the postwar period.

France

Probably the best known partisan efforts in the west were those in France, particularly the guerrilla units known as the maquis. The French Resistance as a whole included everything from underground opposition newspapers to organized combat units; the maquis carried out sabotage and harassment operations. Originally operating in southern France, the maquis spread throughout the country. The maquis provided immense assistance to the western Allies in the June 1944 Normandy invasion when it conducted wide-scale sabotage operations against German lines of communication and helped isolate the battlefield from German reinforcement. The maquis also harassed small German units.

Yugoslavia

Following their conquest by the German army, the Yugoslavs formed Resistance movements. The two chief groups were bitter rivals: the Četniks (named after the Serbian guerrillas who had fought the Turks), who were loyal to the monarchy and were led by General Dragoljub "Draza" Mihajlović, and the Partisan movement led by veteran Communist Josip Broz (Tito). These two organizations, often at odds with each other, fought the occupying Axis powers and the fascist Ustaše movement in Croatia. Partisan activities here were among the most effective in Axis-occupied Europe and tied down a great many Axis troops, but they also exacted a high cost in the form of reprisals and casualties to the civilian population. During the course of the fighting, the British government, which was supplying aid to the Yugoslav Resistance, decided to back the Partisans exclusively because, unlike the Četniks, they did not hesitate to engage the Germans. At the end of the war, the Partisans were the dominant force in Yugoslavia and, in consequence, liberated much of the country themselves.

Greece

In Greece, resistance to the Axis occupiers began almost immediately. The largest group was the leftist National Liberation Front (EAM), with the National People's Liberation Army as its military wing. It had poor relations with the more conservative National Republican Greek League, and the two groups fought each other during the winter of 1943–1944, although a truce was arranged in February 1944. When the Germans pulled out of Greece, EAM held the vast majority of the country.

Italy

Following the 8 September 1943 armistice, Italian Resistance began against the Germans and Benito Mussolini's subsequent Italian Social Republic (RSI) in the northern part of the country. Early groups sprang up around former military units and were centered in the Alpine valleys and the Piedmont. The partisan groups varied ideologically, but those in the cities tended to be largely socialist or communist. In turn, the RSI fielded groups to fight the partisans. Captain Junio Valerio Borghese headed an independent unit allied to the Germans. It numbered 10,000 men and fought against partisans in both Italy and the Yugoslav border area. The Italian Resistance claimed that in fighting from September 1943 to May 1945, it sustained 36,000 killed out of 250,000 participants. Some 10,000 civilians also died in reprisals.

Soviet Union

The rapid German advance through the Ukraine and White Russia led many Red Army stragglers and those opposed to the Nazis to find refuge in the forests. Only 11 days into the war, Soviet leader Josef Stalin called for a partisan uprising to



Yugoslav partisans, ca. 1942. (Library of Congress)

harass the Germans. Nazi occupation policies played a key role, driving many who had initially greeted the Germans as liberators over into the partisan camp.

Partisans operated extensively in the region of the Pripet Marshes south of Minsk. They formed around smaller cells known as *Orgtroikas*, consisting of officers and operatives from state, party, and *Narodnyy Kommissariat Vnutrennikh Del* (NKVD, People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) sources. By the summer of 1943, about 17,000 partisans were conducting sabotage and harassment operations in the Pripet Marshes; at the time of Operation *BAGRATION* in 1944, these numbers reached 140,000 people. Despite the efforts of special German antipartisan units, Soviet partisans carried out some 40,000 railway demolitions alone, greatly aiding the Red Army offensive.

In the Ukraine, nationalist movements such as the *Ukrainska Povstanska Armiya* (UPA, Ukrainian Insurgent Army) formed, bent on driving out both the Germans and the Soviets. Roman Shukhevich, leader of the UPA, controlled a wide swath of territory. Although conflicts between pro-Soviet partisans and nationalist partisans reduced the effectiveness of the movement, such activities forced the Germans

to divert significant military resources to maintaining lines of communication. German General Heinz Guderian later wrote that this was one of the prime factors in the defeat of the German Army in the east.

Jews able to escape the German grasp also sought to organize. The Bielski Partisans were the most famous of the Jewish Resistance groups. The movement began as an act of simple self-preservation and the rescue of other Jews fleeing the Nazis, and eventually it grew to more than 1,000 people, including children and the elderly. Jewish partisans lived in constant danger because of rampant anti-Semitism among others apart from the Nazis.

The Germans did their best to put down the partisan movements. Their tactics included reprisals against villages aiding partisans and the taking and execution of hostages, often at the rate of 20 or more executed for every German killed. However, regardless of the tactics used, and probably because of the Germans' ruthlessness, the partisan numbers continued to grow.

In the Pacific, partisan movements were found in many locations, most notably in the Philippines. Following the Japanese victory at Corregidor in 1942, some 260,000 Filipinos

and Americans organized to oppose the Japanese occupiers. Most notable among these groups was the Huks (Hukbalahap), or the People's Anti-Japanese Army. Communist Luis Taruc organized a Huk army of 30,000 men that ultimately controlled much of Luzon. U.S. forces not captured by the Japanese attached themselves to Filipino partisan groups.

Groups in China, Southeast Asia, the Philippines, and some Pacific islands initiated intelligence-gathering and sabotage operations against the Japanese. One of the better known of the partisan groups was the Viet Minh, led by Vietnamese nationalist Ho Chi Minh. The Viet Minh conducted guerrilla operations against both the French and the Japanese.

Robert W. Duvall and Benjamin F. Jones

See also

DRAGOON, Operation; Greece, Role in War; Guderian, Heinz; Ho Chi Minh; Maquis; Mihajlović, Dragoljub; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Resistance; Stalin, Josef; Tito; Yugoslavia

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Patch, Alexander McCarrell, Jr. (1889–1945)

U.S. Army general. Born at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, on 23 November 1889, Alexander Patch Jr. was the son of an army officer. Graduating from the U.S. Military Academy in 1913, Patch was commissioned in the infantry. He served in the Punitive Expedition into northern Mexico in 1916 and 1917 with the 18th Infantry Regiment in 1916 and deployed with his unit to France during World War I. There he commanded the U.S. 1st Division's machine-gun battalion, and he then served as director of the Machine Gun School. He ended the war as temporary lieutenant colonel.

Following occupation duty in Germany, Patch returned to the United States in 1919 and reverted to his permanent rank of captain. Patch graduated at the top of his class from the Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1925. He next served as an instructor at the Staunton (Virginia) Military Academy (1925–1928 and 1932–1936). Patch then commanded the 3rd Battalion of the 12th Infantry Regiment at



U.S. Army Lieutenant General Alexander Patch, 1944. (Corbis)

Fort Washington, Maryland, from 1928 to 1931. Patch graduated from the Army War College in 1932.

Appointed to the Infantry Board at Fort Benning, Georgia, in 1936, Patch helped develop and test the three-regiment “triangular” division. Between March 1939 and August 1941, Patch held several assignments, including command of the 47th Infantry Regiment. He was promoted to colonel in August 1939. Promoted to temporary brigadier general in August 1941, Patch took command of the Infantry Replacement Training Center, Camp Croft, South Carolina.

In March 1942, Patch, promoted to major general, commanded Task Force 6814, which was sent to New Caledonia. The unit consisted primarily of men made surplus when two National Guard divisions were triangularized. The task force was soon organized into the Americal Division, and it relieved the Marines on Guadalcanal in December 1942. From January to April 1943, Patch commanded XIV Corps, including troops on Guadalcanal and the neighboring islands.

Returning to the United States, Patch took command of IV Corps at Fort Lewis, Washington. In March 1944, he was sent to Sicily to command the Seventh Army as a lieutenant general. On 15 August 1944, the Seventh Army invaded southern France in Operation DRAGOON. The Seventh Army, part of the 6th Army Group, was the first army to cross the Rhine, fighting in the Colmar pocket and meeting up

with General Mark Clark's Fifth Army at the Brenner Pass on 4 May 1945.

In July 1945, Patch took command of the Fourth Army, Fort Sam Houston, Texas, and in October he headed a group assembled to make recommendations about the army's postwar organization and strength. Patch contracted pneumonia and died at Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio, Texas, on 21 November 1945. He was posthumously promoted to general in 1954.

Uzal W. Ent

See also

Colmar Pocket, Battle for the; Devers, Jacob Loucks; DRAGOON, Operation; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Germany, Collapse of; Guadalcanal, Land Battle for; Rhine Crossings; Southeast Pacific Theater; Vosges, Advance to

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Pathfinders

Elite U.S. Army paratroopers who facilitated airborne operations. Developed in the European Theater of Operations during World War II, pathfinders would jump ahead of the main assault and direct following planes to their specific drop zones. Their efforts increased accuracy of placement of airborne forces and hence the effectiveness of such operations.

Pathfinders were developed following the Allied invasion of Sicily in 1943. After the widespread airborne drops there, commanders sought a way to organize and deliver airborne troops more accurately. The job fell to Colonel Joel Crouch of the Army Air Forces and Captain John Norton of the 82nd Airborne Division. Based at Biscari Airfield in Sicily, these men originated pathfinder tactics.

In the first drops in the invasion of Italy, pathfinders used colored lights, smoke pots, and vision panels to designate drop zones. These teams also used radio communication and a simple radar homing system consisting of two components, "Eureka" and "Rebecca," to aid in aircraft navigation. Once a ground team was positioned, it would set up radios and activate the radar transmitter, the Eureka set. The Rebecca device in the planes would home in on the signal produced by the ground team and use it to pinpoint the exact location for the drop. Pathfinder units were composed of a large squad of 9–14 men for signaling with 2 Eureka sets and 9 Halifane (illuminating) lights and a 5-man security team. Squad mem-

bers were volunteers from airborne units such as the 82nd and 101st Airborne Divisions. Pathfinders jumped in such missions as Operations OVERLORD, MARKETGARDEN, and VARSITY. After World War II, pathfinder techniques continued to undergo refinement.

The term *pathfinder* was also applied in strategic bombing. After the Luftwaffe employed a specially trained force to mark and illuminate targets during the Battle of Britain, the Royal Air Force formed a similar group for the strategic bombing of Germany. Special squadrons of highly trained crews flying Wellington and Stirling bombers (later mostly Mosquito bombers) flew in advance of the main bomber stream to mark targets for the less-experienced bombers crews following them. Pathfinders were also used to mark the route to the target, and a senior pathfinder known as the master bomber or master of ceremonies would fly above the target and provide advice to the main bomber force by radio.

Brandon Lindsey

See also

Airborne Forces, Allied; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; OVERLORD, Operation; Rhine Crossings; Sicily, Invasion of

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Patrol-Torpedo Boats

Known popularly as PT boats, World War II-era patrol-torpedo boats were the American equivalent of German E boats and British motor torpedo boats. They were small, fast, wooden-hulled, shallow-draft vessels that depended on surprise, speed, and maneuverability and thus did their best work in coastal waters.

During World War I, the Italian navy built and used some 299 torpedo-armed motorboats against the Austro-Hungarian navy in the Adriatic. From 1916, the British navy used coastal motor boats in home waters and in the raids against Ostend and Zeebrugge, Belgium, in April 1918. Although the United States did not use such craft in World War I, the Electric Boat Company's Elco Division in Bayonne, New Jersey, constructed several hundred power boats for Britain and Italy and gained expertise in designing and manufacturing that type of vessel.

In the late 1930s, the U.S. Navy was pushed toward the development of gasoline-powered motor boats by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Assistant Secretary of the Navy

Charles Edison, both of whom were concerned about European interest in these craft. They secured a 1938 appropriation of \$5 million for the construction of ships of fewer than 3,000 tons displacement. In June, the navy staged an American design competition, selecting seven winners for further testing, but Edison decided instead to put into limited production at Elco a 70 ft craft, with a crew of 10 men, from the British designer Hubert Scott-Paine. Elco's boat substituted Packard engines for

those of Rolls-Royce. By 1941, Elco had progressed to a 77 ft version that demonstrated an average speed of 27.5 knots in

rough waters and mounted 2 × 21-in. torpedo tubes and 2 × 50-caliber machine guns in twin turrets. The boats also had the ability to lay smokescreens. Andrew Jackson Higgins, a Louisiana shipbuilder, developed a similar 78 ft vessel. At 80 ft or less, the boats could be carried on long voyages by larger ships.

During World War II, the United States deployed in the Pacific 350 PT boats, mostly of the Elco and Higgins types, along with 42 in the Mediterranean and 33 in the English Channel. Together, they launched in combat a total of only 697 torpedoes, usually with minimal success. All too often, American torpedoes were defective, and firing them accurately from fast-moving vessels was problematic in any case. Nor were PT boats fortunate at antisubmarine warfare, being much too noisy to make effective use of sonar equipment. The most memorable action in European waters by this type of craft came from the Germans when they sent their E boats in an attack on an American landing exercise at Slapton Sands, England, on 18 April 1944. The Germans sank two LSTs

The U.S. deployed 350 PT boats in the Pacific, 42 in the Mediterranean, and 33 in the English Channel. They launched only 697 torpedoes.



A U.S. PT boat patrols the waters along the coast of New Guinea in 1943. (Corbis)

(landing ships, tank), damaged a third, and killed more than 700 Americans.

In the South and Southwest Pacific Theaters, the most profitable service of American PT boats was in coastal work. Their speed made them difficult targets for shore batteries. With a 40 mm gun and, perhaps, 4.5-inch barrage rockets or mortars replacing their torpedoes, they could attack Japanese landing barges (*daihatsus*), which, as the war progressed, were typically used to deliver reinforcements to forward positions. In one five-month period off New Guinea, PT boats claimed some 115 barges sunk with minimal losses of their own.

Two PT boat events, because of the personalities involved, overshadowed all others in the war. The first, in the Philippines in the early weeks of the conflict, involved Motor Torpedo Boat Squadron 3 under Lieutenant John D. Bulkeley. He and his men displayed great gallantry in various actions but achieved limited success against Japanese invading forces. Then, in March 1942, theater commander General Douglas MacArthur, under orders to leave the Philippines for Australia, selected Bulkeley and his four available boats to convey his party of 22 persons—including his wife, young son, housekeeper, and key staff members—more than 500 miles from Corregidor Island in Manila Bay through the Japanese blockade southward to Mindanao, from where MacArthur could complete the trip by air. At great risk, the journey was completed between 11 and 13 March. MacArthur could have traveled much more easily and safely in a submarine but seemed to have been unwilling to be confined beneath the waves at such close quarters. As it was, his escape from Corregidor—and the PT boats' role in it—proved to be the stuff of legend and were recounted in W. H. White's 1942 book *They Were Expendable* and John Ford's 1945 film of the same name.

The second incident involved a confused night action. In Blackett Strait off Kolombangara in the Solomon Islands on 1 August 1943, Lieutenant John F. Kennedy's *PT-109* was struck and sunk by the Japanese destroyer *Amagiri*. Kennedy and other survivors then swam to a nearby Japanese-held island, from which they were rescued after several days. Although written up in the *New Yorker* magazine by John Hersey during the war, the incident became widely known only after Kennedy launched his successful run for the presidency in 1960. By 1963, Kennedy's experiences had inspired several books, the film *PT 109*, and (at least indirectly) the television comedy series "McHale's Navy."

Overall, the PT boat proved a serviceable but not decisive weapon. The successors of such craft were later employed in riverine operations during the Vietnam War.

Richard G. Stone

See also

Higgins, Andrew Jackson; Kolombangara, Battle of; MacArthur, Douglas; Philippines, Japanese Conquest of

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Patton, George Smith, Jr. (1885–1945)

U.S. Army general and commander of the Third Army in the European Theater of Operations. Born on 11 November 1885 in San Gabriel, California, George Patton Jr. attended the Virginia Military Institute for a year before graduating from the U.S. Military Academy in 1909. An accomplished horseman, he competed in the 1912 Stockholm Olympic Games. He also participated in the 1916–1917 Punitive Expedition into Mexico.



General George S. Patton Jr. at his headquarters at the last press conference he held for war correspondents on completion of the fighting in Europe, 1945. (Corbis)

On U.S. entry into World War I, Patton deployed to France as an aide to American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) commander General John J. Pershing, but he transferred to the Tank Corps and, as a temporary major, commanded the first U.S. Army tank school at Langres, France. He then commanded the 304th Tank Brigade as a temporary lieutenant colonel. Wounded in the Saint-Mihiel Offensive, he was promoted to temporary colonel and took part in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive.

After the war, Patton remained an ardent champion of tank warfare. He graduated from the Cavalry School in 1923, the Command and General Staff School in 1924, and the Army War College in 1932. Returning to armor, Patton was promoted to temporary brigadier general in October 1940 and to temporary major general in April 1941, when he took command of the newly formed 2nd Armored Division. Popularly known as “Old Blood and Guts” for his colorful speeches to inspire the men, Patton commanded I Corps and the Desert Training Center, where he prepared U.S. forces for the invasion of North Africa.

In November 1942, Patton commanded the Western Task Force in the landing at Casablanca, Morocco, part of Operation TORCH. Following the U.S. defeat in the Battle of the Kasserine Pass, in March 1943 he won promotion to lieutenant general and assumed command of II Corps. He quickly

restored order and morale and took the offensive against the Axis forces.

In April, Patton received command of the Seventh Army for the invasion of Sicily in July 1943. He used a series of costly flanking maneuvers along the northern coast of the island to reach Messina ahead of the British Eighth Army on the eastern side. Patton, however, ran afoul of the press and his superiors when he struck two soldiers who suffered from battle fatigue.

Relieved of his command, Patton was then used as a Trojan horse to disguise the location of the attack of Operation OVERLORD, the cross-Channel invasion of France. The Germans assumed that Patton would command any such invasion, but he actually remained in Britain in command of Third Army, the fictional 1st U.S. Army Group, in a successful ruse to trick the Germans into believing the invasion would occur in the Pas de Calais area.

Following the Normandy Invasion, Patton was at last unleashed in August when his Third Army arrived in France

and spearheaded a breakout at Saint-Lô and campaigned brilliantly across northern France. Moving swiftly, his forces swung wide and then headed east, although he was frustrated by the refusal of General Omar Bradley and Supreme Commander General Dwight D. Eisenhower to recognize the importance of sealing the Falaise-Argentan gap. Patton's forces crossed the Meuse River in late August to confront German defenses at Metz, where the Germans held the Americans until December. During the German Ardennes Offensive (Battle of the Bulge), Patton executed a brilliant repositioning movement and came to the relief of the hard-pressed American forces at Bastogne.

By the end of January, Patton began another offensive, piercing the Siegfried Line between Saarlautern and Saint Vith. On 22 March, the Third Army crossed the Rhine at Oppenheim. Patton continued his drive into Germany and eventually crossed into Czechoslovakia. By the end of the war, his men had covered more ground (600 miles) and liberated more territory (nearly 82,000 square miles) than any other Allied force.

Promoted to temporary general, Patton became military governor of Bavaria. He soon found himself again in trouble for remarks in which he criticized denazification and argued that the Soviet Union was the real enemy. Relieved of his post, he assumed command of the Fifteenth Army, slated to write the official U.S. Army history of the war. Patton suffered a broken neck in an automobile accident near Mannheim and died at Heidelberg on 21 December 1945.

T. Jason Soderstrum and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Ardennes Offensive; Bastogne, Battle for; Bradley, Omar Nelson; COBRA, Operation; Deception; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Falaise-Argentan Pocket; FORTITUDE, Operations; Kasserine Pass, Battle of; Metz, Battle of; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; OVERLORD, Operation; Rhine Crossings; Sicily, Invasion of; Tanks, All Powers; TORCH, Operation

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Paul, Prince Regent of Yugoslavia (1893–1976)

Prince regent of Yugoslavia. Born on 27 April 1893 in Saint Petersburg, Russia, to Arsen Karadjordjevic and Avrora Pavlovna Demidova, Paul was by nature sensitive and with-

By the end of the war, Patton's men had covered 600 miles and liberated nearly 82,000 square miles, more than any other Allied force.

drawn. He attended boarding school in Lausanne and was also educated by tutors in the royal palace in Belgrade and at Oxford. He spoke six languages. In 1923, he married Princess Olga of Greece.

On 9 October 1934, King Alexander of Yugoslavia was assassinated at Marseille, France, by Croatian terrorists. Alexander's son Peter was only a child, so Peter's great-uncle Paul became the principal regent. The problems then facing the country were virtually unsolvable. The deeply entrenched nationalistic, political, and ethnic rivalries of Yugoslavia meant that it entered the war sharply divided.

Although Paul declared Yugoslavia neutral at the beginning of World War II, this did not spare the country from involvement in the war, given its geographical position and German and Italian expansionist plans. Paul's anglophilia and overwhelmingly pro-Allied sentiment among the Serb population reinforced the belief that sooner or later Yugoslavia would enter the war on the Allied side. Adolf Hitler, meanwhile, insisted that Yugoslavia declare for the Axis side. Paul sought to delay that decision. Finally, in early March, under a verbal onslaught from Hitler at Berchtesgaden, he concluded that not joining the Axis side would bring about the end of his country. On 25 March 1941, Yugoslavian ministers traveled to Vienna to sign the Tripartite Pact. Anti-German Serbs believed Paul to be a traitor who delivered Yugoslavia to Hitler on a silver platter.

After this event, anti-German demonstrations occurred in Serbia and Slovenia. Early on 27 March 1941, Yugoslavian senior army officers, who were Serbs, responded with a coup d'état, deposing Paul. The underage Peter was declared of age as King Peter II. This action infuriated Hitler, who took the coup as a personal insult. Beginning on 6 April 1941, German, Italian, Romanian, and Hungarian forces invaded Yugoslavia and occupied the country. Paul, who had been en route to Zagreb at the time of the army coup against him, escaped via Greece to London. In 1943, he moved to South Africa. Paul's efforts to clear his name and reputation occupied much of his time until his death in Paris on 14 September 1976.

Annette Richardson

See also

Yugoslavia; Yugoslavia Campaign (1941)

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Paulus, Friedrich (1890–1957)

German army field marshal. Born on 23 September 1890 in Breitenau, Friedrich Paulus joined the German army in 1910 and was commissioned a second lieutenant the following year. He served on both fronts during World War I. Paulus ended the war a captain in the Alpenkorps on the Italian Front, winning the Iron Cross, both First and Second Class. Paulus continued in the Reichswehr after the war and was promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1934. He succeeded Colonel Heinz Guderian as chief of staff of Germany's mechanized forces in 1935. Contemporaries noted him as stiff, methodical, and occasionally indecisive.

Paulus was nonetheless promoted to Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general) in 1939 and was appointed chief of staff of General Walther von Reichenau's Tenth Army. He participated in the conquest of Poland and the 1940 offensive into Belgium and France. When Operation SEA LION was canceled, Paulus became deputy chief of staff for the Supreme Army Command and helped plan Operation BARBAROSSA, the invasion of the Soviet Union.

In January 1942, at Field Marshal Reichenau's request, Paulus was promoted to general of panzer troops and assigned command of the Sixth Army (formerly Tenth Army), which was part of Army Group South. After an initial success at Dnepropetrovsk, Paulus was forced to retreat to better defensive positions before counterattacking. The Sixth Army then advanced slowly on Stalingrad over the summer, reaching the Volga River north of the city on 23 August 1942. From 24 August, a great battle raged over the city. Fighting was fierce, but Adolf Hitler ordered Paulus to take Stalin's namesake city at any cost. In the end, the Sixth Army was trapped there.

Paulus has been much blamed for refusing to disobey Hitler and withdraw before it was too late, but his and Hitler's greatest failure lay in not anticipating the Soviet encirclement, Operation URANUS, begun on 19 November. Although relief efforts failed, Hitler refused Paulus permission to try to break out, ordering him instead to hold all ground taken. On 24 January 1943, Hitler denied Paulus's request for permission to surrender and promoted him to field marshal. Paulus surrendered nonetheless on 31 January, claiming he was "taken by surprise" but refusing his men the same option. Paulus was the first German field marshal to be captured in battle.

In the aftermath of the failed July 1944 Bomb Plot intended to kill Hitler, Paulus made anti-Nazi broadcasts for the Soviets. Hitler ordered Paulus's entire family jailed. Paulus appeared as a witness for the prosecution at the Nuremberg Trials, but he remained in a Soviet prison until 1953. On his



German Field Marshal Friedrich Paulus at Red Army headquarters in Stalingrad after the German Sixth Army surrendered to Soviet troops. (Bettman/Corbis)

release, he became an inspector in the East German Volkspolizei in Dresden. He died in that city on 1 February 1957.

Timothy C. Dowling

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Belgium Campaign; France, Battle for; Germany, Army; Guderian, Heinz; Hitler, Adolf; Poland, Campaign (1939); Reichenau, Walther von; Stalingrad, Battle of

Resources

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Pavlov, Dimitri Grigorevich (1897–1941)

Soviet army general. Born in the village of Vonyukh, Kostroma region, on 4 November 1897, Dimitri Pavlov fought in

World War I and was taken prisoner by the Germans. He joined the Red Army and Communist Party after the war. Commissioned in the cavalry, Pavlov graduated from the Frunze Military Academy in 1928 and the Military-Technical Academy in 1931. He then commanded the 4th Mechanized Brigade, one of the Red Army's first mechanized units. He next headed the Armored Directorate in 1937 and was chief of the Soviet tank advisers sent to assist the Republican side in the 1936–1939 Spanish Civil War. Pavlov erroneously concluded as a result of that experience that there was no future for large armor formations. Although this decision was shared, such thinking helped bring the disbandment of the Soviet mechanized corps and at least until the death of Josef Stalin, Pavlov was blamed for it. In 1939, Pavlov became head of the Armed Tank Directorate.

As a general colonel, Pavlov was appointed to the Main Military Council in July 1940. Promoted to general of the army in February 1941, he received command of the Western Front on 6 June just prior to the German invasion of 22 June. Facing German Army Group Center, Pavlov positioned three of his armies well forward and only one in reserve.

A week after the German invasion of the Soviet Union and the collapse of his sector of the front, Pavlov and his chief of staff General Major V. Y. Klimovskikh and several others were ordered to Moscow. Pavlov was made the scapegoat for Soviet military failures, accused of collaboration with the Germans, tried, found guilty, and shot on 22 July 1941. Also executed were Klimovskikh, Fourth Army commander General A. A. Korobkov, and several divisional commanders and commissars.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Armored Warfare; BARBAROSSA, Operation; Stalin, Josef

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Pearl Harbor, Attack on (7 December 1941)

Japanese military action against the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, the Hawaiian Islands, that caused America to enter the war. By early 1941, tensions between Japan and the United States had reached the breaking point. Japan's invasion of China beginning in 1937 and its occupation of French Indochina in 1940 and 1941 had led President Franklin D. Roosevelt to embargo scrap metal and oil and to freeze Japanese assets in the United States. The Japanese particularly resented the embargo on oil, characterizing it as "an unfriendly act." Japan had no oil of its own and had limited stockpiles. Without oil, the Japanese would have to withdraw from China. An army-dominated government in Tokyo now sought to take advantage of British, French, and Dutch weakness in Asia to push its own plans to secure hegemony and resources. Japan was determined to seize this opportunity, even if that meant war with the United States. The United States misread Tokyo's resolve, believing that it could force Japan to back down.

Both sides visualized the same scenario for war in the Pacific. The Japanese would seize U.S. and European possessions in the Far East, forcing the U.S. Navy to fight its way

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONTROVERSY

Hitler's Declaration of War on the United States (11 December 1941)

On 11 December 1941, Adolf Hitler announced before a cheering Reichstag that Germany had declared war on the United States. The reasons for Hitler's decision, sometimes accorded the status of a major "Hitler mistake," remain obscure; Hitler never really spelled out his reasoning. Throughout 1940 and 1941, Hitler had sought to avoid war with the United States—indeed, he had restricted U-boat activities to prevent an incident that might lead to war in the fashion of World War I.

On 27 September 1940, Hitler had signed the Tripartite Pact, creating the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. The pact required all parties to declare war on any country that attacked any of them, but Japan's decision to declare war on the United States clearly did not obligate Germany and Italy to go to war against the United States. Following his invasion of the Soviet Union, however, Hitler was eager for Japan to join the war. Fearful that Japan and the United States might

come to some kind of agreement, Berlin promised Tokyo to sign an agreement that in case either Germany or Japan became involved in war with the United States, whatever the reason, the other power would not conclude a separate peace or armistice. Tokyo then asked Berlin if it would consider itself also at war with the United States if Japan and the U.S. went to war, regardless of the reason. On 28 November 1941, German Foreign
(continues)

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONTROVERSY

Hitler's Declaration of War on the United States (11 December 1941) (continued)

Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop extended such assurances to Japanese Ambassador Ōshima Hiroshi. The news must have been especially welcome in Tokyo, as the Japanese strike force against Pearl Harbor had sailed two days before. Then, on 5 December, Ribbentrop sent the Italians a draft treaty that obligated both Italy and Germany to declare war on the United States should that country and Japan go to war. It also called on the Axis states not to conclude a separate armistice or peace with either Britain or the United States.

On 7 December 1941, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. The next day, the U.S. Congress declared war on Japan. Three days later, on 11 December, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States. To be more specific, Hitler declared war.

Historian Norman Rich, who devotes considerable attention to the German declaration of war in his book *Hitler's War Aims*, makes it clear that Hitler welcomed news of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor with a great sense of relief and took the step of a declaration of war against the United States enthusiastically. The Japanese blow was for Hitler a great "deliverance" that promised him a "a new lease on life."

There are several reasons Hitler was prepared to join the Japanese in a declaration of war against the United States. He hated President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the United States, which he regarded as virtually already in the war by virtue of its substantial material aid to the British. A declaration would thus clarify things. Hitler still counted on a short war. If Japan could hold the United States in check for a year, it would assist Germany in helping to secure victory against the Soviet Union. Hitler also believed that by immediately ordering full-scale submarine attacks on Allied shipping, he could inflict maximum damage on his opponents. In addition, if

Germany failed to join Japan, it would damage relations with that country and end the chance of Japanese assistance against the Soviet Union. At long last, he could tell the world what he really thought of Roosevelt and the United States; that, by itself, was worth a declaration of war. Hitler viewed the United States as militarily weak (he thought the Japanese fleet was superior to that of the United States), racially corrupt, and "Jew-ridden."

Historian Alan Bullock claims that the declaration merely recognized the de facto state of war created by Roosevelt's Lend-Lease program. For Ronald Lewin, it was simply another of Hitler's mistakes. Some historians see a psychological motivation of lunacy or hubris in Hitler's action. Joachim C. Fest saw it as an expression of Hitler's strategic impotence.

Bullock pointed out that Hitler badly underestimated the war-making potential of the United States. John Toland argued that by declaring war, Hitler gained material support from the Japanese and propaganda fodder to hide his military failures in the campaign in the Soviet Union. He could at last engage in a historic struggle of annihilation against both international communism and capitalism, both of which he believed to be controlled by international Jewry.

Others see Hitler as a victim of his racist ideology. Hitler viewed the United States as weak, racially "mongrelized," a country that had declined because of social crises and "degenerate" materialism. Revisionists have claimed that Roosevelt tricked Hitler into giving him a backdoor declaration of war to overcome opposition from isolationists.

Because Hitler never stated his exact motives, his reasoning behind the declaration of war remains a subject for argument. Gerhard Weinberg posits that the declaration had the enthusiastic support of the German people. One thing is clear:

Hitler completely underestimated the United States and the role it might play militarily. Hitler's declaration of war did solve a major problem for Roosevelt, who hesitated to ask Congress to declare war on Germany because of opposition from isolationists and America First supporters. Now Roosevelt had a free hand to prosecute the war on a global basis. If Germany had not declared war on the United States, Roosevelt would have been under great pressure from U.S. public opinion to fight Japan only.

A. J. L. Waskey and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Hitler, Adolf; Ōshima Hiroshi;
Ribbentrop, Ulrich Friedrich Willy
Joachim von; Roosevelt, Franklin D.;
Tripartite Pact

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HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONTROVERSY

Pearl Harbor, a Conspiracy?

Even today, there are many who believe that U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt deliberately used Pearl Harbor as bait to lure the Japanese into attacking the United States, enabling him to bring his reluctant nation into World War II. Many isolationists and those with a strong dislike of Roosevelt believed in December 1941 and thereafter that he had used an economic blockade, including an oil embargo and freezing Japanese assets in America, to manipulate Japan into attacking the United States. Roosevelt had begun an undeclared war against German submarines in the North Atlantic in September 1941, yet isolationist sentiment in the United States continued strong, and the country remained officially neutral in the war. Japan's attack finally led to massive public support for hostilities against Japan, and German dictator Adolf Hitler resolved the problem that Roosevelt might have had of fighting only against Japan when on 11 December, four days after the Pearl Harbor attack, Hitler declared war against the United States, although he was not obligated to do so under the terms of the Tripartite Pact. Retired General Robert E. Wood, chairman of Sears, Roebuck, spoke for many U.S. isolationists when he stated that Roosevelt finally "got us in [to the war against Germany] through the back door" of Japan.

President Roosevelt was first publicly named as the central figure in this controversy in the fall of 1945, less than five months after his death on 12 April. On 3 September 1945, the conservative *Chicago Tribune* ran an editorial called "The Indictment" that accused the Roosevelt administration of negligence and culpability in the Pearl Harbor disaster and called for further disclosure. The editorial was based on John T. Flynn's pamphlet *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor*, and it precipitated another congressional investigation.

Colonel Robert McCormick, owner of the *Chicago Tribune*, then commissioned

employee George Morgenstern to write the first full-scale revisionist book on the subject, *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War* (1947). Although the book was briefly a best-seller, it was historian Charles A. Beard's *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941* that really fueled the debate. It was published in 1948 and went through several printings.

Both of these books quoted from the 40-volume records of the *Report of the Joint Congressional Committee* of 1946 that printed the verbatim testimony and findings of all eight prior investigations into the matter. Although this massive collection contains much opinion, it renders no judgment as to where responsibility lay for U.S. forces having been caught unaware by the Japanese attack.

Defenders of President Roosevelt included Samuel Eliot Morison, the U.S. Navy's official historian of World War II. Other Navy officers became vociferous detractors of the president. Most important among them was Rear Admiral Robert A. Theobald, who wrote *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor: The Washington Contribution to the Japanese Attack* (1954). Theobald's book included "corroborative" forewords by Rear Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, discredited commander of the naval forces at Pearl Harbor during the attack, and Fleet Admiral William F. "Bull" Halsey. This book presented the idea that Roosevelt had personally "set up" the fleet at Pearl Harbor. The book sold well and was reprinted almost in toto in two issues of *U.S. News and World Report* that same year.

Gordon W. Prange's *At Dawn We Slept: The Untold Story of Pearl Harbor* (1981), finished after his death by his assistants, Donald M. Goldstein and Katherine V. Dillon, was the strongest counterargument to the revisionists. This massive study included an appendix that summarized the anti-Roosevelt theories and questioned some revisionists' notion that the United States could have simply stood by and

watched Hitler and Japan conquer the British Empire and Soviet Union. Goldstein and Dillon also argued convincingly that there is no proof to substantiate the conspiracy theories espoused by the more extreme writers.

Prange's book did not end the controversy, however. Forty years after the event, declassified documents showed that the president had access to the secret Japanese diplomatic code messages and he was therefore aware of how the Japanese were reacting to American diplomacy and economic sanctions. The Japanese attack could not therefore have been a total surprise to Roosevelt and his top advisers. Indeed, American military bases in the Pacific, particularly the Philippines, had been steadily reinforced due to the possibility of hostilities.

John Toland laid out a strong case against Roosevelt in his *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath* (1982), but his case is weakened by some unsubstantiated speculation. British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill became the villain of the Pearl Harbor tragedy in James Rusbridger's *Betrayal at Pearl Harbor: How Churchill Lured Roosevelt into World War II* (1991). This book posits that Churchill withheld intelligence from Roosevelt that indicated an attack force was under way so that the Japanese air assault would not be thwarted by forewarned defenders. The ulterior motive was to use the surprise attack to neutralize opposition to Roosevelt's desire to enter the war in Europe.

Robert B. Stinnett's *Day of Deceit: The Truth About FDR and Pearl Harbor* (2000) is one of the recent studies that contradicts and questions much of what has been written. Stinnett and other writers basically believe that the end justified the means: the United States would not enter a necessary war against Nazi Germany unless it was forced into armed conflict. The Roosevelt administration therefore promoted actions, such as the undeclared war

(continues)

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONTROVERSY

Pearl Harbor, a Conspiracy? (continued)

against the U-boats and a virtual economic war against Japan, that would inevitably lead to war.

The most recent development in the controversy, Philip Jacobsen's article in *Naval History*, "Pearl Harbor: Who Deceived Whom?" (December 2003), reviews recently declassified U.S. naval communications intelligence records to refute the claims by revisionist conspiracy theorists. Jacobsen points out that evidence now corroborates that Japanese radio deception masked movement of their carriers to Pearl Harbor, effectively ensuring a surprise attack.

Before the war, western military analysts underrated Japanese capabilities. Few believed that Japan could make so many concurrent strikes and operate at such long distance, or that its military could perform as well as it did. Placed in context, the well-executed Japanese air assault on Pearl Harbor was just one of several unpleasant surprises for the Americans.

There is no evidence that implicates President Roosevelt in instigating a war with Japan in the hope that it would lead to hostilities between the United States and Germany. Roosevelt loved the navy, and the idea that he would deliberately set

up a sizable portion of it for destruction is quite hard to believe; this also presupposed knowledge by other leading U.S. military figures including General George C. Marshall, making it even harder to believe. The proposition that Roosevelt deliberately "set up" American forces at Pearl Harbor, as argued by Theobald and others, is based more on emotion than logic. War between the United States and Japan seemed increasingly likely by late 1941, but the precise timing and location of a Japanese attack remained a mystery to the Roosevelt administration.

Dana Lombardy and T. P. Schweider

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Hitler, Adolf; Kimmel, Husband Edward; Marshall, George Catlett; Pearl Harbor, Attack on (Historiographical Controversy: Hitler's Declaration of War on the United States); Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Short, Walter Campbell; Taranto, Attack on

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across the Pacific to relieve them. Somewhere in the Far East, a great naval battle would occur to decide Pacific hegemony. In March 1940, commander of the Combined Fleet Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku scrapped the original plan—which called for using submarines and cruisers and destroyers with the Long Lance torpedo and savaging the U.S. battle fleet as it worked its way west—in favor of a preemptive strike against the U.S. fleet, which Roosevelt had shifted from San Diego to Pearl Harbor on the island of Oahu. Yamamoto believed that such an attack, destroying the U.S. carriers and battleships, would buy time for Japan to build its defensive ring. Yamamoto also misread American psychology when he believed that such an attack might demoralize the American people and force Washington to negotiate a settlement that would give Japan hegemony in the western Pacific. With both sides edging toward war, U.S. Pacific Fleet commander Admiral Husband E. Kimmel and army Lieutenant General

Walter C. Short made their dispositions for the defense of Oahu. Both men requested additional resources from Washington, but the United States was only then rearming, and little additional assistance was forthcoming.

The Japanese, meanwhile, trained extensively for the Pearl Harbor attack. They fitted their torpedoes with fins so that they could be dropped from aircraft in the shallow water of Pearl Harbor, and they also planned to use large armor-piercing shells to be dropped as bombs from high-flying aircraft. No deck armor would be able to withstand them.

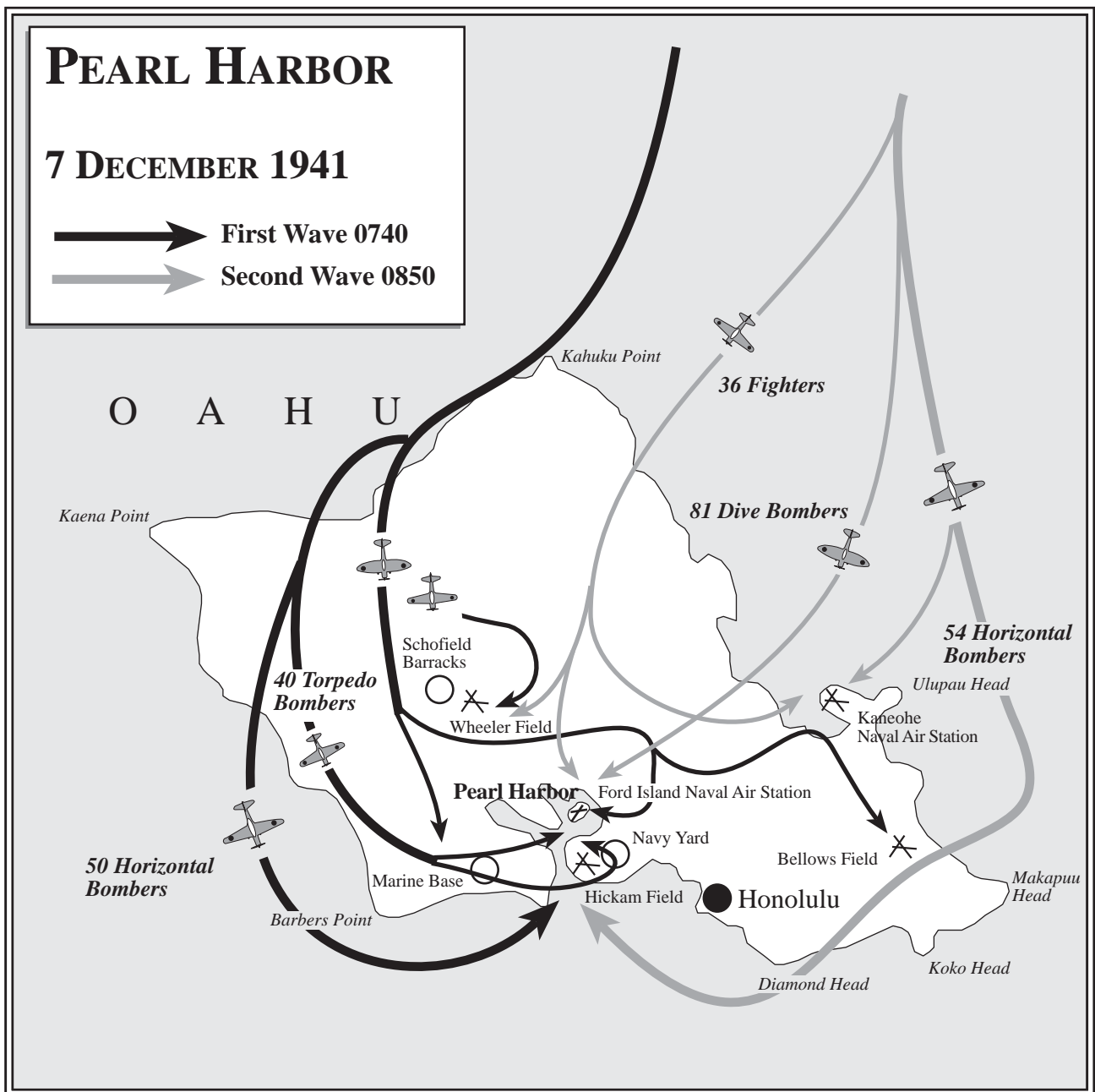
Following the expiration of a self-imposed deadline for securing an agreement with the United States, Tokyo ordered the attack to go forward. On 16 November 1941, Japanese submarines departed for Pearl Harbor, and 10 days later the First Air Fleet, commanded by Vice Admiral Nagumo Chūichi, sortied. This attack force was centered on six aircraft carriers: the *Akagi*, *Hiryu*, *Kaga*, *Shokaku*, *Soryu*, and *Zuikaku*. They car-

ried 423 aircraft, 360 of which were to participate in the attack. Accompanying the carriers were 2 battleships, 3 cruisers, 9 destroyers, and 2 tankers.

Surprise was essential if the attack was to be successful. The Japanese maintained radio silence, and Washington knew only that the fleet had sailed. A "war warning" had been issued to military commanders in the Pacific, but few American leaders thought the Japanese would dare attack Pearl Harbor. Nagumo planned to approach from the northwest and move in as close as possible before launching his aircraft, and then recover them farther out, forcing any U.S. air reaction force to fly two long legs.

Nagumo ordered the planes to launch beginning at 6:00 A.M. at a point about 275 miles from Pearl Harbor. Two events should have made a difference to the Americans but did not. Before the launch, American picket ships off the harbor entrance detected one Japanese midget submarine. Then they sank another. There were five Japanese midget submarines in the operation. Carried to the area by mother submarines, they were to enter the harbor and then wait for the air attack. Probably only one succeeded.

At 7:50 A.M., the first wave of Japanese aircraft began its attack on the ships at Pearl Harbor and air stations at Ewa, Ford Island, Hickam, Kaneohe, and Wheeler. Most U.S.



HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONTROVERSY

Pearl Harbor, Feasibility of a Third Strike

Of all the decisions made by Japanese commanders during World War II, few have generated more debate than Vice Admiral Nagumo Chūichi's order to withdraw his First Air Fleet following the 7 December 1941 attacks on Pearl Harbor. Afterward, U.S. officials agreed that Nagumo's failure to launch a third, follow-on attack that targeted the U.S. oil depot, machine shops, docks, and power station at Pearl Harbor was a critical error. This was the position taken in the third volume of the official U.S. Navy history by Samuel E. Morison.

Historian Gordon Prange, who wrote the most exhaustive history of the Pearl Harbor attack, has Commander Fuchida Mitsuo, who commanded the Japanese strike aircraft, reporting to Nagumo that his planes had sunk four U.S. battleships and badly damaged four others, but arguing that a third strike be launched that afternoon against the oil tank farms, repair and maintenance facilities, and remaining ships. Prange claimed that Commander Genda Minoru, chief air officer of First Air Fleet, who had helped develop the attack plan, joined Fuchida in pointing out to Nagumo that the Japanese controlled the air over Oahu and the sea. But with the U.S. carriers undetected and now certainly alerted, Nagumo refused. Genda is said to have wanted Nagumo to remain in the area for several days and try to destroy the U.S. carriers.

Historian H. P. Willmott has noted in *Pearl Harbor* (2001) that Genda, who was indeed on the bridge of flagship *Akagi* during the operation, claimed that no proposal for a subsequent attack was ever made. Prange's statement was evidently based solely on his postwar interview with Fuchida. Genda did, however, note that he had told Nagumo be-

fore the attack that another strike might indeed be necessary. No attacks on port facilities were ever mentioned, but had the Japanese mounted an additional strike and destroyed the oil tanks and facilities, the Pacific Fleet would have been forced to relocate to San Diego. Nagumo had achieved his objectives at virtually no cost, and he did not want to risk his own ships. Moreover, as chief of staff of the First Air Fleet Rear Admiral Kusaka Ryūnosuke pointed out in *Rengo Kantai*, the Pearl Harbor attack was of secondary importance to overall Japanese operations in the Pacific. He therefore strongly counseled a withdrawal that would ensure a great victory and preserve the fleet to fight another day. Nagumo agreed, and the fleet returned home.

Virtually all American authors have castigated the decision. Led by Gordon W. Prange in *At Dawn We Slept*, they point out that 4.5 million barrels of fuel oil, the submarine base, and the dockyard facilities at Pearl Harbor were left untouched by Japanese attacks, and that Nagumo's scout planes would almost certainly have found the American aircraft carriers (which were at sea during the attack on Pearl Harbor) as they returned to port. The destruction of all or even part of these forces, they argue, would have paralyzed the U.S. fleet and justified whatever additional losses the Japanese incurred. The staff of Combined Fleet commander in chief Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku, author of the Pearl Harbor attack plan, pushed Yamamoto to order Nagumo to strike again rather than withdraw. Yamamoto agreed, but he was unwilling to issue what would have been a humiliating countermand to his commander in the field.

Given the material and psychological advantage held by the Japanese on 7 December, the vulnerability of U.S. forces, and the importance of the American carriers and Pearl Harbor to the outcome of the war, Nagumo let a golden opportunity slip away. He, however, shares the blame for this with Yamamoto, who should have prioritized the fuel tanks and repair facilities and included provisions for subsequent strikes in the original attack plan. By late 1942, Yamamoto regretted these oversights for, as Gordon W. Prange concluded, the Japanese failure to launch more attacks represented their "greatest strategic error of the war."

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See also

Fuchida Mitsuo; Genda Minoru; Nagumo Chūichi; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Yamaguchi Tamon; Yamamoto Isoroku

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The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, 7 December 1941, which initiated U.S. participation in World War II. Prominent in this photograph are battleships *West Virginia* and *Tennessee*. (National Archives)

planes were destroyed on the ground. They were easy targets as Short, to avoid sabotage by the many Japanese on the island, had ordered the planes bunched together and ammunition stored separately. The attack achieved great success. Over some 140 minutes, the Japanese sank 4 of the 8 U.S. battleships in the Pacific and badly damaged the rest. Seven smaller ships were also sunk, and 4 were badly damaged. A total of 188 U.S. aircraft were destroyed, and 63 were badly damaged. The attack also killed 2,280 people and wounded 1,109. The attack cost the Japanese only 29 aircraft and fewer than 100 aircrew dead.

The chief drawbacks in the attack from the Japanese point of view were that the U.S. carriers were away from Pearl Harbor on maneuvers and could not be struck. The Japanese failed to hit the oil tank storage areas, without which the fleet could not remain at Pearl. Nor had they targeted the dockyard repair facilities. Nagumo had won a smashing victory but was unwilling to risk his ships. The task force recovered its aircraft and departed.

Yamamoto's preemptive strike was a brilliant tactical success. The Japanese could carry out their plans in the South Pacific without fear of significant U.S. naval intervention. However, the Pearl Harbor attack also solidly united American opinion behind a war that ultimately led to Japan's defeat.

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See also

Kimmel, Husband Edward; Nagumo Chūichi; Short, Walter Campbell; Torpedoes; Yamamoto Isoroku

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PEDESTAL, Operation (3–15 August 1942)

The last contested Royal Navy operation to resupply Malta. Maintaining the effectiveness of the island's aircraft and warship strike forces against the very long and vulnerable Axis supply routes to North Africa was crucial, especially as the Allies prepared for a new offensive in the Western Desert and the invasion of Vichy French North Africa. Three of five freighters and the tanker *Kentucky* all had been lost from the Harpoon convoy in June, and Malta faced a growing shortage of supplies, particularly of fuel. Therefore, despite the very real risks of heavy losses among the merchant vessels and their escorting warships, the Allies decided to mount another convoy operation.

Axis control of the North African coast ruled out a westbound convoy. An eastbound convoy would be vulnerable to attack from Sardinian and Sicilian bases for some 400 miles, requiring moonless nights, fast merchantmen, and a heavy escort for passage. The convoy itself numbered 14 ships, including the tanker *Ohio*, carrying 85,000 tons of supplies and 12,000 tons of fuel. Close escort to Malta was provided by the British navy in the form of Force X of 4 cruisers and 11 destroyers. Additional cover as far as the Skerki Channel would come from Force Z of 2 battleships, 3 carriers with 100 aircraft, 3 cruisers, and 13 destroyers. Two oilers and a tug, escorted by 4 corvettes, accompanied the armada. The carrier *Furious*, escorted by 8 destroyers, used this opportunity to fly off 40 Spitfires to reinforce Malta before returning to Gibraltar. Nine submarines were deployed to counter possible movements by Italian surface forces.

On 10 August 1942, Axis forces received immediate confirmation that the convoy had passed through the Straits of Gibraltar. Twenty submarines (18 Italian and 2 German) were deployed to intercept, and the convoy was shadowed from the air. At 1:15 P.M. on 11 August, German submarine *U-73* torpedoed and sank the carrier *Eagle* and escaped. Two hours later, the first Axis air attack in the form of 30 aircraft from Sardinia arrived. It caused no damage to the convoy at the cost of 2 aircraft shot down.

Major air attacks from Sardinia commenced the next morning. Between 9:00 A.M. and 4:30 P.M., 134 Italian and 77 German aircraft made 3 attacks in 5 waves, slightly damaging the carrier *Victorious* and slowing the merchantman *Decaulion*, forcing it to proceed independently. The Axis forces lost 12 aircraft. Aircraft flying from Sicily entered the fray at 6:35 P.M., when 95 aircraft attacked in 6 waves. They made a glancing hit on the battleship *Nelson*, torpedoed the

destroyer *Foresight*, and bombed the carrier *Indomitable*, putting the last 2 out of action.

Force Z turned back to Gibraltar at 6:55 P.M., 20 minutes earlier than planned, but its carrier losses reduced the convoy's air cover to 6 Beaufighters from Malta. At nightfall, as the convoy entered the Skerki Channel, Italian submarines struck, torpedoing the cruisers *Cairo* and *Nigeria* and the tanker *Ohio*. The *Ohio* continued, but the *Cairo* was scuttled and the *Nigeria* turned back to Gibraltar. A cruiser and 2 destroyers were detached from Force Z as reinforcements, but before they arrived a German night air attack by 37 aircraft caused the loss of 3 freighters (including the *Decaulion*) and seriously damaged a fourth.

Axis motor torpedo boats attacked in the early hours of 13 August, devastating the convoy. By dawn it was scattered and reduced to seven merchantmen (three damaged) escorted by two cruisers and 16 destroyers. An attempted interception by Italian surface ships was foiled when the submarine *Unbroken* torpedoed 2 of 4 cruisers off Cape Milazzo. Air attacks from Sicily recommenced at 9:15 A.M., sinking 2 merchantmen and further damaging the *Ohio*. By 11:00, however, Spitfire fighter cover from Malta effectively prevented further successful attacks. Four merchantmen (1 damaged) and the *Ohio*, barely afloat, entered Valetta's Grand Harbor, bringing 32,000 tons of supplies and 11,500 tons of fuel to the garrison, sufficient for 2 months of operations. Force X successfully returned to Gibraltar through the gauntlet of Axis air, submarine, and motor torpedo boat attacks, losing only the damaged *Foresight*.

Operation PEDESTAL was at best an Axis tactical victory. The British lost 8 freighters, a carrier, 2 cruisers, and a destroyer. A carrier, a cruiser, and a destroyer also suffered heavy damage. The Italians lost 2 submarines and several light craft, and 2 cruisers, 2 submarines, and other light craft were heavily damaged. Aircraft losses on all sides were modest, considering the numbers engaged. Most significantly, however, the British, despite heavy merchant ship losses, had succeeded in resupplying Malta, which had an immediate serious impact on the Axis supply lines to North Africa at a critical moment.

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See also

Malta

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Peenemünde Raid (17–18 August 1943)

Information about German operations to build the V-2, a single-stage rocket, at Peenemünde first reached the British in November 1939. In 1943, further information came to light, and reconnaissance missions were flown that produced photographic evidence of a rocket on a trailer. The Allies decided that Peenemünde had to be destroyed, and the task was assigned to the Royal Air Force (RAF) Bomber Command. The raid was launched on the night of 17–18 August 1943 and occurred only a few hours after the U.S. Army Air Forces had begun raids against Regensburg and Schweinfurt. There was also a diversionary raid against Berlin.

The British hoped as a result of the raid to delay German rocket research by many months. This would entail destroying the facility and killing as many people working there as possible, especially the scientists. Head of Bomber Command Air Chief Marshal Arthur Harris decided on a mix of precision and area bombing, and to achieve the maximum results he decided to employ the entire strength of Bomber Command. He would also use Pathfinder aircraft.

Peenemünde was 500 miles from the British bases, and the British would come under full German attack. The RAF strike on the night of 17–18 August used 596 bombers (324 Lancasters, 218 Halifaxes, and 54 Stirlings), of which 560 reached the target area. British losses were heavy, with 40 bombers shot down. The Germans lost 12 fighters.

The raid destroyed several facilities and killed between 120 and 178 people working in the facility, along with 600 inmates of a nearby forced-labor camp. Although it is impossible to judge this with any certainty, the raid probably retarded German V-2 production by up to six months. The first V-2s did not fall on London until 8 September 1944, three months after the Allied invasion of Normandy. The raid is also notable as the first time the Germans used their Schräge Musik cannon, upward-firing 20 mm guns that were mounted on Me-110 aircraft and that claimed six British bombers. Peenemünde would continue to take a heavy toll of Allied bombers the remainder of the war.

The U.S. Army Air Forces also raided Peenemünde later, and the Germans moved much of their development work elsewhere. At the end of the war, the Americans secured most of the German rocket scientists as well as Peenemünde itself, from which they gathered V-2s and related equipment, filling 300 railroad cars before destroying the site.

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See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Braun, Wernher von; Harris, Sir Arthur Travers; Hitler, Adolf; Jet and Rocket Aircraft; Schweinfurt and Regensburg Raids; Strategic Bombing; V-2 Rocket



RAF reconnaissance photograph of the German research station at Peenemünde where V-2 rocket tests took place. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

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Peiper, Joachim (1915–1976)

German Waffen-Schutzstaffel (Waffen-SS) officer. Born in Berlin on 30 January 1915, Joachim Peiper came from a military family. He was well educated and was fluent in both



German SS Colonel Jochen Peiper, who led the combat group that killed 83 unarmed US war prisoners near Malmédy, Belgium, on 17 December 1944. (Corbis)

English and French. Peiper joined first the Hitler Youth, then the SS. Commissioned in the SS in 1936, he served on Heinrich Himmler's personal staff but sought a combat command. He was a company commander in the elite SS Liebestandarte Adolf Hitler (LAH) in the invasion of the France and the Low Countries in May 1940 and led an abortive effort to seize bridges over the Meuse. He served in the LAH in the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. There his unit was noted for its military efficiency and for its extreme brutality; it was involved in massacring the inhabitants of several villages. Transferred to Italy, in September 1943 Peiper's troops destroyed the town of Boves and murdered its inhabitants.

After the LAH transferred to France, Peiper studied techniques for night movements that were later used effectively in the Ardennes Offensive (the Battle of the Bulge) in December 1944. In that offensive, SS-Obersturmbannführer Peiper headed Kampfgruppe (battle group) Peiper, which was the lead element for the 1st SS Panzer Division, itself the weighted thrust (*Schwerpunkt*) for the entire Sixth Panzer Army.

Peiper's mission was to race ahead of the main body of the division, bypass all determined resistance, and capture the bridges across the Meuse River at the small Belgian village of Huy. This would allow following forces to cross this major water obstacle en route to their planned envelopment of the Allied armies to the north.

Despite its experience and the initial disordered nature of the U.S. defenses, Kampfgruppe Peiper never achieved its objective, being thwarted in Huy on 20 December by a determined defense by U.S. Army combat engineers. After several determined efforts to break through failed, on 23 December Peiper and his 800 remaining men abandoned their equipment and retreated on foot under cover of darkness. Before then, Peiper's unit had already committed one of the most infamous massacres of the war, at Malmédy.

On 17 December, Peiper's lead elements had overrun a U.S. unit, Battery B of the 285th Field Artillery Observation Battalion. The lead element (with Peiper present) rapidly disarmed the hapless Americans and passed them along to following forces. The soldiers of these trailing units within Peiper's Kampfgruppe herded the roughly 150 prisoners into a field and then opened fire on them with machine guns and small arms, killing 83 and wounding others.

For this atrocity at Malmédy, Peiper and 69 others were tried before a U.S. military court at Dachau in the spring of 1946. On 16 July 1946, the tribunal condemned Peiper and 43 others to death, although the sentences were subsequently reduced to life in prison. Peiper was later released. On 14 July 1976, Peiper's house in the small village of Traves, France, burned in mysterious circumstances, reputedly firebombed. Although Peiper's body was never recovered, he was declared dead.

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See also

Ardennes Offensive; Himmler, Heinrich; Malmédy Massacre; Waffen-SS

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Peleliu, Battle of (15 September–27 November 1944)

Pacific island battle, one of the bloodiest of the war. Peleliu had been taken by Japan from Germany during World War I. Located about 2,400 miles south of Tokyo and having a land area of only about 7 square miles, Peleliu island was largely blanketed by a tropical forest. Before General Douglas



Marine Private First Class Douglas Lighthheart (*right*) cradles his 30-caliber machine gun in his lap, while he and his buddy, Private First Class Gerald Churchby, take time out for a cigarette, during mopping up Japanese forces on Peleliu, 14 July 1944. (National Archives)

MacArthur's forces could retake the Philippines, he would have to neutralize the Palau Islands, and Peleliu specifically, to protect his right flank. Admiral Chester Nimitz also believed that Peleliu was needed as a staging area for the invasion of Leyte. Securing the island would ensure domination of all the Palaus and neutralize Japanese submarine facilities.

Beginning on 12 September 1944, the U.S. Navy began a three-day naval and air bombardment. The naval fire-support group included 5 battleships, 5 heavy and 3 light cruisers, and 14 destroyers. Between 7 and 11 escort carriers provided combat air and antisubmarine patrol. Beginning at 8:32 A.M. on 15 September, the ground force went ashore. It consisted of the 1st, 5th, and 7th Regimental Combat Teams of Major General William H. Rupertus's 1st Marine Division. The assault was made in amphibious tractors (amphtracs and landing vehicles, tracked [LVTs]) across 600–800 yards of coral reef on the southwest corner of the island. Rupertus predicted victory in 4 days.

Colonel Nakagawa Kunio, commanding some 5,000 Japanese troops, had adopted new tactics. The Japanese did not defend at the beaches, but they were well dug in inland to make the attackers pay the highest possible price. The Japanese only had 13–15 light tanks. On the first afternoon, these were destroyed when they tried to break through the attackers's line. The Marine objective on the first day was to secure the high ground, soon known as "Bloody Nose Ridge," but that effort was only partly successful. On 16 September, the advance resumed. On 17 September, led by 1st Regimental Combat Team commander Colonel Lewis B. "Chesty" Puller, the Marines attacked the ridges and destroyed many Japanese strong points.

On 22 September, the Marines were reinforced by the U.S. Army 321st Regimental Combat Team of the U.S. Army's 81st Division, which was the floating reserve. The next day, the Americans secured the airstrip, but the Japanese then retreated to prepared positions in caves on Umurbrogol

Ridge. On 26 September, the 5th Marines seized Radar Hill, the easternmost and highest terrain on the island and site of a Japanese radar installation. By the end of September, the Japanese soldiers were compressed into a pocket only 90 yards long and 400 yards wide. In mid-October, the U.S. Army 81st Infantry Division replaced the Marines on Peleliu, but the island was not declared secure until 27 November, although some Japanese did not surrender until February 1945.

Even with total U.S. air and naval superiority, lavish naval gunfire and air support, and a 4:1 ground manpower superiority, American forces paid a heavy price for the seizure of Peleliu. U.S. casualties totaled some 9,615, with 1,656 of them killed in action. Of the 6,000 Japanese defenders, only 33 surrendered or were captured. The same Japanese tactics were replicated, more spectacularly, in their defense of Iwo Jima. The seizure of Peleliu, while costly, did neutralize some 25,000 Japanese troops on Babelthuap, the largest island of the Palaus.

James Erik Vik

See also

Iwo Jima, Battle for; MacArthur, Douglas; Nimitz, Chester William

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Peng Dehuai (P'eng Te-huai) (1898–1974)

Chinese Communist general, later marshal. Born a peasant in Xiangtan (Hsinangt'an) in the southern province of Hunan on 24 October 1898, Peng Dehuai (P'eng Te-huai) endured poverty and hardship before enlisting in a warlord army in 1916. Military talent and an expanding social conscience inclined him first toward the Guomindang (GMD [Kuomintang, KMT], Nationalist) military, but ultimately he joined the Communist Party in 1928. Peng fought in early battles against GMD forces and survived the Long March (1934–1935).

In 1937, Peng was appointed second in command of the new Eighth Route Army, which although ostensibly under GMD control within the “United Front” was actually under

Communist General Zhu De (Chu Teh). More conventional than Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), Peng favored professional soldiers over guerrillas or commissars, as well as larger, more aggressive assaults against the Japanese. Initially, he also favored more genuine cooperation with the GMD against their common foe.

In August 1940, Zhu ordered Peng to attack the Japanese in Shanxi (Shansi) and Hebei (Juprh) Provinces southwest of Beijing (Peking). In the largest Chinese offensive of the war, Peng amassed some 104 regiments, comprising 200,000 regulars and 200,000 guerrillas, who successfully destroyed blockhouses and rail lines. In October, strong Japanese counterattacks drove Peng westward into mountain retreats. Although successful in its initial phase and in countering claims that Communists were avoiding the Japanese, this “100 Regiments Campaign” cost at least 22,000 Chinese lives, compared with about 5,000 Japanese killed (although Peng put Japanese losses at 30,000). In retaliation, the invaders accelerated their “burn all, kill all, destroy all” campaign in north China, killing tens of thousands more Chinese. By late 1941, Peng had returned to Yan'an (Yenan), Shaanxi (Shensi) Province. He spent more time on political work than military campaigning for the rest of the war, gravitating more toward Mao's ideas on politics and conservation of forces. Peng mounted no more offensives against the Japanese.

Peng led the Northwest Field Army during the subsequent Civil War and led all Chinese forces in the 1950–1953 Korean War. Promoted to army marshal and minister of defense in 1955, Peng was purged in 1959 for criticizing Mao's Great Leap Forward program. During the Cultural Revolution, he was vilified, jailed, interrogated, and tortured. He died, probably from tuberculosis or thrombosis, in a military prison outside of Beijing on 29 November 1974.

Mark F. Wilkinson

See also

China, Civil War in; China, Role in War; Mao Zedong; Nie Rongzhen; Sino-Japanese War; Zhu De

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P'eng Te-huai

See Peng Dehuai.



Aerial view of the Pentagon, Washington, D.C., ca. 1944. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Pentagon

U.S. military headquarters located just outside Washington, D.C., in Arlington, Virginia. Constructed between 11 September 1941 and 15 January 1943 at an approximate cost of \$83 million, the massive five-sided office building consolidated the 17 separate buildings of the War Department under one roof.

The U.S. Army grew from a force of approximately 190,000 men in the fall of 1939 to more than 1.4 million by the summer of 1941. Responding to international crisis and the outbreak of war in Europe, the War Department was growing exponentially to keep up with increasing responsibilities. There would be a critical need for more space for war planning if the U.S. did indeed enter the war.

Brigadier General Brehon Burke Somervell was chief of construction for the War Department in 1941. He proposed that a single building should house the entire War Department, uniting all the military decision-makers under one roof. Somervell's personal determination, his access to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and his highly competent engineers

and architects, who developed the original Pentagon plans in one harried weekend, all contributed to the ultimate success of the project that some referred to as "Somervell's folly."

When Somervell took his plan to Congress for the necessary appropriations, many objected to the estimated cost of \$35 million. Others objected to locating the building outside of Washington, D.C., and some believed the building would be useless once the current war crisis passed. Even Roosevelt thought the Pentagon would only temporarily house the War Department and would later be used mainly as a storage facility. Some in Congress observed that construction of such a massive building would use too many scarce materials, especially steel. Engineers replaced steel frames with reinforced concrete made from sand and gravel dredged from the bottom of the nearby Potomac River. They saved steel by constructing ramps instead of elevators from level to level within the building. Constant design changes and use of substitute materials such as fiber and wood saved large quantities of other metals during construction.

Construction got off to a slow start but speeded up considerably after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor created a

new urgency to occupy the building. Somervell brought in Colonel Leslie R. Groves, who would later head the MANHATTAN Project, to oversee construction. Two of the five building sections were completed by the following spring, and the first War Department employees, 300 Ordnance Department workers, moved into the first section at the end of April 1942.

In 1989, the Pentagon was placed on the National Register of Historic Places. Renovation and restoration, partly because of age and partly because of the terrorist attack of 11 September 2001, continues on the 60-year old building, still a symbol of U.S. military power.

Molly M. Wood

See also

Groves, Leslie Richard; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Somervell, Brehon Burke; United States, Home Front

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Percival, Arthur Ernest (1887–1966)

British army general who commanded in Malaya in 1941 and 1942. Born at Aspenden, Herts, on 26 December 1887, Arthur Percival was educated at Rugby School. He was in business in London from 1907 to 1914 and joined the British army as a private at the beginning of World War I, progressing through the ranks in the course of his career to general. He fought in France in 1915, was wounded in 1916, and won two Distinguished Service Orders and the French Croix de Guerre. He was also promoted to captain.

After the war, Percival served in north Russia and in Ireland (1920–1922), where he was mentioned in dispatches twice and received an Order of the British Empire award. He attended Staff College at Camberley and served in Nigeria. He also attended the Imperial Defence College course in 1935. Percival won promotion to lieutenant colonel in 1932 and to colonel in 1936. Percival then served two years (1936–1938) in Malaya as a staff officer. He returned to Britain to take charge of Aldershot in 1938 and 1939. Promoted to brigadier general in 1939, Percival assumed command of the 43rd Division of the British Expeditionary Force in France. Following the Dunkerque evacuation (May–June 1940), he had charge of the 44th Division in Britain.

Largely because of his previous service there, Lieutenant General Percival took command of British forces in Malaya in July 1941. British defenses in the area depended on controlling the sea and air. His defenses inadequate, Percival requested six additional divisions and extra air support. Although he only received two and a half poorly trained divi-

sions, Percival did little to prepare for an invasion, especially in training his men.

Japanese forces commanded by Yamashita Tomoyuki invaded Malaya in early December 1941, and on 27 January 1942 Percival ordered a general withdrawal from the Malay Peninsula to Singapore Island. Percival rejected suggestions that the British construct defensive positions on the northern side of the island because he feared this would adversely affect the morale of his troops and civilians. The Japanese invaded Singapore proper in early February 1942 and drove back the unprepared British forces. British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill demanded Percival hold the island to the last, but the water supply was dangerously low and the defenses inadequate. Although British troops outnumbered the Japanese forces, who were also racked by disease, on 15 February 1942, Percival was bluffed into surrendering, in large part to spare civilian casualties. In Britain's most humiliating defeat of the war—some would argue in its history—130,000 British, Australian, Indian, Malay, and local troops became prisoners of the Japanese.

Percival spent the next four years as a prisoner of war. On the defeat of Japan, he was released from captivity in Malaya and brought to Tokyo to witness the formal Japanese surrender on board the battleship *Missouri* on 2 September 1945. Percival retired from the army in 1946. He published *The War in Malaya* in 1949. He died in London on 31 January 1966, a broken man.

Michael G. Uranko Jr. and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Dunkerque, Evacuation of; Malaya Campaign; Medals and Decorations; Singapore, Battle of; Yamashita Tomoyuki

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Pétain, Henri Philippe (1856–1951)

French army general and chief of state of the Vichy government of France during the German occupation. Born on 24 April 1856 in Cauchy-à-la-Tour, Henri Pétain graduated from Saint Cyr in 1878 and was commissioned in the army. He served as an officer in a line regiment and then on the staff at the École de la Guerre. His career was less than distinguished, and Colonel Pétain was nearing retirement age at the beginning of World War I.



Vichy chief of state Henri Philippe Pétain. (Library of Congress)

One of the few experts in the French army in defensive warfare, Pétain then advanced quickly in rank. His leadership in the 1916 Battle of Verdun won him a corps command and hero status in France. In May 1917, he was elevated to command of the French army. Named a marshal of France in 1918, Pétain remained in charge of the army until his retirement in 1931. He was briefly minister of war in 1934.

In 1939 and 1940, Pétain was French ambassador to Spain. In the desperate circumstances of the Battle of France in May–June 1940, Pétain was recalled to serve as vice premier to Paul Reynaud to lend his personal popularity to the war effort. He ended up moving the government in another direction. Believing the situation was hopeless, he took over as the last premier of the Third Republic, determined to end the fighting on the best terms possible.

On the conclusion of an armistice with the Germans, Pétain became chief of state of the unoccupied part of the country with its capital at Vichy. Pétain, who at first enjoyed virtually unanimous French support, established a frankly authoritarian government that accepted the principle of collaboration with the Germans. In October 1940, Pétain met with Adolf Hitler at Montoire-sur-Loire. Pétain consistently made concessions to Germany in the form of cooperation, workers, and matériel to protect France and its colonies. This included lim-

ited cooperation with the Germans in the deportation of Jews and hunting down anti-Nazi operatives in unoccupied France.

Following the Allied invasion of North Africa in Operation TORCH, German forces occupied the remainder of France, and Pétain's government lost what little authority it had once enjoyed. He continued to urge his countrymen to follow a neutral course, even insisting that they not aid the Allies following the Normandy Invasion of June 1944.

Removed to Germany in August 1944, Pétain voluntarily returned to France in April 1945 to defend his policies. He claimed he had been trying to dupe the Germans and buy time for France to recover. Put on trial for treason, Pétain was convicted in August and sentenced to death. Head of the Provisional Government General Charles de Gaulle commuted the sentence to life imprisonment because of Pétain's contributions in World War I and the fact that Vichy had at least kept alive some French independence. Pétain died a prisoner on the Isle d'Yeu on 23 July 1951. There have been several attempts by French rightists to remove his remains from that place and rebury them at Verdun.

Harold Wise

See also

Collaboration; Darlan, Jean Louis Xavier François; de Gaulle, Charles; France, Role in War; France, Vichy; Laval, Pierre; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Reynaud, Paul; TORCH, Operation

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Philippine Sea, Battle of the (19–21 June 1944)

Fought between the Japanese and U.S. navies and the largest aircraft carrier engagement in history. The Battle of the Philippine Sea virtually destroyed what remained of the Japanese naval aviation capability. In June 1944, U.S. forces launched Operation FORAGER to capture the Mariana Islands for use as bases for Boeing B-29 strategic bombing raids on Japan. On 15 June, U.S. Marines invaded Saipan, northernmost of the principal Marianas. Admiral Raymond A. Spruance had overall command. His Fifth Fleet and its main strike force, Vice Admiral Marc A. Mitscher's Task Force 58, provided support and protection. Task Force 58's assets included 7 fleet carriers, 8 light carriers, 7 battleships, 8 heavy cruisers, 13 light cruisers, 69 destroyers, and 956 aircraft.

Also on 15 June, the Japanese First Mobile Fleet under Vice Admiral Ozawa Jisaburo emerged from the Philippines



A Japanese heavy cruiser under attack by U.S. Navy carrier-based aircraft. The Japanese ship was sunk. (Corbis)

through the San Bernardino Strait and headed northeast in Operation A-gō, which was intended to draw the U.S. fleet into a decisive battle that would reverse the course of the war in the Central Pacific. Assembled over the preceding month, Ozawa's force comprised 90 percent of Japan's surface naval strength and consisted of 5 fleet carriers, 4 light carriers, 5 battleships, 11 heavy cruisers, 2 light cruisers, 28 destroyers, and 473 aircraft. Ozawa believed his inferior aircraft numbers would be offset by the greater range of his planes and by the presence of 90 to 100 land-based aircraft on the islands of Guam, Yap, and Rota, with which he planned to attack the U.S. carriers to initiate the battle. As Ozawa's own carriers came into range, his planes would launch a second strike, refuel and rearm on the islands, and then attack the Americans a third time while returning to the Japanese fleet.

The U.S. submarine *Flying Fish* reported the Japanese sortie from the Philippines. Leaving his older battleships and

several cruisers and destroyers to protect the Saipan beach-head, Spruance joined Mitscher's Task Force 58 on 18 June to search for Ozawa. Misled by the commander of the Japanese land planes and unaware that most of them had been destroyed by attacks from Mitscher's undamaged carriers, Ozawa launched four attack waves on the morning of 19 June, only to lose 346 planes in what the victors called the "Great Marianas Turkey Shoot." That same day, the U.S. submarine *Albacore* sank the *Taiho*, Japan's newest and largest carrier and Ozawa's flagship; another submarine, the *Cavalla*, sank the Japanese fleet carrier *Shokaku*.

Spruance still did not know Ozawa's precise location, and he rejected Mitscher's urging that he move offensively toward the west for fear that the Japanese might flank him and get between him and the Saipan landing sites. Aerial night searches were deemed impractical because aircrews were exhausted and the moon was new. Although Mitscher

dispatched extensive search missions through the morning and early afternoon of 20 June, not until 4:00 P.M. were Ozawa's ships finally sighted, at the extreme range of the U.S. aircraft. Despite his realization that his planes would return to their carriers in darkness and that many of them would probably exhaust their fuel beforehand, Mitscher ordered a massive strike. It found Ozawa's ships shortly before dark and sank another fleet carrier, the *Hiyo*, and 2 oilers; severely damaged 3 other carriers, a battleship, a heavy cruiser, and a destroyer; and eliminated all but 35 of the remaining Japanese aircraft.

The return flight of the U.S. aircraft became one of the most dramatic episodes of the Pacific war. Only 20 of the 216 aircraft sent out earlier had been lost in action, but 80 were lost in ditchings or crash landings. Ignoring the risk of Japanese submarines, Mitscher ordered his carriers to turn on all their lights to guide his fliers, and efficient search-and-rescue work recovered all but 49 airmen. Spruance pursued the retreating Japanese from midnight to the early evening of 21 June, but he was slowed by his destroyers' need to conserve fuel, whereas Ozawa accelerated the withdrawal begun after his losses on 19 June.

Although it effectively destroyed Japanese naval air power, the Battle of the Philippine Sea quickly became controversial; members of Mitscher's staff condemned Spruance for not steaming farther westward on the night of 18–19 June to give Mitscher a more favorable launch position. Mitscher, for his part, was criticized for not sending out night searches on 19–20 June that might have found Ozawa sooner and allowed the Americans more daylight for their air attack on the Japanese fleet, perhaps even creating conditions for a surface engagement. Such a scenario, however, might have resulted in much greater losses for the U.S. side with no more strategic benefits than were actually gained.

John A. Hutcheson Jr.

See also

Aircraft Carriers; Aviation, Naval; Central Pacific Campaign; Kurita Takeo; Lee, Willis Augustus "Ching"; Mariana Islands, Naval Campaign; Mitscher, Marc Andrew; Montgomery, Alfred Eugene; Ozawa Jisaburo; Spruance, Raymond Ames; Turner, Richmond Kelly

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Philippines, Japanese Capture of (8 December 1941–9 June 1942)

At the beginning of the Pacific war, Japanese leaders sought to capture the Philippine Islands to control the islands' resources and to protect the Japanese supply route to the Netherlands East Indies (Indonesia). In early December 1941, U.S. forces in the Philippines numbered 19,116 U.S. regulars, the excellent 12,000-man Philippine Scouts, a 3,000-man Philippine Constabulary, and 107,000 poorly trained and poorly equipped recently drafted Philippine army troops.

Much of Admiral Thomas C. Hart's U.S. Asiatic Fleet, already weak, had been withdrawn from the Philippines. Only 4 destroyers, 28 submarines, small vessels, and some torpedo boats remained. U.S. air assets and air warning capability in the islands were woefully inadequate. The Far East Air Force in the islands numbered about 277 aircraft, about half of which were obsolete. There were 35 B-17s and more



Japanese troops celebrate the capture of Bataan, Philippine Islands, 1942. (Captured Japanese photograph; U.S. Army; Library of Congress)

than 100 modern P-40 fighters. U.S. commander in the Philippines General Douglas MacArthur hoped to use his limited air and naval assets to savage any Japanese seaborne attack and was confident that he could defeat any actual landing force, should the Japanese get ashore.

The original U.S. plan for the defense of the Philippines was based on the premise that troops there could hold out against the Japanese until the Pacific Fleet could force its way across the ocean to their relief. U.S. ground troops were to withdraw into the Bataan Peninsula and fortified island of Corregidor until the fleet could arrive. The plan called for prepositioned depots on the Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor sufficient for 43,000 men on Bataan and 7,000 on Corregidor for 180 days.

MacArthur, convinced that he could defeat any Japanese invasion, scrapped this plan in favor of a forward defense, but resources scattered in this effort were insufficient to defend the entire islands. Most significant was Washington's realization that no relief expedition could be sent out immediately after the start of hostilities. The result was a great deal of confusion.

When word was received in the Philippines of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, MacArthur's air force commander, Major General Lewis H. Brereton, sought permission for a strike on Formosa. Brereton was refused permission to see MacArthur, but he received a message from MacArthur's chief of staff, Brigadier General Richard Sutherland, that he was to wait for an overt act by the Japanese. Brereton suggested that the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was such an act. Although MacArthur eventually granted his permission for a strike on Formosa, it came too late. At 12:30 P.M. on 8 December 1941, Japanese aircraft from Formosa struck Clark and Iba Airfields. Without an effective air warning system in the Philippines, many U.S. aircraft, including about half of the B-17s and a third of the fighters, were destroyed, most of them on the ground, at a cost of only 7 Japanese aircraft. Unlike the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, there never was an investigation into the attacks on Clark and Iba Airfields, despite a loss of life comparable to that at Pearl Harbor.

Tokyo assigned the task of conquering the Philippines to Lieutenant General Homma Masaharu's Fourteenth Army based on Formosa. Many of Homma's 43,100 men had fought in China, and Tokyo was optimistic that victory in the Philippines would be quick. The timetable for conquest of the islands was only 50 days. MacArthur's prewar goal, to be reached by April 1942, was 200,000 men under arms, but on 15 December 1941, he had some 120,000 Philippine army troops in *all* the Philippines and roughly 31,000 U.S. troops and Philippine Scouts. MacArthur had claimed that he could defend the entire Philippines against Japanese invasion. But most of the regulars were kept back near Manila, with the result that likely landing sites along the extensive coastline

were covered only by poorly trained Filipino troops. This meant that the Japanese would encounter little resistance in getting ashore.

On 8 December 1941, the first Japanese troops landed on Bataan Island. On 10 December, Japanese forces invaded Aparri and Viecan on northern Luzon. Two days later, they came ashore at Legaspi in southern Luzon. The bulk of Homma's forces landed at Lingayen Gulf beginning on 22 December. Homma commanded in the Philippines a force, at peak strength, of some 65,000 men.

With the Japanese troops ashore and moving on Manila, on 23 December MacArthur reverted to the original Bataan defense plan, without, however, adequate preparation for its implementation, especially in prepositioning of supplies and food. MacArthur directed his North Luzon Force field commander, Major General Jonathan Wainwright, to stage a fighting withdrawal along five preplanned defensive lines into the Bataan Peninsula. On 26 December, Manila was declared an open city. Japanese forces entered it on 2 January 1942.

MacArthur's troops executed an effective withdrawal and were established on the Bataan Peninsula by 6 January. Japanese strength on Bataan was only about 30 percent of their own (some 23,200 Japanese to 80,000 defenders). The Bataan Peninsula is only about 20 by 25 miles in size. MacArthur was handicapped by having to feed more than 110,000 people there and on Corregidor, including civilians, rather than the 43,000 in the original plan. Supplies were totally inadequate, many dumps having been lost in the hasty withdrawal, so that the defenders in the peninsula immediately went on half rations. Moreover, the peninsula was extremely malarial. By late March, barely a quarter of the defenders were able to fight.

Washington decided against attempting to relieve the position. Rather than yield a tremendous propaganda advantage to the Japanese with the capture of the U.S. commander in the Far East, on 22 February President Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered MacArthur to Australia. He departed Corregidor on 11 March. Derisively referred to by many of the defenders as "Dugout Doug" for his failure to leave Malinta Tunnel on Corregidor (he visited Bataan but once), MacArthur later received the Medal of Honor. Wainwright assumed the Philippines command.

By early April, conditions in the Bataan Peninsula for the defenders were desperate, prompting the commander on Bataan, Major General Edward P. King, to surrender the Filipino and American forces there against direct orders from Wainwright. After a major Japanese offensive that shattered his army—and facing widespread starvation, disease, and no hope for victory—King surrendered his 70,000 men on 9 April.

The Japanese forced the weakened survivors of Bataan to march 55 to 60 miles to prisoner-of-war camps. Most of the

prisoners were sick and hungry, and there was little food. In fairness to the Japanese, they were unprepared for the large influx of prisoners, but it is also true that they behaved with a shocking disregard of the norms of warfare and even denied the prisoners water. Up to 650 Americans and 5,000–10,000 Filipinos died in the Bataan Death March to Camp O'Donnell. Another 1,600 Americans and 16,000 Filipino prisoners died in the camp in the first 6 to 7 weeks of their imprisonment.

The fight then shifted to Corregidor with its fewer than 15,000 defenders. Only 2 miles separate the island from the Bataan Peninsula, enabling the Japanese to bombard it with artillery and attack it from the air. On the night of 5–6 May, the Japanese staged a successful amphibious assault accompanied by tanks. On 6 May, Wainwright, his resources exhausted and with less than 3 days of water remaining, ordered all U.S. forces throughout the Philippines to surrender to avoid unnecessary casualties. Formal resistance ended on 9 June.

The Japanese conquest of the Philippines was a major blow to American morale and assisted the Japanese in their effort to dominate the southwest Pacific and control that region's resources. What was remarkable about the Philippine Campaign was not its conclusion but the skill and determination of the defenders, who held out for six months. General Homma was called home to Japan in disgrace. Perhaps the greatest surprise was the loyalty of the Filipinos to the United States. The Japanese expected the Filipinos to rally to them, leaving the Americans to fight alone. But after its first hasty retreats, the poorly trained and inadequately equipped Philippine army settled down and fought well. That army and the vast majority of the Filipino people remained loyal to the United States during the campaign and the long Japanese occupation that followed.

James T. Carroll and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Bataan, Battle of; Bataan Death March; Brereton, Lewis Hyde; Clark Field, Japanese Raid on; Corregidor, Battle of; Hart, Thomas Charles; Iba Field, Attack on; King, Edward Postell, Jr.; MacArthur, Douglas; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Wainwright, Jonathan Mayhew

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Philippines, Role in War

The Philippines are strategically located between Formosa (Taiwan) and the Netherlands East Indies. In 1941, the nearly 7,100 islands that comprise the Philippines had a population of some 17 million people of many different languages. There were also many religions, although Catholicism predominated. The United States had acquired the Philippine Islands as a consequence of the 1898 Spanish-American War.

The United States decided to grant independence to the Philippines in 1946 after an interim period, and under the Tydings-McDuffie Independence Act of 1934, the government of the islands was changed in 1935. In March 1935, President Franklin D. Roosevelt approved a new constitution for the islands, which the Filipinos accepted in May. In September, Manuel Quezon was elected president, and in November, when he was inaugurated, the Commonwealth of the Philippines was formally established. Quezon was reelected president in November 1941.

Quezon wished to strengthen the defenses of the Philippines against a possible attack by Japan. In 1935, he invited General Douglas MacArthur to the islands as his military adviser, and the following year, Quezon appointed MacArthur field marshal of the Commonwealth forces. Although U.S. war plans called for defense of the Philippines, the U.S. Congress had done little to provide funding. In 1941, the Philippine army numbered only about 90,000 men, four-fifths of them Filipinos and the rest U.S. troops. The Philippine navy consisted of 2 torpedo boats, and the air force had 40 aircraft. With war threatening, in July 1941 these forces were integrated into the new U.S. Army Forces in the Far East, commanded by Lieutenant General MacArthur. The principal ground element of this force was Major General Jonathan Wainwright's Philippine Division, consisting of 8,000 Philippine Scouts commanded by U.S. officers, a U.S. infantry regiment of 2,000 men, and an artillery regiment. In August 1941, MacArthur began to mobilize and train the Philippine army's reserve forces of 10 lightly armed infantry divisions.

The Japanese attacked the Philippine Islands, beginning with air raids on Clark and Iba Airfields, on 8 December 1941. Japanese forces then landed and drove on Manila, forcing MacArthur to withdraw into the Bataan Peninsula. U.S. and Filipino forces fought surprisingly well and delayed the Japanese timetable. Cut off from the outside and starved of resources, even food, the Americans were forced to surrender on 9 April 1942. The fortified island of Corregidor fell on 6 May. President Roosevelt had already ordered MacArthur to Australia. President Quezon established a government-in-exile in Washington.



Artillerymen of Battery C, 90th Artillery, lay down a barrage on Japanese positions in Balete Pass, Luzon, Philippine Islands, 19 April 1945. (National Archives)

Japanese claims of Asian solidarity rang hollow with their practice of treating the Filipinos with contempt and brutality. The Japanese were surprised to discover that most Filipinos remained loyal to the United States. As early as 1943, Tokyo announced its plans to grant independence to the Philippines. Japanese leaders hoped that this would diminish anti-Japanese sentiment and allow some Japanese troops to be shifted elsewhere, but the Japanese also insisted that any grant of independence be accompanied by a declaration of war by the Philippines against the United States. Under Japanese pressure, in September 1944 the puppet Philippine government headed by Jose Laurel, former minister of the interior, declared war on the United States.

As elsewhere, there were collaborationist elements, but resistance activities also occurred. Resistance on the big island of Luzon was led by the Filipinos, Americans, and Hukbalahap (“Huks,” People’s Anti-Japanese Army) guerrillas. Although they did not seriously disrupt the Japanese occupation, they proved an irritant to the Japanese, provided intelligence information, and greatly assisted in the reconquest of the islands by U.S. troops.

Following U.S. landings in the Philippines in October 1944, the Philippine government was reestablished in the islands at

Tacloban, Leyte, on 23 October. U.S. forces then invaded Luzon, and following two weeks of heavy fighting that devastated the city, retook Manila in February. Laurel and some other collaborators fled to Japan, where they eventually surrendered to U.S. authorities. On 5 July 1945, MacArthur announced that the Philippines had been liberated. The Philippine Congress met on 9 June for the first time since 1941, and in September it ratified the United Nations charter.

Following the liberation, MacArthur, much to the surprise of many, adopted a lenient attitude toward the collaborators and personally pardoned Manuel Roxas, a prominent collaborator who won election to the presidency in 1946. Sporadic violence continued in the Philippines after the war, fed by serious economic problems and separatism. Some guerrilla warfare occurred, led by the Huks. Independence came to the islands on schedule on 4 July 1946. The Philippines then concluded free trade agreements with the United States, secured significant funding for reconstruction, and granted long-term leases on military and naval bases to the United States.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Bataan, Battle of; Bataan Death March; Corregidor, Battle of; Iba Field, Attack on; MacArthur, Douglas; Manila, Battle for; Philippines, Japanese Capture of; Philippines, U.S. Recapture of; Quezon, Manuel Luis; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Wainwright, Jonathan Mayhew

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Philippines, U.S. Recapture of (20 October 1944–15 August 1945)

In July 1944, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt met at Pearl Harbor with his two Pacific Theater commanders, General Douglas MacArthur and Admiral Chester W. Nimitz. MacArthur insisted that the next U.S. move in the Pacific be the liberation of the Philippine Islands. The islands were, he



General Douglas MacArthur (center) wades ashore following the initial landing at Leyte, Philippine Islands, October 1944. (National Archives)

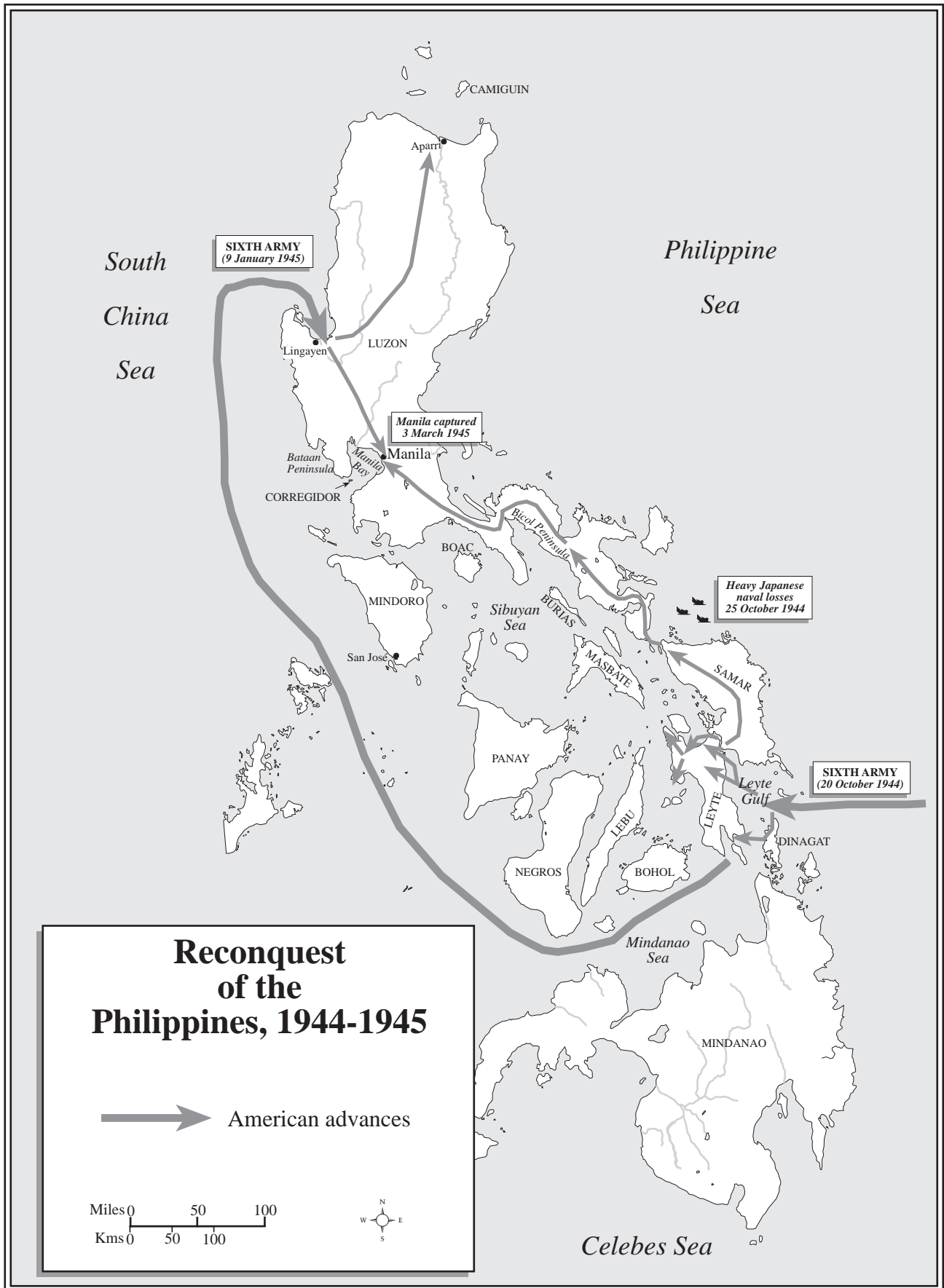
argued, U.S. territory, and he had vowed, "I shall return." Nimitz, supported by chief of naval operations Admiral Ernest P. King, argued in favor of an assault farther north, on Formosa. The former made political sense, the latter military sense. Either move would, however, have the same advantage of cutting off the Japanese home islands from the oil of the Netherlands East Indies (Indonesia). Roosevelt decided to approve two operations: the first would be against the Philippines; it would shift the second—Nimitz's invasion—farther north, to Okinawa.

Recapture of the Philippines would allow the United States to cut Japanese access to oil from the Netherlands East Indies. It also would provide vital strategic bases for further Allied operations against Japanese forces to the north. The plan as approved called for MacArthur's forces to attack Mindanao, and those under Nimitz struck Yap. The two would then combine for an assault on Leyte. MacArthur's forces would next invade the big Philippine island of Luzon, after which Nimitz's forces would move against Iwo Jima and Okinawa. Unfortunately, there was no unity of command for the U.S.

invasion of Leyte. Japanese commanders recognized the vital importance of the Philippines, and they were prepared to commit the bulk of their remaining naval assets to thwart a U.S. effort to recapture the islands. The U.S. invasion of Leyte in fact prompted the Battle of Leyte Gulf (23–26 October 1944), the largest naval battle in history.

The landings on Leyte began on 20 October; 132,000 men of Lieutenant General Walter Krueger's Sixth Army put ashore the first day. MacArthur landed with the third wave, accompanied by members of the Philippine government and press. Capable Japanese General Yamashita Tomoyuki, the conqueror of Malaya, had overall command of the defenders. Although some 350,000 Japanese army troops garrisoned the Philippine islands, only the 16th Division of 16,000 men was on Leyte. The invaders had an accurate picture of Japanese strength and dispositions, thanks to Filipino guerrillas. Filipino support was a morale-booster for U.S. forces.

The Japanese did not fight for the beaches. They chose instead to contest the advance inland and away from naval gunfire. The U.S. drive was slowed by heavy rains, skillful



Japanese delaying actions, and rugged terrain. Yamashita also reinforced Leyte with some 45,000 additional troops sent from Luzon and the Visayas. U.S. aircraft and ships gradually severed this supply line, and the U.S. 77th Infantry Division also went ashore on the west coast of Leyte. Organized Japanese resistance ended on 25 December. The United States had suffered 15,584 casualties; Japan's losses were more than 70,000. There were no survivors from the Japanese 16th Division, which had conducted the infamous Bataan Death March. On 15 December, the Americans seized the island of Mindoro in the northern Visayas, just south of Luzon, for use as an advance air base for the strike against Luzon.

Yamashita had 250,000 troops on Luzon, but an Allied deception caused him to withdraw most of them south toward Manila. Meanwhile, kamikaze pilots took a heavy toll on Rear Admiral Jesse B. Oldendorf's gunfire-support group in Lingayen Gulf, sinking an escort carrier and damaging a battleship, an escort carrier, one heavy and four light cruisers, and other vessels. Nonetheless, on January 9, 1945, Krueger landed 68,000 men of his Sixth Army almost unopposed at Lingayen Gulf in northern Luzon. Then, when Yamashita had committed his forces to the northern threat, Lieutenant General Robert E. Eichelberger's Eighth Army landed in southern Luzon and struck north. Handicapped by shortages of equipment, transport, and air support, Yamashita organized his forces on Luzon into three main groups and settled in for a static defense.

Japanese Rear Admiral Iwabuchi Sanji received Yamashita's order too late to withdraw from Manila and ordered his 17,000-man Manila Naval Defense Force to hold the capital to the last. The Battle for Manila lasted from 3 February to 4 March 1945 and saw the destruction of much of the city and an estimated 100,000 civilian casualties. Afterward, the United States held Yamashita responsible for Japanese atrocities committed in Manila and executed him as a war criminal. At least 16,655 Japanese were killed in the battle. Most of Luzon was secured by July.

With no hope of victory or rescue, most Japanese stoically fought on. With his force down to 50,000 men, Yamashita surrendered on 15 August. The U.S. campaign for the Philippines was skillfully fought with proportionally few U.S. casualties, an exception to the general rule in warfare that attackers generally suffer higher losses than defenders. The Battle for Luzon cost Japan some 205,535 killed and 9,050 captured. U.S. losses were 8,310 killed and 29,560 wounded.

Meanwhile, from February to August, Eichelberger's Eighth Army liberated the Visayas and southern Philippine Islands. Simultaneously, Australian troops took the remaining Japanese strongholds on New Guinea and in the Bismarcks and Solomon Islands.

James T. Carroll and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Eichelberger, Robert Lawrence; Iwabuchi Sanji; Kamikaze; King, Ernest Postell, Jr.; Krueger, Walter; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; MacArthur, Douglas; Manila, Battle for; Nimitz, Chester William; Okinawa, Invasion of; Oldendorf, Jesse Bartlett; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Yamashita Tomoyuki

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Phillips, Sir Tom Spencer Vaughan (1888–1941)

British navy admiral. Born on 19 February 1888 in Falmouth, England, Tom Phillips became a naval cadet in 1903. He joined the navigation branch of the service and served on the cruiser *Bacchante* during the 1915 Dardanelles Campaign, but he spent much of the rest of World War I in the Far East.

Phillips attended the Naval Staff College (1919–1920); served on the Permanent Advisory Commission for Naval, Military and Air Questions of the League of Nations (1920–1922); and was promoted to captain in June 1927. He ended a three-year tour on the operational staff of the Royal Navy Mediterranean command in May 1928. Phillips was assistant director of plans at the Admiralty from 1930 to 1932, served with the East Indies squadron from 1932 to 1935, and was director of plans at the Admiralty from 1935 to 1938. In April 1938, Phillips commanded the Home Fleet destroyer flotillas. He was promoted to rear admiral in January 1939 and served as deputy chief of the Naval Staff during 1939–1941.

First sea lord and chief of the Naval Staff Sir Dudley Pound selected Phillips as deputy chief over several more senior officers. At first, Phillips had the confidence of Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, who recommended him for the rank of acting vice admiral in February 1940. The rapport between the two men gradually eroded, however. Phillips opposed Churchill's proposal in September 1940 for retaliatory bombings of German cities. He also opposed Churchill's preference in March 1941 to divert scarce forces from North Africa to bolster Greece. His personal contact with the prime minister practically ceased thereafter. An intelligent, hardworking officer, Phillips was also self-assured, lacked combat experience, and did not appreciate the need for air cover. He was a short man, nicknamed "Tom Thumb" by some.

Phillips was appointed commander in chief of the Eastern Fleet in May 1941, but he retained his duties as vice chief of the naval staff until October, when he took up his new command with the acting rank of admiral. He sailed for the Far East on 25 October in the new battleship *Prince of Wales*, which was joined en route by the old battle cruiser *Repulse*. Phillips arrived in Singapore on 2 December, only to face the Japanese attacks on Malaya on 8 December.

Phillips had a difficult choice. He could attempt to oppose the Japanese amphibious landings in Malaya, or he could remain in Singapore. Phillips gambled on the offensive, and his Force Z—the *Prince of Wales*, *Repulse*, and four old destroyers—sailed on 8 December with the hope that radio silence, bad weather, and the element of surprise might enable him to catch the Japanese transports. His plan had some merit, as the *Prince of Wales* was stronger than any Japanese ship. Phillips also knew that the Japanese had no aircraft carriers, and he observed that the Japanese were taking risks in pushing their troopships forward. An unknown factor remained the strength of Japanese land-based aircraft, their range from their recently captured airfields, and the availability of British air cover. On 9 December, Phillips was advised he would have no friendly air cover, but he elected to press on. Phillips had great faith in the antiaircraft armament of the *Prince of Wales* and did not believe land-based air power could sink underway capital ships. No capital ship had yet been sunk at sea by aircraft.

Discovered by reconnaissance aircraft on 9 December, Phillips finally opted to turn around, but his Force Z was attacked by a large formation of Japanese land-based naval aircraft on the morning of 10 December. Within two hours, both capital ships were sunk in what was Britain's worst single naval defeat of the war. Phillips went down with his ship. His decisions of 9–10 December to maintain radio silence and not to request air cover remain open to criticism and debate.

Jon D. Berlin

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Malaya Campaign; Pound, Sir Alfred Dudley Pickman Rogers; *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse*

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Pick, Lewis Andrew (1890–1956)

U.S. Army general. Born at Brookneal, Virginia, on 18 November 1890, Lewis Pick graduated from the Virginia Polytechnic Institute in 1914 with a degree in civil engineering. Pick served with the U.S. Army 23rd Engineers in France during World War I. Commissioned into the U.S. Corps of Engineers in 1917, Pick was stationed in the Philippines from 1921 through 1923, where he established a Filipino engineer regiment.

When he returned to the United States, Pick assisted with flood control work and the construction of dams. He was in the New Orleans office as district engineer when catastrophic floodwaters surged down the Mississippi River in 1927. From 1928 to 1932, Pick was on Reserve Officers' Training Corps duty at Texas A&M University. He graduated from the Command and General Staff School in 1934 and taught tactics there until 1938. In 1939, he graduated from the Army War College and was assigned to the Corps of Engineers' Ohio River Division. In December 1941, Pick was promoted to temporary colonel. Pick became the Missouri River Division engineer in April 1942. Working with W. Glenn Sloan of the Bureau of Reclamation, Pick sought ways to prevent the Missouri River from overflowing its basin. The Pick-Sloan plan that incorporated several of his ideas for the Missouri River basin went into effect in 1944.

In October 1943, Pick was deployed to the China-Burma-India Theater, where he replaced Brigadier Raymond A. Wheeler in directing engineers who were building the Ledo Road, which came to be known as "Pick's Pike." This crucial land supply route extended from northern India through Burma to China and tied in with the old Burma Road to supplement the Himalayan air routes. The difficult jungle terrain seemed almost impossible for road construction, but Pick persevered. Although he and the majority of his workers were sickened by malaria, Pick pushed the main road ahead while also providing for construction of side roads for combat troops to pursue the Japanese. It took slightly more than two years to complete the route. Pick, promoted to brigadier general in February 1944, led the first convoy into Kuming on 4 February 1945.

Theater commander General Joseph Stilwell praised Pick's devotion to his troops and said that he "covered the road by foot, jeep, and liaison plane twenty-four hours a day. He knew every rock quarry, every mudhole and slide, every curve, every cutback and bridge." Pick's men also built an airfield for Merrill's Marauders during the Battle of Myitkyina. Pick was promoted to major general in March 1945.

Following the war, Pick resumed his peacetime position as division engineer in Missouri until March 1949, when



U.S. Army Major General Lewis A. Pick, 1947. (Photo by Jerry Cooke/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

President Harry S Truman named him chief of the Army Corps of Engineers. Promoted to lieutenant general in 1951, Pick headed the Corps of Engineers until his retirement in November 1952. Pick moved to Auburn, Alabama, and died in Washington, D.C., on 2 December 1956.

Elizabeth D. Schafer

See also

Burma Road; China-Burma-India Theater; Merrill, Frank Dow; Stilwell, Joseph Warren; Truman, Harry S

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Pistols and Revolvers

Modern pistols are magazine-fed hand weapons that fire semiautomatically each time the trigger is pulled. Most pis-

tols have a minimum capacity of at least eight rounds, although there are variations. A revolver has a rotating set of chambers (normally six), which are each loaded with one cartridge. The action is fired by pulling on the trigger, which cocks the weapon and rotates the chamber to the next live round (single-action), or by cocking first and then firing (double-action).

The pistol or revolver is a single-handed weapon with a short barrel firing a low-energy cartridge. This means it is largely useless at ranges in excess of about 30 yards, and very few soldiers can use it effectively except at the closest belt-buckle range. In the period prior to World War II, the pistol or revolver was the side arm of officers and cavalrymen and was regarded as a weapon of last resort.

Pistols have been used by soldiers since firearms were first invented, but the ineffectiveness of the weapon at any but the shortest range has always been its drawback. Long-barreled weapons of the nineteenth century suffered from loss of penetration power as the cartridge was low-powered. Attempts have been made to increase accuracy by firing "super" or magnum cartridges, but the short barrel makes accuracy questionable.

In World War II, a development in firearms design reduced the importance of the pistol still further; this was the submachine gun, which fired the same cartridge as the pistol but from a heavier, longer-barreled weapon, increasing accuracy to about 100 yards. As with the long-barreled weapons mentioned, killing power with standard pistol cartridges was limited. The Soviets adopted the submachine gun to good effect, arguing that a heavy weight of fire at short range was far more effective than single rifle shots at longer ranges.

Nevertheless, the pistol was still issued. The U.S. Army used the Colt M1911 .45 caliber (inch) pistol, which was carried by officers, noncommissioned officers, and enlisted men. The pistol was intended to be a personal side arm that was easy to carry and use and that was with the owner at all times, being in a holster on his belt. The .45 ACP cartridge had significant power, capable with one shot of disabling or killing the targeted individual. Lieutenant General George S. Patton's famed six-shooters were certainly never used in anger, but they perpetuated the American myth the spirit of the frontier was alive and well and perhaps enshrined within the general himself. The Americans also used the Smith and Wesson M1917 revolver, derived from the British .38/200 revolver.

Europe was still married firmly to the 9 mm Parabellum cartridge, invented in Germany, which was fired by a variety of weapons, including the famous Luger Pistole '08 and the Walther P38. Most nations in Europe used this caliber and cartridge for the simple reason that it was effective and was a disabling cartridge if not a true killer. The standard Italian-issue side arm was the well-made 9 mm Beretta Model 1934 with seven rounds. The French used the old (1892) revolver, the so-



A soldier holding a U.S. Army Colt automatic .45-caliber pistol. (Photo by William Vandivert/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

called “Lebel” of 8 mm, but in the 1930s they introduced two new 7.65 mm pistols: the M1935A and M1935S each carried eight rounds. The British, idiosyncratic to the last, persisted in issuing a rimmed .38 caliber cartridge-firing revolver to their officers and mechanized troops, although many were rearmed with the Sten (9 mm) or the Thompson (.45) submachine gun.

On the Eastern Front, troops on both sides were armed with pistols as well as rifles or submachine guns, particularly when engaged in house-clearing or close-terrain operations, because of the close-quarters element of such fighting. German medical troops (banned from carrying weapons by the Geneva Convention of 1929) carried pistols for close protection when it was found that Soviet troops did not always respect the Red Cross.

The principal Japanese side arm was the Taisho 04 (or 1915), known as the Nambu for its designer, Colonel Nambu Kirijo. An 8 mm, it held eight rounds. The follow-on was the Taisho 14 (1925) Nambu. Nambus were never considered reliable firearms, especially those produced late in the war.

The reason for arming mechanized troops and officers with pistols was to ensure that they had some protection. This

was despite the fact that officers had many other tasks to perform, among which fighting was less important; mechanized troops operated in confined spaces, into which a full-length rifle or even a submachine gun was difficult to fit. U.S. forces used the M1 carbine in preference to the pistol, but the weapon was not popular as it lacked killing power.

Pistols were also carried by police units within armies as well as by secret police units, and they were issued to individuals in the secret services. Some of these latter were designed for concealment or to be one-shot weapons, for use only in emergency situations.

The demise of the pistol as a frontline weapon began with the introduction of the submachine gun and was completed with the invention of the short-cartridge assault rifle. The pistol is now limited to issue as a self-protection weapon to certain rear-echelon troops and to special forces who can get within pistol range of their target.

David Westwood

See also

Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Rifles; Submachine Guns

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Pius XII, Pope (1876–1958)

Roman Catholic pope. Born in Rome on 2 March 1876, Eugenio Pacelli was ordained to the priesthood in 1899 and accepted appointment to the Secretariat of State for the Vatican in 1901. Pacelli served as papal nuncio to Germany from 1917 to 1929 and observed firsthand the early manifestations of Nazi ideology. He was probably the Vatican official most familiar with the goals of Adolf Hitler. Pacelli was made a cardinal in 1929 and became secretary of state at the Vatican in 1930.

During Pacelli's tenure, the Vatican negotiated a concordat with Germany that formally separated religion and politics. Pacelli encouraged the German Catholic hierarchy and individual clerics to abide by the terms of the agreement and to seek accommodation with the National Socialist regime. In an effort to keep favorable diplomatic relations with the German government, the Vatican never publicly challenged the ideology of the Nazi Party, and it punished clerics who spoke against some of the overt racist policies that emerged in Germany during the 1930s.

On 2 March 1939, Eugenio Pacelli was elected pope as Pius XII. He was soon confronted with the horrors of World War II, which began that September. Pius XII's challenges during the war included maintaining civil relations with extremist governments, responding to the pastoral needs of Catholic peoples facing the horrors of war, and managing a worldwide enterprise divided by civil loyalties. His skills as a lifelong diplomat and his understanding of the ideas of *realpolitik* characterized his papacy during the war.



Using a quill pen, Pope Pius XII signs the Bull (Papal Message) of the Proclamation of the Dogma of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in his private study at St. Peter's, November 1950. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Clearly, Pius XII preferred fascism and Nazism, which at least tolerated the Christian churches, to godless communism. Pius attracted considerable criticism, both during and after the war, for his lack of response to the anti-Semitic policies of the Third Reich, especially the Holocaust. Although Pius XII made several oblique condemnations of deportations, racial laws, and the plight of Roman Jews, he never exposed Nazi policies or condemned them outright. Recent investigations reveal that he was aware of the extent of the Holocaust. Pius XII understood the dangers that condemnation of Nazi policies would bring, and although he apparently agonized long and hard over the matter, he came to the conclusion that strong condemnation would be counterproductive.

Pius XII was also later criticized because the Vatican issued passports to many suspected war criminals, allowing them to seek safe haven in other parts of the world. Pope Pius XII died in Rome on 9 October 1958.

James T. Carroll

See also

Catholic Church and the War; Hitler, Adolf; Holocaust, The

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Placentia Bay (9–12 August 1941)

Site off Argentia, Nova Scotia, of the first wartime meeting between British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill and U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The conference at Placentia Bay evolved from the correspondence between the two leaders and a growing desire to meet face to face. The idea for a meeting was first raised in 1940, but the meeting was delayed repeatedly by political and war events. Argentia was chosen as a rough midway point for the two leaders. A new U.S. base that could provide cover was located there, and the location was remote, ensuring secrecy.

Roosevelt left Washington on 3 August 1941 under the guise of a vacation fishing trip, but instead he secretly boarded the heavy cruiser *Augusta* off Martha's Vineyard and steamed north. Likewise, Churchill had quietly sailed the North Atlantic aboard the new battleship *Prince of Wales*. Each leader traveled with a substantial entourage of senior military and political advisers.

On Saturday, 9 August, both parties arrived, and Churchill boarded the *Augusta* for the first meeting of the two leaders. Churchill presented Roosevelt with a brief note from King George VI and then took a tour of the U.S. ship. Respective staffs had the opportunity to know one another. On Sunday, 10 August, a shared religious service was held on the sunlit quarterdeck of the *Prince of Wales*, where the mingled British and American crews and leadership sang familiar hymns. All was filmed for later release.

On Monday, 11 August, the real work of the conference began with three parallel meetings: Churchill and Roosevelt, their diplomatic assistants, and the military chiefs of staff. As a result, the United States agreed to accelerate aid to both Britain and the Soviet Union and to increase naval patrols in the Atlantic. The two countries also agreed to a protective takeover of the Canary Islands (by Britain) and Azores (by the U.S.) if Germany invaded the Iberian Peninsula. But the Americans made it clear that they did not intend to intervene beyond these actions because of domestic isolationist political pressure and their military unpreparedness. Among the controversies that arose, however, was one over the British plan to rely for victory on heavy bombing, whereas the Americans argued that an invasion by ground forces would be needed to overcome Germany.

Tuesday, 12 August, was dominated by discussion of the forthcoming Anglo-American mission to Moscow (to be headed by Lord Beaverbrook and W. Averell Harriman), and final amendments to the joint eight-point statement of goals and aims, which became known shortly thereafter as the Atlantic Charter. Both leaders then departed Argentia.

Roosevelt and Churchill discussed the meeting and the Atlantic Charter with journalists in the days that followed. Disagreement resulted from the softening by Secretary of State Sumner Welles of a statement to which Churchill and Roosevelt had agreed concerning further Japanese intentions in the Pacific. Welles believed American political opinion was not ready for too firm a stand against the Japanese, and Roosevelt agreed with the new version as opposed to the near-ultimatum that had been penned in Argentia. Principles expressed in the Atlantic Charter lasted far longer.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also

Atlantic Charter; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; George VI, King of England; Harriman, William Averell; Hopkins, Harry Lloyd; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Welles, Benjamin Sumner

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Plata, Río de la, Battle of (13 December 1939)

Naval battle in the South Atlantic; first major surface engagement of World War II. Grossadmiral (Grand Admiral) Erich Raeder, commander of the German navy, envisioned using his capital ships as commerce raiders and ordered his captains to avoid engaging enemy warships, even inferior forces, because even light damage could be fatal given Germany's lack of foreign bases. On 1 September 1939, the German pocket battleship *Graf Spee* was already at sea. Commanded by Captain Hans Langsdorff, she cruised in company with the supply vessel *Altmark* to begin the war in the South Atlantic.

The *Graf Spee* was one of the three-ship Deutschland-class. The others were the *Deutschland* and the *Admiral Scheer*. These capital ships represented the design compromises faced by Germany as a consequence of the Versailles Treaty ending World War I. Because of caliber and weight restrictions, the ships nominally displaced 10,000 tons and boasted a main battery of 6 × 11-inch guns. Armor was equivalent to that of a typical light cruiser, but these ships were also slower than most in that class. In short, the Deutschland-class vessels were heavily armed, lightly protected warships designed primarily for commerce raiding.

Over the course of three months, the *Graf Spee* sank 10 British merchantmen totaling 50,000 gross tons. To combat the German surface raiders, the Royal Navy positioned hunting groups in areas where German cruisers would likely search for prey. One such was Force G, commanded by Commodore Henry Harwood, operating in the South Atlantic. Harwood's squadron included the heavy cruisers HMS *Exeter* (6 × 8-inch guns) and *Cumberland* (8 × 8-inch guns) and the light cruisers HMS *Ajax* and HMNZS *Achilles*, each armed with 8 × 6-inch guns. By early December, Langsdorff decided to return to Germany after one final victory. Intelligence indicated a valuable convoy sailing from the River Plate (Río de la Plata) under escort. Despite standing orders, he decided to engage such an enemy force.

On 13 December 1939, lookouts aboard the *Graf Spee* spotted masts on the horizon. They were three of Harwood's

cruisers (the *Cumberland* had remained in the Falkland Islands to undergo repairs). Langsdorff ordered his ship to close with the British ships and fired the first salvo at 6:17 A.M. Harwood divided his force into two sections, with the light cruisers cooperating and *Exeter* operating from a different quarter to complicate his enemy's targeting. *Exeter* bore the brunt of the battle, as Langsdorff considered her to be the greatest threat. Langsdorff initially engaged the light cruisers with his 5.9-inch secondary armament, but throughout the battle he switched the main battery's targets, complicating the *Graf Spee*'s fire control.

In the exchange of fire, the *Exeter* absorbed several 11-inch hits that eventually disabled her main armament. The *Ajax* and *Achilles* also sustained damage, the former losing use of her aft turrets. Gunnery on both sides was not especially accurate, but the British in particular suffered spotting problems. Nonetheless, the *Graf Spee* took its share of punishment. At least 18 shells caused damage that included a large hole in the ship's bow as well as destruction of the ship's galley and freshwater plant. At 7:40 A.M., Langsdorff disengaged and made for the neutral port of Montevideo, Uruguay.

Langsdorff hoped to make repairs at Montevideo, but Uruguayan officials only allowed the belligerent 72 hours in port. Ironically, the British also wanted to keep *Graf Spee* there longer, to allow time for reinforcements to arrive. Langsdorff despaired that he could not return to Germany, given the condition of the ship. His own expectations, along with British disinformation, led him to believe the battle cruiser *Renown* and aircraft carrier *Ark Royal* awaited him outside the harbor. Both were en route, but neither would arrive for several days. After discussions with Berlin, on 17 December 1939 Langsdorff had the *Graf Spee* weigh anchor and sailed to just beyond Uruguay's territorial limit. There, in the Río de la Plata estuary, Langsdorff scuttled his ship rather than waste the lives of his crew. Tugs transported the Germans to Argentina, where most spent the war in internment.

Total human casualties in the Battle of the Río de la Plata were 37 German and 73 British dead. There was another casualty of the battle. On 20 December, Captain Langsdorff took a hotel room in Buenos Aires. There he wrapped himself in his ship's ensign and committed suicide with a pistol. The *Graf Spee* remains buried in the mud of the Río de la Plata. The battle was the first important victory won by the British in World War II.

Rodney Madison

See also

Altmark Incident; Germany, Navy; Raeder, Erich; Z Plan

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Plater, Emilia

See Emilia Plater Independent Women's Battalion.

Ploesti, Raids on (1 August 1943–18 August 1944)

Major and costly U.S. air raids. The refineries of Ploesti, Romania, supplied almost one-third of Germany's oil requirements before and during World War II. A land invasion of Romania to seize the Ploesti refineries being impractical, on 1 August 1943 the United States launched a yearlong air campaign to destroy them.

The first air raid on Ploesti was conducted on 1 June 1942 by 13 B-24 bombers of Halverson Detachment, led by Colonel Harry A. "Hurry-Up" Halverson. The mission originated at Fayid, Africa. Twelve planes reached the target and bombed it from high altitude, escaping without loss. Damage to Ploesti was negligible. Three times during that first week in June, the Soviet air force sent small numbers of bombers against Ploesti. The last inflicted some damage but at the cost of several Soviet planes and airmen. That ended Soviet interest in the refineries. At the Casablanca Conference in January 1943, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Prime Minister L. S. Winston Churchill endorsed a plan to bomb Ploesti from North Africa. Planners decided a low-level attack would be safer and more productive than one from the traditional high level. Three U.S. B-24 bomb groups from England were added to the two in Brigadier General Uzal G. Ent's IX Bomber Command, which was already in North Africa.

After studying the plan (code-named TIDAL WAVE) with his commanders and staff, General Ent wrote a note to his superior officer, Major General Lewis H. Brereton, recommending against a low-level mission. Ent did not know that this had already been decided at the highest level. Once informed of this, he began intensive training of the five groups.

On 1 August 1943, 178 B-24s departed for Ploesti. Eleven bombers either aborted or were lost en route to the target. Unknown to the Allies at the time, the Germans detected and traced the air armada from takeoff all the way to the target. As a result, German air defense fighter squadrons and anti-aircraft defenses were fully alerted, the German fighters being particularly effective against the bombers during the return from the mission.

Because of a navigational error, the bomb runs could not all be made as planned. Nonetheless, substantial damage was



Oil storage tanks at the Columbia Aquila refinery in Ploesti, Romania burning after the raid of U.S. Army Air Forces B-24 Liberator bombers. Some of the structures had been camouflaged, 1 August 1943. (Library of Congress)

inflicted on several refineries. Oil production was reduced only in the short term, however. The bombing results did prove that the low-level attack destroyed more of the target area than raids made from high altitudes. However, at this point in the war, the 2,700-mile round-trip raid by unescorted bombers was an epic. Losses, although heavy, were less than General Ent had anticipated. He had told his men that returning from the mission was "secondary." American losses included 310 men killed and some 130 wounded (including those who crashed or landed in neutral territory). Eighty-eight aircraft returned to base, but only 33 were fit to fly, and Ent had just over half his original complement of airmen. For this raid, five men were awarded the Medal of Honor, three of them posthumously. Ent and several others were awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, America's second-highest award for heroism.

Ploesti had an impressive and deadly array of anti-aircraft guns and fighter planes to defend the area during that 1 August 1943 raid. But following the raid, German General Alfred Gerstenberg, who commanded Ploesti's defenses during the entire campaign, improved the defenses with additional guns and planes and, as a final touch, smoke pots. These pots were scattered throughout the refinery area and could be lit to cover the targets with smoke, no matter which way the wind was blowing. Gerstenberg was resourceful. He also installed an oil pipeline system, linking all the refineries, so that oil could be diverted from more damaged refineries to those less damaged or undamaged, maintaining optimal output.

Between 5 April and 19 August 1944, the U. S. Fifteenth Air Force made 5,479 high-level sorties in 19 raids against Ploesti, with a loss of 223 aircraft, representing 4.1 percent of the aircraft employed. On 10 June 1944, 46 P-38 fighters made a low-level attack, and 24 were lost. Some 2,829 American airmen were killed or captured during the entire campaign. During the summer of 1944, Britain's Royal Air Force (RAF) flew 924 high-level sorties against Ploesti, in which 38 planes (4.1 percent) were lost.

In the raids, the Fifteenth Air Force and the RAF destroyed nearly 1.2 million tons of Ploesti oil production, amounting to 84 tons of oil lost for each ton of bombs dropped. When Soviet troops entered Ploesti on 30 August 1944, they found five refineries producing about 20 percent of normal production.

Uzal W. Ent

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Brereton, Lewis Hyde; Casablanca Conference; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Logistics, Axis; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Strategic Bombing

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Poland, Air Force

There were three separate incarnations of the Polish air force (PAF) in World War II: the force that fought the campaign in Poland in 1939; the reconstituted force that fought under Allied control in the west; and the Polish air units that fought under Soviet control on the Eastern Front. Nonetheless, the small Polish air force played a disproportionately significant role in World War II.

Poland produced some fine aircraft in the 1930s. The P7 parasol-winged fighter, which entered service in 1931, was built entirely of metal and covered with stressed skin. The follow-on, version P-11 Jedenastka (Eleventh), entered service in 1935. Ruggedly built, it was fast and maneuverable. As with many other countries, in the mid-1930s Poland shifted development priority to bombers. Poland had two primary bombers, the P.23 Karas single-engine light bomber and the P.37 twin-engine medium bomber. The latter, which entered service in 1938, was a world-class aircraft, but Poland had only about 75 of them when the war began, and only half were fully equipped.

At the start of the war on 1 September 1939, the PAF contained a total of 397 combat aircraft, including 159 fighters, 154 bombers, and 84 reconnaissance craft. Prior to the German attack, almost all the operational aircraft were dispersed

to outlying airfields in accordance with established plans. Despite the enduring but false myth of the PAF being destroyed on the ground on the first day of the war, most of the aircraft hit by the Luftwaffe were nonoperational aircraft used for spare parts. Even though the PAF was outnumbered more than four to one, it still inflicted surprisingly heavy losses on the Luftwaffe. During the monthlong campaign, the Germans lost 564 aircraft in Poland, at least 121 in air-to-air combat. The Poles lost almost all of their aircraft, 70 of them in aerial combat.

After the Soviets invaded Poland on 17 September, the remainder of the PAF withdrew into Romania and Hungary. Many Polish pilots and ground crew made their way to France and reconstituted the PAF under the Polish government-in-exile. During the France Campaign in 1940, the PAF had almost 7,000 men, but they were equipped with only obsolete aircraft. Nonetheless, the PAF scored 56 aerial victories in May and June before withdrawing to Britain and reconstituting again.

Flying under the control of the Royal Air Force (RAF), the PAF finally came into its own, especially during the pivotal Battle of Britain. During the two and one-half short months of history's first decisive air campaign, the control of British airspace was stoutly defended by a razor-thin line of only 2,363 pilots—446 of whom were killed in action. Almost forgotten today is the fact that 487 of those pilots—some 21 percent of the total—were not British at all. They were a mixed assortment of volunteers from many nations, including contingents of various European air forces in exile. By far, the largest group of the non-British pilots flying under RAF operational control were the 146 pilots of the PAF.

On 11 September 1940, one of the pivotal days of the battle, the Poles accounted for 18 percent of the Luftwaffe aircraft destroyed. On 15 September, they accounted for 14 percent. On 19 September, they shot down 25 percent, and on 26 September, they shot down a staggering 48 percent. The PAF's Number 303 "Kosciuszko" Squadron was the top-scoring squadron in the entire Battle of Britain. Number 303 Squadron downed three times the average RAF score, while incurring only one-third the average casualties. The RAF as a whole lost 1 pilot for every 4.9 enemy kills. The Polish squadrons shot down 10.5 German aircraft for each of their own pilots lost.

The PAF in Britain eventually numbered 20,000 airmen organized in 14 squadrons, including 3 bomber squadrons. By the end of the war, they had flown almost 90,000 combat sorties, had destroyed more than 500 Axis aircraft and some 200 V-1 flying bombs, and had flown 16,000 transport sorties.

The final Polish air element of the war was fighting on the Eastern Front. In the summer of 1943, the Soviets established Polish air units to support the Polish ground units then fighting under Soviet control. They began flying combat missions

on 23 April 1944. By the end of the war, the Polish 1st Composite Air Division had flown almost 19,000 combat sorties, downing 20 German aircraft.

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See also

Poland, Army; Poland, Navy; Poland, Role in War; Poland Campaign; V-1 Buzz Bomb

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Poland, Army

Faced with growing German aggression in eastern Europe, the Polish army introduced a new mobilization plan on 30 April 1938. Plan W called for drafting 1.3 million new troops and raising a total of 39 infantry divisions, 9 reserve infantry divisions, 11 cavalry brigades, 2 armored brigades, and 3 separate tank battalions. In the event of a national emergency, the Poles planned to mobilize 28 of the divisions, with the remaining 11 called up only after the declaration of a general mobilization. By September 1939, the Polish army had some 500,000 men, 41,000 machine guns, 3,500 antitank rifles, 1,200 mortars, 1,200 antitank guns, 462 antiaircraft guns, and 3,388 artillery pieces of various sizes. The Poles, however, were poorly motorized, having fewer than 6,000 motor vehicles. Traditionally considered among the best military horsemen in Europe, the Poles continued to rely heavily on horses for economic reasons more than anything else.

The Poles had 887 tanks, but 550 of these were small two-man TK and TKS tankettes, mounting little more than machine guns. The Poles had only 170 larger tanks mounting guns up to 47 mm in size, and they also had 102 obsolete French tanks of World War I vintage. Although this force was less than one-third of the nearly 2,500 tanks the Germans could field, the Polish armored force was larger than that of the contemporary U.S. Army. The Poles, however, made the mistake of adopting the flawed British and French armored doctrine, which regarded tanks as infantry-support weapons.

Under French and British pressure, the Poles delayed declaring a general mobilization until 30 August. The Germans attacked two days later, and many of the Polish units never had the chance to reach their authorized strength. According to British and French assurances, the Poles were

only supposed to fight a delaying defense for two weeks, until their allies could attack Germany from the west. That never happened, and when the Soviet Union invaded Poland from the east on 17 September, all hope of Polish survival disappeared. The last major Polish forces surrendered on 5 October 1939, having suffered 210,000 killed or wounded and 580,000 captured by the Germans and another 200,000 captured by the Soviets.

Some 100,000 Polish soldiers managed to evade capture and escaped through Romania, Hungary, and the Baltic states. Many eventually made their way to France and joined the Polish government-in-exile, which was headed by General Władysław Sikorski. Meanwhile, as early as May 1939, Polish and French officials had discussed the feasibility of forming military units manned by some of the half million Polish immigrants then living in France. By May 1940, the reconstituted Polish army in France had some 84,500 troops organized into two infantry divisions and a mechanized brigade. In addition, the Podhale Rifle Brigade fought in Norway and at Narvik, and the independent Carpathian Rifle Brigade was formed in the Middle East.

During the 1940 France Campaign, the Polish 1st Grenadier Division was destroyed fighting in Lorraine. The 2nd Rifle Division escaped into Switzerland, and its soldiers were interned there for the remainder of the war. Only some 30 percent of the Polish army managed to escape to Britain, where it again reconstituted and formed the Polish I Corps. That unit eventually consisted of the 1st Armored Division, the 4th Infantry Division, and the 1st Independent Parachute Brigade. The parachute brigade's most celebrated battle was its doomed jump into Arnhem to support the British there in Operation MARKET-GARDEN in September 1944.

Sikorski, meanwhile, had been negotiating with the Soviets to form another Polish unit from the prisoners of war (POWs) who had been imprisoned in the Siberian labor camps in late 1939. In August 1941, a Polish force of 96,000 men was formed under Soviet control to fight against the Germans on the Eastern Front. But there were conflicts and tensions between the Soviets and Poles right from the start, and the British pressured Soviet leader Josef Stalin to release the force to fight under their control in the Middle East.

In August 1942, General Władysław Anders led 74,000 Polish troops and many accompanying civilians from the Soviet Union through Iran to Palestine. After merging with the Carpathian Rifle Brigade already there, the newly established Polish II Corps moved to Libya. By the end of 1943, the force moved to Italy, where it continued to fight under British control. The II Corps eventually consisted of the 3rd Carpathian Rifle Division, the 5th Kresowa Infantry Division, the 2nd Armored Brigade, and an artillery group. The II Corps suffered 17,000 casualties during the Italian Campaign and distinguished itself during the fighting for Monte Cassino.



Warsaw, Poland: A fanfare of trumpets salutes Polish army tanks as they move through Warsaw streets during a military parade on 11 May 1939. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Thousands of Poles still remained in Soviet captivity, even after Anders moved his corps to the Middle East. Soviet-Polish tensions reached a new high in May 1943 after the Germans discovered the mass graves of thousands of murdered Polish POW officers in the Katyń Forest. The Soviets used the rising tensions as a pretext to sever relations with the Polish government-in-exile in London and to establish their own government-in-exile composed of Polish Communists. The Moscow-based Union of Polish Patriots raised the first units of what would become the Polish People's Forces (PPF), fighting under Soviet control.

The initial PPF unit, the 1st Infantry Division, was named after Polish national hero Tadeusz Kosciuszko, who ironically had led the Polish revolt against the Russians in the 1790s. The division first went into action at Lenino in October 1943. In 1944, the Polish force had grown to the size of a field army. Designated the First Polish People's Army, it was under the command of General Zygmunt Berling. It had some 107,000 troops and consisted of five infantry divisions, a tank brigade, and supporting artillery units.

After the Red Army entered Poland and began to push the Germans back to the west, the Soviets installed a Communist provisional government at Lublin, the Polish Committee of National Liberation, also known as the "Lublin government" to distinguish it from the Polish government-in-exile in London, the "London government." That government expanded the PPF by adding another field army. By March 1945, the PPF numbered some 400,000 troops, which were under the com-

mand of Marshal Michal Rola-Zymierski. The order of battle included 14 infantry divisions, an armored corps, and 16 artillery brigades. The Second Polish People's Army took part in the capture of Dresden, and the First Polish People's Army participated in the April 1945 Battle for Berlin. The Poles suffered 30,500 casualties in that fighting.

The Poles were the first to fight the Germans; they fought them the longest; and they fought them on every major front: Norway, North Africa, Italy, Western Europe, and Eastern Europe. At the end of World War II, more than 620,000 Poles were under arms in both the west and east. The Polish armed forces in the west numbered close to 200,000 men, including 14,000 in the air force and 4,000 in the navy. Between 1940 and 1945, the exile force in the west sustained 43,500 casualties, including 7,600 dead. When the force in the west demobilized in 1946, only a small number returned to Communist-dominated Poland.

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See also

Anders, Władysław; Berlin, Land Battle for; Cassino/Rapido River, Battles of; France, Battle for; Italy Campaign; Katyń Forest Massacre; MARKET-GARDEN Operation; Poland, Air Force; Poland, Navy; Poland, Role in War; Poland Campaign; Sikorski, Władysław; Stalin, Josef

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Poland, Navy

Although one of the smallest in Europe, the Polish navy was the first Allied force to see combat in World War II. The commander of the Polish navy, Vice Admiral Jozef Unrug, had charge of only 34 vessels, including 4 destroyers and 5 submarines.

The Polish navy was unprepared for the scale of the German air and naval attacks launched on it beginning on 1 September 1939. Unrug, a former U-boat captain in the German

Imperial Navy, foresaw the impending invasion and sent his three newest destroyers to Britain in late August. Unrug knew that the lack of Polish anti-aircraft defenses and concentration of much more powerful German naval units in the southern Baltic made defeat inevitable. Those ships that remained behind at Gdynia and Gdansk endured two days of constant German air and naval attacks that damaged or sank all of them save submarines *Orzel* and *Wilk*, which managed to escape. Unrug and his staff withdrew to the naval base on the Hel peninsula after the invasion and were the last of the Polish military to surrender, on 2 October 1939. During the campaign, the Polish navy lost 26 vessels. Personnel casualties amounted to 1,500–2,000 men killed and perhaps 3,500 wounded.

Several naval personnel escaped to Britain to serve with the remnants of their navy reorganized under Royal Navy command. The Poles received two new destroyers from the British through an Anglo-Polish Naval Accord of 18 November 1939. The destroyer *Grom* and submarine *Orzel* were sunk during



Sailors manning an anti-aircraft gun on one of the two Polish destroyers operating with the British Navy, November 1939. (Photo by Fox Photos/Getty Images)

the German invasion of Norway, and the destroyer *Burza* was heavily damaged during the Dunkerque evacuation.

The Polish government-in-exile's navy remained active in the Allied war effort, thanks to a steady flow of recruits from Polish refugees in Britain and the addition of new British destroyers and gunboats. The Polish navy participated in a wide range of actions, including the sinking of the German battleship *Bismarck*, protection of trans-Atlantic convoys, and the amphibious assaults on Sicily and Normandy. The 4,000 Polish navy officers and sailors operating in conjunction with the British manned 47 warships (including 2 cruisers, 10 destroyers, and 5 submarines). They sank 9 enemy warships and 39 transport vessels. The Polish navy lost 3 destroyers and 2 submarines, and it suffered 404 dead and 191 wounded.

Bradford Wineman

See also

Bismarck, Sortie and Sinking of; Convoys, Allied; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Poland, Air Force; Poland, Army; Poland, Role in War; Poland Campaign; Sicily, Invasion of

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Poland, Role in the War

Poland was the first nation to fight the Germans in World War II. The Poles would fight the Germans longer than anyone else, and they fought them on all fronts. On 1 September 1939, 1.8 million German troops moved into Poland from three directions. The Germans had more than 2,600 tanks to only 180 for the Poles and more than 2,000 combat aircraft for only 420 Polish planes. Furthermore, the Polish armed forces were only about one-third mobilized by the time the attack came. Britain and France had pressured Poland not to mobilize earlier to avoid presenting Germany with the provocation of aggressive behavior.

Britain and France declared war on Germany on 3 September. Under the security guarantees that had been given to Poland, that nation was supposed to fight a defensive campaign for only two weeks, at which time the Allies would counterattack from the west. That Allied offensive never occurred. By 14 September, the Germans had surrounded Warsaw. Three days later, Soviet forces invaded Poland from the east. The last Polish forces surrendered on 5 October.

There are many myths about Germany's so-called blitzkrieg campaign against Poland. The Polish air force was not destroyed on the ground on the first day of the war, and Polish horse cavalry units never mounted wave after wave of

suicidal attacks against the German panzers. Nor was the campaign a walkover. The Poles held out for twice as long as they were expected to. In six weeks of fighting, the Germans suffered 50,000 casualties and lost 697 aircraft and 993 armored vehicles.

Under a secret clause of the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact of August 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union participated in a fourth modern partition of Poland. The Soviets absorbed the eastern part of the country, including the great cultural centers of Lwow and Wilno. In the Soviet zone, 1.5 million Poles were deported to labor camps in Siberia. In a deliberate effort to exterminate the Polish intelligentsia and leadership classes, Soviets authorities transported thousands of captured Polish officers, including many reservists from universities and industry, to the Katyń Forest of eastern Poland and other locations, where they were executed and buried in anonymous mass graves.

Of the territory they occupied, the Germans annexed Pomerania, Posnania, and Silesia in the west. What was left became the General Government, under the harsh rule of Hans Frank. The Germans then began a campaign to liquidate the Jews of Poland and grind down the rest of the Poles. The Polish Jews were first herded into ghettos while the Germans built more than 2,000 concentration camps in Poland, including the industrial-scale death centers at Auschwitz, Birkenau, and Treblinka.

Several Poles, including many in the armed forces, managed to escape from the country before the Germans and Soviets tightened their viselike grip on it. Poles who escaped established a government-in-exile in London, with Władysław Raczkiewicz as president and General Władysław Sikorski as prime minister. In Poland, meanwhile, the Polish Resistance established the Armia Krajowa (AK, Home Army), which became the largest underground movement in Europe with 400,000 fighters.

Outside of Poland, the Polish army, air force, and navy reorganized themselves in Britain and continued the war. The Britain-based Polish army eventually fielded a corps in western Europe. After Germany attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, the Soviets released several thousand Polish prisoners of war to establish another corps under General Władysław Anders. The Polish II Corps was allowed to leave the Soviet Union by way of Persia and Egypt, and it eventually fought with distinction in North Africa and Italy.

Prior to the start of the war, Polish intelligence had managed to duplicate a German Enigma cipher machine. They turned over copies to both the French and British in July 1939, which was the starting point of the Allies' spectacular success with radio-derived communications intelligence. Later in the war, the intelligence service of the AK recovered a German V-2 rocket that had crashed in the Bug River after a test flight and sent the key components to London.



German troops parade in front of Adolf Hitler and German generals after entry into Warsaw, 5 October 1939. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

In 1943, the Soviets formed their own division of Polish troops to fight on the Eastern Front. That unit would eventually grow to field-army strength. But when the Germans later that year discovered the bodies of the Polish officers executed at the Katyn Forest and broadcast this news to the world, it opened a rift in Polish-Soviet relations that remained until the end of the Cold War.

As the Red Army slowly pushed the Germans from the Soviet Union and back to the west, the USSR's postwar intentions for Eastern Europe began to unfold. At the Allied Tehran Conference, British and U.S. leaders agreed to Soviet leader Josef Stalin's demands that the Soviet Union be allowed to keep the Polish territory taken in September 1939—in effect, the old Curzon Line established by the Allied governments in the peace settlement following World War I. After the war, Poland was partly compensated for its territorial losses in the east with a strip of German land in the west to the line of the Oder and Neisse Rivers. In July 1944, after the city of Lublin was liberated, the Soviets established their own Polish government, a direct rival to the one in London, which was now led by Stanisław Mikołajczyk.

By 1 August 1944, the Red Army reached the right bank of the Vistula River opposite Warsaw. Armia Krajowa units in the city rose up against the Germans, anticipating Soviet support against the common enemy. The Soviets did nothing. Not only did they not help the AK, they refused landing rights on Soviet-controlled airfields for any Allied aircraft that might attempt aerial supply missions. The Poles fought on alone, street by street and house by house for 63 days, and in the end the Wehrmacht and the Waffen-Schutzstaffel (Waffen-SS) destroyed virtually the entire city. When the Germans finally withdrew from what was left of Warsaw, the Soviets moved across the river. The destruction of Warsaw eliminated the remaining political and military institutions in Poland still loyal to the London government and paved the way for a complete Soviet takeover. The final blows to a free Poland were delivered by the victorious Allies at the Yalta Conference. World War II ended, but Poland remained under the Soviet yoke until the very end of the Cold War more than 40 years later.

Poland suffered as heavily as any nation in the war, losing an estimated 38 percent of its national assets. The country



A demarcation line ceremony at Brest-Litovsk, Poland. Red Army armored cars and a mobile German Rifle corps move down the street, October 1939. (Photo by Topical Press Agency/Getty Images)

lost 22 percent of its population—some 500,000 military personnel and 6 million civilians. Roughly half the Poles who died between 1939 and 1945 were Jews. Most of the approximately 5.4 million victims died in concentration camps and ghettos or by starvation, epidemic, or other causes resulting from the brutal occupation. One million of the survivors were war orphans, and another half million were invalids.

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See also

Anders, Władysław; German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact; Holocaust, The; Katyń Forest Massacre; Mikołajczyk, Stanisław; Poland, Air Force; Poland, Army; Poland, Navy; Poland Campaign; Poland–East Prussia Campaign; Signals Intelligence; Sikorski, Władysław; Stalin, Josef; Tehran Conference; V-2 Rocket; Yalta Conference

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Poland Campaign (1939)

World War II began with the German invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939. The subsequent 36-day campaign triggered a global war that lasted six years. The Poland Campaign was soon overshadowed by the campaigns and battles that followed. As a result, it is best remembered today by series of myths and legends, almost all of them untrue. Contrary to the most popularly cherished beliefs about World War II, Polish horse cavalry units never mounted suicidal charges against

German panzers; the Polish air force was not destroyed on the ground on the first day of the war; and the Polish army was far from being a pushover for the German army.

Under the command of Marshal Edward Rydz-Śmigły, the Polish army in the summer of 1939 had roughly 500,000 men, organized into 30 regular and 9 reserve infantry divisions, 11 cavalry brigades, and 2 mechanized brigades. The Polish army had 887 tanks, less than a third of the almost 2,500 tanks fielded by the Germans. When it became obvious they would be attacked by Germany, the Poles opted for a forward defense, which was designed to withdraw slowly to the east to buy more time for mobilization. Plan ZACHOD (West),

issued on 23 March 1939, correctly assumed that the German main attack would come from Silesia in the direction of Warsaw, with supporting attacks from German Pomerania and East Prussia. The Poles therefore positioned four armies along Poland's western border. In north-central Poland, one army was positioned to defend Warsaw from a German thrust south from East Prussia. After the Germans moved into Slova-

kia, the Poles also established a weak army in the south to defend the passes through the Carpathian Mountains.

The concept of Plan ZACHOD was based on a fighting withdrawal, with Armies Pomorze, Poznan, and Lodz all falling back to the west, while pivoting on the strong Army Krakow, the southern anchor of the Polish line. Many military historians have been highly critical of the Polish plan, positing that Poland's armies were deployed too far forward and spread far too thin. But the Polish army by itself could have never beaten the Germans, regardless of its strategic plan. The Polish-German border was 1,250 miles long, and the German extension into Bohemia and Moravia and Slovakia added another 500 miles. Plan ZACHOD was based on the assumption of a strong attack by Britain and France against Germany in the west. Unfortunately for the Poles, that promised attack never came.

In August 1939, the Wehrmacht had 51 active divisions, 51 reserve divisions, and 1 active cavalry brigade. All the reserve divisions were infantry units, and the active force included 6 panzer and 4 motorized divisions. The average panzer division had 310 tanks, most of which were the lightly armed PzKpfw-I and PzKpfw-II models. The Germans had a total of about 500 of the heavier PzKpfw-III and PzKpfw-IV tanks. They also made use of PzKpfw 35(t) and PzKpfw 38(t)

tanks, redesignated Czech machines acquired in the March 1939 takeover of Bohemia and Moravia. The Wehrmacht's active strength was roughly 730,000 men, and its reserve strength was about 1.1 million men.

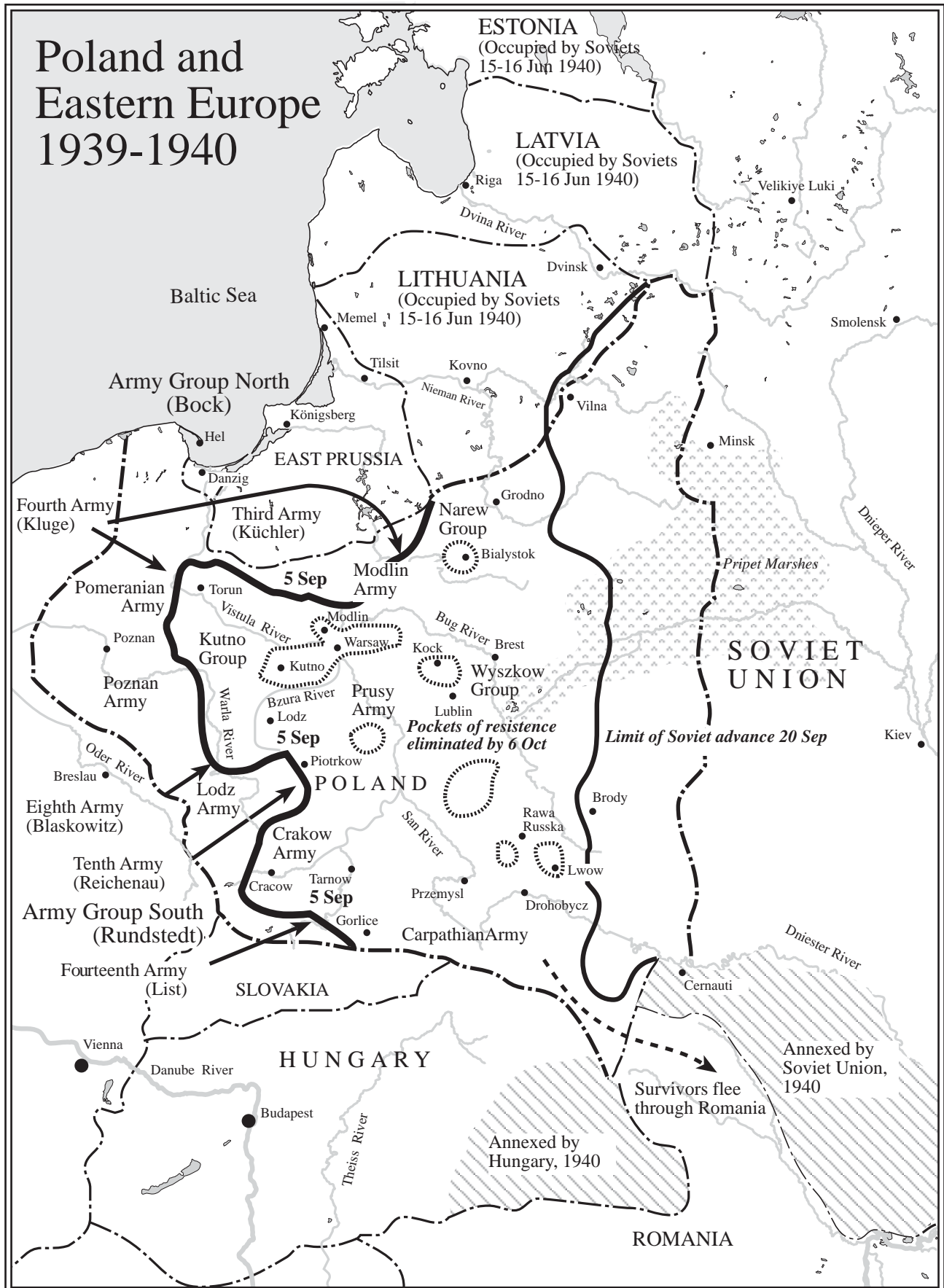
On 3 April 1939, Adolf Hitler's headquarters responded to British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's declaration of support for Poland by issuing Fall WEISS (Case WHITE), the plan for the invasion. The success of Fall WEISS hinged on a calculated political risk that made most of Hitler's generals nervous. The Germans had to secure a quick victory in Poland in order to shift their forces rapidly back to the west to fend off any attack from the French and British. The Wehrmacht of 1939 was neither large nor strong enough to mount simultaneously a massive attack in the east and a strong defense in the west. Thus, the attack in the east could only be strengthened at the risk of weakening the defense in the west. Willing to gamble that the French and British would not act in time to save Poland, Hitler took that risk. Fall WEISS then called for Germany's border with France to be guarded by the relatively weak Army Group C, which consisted of 21 active and 14 reserve divisions.

A total of 52 divisions, including all of the panzer and motorized divisions, were allocated for the attack on Poland. They were organized into Army Group North and Army Group South under Colonel Generals Fedor von Bock and Gerd von Rundstedt, respectively. The original plan did not include military operations east of the Vistula, on the assumption that Soviet forces would move rapidly into that area. The campaign would end with the Tenth Army linking up with Army Group North at Warsaw, sealing off the Polish units in western Poland and preventing them from escaping east to the Narew–Vistula–San River line.

Beginning in July, 386,000 army and 55,000 Luftwaffe reservists were called to active duty under the guise of training maneuvers. By the end of August, Army Group North had a strength of 630,000 men, and Army Group South had 886,000. Hitler initially set 26 August as Y-Day, the start of the attack. But then Hitler himself blinked when Britain and France on 24 August responded to the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact of the day before by giving Poland written guarantees of military support and when Benito Mussolini backed off bringing Italy into the war on Germany's side. Late on 25 August, Hitler canceled the attack orders, but several small German units still crossed the frontier and clashed with Polish border guards before they could be recalled.

After a few more days of diplomatic cat-and-mouse games, Hitler on 31 August signed "Führer Directive No. 1 for the Conduct of the War." On 30 August, Rydz-Śmigły decided to order a general mobilization. That move brought an immediate and sharp reaction from Poland's erstwhile allies, Britain and France, which were afraid of provoking Germany and which remembered only too well the spiral of mobilizations that triggered World War I. Within three hours, the

World War II began with the German invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939. This 36-day campaign led to a global war that lasted six years.





German and Soviet military officers work on a map delineating the border between Germany and the Soviet Union, in effect partitioning Poland. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

French government had pressured Rydz-Śmigły into revoking the mobilization order.

With the German forces in position and ready to move, Hitler needed only an incident of provocation to provide him with a fig leaf of respectability. Leaving nothing to chance, the German Sicherheitsdienst (SD), dressed in Polish uniforms, “raided” the German Silesian town of Gleiwitz on the night of 31 August. They seized the local radio station and played a prerecorded anti-German message in Polish. After firing off a few rounds for effect, the SD unit withdrew, leaving behind several “Polish casualties” as evidence. The bodies were actually prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp dressed in Polish uniforms and murdered specially for Hitler’s little charade.

According to the Fall WEISS plans, the invasion was to commence at 4:45 A.M. on 1 September. The first shots of World War II were fired 15 minutes early, however, when three dive-bombers of the 3/1st Stuka Geschwader hit a Poznan air base, which turned out to be deserted. The Luftwaffe immediately followed through with attacks on Polish airfields and rail centers. For the most part, the attacks on the Polish airfields were failures. Anticipating the strikes against the bases, the Polish

air force on 31 August dispersed its frontline aircraft to secret secondary bases to avoid having them caught and destroyed on the ground.

The Luftwaffe dwarfed the Polish air force, which had only 392 first-line combat aircraft. The Luftwaffe in March 1939 had a strength of 4,303 aircraft, including 1,180 bombers, 336 dive-bombers, and 1,179 fighters. In support of the German invasion, Army Group North was allocated Luftflotte 1 under General Albert Kesselring; Army Group South was supported by General Alexander Löhr’s Luftflotte 4. The combined force totaled 36 groups and included all of Germany’s dive-bombers, 70 percent of its bombers, and 50 percent of its fighters.

Vastly outnumbered and technically outclassed, the Polish pilots put up a stiff resistance. The law of numbers, however, dictated that the Polish air force would play only a marginal role in the overall outcome of the campaign. By 6 September, Polish fighter units were down to 50 percent of their original strength. A few days later, the surviving fighters began withdrawing toward Romania with the rest of the Polish army.

In the end, the Poles lost almost 300 of their combat aircraft, and they evacuated 98 to Romania. But the Germans

suffered heavy losses as well, with 285 aircraft destroyed and another 279 severely damaged. Despite the great technological disparity in aircraft, Polish fighter pilots scored at least 121 confirmed air-to-air kills for the campaign. German records indicate that the true number may have been closer to 160.

The Poles had no illusions about their strategic situation. On 30 August, Vice Admiral Jozef Unrug, commander of the Polish navy, initiated Operation PEKING, ordering Poland's three modern destroyers to leave immediately for British ports. At 4:43 A.M. on 1 September, the old German battleship *Schleswig-Holstein* opened fire on the Polish military supply base on Westerplatte island in Danzig harbor.

The ground war started within minutes of the *Schlewsig-Holstein* opening fire. In the north, visibility was limited by heavy ground fog as von Bock's units jumped off. The Third Army, under General Georg von K uchler, attacked south toward Warsaw, and General G unther von Kluge's Fourth Army sliced into the Polish Corridor, which divided East Prussia from the rest of Germany. The Fourth Army's objective was to clear a path for the one panzer and two motorized divisions of General Heinz Guderian's XIX Corps to drive a pincer arm southwest toward Warsaw.

The weather in the south, meanwhile, was clear as Army Group South crossed into Poland. General Johannes Blaskowitz's Eighth Army drove toward the Polish industrial city of Lodz. In von Rundstedt's center, his Tenth Army, under General Walther von Reichenau, struck from Oppeln toward Czestochowa, Piotrkow, and Tomaszow to encircle Warsaw from the south. The Fourteenth Army, under Colonel General Wilhelm List, attacked from German Silesia and Slovakia to cut off Krakow.

By 4 September, the Germans had managed to drive a deep wedge between Army Lodz and Army Krakow. On 5 September, the first major clash between German and Polish tanks occurred at Piotrkow. At the end of the day, the Germans penetrated Polish defenses and secured the key road links to Warsaw. The breakthrough at Piotrkow marked the end of the first phase of the Poland Campaign. By the evening of 5 September, the Polish armies were retreating all along the line. With his thin defensive shell cracked, no reserves to commit, and much of his army still mobilizing, Rydz-Śmigły believed he had no alternative but to order a withdrawal to the line of the Vistula. Simultaneously, German field commanders such as Guderian were smelling victory and pushing the German High Command to authorize operations beyond the Vistula.

Warsaw was now directly threatened. On 7 September, Rydz-Śmigły compounded the Polish command-and-control problems by ordering the withdrawal of the High Command eastward to Brzesc (Brest). The Polish command-and-control infrastructure was primitive to begin with, but the

move from Warsaw to Brzesc virtually guaranteed that the Polish High Command would no longer play any significant role in managing the campaign. In the north, meanwhile, the Fourth Army pushed Army Pomorze out of the Polish Corridor, bypassed Army Poznan, and was approaching Warsaw. On 8 September, the 4th Panzer Division attempted to take the Polish capital by storm, but it was driven back and lost 60 armored vehicles after heavy street fighting.

In their rush to reach Warsaw, the Germans lost track of General Tadeusz Kutrzeba's bypassed Army Poznan. They assumed that it had been pushed back as well and was now incorporated into the Warsaw garrison. Kutrzeba's force, in fact, was entrenched behind a bend in the Bzura River about 30 miles west of Warsaw. Locally, Kutrzeba held a 3:1 superiority in infantry, and he decided to attack. The Bzura River Offensive was the only major Polish counterattack of the campaign. On 9 September, the Poles caught the German 24th and 30th Infantry Divisions by surprise, capturing more than 1,500 prisoners from the 30th Division alone. But the Germans, with their far greater mobility and firepower, were able to shift other forces rapidly to contain this Polish offensive. Army Poznan finally surrendered on 21 September, with the Germans capturing more than 100,000 Poles.

With the Buzra Offensive under control, the Germans were then able to turn their attention back to Warsaw to conduct a set-piece siege. On 15 September, the German Third Army forced its way into Warsaw's Praga district on the east side of the Vistula. By 23 September, Warsaw's food and water were running out and the city was completely ringed by 13 German divisions and more than 1,000 guns. On 25 September, a day the Poles still call "Black Monday," Hitler personally ordered an armada of 420 German bombers to savage the capital with repeated sorties. Warsaw finally surrendered on 27 September, after suffering some 2,000 military and 40,000 civilian dead.

It quickly became obvious to Rydz-Śmigły that his order to withdraw to the rivers had come too late. With their vastly superior mobility, the Germans were able to reach the river lines before the Poles could man them. Given approval by the High Command, German field commanders now advanced their forces east of the Vistula. On 9 September, the Fourth Army initiated a drive toward Brzesc that was spearheaded by Guderian's XIX Corps. Two days later, Rydz-Śmigły ordered the surviving Polish units to withdraw toward the southeast, to the so-called "Romanian Bridgehead."

Plan ZACHOD had been based on holding until the French and British could attack Germany from the west. The Poles were promised that attack no later than 16 September. It did not occur. On 17 September, Soviet leader Josef Stalin drove the final nail into the Polish coffin by invading Poland from the east. Hiding behind the excuse of occupying eastern Poland "to protect its fraternal Byelorussian and Ukrainian populations," the Soviets marched in with two fronts (army

groups). The Byelorussian Front, under General M. P. Kovalev, and the Ukrainian Front, under General Semen Timoshenko, had a combined strength of 24 infantry divisions, 15 cavalry divisions, and 2 tank corps.

The Soviet invasion caused immediate problems for the German field commanders, who already were operating well to the east of the demarcation line agreed to in the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact. On 20 September, Hitler ordered a withdrawal to the designated line, with movement to start the next day. The Soviets reached the Bug River on 23 September. On the diplomatic level, meanwhile, the Soviet government initiated negotiations to shift the line to the east in exchange for Lithuania. The Germans agreed, and on 1 October the new demarcation line was established along the general line of the Bug River. The result was to extend the German zone to the east by as much as 100 miles in some places.

Poland suffered staggering losses in the campaign, amounting to 66,300 killed, 133,700 wounded, 587,000 taken prisoner by the Germans, and another 200,000 taken prisoner by the Soviets. Polish civilian deaths were close to 100,000. Virtually all of Poland's military hardware was destroyed or captured, with the exception of the handful of obsolete fighters that escaped to Romania.

Despite the claims of German Minister of Propaganda Josef Goebbels, the Germans paid a high price for such a short campaign. The Wehrmacht suffered 16,000 dead and 32,000 wounded. It lost 217 tanks totally destroyed and another 457 so heavily damaged that most never returned to service. Thus, the Germans lost one-quarter of the tanks as well as one-fifth of the combat aircraft they committed to the campaign. On top of that, they expended eight months' worth of fuel, ammunition, and repair parts in an operation that lasted little more than one month.

The performance of the Polish military can perhaps be put into proper perspective by comparing it with that of the western Allies in the spring of 1940. Only partly mobilized, vastly outnumbered, with obsolete weapons, and attacked from all sides, the Poles held out for 36 days and inflicted heavy losses on the Germans. The British, French, Belgians, and Dutch had almost nine months to mobilize and prepare. When war did come in the west, the Allies had near parity in ground and air forces, actual superiority in tanks, and outright supremacy at sea. Yet, in a 39-day campaign, they inflicted fewer losses on the Germans than had the Poles.

The Anglo-French failure to deliver their promised attack on Germany in September 1939 remains one of the great "what-ifs" of the twentieth century. Strong Allied intervention in the west might not have saved Poland in the end. On the other hand, it certainly would have forced Germany into a two-front war two years earlier than the German invasion of the Soviet Union. The German war machine of 1939 was



Soldiers of the SS-Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler Division, resting in a ditch alongside road on the way to Pabjanice, during the campaign in Poland, September 1939. (Library of Congress)

nowhere near as large and strong as it would be by June 1941. In September 1939, French and British forces were capable of throwing 98 divisions and some 3,500 combat aircraft against Army Group C's 35 infantry divisions supported by about 1,000 aircraft. Behind them lay the vulnerable industrial base of the Rhineland. But in the end, the French made only a feeble effort into the Saarland; the British record was worse and largely confined to debate over the legality of using the Royal Air Force to bomb private property in Germany.

World War II started over Polish independence. Yet in one of the greatest ironies of history, that very independence was bargained away in the deals between the victorious powers at the war's end. The Yalta and Potsdam agreements left Poland on the wrong side of the Iron Curtain, and despite a deep historical antipathy toward the Russians, the Polish people had to endure more than four decades of Soviet domination during the long winter of the Cold War.

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See also

Bock, Fedor von; Chamberlain, Arthur Neville; German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact; Guderian, Heinz; Hitler, Adolf; Kesselring, Albert; Kluge, Günther Adolf Ferdinand von; Küchler, Georg von; Löhr, Alexander; Mussolini, Benito; Potsdam Conference; Reichenau, Walther von; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von; Rydz-Śmigły, Edward; Saar, French Invasion of the; Stalin, Josef; Timoshenko, Semen Konstantinovich; Yalta Conference

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Poland–East Prussia Campaign (July 1944–April 1945)

Important Eastern Front campaign. On 22 June 1944, the third anniversary of the German invasion of the Soviet Union, the Red Army launched Operation BAGRATION, a massive offensive to drive German forces from western Belorussia. By mid-1944, the German army was only a shell of what it had been in 1941, whereas the Soviets had superior numbers of artillery pieces, tanks, trucks, and aircraft as well as a four-to-one manpower advantage on the Eastern Front. The Soviets had also developed new tactical doctrines that took advantage of their greatly improved mobility.

The great Soviet offensive involved 11 fronts (army groups) and stretched from the Baltic in the north to the Black Sea in the south. Within two months, the Red Army had liberated Byelorussia and destroyed German Army Group Center, but even before the conclusion of BAGRATION, Soviet leader Josef Stalin issued new orders through Stavka for the liberation of the Baltic states and Poland and a drive on Berlin. From north to south, this effort involved the 1st Baltic and 3rd, 2nd, and 1st Byelorussian Fronts.

On 20 July 1944, units of the 1st Byelorussian Front crossed the Bug River in three places and captured Lublin. There the Soviets established their own Polish government and army and declared open season on the London government's anti-Communist Polish Home Army. On July 25, the Red Army reached the Vistula. The great city of Brest, encircled, fell on 28 July after a single day of fighting. Meanwhile, Lvov, capital of Galicia, capitulated on 27 July as the other fronts, north and south, achieved their objectives against varying degrees of resistance. Some German army units, cut off and isolated

against the Baltic, did not surrender until the end of the war. German Colonel General Joseph Harpe, commander of Army Group A (the redesignated Army Group North), could do little more than delay the inevitable. Indeed, Hitler's call for "no retreat," when obeyed, resulted in the destruction of many German units in untenable positions, and static defense also brought the destruction of the few remaining German maneuver elements. Adding to Harpe's difficulties later was Hitler's decision to withdraw units to prepare for the Ardennes Offensive (the Battle of the Bulge) in the west.

At the end of July, Stavka ordered the 1st and 2nd Byelorussian Fronts to drive to the Narew River and Warsaw. The 2nd Byelorussian Front was to advance to Ostrołę and Łomża. The 1st Byelorussian Front drove on the Warsaw suburb of Praga, along the way seizing crossing points over the Narew and Vistula Rivers. Although these objectives were secured, the Red Army offensive had lost momentum. In the drive, the Soviets destroyed 28 German divisions, inflicting 350,000 casualties, but logistical problems, in consequence of the rapid advance and two months of solid fighting, forced a pause.

On 29 August, Stalin ordered that all Red Army fronts were to dig in generally along the line of the Vistula and Narew Rivers. Although the 1st and 2nd Byelorussian Fronts continued limited attacks to strengthen their hold across the Narew, Soviet forces made no effort to cross the Vistula River and move into Warsaw. This decision produced one of the most controversial episodes of the entire war, the Warsaw Rising of 1 August to 2 October 1944.

With the rapid Soviet advance, Polish Home Army commander General Tadeusz Bór-Komorowski ordered a general uprising in Warsaw, which brought quick German army reaction. The Soviets made only halfhearted efforts to assist the Home Army in the form of air-dropped supplies. Although it is true that the Red Army suffered from genuine logistical problems, it is also quite true that Stalin was delighted to see the Germans eliminate the anti-Communist Home Army forces, whose existence he correctly believed would hinder his own postwar control of Poland. The Soviets not only refused to help the Poles in any meaningful way, but they also obstructed efforts by the western Allies to air-drop supplies to the Polish fighters. The fighting brought the destruction of 90 percent of the buildings of Warsaw, but it also claimed 10,000 Germans casualties—tribute to the ferocity of the two-month-long Home Army resistance.

Stavka, meanwhile, laid plans for the final control of Poland in an offensive that would carry from the Vistula to the Oder. The massive offensive involved Marshal Georgii Zhukov's 1st Byelorussian Front, Marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky's 2nd Byelorussian Front, General of the Armies Ivan Chernyakovsky's 3rd Byelorussian Front, and

Marshal Ivan S. Konev's 1st Ukrainian Front, all of which were on the Narew-Vistula Line. Meanwhile, General Ivan Petrov's 4th Ukrainian Front occupied positions along the San River line in southern Poland and Galicia.

Stalin's orders were to destroy Army Group A, with the secondary objective of drawing off German reserves in response to western appeals during the German Ardennes Offensive (Battle of the Bulge). Under Stavka's plan, the 1st Byelorussian Front was to take Poznan and destroy forces cut off in the Warsaw area. The 2nd Byelorussian Front would assist in surrounding Warsaw and also take Marienburg. The 1st Ukrainian Front, with five combined-arms armies, two tank armies, and four tank/mechanized corps, would carry the brunt of the offensive, breaking out of the Sandomierz bridgehead and driving to Breslau. The 4th Ukrainian Front would drive on Kraków. The Soviet offensive was massive. The 1st Ukrainian and 1st Byelorussian Fronts together contained 2.2 million ground troops (a six-to-one advantage over the defending Germans) in 163 divisions supported by more than 32,000 artillery pieces and almost 4,800 aircraft.

The second half of the offensive to clear Poland began on 12 January 1945. Radom fell on 16 January. By 17 January, Zhukov's 1st Byelorussian Front and the Soviet-controlled Polish First Army had liberated Warsaw. Within the next week, the 1st Byelorussian and 1st Ukrainian Fronts had punched a 310-mile hole in the German lines and driven 100 miles. There was little Harpe and the German forces could do to arrest the Soviet advance. Kraków and Poznan were taken in late January, and on 22 January, Konev's 1st Ukrainian Front bridged the Oder. Zhukov also reached the river and got his troops across, although it took three weeks to close the 70-mile gap separating these two Red Army fronts. On 28 January, forces of the 1st Byelorussian Front entered German Pomerania, where they were met by the hastily formed Army Group Vistula, commanded by the inept Heinrich Himmler. Königsberg was surrounded and taken on 9 April. Meanwhile, the 1st Ukrainian Front eliminated pockets of German forces in southwestern Poland.

Soviet forces had once again outrun their logistical support and were forced to halt. Nevertheless, the Red Army was now poised to begin its final offensive: the drive on Berlin to end the war.

Michael Share and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Ardennes Offensive; Belorussia Campaign; Bór-Komorowski, Tadeusz; Himmler, Heinrich; Hitler, Adolf; Konev, Ivan Stepanovich; Rokossovsky, Konstantin Konstantinovich.; Stalin, Josef; Warsaw Rising; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Portal, Sir Charles Frederick Algernon (First Viscount Portal of Hungerford) (1893–1971)

Royal Air Force (RAF) marshal, chief of the RAF Air Staff from 1940 to 1945, and member of the Combined Chiefs of Staff. Born 21 May 1893 in Hungerford, England, Charles Portal joined the Royal Engineers as a dispatch rider during World War I. In 1915, he was commissioned in the Royal Flying Corps, qualifying as an observer and then a pilot. He shot down several German aircraft in some 900 sorties that primarily included reconnaissance and artillery fire direction and won the Distinguished Flying Cross. Between the wars, his posts in the RAF included commander of British forces at Aden (1934–1935) and the Imperial Defence College (July 1937). Promoted to air vice marshal in July 1937, he became director of organization and was responsible for developing 30 new RAF bases around Britain. He also served as air member for personnel at the Air Ministry.

Portal became chief of Bomber Command in April 1940, initiating the first RAF raids against Germany. He was knighted that July. On 25 October 1940, Portal was named chief of the air staff and air chief marshal (the highest RAF post; he was the youngest staff chief). In addition to his Air Ministry duties directing the policy and operations of the RAF, Portal participated in all the summit conferences as a member of the Chiefs of Staff Committee. Portal supported Sir Arthur Harris's controversial stewardship of Bomber Command and the policy of area bombing (until it was halted by Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill in March 1945). A strong believer in air power, he saw the role of the RAF and its American Army Air Forces allies as destroying Germany's ability to resist invasion. Portal was made a baron (Lord Portal of Hungerford) in August and served as RAF chief until 31 December 1945. Churchill's verdict on Portal was that he was the "accepted star of the air force."

From 1946 (when he was raised to Viscount) to 1951, Lord Portal was responsible for administering the atomic research facilities at Harwell. He served as chairman of the British Aircraft Corporation from 1960 to 1968. He died 23 April 1971 in Chichester, England. He was one of the few senior wartime leaders to leave no memoirs.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also

Carpet Bombing; Combined Chiefs of Staff; Great Britain, Air Force; Strategic Bombing

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Portugal

Portugal, located in the western Iberian Peninsula, was dwarfed by its overseas empire, which was chiefly in Africa. Portugal itself comprises only about 35,500 square miles and had a population in 1939 of 7.7 million people.

A republic had been proclaimed in 1910, but the years that followed were turbulent; there were 40 cabinets in the first 14 years of the republic. Finally, in 1926, the military seized power and subsequently summoned a university economics professor, Antonio Salazar, as minister of finance to restore economic order. For the next forty years, until 1968, Salazar completely dominated Portugal. In 1932 he became premier as head of an authoritarian government, and under a constitution in 1933, Portugal became a corporative republic. A national assembly elected by the heads of families served as the legislative body. A corporative chamber advised the assembly on social and economic matters; it represented syndicates of various corporations. The Catholic Church also maintained considerable influence. Salazar's National Union party was the political voice of the so-called *estado novo* (new state). This system came to be known as clerical fascism.

Salazar avoided Portuguese entanglement in the Spanish Civil War, and on 31 March 1939, he and Spanish dictator Generalissimo Francisco Franco signed a friendship and nonaggression treaty. Known as the *Pacto Ibérico* (Iberian Pact) it pledged both countries to mutual aid if either was attacked. Portugal was a long-standing ally of Great Britain and had entered World War I in 1916 as a result of British ties, but when World War II began, Salazar proclaimed Portuguese neutrality. He was convinced that, although the war would be long, the Allies would eventually win. During the conflict, Salazar's policy of collaborative neutrality or "juridical neutrality" helped keep German troops out of the Iberian Peninsula.

Several consequences flowed from Portugal's neutral stance. From the beginning of the war, refugees flooded in and were given sanctuary in Portugal or allowed to transit the country. The wealthy political opponents of the Nazis, English and American expatriates, the homeless and displaced, and desperate Jews all found in Lisbon a travel terminus to North Africa or the Americas. Portuguese neutrality also provided a place for the transit of goods bound for Axis powers.

At first, the Salazar government ignored the Jews, but it then issued an order (Circular 14) to forbid them visas. Portuguese consul general in Bordeaux, France, Aristides de Sousa Mendes not only ignored this order, but over a six-month period in 1940, he issued more than 30,000 visas to Jews and others, allowing them to escape the Nazis. Mendes was dismissed, disgraced, and eventually died in poverty. Not until 1987 did the Portuguese government honor his deed.

To meet the refugee problem, various charities operated in Portugal. The Red Cross headquarters for relief operations, prisoner-of-war packages, and the like in Europe during the war was centered in Portugal. Others also came to neutral Portugal to operate. Spies from both sides made Lisbon a hotbed of intrigue and espionage during the war. Businessmen from both sides in the war sought Portuguese goods. The Axis side sought Portuguese tin, cork, wool, fish, and especially wolfram (tungsten) for use in hardening steel.

Portugal in fact supplied wolfram to both sides. When the Germans insisted on increased deliveries, Salazar resisted, and on 12 October 1941, 80 miles from Lisbon, the crew of the German submarine *U-83* searched and then sank the Portuguese merchant ship *Corte Real* on the grounds that she was carrying contraband. Many believed that this was intended to intimidate the Portuguese. Salazar nonetheless refused to change his policy of evenhanded neutrality. Salazar attempted to regulate the sale of wolfram; however, the Germans increased their share by smuggling it from private mines. Finally, in June 1944, Salazar agreed to impose an embargo on the sale of wolfram to the Axis side.

The Portuguese Azores in the Atlantic were islands of great strategic importance and figured in German invasion plans for the Iberian Peninsula (Operation *FELIX*), which were never implemented. To prevent these islands from falling into Axis hands, in June 1943 the British invoked the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance of 1373 and requested the use of bases on the Azores. Salazar, well aware of the change in Germany's military fortunes, complied, and on 8 October 1943 Britain landed troops in the Azores to establish bases there. U.S. troops and bases followed. Lajes Field on Terceira became an important transit point for aircraft, and other Azores bases figured prominently in anti-U-boat activity in the Atlantic.

Politically, there were those in Portugal who supported the Allies and others who favored the Nazis. As the war continued, shortages developed and unemployment rose. The government ruthlessly crushed all strikes.

Portugal maintained its overseas colonies during the war. The one exception was the island of Timor in the Indonesian archipelago. In late 1941, fearing a Japanese attack there, a combined Australian and Dutch force took control. In early 1942, the Japanese drove them from Timor.

Salazar's policy of "juridical neutrality" kept one of Europe's poorer countries out of the conflict. Certainly Salazar

emerged from the war in a much better position than Franco. Portugal was readily admitted to the United Nations and was invited to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

A. J. L. Waskey

See also

Franco, Francisco; Salazar, Antonio

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Potsdam Conference (17 July–2 August 1945)

Final wartime conference involving the leaders of the major Allied powers. The conference was held in 1945 from 17 July to 2 August in the Cecilienhof Palace at Potsdam, near Berlin. Its code name, *TERMINAL*, signaled both the end of the war and the wartime alliance. U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt had died in April 1945; President Harry S. Truman represented the United States, assisted by Secretary of State James F. Byrnes and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral William Leahy. Truman traveled to and from Europe on the cruiser *Augusta*.

The results of British elections were announced in the midst of the conference, and in one of the most stunning upsets in British electoral history, the Conservatives were ousted. Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill resigned, replaced by leader of the British Labour Party Clement Attlee with Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin. No elections disturbed the Soviet delegation, headed by Josef Stalin, assisted by Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov. Despite French leader Charles de Gaulle's appeals to Washington, France was not represented at Potsdam. The day before the conference formally opened, Truman received word of the successful explosion of an atomic bomb at Alamogordo, New Mexico.

Among issues discussed at the conference were the future of Germany and eastern Europe and involving the Soviet

Union in the war against Japan. On 26 July, U.S. and British leaders issued a surrender ultimatum to Japan. Designed to weaken Japanese resistance to surrender, the Potsdam Declaration held out some hope to the Japanese for the future. Although their country would be disarmed, occupied, and shorn of its conquests, Japan would be allowed access to raw materials after the war and would have the opportunity for democratic development. If, however, Japanese leaders refused to surrender, the nation would be destroyed. The Soviet Union, several weeks away from a declaration of war against Japan, was not a party to this proclamation.

Stalin demanded heavy reparations from Germany for the vast damage suffered by the Soviet Union in the war. He held out for a firm figure, whereas Truman would agree only to the Soviet Union receiving a set percentage of a whole to be determined on the German capacity to pay. The U.S. delegation also disagreed with the Soviets over their very loose interpretation of "war booty"—goods that could be confiscated without reference to reparations. Agreement was reached at Potsdam, however, that the Russians would receive 25 percent of plants and industrial equipment removed from the western zones. In return, the Soviets were to repay 15 of the total 25 percent in food and raw materials from their zone. The Soviets also received permission to seize German assets in Bulgaria, Hungary, Finland, Romania, and their zone of Austria. No agreement on reparations was ever reached, but it is estimated that the Russians probably took about \$20 billion (the total sum discussed at the Yalta Conference) from their zone of Germany alone.

The Allies also reached agreement on the "three Ds"—democratization, denazification, and demilitarization. German leaders were also to be punished as war criminals, and Germany's resources were to be used to repair the damages that had been inflicted in the war on its neighbors. German industrial production was set at a level no higher than the average for Europe as a whole.

No peace treaty was signed between the Allies and Germany, and so further "temporary" arrangements sanctioned by Potsdam became permanent. Following the war, East Prussia was divided according to agreements made at the Tehran Conference. Königsberg, Memel, and northern East Prussia were appropriated by the Soviet Union, and the remainder of East Prussia went to Poland. The conferees at Potsdam agreed on an "orderly and humane" transfer of the German population from this region. This did not occur. Perhaps 2 million Germans lost their lives in the forced reparations and exodus that followed.

Agreement was reached over the surrender of Japanese forces in Korea and Indochina. In the case of Korea, the Soviets were to be responsible for their surrender north of the 38th parallel, and American forces were to be responsible south of that line. In Indochina, Chinese forces would take the Japa-



British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, U.S. President Harry Truman, and Soviet Premier Josef Stalin shake hands in celebration at the Potsdam Conference of July–August 1945. The leaders of the “Big Three” met at the conference to discuss the postwar fate of Germany and to plan the end of the war against Japan. (Corbis)

nese surrender north of the 16th parallel and British forces south of it. Never intended as political boundaries, these too became part of the Cold War.

The leaders at Potsdam also established a Council of Foreign Ministers to plan the preparation of peace treaties. Their discussions produced increasingly bitter exchanges that reflected the start of the Cold War.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Attlee, Clement Richard; Byrnes, James Francis; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Leahy, William Daniel; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stalin, Josef; Tehran Conference; Truman, Harry S; Yalta Conference

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Pound, Sir Alfred Dudley Pickman Rogers (1877–1943)

British admiral, first sea lord, and chief of the Naval Staff. Born on 29 August 1877 near Ventnor, Isle of Wight, Alfred Pound entered the Royal Navy in 1891 and became a torpedo lieutenant in 1902. Promoted to captain in 1914, he was second naval assistant to First Sea Lord John Fisher (December 1914–May 1915). Pound fought in World War I as flag captain of the battleship *Colossus* (1915–1917), including service at the Battle of Jutland.

After the war, Pound served on the Admiralty Staff (1917–1919), was head of the Royal Navy Plans Division (1922), and commanded the battle cruiser squadron (1929–1932). He was knighted in 1933 and served as second sea lord (1933–1935). Pound returned to sea and became commander in chief of the Mediterranean Fleet (1936–1939), training its personnel for the impending war.

On the eve of war, Pound was promoted to admiral of the fleet; he was named first sea lord (the highest Royal Navy post) in June 1939. He was already a tired man who consistently worked too hard and for long hours, and he had few



Prime Minister Winston Churchill walking with First Sea Lord of the Royal Navy, Admiral Sir Alfred Dudley Pound. (Corbis)

hobbies with which to break the pressure. Yet under him, the navy planned and saw through the initial stages of the successful war at sea, although not without setbacks. Pound blamed himself for the loss of the *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* to Japanese air attack in December 1941. In July 1942, wanting to clear convoy escorts for expected German surface attack, Pound ordered the Russia-bound convoy (PQ-17) merchant ships to scatter, and 22 of 35 ships were subsequently lost to U-boat attack.

In an effort to lighten his load, Pound handed over chairmanship of the Chiefs of Staff to Alanbrook (9 March 1942), and a deputy first sea lord was appointed to assist him two months later. He declined a peerage, but he was awarded the Order of Merit in 1943. Following the death of his wife in July 1943, his own health failed. Although the cause was not realized at the time, he was suffering from a brain tumor that had made him increasingly sleepy in meetings. Pound eventually suffered a stroke while accompanying Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill to the Quebec Conference. He died on 21 October (Trafalgar Day) 1943 in London.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Great Britain, Navy

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POWs

See Prisoners of War.

Prien, Günther (1908–1941)

German naval officer and U-boat captain. Born on 16 January 1908 in Lübeck on the Baltic coast, Günther Prien joined

the merchant marines at age 15 to aid his divorced mother and two siblings. He impressed his superiors with his acumen and skill. He graduated from captain's school in 1932 and, in 1933, entered the German navy. Commissioned an ensign, he volunteered for submarine school in 1935. During the Spanish Civil War, he served on *U-26* off the coast of Spain.

Prien's skill won him command in 1938 of *U-47*, one of Germany's new Type VIIB submarines. From the start of World War II, Prien's submarine patrolled the Atlantic shipping lanes. He logged his first kill, a merchantman, on 5 September 1939. The next month, commander of German submarines Admiral Karl Dönitz picked Prien for a daring mission to penetrate the principal anchorage of the British Home Fleet at Scapa Flow in the Orkney Islands. On 13 October, Prien was able to pass *U-47* between sunken blockships in Kirk Sound and maneuvered into the harbor. At about 1 A.M. on 14 October, Prien fired four torpedoes at the battleship *Royal Oak*, sinking her. Three torpedoes fired at what Prien mistakenly believed to be the battle cruiser *Repulse*



Adolf Hitler, accompanied by Admiral Erich Raeder (left edge) and Captain Günther Prien, decorates Prien's U-boat crew after they sank the British battleship *Royal Oak* at Scapa Flow, with the loss of 833 British sailors, Berlin, 1939. (Corbis)

(actually the transport, later seaplane-tender, *Pegasus*) missed. Prien then departed the harbor, managing to avoid detection. This accomplishment was a major propaganda coup for the German navy, and Adolf Hitler awarded Prien the Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross for this deed. Prien was also promoted to Kapitänleutnant.

Prien went on to sink 31 Allied ships and assisted in sinking 4 others, for a total of 213,283 tons. On 8 March 1941, British destroyers *Verity* and *Wolverine* surprised Prien's *U-47* and *U-99* on the surface. *U-99* reported a 9-hour attack with more than 50 depth charges. It is possible that Prien's *U-47* succumbed to this assault, although another theory suggests that Prien counterattacked and his submarine was struck by one of his own circling torpedoes. In any case, all contact with *U-47* was lost.

Matthew Alan McNiece

See also

Royal Oak, Sinking of; Submarines; Wolf Pack

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Prince of Wales and Repulse **(10 December 1941)**

Following World War I, British authorities decided to develop Singapore as the most important naval base in the Far East to concentrate British forces to protect the vast British imperial and commercial interests in the region. During the interwar period, a major base was created somewhat haphazardly, including land defenses and provisions for air support. Part of the plan involved deploying a large naval force to Singapore, a force as large as or larger than the Japanese battle fleet. The doctrine was called "Main Fleet to Singapore." However, by the late 1930s, naval commitments in home waters and in the Mediterranean Sea reflected increased threats from Germany and Italy, so that at the beginning of World War II, the Royal Navy battle fleet was spread thinly. Finally, in October 1941, Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill decided to deploy a squadron of capital ships to Singapore under new Eastern Fleet commander Admiral Sir Tom Phillips. Some viewed this as the Main Fleet to Singapore force designed to overawe the Japanese from the seemingly impregnable base at Singapore.

Phillips flew his flag in the *Prince of Wales*, a George V-class battleship that was completed in March 1941. Britain's newest capital ship, she had fought the German bat-

tle ship *Bismarck* and carried Churchill to meet with U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt at Placentia Bay, Newfoundland. She mounted a main armament of 10 × 14-inch guns in two quadruple and one double turret, along with 16 × 5.25-inch quick-firing guns. She also was armed with 64 × 2-pounder pompoms, 8 × 40-mm Bofors, and 25 × 20-mm Oerlikon anti-aircraft guns. The battle cruiser *Repulse*, completed in 1916 during World War I, accompanied her. She mounted 6 × 15-inch and 15 × 4-inch guns plus 4 × 4-inch quick-firing anti-aircraft guns. The aircraft carrier *Indomitable*, which was to have accompanied these two capital ships, had been run aground off Jamaica and was undergoing repairs. The decision to send the two capital ships to the Far East without air cover was fateful, as it deprived the squadron of the means to defend against Japanese air attack. Land-based air forces at Singapore were also inadequate. Churchill, however, believed that capital ships could not be sunk by aircraft while the ships were under way and defending themselves with anti-aircraft guns.

The *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* arrived at Singapore on 2 December. Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the two were the only Allied capital ships on station between Hawaii and the Mediterranean. On 8 December, the Japanese invaded Malaya, and Phillips immediately took his ships to sea to intercept a Japanese convoy off of the Kra Isthmus of Malaya. His Force Z consisted of the two capital ships and the destroyers *Vampire*, *Tenedos*, *Electra*, and *Express*.

With no British air cover available and all hope lost of surprising the Japanese naval units, Phillips ordered his ships to return to Singapore. At this point, Phillips received a report of another Japanese landing at Kuantan, closer to his position. He headed there but maintained radio silence so as to not alert the Japanese. This prevented the dispatch of British land-based aviation, which Phillips assumed would be forthcoming.

The British ships had been sighted by a Japanese submarine, and on the morning of 10 December, the Japanese launched massive air attacks against the British ships. The Japanese force consisted of 86 twin-engine bombers, 18 high-level bombers, and 25 torpedo bombers of the First Air Fleet at land bases in Indochina. The attacks began at 11:15 A.M. Force Z was then about 50 miles off the east coast of Malaya. The *Repulse* was sunk first, then the *Prince of Wales*. Both ships were victims of air-launched torpedoes. The *Repulse* went down with 327 of her crew of 960; the *Prince of Wales* was struck by one or two 1,100-pound bombs and as many as 6 torpedoes. Of her 1,612 crew members, the destroyers rescued 1,285. Neither Admiral Phillips nor Captain J. Leach, captain of the *Prince of Wales*, were among the survivors. The Japanese lost only 3 aircraft in the battle.

The destruction of Force Z came as a great shock to the Royal Navy and British government and public. It has been charac-

terized as a sign of the end of the battleship era. No longer could capital ships operate alone without air and subsurface protection. The associated surrender of Singapore to inferior numbers of Japanese forces in February 1942, the greatest defeat suffered by Britain in its modern history, was seen as the end of British, even western, dominance in East Asia.

Eugene L. Rasor and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

China-Burma-India Theater; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Great Britain, Navy; Japan, Army; Malaya Campaign; Phillips, Sir Tom Spencer Vaughan; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Singapore, Battle for

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Prisoners of War (POWs)

In 1929, the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (POWs) replaced the Hague Convention of 1907 regarding protection of POWs. The Hague Convention had dealt primarily with the means of war (for example, it prohibited the use of exploding bullets), whereas the Geneva Convention dealt exclusively with the protection of victims of war. It held that POWs should be considered on a par with the detaining power's garrison troops as far as rations, living space, clothing, and access to medical care were concerned. It also addressed such issues as permissible work and punishment and access to letters and packages. Forty powers signed the convention, but the Soviet Union did not, meaning that prisoners taken by its forces were not subject to Geneva Convention protection. Although the Japanese delegates at Geneva signed the POW convention, the Tokyo government never ratified it. Its military leaders assumed no Japanese would be taken prisoner and that the convention would thus be applied unilaterally. Cultural attitudes also played an important role, and authorized punishments for POWs were much milder than those the Japanese meted out to their own soldiers. Although in 1942 the Japanese government pledged to live up to the spirit of the convention, its treatment of Allied POWs during the war clearly ran counter to its assurance.

Europe, Eastern Front

On 1 September 1939, German forces invaded Poland; two days later Britain and France declared war on Germany, igniting World War II. Two weeks later, Soviet forces invaded Eastern Poland in accordance with the secret provisions of the August 1939 German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact. In 1940, Soviet authorities executed perhaps 15,000 Polish officers in the Katyń Forest of eastern Poland. Prisoners taken by the Germans were sent to slave-labor camps. The Poles thus did not benefit from the Geneva Convention.

In June 1941, German forces invaded the Soviet Union. In response to inquiries by the U.S. government, Moscow had stated that the Soviet Union would observe the Hague Convention of 1907 regarding land warfare, the Geneva Protocol of 1925 regarding chemical and bacteriological warfare, and the Geneva Convention of 1929 regarding care for the wounded and sick of warring armies. However, the Soviets said they would observe the agreements on POWs only as "they were observed by the Germans."

The German government was as obstinate on the issue as the Soviets, and the cost was ultimately very high for the POWs captured in the fighting. Both German and Soviet POWs suffered conditions that were approached only by treatment accorded prisoners of the Japanese. Of some 5.7 million Soviet soldiers taken prisoner by the Germans, at least 3.3 million died in captivity, a mortality rate of 57 percent. This compares with a mortality rate of only 3.5 to 5.1 percent for British and American POWs in German hands.

Many Soviet prisoners taken early in the fighting were simply starved to death. According to Adolf Hitler's notorious Commissar Order, political officers were to be shot on capture. Jewish soldiers taken prisoner were handed over the Schutzstaffel (SS) to be executed. Conditions were horrendous for the others. The Germans marched the prisoners long distances to the rear, and there were no prepared lodging or sanitary facilities and little food for them when they reached the camp locations. As a result, POWs died by the hundreds of thousands. The leaders of the Reich regarded the prisoners as subhuman and treated them accordingly. Of 3.2 million Soviet soldiers taken prisoner by December 1941, 2 million were dead by February 1942.

As the German advance came to a halt and it became impossible to demobilize German soldiers, the Reich's leaders sought to make more effective use of the Soviet POWs by putting them to work in difficult conditions in road building, mining, and agriculture. Not until mid-1944, however, did food rations for Soviet POWs approach those of other Allied POWs in German captivity. So difficult was it for Soviet prisoners of war that at least a quarter million volunteered to serve as auxiliaries to the German army, working as cooks, drivers, and the like, in an effort simply to stay alive. Tens of thousands of others also agreed to serve in a German-

sponsored Russian Liberation Army led by former Soviet Lieutenant General Andrei A. Vlasov. Hitler, however, refused it any combat role and it became simply a means to encourage desertions.

The plight of Soviet POWs in German hands did not end with the defeat of Germany. Soviet leader Josef Stalin's infamous Order 270 of August 1941 had branded as traitors all Red Army personnel who allowed themselves to be taken prisoner, regardless of circumstances. It also ordered rations cut off to their families. Of some 1.8 million Soviet POWs repatriated at the end of the war, at least 150,000 were sentenced to long prison terms of forced labor for having "aided the enemy."

On the other side, about a third of the nearly 3 million German and Austrian soldiers taken by the Soviets in the war died in captivity. Of some 91,000 Germans taken prisoner in the Battle of Stalingrad, fewer than 5,000 survived Soviet captivity. Death rates were comparable for the 2 million Axis soldiers taken prisoner by the Soviets.

The only difference in German and Soviet treatment of POWs was that, for the Germans, it was systematic government policy to work the prisoners to death, whereas POWs in Soviet hands fell victim to the general inefficiency and indifference of the Soviet POW camp system (GUPVI), lack of resources in a country ravaged by war, and individual acts of reprisal. Rising numbers of German POWs after 1942 simply overwhelmed available Soviet means to care for them. The Soviets did not begin major repatriation of its POWs until 1947, and the last were not released until 1956.

Western Europe

During World War II in Europe and North Africa, the Axis powers captured some 8.5 to 9 million enemy soldiers, of whom 6 million—the vast majority—were Soviets. In turn, the Allies took some 8.25 million Axis soldiers captive, 3.4 million of whom surrendered with the end of hostilities on the Western Front.

Few problems were reported for prisoners held by the Italian government. Experiences for POWs held by the Germans varied according to their citizenship. Treatment was decidedly better for western Europeans and North Americans than for those from eastern or southern Europe. The Germans did not expend scarce resources on the prisoners, however. Thus, in consequence of the high number of parcels sent to western Allied POWs, the German government decided to cut food rations to U.S. and British Commonwealth POWs by one-third, forcing these Allied governments to subsidize German Geneva Convention obligations. The Germans did, however, employ many of its French and Belgian POWs in labor activities (such as the armaments industry) that directly benefited the German war effort.

The Germans organized their POW camps quite methodically. Internally, the camps were run by the prisoners. Gen-

erally there was an SAO—Senior Allied Officer or Senior American Officer, depending on the mix of prisoners. Officers were segregated from enlisted men. *Stalags* were camps that held enlisted personnel as well as noncommissioned officers. *Oflags* were camps with only officers and some noncommissioned officers. In stalags, there was generally a "man of confidence" who was usually elected by his fellow POWs, although on occasion he was appointed by the Germans.

Camps usually contained more than one compound, and prisoners were segregated among the compounds by uniform, not by claimed citizenship. Hence, U.S. personnel who flew with the RAF and were captured in RAF uniform were considered to be British and housed with British flyers. Compounds held French, Russians, British, Commonwealth, and various other nationalities. Some camps held only one nationality; some held many different nationalities.

There were also prisoner-of-war camps located in areas that held concentration camps. Auschwitz, which is known for being an extermination center, was actually a complex of camps comprising more than just the extermination center. French, Soviet, and other nationalities of POWs were held there. Two exceptions to the generally satisfactory German treatment of western POWs came in Hitler's Commando Order of October 1942, which allowed the killing out-of-hand of Allied commandoes, and Berga, a Buchenwald subcamp that held 352 U.S. "Jewish" POWs. Of that number, only 70 were actually Jewish, but the others were chosen by the Germans because they "appeared" Jewish. Prisoners were regularly beaten and starved, and several were murdered.

There have been unsubstantiated charges in recent years of British and U.S. mistreatment of German POWs in the months immediately following the end of the war in Europe. There is, however, no proof of this nor of any widespread mistreatment of Axis prisoners of war by British and U.S. authorities during the war itself.

Far East

Japanese cultural attitudes played an overwhelming role in Japanese treatment of its POWs. The Japanese believed that soldiers should die in battle rather than surrender and that those who allowed themselves to be taken prisoner had dishonored themselves. Japanese treatment of POWs was atrocious. Prisoners were subject to torture, starvation, beatings, and denial of medical care. Most were required to perform slave labor, from building railroads to working in coal mines and factories, all of which were forbidden by the Geneva Convention. Mistreatment was rampant, as were disease and starvation, not only among military prisoners but with civilian internees. Nor would the Japanese allow humanitarian aid to reach the prisoners.

The generally accepted figure for Allied POWs in Japanese hands is 320,000: 140,000 Europeans and North Americans and 180,000 Chinese, Filipino, Indian, and other Asian



German prisoners captured at the beachhead of Anzio, south of Rome, leave a LST on their way to a prison camp, 1 January 1944. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

troops. Most of Japan's prisoners were taken in the Japanese successes of late 1941 and early 1942, especially in the Netherlands East Indies. Although the Japanese soon released many of the nonwhite prisoners, they held their white captives until the surrender in 1945.

The Japanese captured some 25,600 U.S. prisoners. Of these, 8,288 died, a rate of 35.6 percent. This was appreciably higher than the rate for all prisoners who died in Japanese hands: 37,800 or 26.9 percent. Part of this disparity was the result of the many American and Filipino POWs who died in the Bataan Death March. Prisoners of the Japanese received no medical care and little food, and they were seldom allowed to contact their families. Many of the prisoners were transferred from the Philippines and other places to Japan or Manchuria to prison camps. Sent by ship, the prisoners were

entombed below decks with little or no access to fresh air or water. Many hundreds of men died in these "Hell Ships" of the conditions, but the exact total is unknown. Several of the ships, unmarked by the Japanese as transporting POWs, were sunk by Allied planes or submarines. In addition, many POWs who ended up in Manchuria were subjected to the horrors of biological warfare and vivisection experiments carried out by the infamous Japanese Unit 731.

Japanese military codes forbade surrender, and in consequence, the western Allies took very few Japanese prisoners. On Iwo Jima, U.S. Marines took fewer than 300 prisoners from the 21,000-man Japanese garrison, and only about 7,400 of nearly 115,000 Japanese soldiers on Okinawa surrendered. It is also true that once Allied soldiers learned of the barbaric treatment accorded by the Japanese to their pris-

oners, there was a tendency to decline to take prisoners, although this was never official policy.

Some 633,000 Japanese personnel were taken prisoner in Southeast Asia, and most of them surrendered to the British at the end of the war. Many of these were held well after the war and worked as laborers without pay. Only in October 1947 were Japanese released from Singapore. Some Japanese POWs were also rearmed and forced to serve with Dutch forces in the Netherlands East Indies in violation of international law, and nearly 1,000 died.

It is unclear how many Japanese were taken prisoner by the Soviet Union, which entered the war in the Pacific on 9 August 1945. The Soviets claimed to have captured 594,000 Japanese and claimed that upward of 71,000 of these were immediately freed. Japanese scholars, however, insist that the number was much higher. Sent to Siberia, the Japanese worked there for several years before they were released. Because of the dishonor associated with being captured, few Japanese ex-POWs have left memoirs of their experiences. The record of Americans and Europeans held by the Japanese is, however, well documented.

North America

When the United States entered World War II, little thought had been given to the establishment of POW facilities. In March 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt authorized the evacuation of Japanese Americans from “military areas,” especially on the West Coast of the United States. Ultimately some 120,000 Japanese Americans were affected. Although they were not called prisoners of war, they were interned in camps in Wyoming, California, Colorado, Arizona, Idaho, and Arkansas.

Following the Axis defeat in North Africa, large numbers of German and Italian POWs were brought to camps in the United States. Ultimately, some 425,000 Axis prisoners of war were held in the United States. By the end of the war, the United States had established 141 permanent base camps and 319 branch camps, each holding an average of about 2,500 prisoners. Given the labor shortage in the United States because of the demands of the war, many of the POWs went to work, but they were paid for their labor according to rank. Officers were not required to work, although several did accept supervisory positions. Contractors who hired the POWs paid the U.S. government some \$22 million for their services, so that the program was nearly self-sufficient. By the end of the war, of 370,000 POWs in the United States, nearly 200,000 were employed in nonmilitary jobs, most of them in agriculture. Conditions in the U.S. camps were generally excellent. The major problem came from die-hard Nazi fellow prisoners, who had to be segregated in special camps.

Following the war, several U.S.-held POWs were turned over to France and Britain to work in mines and help clear

bombed roads and cities. Most of these POWs were repatriated to Germany in late 1947 and early 1948, embittered over their postwar treatment.

Spencer C. Tucker and Patricia Wadley

See also

Bataan Death March; Commando Order; Commissar Order; German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact; Hitler, Adolf; Japanese Americans; Katyń Forest Massacre; Manchuria Campaign; Order 270; Stalin, Josef; Unit 731, Japanese Army; Vlasov, Andrei Andreyevich

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Propaganda

Organized and usually emotional government campaigns employing print, film, and especially radio designed to persuade audiences of nefarious enemy actions while supporting one’s own war effort. Propaganda as a modern psychological weapon of war was first systematically applied by all major combatants in World War I. With more modern media available—and a far clearer ideological conflict between democracy and fascism—propaganda became much more pervasive in World War II. Some was aimed domestically to encourage support for the war; the best-known efforts were directed at opponents.

The Axis Powers: Germany, Italy, and Japan

Germany’s stellar propaganda efforts drew on Hitler’s own experience of Allied propaganda during World War I. Recognizing the importance of a clear effort, Germany developed

centralized control of all media from the beginning of the Nazi regime with the March 1933 creation of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, which was headed by Joseph Goebbels. Initial efforts were largely domestic and soon included a steady beat of anti-Semitic and anti-Communist content. Another theme was how World War I had been lost not on the battlefield but thanks to subversion and internal collapse. By the late 1930s, propaganda focused on how others (such as Poland) had attacked Germany and on the “decadent” Slav people. There was also a steady building of the Hitler personality cult.

Two media were especially valuable to Goebbels—radio and dramatic films and newsreels. Epitomized by *The Triumph of the Will* (1935), Leni Riefenstahl’s heroic film portrayal of the Nazi Party’s 1934 Nuremberg rally, sound, Wagnerian music, and dramatic photography combined to illustrate Germany’s growing might. Likewise, shortwave radio, including the use of turncoat broadcasters such as “Lord Haw Haw” and “Axis Sally,” was invaluable in attempts to weaken enemy morale and soften up target countries before and during attacks. Film and radio helped promote the power of German arms on land, on the sea, and in the air, as did bright poster art and printed media. Germany’s propaganda was clearly the most effective and cohesive of any belligerent in the war.

Italian efforts were more for internal consumption and dated to the beginning of Benito Mussolini’s regime in 1922. Marshaling all media, the fascist movement was pictured as reviving the glorious days of Imperial Rome. Central to that message was (as in Germany) building a cult around the maximum leader, Mussolini.

Japan’s approach to propaganda, or what its leadership termed “thought war,” centered on the conception of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. This economic empire backed by Japanese arms was described as liberating Asia for Asians as old colonial powers (Britain, France, the Netherlands) were beaten back. The glory of empire was personified again, this time in the role of the virtually godlike emperor.

Given the distances covered by Japan’s conquests, at their height stretching from the borders of India to the mid-Pacific, Japan relied on extensive use of shortwave radio, and “Tokyo Rose” and others broadcasted directly to American troops. Internal propaganda emphasized Japanese victories and expansion even when that was no longer true. Japanese listeners were thus stunned when they first heard Emperor Hirohito call for an end to hostilities in August 1945, having had no idea of the true direction of the war for the previous two years.

The Allies: Britain, United States, and Soviet Union

Allied propaganda efforts began as a response to Axis messages. The British drew lessons from their World War I experience and again divided internal and external propaganda operations. The former involved considerable reliance on



Poster produced by U.S. Office of War Information, ca. 1941–1945. (Swim Ink/Jack Betts/Corbis)

media cooperation with authorities rather than government orders. Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain’s government established a Ministry of Information (January 1940) under former British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) director general Sir John Reith. Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill appointed Duff Cooper in May 1940 and then Brendan Bracken, a journalist and close political associate, in July 1941. Although there was some clumsy initial censorship, the ministry found its feet as the war took hold. Churchill also established a Political Warfare Executive (September 1941) to direct propaganda aimed at enemy countries. These efforts included massive leaflet drops from bombers and effective use of BBC news and other broadcasts.

Themes evident in print, film, and radio propaganda emphasized that all Britons were in the war together. “We” might be “standing alone” but “London can take it.” These and similar themes helped to rally domestic support even at the height of the Blitz. In its 4,000 theaters, Britain made excellent use of hundreds of motion pictures, including both features and short news items. Some were screened in the United States to encourage U.S. support of Britain’s fight. The BBC played a central role, including broadcasting Churchill’s persuasive and gripping speeches. Churchill and others made

use of the “V for Victory” appeals from early 1941 to mid-1942 and succeeded in covering Europe with the painted sign or Morse Code signal (. . . -).

Through 1941, the United States remained heavily isolationist and wary of foreign propaganda, given the World War I campaign that had helped lure the nation into the war. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and several initial organizational attempts, President Franklin D. Roosevelt formed the Office of War Information (OWI) in June 1942 under respected radio news commentator Elmer Davis. OWI established domestic and overseas sections, the latter eventually becoming the Voice of America.

American propaganda themes emphasized Roosevelt’s Four Freedoms (of speech and worship, and from fear or want). Messages promoted military victories combined with some censorship. That the efforts of women were needed to back the fighting men was evident in posters featuring “Rosie the Riveter” and in Hollywood films that presented a positive view of the war. Frank Capra’s seven-film “Why We Fight” series comprised some of the best wartime documentaries made. Films by John Ford and John Huston, among others, and wartime application of famous cartoon characters and comic book heroes all contributed to the effort. Commercial radio broadcasts incorporated the war effort in nearly all drama, variety, and music programs.

Soviet Russia remained largely neutral in the propaganda wars until the German invasion on 22 June 1941. Then messages focused on the Russian “motherland” and traditional values, historical victories (as over Napoleon), and the once-vilified Russian Orthodox Church. All were combined in propaganda depicting Stalin as architect of victory in the “Great Patriotic War.” Soviet authorities made good use of documentary and news film in major cities but relied on posters in rural regions.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also

Art and the War; Blitz, The; Capra, Frank; Censorship; Chamberlain, Arthur Neville; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Film and the War; Goebbels, Paul Josef; Hirohito, Emperor of Japan; Hitler, Adolf; Journalism and the War; Literature of World War II; Mussolini, Benito; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Psychological Operations; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; “Tokyo Rose”; Women in World War II

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Psychological Warfare

Operations crafted to undermine an enemy force or to propagate a message to a civil population. The main objective of such activities is not necessarily to garner enemy defectors but to lower morale, military or civilian. World War II saw the most extensive use of psychological warfare in history.

The Germans entered World War II with a reputation for propaganda success, orchestrated by Joseph Goebbels, the Reich’s minister of propaganda. German propaganda was aided immeasurably by the Third Reich’s early military victories and throughout the war by technically excellent radio broadcasts and an impressive documentary film legacy going back to the 1930s. Of course, much German propaganda on the Eastern Front was quickly vitiated by the Germans’ brutality toward their prisoners.

Undoubtedly Germany’s best “psywar” was to be found in its English-language radio broadcasts, the producers of which had the good sense to use up-to-date American and British popular music and to go lightly on the overt propaganda message. In the field, though, German psychological warfare leaflets tended toward “We Will Crush You” themes or heavy-handed humor with out-of-date English slang that never came off.

Soviet propaganda used such common themes as “Save Your Lives” and “Why Die in a Lost War?” but such leaflets were effectively countered by German propaganda that proclaimed, realistically enough, “*Sieg Oder Siberia*” (victory or Siberia). One useful Soviet tool for undermining German troop morale was simply the broadcasting of a metronome’s ticking and the lugubrious occasional voice-over: “Every 10 seconds, a German soldier dies in Russia.”

U.S. and British psywar was by far the most effective of World War II. Allied psywarriors eschewed political themes (“Hitler Is the Ruin of Germany!”) or making impossible demands on their enemies (“Refuse to Fight in This Impossible War”). The best leaflets instructed German or Japanese soldiers how to get out alive, literally, from a very bad situation. The most successful such leaflet, in this or any other previous war, was the well-known U.S. Army *passierschein*, an effort that resembled an international treaty, with a multilin-

gual text and a display of the Allied flags. The leaflet was represented as an order to American soldiers to receive the bearer as an honorable prisoner of war; it concluded with the signature of General Dwight D. Eisenhower.

In the Pacific Theater, American “psywarriors” learned the hard way that Japanese soldiers do not “surrender,” but that a few (as well as many more who were likely to be Taiwanese or Korean) might be persuaded to “cease resistance” or “take the honorable path.” The most successful U.S. propaganda of the Pacific war was directed toward the civilian population—the justly famous “city leaflets” listing the Japanese cities to be bombed and the dates of the bombings. The fact that U.S. Army Air Forces B-29 bombers duly appeared on the dates given and that the “ever-victorious” Japanese air force could do little to prevent these publicly scheduled mass incendiary raids had a devastating effect on Japanese morale, judging by postwar interrogations, whose subjects included Emperor Hirohito himself.

Japanese radio propagandists, like their German allies, did garner a wide Allied listenership simply by playing popular music. But Japanese leaflets were an art form in themselves. They featured hard-core pornography (much appreciated by Allied troops) or hilariously mangled English, and sometimes both.

By the close of World War II, British and U.S. military propagandists arrived at several battle-tested psywar truths: (1) Know your enemy or target audience; know their language and culture as much as possible. (2) Tell no lies. (3) Never denigrate or caricature the enemy. (4) Steer clear of politics in favor of simple how-to-save-your-life suggestions. Germany and Japan, more often than not, and to their loss, violated every one of these maxims.

Stanley Sandler

See also

Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Goebbels, Paul Josef; Hirohito, Emperor of Japan; Propaganda

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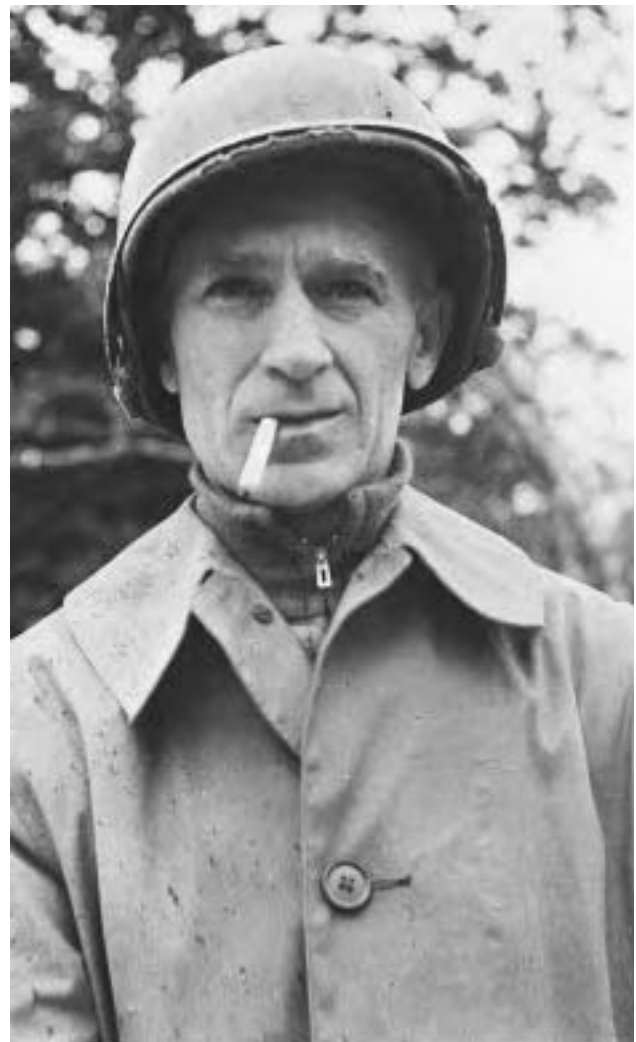
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Puyi, Henry

See Aixinjueluo Puyi.

Pyle, Ernest Taylor “Ernie” (1900–1945)

Arguably the most beloved American journalist of World War II. Born on 3 August 1900 near Dana, Indiana, Ernie Pyle attended Indiana University from 1919 to 1923, leaving just short of securing a degree in journalism to accept a job with a local newspaper, the *LaPorte Herald*. A few months later, he



Ernie Pyle, 19 September 1944. A journalist and correspondent who reported from Latin America and accompanied the Allied forces in World War II during invasions of North Africa, Italy, and Normandy. (Bettmann/Corbis)

went to work for the *Washington Daily News*, a Scripps-Howard paper. During two stints with the paper, he wrote the first daily column about aviation news, and he later became managing editor.

Pyle found the lives of ordinary people fascinating and full of rich lessons. In 1935, he began a syndicated column for Scripps-Howard recounting his experiences as he drove across America. During the next four years, Pyle crossed the United States 35 times, chronicling the lives of everyday people doing sometimes extraordinary things.

In 1940, Pyle went to Britain to cover the Battle of Britain for Scripps-Howard. Like radio commentator Edward R. Murrow, Pyle became the eyes and ears of America in London. His description of the hardships and courage of the average Briton tugged at the conscience of a nation not yet at war. When the United States did go to war, Pyle joined American troops as they landed in North Africa. Later he followed them through Sicily, Italy, and even to Normandy on D day. Always near the front, Pyle gained a reputation for understanding the drudgery and fear that the average GI had to endure. He focused his stories and reports on combat infantrymen and soon became loved by the regular soldier and the public back home.

By 1944, Pyle's columns were carried by more than 400 daily and 300 weekly newspapers. That same year, he won the Pulitzer Prize for Journalism and was featured on the cover

of *Time* magazine. Pyle's wartime books, *Here Is Your War* (1943) and *Brave Men* (1944), both compilations of his wartime experiences, became best-sellers many times over.

In early 1945, at the request of the U.S. Navy, Pyle deployed to the Pacific Theater to cover Navy and Marine operations. Pyle accompanied a Marine rifle company. During the Okinawa Campaign on 18 April 1945, Pyle was preparing a story on the island of Ie Shima, not far from Okinawa, when he was killed by Japanese machine-gun fire. Later in 1945, famed director William Wellman released a film about Pyle titled *The Story of GI Joe* and starring Burgess Meredith as Ernie Pyle.

William Head

See also

Britain, Battle of; Italy Campaign; Journalism and the War; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Okinawa, Invasion of; Sicily, Invasion of

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QUADRANT

See Quebec Conference (14–24 August 1943).

Quebec Conference (14–24 August 1943)

Allied conference held in Quebec, Canada, from 14 to 24 August 1943. Code-named *QUADRANT*, this meeting included U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, Canadian Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King, and Chinese Foreign Minister T. V. Soong, as well as their staffs and military advisers.

Regarding military strategy in Europe, Churchill continued to argue for concentration on the Balkans. The U.S. military chiefs were strongly opposed to this; they reminded their ally that the invasions of Sicily and Italy had been carried out on the promise that the next objective would be the cross-Channel invasion. The conferees then approved tentative plans for the cross-Channel invasion of Europe, now code-named Operation *OVERLORD*, and fixed 1 May 1944 as the target date for its execution. Churchill had argued that the commander of *OVERLORD* should be British, and he initially proposed General Sir Alan F. Brooke, chairman of the Imperial General Staff. By the time of the Quebec meeting, however, Churchill realized that the United States would have the preponderance of troops employed after the initial landing, and he had therefore concluded that the commander should be an American. At Quebec, therefore, he proposed and it was agreed that an American general would command *OVERLORD*

and a British general would have charge of the Mediterranean Theater.

The Allies also agreed to accelerate the strategic bombing offensive against Germany from bases in the United Kingdom and Italy. The objectives of the bombing campaign would be to destroy German air combat strength; to dislocate the German military, industrial, and economic systems; and to prepare the way for a cross-Channel invasion. The United States agreed to a large-scale buildup of its forces in the United Kingdom prior to the invasion of France. The Allies also agreed to press vigorously the war in the Mediterranean. The objective here was to drive Italy from the war and secure air bases for operations against Germany in Italy and in Sardinia and Corsica. The Allies discussed a second landing in France, code-named Operation *ANVIL*, on the Mediterranean coast. Allied operations in the Balkans would be limited to the supply of Balkan guerrillas by air and sea, minor commando raids, and strategic bombing. The Allies then agreed to intensify the war against German submarines and to make greater use of the Azores as an Allied naval and air base.

In the Pacific Theater, the Allies decided to establish a separate South-East Asia Command with Lord Louis Mountbatten as its commander. They also agreed to accelerate operations against Japan. The goals in the Pacific were to exhaust Japan's air, naval, and shipping resources; to cut its communications; and to secure bases from which to conduct strategic bombing of the Japanese home islands. There was some disagreement on the last point about whether to set up air bases in China or from the Japanese barrier islands in the Central Pacific. This effort would be borne principally by



Quebec Conference: Prime Minister Winston Churchill, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Prime Minister MacKenzie King are interviewed by newspapermen at the Quebec Conference at the Citadel, September 1944. (Corbis)

expanding U.S. naval power, with large armies required only at the end to invade Japan. The British promised to participate fully in this effort once Germany was defeated. Finally, the United States, although it was opposed to formal “recognition” of General Charles de Gaulle’s French Committee of National Liberation as the French government-in-exile, did issue a statement extending limited recognition to de Gaulle’s government.

James Erik Vik

See also

Brooke, Sir Alan Francis; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; de Gaulle, Charles; King, William Lyon Mackenzie; Mountbatten, Louis Francis Albert Victor Nicholas; Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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Quebec Conference (12–16 September 1944)

Allied summit meeting in Quebec, Canada. The conference between U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill and their staffs was held in the city of Quebec at the Citadel and Chateau Frontenac. The two leaders met in private conference and in plenary sessions with the Combined Chiefs of Staff to shape

plans for the conclusion of the war in Europe, the defeat of Japan, and the governance of Germany following the establishment of peace.

The list of leading figures at the meeting is noteworthy. Longtime Roosevelt confidant Harry Hopkins was not present, having temporarily fallen from favor; neither was Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who was generally excluded from such conferences. On 12 September, the president met with a close friend, Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr. A plan for the administration of Germany drafted for Morgenthau by his assistant, Harry Dexter White, became a topic of discussion at the conference and a source of continuing study and controversy.

The Morgenthau Plan declared that Germany should be rendered an agrarian, pastoral economy and society following the war. All heavy industry would be stripped from the country. Secretary of War Henry Stimson strongly opposed the approach, as did Hull. A memorandum from the former to the latter, which was passed on to the White House, argued strongly that the Morgenthau approach lacked economic sense and promised political difficulties. Rich coal and ore deposits in the Saar and Ruhr regions of Germany pointed to an industrial economy. Since the 1870s, Europe had depended on these resources as well as the economic production of German firms and workers. Apart from these considerations, the argument was made that trying to keep Germans limited to a "subsistence level" was unwise and wrong as well as impractical.

Roosevelt initially pretended that he knew nothing of the Morgenthau Plan; then he raised objections. On 20 October, he sent a memorandum to Hull questioning the idea of "making detailed plans for a country we do not yet occupy," and after that he let the initiative wither. Churchill initially supported the Morgenthau approach. Informed speculation concluded that the British leader doubtless was mindful of the importance of American economic assistance after the war and wanted the support of the U.S. secretary of the treasury on the matter. In any case, Churchill knew the War Department in Washington ultimately would veto the Morgenthau Plan if necessary. The Quebec Conference also revealed Roosevelt to be in failing health, which in turn fueled speculation about his capacity to continue to lead the war effort.

Arthur I. Cyr

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Combined Chiefs of Staff; Hull, Cordell; Morgenthau, Henry, Jr.; Moscow Conference; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stimson, Henry Lewis

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Quesada, Elwood Richard "Pete" (1904–1993)

U.S. Army Air Forces general and innovator of tactical air support. Born in Washington, D.C., on 13 April 1904, Elwood Richard "Pete" Quesada earned his wings and a commission in the Air Reserve in 1925. He briefly played professional baseball before going on active duty in September 1927. He flew as a crew member of the "Question Mark," a modified Fokker C-2A trimotor monoplane that set a world record for airborne endurance in 1929. Quesada served in the 1930s as assistant military attaché to Cuba, personal pilot to the assistant secretary of war for air during an expedition to collect African wildlife, and technical adviser to the Argentine air force. Stints at the Air Corps Tactical School and the Army's Command and General Staff College led him to consider the problem of air-to-ground coordination.

After commanding the 33rd Pursuit Group at Mitchel Field, New York, in 1941, Quesada was promoted to brigadier general in December 1942 and deployed to North Africa. Taking charge of 12th Fighter Command, he served as deputy commanding general of the Northwest African Coastal Air Force. Here he learned the tactical air doctrine developed by British air marshal Sir Arthur Coningham. It featured air liaison officers (ALOs) to coordinate air-to-ground operations, co-located air and army command centers, and streamlined command-and-control procedures between ground units and supporting tactical air. All of these Quesada adopted and enhanced in 1944.

Promoted to major general, Quesada commanded the Ninth Tactical Air Command in Europe for Operation OVERLORD. His support of Major General J. Lawton Collins's VII Corps demonstrated brilliant innovative skills. Recognizing that close air support (CAS) was a key Allied force multiplier, Quesada installed very-high-frequency (VHF) radios in tanks to enable ALOs in armored assaults to talk directly to pilots overhead. Deviating from accepted doctrine that air units sacrificed effectiveness if distributed in "penny packets," he allocated fighter-bombers in four-ship formations to provide constant reconnaissance and CAS to Collins's armored columns. German panzer commanders learned that to concentrate in daylight meant death from the sky. Yet in dis-



U.S. Air Force Lieutenant General Elwood R. Quesada, 1948. (Photo by W. Eugene Smith/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

persing to survive, the Germans sacrificed much of their combat power. Quesada's tactics proved crucial to the success of COBRA and the Allied breakout in July.

Throughout 1944, Quesada continued to innovate. At the Battle of the Ardennes (Bulge), he used radar to provide CAS in poor weather. Using modified Norden bombsights combined with radar, he enhanced navigation and bombing accuracy.

During 1946–1947, Quesada commanded the Third Air Force, and in 1947–1948 he commanded the Tactical Air Command. However, Quesada was marginalized within the newly independent Air Force, which stressed strategic nuclear bombing. After commanding Joint Task Force Three at Eniwetok (1948–1951), Quesada retired from the air force as a lieutenant general. He then entered private industry and later became first head of the Federal Aviation Agency from 1958 to 1961. Quesada died in Washington, D.C., on 9 February 1993.

William J. Astore

See also

Ardennes Offensive; Aviation, Ground-Attack; COBRA, Operation; OVERLORD, Operation; United States, Army Air Forces

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Quezon, Manuel Luis (1878–1944)

Chief architect of Philippine independence and first president of the Commonwealth of the Philippines. Born at Baler in Tayabas (now Quezon) Province on 19 August 1878, Manuel Quezon studied law at the University of Santo Tomas in Manila. He interrupted his education in 1899 to join the forces of Emilio Aguinaldo in rebellion against rule of the islands by the United States. After U.S. forces crushed the insurrection in 1901, Quezon was imprisoned for six months. Following his release, he resumed his legal studies and passed the bar in 1903.

Quezon started his political career in 1905 when he ran successfully for governor of Tayabas. In 1907, he was elected to the Philippine Assembly, where he became floor leader of the majority Nacionalista Party. In 1909, Quezon was appointed resident commissioner for the Philippines in the U.S. House of Representatives. During his years in Washington, he vigorously lobbied to secure passage of the Jones Act (1916), which pledged future independence of the Philippines. On this success, Quezon returned home a hero and became the first president of the new Philippine Senate.

In 1934, at Quezon's urging, the U.S. Congress passed the Tydings-McDuffie Act, which provided for independence 10 years after the adoption of a constitution and inauguration of a new government. On 17 September 1935, Quezon was elected president of the pre-independence Philippine Commonwealth. Alarmed by the advance of Japan into Southeast Asia, Quezon took several emergency steps in 1941 that vested him with dictatorial powers. He was reelected president that November.

In December 1941, when Japanese forces invaded the Philippines and occupied Manila, Quezon went with General Douglas MacArthur to the fortified island of Corregidor in Manila Bay. He departed the islands by submarine on 20 February 1942 and formed a government-in-exile in Washington, D.C., in May. There he served as a member of the Pacific War Council and signed the United Nations Declaration. In November 1943, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed into law a bill that extended Quezon's term in office until the end of the Japanese occupation of his country. Quezon died in Saranac Lake, New York, on 1 August 1944, only months before his country's liberation. Sergio Osmeña followed him in office.

Hirakawa Sachiko

See also

MacArthur, Douglas; Philippines, Japanese Capture of; United Nations, Declaration



First president of the Philippines, Manuel Quezon, with his wife, Dona, ca. 1942. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

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Quisling, Vidkun Abraham Lauritz Jonsson (1887–1945)

Norwegian collaborationist leader with Nazi Germany. Born in Fyresdal, Norway, on 18 July 1887, Vidkun Quisling

entered the army in 1911. By 1918, he was Norwegian military attaché in Petrograd, Russia. After holding several administrative posts, in 1931 Quisling became minister of defense. Known as a capable army officer and government official, Quisling became controversial through his support of the German National Socialist Party. In 1933, he helped found the Nasjonal Samling Party, a Norwegian fascist organization. In 1939, on the failure of this party, Quisling met German leader Adolf Hitler and argued for a German occupation of Norway with the object of placing the Nasjonal Samling in power. During the German invasion of Norway in April 1940, Quisling founded a government in which he was minister president.

Quisling's government lasted only one week; the Germans crafted a new ruling body, in which Josef Terboven was Reich commissioner. On 1 February 1942, Quisling managed to attain greater political power as Norway's minister president in a Nasjonal Samling government. He subsequently embarked on a program of Nazification for his country. His policies, which included efforts to convert churches and schools to the principles of National Socialism, met opposition from most of the Norwegian population. Quisling's government was also responsible for transporting more than 1,000 Jews to German concentration camps.

Quisling's government was impeded both by interference from Berlin and by Norwegian partisan resistance. Following the liberation of Norway in May 1945, Quisling was imprisoned in Norway to await trial for war crimes. After maintaining in court proceedings that he had acted for the greater good of Norway, Quisling was found guilty of high treason. He was executed at Akershus Castle in Oslo, Norway, on 24 October 1945. His name has subsequently become synonymous with that of traitor.

Eric W. Osborne

See also

Collaboration; Hitler, Adolf; Norway, German Conquest of; Norway, Role in War

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R

Rabaul

The principal Japanese naval and air base in the southeast Pacific during World War II. The port of Rabaul, with its superb natural harbor, was located in the Bismarck Archipelago at the eastern end of New Britain Island, one of the islands mandated to Australia as a consequence of World War I.

On 24 January 1942, the Japanese overwhelmed the Australian garrison of 1,500 men at Rabaul and soon began construction of a large naval support facility, protected by five airstrips and two air armies with more than 600 aircraft. Rabaul became the base of the Eighth Fleet, and from the port, the Japanese could defend the approaches to New Guinea and the Solomon Islands and strengthen the southern flank of the region covered by their Central Pacific base at Truk in the Caroline Islands.

General Douglas MacArthur, Allied supreme commander in the Southwest Pacific Area, made the reduction of Rabaul a major objective. However, the position's strength persuaded Allied leaders at the August 1943 Quadrant Conference in Quebec to cancel MacArthur's plans for a direct assault in favor of a strategy of circumvention. "Island-hopping" was replaced by

"leapfrogging." Preparations began on 12 October 1943 with massive air attacks by the U.S. Fifth Army Air Force operating from New Guinea, followed on 5 November by carrier



Crewmen on board the USS *Saratoga* at dawn as the carrier moves in for a strike against Rabaul, November 1943. (Wayne Miller/Corbis)

raids mounted by the *Saratoga* and *Princeton*. These U.S. attacks forced the troops stationed at the Japanese garrison into a network of tunnels and caves and effectively ended Rabaul's usefulness as a naval base. Under MacArthur's command, Operation CARTWHEEL continued the strike on Rabaul from the air, and eventually, 29,000 Allied sorties dropped more than 20,500 tons of bombs on the base. At the same time, the Allies seized positions to the southeast on the island of Bougainville, at Cape Gloucester on the western end of New Britain, and to the north in the Admiralty and Saint Matthias Islands.

By March 1944, the Japanese had withdrawn their major naval and air units, first to Truk and later to Palau, but 100,000 military and civilian personnel remained at Rabaul. Cut off from air or sea resupply, the Japanese garrison there suffered increasing deprivation until its surrender in August 1945.

John A. Hutcheson Jr.

See also

Admiralty Islands Campaign; Japan, Navy; MacArthur, Douglas; Naval Warfare; New Britain, Landings; Quebec Conference (14–24 August 1943); Southwest Pacific Theater

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Radar

System or technique used to detect the position, movement, and nature of distant objects. The term *radar* is an acronym that references the operating principles and function of this technology: *radio detection and ranging*. Radar systems transmit radio waves with the aid of a directional antenna, and they receive and process the radio emissions that reflect off distant objects. The range of target objects is determined by measuring the time it takes for the electromagnetic emission transmitted from the radar antenna to reach the object and return. The theoretical foundation of radar was established through the work of nineteenth-century scientists James Clerk Maxwell and Heinrich Hertz. Maxwell developed equations governing the behavior of electromagnetic waves in 1864. Inherent in his equations are the laws of radio-wave reflection, which were demonstrated by Hertz between 1886 and 1888.

A number of early-twentieth-century scientists and engineers recognized the potential for radio-based detection systems. Radio direction-finding and distance-measuring

experiments were conducted during World War I and in the 1920s. From these early efforts, several theoretical radar systems were proposed before World War II. Between 1934 and 1940, practical radar systems were developed independently in several countries as military instruments for detecting aircraft and ships. One of the first practical radar systems was devised in 1935 by Scottish physicist Sir Robert Watson-Watt. His success with this early system can be attributed to the fact that a number of critical technical components became available during the 1930s; it was Watson-Watt who integrated transmitters and receivers, modulators capable of generating microsecond pulses, and high-speed cathode-ray tubes to display search results. Much of this equipment was the by-product of civilian work on broadcast television. By the late 1930s, laboratories in Britain, the United States, Germany, France, Italy, and the Soviet Union had all begun radar experiments on a modest scale. Japan did not take notice until 1941 but then hurried to catch up. Thus, all of the principal belligerents in World War II entered the conflict with some radar technology.

At the insistence of Air Vice Marshal Hugh Dowding, Great Britain adopted radar in the late 1930s to augment the defenses of the home islands. Before the start of the war, Great Britain began construction of the Chain Home (CH) radar network, which was enhanced in 1939 with a number of Chain Home Low (CHL) stations, capable of detecting low-flying aircraft approaching the English coast. The CH and CHL stations were the first integrated radar defense system, staffed by crews who were trained to track incoming aircraft and relay tactical information to air defense control centers and air bases. The CH/CHL system played an important role during the Battle of Britain in 1940, giving British defenders valuable advance warning of the relentless attacks launched by the German Luftwaffe.

In September 1940, Britain provided the United States with examples of key radar components, including a magnetron, with the understanding that cooperation would lead to the further development of radar technology. The Americans moved quickly. The Radiation Laboratory was established in 1940 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology under the leadership of Lee DuBridge. Other emergency radar research programs were created in 1940 and 1941, and the close cooperation of Bell Laboratories, the Army Signal Corps, and the Naval Research Laboratory led to substantial improvements in the accuracy and range of radar equipment. High-power microwave radar systems were among the important advances made by the United States.

Although Germany had the opportunity to exploit radar technology before World War II began, the indifference of the country's political leadership hindered the development of the technology. Before the war, Adolf Hitler and Hermann



Radar in operation in Italy, 1944. (Library of Congress)

Göring, chief of the Luftwaffe, were reportedly suspicious of radar's utility and antagonistic to the idea of adopting the technology as a defensive weapon. Later, interservice rivalries within Germany slowed the development of radar even further as resources for research and development became scarce. Germany did finally put into operation the Kammhuber Line, an interlocking system of radar, aircraft, and ground controllers that ran from the North Sea to southern France and went into full operation in September 1942. It was similar to the Chain Home system in scale and purpose, but the Allied use of long-range fighter escorts for bombers limited its value. Italy had a limited radar capability on land and at sea by the middle of 1942. It utilized its own equipment and that of Germany.

The Japanese were late in developing and adopting radar technology, a fact that greatly advantaged the Allies in the Pacific Theater fighting. However, though U.S. radar identi-

fied the Japanese aircraft approaching Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, the information was not utilized. Radar provided early warning of subsequent Japanese air strikes as well—for example, during the decisive Battle of Midway in June 1942, where the Japanese lost four aircraft carriers. Throughout World War II, continuous improvements to radar technology increased the accuracy of the U.S. Navy's tracking and intercept capabilities.

By 1943, thanks to aggressive research and development, the Allies had a wide variety of radar systems at their disposal. The technology evolved rapidly during the war, and specialized radar units were developed for early warning, battle management, airborne search, night interception, bombing, and gun aiming. Experiments with terrain-following radar for aircraft presaged the enhanced electronic avionics developed for jets and helicopters after the war. Air defense radar systems, which came to include gun-direction devices, proximity fuses,

and increasingly accurate direction-finding and ranging capabilities, had greatly enhanced the accuracy of anti-aircraft fire by the end of the war.

In the postwar years, as missiles replaced artillery as the backbone of air defense, radar technology improved still further, and radar systems were adapted for a number of useful purposes. As the systems became even more powerful and sensitive, radar was used in navigation, meteorology, and astronomy (the first radar emissions were reflected back from the moon in 1946).

Shannon A. Brown

See also

Britain, Battle of; Dowding, Sir Hugh Caswall Tremeneere; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Hitler, Adolf; Midway, Battle of; Proximity Fuse

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Raeder, Erich (1876–1960)

German navy grand admiral and commander in chief until his resignation in 1943. Born in Wandsbek, Germany, on 24 April 1876, Erich Raeder joined the Imperial Navy in 1894, where his abilities and ambition brought him into close contact with State Secretary of the Imperial Naval Office Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz and Kaiser Wilhelm II and the unique ideology that characterized German navalism. As Admiral Franz von Hipper's chief of staff, Raeder participated with the German battle cruisers in the major operations of the High Seas Fleet during World War I, including the Battle of Jutland.

In 1918, Raeder experienced the trauma of the naval mutinies and revolution, and he resolved never to see such events repeated. His role in the naval command's support of the abortive, right-wing Kapp Putsch in 1920 threatened the future of the navy and his own career. Assigned to the naval archives, he wrote a two-volume study of Germany's cruiser warfare in World War I, which defined his conception of naval strategy.



Grand Admiral Erich Raeder visiting the crew of the battle cruiser *Scharnhorst* in April 1942 to express his appreciation after its escape from Brest through the English Channel. (Library of Congress)

In 1925, Raeder was promoted to vice admiral and appointed chief of the Baltic Naval Station in Kiel. He attempted to keep the navy “above politics” despite charges that he and the navy were engaged in antirepublican activities. In 1928, he was promoted to admiral and appointed chief of the naval command. In 1935, he became commander in chief of the Kriegsmarine (German navy) and a full admiral. Three years later, Adolf Hitler raised him to the rank of grand admiral.

To ensure support for the navy’s rebuilding, Raeder established a firm, autocratic administration, demanding obedience and discipline. Initially skeptical about Hitler’s support for an expanded navy, he found the Führer receptive to building a fleet as an instrument of power for a “greater Germany,” which reflected the legacy of the Tirpitz era. Given Hitler’s support for a powerful navy, Raeder was willing to accept the criminal excesses of the Führer and his regime. He pressed hard for a greater share of resources in building a navy that was directed at Britain after 1938, but he soon found an impatient Hitler was unwilling to delay the building of battleships rather than U-boats and other ships more suited for a war against merchant shipping.

Although unprepared for war in 1939 (Hitler had assured him that there would be no war before 1944), Raeder was determined to “die gallantly” for the future existence of the fleet. He called for a concentration of forces against Britain as the primary enemy and advocated a massive build up of U-boat forces and intensification of the naval war, even if this meant fighting the United States. Raeder opposed the invasion of the Soviet Union until Britain was defeated and argued vigorously for an alternative Mediterranean strategy. Following the loss of the battleship *Bismarck* in May 1941 and the failure of the German army in the USSR, Raeder and the fate of his capital ships became increasingly irrelevant to Hitler. Raeder resigned in January 1943, to be replaced by the commander of U-boats, Admiral Karl Dönitz.

Arrested at the end of the war, Raeder was sentenced to life imprisonment at the Nuremberg trials as a war criminal, but he was released on 26 September 1955. He spent his remaining years crafting his memoirs and attempting to justify his own actions and those of the navy in serving the Third Reich. Raeder died in Lippstadt on 6 November 1960.

Keith W. Bird

See also

Bismarck, Sortie and Sinking of; Dönitz, Karl; Germany, Navy; Hitler, Adolf; International Military Tribunal: The Nuremberg Trials; SEA LION, Operation; WESERÜBUNG, Operation

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RAF (Royal Air Force)

See Great Britain, Air Force.

Ramsay, Sir Bertram Home (1883–1945)

British navy admiral who was naval commander in chief for the Normandy Invasion. Born at Hampton Court Palace in England on 20 January 1883, Bertram Ramsay joined HMS *Britannia* in 1898 and served on the North American and Red Sea stations (including a 1903–1904 landing in British Somaliland) and on Home Fleet destroyers before World War I. During the war, he held commands with the Grand Fleet and Dover Patrol. Following World War I, Ramsay commanded cruisers and a battleship, and as a rear admiral, he was naval aide to King George V and Home Fleet chief of staff. He retired in December 1938 at the age of 55, his career apparently over.

When World War II began, Ramsay returned to active duty and received command of the port of Dover. Following the German invasion of France in May 1940, he organized and executed Operation DYNAMO, the successful evacuation of the British Expeditionary Force from Dunkerque between 29 May and 5 June 1940, for which he was knighted. Ramsay, now with the rank of acting admiral, was assigned to planning for Operation TORCH, the Allied invasion of North Africa, and he directed the landings at Algiers and Oran on 8 November 1942. After the Axis collapse in North Africa, he planned the invasion of Sicily and commanded the eastern task force for the landings that began on 10 July 1943. Reinstated on the active list, he was appointed commander of British naval forces in the Mediterranean.

On 29 December 1943, Ramsay was appointed Allied naval commander in chief for the upcoming Allied invasion of Normandy. He planned and executed this huge operation, which involved more than 2,700 warships and well over 4,000 minor vessels supporting the initial landing of troops on five beaches, plus subsequent landings of troops and armor. He was criticized on occasion for his insistence on detailed planning, but he contended it was necessary given the complexity of the task, and the outcome certainly justified this assessment. For his efforts, he was promoted to full admiral on the active list in June 1944.



British Admiral Sir Bertram Ramsay. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Ramsay turned over control of the French ports from Le Havre southward, as they were captured, to the U.S. Navy, while retaining responsibility for those to the north and east. He later directed amphibious operations to clear the South Beveland Peninsula and Walcheren Island in October and November 1944, which opened the port of Antwerp. Ramsay died on 2 January 1945 when his plane crashed on takeoff from the airfield at Toussus-le-Noble near his headquarters at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, France.

Paul E. Fontenoy

See also

Amphibious Warfare; Antwerp, Battle of; Dunkerque, Evacuation of; Mulberries; Naval Gunfire, Shore Support; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; North Africa Campaign; OVERLORD, Operation; Sicily, Invasion of; TORCH, Operation

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Randolph, Asa Philip (1889–1979)

U.S. labor and civil rights leader who worked to end racial discrimination in the defense industry during the war years. Born in Crescent City, Florida, on 15 April 1889, A. Philip Randolph was raised in Jacksonville. After graduating from Cookman Institute in Jacksonville, he moved to Harlem, where he continued his studies at the City College of New York. Following the U.S. entry into World War I, he and a partner founded a magazine, *The Messenger*, that demanded more positions in the war industry and armed forces for African Americans. He ran unsuccessfully for offices on the Socialist ticket in the 1920s.

In 1925, Randolph began organizing the Pullman porters in the railroad industry into the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and succeeded in gaining that union's admission into the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Later, to protest the AFL's racially discriminatory policies, he withdrew the brotherhood from the AFL and took it into the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).



U.S. labor and civil rights leader A. Philip Randolph. (Bettmann/Corbis)

With the tremendous increase in defense contracts just prior to the U.S. involvement in World War II, Randolph protested racial discrimination in the defense industry's hiring practices, and he warned President Franklin D. Roosevelt that he was prepared to lead thousands of African Americans on a march to Washington, D.C. In response, the president issued Executive Order #8802, which barred racial discrimination in the defense industry and created the Fair Employment Practices Committee to ensure compliance with the law. Approximately 2 million African Americans obtained work in the war industries.

After World War II, Randolph founded the League for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience against Military Segregation. The organization successfully pressured President Harry S. Truman to issue Executive Order #9981, which ended segregation in the U.S. military. Randolph spent the remainder of his life fighting workplace discrimination, and he was a director of the August 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Randolph died in New York City on 16 May 1979.

Minoa Uffelman

See also

Roosevelt, Franklin D.; United States, Home Front

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Rankin, Jeannette Pickering (1880–1973)

U.S. politician and peace activist. Born near Missoula, Montana, on 11 June 1880, Jeannette Rankin attended Montana's public schools and graduated from the University of Montana in 1902. She became a social worker and was active in the women's suffrage movement. In 1914, Montana enfranchised women, and two years later, Rankin ran for Congress as a Republican, becoming the first woman representative. Her platform called for a constitutional amendment for women's suffrage, Prohibition, and welfare legislation. She also opposed U.S. intervention in World War I. On 6 April 1917, she joined 56 other members of congress in voting against the U.S. declaration of war against Germany. She failed to win reelection in 1919 and spent the years between the wars participating in organizations for consumers, women, children, and peace.

In 1940, Rankin returned to the House of Representatives, where she opposed the military draft and spending on armaments. On 8 December 1941, immediately following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt asked Congress for a declaration of war against Japan. Rankin



U.S. Representative Jeannette Pickering Rankin of Montana, December 1941. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

was the only dissenter, preventing a unanimous vote. This stance was extremely unpopular and ended her political career.

A lifelong pacifist, Rankin led several thousand women, known as the Jeannette Rankin Brigade, to protest the Vietnam War in 1968. She died in Carmel, California, on 18 May 1973.

Minoa Uffelman

See also

America First Committee; Pearl Harbor, Attack on

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Raskova, Marina Mikhailovna (1912–1943)

Soviet air force officer who commanded a regiment of dive-bombers in World War II. Born in Moscow on 12 March 1912, Marina Raskova (née Malinina) mastered air navigation as a



Marina Raskova, ca. 1936. (Library of Congress)

laboratory employee at the N. E. Zhukovskii Air Force Engineering Academy and was the first Soviet woman to qualify for a navigation diploma. She then taught navigation at the academy while training to fly at the academy's expense and studying mechanical engineering at the Aviation Institute in Leningrad as an extramural student.

On 24–25 September 1938, Raskova, with pilot Valentina Grizodubova and copilot Polina Osipenko, took part in a non-stop pioneer flight from Moscow to the Pacific in an ANT-37 aircraft named *Rodina* (*Homeland*). The three aviators became the first women to receive the Hero of the Soviet Union, the highest Soviet military decoration. As a major in the Soviet air force, Raskova persuaded Soviet dictator Josef Stalin to form three women's combat wings at a time when there was no shortage of male aircrews. She then trained her new 122nd Air Group at Engels, near Stalingrad, in 1941 and 1942. In late 1942, she received command of the 587th Dive Bomber Regiment (which was renamed the 125th M. M. Raskova Borisov Guards Dive Bomber Regiment after her death).

On 4 January 1943, Raskova died in a plane crash at an undetermined location while making her way to the Stalingrad Front during a heavy snowstorm. Members of her unit pledged to make it worthy of bearing her name and qualify for the honorific "Guards" designation, attaining both in 1943. The tactics of this wing's 2nd Squadron, applied in the air battle of 4 June 1943 (during which the unit shot down sev-

eral German fighters), became a model for Soviet bomber aviation. Raskova's ashes are immured in the Kremlin Wall beside those of fighter pilot Polina Osipenko, who was killed in a training accident in 1939.

Kazimiera J. Cottam

See also

Grizodubova, Valentina Stepanova; Soviet Women's Combat Wings; Stalin, Josef; Women in World War II

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Ravensbrück

See Concentration Camps, German.

Red Ball Express (24 August–16 November 1944)

U.S. Army Quartermaster Corps operation following the Allied breakout in Normandy. Commencing on 24 August 1944, the Red Ball Express was a massive truck operation to resupply Allied forces advancing across France. Supplies carried by the Red Ball Express were essential to the continued movement of U.S. units.

After the Allied breakout at Saint-Lô, U.S. forces pushed across the Seine River. The original plan envisioned the supply of 12 U.S. divisions at the Seine by 4 September, but by that date, 16 divisions were already some 120 miles beyond the Seine. The pace of these operations presented a severe logistics challenge. The ruined French port facilities were inadequate to support the Allied advance, and most supplies had to be transported over the beaches. The main problem lay in getting the supplies forward to the advancing forces. The Allies had also counted on utilizing the French railroad system, but it had been severely damaged by Allied bombing, and parts of it remained under German control. Most supplies thus had to come by vehicle from the beachheads at Normandy. The Red Ball Express was the truck supply line organized by the army's Quartermaster Corps to address the logistical shortfall.

At its peak, the Red Ball Express involved 132 truck companies, composed of some 23,000 men operating 5,958 vehi-



Corporal Charles H. Johnson of the 783rd Military Police Battalion waves on a "Red Ball Express" motor convoy rushing priority matériel to the forward areas, near Alençon, France, 5 September 1944. (National Archives)

cles. The most common vehicle employed was the six-by-six, 2.5 ton General Motors truck known as the “deuce and a half” or “Jimmy.” Trucks transported matériel to the front along French roads paralleling the French rail lines. They ran 20 hours out of 24 and operated at night without blackout lights.

U.S. forces moved so quickly that only the most important supplies, such as ammunition, rations, medical supplies, and

gasoline, were carried forward: without these supplies, the Allied advance could not continue. Most truck runs were overnight operations that allowed the drivers little sleep. To ensure safety, rules mandated 60-yard intervals between trucks, 10-minute breaks at the top of the hour, and bivouac sites for long trips. Nonetheless, the strain of the operation took

a heavy toll on drivers and their vehicles. Supplies were also diverted by other U.S. units on the way to the front, and a portion ended up on the French black market. African Americans, who constituted only about 10 percent of the U.S. Army, made up three-quarters of the drivers on the Red Ball Express.

The Red Ball Express officially lasted for 81 days, until 16 November 1944, and in this time span, it transported 412,193 tons of matériel from Normandy to the front. It also met the gasoline demands of the First and Third Armies, a total of 800,000 gallons a day. The Red Ball Express was the lifeline of the most mobile and highly mechanized army the world had ever seen.

Brandon Lindsey

See also

COBRA, Operation; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Saint-Lô, Battle of

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Reichenau, Walther von (1884–1942)

German army field marshal who led Sixth Army in the invasion of the Soviet Union before becoming the commander of Army Group South. Born in Karlsruhe, Germany, on 8 October 1884, Walther von Reichenau joined the 1st Guards Artillery Regiment as a cadet in 1903 and became an officer in 1904. During World War I, he served as adjutant to the 1st Guards Reserve Artillery Regiment and then joined the General Staff.

Reichenau continued in the German army after the war and worked in the General Staff. Promoted to colonel in 1929, he was chief of staff of the East Prussia Military District. After rising to Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) in 1933, he headed the Reichswehr Chancellery. He was one of the few aristocratic officers to support Adolf Hitler actively and was partly responsible for the Führer's selection of General Werner von Blomberg as minister of war. In 1935, he took command of VII Corps at Munich, and he played an important role in the staging of the 1936 Olympic Games. Promoted to General der Artillerie (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) in 1938, he took command of 4th Army Group at Leipzig.

Reichenau commanded Tenth Army in the invasion of Poland in September 1939, where he enveloped the Polish Krakow Army in Germany's first major encirclement battle of the war. Tenth Army was then redesignated Sixth Army, and Reichenau was raised to Generaloberst (U.S. equiv. full general). He led Sixth Army in the invasion of France and the Low Countries, although his vocal protests over German atrocities in Poland and his opposition to the violation of the neutrality of Belgian and the Netherlands permanently alienated him from Hitler. In the invasion of the west, Reichenau again demonstrated his effectiveness as a field commander. He was known for leading from the front and for his rapport with his men in operations in the Netherlands and northern Belgium. His troops took Paris in mid-June, and he was promoted to field marshal in July 1940.

Reichenau next led Sixth Army in Operation BARBAROSSA, the invasion of the Soviet Union, operating in Ukraine and taking Kiev, Belgorod, Kharkov, and Kursk. He proved a master of armored warfare, and he supported both the execution of Red Army commissars and the killing of Jews. His name surfaced as a possible replacement for the commander in chief of the army, Field Marshal Walther von Brauchitsch, whom Hitler fired, but instead, he replaced Field Marshal Karl Gerd von Rundstedt as commander of Army Group South in early December 1941. On 15 January 1942, Reichenau collapsed from a cerebral hemorrhage. Hitler ordered him transported to a clinic in Leipzig, but he died of heart failure during the flight two days later.

Gene Mueller and Spencer C. Tucker

The Red Ball Express transported 412,193 tons of matériel from Normandy to the front over 81 days.

Regensburg

See Schweinfurt and Regensburg Raids.



German Army Field Marshal Walter Von Reichenau. (Bettmann/Corbis)

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Belgium Campaign; Brauchitsch, Heinrich Alfred Hermann Walther von; France, Battle for; Hitler, Adolf; Kiev Pocket, Battle of the; Poland Campaign; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von

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Reichswald, Battle of the (8–22 February 1945)

Important western European Theater battle, marking the opening phase of Operation VERITABLE, the advance of Lieutenant General Henry Crerar's Canadian First Army to the Rhine River. The offensive had First Army pushing across the German-Dutch border, securing Cleve, and then turning south between the Rhine and the Maas Rivers to meet Lieutenant General William H. Simpson's U.S. Ninth Army as it

was driving northeast across the Roer River and toward the Rhine in Operation GRENADE. The Allies hoped to surround and destroy defending German units and secure crossing points over the Rhine. To accomplish this, Canadian forces, reinforced by the British army's XXX Corps, would have to cross the heavily wooded Reichswald State Forest and eliminate the German pillboxes and bunkers of the West Wall (known to the Allies as the Siegfried Line). The Allied force committed to this effort eventually numbered 200,000 men. General Alfred Schlemm's First Parachute Army of Army Group H defended the area. Schlemm sought to prevent the Allies from breaking through and seizing the bridgeheads over the lower Rhine.

The Allied attack was hindered to some extent by the terrain—there were only two roads through the Reichswald Forest—and by the weather. A thaw just before the attack turned the ground into mud, and the Germans opened floodgates on the Maas, overflowing the river and flooding the countryside. As a consequence, the battle, planned to last only a few days, dragged on for several weeks.

The assault began on 8 February 1945 with a five-hour artillery barrage by 1,000 Allied guns. British Lieutenant General Sir Brian Horrocks's XXX Corps led the attack, which consisted of (from north to south) the 3rd and 2nd Canadian, the 15th Scottish, the 53rd Welsh, and the 51st Highland Divisions. Delays in the advance, however, enabled Schlemm to bring up reserves, as well as Mark IV tanks and assault guns of the Panzer Lehr Division.

By opening the gates of the Roer River dams, the Germans forced Simpson to postpone Ninth Army's attack for almost two weeks. By the time the Ninth Army launched what was to have been a supporting attack on 23 February, the Canadian and British troops had already achieved almost all their objectives. Supported by massive artillery barrages and air support, the Canadian and British infantry troops slowly forced the German defenders from their defensive positions. The Germans fought particularly hard in and around the critical towns of Cleve, Goch, and Calcar. The Canadian II Corps suffered heavy losses advancing east of Cleve, and the British XXX Corps sustained considerable casualties near Goch.

British and Canadian forces took 15,634 casualties, nearly two-thirds of which were in XXX Corps. General Horrocks later wrote that the brutal Reichswald fighting reminded him of the carnage in World War I. The operation had cost the German army as well. Losses sustained by the 11 German divisions involved have been estimated from as low as 22,000 to as high as 75,000 men; some 16,000 Germans were taken prisoner. The commitment of so many German reserves to the fighting in the Reichswald helped to open the way for U.S. advances farther south.

Terry Shoptaugh and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Crerar, Henry Duncan Graham; Horrocks, Sir Brian Gwynne; Rhineland Offensive; Simpson, William Hood

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Reitsch, Hanna (1912–1979)

German test pilot who worked with the Luftwaffe during World War II. Born in Hirschberg, Silesia, on 29 March 1912, Hanna Reitsch mastered glider aviation skills as a young woman. She was one of the earliest pilots to soar over the Alps, and she flew a glider for 11.5 consecutive hours, setting a world record. In 1934, she piloted a glider to an altitude of 9,186 feet, the highest any woman had glided.

Reitsch also mastered powered aircraft and became a valued test pilot, with the rank of Flugkapitän (U.S. equiv. flight

captain), testing experimental aircraft for the Luftwaffe. In 1937, she became the first woman to pilot a helicopter. During World War II, Reitsch tested a variety of aircraft, including fighter planes, dive-bombers, and the Messerschmitt Me-163 rocket aircraft. She also tested aerial methods to cut barrage balloon tethers. Reitsch was one of just two women to be awarded the Iron Cross First Class and the only civilian so honored.

A fervent supporter of German leader Adolf Hitler, Reitsch proposed establishing a women's pilot squadron, an idea that German military leaders rejected. Her suggestion of a suicide squadron that would attack British industrial sites never was put into effect. The incredibly brave Reitsch piloted the final German flight into Berlin, carrying Luftwaffe General Robert von Greim to a meeting with Hitler and landing on a shell-pocked Berlin avenue on 26 April 1945. Reitsch offered to stay with Hitler and share his fate, but she was ordered to fly Greim from the city several days later.

Arrested after the war, Reitsch was held by U.S. authorities for 18 months. When freed, she went first to India and then to Ghana, where she opened an aviation school to teach gliding.



Adolf Hitler shaking hands with aviator Hanna Reitsch, recipient of the Iron Cross, as Hermann Göring and others look on, 28 March 1941. (Library of Congress)

She became the first female winner of the World Helicopter Championships in 1971. Many aviation historians consider her to have been the twentieth century's outstanding female pilot. Reitsch died at Frankfurt, Germany, on 24 August 1979.

Elizabeth D. Schafer

See also

Aircraft, Gliders; Berlin, Land Battle for; Germany, Air Force; Greim, Robert Ritter von; Helicopters; Hitler, Adolf; Jet and Rocket Aircraft; Women in World War II

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Religion and the War

With World War II's casualty toll measured in scores of millions, one might initially imagine that the war brought a total eclipse of religious sentiment. Certainly, partial eclipses occurred in both Europe and Asia, as war's barbarity ran to extremes in such atrocities as the systematic destruction of Jews in the Holocaust or the Nanjing (Nanking) Massacre. Yet at both institutional and personal levels, religion continued to shine forth—sometimes erratically or unpredictably or fleetingly and not always for good but also not always for evil.

Both good and evil characterized the record of the Roman Catholic Church. Priests in Poland heroically resisted Nazi oppression and served with distinction as chaplains at the front, often ministering to both Protestants and Catholics, and churches, monasteries, and individual Catholics helped to shelter Jews from the Holocaust. Yet nationalistic Catholic priests in Slovakia and Croatia sanctioned or participated in ruthless persecutions of non-Catholics, especially Jews and Orthodox Serbians. Meanwhile, Pope Pius XII, elected to the papacy in March 1939, refused to condemn publicly Nazi atrocities against Poles, Jews, and other peoples. One might say charitably that Pius XII took the long view of the war, putting the survival of the apostolic episcopate and the Vatican ahead of the uncertain efficacy of protesting war crimes.

Certainly, the Catholic Church in Germany expressed nearly unqualified support for Adolf Hitler and the war, although these expressions mainly called for German men to serve the Fatherland at the front. Most Catholics agreed with the rhetoric of "crusade" that the Nazis employed against Bolshevism. Open opposition to Nazi policy, such as that in sermons delivered by Archbishop Galen of Münster in 1941

condemning Germany's euthanasia program, was decidedly uncommon. Those few Catholics who dared speak out sometimes paid with their lives, among them the Jesuit Alfred Delp, who, as a member of the Kreisau Circle, sought to define a new Germany after the Third Reich's anticipated demise.

Protestant opposition to the Nazi war effort was equally rare and could prove just as deadly. Ludwig Müller, a devotee of Adolf Hitler, became Reich bishop of the German Lutheran Church. His plan to meld the church and National Socialism was supported by the *Deutsche Christen* (German Christians) but rejected by Hitler, who instead sought to curtail Christianity's influence throughout the Reich.

The less numerous "Confessionals" within the church were more critical of Nazi policy. Among their members were Martin Niemöller and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who founded the Pastors' Emergency League to resist Nazi interference in church activities, the subjugation of faith to Fatherland, and the unbending and unreflective obedience to duty. Arrested in 1943 by the Gestapo, Bonhoeffer penned his famous *Letters and Papers from Prison*, calling for a "religionless" Christianity in which believers could profess the faith as a matter of individual conscience. They could thereby avoid religious institutions that had been irredeemably compromised by Nazism. Bonhoeffer paid for his elevation of individual conscience and his involvement in the plot against Hitler with his life in April 1945.

The de facto policy of Nazi Germany was essentially non-interference with organized Christianity as long as religionists supported or acquiesced in the activities of the regime. Those who refused to take oaths of loyalty, such as the Jehovah's Witnesses, were sent to concentration camps, and many perished. (The U.S. also imprisoned Jehovah's Witnesses for refusing to register for the draft.) The Nazis themselves attempted to undermine Christianity with neopagan rituals and hypernationalism. Among more fanatical Nazis, the Führer became a new messiah, *Mein Kampf* a new bible, and iron crosses and swastikas the new crucifixes. Yet most Christians in Germany experienced little distress in preserving traditional Christian symbols and beliefs while professing allegiance to Hitler and the Nazi Party. Opposition to the war became a force in Germany only after major military setbacks, notably the defeat at Stalingrad in early 1943.

In countries occupied by Germany, religion sometimes served to unify resisters to Nazi rule, as it did in Poland, Holland, Norway, Belgium, Denmark, and other nations. Yet the opposite could be true as well, at least initially. In France, the Catholic Church supported head of state Henri Philippe Pétain and the Vichy government, since the latter drew its strength from conservatives sympathetic to Catholicism, a contrast to their Republican or Socialist counterparts in the interwar period. As Nazi occupation policy grew more oppressive, French Catholics such as Jacques Maritain began calling for



Men of the 50th CB Battalion (Seabees), sitting on sandbags in a canvas chapel, bow their heads in prayer during candlelight Holy Communion service, at Tinian, Mariana Islands, 24 December 1944. (National Archives)

heartfelt examinations of individual conscience and resistance to totalitarian forms of government. Maritain's *Christianity and Democracy* (1943) pointed the way toward the Christian Democratic parties of the postwar period.

Where religious identity mattered in deadly earnest, of course, was among Jewish communities scattered throughout Europe. Widespread European anti-Semitism, internecine struggles over the desirability and practicality of Zionism, and debates over orthodoxy and proper observance of Jewish law further fractured an already fragmented Jewish community, which was then systematically annihilated by the Nazis. Yet Judaism persisted. The Nazis could destroy the Jews' synagogues, cut off their beards, and even murder them, but they could not annihilate their faith. Despite Nazi prohibitions, many Jews practiced their faith surreptitiously in the ghettos, demonstrating fortitude and fidelity to their forefathers and precipitating acts of moral and violent resistance against their nominally Christian German persecutors. The Holocaust led some Jews to reject God, whereas others embraced him more closely. Few Jews were left unchanged.

Jewish emigration to Palestine in the 1930s and Zionist ambitions had provoked Arab revolts against British rule from 1936 to 1939. In 1939, attempting to appease Arab demands, the British limited Jewish immigration to Palestine to 75,000 for the next five years. By quelling Arab dissent, the British were able to redeploy two divisions from Palestine to the home islands to resist the anticipated Nazi assault on Europe. Dissatisfied with the British response, the grand mufti of Jerusalem approached the Nazis, a move that compromised his moral authority and the political credibility of the Palestinian Arab cause.

Yet the Muslim-Jewish split in Palestine was arguably less significant during the war than the shared goal of checking Nazi aggression. Thus it was that the British Eighth Army, which included thousands of Indian Muslim troops, thwarted Nazi ambitions to conquer Palestine, thereby saving the tens of thousands of Jews residing there. After the war, Britain relinquished its mandate over Palestine to the United Nations, whose support of a Jewish state led to Israel's creation but also to inflammatory disputes over

Jerusalem and other territories—disputes that are unresolved to this day.

In Britain and the United States, organized religion lent its moral authority to the holy crusade against Nazi Germany. The Nazi combination of megalomaniac territorial ambition suffused with genocidal racial ideology was so transparently evil that few people in the West objected to combating Germany after 1941. Such was not the case earlier in the war, when some viewed fascism as a dangerous but nevertheless more congenial alternative than communism. In his Four Freedoms, however, President Franklin D. Roosevelt made it clear that democracy best preserved people's freedom to worship. The four chaplains—Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish—who together lost their lives when the U.S. Army transport *Dorchester* sank in 1943 set a powerful example of ecumenism and religious unity that served the Western democracies well in prosecuting the war.

Josef Stalin also recognized the importance of religion to fighting spirit. Soon after the German invasion in June 1941, he suppressed the League of Militant Atheists (an organization founded in 1917). He then permitted the reappointment of a patriarch (Sergius) for the Russian Orthodox Church (Peter the Great had eliminated the post in 1721). Orthodox priests—now freed from prison, with their rights to preach guaranteed and their churches reopened to the faithful—rewarded Stalin with calls for a holy war to defend the homeland against bloodthirsty and barbarous Nazi “jackals,” a call that was answered with considerable enthusiasm by many Soviet citizens.

The Pacific Theater witnessed even more intense expressions of religiously inspired nationalism. In Japan, the state Shinto religion merged with militant and nationalistic expressions of the Bushido warrior code to elevate emperor veneration and expansionist rhetoric to unprecedented heights. In such a setting, battle became a Shinto purification rite to cleanse Asia of corrupt, materialistic Westerners. Japan planned to incorporate Asia and the Pacific Basin into a “co-prosperity sphere” ruled by its army and navy, agents of the divine emperor. Militarism extended even to Japanese Buddhist sects, such as the Nichiren, which aggressively sought to provoke incidents in China to justify Japanese expansionism and imperial exploitation.

Meanwhile, Western missionaries in China played pivotal roles as witnesses to Japanese war crimes, most notably the infamous Nanjing (Nanking) Massacre (1937). Faced with the fanaticism of Japanese soldiers, sailors, and aviators, the West responded with its own “war without mercy,” in John W. Dower's memorable phrase, that caricatured the Japanese as irredeemable, inhuman vermin. With Shintoism viewed in the West as a debased form of primitive nature and ancestor worship, there was little room for Christian accommodation.

Whether it was Japan's divine sense of mission against Western domination or Nazi crusades against godless Bol-

shevism or Allied efforts against degenerate and murderous Nazism, World War II often became a moral and religious crusade with little tolerance for pacifists or conscientious objectors. Nevertheless, avoiding military service on religious grounds was possible, if suspect—a fact that cast a shadow over even long-term pacifists such as the Society of Friends (Quakers). Conscientious objectors were tolerated most in countries whose existence was threatened least, such as the United States and Canada.

Here, one must note the success of Mohandas Gandhi in pursuing a nonviolent protest against British rule in India. Its tragic denouement in Hindu-Muslim violence that led to Gandhi's assassination and the India-Pakistan split in 1947 should not obscure the spiritual power of Gandhi's war of ideas.

Religion was perhaps most crucial in the postwar world in helping to restore morality and human decency after the genocidal catastrophes and horrific casualties of the war. Ecumenism was plainly more evident; the World Council of Churches, founded in 1948, brought together 147 different churches from 44 countries. Evangelism within Christianity also increased as resistance to communism became the new *raison d'être* of many European and American Christians. Meanwhile, Jews attempted to recover from the enormity of the crimes against them while simultaneously defending the state of Israel.

Many people, Jews and Christians alike, were left to ponder the question raised and the confession made by Christians such as Emmi Bonhoeffer, who asked how a German population consisting of 95 percent baptized Christians could have supported or acquiesced in Nazi war crimes. Many believers confronted (or sometimes actively avoided) this and similar questions of conscience after 1945.

William J. Astore

See also

Bonhoeffer, Dietrich; Catholic Church and the War; Conscientious Objectors; Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand; Holocaust, The; Jewish Resistance; Nanjing Massacre; Niemöller, Martin; Pius XII, Pope; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stalin, Josef

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Remagen Bridge, Capture of (7 March 1945)

As the Germans retreated across the Rhine, they destroyed bridges over the river. Not expecting to find a bridge intact, American forces planned to pause along the Rhine while to the north, Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery's 21st Army Group drove between Düsseldorf and the Dutch frontier to secure the Ruhr. Such a delay was unacceptable to U.S. Generals Omar N. Bradley and George S. Patton, who wanted to cross the Rhine as soon as possible and maintain pres-

sure on the German army. American forces narrowly missed capturing several bridges over the Rhine.

At noon on 7 March 1945, Task Force Englemann (commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Leonard Englemann), consisting of the U.S. 14th Tank and 27th Armored Infantry Battalions of Combat Command B of the 9th Armored Division, reached the Ludendorff Railroad Bridge at Remagen, 20 miles upriver from Bonn. The bridge, the last one still intact over the Rhine, had two rail tracks and a pedestrian walkway. When the French had occupied the region following World War I, they had poured large quantities of cement into the demolition chambers under the bridge, which made it difficult to destroy. Indeed, the Germans had failed to blow it twice before the Americans arrived. The bridge was held by an inadequate force of only a platoon of German soldiers.

At 4:30 P.M. on 7 March, the lead U.S. units received orders to take the bridge at all costs. The Germans detonated charges that cratered the approach to the bridge, but a U.S. tank round had severed the power cables between the electrical source and the main charge on the bridge itself. As the Americans dashed forward, the Germans did detonate a low-quality backup charge, but the explosion only shook the bridge.

Between 7 March and 17 March 1945, 50,000 U.S. troops and dozens of vehicles crossed the Remagen Bridge.



Task Force Englemann captures the Ludendorff Bridge spanning the Rhine at Remagen, the only bridge left standing across the Rhine, March 1945. (Corbis)

Over the next 10 days, the United States rushed nearly 50,000 troops and dozens of vehicles across the bridge into Germany. Almost from the moment the bridge was captured, engineers began constructing supplementary crossings, including a large Treadway pontoon bridge. Begun on 9 March, the auxiliary bridge was completed 80 hours later.

The Germans tried to destroy the Remagen Bridge with aerial bombing, V-2 rockets, jet aircraft, and even an assault by frogmen. On 17 March 1945, the bridge collapsed with little prior warning, killing 28 Americans. Studies revealed that it had given way due to overuse, especially by heavy vehicles.

The dramatic capture of the Remagen Bridge facilitated the infusion of Allied forces into Germany and likely shortened the war in Europe. Later, General Dwight D. Eisenhower declared that the bridge was “worth its weight in gold.”

William Head

See also

Bradley, Omar Nelson; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Logistics, Allied; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Patton, George Smith, Jr.

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Resistance

Defined here as the act of opposing a foreign occupying power, resistance has existed since the beginning of warfare and conquest. There have always been citizens of an occupied nation who refused to accept the military verdict and attempted to continue the fight against the victor, sometimes with success. During World War II, there was some degree of resistance in every Axis-occupied country, not only to the military conquest but also to Axis ideology. The degree varied sharply, depending on the nation and circumstances.

The word *resistance*, in the sense of actions taken, encompasses everything from noncooperation to civil disobedience, conducting intelligence activities, committing sabotage and assassinations, running escape lines, and even carrying out hit-and-run raids against small enemy units. *Resistance* can also mean an organization or a particular movement, such as the maquis in France. Resistance may be undertaken by individuals or by groups of people organized to work clandestinely against an oppressor. To the occupied people, those who engage in such activities are resisters and are often held up as heroes. To the occupying power, they are considered bandits, criminals, and even terrorists.

To exacerbate the confusion, most nations have created myths concerning their resistance activities. As a consequence, we will never know, even approximately, the numbers of people actually involved in such activities. After the war, for quite understandable reasons, the governments of many countries, including France, sought to magnify the numbers of citizens involved in resistance work and their contribution to victory.

Resistance movements during World War II were sharply fragmented along national lines, and there were even bitter rivalries within groups of resisters in individual nations that often led to bloodshed. These rivalries were the result of deep ideological and religious differences, long-standing ethnic feuds, fiefdoms, and petty jealousies among the leaders themselves. In Czechoslovakia, Defense of the Nation and the Falcon Organization vied with one another. In the Netherlands, various religious and political groups emerged, but they did not work together until September 1944. In France, resisters were markedly divided at first: not until May 1943 was the National Council of the Resistance (CNR) formed, uniting all major French Resistance groups. In Greece, infighting among the National Popular Liberation Army (ELAS), the National Republican Greek League (EDES), and the Communist National Liberation Front (EAM) led to a civil war after World War II had ended. In Albania, royalist Zogists fought a prorepublican group of resisters. The Yugoslavia Resistance was polarized between the royalist Četniks under the leadership of Dragoljub “Draza” Mihajlović and Communist Partisans led by Josip Broz (better known as Tito). The Četniks were promonarchy and conservative, whereas the Partisans were antimonarchy and sought a postwar communist state. The Četniks were also reluctant to embark on the types of operations that would bring reprisals against the civilian population, such as direct attacks on German troops. The Partisans felt no such compunction. Inside the Soviet Union, many resisters sought not only freedom from the Germans but also freedom from Soviet control as well.

Often, Allied agents who parachuted into an occupied state had difficulty sorting out all these rivalries and making the appropriate determinations as to where Allied financial and military assistance should be directed. Throughout the occupied countries, the communist resistance groups, although they were late to take the field (until the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, Josef Stalin advocated close ties with Nazi Germany), tended to be highly effective because they were better trained and organized; with strong ideological motivation, they had no reservations about the use of force.

Geography impacted resistance activities and determined the levels of action and participation. Mountainous, forested, or swampy terrain favored the guerrilla. It was thus easier to conduct resistance activities in Norway, Yugoslavia, Albania, and Greece, all countries with many hills, forests, and caves.



Resistance fighters on the march over a mountain trail, 18 September 1944. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

In Asia, jungles often worked to the advantage of the resistance forces as well.

Resistance took many forms and was both passive and active. Passive resistance was generally nonconfrontational and a method of coping and asserting one's patriotism. Passive resistance involved many people in occupied Europe and in Asia. It encompassed a wide range of activities and might include nothing more than reading an illegal newspaper, selling or buying goods on the black market, or not handing in materials decreed necessary for the Axis war machine. It might also mean secretly listening to church sermons, praying for a royal family or leaders in exile, listening to broadcasts from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), leaving a public place when a German entered it, or other such actions. At the highest levels, passive resistance might include balking at anti-Jewish legislation or not handing over individuals sought by the occupier and seeking to evade the occupying power's exactions.

Active resistance included intelligence gathering; acting as couriers or radio operators; disseminating information or

Allied propaganda, through such means as underground newspapers; printing false identification papers and ration cards; rescuing downed Allied pilots and assisting them to neutral nations; committing acts of sabotage; freeing prisoners; hiding Jews; and even carrying out assassinations of individuals and conducting military actions against small numbers of occupying troops. Active resistance was far more dangerous and often life-threatening, both to the individual involved and to his or her family. For that reason, those who engaged in it were always a minority. Considerable courage as well as clairvoyance were required for a Frenchman to see, in 1940, that Germany might indeed lose the war, let alone for him to be willing to risk all toward that end.

The British Special Operations Executive (SOE), established by Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill in 1940, helped finance and train agents from the nations of Axis-occupied countries to carry out active resistance activities. Its U.S. counterpart, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), conducted similar activities. The SOE and OSS enjoyed some suc-

cesses, but they also experienced a number of failures leading to the deaths of agents. The most dramatic failure resulted from ENGLANDSPIEL, an elaborate German counterintelligence operation in the Netherlands that ended in the deaths of many Allied agents. Resisters had to exercise constant vigilance—and not only against the occupying forces. The governments of their own countries, working with the occupiers, often sent out forces (such as the Milice in France) to hunt them down.

One notable resistance success was the February 1943 strike executed by British-trained Norwegian resisters against the hydroelectric plant at Vermork, Norway. This raid and the subsequent sinking of a ferry delayed German production of the heavy water essential for the production of an atomic bomb.

The Poles, who suffered terribly at the hands of their German and Soviet occupiers during the war, immediately established active resistance operations. They provided immensely useful intelligence on the German development of V weapons, and they created the secret Home Army. Jews in the Warsaw ghetto employed active resistance as well, rising up against the Germans and providing a heroic example of courage against impossible odds.

The French maquis also fought the Germans. Resistance activities mounted from the Vercors Plateau in the Alps of eastern France provoked a strong reaction in the form of 20,000 German troops who, in June 1944, decimated the Vercors maquis and mounted savage reprisals against the civilian population. The Germans carried out ferocious reprisals elsewhere as well. Often, they executed innocent civilian villagers or hostages at the rate of 20 or more for each of their own slain. Reprisals were especially fierce after British-trained Czech commandos assassinated the Reich protector of Bohemia and Moravia, Reinhard Heydrich. His death led the Germans to kill most of the inhabitants of Lidice and level the town. Communities in other parts of Europe suffered a similar fate.

Resistance activities sharply increased as the Axis powers suffered military reversals, especially when it became clear that they would lose the war. Resisters had to be constantly on guard and regularly change their modus operandi. They also had to contend with double agents, of whom there were a substantial number. French Resistance leader Jean Moulin, the head of the National Resistance Council (CNR), for example, was betrayed to the Gestapo by an informant.

The effectiveness of resistance activities during the war is difficult to gauge. Such activities may not have greatly sped up the end of the war, but they did affect events in that the occupiers were forced to divert many troops from the fighting fronts to occupation duties and to hunting down the resistance forces. Resistance in all its forms was a vindication of national identity and pride and a statement for freedom. Unfortunately for resistance leaders in many countries, their bright and idealistic hopes that the war would bring new

political structures were, for the most part, left unfulfilled. In most nations, these individuals were thanked politely and then shown the door, as the old elites soon reestablished themselves in power.

Some resistance groups, of course, fought not only against the Axis powers but also against colonial forces. Thus, in Vietnam, the Vietminh led by Ho Chi Minh fought both the Japanese and the French. As a consequence, the resistance continued in a number of countries after World War II ended, utilizing the methods and weapons supplied to fight the Japanese. Such was the case in Vietnam, in the Philippines, and even in the Soviet Union.

Annette Richardson and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Counterintelligence; Heydrich, Reinhard Tristan Eugen; Jewish Resistance; Lidice Massacre; Maquis; Mihajlović, Dragoljub; Moulin, Jean; Office of Strategic Services; Partisans/Guerrillas; Special Operations Executive; Warsaw Ghetto Uprising; Warsaw Rising

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Reuben James, Sinking of (31 October 1941)

The loss of the U.S. Navy destroyer *Reuben James* (DD 245) to the German submarine *U-552* on 31 October 1941 helped move the United States closer to entering World War II. The *Reuben James* was a Clemson-class “Four Piper” destroyer, named for the U.S. sailor who, interposing his own body, had saved the life of Lieutenant Stephen Decatur during the Barbary Wars. Commissioned in 1920, “the Rube,” as the destroyer came to be known, displaced 1,200 tons, was capable of speeds in excess



U.S. Navy destroyer *Reuben James*. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

of 30 knots, and was armed with 4 × 4-inch guns and 21-inch torpedoes.

On the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939, the *Reuben James* was assigned to patrol duty off the East Coast of the United States. In March 1941, the Rube joined Squadron 31 in the Atlantic, where it was part of the Northeastern Escort Force assigned to escort convoys as far east as Iceland and as far west as the United States.

On 31 October 1941, the *Reuben James* (under Lieutenant Commander H. L. "Tex" Edwards) was some 600 miles west of Iceland, with 4 other destroyers escorting 44 merchantmen in the eastbound convoy HX.156. She was steaming on the port beam of the convoy abreast of the last ship in the column that morning when she was hit without warning on the port side by a torpedo fired by the German *U-552*. Evidently, the torpedo explosion touched off ammunition in the destroyer's forward magazine and split the ship in two. The stern remained afloat for about five minutes, and then it, too, sank. Only 45 men, including a chief petty officer, survived; 115 others, including Edwards and all the other officers, went down with the ship.

Within days, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt had transferred the Coast Guard to the U.S. Navy. The next week, Congress amended the Neutrality Act by authorizing the arming of American merchantmen and removing restrictions that denied European waters to U.S. shipping. The U.S. Navy could now convoy Lend-Lease goods all the way to British ports. The *Reuben James* was the only U.S. Navy ship lost to the German navy before the United States entered World War II.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Atlantic, Battle of the; Destroyers; Lend-Lease; Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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Reynaud, Paul (1878–1966)

French premier who was arrested by the Vichy government and turned over to the Germans. Born on 15 October 1878 in Barcelonnettes (Basses-Alpes), France, Paul Reynaud earned a doctor of law degree at the Faculté de Droit at the Sorbonne. He joined the bar and built a practice in civil and commercial law. During World War I, he served in the medical corps, winning the Croix de Guerre and Legion of Honor. Reynaud won election to the Chamber of Deputies in 1919 from Basses-Alpes. He failed to win reelection in 1924 but was again elected to the chamber four years later, this time from the Seine. He held this seat until the end of the republic in 1940.

Reynaud was soon a major political figure in the Third French Republic. Beginning in the 1930s, he was named to the cabinet eight times, three of them in the Ministry of Finance. A maverick on many issues, as early as 1935 he supported the reformist ideas of the army's Lieutenant Colonel Charles de Gaulle for the organization of a powerful armored force to confront the Germans.

As minister of justice from April 1938 in the government of Édouard Daladier, Reynaud opposed the Munich Agreement but then accepted the post of minister of finance. When Daladier was forced to resign as premier for failing to prosecute the war vigorously, Reynaud became the premier on 20 March 1940. He was saddled with having his political rival Daladier as



French politician Paul Reynaud, 1948. (Photo by Kurt Hutton/Picture Post/Getty Images)

his defense minister, but he proposed aggressive action against the Germans, including plans to intervene in Norway. He and British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain also discussed means of aiding the Finns in their war against the Soviet Union.

Following the German invasion of France and the Low Countries on 10 May 1940, Reynaud tried to rally the French nation, announcing in a radio address, “The situation is grave; it is not desperate. The Maginot Line is there . . . intact, robust, unbreakable.” He also sought to strengthen the government by bringing into it Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain and General Maxime Weygand. Reynaud pledged to continue the fight, but by the end of May, with the military situation fast deteriorating, he met with British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill and warned that he might be unable to keep his pledge not to negotiate a separate armistice. The government fled to Bordeaux in southwest France, and defeatists in the cabinet gained strength. Reynaud favored continuing the fight, if necessary overseas. When Churchill proposed a merger of France and Britain, he agreed, but this union was disavowed by a majority of the cabinet. On 16 June 1940, Reynaud resigned. Arrested by the Vichy government in August, he was held until November 1942, when he was handed over to the Germans. He was taken to Germany and remained a prisoner until he was liberated at the end of the war.

Reynaud returned to France and became a leading politician in the Fourth Republic from 1946. He headed the committee drafting the French constitution that ended the Fourth Republic and began the Fifth. Reynaud supported Charles de Gaulle until 1962. He was also an early advocate of the unification of Europe. He died in Neuilly-sur-Seine, France, on 21 September 1966.

Joseph C. Greaney

See also

Chamberlain, Arthur Neville; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Daladier, Édouard; de Gaulle, Charles; Finnish-Soviet War (Winter War); France, Battle for; France, Vichy; Norway, German Conquest of; Pétain, Henri Philippe; Weygand, Maxime

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Rhine Crossings (7–24 March 1945)

The Rhine River presented the greatest natural obstacle in the path of the advancing Western Allies after their crossing of the English Channel. Ranging in width from 700 to 1,200 feet and at no point fordable, the river was at flood levels in early March 1945—the result of spring rains and melting snow. The Rhine was also in German territory and would be defended at great cost. Allied plans called for Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery’s 21st Army Group to cross the Rhine in the north, while General Omar N. Bradley’s 12th Army Group would cross in the south. The majority of resources were to be assigned to Montgomery, whose forces were then to secure Germany’s industrial heartland of the Ruhr Valley.

The Germans had already blown most of the bridges across the Rhine accessible to the advancing Allies when, on the afternoon of 7 March, lead elements of Combat Command B of the 9th Armored Division of Bradley’s army group were able to secure the Ludendorff Railroad Bridge at Remagen. Troops and vehicles were rushed across as combat engineers hurried to construct other bridges. Meanwhile, amphibian trucks and engineer ferries supplemented the bridge.

Not to be outdone, Lieutenant General George S. Patton sought to secure a crossing for his Third Army. He planned to make a feint at Mainz and then cross at Oppenheim. The task of making the initial crossing fell to the 5th Infantry Division. The operation began late on the night of 21 March. Thirteen artillery battalions and 7,500 engineers stood by to support the crossing, but to secure surprise, there was no preliminary fire.

Two assault companies of the 5th Division, assisted by the 204th Engineer Combat Battalion, crossed the river at Oppenheim without resistance. South of the city, another assault company got across but then met heavy German resistance on the other bank. Not until 12:30 A.M. on 22 March did the Germans begin to fire artillery, and even then, it was only sporadic. Patton's sneak crossing had worked well indeed.

As the bridgehead expanded, ferries, DUKWs amphibious trucks, and landing craft known as LCVPs (landing craft, vehicle or personnel) of the U.S. Navy's Naval Unit 2 ferried men and equipment to the other side. By midafternoon, three infantry regiments and hundreds of support troops were across. By evening, the bridgehead was 5 miles deep. Patton's army made two other assault crossings of the Rhine. Lead elements of the 87th Division crossed in the early morning hours of 25 March at Boppard, and the following morning, the 89th Division crossed at Saint Goar.

Despite the good fortune of the Remagen crossing and Patton's crossing to the south, the Allied plan still called for the northern crossings, code-named Operation *PLUNDER*, to be the main attack. Montgomery massed nearly 1 million men along the lower Rhine: 21st Army Group units in the crossing included the 9 divisions of the British Second Army and the 12 divisions of the U.S. Ninth Army. The U.S. Navy's Naval Unit 3 supported 21st Army Group and was the largest of three such supporting units for the Rhine crossing. It was reinforced by a Transportation Corps harbor company and elements of the Royal Navy. Defending in this area, the Germans had only 85,000 men and 35 tanks. Operation *PLUNDER* began late on 23 March, with units of the 21st Army Group getting across the Rhine between Wesel and Emmerich.

To support Operation *PLUNDER* at Wesel and impede any German reinforcement, the Allies planned a massive airborne assault. Operation *VARSAITY*, carried out on 24 March, involved 21,692 Allied paratroopers and glidermen of the British 6th Airborne and U.S. 17th Airborne Divisions of Major General Matthew B. Ridgway's XVIII Airborne Corps, with 614 jeeps, 286 artillery pieces and mortars, and hundreds of tons of supplies, ammunition, food, and fuel. A total of 1,696 transports and 1,348 gliders participated. More than 2,000 Allied fighter aircraft provided support, and 240 B-24 bombers were specially rigged to drop supplies and equipment. The drop zones for *VARSAITY* were east of the Rhine in the Wesel area, close enough to the advancing ground forces to provide for a quick linkup but not deep enough to give any real additional depth to the operation. By the end of 24 March, the airborne forces had secured most of their objectives. The defending German 84th Division was virtually destroyed, with 3,500 Germans taken prisoner. Although *VARSAITY* was a success, it was a costly one; casualties were higher for the airborne forces in this operation than for the Allied ground units in their crossings.

Meanwhile, the Ninth Army's 90th Infantry Division crossed all three of its regiments near Wallach shortly after midnight on 24 March. The Scottish 15th Division of Lieutenant General Neil Ritchie's British XII Corps got across the river west of Xanten, opposed only by sporadic artillery, mortar, and machine-gun fire. Then, at 3:00 A.M. on 24 March, the 79th Division conducted the last amphibious crossing of the river, at points east and southeast of Rheinberg.

The initial assault crossings completed, engineers followed with additional bridging. Allied headquarters had estimated that sustaining military operations across the Rhine would require 540 tons of supplies per day. Allied engineers had, in short order, constructed a variety of foot, vehicle, railway, and pipeline bridges. For generations, the Germans had considered the Rhine as a natural barrier that would protect them from invasion, but superior resources at the points of attack and military engineering gave the Allies access to the German heartland.

Troy D. Morgan and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Bradley, Omar Nelson; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Remagen Bridge, Capture of; Ridgway, Matthew Bunker; Ritchie, Sir Neil Methuen

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Rhineland, Remilitarization of (7 March 1936)

Probably the seminal event on the road to World War II in Europe. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles, imposed on Germany by the victorious Allies after World War I, demilitarized the entire Rhineland (the German territory west of the Rhine River) as well as a belt 30 miles east of the Rhine. Then, in 1925, the German government voluntarily negotiated and signed the Locarno Pacts. Among their provisions was one guaranteeing continuation of the Rhineland demilitarization.

German Chancellor Adolf Hitler chose to violate these treaties. Timed to occur in the midst of France's most bitterly contested election campaign after World War I, his move to do so was hastily mounted with the preliminary directive issued on 2 March 1936. On 7 March, in Operation *WINTER EXERCISE*, Hitler sent across the Rhine bridges into the Rhineland just 19 battalions of infantry and 13 artillery

groups plus 2 antiaircraft battalions and 2 squadrons of 27 single-seater fighter planes without reserves, a total strength of 22,000 men, as well as 14,000 local police. The troops were armed with little more than rifles and machine guns.

To its credit, the weak French government was more inclined to fight than were its generals. Astonishingly, France had no contingency plans for such an eventuality. Army Chief of Staff General Maurice Gamelin informed the cabinet that the choices were to do nothing or to totally mobilize. The French intelligence services grossly overestimated the size of the German forces inside the Rhineland at 265,000 troops. The British more realistically believed Hitler had sent in 35,000 men, but they erroneously accepted his boast that the Luftwaffe had achieved air parity with the Royal Air Force. In reality, the two squadrons of obsolete biplane Arado Ar-65 and Ar-68 and Heinkel He-51 fighter aircraft that Germany put aloft lacked guns or synchronization gear to enable them to fire through their propeller arcs. Had French aircraft appeared, the only German recourse would have been to ram! The sole Luftwaffe aircraft capable of reaching London, the Junkers Ju-52, could not have flown there carrying bombs and returned. But even this prospect was not a realistic one, as the Luftwaffe had few bombs available—a total of perhaps several hundred.

The most that France did was to mobilize 13 divisions and reinforce the Maginot Line. In a vain cover for its own inaction, Paris appealed to Britain for support, but Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden made it clear that Britain would not fight for the Rhineland, which was, after all, German territory. Speaking for the cabinet, Eden announced in the House of Commons that, although Germany's action was "inexcusable" as a breach of a freely signed international treaty, it in no way implied a hostile threat to France!

Had the French acted by themselves, their forces would have defeated the Germans. Hitler later recalled, "We had no army worth mentioning. . . . If the French had taken any action, we would have been defeated; our resistance would have been over in a few days. And what air force we had then was ridiculous. A few Junker 52s from Lufthansa, and not even enough bombs for them." A French military move would probably have been the end of the Nazi regime. As Hitler noted, "retreat on our part would have spelled collapse."

Acquisition of the Rhineland fortified Hitler's popularity in Germany. It also assured his ascendancy over his generals, who had opposed the move as likely to lead to a war with France for which Germany was not prepared. Strategically, the remilitarization of the Rhineland provided both a buffer for the Ruhr and a springboard for invading France and Belgium. It also shook France's allies in eastern Europe, who now believed that country would not fight to maintain the security system it had created against German aggression. The action

had another important negative consequence for France as well, for on 14 October 1936, Belgian leaders denounced their treaty of mutual assistance with France and again sought security in neutrality. Germany promptly guaranteed the inviolability and integrity of Belgium so long as it abstained from military action against Germany. By his action, Hitler had effectively destroyed the post-World War I security system.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Belgium, Role in War; Eden, Sir Robert Anthony; Gamelin, Maurice; Hitler, Adolf; Maginot Line

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Rhineland Offensive (February–March 1945)

Allied eastward campaign to reach and cross the Rhine River. Actually a series of offensives—Operations VERITABLE, GRENADE, LUMBERJACK, and UNDERTONE—the Rhineland Offensive was designed to drive the German army from the area north of the Mosel River in preparation for the main Allied invasion of Germany by Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery's 21st Army Group in the north, across the Rhine north of the Ruhr. The supreme Allied commander in the west, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, also wanted to occupy the Rhineland (the area of Germany west of the Rhine River) south of the Mosel River in order to protect Montgomery's right flank and to provide territory for a secondary invasion of Germany through the Kassel-Frankfurt corridor.

Eisenhower had pledged to Montgomery that his forces would make the primary thrust to the Rhine, and he left Lieutenant General William H. Simpson's Ninth Army under Montgomery's command. He also allowed Lieutenant General George S. Patton Jr.'s Third Army to continue its drive toward the city of Trier and the Saar River basin. Ordering elements of Lieutenant General Courtney H. Hodges's First Army to seize the Roer River dams in support of Montgomery's northern thrust, he also let Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley make an additional strike northeast from Saint Vith toward the Rhine. This latter attack began on 28 January, but the troops bogged down when confronted with poor weather and stiff German resistance.



American soldiers surveying the wreckage of the Ludendorff Bridge at Remagen, Germany, 24 March 1945. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Montgomery's attack in the north, Operation *VERITABLE*, began on 8 February. Infantry and tanks of the Canadian I and II Corps, reinforced by the British XXX Corps, assaulted the German West Wall (known to the Allies as the Siegfried Line)—entrenchments in and around the Reichswald State Forest. Despite the attackers' greater numbers and air superiority, stubborn German resistance and poor weather slowed the advance. When the Germans breached the Roer River dams before the Allies could seize them, the flooding of that river postponed Operation *GRENADE*, a supporting attack by the U.S. Ninth Army, and allowed the Germans to concentrate their reserves against the British and Canadians.

However, having committed almost all their reserves against *VERITABLE*, the Germans could not hold back the Americans as the First and Third Armies involved in Operation *LUMBERJACK* began to penetrate the West Wall defenses. Patton, ignoring orders to halt his offensive, sent Major General Manton Eddy's XII Corps toward Bitburg and Major General Troy H. Middleton's VIII Corps on to the Prum River.

Steadily advancing through a heavily fortified German belt, the weary troops reached both objectives by the end of February. The U.S. First Army north of Patton likewise pressed the defenders ever closer to the Rhine. Launching Operation *GRENADE* on 23 February, after the Roer River flooding had receded, the U.S. Ninth Army broke through the thinned defenses and advanced toward the Rhine. Operation *UNDERTONE* was the final stage of clearing the Rhineland, with the goal of removing German forces from the Saar and Palatinate. Mounted by Lieutenant General Alexander M. Patch's Seventh Army, it began on 13 March. Adolf Hitler's stubborn refusal to permit his armies to retreat or even maneuver contributed greatly to the subsequent German debacle. Standing in place, the German defenders were destroyed in detail or cut off and forced to surrender. Only a relative handful escaped east across the river. By 24 March, German forces had been forced back across the Rhine.

The U.S. First Army secured the biggest prize of the campaign. No American commander had really expected to cap-

ture an intact Rhine bridge, but on 7 March, a unit from the U.S. 9th Armored Division took advantage of a confusion in the German defense to seize the Ludendorff Railroad Bridge at Remagen. General Hodges reinforced the coup by rushing divisions of his III Corps under Major General John Millikin over the river. The First Army's bridgehead over the Rhine, reinforced on 22–23 March by Patton's surprise crossing near Oppenheim and Montgomery's set-piece crossing on 23 March, wrapped up the campaign.

British and Canadian casualties in these battles approached 16,000 men, and U.S. losses among all the armies engaged were almost twice that number. The collapse of the German defenses west of the Rhine began when pressure was applied at several points simultaneously. Lacking the reserves to meet so many attacks and forbidden by Hitler to fall back, the German armies suffered severely. In the Rhineland Campaign, the Allies took more than 200,000 German prisoners.

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See also

Bradley, Omar Nelson; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Hitler, Adolf; Hodges, Courtney Hicks; Middleton, Troy Huston; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Patch, Alexander McCarrell, Jr.; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Reichswald, Battle of the; Remagen Bridge, Capture of; Rhine Crossings; Simpson, William Hood

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Ribbentrop, Ulrich Friedrich Willy Joachim von (1893–1946)

German diplomat who became foreign minister in 1938. Born in Wesel, Westphalia, Germany, on 30 April 1893, Joachim von Ribbentrop ended his education in Germany without taking the *Abitur* (a national exam to qualify for university study). He and his brother Lothar then studied at a boarding school in Switzerland, where they acquired an international outlook and interest in languages. Ribbentrop next traveled in England and worked for a time as a clerk in a German import firm in London. Between 1910 and 1913, he and his brother were in Canada, where they held a variety of jobs. In 1914, Ribbentrop underwent surgery to remove a tubercular kidney and returned to Germany to recuperate. When he recrossed the Atlantic afterward, he visited the United



German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop in SS (Schutzstaffel) uniform in January 1940. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

States before joining Lothar in Ottawa, where they ran a wine import-export business.

When World War I began in 1914, Ribbentrop managed to return to Germany, where he joined the army and fought as a lieutenant until he was wounded in action. Invalided from line service, he was awarded the Iron Cross. Later, he served on the staff of German military attaché Colonel Franz von Papen in the United States, and he followed the latter when he was posted to Turkey.

After the war, Ribbentrop married into the family of a prosperous champagne producer. Always a social climber, he purchased the aristocrat *von* in his name from a maiden aunt who adopted him in return for a cash settlement in 1925. A handsome man of considerable charm, he was also a parvenu and dilettante.

In January 1933, Ribbentrop helped arrange meetings at his villa in Dahlem between Adolf Hitler and Franz von Papen. He joined the Nazi Party relatively late, in May 1932. Though he paid lip service to the movement, he was actually a royalist and a conservative and seemed not to have realized Hitler's true aims. The urbane, internationalist Ribbentrop never did fit in with old-guard Nazi leaders, who referred to him as "the champagne salesman." From 1934 to 1938, he

advised Hitler on relations with Britain. He played a key role in negotiating the 1935 naval accord with that country, and he served briefly as the German ambassador in London (from 1936 to 1938) before succeeding Konstantin von Neurath as foreign minister on 4 February 1938. His great triumph was the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact of 23 August 1939. On the outbreak of World War II, Ribbentrop and diplomacy faded into the background. Hitler called him “the New Bismarck” but conducted his own foreign policy.

Ribbentrop held the third-highest Schutzstaffel (SS) rank during the war, and in a vain effort to regain influence, he adopted a rigorous anti-Semitic posture, ordering the Foreign Office to expedite deportations of Jews and others. He remained loyal to Hitler to the end, testifying at the Nuremberg trials: “I could never repudiate him now or renounce him. I don’t know why.” Found guilty by the International Tribunal on four counts of war crimes, most notably for his involvement in the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact of 1939 and instigating anti-Jewish measures, he was sentenced to death. Ribbentrop was hanged on 16 October 1946.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact; Hitler, Adolf; International Military Tribunal: The Nuremberg Trials

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Richthofen, Wolfram von (Baron) (1895–1945)

German air force field marshal who assumed command of Luftflotte 2 in 1943. Born in Barzdorf, Germany, on 10 October 1895, Wolfram von Richthofen was the cousin of Manfred von Richthofen, the “Red Baron” of World War I. He joined the army in 1913 as a lieutenant in the 4th Hussars Regiment. During World War I, he saw action on both fronts before transferring to the Military Aviation Service. He was posted to his cousin’s command, Jagdgeschwader 1 (fighter wing 1, or JG 1) in March 1918 and scored eight aerial victories before the end of the war.

Following the war, Richthofen studied engineering at the Hanover Technical Institute. He joined the Reichswehr in 1923 and proved a capable, intelligent staff officer. Within two years of Adolf Hitler’s rise to power, he had transferred to the

Luftwaffe and been promoted to lieutenant colonel. In 1936, Richthofen went to Spain as chief of the Development and Testing Branch to observe firsthand the performance of Luftwaffe equipment. Hugo Sperrle, commander of the Kondor Legion, asked Richthofen to remain in Spain, and he eventually became commander of the Kondor Legion as a brigadier general. In Spain, he developed such close-air support techniques as having air force officers serve with ground troops.

Richthofen departed Spain convinced that ground support should be the primary Luftwaffe role. He became the leading advocate in the Luftwaffe for air-ground cooperation. He commanded VIII Air Corps in the invasion of Poland in September 1939, and he directed the aerial destruction of Warsaw. During the invasion of France and the Low Countries in 1940, Richthofen commanded three squadrons of Ju-87 Stuka dive-bombers that provided effective flying artillery support to the advancing German Sixth Army.

Promoted to lieutenant general in May 1940, Richthofen directed VIII Air Corps in the Battle of Britain and in the German invasions of Greece and Crete. In 1942, he assumed command of Luftflotte 4 (Fourth Air Fleet), supporting German forces in the southern Soviet Union and at Stalingrad. Promoted to field marshal in February 1943 (the youngest in the German military), he took command of Luftflotte 2 in Italy in hopes that he could stem the Allied tide on that front.

In November 1944, Richthofen was diagnosed with a brain tumor and medically retired. After Germany surrendered, he was held by the Americans in Austria. He died of his brain tumor on 12 July 1945 in Ischl, Austria.

M. R. Pierce

See also

Aviation, Ground-Attack; Britain, Battle of; Crete, Battle of; France, Battle of; Germany, Air Force; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Greece Campaign (28 October 1940–March 1941); Hitler, Adolf; Kondor Legion; Poland Campaign; Sperrle, Hugo Walter; Stalingrad, Battle of; Warsaw, Battle of

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Ridgway, Matthew Bunker (1895–1993)

U.S. Army general and commander of the 82nd Infantry Division from 1942 to 1944. Born on 3 March 1895 in Fort Monroe, Virginia, Matthew Ridgway graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1917 and was commissioned in the infantry. He was sent to a border post at Eagle Pass, Texas, and rose to captain. Ridgway returned to West Point and



U.S. Army General Matthew B. Ridgway. (Corbis)

served as an instructor there from 1918 to 1924. In 1925, he graduated from the Infantry School, Fort Benning, Georgia. He then held a variety of overseas assignments in China, Nicaragua, the Panama Canal Zone, and the Philippines. In 1932, he was promoted to major.

Ridgway graduated from the Command and General Staff School, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1935 and from the Army War College in 1937. Between 1939 and 1942, he was in the War Plans Division of the War Department's General Staff. A protégé of Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel in July 1940, colonel in December 1941, and temporary brigadier general in January 1942. He was then assigned as assistant division commander of the 82nd Infantry Division assembling at Camp Claiborne, Louisiana, under Major General Omar N. Bradley. In June 1942, he assumed command of the 82nd, reorganizing it in August into an airborne division when he was promoted to temporary major general.

Ridgway commanded the 82nd in Sicily in July and August 1943 and in Italy from September to November 1943, during which the unit captured Naples and fought in the drive to the Volturno River before returning to England to prepare for the Normandy Invasion. He made his only combat jump with his division on 6 June 1944, and he fought with it throughout the Normandy Campaign. In August 1944, he turned over com-

mand of the 82nd to James Gavin and subsequently took charge of the newly formed XVIII Airborne Corps, directing it in Operation MARKET-GARDEN, during the Battle of the Bulge, and throughout the drive into Germany.

Promoted to lieutenant general in June 1945, Ridgway briefly commanded the Mediterranean Theater. From 1946 to 1948, he was U.S. representative to the UN Military Staff Committee, and from 1948 to 1949, he headed the Caribbean Defense Command. Appointed deputy chief of staff of the army in August 1949, Ridgway took command of Eighth Army in Korea on the death of Lieutenant General Walton Walker. In that post, he stopped its retreat before Chinese forces, restored its morale, and returned it to the offensive. Ridgway subsequently succeeded General of the Army Douglas MacArthur as supreme Allied commander, in April 1951. Appointed supreme Allied commander, Europe in May 1952, he was promoted to full general. In August 1953, he was appointed army chief of staff. Declining to serve his full four-year term because of his disagreement with President Dwight D. Eisenhower's defense policies that placed reliance on nuclear weapons, Ridgway retired in June 1955. He then wrote his memoirs and served on various corporate boards. He died in Fox Chapel, Pennsylvania, on 26 July 1993.

Guy A. Lofaro

See also

Ardennes Offensive; Bradley, Omar Nelson; Gavin, James Maurice; Italy Campaign; MacArthur, Douglas; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Marshall, George Catlett; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; OVERLORD, Operation; Sicily, Invasion of; Walker, Walton Harris

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Riefenstahl, Leni (1902–2003)

German film director and actress who made movies for the Nazi regime. Born in Berlin on 22 August 1902, Leni Riefenstahl trained as a dancer, and her performances in Berlin, beginning in 1923, made her a star. Hired by Max Reinhardt, director of the Deutsches Theater, she performed throughout Europe. After sustaining a knee injury, Riefenstahl became the foremost actress in the troupe of Arnold Fanck, founder of the Freiburg Mountain and Sport Company. The film *Holy Mountain* launched her acting career in 1926, and she would thereafter appear in *The Big Jump* (1927) and *White Hell of Pitz Palü* (1929). She mastered the transition



The German actress, director, and photographer Leni Riefenstahl, 1935. Riefenstahl won the German film prize in 1934–1935 for *Triumph of the Will*, her film of the 1934 Nuremberg Nazi Party rally. (Austrian Archives/Corbis)

from silent films to sound, as evidenced in *Storms over Mount Blanc* (1930).

In 1931, Riefenstahl founded a film production company and began directing her own projects. *Blue Light: A Mountain Legend from the Dolomites*, the first film she directed, won a silver medal in Venice in 1932 and ran for over a year in Paris and London. She also produced and acted in *SOS Iceberg* in 1932, a film shot in Greenland.

In June 1933, Riefenstahl concluded an agreement to make films for the Nazi Party. Her first commission, *Victory of Faith*, dealt with the Fifth Party Congress. Renaming her company Reich Party Congress Film, she was assigned the following year to capture on film the Nuremberg party rally. *Triumph of the Will*, made in the style of a newsreel to enliven the endless columns of marching participants, displayed numerous artistic and technical innovations and became one of the most famous documentaries of the century.

In 1935, Riefenstahl produced a film about the German army, called *Day of Freedom*. Consisting largely of scenes of military exercises, its first public showing was held in the

Berlin Chancellery and was attended by Adolf Hitler and more than 200 high-ranking guests. The next year, on the occasion of the Olympic Games held in Berlin in August, she directed a film about conceptions of the Olympic ideal, *Olympia*, released in 1938. Her second great documentary, it was intended to be a bridge from antiquity to the present but was largely boycotted abroad as Nazi anti-Semitic policies became widely publicized.

During the war, Riefenstahl was expected to contribute to the propaganda offensive. Although she and her cameramen underwent training as frontline correspondents, she showed little enthusiasm for the war effort. Widely denounced as a faithful servant of Nazism with a gift for glorifying the wrong cause, Riefenstahl is cinema's principal figure in the discord between morality and art.

After the war, Riefenstahl traveled frequently to Africa and lived for extended periods in the Sudan with primitive tribes. She attracted worldwide attention with her photography of the Nuba. At 71, she learned to dive and thereafter became a renowned undersea photographer. Riefenstahl died on 10 September 2003 in Pocking, near Munich.

David M. Keithly

See also

Film and the War; Hitler, Adolf; Propaganda

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Rifles

The nations that went to war in 1939 were all armed with rifles from World War I, although some modifications had been made during the 1919–1939 period. Germany went into battle with a shortened, lightened version of the Gewehr 98, which had become the Kar(abine) 98k(urz). The cartridge it fired was virtually the same, the 7.92 mm s.S.Patron (*schweres Spitzgeschoss*, heavy-pointed bullet).

Great Britain also went to war with a World War I rifle, the modified Rifle No. 1, Short, Magazine, Lee Enfield in Marks III to V. The Mark VI had also appeared, which was the forerunner of the weapon introduced after the outbreak of war, the Rifle No. 4, Mark I, and its subsequent derivatives. This weapon fired the .303 (inch) Mark VI, Mark VII, and Mark VIII cartridges. Wartime shortages caused Great Britain to import many rifles from Canada and the United States, but

these were issued to the Home Guard, not to regular troops. The British experimented with semiautomatic and self-loading rifles, but they did not bring any into service.

The French had changed their rifle design and were issuing the Fusil 34 and the Fusil 36. These rifles fired a 7.5 mm rimless cartridge developed in 1929 for light machine guns. The weapon was bolt-operated and had a five-round magazine. Despite the development of the *Fusil semiautomatique* in 1918, the French army had not made the change to this weapon by the end of operations in June 1940. The Italian army chose rifles based on their 1891 design, often called the Carcano. The rifles were redesignated Model 38 and fired either 6.5 mm or 7.35 mm cartridges. These weapons were characterized by design flaws, and they bear no comparison with later Italian designs.

Japan went to war in 1941 with the type-38 Arisaka 6.5 mm rifle. This old design was soon superseded by the type-99 (1939) 7.7 mm rifle, which was put into service to overcome the weakness of the 6.5 mm cartridge. Although it had strange appendages (to Western eyes), such as anti-aircraft sights and a wire monopod, it was nevertheless a well made and effective weapon, although not up to British and U.S. standards. The Arisaka was also too large for the average Japanese soldier to use effectively.

On the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, Soviet troops were armed with their M-1891/30 rifle, in 7.62 mm. Various versions were available, including a special sniper version, but the Soviets soon realized that their massive conscript army needed firepower (rather than accuracy, the product of long periods of training), and the submachine gun rapidly overtook the rifle in both numbers and popularity. Nevertheless, research into automatic weapons produced the Tokarev M-1940 as well as its predecessors from 1936 onward. All were in the Soviet 7.62 mm caliber and were well regarded by the Germans, who used the design principles in their own semiautomatic rifles later in the war.

The U.S. Army was still employing the Springfield Cal .30-06 M-1903 rifle. In 1936, the army adopted John Garand's new rifle as the Rifle, Semi-Automatic, M1. The United States became the only country in World War II to have a semiautomatic rifle as a standard infantry weapon. The rugged Garand weighed 9 lbs, 8 oz (unloaded) and was a gas-operated, clipped, air-cooled, semiautomatic shoulder weapon that fired .30 caliber ammunition from an 8-round clip. It had an effective range of 440 yds and a maximum range of 3,200 yds. The M1 was the standard U.S. infantry firearm from 1936 to 1957. The one problem with this weapon was that it had an unpleasant recoil because it fired the same cartridge as the Springfield.

During the war, while the Soviets placed increased emphasis on the submachine gun, the Germans also made great strides in developing their own semiautomatic assault rifles. This new genre in the rifle world was intended to provide

increased firepower without sacrificing range. Submachine guns are excellent weapons at short (pistol) ranges of up to 50 yds, but beyond that, there is a need for accurate and effective fire out to 300 yds. Machine guns were the mainstay of the German army's infantry tactics, but the sheer weight of numbers in Soviet attacks made it imperative that every infantryman be able to put down effective defensive fire.

Mauser (the main German small-arms manufacturer) had been looking into semiautomatic rifles since the nineteenth century, but technical problems had ruled out its designs until the German army began to collect Tokarev semiautomatic rifles on the battlefield. The Germans then went ahead wholeheartedly, seeing their previous mistakes and how the Soviets had avoided them. The first rifle in the new range was the Gewehr 41 W, a weapon with a gas blast cone at the muzzle. The gases trapped at the muzzle operated the action by means of a rod that extended to the rear to the breech mechanism. At the same time, the German "borrowed" the Degtyarev machine-gun locking system to close the bolt firmly for firing.

The U.S. Garand system worked by means of a gas port tapped into the barrel that allowed gases in the barrel to operate a rod, which in turn forced the breechblock back against a spring. The first German system was much less sophisticated. The next German design was similar to the Garand but imported from the Soviets. Now there was a gas port some 12 inches along the barrel, allowing gas energy to operate the reloading mechanism of the rifle. This system was seen in the Gewehr 43.

The Germans also fielded a revolutionary weapon, the Fallschirmjäger Gewehr 42. This paratroop weapon had a folding bipod, and it was gas-operated and fired from a closed bolt when in single-round mode, which increased accuracy. In automatic mode (for it really was a light machine gun), it fired from an open bolt, allowing better cooling. This system was first seen in the U.S. Johnson light machine gun.

The modern assault rifle had its genesis in the German development of the Sturmgewehr rifles from 1943 onward. In 1938, development of the short, 7.92 mm cartridge began, and by 1942, both the Haenel and Walther companies were producing test weapons. In 1943, the first weapons were submitted for troop testing, and in 1944, the Sturmgewehr 44 was on limited issue to troops. This weapon was the first true assault rifle, and it eventually led to the design of the Soviet AK-47 and the Czech Model 58.

Demands from the field led to the adaptation of many standard service rifles for sniping use. The No. 4 British rifle became the No. 4 Mark I(T) and was equipped with a No. 32 telescope. The German Kar 98k was also fitted with a telescopic sight, as was the Soviet M-1891/30. The United States issued the M-1903 in an A4 version, made by Remington, but did not adapt the .30 Garand due to the problems caused by



Soviet soldier firing an antitank rifle at close range, January 1944. Toward the end of the war, these weapons were frequently used against enemy emplacements, especially in brick houses. (Photo by Alexander Ustinov/Slava Katamidze Collection/Getty Images)

the clip-loading system, which would have caused the sight mount to be fitted to the side of the loading port.

The Soviets adapted their semiautomatic Tokarev M-1938 and M-1940 rifles for sniping purposes. The weapons were sighted to 1,430 yds and weighed just over 9 lbs each. These were standard rifles, however, for weapons were not specifically designed for sniping until after the war.

The United States also produced the only true carbine of the war, the U.S. Carbine Cal .30 M1. This weapon fired a shortened .30 caliber cartridge, which was designed by Winchester and adopted in October 1941. The weapon was seen as a medium-range, medium-velocity arm, designed for use by junior officers and men who had heavy loads to carry. More accurate than the M-1911 pistol, it nevertheless did not receive unconditional approval from the troops, being considered too light in firepower. However, it was used widely

and was even equipped with the first infrared sighting equipment to be fitted to a weapon (the M3). The Carbine was also issued in a fully automatic version (the M2), which was not widely used, and it had a paratroop version with a folding stock. Basically, the weapon did not have the killing power needed in a military weapon, and although it was a good design, it was not as valuable as a good submachine gun.

Rifles were also adapted to fire rifle grenades. The Germans developed their grenade attachment to fit the Kar 98k and fired high-explosive and smoke grenades, as well as indicator bombs. The Americans fitted the Garand with the Grenade Launcher M-7, used with a blank cartridge, which was loaded with black powder (the M3 cartridge).

World War II saw a number of extremely effective designs in service, but the days of the bolt action were ending, and the influence of the *Sturmgewehr* range of rifles in par-

ticular caused all nations to look to semiautomatic and assault rifle design. Since 1945, the gas-operated semiautomatic (and even fully automatic) rifle has taken over on the battlefield.

David Westwood

See also

Armaments Production; Hand Grenades; Infantry Tactics; Machine Guns; Pistols and Revolvers; Snipers; Submachine Guns

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Ritchie, Sir Neil Methuen (1897–1983)

British army general in command of XII Corps in Normandy. Born on 29 July 1897 in Georgetown, British Guyana, and educated at Lancing College and Royal Military College, Sandhurst, Neil Ritchie was commissioned in the Black Watch in December 1914. During World War I, he served in France, Mesopotamia, and Palestine. He was wounded at the Battle of Loos and was awarded the Distinguished Service Order in 1917 and the Military Cross in 1918.

Ritchie held several staff appointments during the inter-war period. In 1939 and 1940, he was a brigadier general and chief of staff of Lieutenant General Alan Brooke's II Corps with the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) in France. Following the BEF evacuation from Dunkerque, Ritchie held the same post under Major General Claude Auchinleck in Southern Command. Promoted to major general, he then served as deputy to Auchinleck when the latter took over the Middle East Command. Ritchie was the only feasible replacement for Lieutenant General Alan Cunningham when Auchinleck relieved Cunningham from command of the Eighth Army.

Ritchie was an able, vigorous, and cool-headed staff officer, but he was rather slow and unimaginative. His personality and appearance made him the very image of a British general. He was also much junior to his corps commanders, Lieutenant Generals Charles Willoughby Norrie and Alfred Godwen-Austin, and he had had no experience in field command since leading a battalion in World War I. Auchinleck intended his appointment as commander of Eighth Army to be temporary, but Ritchie was fortunate to reap the triumph of victory by relieving the siege of Tobruk and chasing Gen-



British Lieutenant General Sir Neil Methuen Ritchie, 1947. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

eral Erwin Rommel from Cyrenaica. With these two successes, his appointment became permanent.

An unshakable optimist, Ritchie prepared to advance and neglected the defenses at Gazala and Tobruk. When Rommel attacked again in May 1942, Ritchie lost most of Eighth Army's armor as well as control of the battle. Auchinleck belatedly relieved him from his command on 25 June, four days after the fall of Tobruk.

The inexperienced Ritchie was unfortunate to be assigned a command at a desperate moment, but he retained his personal stature and surprisingly survived this debacle. He was given another chance as commander of 52nd Division in the United Kingdom, and he led XII Corps under Field Marshal Sir Bernard L. Montgomery in Normandy and northwest Europe with some success. Ritchie was promoted to full general in April 1947 and was appointed commander in chief, Far East Land Forces and then commander, British Army Staff in Washington. He retired in 1951 to become an insurance executive in Canada. He served as both president and director of the Mercantile and General Reinsurance Company and as director of Tanqueray Gordon and Company. Ritchie died on 11 December 1983 in Toronto, Canada.

Paul H. Collier

See also

Auchinleck, Sir Claude John Eyre; Brooke, Sir Alan Francis; Cunningham, Sir Alan Gordon; France Campaign; Gazala, Battle of; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; North Africa Campaign; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Tobruk, Third Battle of

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Rokossovsky, Konstantin Konstantinovich (1896–1968)

Marshal of the Soviet Union who was in command of the 2nd Belorussian Front in 1945. Born to a Polish railway worker and his Russian wife in Velikiye Luki, Poland, on 21 December 1896, Konstantin Rokossovsky moved with his family to Warsaw in 1900. In 1914, he was drafted into the Russian army, where he served with the 5th Kargopol Dragoon Regiment and rose to sergeant. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and fought in the Russian Civil War in Siberian Mongolia.

Rokossovsky completed the cavalry short courses in 1923 and the Frunze Military Academy in 1929. He commanded the 5th Kuban Cavalry Brigade (1929–1930) and then the 7th Samara Cavalry Division (1930), which included his friend Georgii Zhukov. Rokossovsky next commanded the 15th Cavalry in the Far East until 1935. In 1936 and 1937, he commanded the V Cavalry Corps. In August 1937, during the purge of the Soviet officer corps, Rokossovsky was arrested on a false charge of having spied for Poland and Japan. He was subsequently tortured and twice taken into the woods to be shot. After being imprisoned near Leningrad, he was freed on 22 March 1940. Rokossovsky again commanded the V Cavalry Corps and took part in the “liberation” of Bessarabia in the summer of 1940. He then received command of the newly formed IX Mechanized Corps in the Ukraine.

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, Rokossovsky commanded Sixteenth Army in the defense of Moscow. The next year, he organized the reduction of the encircled German Sixth Army at Stalingrad with his Don Front. As a result of his success, he was promoted to colonel general in January 1943 and to full general that April. After a successful defense of the north side of the salient during the Battle of Kursk, his Central Front (later redesignated the 1st Belorussian Front) drove across the Dnieper River.

In Operation BAGRATION, Rokossovsky, promoted to marshal of the Soviet Union in June 1944, led forces that defeated German Army Group Center in Belorussia. His troops captured Minsk (3 July) and Lublin (23 July) before halting on the Vistula River opposite Warsaw (1 August). He next commanded the 2nd Belorussian Front and conducted an effective cam-



Marshal of the Soviet Union Konstantin Rokossovsky. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

paign in East Prussia and Pomerania in 1945, aiding in the Berlin Campaign.

After the war, Rokossovsky commanded Soviet forces in Poland from 1945 to 1949, and in November 1949, he was appointed commander in chief of the Polish army and minister of defense. He remained in these posts until returning to the Soviet Union in 1956. From 1956 to 1962, he was deputy minister of defense of the Soviet Union, save for a one-year break to command the Transcaucasus Military District between 1957 and 1958. Rokossovsky died in Moscow on 3 August 1968.

Claude R. Sasso

See also

Kursk, Battle of; Minsk, Battle for; Moscow, Battle of; Shaposhnikov, Boris Mikhailovich; Stalin, Josef; Stalingrad, Battle of; Warsaw Rising; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Romania, Air Service

The Forțele Aeriene Regale ale României (FARR, Royal Romanian Air Force; also known as Aeronautică Regală Română, Royal Romanian Aeronautics) was still rebuilding when war began. Outnumbered and inadequately equipped, its pilots fought for Pyrrhic victories, and its anti-aircraft ground crews inflicted most of the damage incurred by enemy aircraft. Approximately 500 Romanian flyers died in the war, a proportionally heavy total. The Industria Aeronautică Română (Romanian Aeronautical Industry) works at Brasov produced several serviceable aircraft, notably the IAR-80 and IAR-80A. Based, in part, on the Polish PZL-24, the IAR-80 was among the best European fighters when it entered service in 1939, but it soon lagged behind newer designs.

A reluctant Romania officially joined the Axis powers on 23 November 1940, and German Luftwaffe advisers trained and reorganized the FARR along German lines. Romania participated in Operation BARBAROSSA, the invasion of the Soviet Union, and in the August–October 1941 Odessa Campaign, fighter strength dropped by a fourth as spare parts for older British, French, and Polish aircraft were depleted. Planes of German or Romanian manufacture replaced them. FARR fighters and bombers aided the Romanian army's victories against the Soviets in Bessarabia and at Odessa in 1941, losing 862 men in less than 10 months, including ground-support and anti-aircraft crews. Romanian pilots flew some 4,000 sorties in the Battle of Stalingrad from October 1942 to January 1943. The FARR lost 79 planes, most of them abandoned when airfields were overrun, while destroying 61 Soviet aircraft. Romanian women pilots of the Escadrilla Aviatie Sanitare won Red Cross medals for braving Soviet fighters and intense flak to airlift out casualties during these campaigns.

FARR pilots blunted the Soviet bombing of Romania, but a stronger enemy appeared beginning on 12 June 1942, when, in Operation HALPRO, U.S. bombers made Romania's Ploesti (Ploiesti) oil fields their target. When 178 unescorted American B-24 heavy bombers swept over Ploesti at low level on 1 August 1943 in Operation TIDAL WAVE, FAAR pilots claimed 20 of the 54 raiders shot down and lost just 2 fighters. Defending Romania's oil fields and cities then became the FARR's top priority. After Romania changed sides in September 1944, FARR pilots flew 4,300 missions for the Allies and dropped over 1,000 tons of bombs on its erstwhile Axis partners.

Romania's top-scoring ace of the war was Căpitan Aviator de Rezervă Constantin Cantacuzino, with 43 confirmed and 11 probable victories; FARR's practice of awarding additional points for shooting down bombers raised his total to 69. Despite limitations in both the quality and the quantity of its aircraft, the FARR had been one of the most powerful eastern European air forces. By August 1947, however, Soviet-imposed restrictions reduced its postwar strength to fewer than 75 aircraft.

Gerald D. Swick

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Caucasus Campaign; Crimea Campaign; Eastern Front; Fighter Tactics; Hungary, Air Force; Ploesti, Raids on; Romania, Army; Romania, Navy; Romania, Role in War; Romania Campaign; Soviet Union, Air Force; Stalingrad, Battle of; Strategic Bombing; Tuskegee Airmen

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Romania, Army

Romania provided more troops to the German cause than all other Axis satellites combined, and more than 1.2 million Romanian men served under arms by mid-1944. The Armata Română (Romanian army) fought first for the Axis powers and then for the Allies. Most senior officers were political appointees who relied on outmoded tactics of massed frontal assaults—an approach that was reinforced both by the paucity of modern communications equipment and by the fact that the army was composed primarily of uneducated peasants. Strict boundaries existed between officers and enlisted ranks, and punishments were brutal. Campaigns on foreign soil for dubious benefits diminished morale and efficiency, but the soldiers were tenacious when they believed they were fighting in the interest of Romania instead of for Germany.

The Frontier and Mountain units were the elite troops, composed of experienced professional border guards. The Cavalry Corps also performed with skill and élan. In fact, Romania fielded the largest horse-mounted cavalry contingent in Europe, and half of the 8-million-head national herd was lost in the war.

Equipment was a hodgepodge, much of it of World War I vintage. Some 1,000 Romanian artillery pieces were fitted with barrel sleeves to standardize on 75 mm ammunition. The front-line Romanian infantry was armed with Czechoslovakian ZB30



Romanian forces advance towards the battle front, utilizing German SDKFZ 251 armored personnel carriers, June 1944. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

light machine guns and ZB24 rifles, the Czech version of the German Mauser, and Romania produced many weapons of its own, including the respectable Orita submachine gun. Although the Germans promised modern equipment, they generally delivered only older weapons.

On 2–3 July 1941, following the start of the invasion of the Soviet Union, Romanian and German troops crossed the flooded Prut River to reclaim lands seized from Romania by the Soviet Union the previous year. The Soviet Ninth, Twelfth, and Eighteenth Armies opposed them. In northern Bukovina, elements of Third Army encountered weak opposition, and by 9 July, they secured that province, which had also been seized by the Soviet Union in 1940. To their southeast, the Romanian Fourth Army lost 9,000 men vainly trying to enlarge a bridgehead at Falcui, but it successfully crossed into Bessarabia near Iasy (Jassy) and advanced on the capital of Kishinev (Chisinau to Romanians).

The Soviet II Cavalry Corps, led by tanks, counterattacked savagely in the Cornesti Massif highlands on 10 July, smashing Romania's 35th Reserve Division. Crack troops of the Frontier Division halted the breakthrough, and the 1st Armored Division turned the Soviet flank. By 26 July, Romania again possessed Bessarabia and northern Bukovina, at a cost of 22,000 casualties. Most Romanians believed their war was over.

Instead, the Romanian government dispatched 18 divisions to capture the Soviet Black Sea port of Odessa. The siege of Odessa, from early August to mid-October, cost 70,000 to 100,000 Romanian casualties, but it was the most significant victory ever achieved independently by an Axis satellite. Romanian soldiers fought in the Crimea, the Caucasus, and the southern USSR. The Germans sometimes had to rescue their allies, but on other occasions, Romanians saved German troops, as at the Kuban bridgehead on 7 April 1943.

Romanian engineers helped build the bridge over the Dnieper at Berislav, the longest bridge ever constructed under fire. On 1 September 1942, the Romanian 3rd Mountain Division and the German 46th Infantry Division captured beachheads on the Kerch (Kersch) Peninsula in the largest amphibious assault undertaken by the European Axis powers during the war. Romanian Brigadier General Ion Dumitrache won Germany's Knight's Cross for capturing Nalchik on 2 November 1942, the farthest point of Axis advance in the Caucasus. At least 16 Romanian officers received the Knight's Cross, more than were awarded to any other non-German Axis power. Additionally, 25 soldiers won the Order of Michael the Brave, Romania's highest award for valor.

Performance declined as disgruntled soldiers increasingly believed they were fighting Adolf Hitler's war. They failed to construct adequate defenses at Stalingrad, and the So-

viet armored counteroffensives tore through their lines. Although they then repeatedly blunted the Soviet advance, they lacked the means to halt it. Flaws in the army had become glaringly apparent after Odessa. Its 75 mm artillery and 37 mm antitank guns lacked sufficient range and firepower. The infantry had not been trained to cooperate with the tanks, and it did not have motorized transport to keep up with them. The lack of a mobile reserve remained one of Romania's greatest military deficiencies throughout the war, and supplies and equipment were often carried by horses. Although obsolete Czech R-2 and French R-35 tanks were gradually replaced with upgraded German PzKpfw IIIs and a few PzKpfw IVs, plus captured U.S. Lend-Lease M-3 tanks and Soviet T-60s, virtually all were inadequate against Soviet heavy tanks.

Two-thirds of Romania's field army was lost at Stalingrad. Demoralized replacements, many recruited from prisons, were pushed steadily back toward the Prut. On 23 August 1944, Romania renounced its membership in the Axis pact. Soon, more than a half million Romanian soldiers were fighting against their former allies.

Using outdated tactics and weapons against powerful, modern enemies cost Romania approximately 410,000 casualties, 120,000 of them during the war's final eight months. Another 130,000 troops disappeared into Soviet prison camps, where many died.

Gerald D. Swick

See also

Antonescu, Ion; BARBAROSSA, Operation; Caucasus Campaign; Crimea Campaign; Eastern Front; Rifles; Romania, Air Service; Romania, Role in War; Romania Campaign; Soviet Union, Army; Stalingrad, Battle of; Tanks, All Powers

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Romania, Navy

When Romania began rearmament in the 1930s, Hungary was seen as the nation's most likely opponent in war. Accordingly, Romanian land and air services were built up at the expense of the navy. In 1939, the Marina Regală Română (RRN, Royal Romanian Navy) consisted of 7 destroyers, 3 motor torpedo boats (MTB), 4 escort and patrol craft, 1 minesweeper, 1 submarine, 7 river craft, and 35 merchantmen. Few were of recent construction. Seven Savoia-Marchetti

S-55 single-wing and 11 S-62 biplanes comprised the sea-plane fleet.

Germany and Italy provided additional craft, including submarine hunters and 5 Italian Costiero B-class midget submarines. Romania also built 6 Dutch-designed torpedo boats and assembled 2 German-manufactured U-boats (the *Rechinul* and *Marsuinul*) at Galati during the war. By June 1941, the RRN had 40 military vessels. Its air support had similarly increased.

Opposing the Romanian navy was the Soviet Black Sea Fleet. It boasted 1 battleship, 7 cruisers, 10 destroyers, 84 MTBs, and 47 submarines, plus 626 naval aircraft. Outnumbered, outclassed, and outgunned at sea, Romania fought no major naval battles; most actions involved MTBs escorting convoys. Naval planners opted for a defensive strategy. Romania laid thick minefields around the ports of Sulina and Constanta. In the process, the 406-ton Romanian gunboat *Locotenent Lepri Remus* hit a stray mine and sank on 11 January 1940, the largest RRN ship sunk in the war.

The Sea Division guarded the coastline, supported by coastal artillery and 20 aircraft of the 102nd Sea Plane Flotilla. The Sea Division had 2 destroyers, the *Marasesti* and *Marasti*, built by Italy in 1918 and 1919, respectively, each with a main armament of 4 × 4.7-inch guns. Its gunboats, the *Locotenent-Comandor Stihi Eugen* and *Sublocotenent Ghiculescu*, both of French origin, dated to 1916 and mounted 2 × 3.9-inch main guns each. The Romanian Danube Division consisted of two sections. The River Naval Force had 3 monitors, 2 MTBs, a landing company, an underwater defense group, and a service group. The Tulcea Tactical Group had 2 monitors and 4 MTBs, an underwater defense group, and a supply convoy. The Sulina Naval Detachment protected the Danube Delta, and the Upper Danube Sector guarded the river from Cazane to Portile-de-Fier. Both depended on 7 pre-World War I river monitors and a handful of smaller craft.

On 1 September 1942 on the Kerch (Kersch) Peninsula, RRN and German vessels successfully conducted the largest European Axis amphibious assault of the war. Romania's Dunkerque—the evacuation of German, Romanian, and auxiliary troops from the Crimea during April and May 1944—earned a German Knight's Cross for the commander of the Black Sea Division, Contraamiral (U.S. equiv. rear admiral) Horia Marcellariu. Estimates of the number of soldiers saved in this operation vary from 25,000 to over 118,000.

On the eve of the Soviet invasion of Romania in 1944, the RRN had 54 warships and auxiliaries on the Black Sea. An additional 37 warships and 100 auxiliary craft were on the Danube. On 5 September, all ships were handed over to the Soviets. Most of the Sea Division was bottled up in port, but the river flotilla fought for the USSR until the war's end.

Gerald D. Swick

See also

Aircraft, Naval; Aviation, Naval; Convoys, Axis; Crimea Campaign; Minesweeping and Minelaying; Romania, Air Service; Romania, Role in War; Romania Campaign; Soviet Union, Navy

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Romania, Role in War

Romania played an important role in World War II. A major producer of both oil and grain, it had the third-largest military establishment of the European Axis powers, and after it switched sides in August 1944, it became the fourth-largest Allied military presence. Romania entered the war for nationalistic reasons—to maintain its independence and reclaim territories lost in 1940.

Following the Balkan Wars and World War I, Romania (also spelled Rumania and, archaically, Roumania) secured territories from Hungary and Russia that united most Romanian peoples into a single country for the first time in centuries, a source of great national pride. In the acquisition of Transylvania from Hungary, it also secured a restive Hungarian population. Hungary was bent on the return of that territory. The Soviet Union also sought the return of Bessarabia. To shore up his southern flank, Adolf Hitler put heavy pressure on Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria to join the Axis powers. On 29 May 1940, the Romanian government announced its acceptance of Hitler's plan for "a new European order." Bereft of French and British support, it had no alternative. Under the terms of the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact of 23 August 1939, the Soviet Union had been awarded Bessarabia. In the wake of the defeat of France, Soviet leader Josef Stalin cashed in his remaining chips. Both Germany and Italy pressured Romania to accede to the Soviet demands of 28 June 1940 to give the Soviet Union Bessarabia and also northern Bukovina, which had not been Soviet territory before.

Hungary also secured German and Italian support for the return of territory lost to Romania following World War I. Under terms of the Second Vienna Award of 30 August 1940, dictated by Germany and Italy to stabilize the political situation between Romania and Hungary, Romania ceded to Hungary north-central Transylvania and other Romanian territory north of Oradea. Also under German pressure, Romania ceded to Bulgaria the southern Dobruja in the 7 September 1940 Treaty of Craiova, thereby restoring the pre-World War

I boundary between those two states. Almost overnight, Romania had lost half of its territory and population, greatly reducing its ability to defend itself.

Romania's King Carol II never had popular support. Married to a Greek princess, he flaunted his longtime love affair with his mistress, Elena "Magda" Lupescu. His government was further destabilized by frequent cabinet turnovers and widespread corruption. National outrage over the loss of Romanian territories to the Soviet Union, Hungary, and Bulgaria allowed the pro-Fascist, anti-Semitic Iron Guard to force Carol's abdication on 6 September 1940. He fled Bucharest with his mistress and nine train cars loaded with royal booty.

Carol's 19-year old son, Michael (Mihai), replaced him but was an impotent figurehead. Real power rested in the recently appointed prime minister and World War I military hero General Ion Antonescu, who proclaimed himself *conductător* (leader). Intensely nationalistic, Antonescu managed to maintain significant independence within the Nazi sphere. In October 1940, the first of 500,000 German "advisers" arrived in Romania, ostensibly to protect Ploesti (Ploiesti), the site of Europe's second-largest oil fields. Romania proved an important source of natural (nonsynthetic) oil for Germany; it also supplied virtually all of Fascist Italy's oil during the war.

On 23 November, Romania officially joined the Axis powers. Antonescu declined to participate in the subjugation of Yugoslavia in April 1941, but he readily assisted with the invasion of the Soviet Union in order to reclaim Romania's lost territories to the east. When the invasion began on 22 June 1941, he called for a "holy war" against Bolshevism. On 2–3 July, Army Group Antonescu, composed of Romanian and German troops, crossed the Prut River. By midmonth, Romania again owned Bessarabia and northern Bukovina. Most Romanians, including frontline troops, believed their war was over.

It was not to be. Antonescu agreed to send Romanian troops to capture the Soviet Black Sea port of Odessa. In return, Hitler granted Romania all the territory between Bessarabia and the Black Sea, including Odessa, the "Russian Marseille." After taking Odessa at horrendous cost, increasingly demoralized Romanian soldiers fought in the Crimea, the Caucasus, and the southern USSR; their country furnished more troops to the war against the Soviet Union than all other German satellites combined. Antonescu vainly hoped this effort would be rewarded with the return of Transylvania, since Hungary provided far less support for Hitler's war. On 12 June 1942, American bombers based in North Africa struck Ploesti. Over the next two years, no single raid did exceptional damage, but the cumulative effect significantly diminished the flow of oil to Germany.

The wartime anti-Semitic government sanctioned the killing of Jews. More than 40,000 Soviet Jews reportedly were



Marshal Ion Antonescu of Romania meets with German Führer Adolf Hitler in November 1940 to sign the Tripartite Pact, which allied Romania with Germany, Japan, and Italy. Antonescu, backed by the Germans, was the fascist dictator of what was left of Romania until being deposed in 1944. (Corbis)

killed near Odessa alone, yet about half of Romania's Jews survived the war. Antonescu protected many to utilize their experience in industrial and economic management. Additionally, a long-standing tradition of corruption among Romanian officials made buying fake identity papers and passports relatively simple.

Throughout 1942, Antonescu was under considerable pressure from other Romanian political leaders to withdraw the nation's troops from the Soviet Union, but he refused to do so. He pointed out that the army was more than 900 miles deep inside Soviet territory and that the Germans controlled the lines of communication and would surely wreak vengeance on Romania and occupy the country. As the military situation deteriorated in 1943 following the Soviet victory in the Battle of Stalingrad, Antonescu authorized peace feelers, but these foundered on the Anglo-American insistence on unconditional surrender. On 23 August 1944, with Soviet forces having crossed the eastern border, young King Michael ordered the arrest of Antonescu and announced that Romania was withdrawing from the Axis alliance. Even Romanians were caught by surprise.

Antonescu was later tried by the Soviets and was executed in June 1945.

Romania turned on its former allies in hopes of securing *cobelligerent* status, as Italy had been accorded, and maintaining its independence after the war. But such hopes proved illusory. On 9 October 1944, British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill and Soviet Premier Josef Stalin agreed that the USSR would have 90 percent "predominance" in postwar Romania.

In February 1945, surrounded by Soviet tanks, King Michael had little choice but to create an essentially Communist government. That government forced him to abdicate in December 1947, although Stalin and U.S. President Harry S. Truman both decorated him for personal courage in overthrowing Antonescu. Trapped between major powers, Romania had tried to hold on to its land, people, and independence by allying itself first with one side and then with the other. Instead, it became a Communist puppet state. Of all its lost territories, only Transylvania was returned to Romania after the war.

Gerald D. Swick

See also

Antonescu, Ion; Balkans Theater; Churchill-Stalin Meeting; Cold War, Origins and Early Course of; Eastern Front; Hitler, Adolf; Holocaust, The; Hungary, Role in War; Ploesti, Raids on; Romania, Air Service; Romania, Army; Romania, Navy; Romania Campaign; Stalin, Josef; Truman, Harry S; Yalta Conference

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Romania Campaign (August–September 1944)

With 1.2 million men under arms in 1944, Romania was the third-largest Axis military force in Europe. An impending Soviet invasion led to the overthrow of Romania's Fascist government, but the restored monarchy was soon replaced by a Communist state.

By mid-August 1944, Romania's battered troops held the Traian defensive line from the headwaters of the Sereth to the Dniester. Fourth Army guarded the northern approaches to Bessarabia, and Third Army defended the lower Dniester. On 20 August, a 10-hour artillery barrage from 11,000 Soviet guns opened the Battle of Iasy-Kishinev (Jassy-Chisinau). The Romanian 5th Infantry Division, pulverized by the bombardment, was quickly finished off by the Soviet Twenty-Seventh Army. Soviet tanks of the Fifty-Second Army annihilated the Romanian 7th Infantry Division and took Iasy. Romanian aircraft flew 161 sorties as ground troops counterattacked in futile efforts to stem the tide. Meanwhile, the German 20th Panzer Division fled, taking with it every Romanian tank it could locate.

On 20 August, waves of Soviet planes broke through heavy anti-aircraft defenses protecting Romania's harbor at Constanta, sinking the torpedo boat *Naluca* and damaging three other ships, including the destroyer *Marasesti*. Romania capitulated three days later, and by 5 September, the entire

Romanian fleet was in Soviet hands. In an attempt to maintain Romania's independence, its figurehead monarch, young King Michael (Mihai)—aided by several army officers and armed, Communist-led civilians—had staged a coup on 23 August, arresting the premier, General Ion Antonescu. That same night, Michael announced by radio that Romania was withdrawing from the Axis alliance.

German troops then tried to restore control by seizing the capital of Bucharest, but they were repulsed by the Royal Bodyguard supported by an armored platoon. Ninth Army enveloped the remaining Germans outside Bucharest on 27 August, taking 7,000 prisoners. An outraged Adolf Hitler ordered his top commando, Otto Skorzeny, to lead a parachute battalion in a rescue of Antonescu. The plan was foiled when Antonescu was handed over to the Red Army and hurriedly spirited off to Moscow. Twenty thousand Germans fought to hold the Ploesti (Ploiesti) oil fields, but Soviet armor and Romania's 4th Parachute Battalion secured the area. Romanian pilots also shot down 24 German planes.

The Red Army entered Bucharest on 31 August. On 12 September, Michael signed a formal armistice in which he agreed to wage war on Germany and Hungary, to repeal anti-Jewish laws, to ban Fascist groups, and to pay \$300 million in goods and raw materials to the Soviet Union. Moscow calculated those goods at reduced 1938 prices, making the actual reparations closer to \$2 billion.

On 28 August, Romania's 1st Armored Division fought its way through the Ghimes Pass, eliminated a German penetration, and seized a bridgehead for the Soviet XXIV Guards Corps near Reghin (Szászrégen). Romanian troops then blocked a Hungarian attempt to seize the Carpathian passes on 7 September. A few days later, First Army helped stop a German-Hungarian thrust out of Yugoslavia, but on 26 October, the Soviets reduced the size of the Romanian army and ordered most of its divisions to be kept at the front outside the country, clearing the way for a Communist takeover.

Gerald D. Swick

See also

Hungary, Army; Romania, Air Service; Romania, Army; Romania, Role in War; Skorzeny, Otto; Soviet Union, Army

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Soviet troops with captured prisoners, Romania, August 1944. (Yevgeny Khaldei/Corbis)

Rome, Advance on and Capture of (May–June 1944)

The Allies had launched their invasion of Italy in September 1943 with high hopes for the speedy capture of Rome. These hopes were quickly dashed by Italy's poorly handled switch from the Axis side, fierce German resistance, harsh mountainous terrain, and terrible weather. A renewed offensive in January 1944 to breach the Gustav Line by the British Eighth Army under Lieutenant General Oliver Leese and the U.S. Fifth Army under Lieutenant General Mark Clark, accompanied by a simultaneous amphibious landing at Anzio by the U.S. VI Corps, also met with stubborn resistance from Field Marshal Albert Kesselring's German Tenth Army, especially at the Benedictine abbey at Monte Cassino.

After three failed attempts to break through and the near annihilation of the Anzio landing, the last opportunity for a decisive victory in Italy was embodied in Operation DIADEM. On the Gustav Line, 16 Allied divisions faced 6 weakened German divisions. At Anzio, 6 Allied divisions faced 5 German ones with 4 more in reserve, and the Allies were supported by

more than 2,000 guns and overwhelming air superiority. For the first time, the Allied forces were used as a combined army group, rather than discrete corps, with the aim of destroying the German army south of Rome. The plan entailed Eighth Army striking the main effort at Cassino and thrusting through the Liri Valley, supported by Fifth Army, including the French Expeditionary Corps (CEF), attacking across the Garigliano and the Anzio bridgehead to join with the other Allied forces.

The offensive opened on 11 May 1944 with a massive air and artillery bombardment, but initially, the Allies failed to make any headway. The CEF, which lay between the two fronts, was able to fight its way into the mountainous country behind the Garigliano, enabling the U.S. II Corps to push up the coastal road. In a set-piece attack, XIII Corps ruptured the German line, culminated by the extraordinary efforts of the II Polish Corps, which eventually captured Monte Cassino on 18 May, and the French Moroccan Goums, who crossed the mountains to pierce the Hitler Line, in front of Rome, from the rear before it could be properly manned. Moreover, Kesselring, who had been duped into expecting another amphibious landing farther north, was slow to send reinforcements southward to the Liri Valley.



Italians watch Allied tanks move through the streets, following the liberation of Rome, 12 June 1944. (Photo by R. Gates/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

General Harold Alexander, commander of 15th Army Group, was alerted to German movements through ULTRA intelligence, and when victory seemed complete, he ordered the Anzio breakout on 23 May. Alexander planned for the U.S. VI Corps to strike directly at Valmontone and cut Route 6, the main inland road, and thus trap the German Tenth Army holding the Gustav Line. Rome would thus be ripe for the taking, but more important, the Germans would be unable to form further organized defenses, enabling the rapid occupation of Italy up to the Alps.

Fifth Army linked up with VI Corps on 25 May, but General Clark, perhaps the most egocentric Allied commander in the war, was enticed by the glory of capturing Rome. He was determined that Americans should be the first to enter the city and that this should be accomplished before the Allied landings in France dominated the headlines. He swung his drive directly to Rome, leaving a gap between the Allied

armies through which the Germans escaped. Clark triumphantly entered Rome on 4 June, but the spectacle of the first capture of an Axis capital was eclipsed by the Allied invasion of France two days later. Clark's impetuous failure enabled Kesselring to withdraw to the Gothic Line, but thereafter, the campaign in Italy assumed a secondary status to the campaign in France.

Paul H. Collier

See also

Alexander, Sir Harold Rupert Leofric George; Amphibious Warfare; Anzio, Battle of; Cassino/Rapido River, Battles of; Clark, Mark Wayne; Kesselring, Albert; Leese, Sir Oliver William Hargreaves

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Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen (1891–1944)

German army general and commander of the Afrika Korps (Africa Corps). Born in Heidenheim, Württemberg, Germany, on 15 November 1891, Erwin Johannes Eugen Rommel joined the German army in 1910 with the 124th (6th Württemberg) Infantry Regiment as an officer cadet. He then attended the officers' training school at Danzig (present-day Gdansk, Poland) and was commissioned in January 1912.

During World War I, Rommel was wounded while fighting in France in September 1914. On his recovery, he won renown in service on the Italian and Romanian fronts. He fought at Mount Cosna and at Caporetto. In the latter battle,

he and his men took 9,000 Italian troops as prisoners and captured 81 guns. Promoted to captain, he was also awarded the Pour le Mérite.

Rommel remained in the Reichswehr after the war and took charge of security at Friedrichshaven in 1919. In January 1921, he was posted to Stuttgart, where he commanded an infantry regiment, and then he was assigned to Dresden in 1929, where he was an instructor at the Infantry School until 1933. There, he wrote *Infantry Attacks*, a textbook on infantry tactics. In 1935, Rommel received command of a battalion of the 17th Infantry Regiment. He taught briefly at the War Academy (in 1938) and then had charge of Adolf Hitler's army security detachment.

In 1940, Rommel assumed command of the 7th Panzer Division and led it in spectacular fashion in the invasion of France. Promoted to Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) in February 1941, he received command of German forces in Libya (the Afrika Korps). An aggressive, bold commander who led from the front, he employed daring attacks and was tenacious in battle. His skill as a field commander earned him the sobriquet "Desert Fox." Promoted to General



General Erwin Rommel with the 15th Panzer Division between Tobruk and Sidi Omar, 1941. (National Archives)

der Panzertruppen (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) in July 1941 and colonel general in January 1942, he was elevated to field marshal in June 1942.

Denied sufficient resources to achieve victory, Rommel was defeated in the October 1942 Battle of El Alamein, but he conducted a skillful withdrawal west into Tunisia. After returning to Germany for reasons of health and recuperating, he was assigned as commander of Army Group B with responsibility for northern Italy. In November 1943, he became inspector general of coastal defense in France and worked to strengthen the so-called Atlantic Wall.

On 1 January 1944, Rommel became head of Army Group B in France, subordinate to the German commander in chief, West Field Marshal Karl Rudolf Gerd von Rundstedt. Based on his experiences in North Africa, Rommel believed that if an Allied invasion was to be stopped, it would have to be at the beaches. Rundstedt and Hitler, however, envisioned a cordon on the shoreline and large, mobile German forces inland that would destroy the Allies once they landed. Rommel correctly believed that Allied air and naval supremacy would render that outcome impossible.

Rommel did what he could to improve the coastal defense against an Allied invasion. When the invasion occurred, he was in Germany trying to secure two more panzer divisions and additional artillery. In meetings with Hitler, he went so far as to ask the German dictator why he thought the war could still be won. On 17 July 1944, he was badly wounded in an air attack by three Royal Air Force (RAF) fighters that caught his staff car on the road.

Rommel, not a fanatic Nazi, grew despondent over Hitler's estrangement from reality but failed in his efforts to convince the German leader that the war was lost. When he was approached about participating in a plot to overthrow the Führer, he refused to join in, but he also failed to inform the authorities. In the aftermath of the unsuccessful attempt on Hitler's life, he was given the choice of a trial for treason or suicide. He chose the latter. Rommel died on 14 October 1944, near Ulm, and was accorded a full military funeral.

Annette Richardson

See also

Afrika Korps; Armored Warfare; El Alamein, Battle of; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; North African Campaign; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von

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Romulo, Carlos Peña (1899–1985)

Philippine journalist and nationalist who worked with General Douglas MacArthur during the war years. Born in Manila on 14 January 1899, Carlos Romulo graduated from Columbia University in New York City in 1921. A brilliant, articulate reporter, he rose to be editor in chief of the Philippine DMHM chain of newspapers. He also became a leading citizen of Manila and an unfailing supporter of Philippine President Manuel Quezon. He championed Filipino autonomy and freedom, and in 1941, he won a Pulitzer Prize for newspaper articles that warned of the Japanese threat. He stated that the peoples of Southeast Asia, other than the Filipinos, would not fight the Japanese; in fact, he said, they would welcome them.

Following the U.S. entry into World War II, General MacArthur placed the then mobilized Major Romulo in charge of the Philippine press and radio. In this capacity, Romulo issued press releases and helped editors select headlines that would simultaneously soothe and inform Filipinos, and he established a radio station on Corregidor called the Voice of Freedom. He defined the war not as a fight for America but a fight with America for freedom.

MacArthur sent Romulo to the United States to tell the Philippine story. There, Romulo spoke to factory workers and to Congress, bringing the story of the Philippine resisters to life for his American audience. He told them of the small bands of poorly armed Filipino guerrillas who were keeping the faith with the United States. Romulo, who was promoted to colonel in August 1942, embodied Filipino resistance and loyalty. One month after becoming a brigadier general in September 1944, he landed with MacArthur on Leyte. His stay in the Philippines was short, however, for he was ordered back to Washington, D.C., to tell Congress about MacArthur's return to Leyte and about Filipino loyalty to the United States.

In April 1945, Romulo went to San Francisco as chairman of the Filipino delegation to the United Nations. There, he became an impassioned champion of the small nations of Asia, especially those still striving for independence. He remained in the United States for 17 years. Between 1945 and 1954, he was the Philippine ambassador to the United Nations, and he was also ambassador to the United States from 1952 to 1953 and again from 1955 to 1962. Romulo was elected president of the Fourth General Assembly of the United Nations in 1949. He served as president of the Uni-

versity of the Philippines from 1962 to 1968 and was his country's foreign minister from 1950 to 1952 and from 1968 to 1984. He also wrote numerous books. Romulo died in Manila on 15 December 1985.

John W. Whitman

See also

Bataan, Battle of; Corregidor, Battle of; MacArthur, Douglas; Philippines, Japanese Capture of; Philippines, U.S. Recapture of; Propaganda; Quezon, Manuel Luis

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Roosevelt, Anna Eleanor (1884–1962)

U.S. first lady from 1933 to 1945 and statesperson before, during, and after World War II. Born on 11 October 1884 in New York City, a niece of U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt, Eleanor Roosevelt was orphaned at 10 and was raised by her maternal grandmother. Privately educated until age 15, she later studied at Allenswood, a British school. She taught at the Rivington Street Settlement House and later at Todhunter School, both in New York. In 1905, she married her fifth cousin, Franklin D. Roosevelt. They had six children.

After nursing her husband through poliomyelitis in 1921, Eleanor encouraged Franklin to continue his political career. When he was elected governor of New York, she made suggestions for female appointees. An indefatigable volunteer, she was



Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, accompanied by Dillon S. Meyer, director of the War Relocation Authority, at the Gila River Relocation Center, Rivers, Arizona, 23 April 1943. (Bettmann/Corbis)

active in many organizations, including the League of Women Voters and the Democratic National Committee. The political environment of the late 1920s and 1930s constantly encouraged her to question gender, racial, and social inequality.

Once Franklin became president in 1933, Eleanor traveled extensively representing the White House. She tirelessly championed the cause of the underprivileged, children, women, and minorities. Her interventions led to a number of social improvements. An inexhaustible writer, she authored several books and articles, including the syndicated column "My Day." In 1940, she also developed the United States Committee for the Care of European Children.

During World War II, Eleanor visited Allied troops worldwide, and her steadfastness brought a level of comfort to many. Throughout the war, numerous social agencies sought her advice and intervention. After the president's death in April 1945, she remained politically active and continued her battle for human rights, especially for war refugees. In response to her universal recognition of human rights, President Harry S. Truman appointed her to the U.S. delegation to the UN General Assembly, a position she held from 1945 to 1953. She also served as chairman of the Human Rights Commission and was instrumental in the passage of the Declaration of Human Rights. Additionally, she was actively involved with the Peace Corps under President John F. Kennedy. Eleanor Roosevelt died in New York City on 7 November 1962.

Wendy A. Maier

See also

Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Truman, Harry S.; United Nations, Formation of; United States, Home Front

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County, New York, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was educated at home until age 14. He then attended Groton Preparatory School, Harvard University, and Columbia University Law School. In 1905, Roosevelt married his distant cousin Eleanor Roosevelt, President Theodore Roosevelt's niece.

After passing the bar examination, Roosevelt joined the law firm of Carter, Ledyard and Milburn. In 1910, he won a seat in the New York Senate, where he served two terms and was a strong advocate of progressive reform. In 1913, he was appointed assistant secretary of the navy, and he worked diligently and effectively in that post. A strong advocate of intervention of the Allied side and military preparedness, he helped prepare the navy for its role in World War I.

In 1920, Roosevelt ran unsuccessfully as the vice presidential candidate of the Democratic Party on the ticket headed by James M. Cox. During the campaign, he advocated U.S. entry into the League of Nations. In 1921, Roosevelt was stricken with polio. Although his suffering was acute and left him permanently disabled, he remained intensely interested in politics. In 1924, he attended the Democratic Convention and nominated Alfred E. Smith, governor of New York, for president. Four years later, Roosevelt was elected governor of New York. His efforts in seeking relief for suffering New Yorkers following the stock market crash in 1929 led to his reelection in 1930.

In November 1932, Roosevelt was elected president of the United States on the Democratic ticket, triumphing over incumbent President Herbert Hoover. He promised the American people a "New Deal," and he told Americans that "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself." He also began regular radio broadcasts to the American people, the first U.S. president to do so. Known as "fireside chats," these addresses were designed to restore morale. Legislative products of his first hundred days in office included banking reform, the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), and the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA). Congress allocated more than \$3 billion under the NIRA for the Public Works Administration (PWA). The National Recovery Administration (NRA) set minimum wages and limited hours for employees. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration provided funds to relief agencies run by the state, and the new Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) employed thousands of men to replant forests and work on flood-control projects. During this time, Roosevelt also established the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) to oversee stock trading.

In the second phase of the New Deal, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) was established, extending employment to more than 2 million workers to construct bridges, roads, and buildings. Another measure, the Social Security Act, provided disability insurance as well as pensions for the aged. The American people welcomed Roosevelt's programs, and in 1936, they overwhelmingly reelected him to office.

Roosevelt, Franklin D. (1882–1945)

U.S. politician and president from 1933 to 1945. Born on 30 January 1882 at his family's Hyde Park estate in Dutchess



President Franklin D. Roosevelt signing the declaration of war against Japan, 8 December 1941. (National Archives)

With the beginning of World War II in Europe in September 1939, Roosevelt increasingly turned his attention to foreign affairs and military preparedness. On 8 September 1939, he proclaimed a limited national emergency, which allowed expansion of the army from 135,000 men to 227,000. Believing that the security of the United States demanded the defeat of the Axis powers and sensing that Adolf Hitler was a mortal threat to the world, Roosevelt gradually moved the United States from its isolationist stance. Later in September, he called on Congress to amend the Neutrality Act, which it did the next month, allowing the Allies to purchase arms in the United States on a cash-and-carry basis. Following the defeat of France in 1940, Roosevelt pledged to support Britain in every manner short of declaring war. In September, he concluded an agreement with Britain whereby that country would receive 50 World War I–vintage destroyers in return for granting the United States rights to bases located in British territory in the Western Hemisphere. He also initiated a major rearmament program in the United States and secured passage of the Selective Service Act, the first peacetime draft in the nation's history.

Known as “fireside chats,” Roosevelt held regular radio addresses to restore morale during the Great Depression.

By early 1941, Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill were coordinating their nations' policies toward the Axis powers. In the spring of 1941, Roosevelt ordered U.S. destroyers to provide protection as far as Iceland for the North Atlantic convoys bound for Britain. In March 1941, on his urging, Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act that extended U.S. aid to countries fighting the Axis powers.

Roosevelt also began pressuring Japan to leave China, which the Japanese had invaded in 1937. When Japanese troops occupied southern Indochina in the spring of 1941, he embargoed scrap metal and oil shipments to Japan. Roosevelt also ordered the Pacific Fleet from San Diego to Honolulu, Hawaii, in order to intimidate Japan, but the embargo caused Japanese leaders to opt for war with the United States. On 7 December 1941, Japanese aircraft attacked the U.S. Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The following day, Roosevelt called for a declaration of war on Japan, referring to the Japanese attack as “a day that will live in infamy.” No solid evidence exists to substantiate persistent allegations that the president set up the fleet at Pearl Harbor in order to bring about the U.S. entry in the war.

From 1941 to 1945, Roosevelt skillfully guided the United States through the war and worked to ensure a secure post-war world. During the course of the war, the United States fielded not only a navy larger than all the other navies of the

world combined but also the largest air force and the most mobile, most heavily mechanized, and best-armed army in world history. It also provided the machines of war, raw materials, and food that enabled other nations to continue fighting the Axis powers. In these circumstances, full economic recovery occurred in the United States.

In 1944, Roosevelt ran successfully for an unprecedented fourth presidential term against Republican candidate Thomas Dewey. In February 1945, he met Churchill and Soviet dictator Josef Stalin at Yalta in the Crimea. The Yalta Conference built on decisions already reached at the prior Tehran Conference and was an effort to secure a stable post-war world. Roosevelt gambled that, with his considerable charm, he could convince Stalin that he had nothing to fear from the United States and that Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and the United States could cooperate to secure a peaceful postwar world. Although accused of making unnecessary concessions to the Soviet Union at Yalta, Roosevelt really had little choice but to do so, as the Red Army already occupied much of eastern Europe and the U.S. military wished to induce the Soviets to enter the war against Japan.

At Yalta, Roosevelt was already ill, and shortly afterward, he sought rest at his summer home in Warm Springs, Georgia. He died there of a massive cerebral hemorrhage on 12 April 1945. Vice President Harry S. Truman succeeded him as president. Franklin Roosevelt, one of the best-loved presidents in U.S. history, had successfully led the nation through two of its greatest trials—the Great Depression and World War II.

Kathleen G. Hitt and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

ARCADIA Conference; Atlantic Charter; Cairo Conference; Casablanca Conference; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Destroyers-Bases Deal; Lend-Lease; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Quebec Conference (14–24 August 1943); Quebec Conference (12–14 September 1944); Roosevelt, Anna Eleanor; Selective Service Act; Tehran Conference; United States, Home Front; Yalta Conference

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Rosenberg, Alfred (1893–1946)

German National Socialist Party publicist and leading Nazi racial theorist and “philosopher” of National Socialism. Born in Reval, Russia (today’s Tallinn, Estonia), on 12 January 1893, Alfred Rosenberg came from a family that spoke German but may have been of Estonian extraction. He studied architecture at Riga Technical University, which moved to Moscow with the approach of German forces in World War I. He graduated in Moscow in 1918 and witnessed the early days of the Bolshevik Revolution. He soon emigrated to Paris, and at the end of the year, he settled in Munich. There, he joined the German Worker’s Party, which became the National Socialist Party. Rosenberg became a German citizen in 1920 and gradually assumed the position of the party’s chief ideologist. In 1923, he was the sole editor of the party daily, the *Völkischer Beobachter* (National Observer). He participated in the unsuccessful November 1923 Beer Hall Putsch and was Adolf Hitler’s personal choice to serve as interim party leader while Hitler was in prison.

Rosenberg headed the new National Socialist Society for Culture and Learning (the Militant League for German Culture) from 1929 and was elected to the Reichstag (the national parliament) as a Nazi Party deputy from Hesse-Darmstadt in 1930. In that year, he also published his major work, *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, which became the most popular party work after Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*. A turgid, racial, pseudoscientific study, it claimed that the Germans represented a pure Nordic race destined to rule Europe. It also attacked Jews, Free Masons, the Catholic Church, and others.

Rosenberg held numerous party posts. After Hitler rose to power, he headed the foreign policy office of the National Socialist Party and was made Hitler’s deputy for supervising the spiritual and ideological training of the Nazi Party. In January 1940, he was tasked with founding the so-called High School, which was to evolve into the postwar Central National Socialist University. One of the institutes within the High School was the Institute for Research of the Jewish Question, the libraries of which were filled with looted Jewish art. The Einsatzstab Rosenberg (Special Staff Rosenberg) and Rosenberg’s special “furniture action” confiscated art, furniture, rugs, and even appliances from the homes of Jews and Free Masons.

The peak of Rosenberg’s career came in 1941 when he was designated Reichsminister for the Occupied Eastern Territories. In this position, he opposed genocide of the Jews and



German National Socialist racial theorist Alfred Rosenberg, shown here in September 1937. (Bettmann/Corbis)

expulsion of populations, believing it made more sense to utilize their support against the Soviet Union. Despite his party positions, Rosenberg never achieved the influence or recognition he believed he merited. He was disappointed when Joachim von Ribbentrop became foreign minister in 1938 and was upset with the August 1939 German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact, which he believed sacrificed ideology to political motives. He was an inept administrator: Joseph Goebbels referred to Rosenberg as “a monarch with neither country nor subjects” and spoke of his “ministry of chaos.”

Frustrated by his lack of influence, Rosenberg attempted to resign in October 1944, but Hitler never answered his letter. Arrested at the end of the war, he at last achieved the notoriety to which he believed he was entitled when he was tried among the principal Nazi leaders at the Nuremberg proceedings. He remained unrepentant in his support of Hitler and a true believer in National Socialism, but he argued that some of Hitler’s intentions had been subverted by more devious and bloodthirsty officials. Convicted on all four counts of war crimes, he was hanged at Nuremberg on 16 October 1946. His body was cremated and his ashes scattered in the Isar River.

Jon D. Berlin

See also

Commissar Order; German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact; Goebbels, Paul Josef; Hitler, Adolf; International Military Tribunal: The Nuremberg Trials; Ribbentrop, Ulrich Friedrich Willy Joachim von

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Rostov, Battle for (17–30 November 1941)

Important Eastern Front battle in 1941. On clearing the Ukraine, German Field Marshal Karl Gerd von Rundstedt's Army Group South continued its advance east and south. Barring its way was the Soviet city of Rostov on the Sea of Azov at the mouth of the Don River. Rostov was the gateway to the Caucasus Mountains, the Soviet oil fields to the south, and the road to Persia, through which Britain and the United States were to supply the Red Army.

Between 29 September and 13 October 1941, Rundstedt's armies overran the coal- and iron-rich Donets Basin region, where 20 percent of Soviet steel was produced. They also forced the Mius River and captured Taganrog on the Sea of Azov. Meanwhile, General Friedrich Paulus's Sixth Army captured Kharkov on 24 October. Rain and mud slowed the German movement, however. The Soviets were then able to evacuate Rostelmash, a large agricultural machinery plant at Rostov, despite German bombing.

To counter the German advance, the Soviet Southern Front (army group) under Commander Marshal Semen Timoshenko had recently been reinforced, and Timoshenko had at his disposal the Thirty-Seventh Army and the Fifty-Sixth Independent Army. On 9 November, he submitted a plan to Stavka (the Soviet High Command) for an attack against the concentration of German forces in the Rostov area to take place on 17 November. Josef Stalin approved the plan but refused to reinforce Timoshenko.

On 17 November, Timoshenko's forces struck Rundstedt's spearhead, Colonel General Ewald von Kleist's First Panzer Army, some 40 miles north of Rostov. Timoshenko had hoped to create a diversion and draw the Germans away from Rostov, but this effort failed, and Colonel General Eber-

hard von Mackensen's III Panzer Corps drove on Rostov, entering the city's northern suburbs on 19 November. On 21 November, the 1st SS Panzer Division captured Rostov. But a gap had opened between the German forces. Realizing that he was overextended, Kleist withdrew from Rostov on 22 November, only to see his order to construct positions behind the Mius River, 45 miles west, countermanded by Commander of the German Army Field Marshal Walther von Brauchitsch, who insisted that Rostov be held.

On 28 November, Colonel General Yakov T. Cherevichenko's Southern Front forces composed of 21 divisions of the Thirty-Seventh and Ninth Armies drove into the rear of III Panzer Corps, which was exhausted and seriously short of supplies, manpower, and equipment. Later that same day, Kleist ordered that Mackensen give up the city. The Soviets then succeeded at getting a bridgehead across the iced-over Don on the southern outskirts of Rostov. Night crossings reinforced the Soviet bridgehead, despite German opposition. By 29 November, Soviet units had cleared Rostov, which was heavily damaged and burning as a result of German demolitions.

On 30 November, Kleist again ordered a withdrawal behind the Mius River, but this move was more than Adolf Hitler would tolerate, and he ordered Brauchitsch to have Rundstedt countermand the order. Rundstedt refused and offered his resignation. On 1 December, Hitler replaced him with Field Marshal Walther von Reichenau, who was unable to influence events. The withdrawal, certainly the correct decision in the circumstances, was completed that night.

The battle marked the first serious setback for the Germans since the start of Operation BARBAROSSA. It also began the departure of all four of the German army's top commanders. In December, both Brauchitsch and Army Group Center commander Field Marshal Fedor von Bock also resigned, and the commander of Army Group North, Field Marshal Wilhelm von Leeb, followed suit in January. Hitler did not replace Brauchitsch, choosing to take command of the German army himself.

Claude R. Sasso and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Bock, Fedor von; Brauchitsch, Heinrich Alfred Hermann Walther von; Kleist, Paul Ludwig Ewald von; Leeb, Wilhelm Franz Josef Ritter von; Paulus, Friedrich; Reichenau, Walther von; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von; Stalin, Josef; Timoshenko, Semen Konstantinovich

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Rote Kappelle

German Resistance organization. A group of loosely affiliated intellectuals and civil servants united only by their opposition to Nazism, the Rote Kappelle (Red Orchestra) became a Soviet espionage tool. Many of the members, such as Adam Kuckhoff, were longtime Communists or Communist sympathizers. Some, such as Arvid Harnack and his American wife, Mildred Fish, had previously been Soviet agents. Others, such as Harro Schulze-Boysen, merely opposed Nazism.

Schulze-Boysen's opposition to the Nazis dated from late 1932, and he was sent to a concentration camp in April 1933. Influential family contacts not only arranged his release but also secured him a position on the intelligence staff in the Air Force Ministry. In 1936, Schulze-Boysen passed information about Luftwaffe activities in Spain to the Soviet Embassy. Though the intermediary was arrested, the Gestapo found no evidence of the spy ring Schulze-Boysen had created, and the group resumed copying and disseminating anti-Nazi leaflets in Germany. The group dissolved in 1938.

Harnack, who had spied for the Soviet Union from his post in the Economics Ministry since August 1935, broke contact during the Great Purges. In September 1940, however, he sent a message warning that an attack on the Soviet Union was imminent, and he established a network of some 60 agents. Harnack had also been in touch with U.S. intelligence since 1938. He insisted that resistance to Adolf Hitler had to take priority over ideology. His contacts included not only industrial leaders but also several military and political figures later involved in the July 1944 bomb plot against Hitler. In early 1941, Harnack persuaded Schulze-Boysen to cooperate in passing information to the USSR. Schulze-Boysen was then employed on the Luftwaffe operational staff engaged in planning Operation BARBAROSSA, the German attack on the Soviet Union. This recruitment completed the organizational triad that became the Red Orchestra.

Each man headed a separate network. Kuckhoff, an author, wrote pamphlets and served as liaison for the three groups. Most information gleaned concerned the impending attack on the Soviet Union. But as with the numerous other warnings that reached Soviet dictator Josef Stalin, this vital intelligence was ignored.

Operation BARBAROSSA forced the group to rely on wireless transmissions. None of the members had been properly trained in wireless techniques, however, so Moscow sent an agent to rectify the situation. The German Sicherheitsdienst (SD, Security Service) intercepted his orders, and in June 1942, it broke the group's code. The Schulze-Boysen group, as it was also known, continued to send reports and also wrote and distributed anti-Nazi pamphlets. In August 1942, when it became

apparent that Schulze-Boysen knew the codes were compromised, the SD arrested 119 persons connected with the Red Orchestra. Fifty-five of them, including Mildred Fish-Harnack and 18 other women, were executed for their activities.

Although the Red Orchestra had little immediate impact, it did prove that opposition to Hitler had existed in Germany. Fish-Harnack, though little known in the United States, became a heroine in the Communist pantheon, and the Red Orchestra was a staple in the founding myth of the German Democratic Republic.

Timothy C. Dowling

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Hitler, Adolf; July Bomb Plot; Resistance; Stalin, Josef

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Rotmistrov, Pavel Aleksevich (1901–1982)

Soviet army marshal and commander of Fifth Guards Tank Army. Born at Skovorovo in the Kalinin Oblast, Russia, on 6 July 1901, Pavel Rotmistrov was too young to participate in World War I. He joined the Red Army in 1919, fought in the Russian Civil War, and graduated from the Frunze Military Academy in 1931. Promoted to major general in June 1940, Rotmistrov was chief of staff of III Motorized Corps in the Baltic Military District when the German army invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941. In September 1941, he took command of VII Tank Corps, attached to the Northwest Front, and participated in the defense of Moscow in October.

Rotmistrov was then transferred with his corps to the Leningrad area. As a result of its exemplary performance there, VII Tank Corps was renamed the III Guards Corps in January 1942. Promoted to lieutenant general, Rotmistrov commanded a tank corps in the Battle of Stalingrad, and in December 1942, he halted German Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general) Erhard Raus's attempt to reach the trapped German Sixth Army. In the subsequent Soviet counteroffensive, Rotmistrov had charge of a mechanized group that outfought German General Hermann Hoth's Fourth Panzer Army.

In February 1943, Rotmistrov assumed command of the newly formed Fifth Guards Tank Army. When Stavka (the Soviet High Command) assembled a strategic reserve in April

1943, Marshal Ivan Konev's Steppe Military Front (army group), Rotmistrov's army was included. Thereafter, Stavka would utilize this force in crisis situations or as needed in preparation for Soviet offensives. Rotmistrov was a keen student of armored warfare tactics, and he also took on the responsibility of training all armored forces of this reserve.

Rotmistrov's Fifth Guards Tank Army was part of Marshal Nikolai Vatutin's Voronezh Front. He then took part in the largest tank battle of the war, at Prokhorovka near Kursk. From 10 to 12 July, Rotmistrov's 850 tanks successfully held off attacks by German Lieutenant General Paul Hausser's II SS Panzer Corps of three divisions. Although many of his own tanks were outgunned by German armor with 88 mm guns, Konev was able to offset this disadvantage by ordering that his crews close as far as possible before engaging the Germans.

In August 1943, Fifth Guards Tank Army was redeployed to Marshal Konev's 2nd Ukrainian Front to take part in the Belgorod-Kharkov operation. Rotmistrov was promoted to colonel general in October 1943. Then, at the beginning of 1944, the Fifth Guards Tank Army was transferred to the Soviet 2nd Belorussian Front, where it participated in the Kirovograd (8 January), Korsun-Shevchenkivskyi (24 January–17 February), and Uman (5 March) operations.

In February 1944, Rotmistrov was promoted to the newly created rank of marshal of armored forces. Stavka placed his army at the disposal of Marshal Ivan Chernyakhovskiy's 3rd Belorussian Front to take part in Operation BAGRATION. So vital was Rotmistrov to the successful outcome of this Soviet plan to destroy German Army Group Center that Josef Stalin personally urged Lazar Kaganovich, head of railways, and General of the Army Andrei Vasilevich Khrulev, head of home front services, to guarantee that Fifth Guards Tank Army would be in position for the start date of 22 June 1944. At the end of the war, Rotmistrov's forces took part in the drive on Berlin from the south.

In 1953, Rotmistrov resigned from the General Staff, but he remained within that institution as a professor of war sciences and theory. Between 1954 and 1964, he was chief of the Military Academy for Armored Forces, and in April 1962, he was named the first chief marshal of Soviet Armored Forces. From 1964 to 1968, he was deputy minister of defense, and he was appointed inspector general for the Ministry of Defense in June 1968. He also wrote a number of studies on armored warfare. During ceremonies marking the twentieth anniversary of the end of war, Rotmistrov was awarded his second decoration as Hero of the Soviet Union. He retired to his birthplace, where he died on 16 April 1982.

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See also

Armored Warfare; Konev, Ivan Stepanovich; Korsun Pocket, Battle of; Kursk, Battle of; Leningrad, Siege of; Malinovsky, Rodion Yakovlevich; Moscow, Battle of; Tanks, All Powers

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Rotterdam, Destruction of (14 May 1940)

German air force attack and one of the most controversial actions of the war, undertaken to pressure the Dutch to conclude a peace. The Dutch military's resistance to the German invasion of 10 May 1940 surprised the Germans, who had expected little fighting. By 13 May, Dutch resistance was almost at an end, but the defenders still held Rotterdam. With German forces in the Netherlands ordered to end the resistance quickly to allow ground troops there to join those fighting in France, Luftwaffe commander Hermann Göring decided to employ the Ju-87 Stuka dive-bombers of Fliegerkorps IV to destroy the Dutch strong points guarding the approaches to Rotterdam. On the evening of 13 May, Queen Wilhelmina and the Dutch government departed The Hague aboard two British destroyers, beginning their exile in Britain.

The next morning, a German staff officer entered Rotterdam under a flag of truce to demand that the city surrender. Göring then decided against using the dive-bombers and instructed the Luftflotte 2 commander, General Alfred Kesselring, to carry out a saturation bombing of the city. At noon, the Dutch commander in chief, General Henri Winkelman, entered into negotiations through an emissary with the German military to prevent such an attack, but due to faulty communications, the air strike took place just as the Dutch were preparing to surrender.

Some 100 Heinkel He-111 medium bombers appeared over central Rotterdam at 2:00 P.M. on 14 May. The Germans on the ground tried to signal the aircraft to abort the attack, and 43 of the bombers turned away and attacked other targets; the remainder, however, had already released their loads over Rotterdam. Their high-explosive bombs demolished the entire center of the city and touched off fires that created additional damage. Some 24,000 houses were destroyed, rendering 78,000 people homeless. In addition, the bombing resulted in the destruction of more than 2,500 shops, 1,200 workshops and small factories, 500 pubs, 70 schools, 21 churches, 20 banks, 12 cinemas, 4 hospitals, and 2 theaters. Some 900 civilians were killed, and thousands of others were wounded; many were children trapped in their schools. In the bombed area, little save the city hall and Laurens Church remained standing.



On 14 May 1940, German bombers attacked Rotterdam, killing a large number of its inhabitants. (Corbis)

Early on the morning of 15 May, with the Germans announcing they would next bomb Utrecht, Winkelman issued an order for all Dutch soldiers to lay down their arms. He announced that he had taken the decision to prevent civilian casualties. A partial surrender that excluded the navy was signed that day.

At the Nuremberg war crimes trials, both Göring and Kesselring denied knowledge of the surrender negotiations, but it seems clear that the bombing was undertaken as a deliberate act of force to hasten the surrender, as had happened with the destruction of Warsaw in September 1939. And in this, it succeeded.

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See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Kesselring, Albert; Netherlands, The; Netherlands Campaign; Wilhelmina, Queen of the Netherlands

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Royal Air Force (RAF)

See Great Britain, Air Force.

ROYAL MARINE, Operation (May 1940)

British plan to mine the Rhine River. On 17 November 1939, First Lord of the Admiralty Winston L. S. Churchill proposed mining Germany's inland waterways. He suggested introducing mines into the Rhine from French tributaries and between Strasbourg and Lauter, where the left bank was French territory, while Royal Air Force (RAF) bombers dropped additional mines into Germany's other rivers and canals at the same time. Churchill hoped that thousands of small, 20-pound mines might overwhelm German countermeasures and completely halt traffic on Germany's waterways. Such mines would be more than sufficient to damage

or sink river barges. To avoid causing problems with the neutral Kingdom of the Netherlands, the mines would deactivate after several days, hopefully before they drifted across the Dutch frontier.

Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain and the War Cabinet approved the plan, and Churchill began assembling the mines. The French government and military, however, remained cool to the idea, especially Premier Édouard Daladier. By March 1940, Britain had assembled more than 6,000 mines, and Churchill wanted to begin deploying them in the Rhine.

The Allied Supreme War Council then endorsed plans to lay mines along the Norwegian coast and bomb the Ruhr in combination with Operation ROYAL MARINE in an effort to shut down German industry. However, newly appointed French Premier Paul Reynaud, fearing German retaliation with a possible strike on Paris, rejected ROYAL MARINE and any bombing or mining of German industry, so only the mining of the Norwegian coast went forward in April. Reynaud insisted on a three-month delay before launching ROYAL MARINE in order to give the French air force time to prepare for German retaliation. He later agreed that Britain could launch the operation should German forces invade France or Belgium.

Royal Marines hastily implemented the plan after German troops opened their offensive into France on 10 May 1940. In

Between 1940 and 1942, the British placed almost 16,000 mines, which sank some 369 German vessels at an estimated 361,821 tons.

the first week of fighting, they placed more than 1,700 mines into the Rhine. These effectively halted river traffic between Karlsruhe and Mainz and damaged several pontoon bridges. By 24 May, British Marines had placed more than 2,300 mines, and these drifted into the Rhine, Moselle, and Meuse Rivers. In the closing days of the campaign, the Royal Air Force dropped some additional mines in

night sorties. As Churchill later wrote, Operation ROYAL MARINE's limited success was "swept away in the general collapse of French resistance." The operation did, however, lay the groundwork for later minelaying efforts by both the RAF Bomber Command and the RAF Coastal Command. Over the next two years, the British placed almost 16,000 mines, which sank some 369 German vessels for an estimated total of 361,821 tons.

Stephen K. Stein

See also

Chamberlain, Arthur Neville; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Daladier, Édouard; Mines, Sea

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Royal Navy

See Great Britain, Navy.

Royal Oak, Sinking of (14 October 1939)

Incident in which a British battleship was lost to a German submarine attack within the Home Fleet anchorage at Scapa Flow in the Orkney Islands. Built as one of five superdreadnoughts of the Revenge-class, the *Royal Oak* was launched in November 1914. On 31 May 1916, two weeks after commissioning, she fought at Jutland. She stayed with the Grand Fleet for the rest of the war and served in the Atlantic and Mediterranean until 1937, when she joined the Home Fleet. The *Royal Oak* and her sisters were 624 feet long, displaced 28,000 tons, and carried a main battery of 8 × 15-inch guns, with a secondary armament of 14 × 6-inch guns.

When World War II began in September 1939, the *Royal Oak* was based at Scapa Flow, which, as in World War I, was Britain's main fleet anchorage in a war with Germany. Nonetheless, substantial weaknesses in Scapa Flow's defenses led the commander of German submarines, Rear Admiral Karl Dönitz, to conceive an attack within the harbor that might destroy British faith in its security and usefulness. To carry out the mission, he chose Lieutenant Commander Günther Prien of *U-47*, who sailed his Type VII-B vessel from Kiel on 8 October.

German aerial surveys on 11 and 12 October showed 5 battleships and battle cruisers, 1 aircraft carrier, and 10 cruisers at anchor in Scapa Flow, but this low-level reconnaissance, along with an uncoordinated sortie by the battleship *Gneisenau* and other German surface units, persuaded the Admiralty that an attack was imminent. The British dispatched their large ships into the North Sea and then moved almost all of them to Loch Ewe in northwest Scotland. Only the *Royal Oak*, which until then had been used as a convoy escort, returned to Scapa Flow.

On the moonless night of 13 October, the *U-47* began a surface approach to Scapa Flow through a gap in the sunken blockship barriers revealed by aerial photography. During



British battleship *Royal Oak*, later sunk by a German U-boat on 14 October 1939. (Bettmann/Corbis)

the four-hour passage, Prien submerged once to avoid detection by a passing merchant ship and learned that, even with illumination from the northern lights, targets were not visible through his periscope. Back on the surface, he narrowly escaped entanglement in a blockship's mooring cable but emerged into the main anchorage shortly after midnight.

Prien identified the only suitable targets as the *Royal Oak* and the battle cruiser *Repulse* (he had misidentified the latter vessel, for it was actually the seaplane carrier *Pegasus*). The *U-47* fired four torpedoes, scoring only one hit. The torpedo struck the *Royal Oak* on the starboard bow, causing her crew to believe a small internal explosion had occurred. After a shot from his stern tube also missed, Prien fired three more reload torpedoes from his bow tubes. All struck the *Royal Oak* amidships, exploding a main magazine. Thirteen minutes later, the battleship capsized. Of her crew, 833 were lost and only 424 survived.

Believing that destroyers had seen him, Prien retired quickly, reaching open water unmolested more than two hours later after another difficult passage by a slightly different route. The British Admiralty grimly announced the sinking of *Royal Oak* on 15 October, ironically on the same day an

additional blockship ordered weeks earlier arrived at Scapa Flow to close the gap by which Prien had entered. On 17 October, Prien returned in the *U-47* to Wilhelmshaven and a national celebration.

John A. Hutcheson Jr.

See also

Battleships; Dönitz, Karl; Germany, Navy; Great Britain, Navy; Naval Warfare; Prien, Günther

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Rudel, Hans-Ulrich (1916–1982)

German air force officer and the most decorated German soldier of World War II. Born at Seiferdaj, Silesia, Germany, on 2 July 1916, Hans-Ulrich Rudel joined the Luftwaffe in 1936 and was originally commissioned as a reconnaissance pilot. After the start of World War II, he was accepted into dive-bomber pilot training in May 1940 and was posted to Staffel 1, Sturmkampf Geschwader 2 (1.StG-2, or Squadron 1, Dive-Bomber Wing 2) a year later.

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, Rudel participated in the strike against the Soviet fleet at Kronstadt and was credited with having sunk the battleship *Marat* on 23 September 1941. Between May 1941 and January 1942, he flew over 500 sorties and was awarded the Knight's Cross. By February 1943, he had flown 1,000 missions and was a national hero. Rudel fitted a 37 mm gun to his Junkers Ju-87G Stuka and used it for "tank busting." His success in this regard led to his assignment in developing tactics for such weapons on Stuka aircraft. His unit was attached to the 3rd SS Panzer Division for Operation CITADEL, and at the end of the first day of fighting, Rudel had destroyed 12 Soviet tanks. In October 1943, he was promoted to major and awarded the Knight's Cross with Swords. Throughout 1944, he continued to add to his score, and he was awarded the Diamonds to his Knight's Cross in March for his efforts to save a downed crew behind enemy lines. Shot down himself that same month, he made it to friendly lines.

On 9 February 1945, after destroying a Soviet tank, his Ju-87 was hit by antiaircraft fire. Badly wounded, Rudel was nonetheless able to land the aircraft with instructions shouted to him over the intercom by his radio operator. A man of great determination, he returned to action six weeks

later, despite the amputation of his right leg and orders that he not fly.

Rudel ended the war commanding Schlachtgeschwader 2 (Ground-Attack Wing 2). His final tally was 2,530 sorties. He was credited with the destruction of the *Marat*, 1 cruiser, 1 destroyer, 70 landing craft, 150 gun emplacements, 519 tanks and 800 other combat vehicles, and 7 aircraft. For his exceptional service, Adolf Hitler instituted the Gold Oak Leaves to the Knight's Cross. Rudel was the only recipient of this award.

On 8 May 1945, Rudel led the remaining aircraft from his unit to land at a U.S. airfield and surrender. U.S. authorities rejected demands from the Soviets that he be turned over to them. Held as a prisoner of war, he was released in March 1946. Rudel then emigrated to Argentina to work for its air force. An unrepentant Nazi, he wrote several books supporting the regime and condemning the German General Staff for failing Hitler. In the early 1960s, he returned to Germany, but his extreme right-wing views made him unwelcome in the Federal Republic's armed forces and aviation industry. On several occasions, he ran unsuccessfully for political office as an ultraconservative and ultimately became a ski instructor, despite his artificial leg. Rudel died in Rosenheim, Germany, on 18 December 1982.

M. R. Pierce

See also

Aviation, Ground-Attack; Germany, Air Force; Kursk, Battle of; Richthofen, Wolfram von

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Ruge, Otto (1882–1961)

Norwegian army general who became the army's commander in chief in 1940. Born on 1 September 1882 in Kristiania, Norway, Otto Ruge joined the Norwegian army and was an instructor at the Military Academy from 1923. In 1930, he headed the Communications Section of the General Staff, and between 1933 and 1938, he was chief of staff of the General Staff. From 1938 to 1940, he was inspector general of infantry. A colonel at the time of the German invasion of his country on 9 April 1940, Ruge rallied Norwegian forces and halted a German advance at Midtskogen. Whereas Norwegian army commander General Kristian Laake lacked confidence in continued resistance, Ruge expressed a determination to fight on. Appointed commander in chief of the Norwegian army on 10 April and promoted to brigadier gen-

eral, he hoped to contain the German invasion along the southern Norwegian coast and then slowly withdraw northwest to allow time for mobilization of the rest of the country and British and French military intervention.

Ruge skillfully directed the Norwegian defense in a series of delaying positions. Not having been informed in advance of the British evacuation and with a German victory in sight, he steadfastly refused to abandon his men and capitulated only when King Haakon and the government had departed for London. He disbanded the 6th Division on 9 June, and the next day, a member of his staff signed an armistice with the Germans. Ruge then became a German prisoner of war and was only released at the end of the war.

From 1945 to 1946, Ruge was once again commander in chief of the Norwegian army, and he served as commander in chief of the armed forces from 1946 to 1948. He died in Mysen, Norway, on 15 August 1961.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Haakon VII, King of Norway; Norway, Army; Norway, German Conquest of

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Ruhr Campaign (25 March–18 April 1945)

By March 1945, the Western Allies had defeated all German opposition west of the Rhine River and had crossed Germany's last defensive stronghold at several points. British Field Marshal Sir Bernard Montgomery, commander of 21st Army Group, advocated that the next Allied advance should take place in his own northern zone, where the Allies could push through the north German plain and begin the final assault on Berlin. This route, however, was heavily defended, and the supreme commander of the Allied Expeditionary Forces, General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, favored a broad-front approach in which his main thrust would be concentrated in the center, against the Ruhr River valley.

The Ruhr industrial complex was Germany's industrial heartland and the most important Allied military objective after Berlin. Concentrated within a 2,000-square-mile area were 18 manufacturing cities and coal deposits supplying 69 percent of Germany's requirements. Between 1942 and 1945, the Allied air campaign had diminished the Ruhr's productive capacity and forced a 25 to 30 percent drop in steel production. Allied air forces also enforced some measure of



The partially cleared site of ruins of the Krupp factories near Essen, Germany, after the war (ca. 1945). Hundreds of acres of Krupp factories and other places in the Ruhr were in similar condition. (Bettmann/Corbis)

isolation on the Ruhr by crippling 11 of 17 critical rail centers that connected it with the rest of Germany. Still, the Allies recognized that the only way to eliminate totally the Ruhr's contribution to the German war effort was to occupy it.

Sixty-five German divisions defended the Ruhr. These units were largely concentrated in the west to defend against a direct assault from the Rhine. Although understrength, these divisions presented a formidable obstacle to any direct American offensive. General Omar N. Bradley, the commander of the 12th Army Group, chose to envelop the Ruhr in a classic pincer movement. Lieutenant General Courtney H. Hodges's First Army would advance along the Ruhr's southern boundary while Lieutenant General William H. Simpson's Ninth Army enveloped the Ruhr from the north. The two armies planned to link up at Paderborn.

The Ruhr Campaign began on 25 March when the First Army broke out of the Remagen bridgehead over the Rhine and advanced eastward. The forward armored elements moved rapidly through the Germans' thinly dispersed flank defenses. The 3rd Armored Division reached Marburg and turned north on 28 March, the same day that the Ninth Army, led by its 2nd Armored Division, moved out from its bridgehead. The 3rd Armored Division encountered stiff German resistance on the approach to the Paderborn rendezvous. Students and instructors from a local Waffen-SS panzer training camp blocked the U.S. advance with their Tiger and Panther tanks. The 2nd and 3rd Armored Divisions then bypassed this resistance. At noon on Easter Sunday, 1 April, forward armored elements of the First and Ninth Armies linked up in the Lippstadt area west of Paderborn, completing the Ruhr envelopment.

The Ruhr pocket (*Ruhr Kessel*) measured some 30 by 80 miles. Trapped within were Field Marshal Walther Model's Army Group B headquarters, Generaloberst (U.S. equiv. full general) Josef Harpe's Fifth Panzer Army, most of General der Infanterie (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) Gustav von Zangen's Fifteenth Army, and two corps of the First Parachute Army. In all, German forces caught in the pocket included remnants of 18 divisions and 7 corps commands. The encircled German forces were unable to muster sufficient strength to break through the U.S. perimeter and could not count on a rescue from outside the pocket. Characteristically, Adolf Hitler ordered Model to defend "Fortress Ruhr" to the last man.

Initially, the Americans deployed 13 divisions for the Ruhr battle. Later, with progress slower than expected, 4 additional divisions were committed. Major General John B. Anderson's XVI Corps of Ninth Army cleared the densely populated industrial area north of the Ruhr River. To the south, Major General James A. Van Fleet's III Corps, Major General J. Lawton Collins's VII Corps, and Major General Clarence R. Huebner's V Corps of First Army cleared the rugged and forested Sauerland. Meanwhile, three divisions of Lieutenant General Leonard T. Gerow's Fifteenth Army were to keep the Germans occupied along the Rhine River.

German resistance proved spotty and unpredictable. The Americans adopted an effective technique for clearing the pocket. Once a town was captured, they would call ahead by telephone to inform the next town that they were coming soon and demand its surrender.

American forces reduced the Ruhr pocket quickly. Essen, home of the Krupp industrial combine, was taken on 11 April, and by 14 April, they had effectively cut the area in two when troops from the First and Ninth Armies met up along the Ruhr River. Major General Matthew B. Ridgway, XVIII Airborne Corps commander, wrote Model and demanded his surrender, but the German general refused to disobey Hitler's order. Instead, he disbanded his army, and on 21 April, he committed suicide. All organized resistance in the Ruhr pocket ceased on 18 April. During the two-week campaign, the Americans captured 317,000 German soldiers, including 30 generals and an admiral—more than the Allies had captured at Tunisia or the Soviets had at Stalingrad. The Western Allies also liberated 200,000 forced laborers and 5,639 prisoners of war.

Thomas Nester

See also

Bradley, Omar Nelson; Collins, Joseph Lawton; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Germany, Collapse of; Hitler, Adolf; Hodges, Courtney Hicks; Model, Walther; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Ridgway, Matthew Bunker; Simpson, William Hood

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Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von (1875–1953)

German field marshal and commander of the German Western Theater from 1942 to 1945. Born at Aschersleben, Germany, on 12 December 1875, Karl Gerd von Rundstedt joined the army in 1893 and served throughout World War I. Following the war, he rose steadily in the new Reichswehr. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel in October 1920 and colonel in February 1923. Rundstedt was then chief of staff of the 2nd Infantry Division. In March 1925, he assumed command of the 18th Infantry Regiment. In November 1927, he was promoted to Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general), and a year later, he commanded the 2nd Cavalry Division. Promoted to Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) in March 1929, he took command of the 3rd Infantry Division and then Group Command I. Rundstedt was promoted to General der Infanterie (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) in October 1932 and to Generaloberst (U.S. equiv. full general) in March 1938. Unhappy with Adolf Hitler's growing power, he retired on 31 October 1938. He was recalled to duty at the age of 64, and in September 1939, he led Army Group South into Poland.

In spring 1940, Rundstedt favored the plan devised by General Erich von Manstein to invade France. He commanded Army Group A, composed of 45 divisions. By 14 May 1940, his tanks had opened up a broad gap in the Allied front. Rundstedt argued that his tanks should halt until infantry divisions could catch up. Hitler agreed and made the order a fast one, stopping General Heinz Guderian's panzer thrust that could have cut off the British escape from Dunkerque. Hitler promoted Rundstedt to field marshal on 19 July 1940. Later, Rundstedt took control of occupation forces and was given responsibility for coastal defenses in Holland, Belgium, and France.

In June 1941, Rundstedt participated in the invasion of the Soviet Union, Operation BARBAROSSA, as commander of Army Group South. His forces made slow progress during the first weeks, but in September 1941, he took part in the capture of Kiev and 665,000 Soviet troops. Rundstedt strongly opposed continuing the advance into the USSR during the winter and advised Hitler to call a halt, but his views were rejected.

He continued the advance and reached Rostov on 21 November, but a Soviet counterattack forced his troops back.



German Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt, shown here on an inspection of the Atlantic Wall in early 1944. (Library of Congress)

When Rundstedt called for withdrawal, Hitler replaced him with General Walther von Reichenau. After the Führer recalled him to duty in March 1942, sending him to France as commander in chief, West, Rundstedt organized the building of the fortifications known as the Atlantic Wall along 1,700 miles of coastline. After the Normandy landings, he urged Hitler to make peace. The Führer responded by replacing him with Field Marshal Günther von Kluge, but in September, Rundstedt returned to his former post. Having been in charge for the last major German offensive in the Ardennes in December 1944, he was sacked as supreme commander, West in March 1945.

Rundstedt was the prototype, if not the caricature, of the old-style Prussian officer, deeply attached to Germany's imperial traditions. He never failed to contradict Hitler with respect to military matters when he felt it necessary to do so, but he also never questioned his regime. Captured by the Western Allies on 1 May 1945, Rundstedt was released in May 1949 and lived in Hannover, Germany, until his death on 24 February 1953.

Martin Moll

See also

Ardennes Offensive; Atlantic Wall; BARBAROSSA, Operation; Belgium Campaign; Eastern Front; Festung Europa; France, Battle for; France, Battle for (Historiographical Controversy: Hitler's Stop Order); France Campaign; Germany, Collapse of; Guderian, Heinz; Hitler, Adolf; Kiev Pocket, Battle of the; Kluge, Günther Adolf Ferdinand von; Manstein, Fritz Erich von; Normandy Invasion and

Campaign; Poland Campaign; Reichenau, Walther von; Rhine Crossings; Rostov, Battle for; SICHELSCHNITT, Operation; Stülpnagel, Karl Heinrich von; West Wall, Advance to the; Western European Theater of Operations

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Russia

See Soviet Union.

Ruweisat Ridge, Battles of (1–27 July 1942)

Crucial battles in determining the outcome of fighting in North Africa and the Middle East. In May and June 1942, German Field Marshal Erwin Rommel and his Axis forces had won spectacular victories at Gazala and in the capture of

Tobruk, costing the British some 80,000 men and 1,000 tanks. Driving his troops hard, Rommel hoped to rout the retreating imperial forces. His goals were to capture Cairo and seize the Suez Canal. The British defeat at Mersa Matrûh in late June appeared to confirm this course of action.

After months of heavy fighting, however, Axis forces were exhausted and much understrength. At the end of June, the three German divisions of 2,000 infantrymen possessed 55 tanks, 77 field pieces, and 63 antitank guns. Italian forces included 8,000 infantrymen, 70 tanks, and 200 field pieces. Axis forces were at the end of a rapidly lengthening supply and reinforcement line. Rommel had also outrun his air support, with the Axis air forces struggling to establish new forward bases.

On 25 June, General Sir Claude Auchinleck, British commander in the Middle East, took personal control of Eighth Army. Its defensive positions were almost 100 miles west of Alexandria, Egypt, and ran south for 38 miles from the coastal town of El Alamein to the impassable salt marshes of the Qattara Depression. These positions formed a natural choke point, as they could be penetrated but not outflanked. The terrain was largely flat except for two low, east-west ridges—Miteiriya in the north and Ruweisat in the center.

The 1st South African Division occupied the northern positions, the 18th Indian Brigade held the center, and the 2nd New Zealand Division deployed in the south. Rommel's attack plan had his 90th Light Division attacking in the north. It would drive east and then swing left to the sea, encircling the South Africans. The 21st and 15th Panzer Divisions were to move east in the center and then strike right, striking the New Zealanders in the rear.

Confident of victory, Rommel unleashed the Afrika Korps (Africa Corps) on 1 July. The panzers found their path blocked by the 18th Indian Brigade. The Indian defenses were incomplete, and the troops were short of ammunition and even water. Luckily, the day before the German attack, artillery units had arrived with some 40 guns. The defenders fought tenaciously until overrun that evening. They had, however, destroyed 18 German tanks and stopped the German advance. To the north, 90th Light encountered heavy fire from the South Africans and an artillery reinforcement. Panic erupted among the long-suffering German soldiers, and the officers were fully occupied restoring control.

On 2 July, Rommel attempted to use his panzers to renew the attack in the north. Auchinleck now inserted the 1st Armoured Division, consisting of the 2nd, 4th, and 22nd Armoured Brigades. The 4th and 22nd Brigades, with 38 Grant medium tanks, thrust into the open southern German flank and fought the panzers until nightfall. Rommel resumed the offensive on 3 July, sending his tanks forward along both sides of Ruweisat Ridge. The Italian Ariete and Trieste Divisions, which had excellent fighting records, were instructed to attack south.

But the 4th and 22nd Armoured Brigades barred the panzers' path. In the south, the Trieste Division failed to move and the Ariete was split, its tanks entangled in the armor battle. The remaining units were struck by the New Zealanders, and the Ariete Division fled, with the loss of 531 men and 44 guns.

Auchinleck now unleashed a series of counterstrokes, relying heavily on information garnered through ULTRA intercepts. Reinforcements from the 9th Australian Division came into play. The 2nd Armoured Brigade replaced the 4th Armoured Brigade, decimated in the fighting. In the north, on 10 July, the 2nd South African and 26th Australian Brigades attacked positions west of El Alamein held by Italian infantry. This assault overran the Italian lines and netted 1,500 prisoners and 30 guns. Only the newly arrived 382nd German Infantry Regiment, a battalion of elite Bersaglieri Italian troops, and additional Italian guns halted the attack.

Auchinleck then mounted an assault in the center of the line, sending his 4th and 5th New Zealand Brigades and 5th Indian Brigade against some 4,000 Italian troops on Ruweisat Ridge. Between 14 and 15 July, they seized the ridge, but it was impossible to dig into the rock terrain, and no tanks came forward to help the New Zealanders. In addition, corps commander Lieutenant General William H. Gott failed to coordinate his infantry and armor. In a devastating counterattack, German armor recovered the ridge, and 1,405 New Zealanders were lost.

On 17 July, two Australian battalions attacked south against Italian positions on Miteiriya Ridge. The Australians captured 700 prisoners, but they came under fire by Italian guns and were halted by a German task force. Rommel now reluctantly concluded that Axis forces had to go on the defensive. German engineers utilized power drills to lay extensive minefields. They also erected strong points, where troops were armed with automatic weapons and antitank guns.

In his report of 21 July, Rommel exaggerated his losses in order to accelerate reinforcement. This report, decoded by ULTRA, strengthened Auchinleck's resolve to crush Rommel and the Afrika Korps. Strong pressure also came from Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, whose government was under parliamentary attack occasioned by a series of military defeats.

Auchinleck planned a three-pronged assault for the night of 21–22 July. The 161st Indian Brigade was to seize the western end of Ruweisat Ridge, while the newly arrived 23rd Armoured Brigade (less one regiment in support of the Australians) was entrusted with the major objective of attacking the center and overrunning Rommel's headquarters. The 6th New Zealand Brigade was to attack from the south in a north-west direction. The 2nd and 22nd Armoured Brigades were to join the New Zealanders by daybreak.

The Indians met stiff resistance from German and Italian infantry and failed, incurring substantial losses. In the south,

the New Zealanders secured their objective, but the 2nd and 22nd Armour failed to link up with the New Zealanders. On the morning of 22 July, the 15th and 21st Panzers destroyed the 6th Brigade, inflicting 904 casualties. That same morning, the 23rd Armoured Brigade unleashed two regiments of Valentine infantry tanks in a determined assault. Running into vicious antitank gunfire and blundering into uncleared minefields, the British had 40 tanks destroyed and another 40 damaged, but 7 were still intact. This attack did cause serious concern for the defenders, as it had penetrated German defenses and overrun a key strong point.

Auchinleck's last effort came in the northern sector, in an attack against Miteiriya Ridge on 26–27 July. One battalion from the 24th Australian Brigade and two battalions from the British 69th Brigade were to seize the ridge. The 2nd Armoured Brigade would move through gaps cleared in the minefields to support the infantry. The infantry troops gained their objectives and overran two Axis battalions. But the mine clearing went awry, and the Australians and British fell victim to swift German armored counterattacks, losing 1,000 men.

Commonwealth infantrymen, particularly the New Zealanders, emerged from these battles bitter about the lack of British armor support and what they regarded as incompetent British commanders. Although 7,000 Axis prisoners were captured in the Ruweisat battles, British/Commonwealth casualties totaled 13,250. On 8 August, Churchill removed Auchinleck from command.

Sherwood S. Cordier

See also

Afrika Korps; Armored Warfare; Auchinleck, Sir Claude John Eyre; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Gazala, Battle of; Gott, William Henry Ewart "Strafer"; Mersa Matrûh, Battle of (28 June 1942); North Africa Campaign; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Tobruk, First Battle for, Second Battle for, Third Battle of

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Rydz-Śmigły, Edward (1886–1941)

Marshal of Poland and commander in chief of the Polish armed forces at the beginning of World War II. Born on 11 March 1886 at Brzeóany in Austrian Galicia, Edward Rydz-Śmigły joined a Polish paramilitary organization in 1907 and graduated from its officer school in 1912. In August 1914, he joined the First Legion organized by Józef Piłsudski and



Polish armed forces commander, Marshal Edward Rydz-Śmigły, ca. 1940. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

fought in it alongside the Austrians against the Russians until July 1917. Rydz-Śmigły advanced quickly thanks to his leadership abilities, and by 1917, he had reached the rank of colonel and had command of a regiment.

When Piłsudski discovered that the Central Powers did not intend to grant Poland its independence, he and his First Legion refused to swear allegiance to Austria and Germany and went underground. Rydz-Śmigły followed Piłsudski and was appointed commander of the clandestine Polish Military Organization (Polska Organizacja Wojskowa). Following the declaration of Poland's independence in November 1918, Rydz-Śmigły became one of Piłsudski's closest associates and was promoted to the rank of brigadier general. In 1920, during the Russo-Polish War, he commanded the Third Army that spearheaded the Polish-Ukrainian offensive that occupied Kiev. After the peace treaty of Riga in March 1921, he became one of the inspectors of the Polish army, with the rank of lieutenant general.

Rydz-Śmigły supported Piłsudski in his 1926 coup d'état. In May 1935, when Marshal Piłsudski died, Rydz-Śmigły took power, assuming both Piłsudski's rank and his place as head of the Polish armed forces. Thereafter, he made a considerable

but belated effort to modernize Poland's defenses. Such efforts were halted by the September 1939 invasion of Poland, first by Germany and then by the Soviet Union.

Rydz-Śmigły next turned to Poland's ally Romania. Promised the right of free passage to France for himself and the remnants of his military forces, he sought shelter on Romanian territory. Under pressure from Berlin, the Bucharest government decided to intern him as well as other members of the Polish government. Rydz-Śmigły escaped internment, however, and returned secretly to Poland via Hungary. He died at Warsaw from heart failure on 28 November 1941 while trying to organize Polish underground resistance against German occupation.

M. K. Dziewanowski

See also

Katyń Forest Massacre; Poland, Air Force; Poland, Army; Poland, Navy; Poland, Role in War; Poland Campaign; Resistance; Sikorski, Władysław; Sosnkowski, Kazimierz

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S

Saar, French Invasion of the (September 1939)

Ineffectual French offensive at the beginning of World War II. On 19 May 1939, French and Polish military officials agreed that their armies would attack Germany if Germany moved against either state. Supreme commander of French land forces General Maurice Gamelin pledged that he would invade Germany with the majority of his troops no more than 15 days after mobilization began. Britain and France also promised that in the event of a German attack, they would move against Germany immediately from the air.

Despite the Allied pledge, the French military strategy for war with Germany was to remain on the defensive, wearing down the enemy until France's own army was strong enough to seize the initiative. During World War I, 1.5 million Frenchmen had perished, and it was unacceptable that such a military holocaust be repeated. Gamelin declared he would not open this war with a new Battle of Verdun, a costly, all-out assault on fortified positions. His deputy, General Alphonse Georges, vowed to resign if ordered to lead an invasion. The French military philosophy was summed up in the phrase "Stingy with blood; extravagant with steel." Given this mindset, any French military operations on behalf of the Poles were destined to be extremely cautious.

On 1 September, Germany invaded Poland. Six days later, the Polish General Staff radioed an appeal for Gamelin to act quickly, in hopes that Germany would divert units from the invasion to the west. The French mobilization had just begun, and most heavy artillery was still in storage. The army's 85 divisions were dispersed to guard against possible attacks from fascist Spain and Italy while also defending the long bor-

der with Germany. Regardless, honor demanded some action on behalf of the Poles.

If France's troops could pass through Belgium, they might outflank Germany's West Wall defenses (known as the Siegfried Line by the French). Belgium, however, insisted on remaining neutral. With the northern route thus closed, Gamelin had little choice but to attack within a 90-mile-wide sector between the Rhine and Moselle Rivers in the Saar, directly into the teeth of what he believed to be strong fortifications. The invasion force was designated 2nd Army Group. General André Prételat was its commander. Chief of staff of the Fourth Army in 1918, Prételat had since 1934 been a member of the Supreme War Council, a group wedded to defensive strategy.

On the night of 7–8 September, a few light French units entered German territory along a 15-mile front southeast of Saarbrücken. On 9 September, stronger forces from the Fourth and Fifth Armies followed, while the Third Army advanced into the Wendt Forest slightly to the west. Despite Gamelin's earlier pledge to use the majority of his troops, no more than 15 divisions crossed the frontier; most French authorities believe only 9 of the 85 divisions on the northeast front were used.

The French advanced against a pitifully inadequate German force in the west. Adolf Hitler had gambled on a Schlieffen Plan in reverse, throwing the bulk of his resources against Poland while leaving only weak covering forces in the west on the correct assumption that the French would be slow to move. The German army had a maximum of 25 divisions in the west, the bulk of which were inadequately trained and poorly equipped reserves. The mechanized and motorized troops had all been committed to the fighting in Poland, and artillery

had been stripped from the West Wall. German forces in the west had no tanks, little artillery, and virtually no aircraft.

In the west, only light skirmishing occurred. So cautious was the French advance that a single automatic weapon halted an entire platoon. Artillery of both sides lobbed shells in the general direction of the enemy. Modern Char B heavy tanks supported French infantry, but the French government, fearful of retaliation against Paris, refused to authorize bombing, and the Royal Air Force readily complied with French requests to follow the same policy.

While Polish cities shuddered under German bombs, the 2nd Army Group inched forward. It advanced a mere five miles by 12 September, capturing 20 deserted German villages. Gamelin then ordered Prételat to halt short of the Siegfried Line and prepare for retreat should the Germans counterattack through Belgium. Five days later, as it was clear the Poles were collapsing under the German hammer blows, Soviet troops invaded eastern Poland. By the end of the month, the Poles were finished.

Not a single Stuka or panzer had been diverted from the invasion of Poland by Gamelin's timid "invasion." On 30 September, Prételat was ordered to withdraw his troops secretly at night. By mid-October, Germany had 70 divisions in the west. On 16 October, a handful of infantry attacked the remaining French troops, and in two days Germany reoccupied all the territory the 2nd Army Group had required two weeks to capture. Casualties on both sides in the ineffectual campaign were light. Most French losses resulted from a thick belt of German mines and booby traps.

The French High Command lamented that Poland had not been able to hold out until spring when a proper offensive might have been undertaken. Gamelin later justified the feeble effort by saying the governments of France and Poland had not ratified a parallel political treaty to complete their mutual support agreement, although France had signed the political agreement on 4 September.

Given France's reliance on large numbers of reservists, its troop dispersions, and its defensive mentality, a stronger offensive may not have been a realistic option, but German observers believed that a more determined French effort would have carried to the Rhine and changed the course of the war. It is worth noting that Britain, which also had a solemn obligation to defend Poland, did nothing to assist Poland beyond the dropping of propaganda leaflets. By the time of the French offensive, the British Expeditionary Force had not even completed its assembly. Both states would pay a heavy price for their lack of military preparedness.

Gerald D. Swick

See also

France, Army; France, Battle for; France, Role in War; Gamelin, Maurice Gustave; Hitler, Adolf; Maginot Line; Poland, Role in War; Poland Campaign; Sitzkrieg

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Sachsenhausen

See Concentration Camps, German.

Said, Nuri al-

See Nuri al-Said.

Saint-Lô, Battle of (11–19 July 1944)

Key battle following the 6 June 1944 Normandy Invasion. Saint-Lô was the hub of an extensive road net that allowed the Germans to rapidly shift men and weapons east and west to meet American attacks. Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley, commanding the U.S. First Army, needed the road from Saint-Lô west to Périers as a line of departure for an offensive (code-named COBRA) to break out of the Normandy bocage of hedgerow country. The bocage consisted of small fields and orchards surrounded by underbrush-covered earthen dikes from 3 to 5 ft thick and from 6 to 9 ft high, with numerous narrow sunken lanes. These brush-crowned embankments walled in the fields and provided excellent positions for the German defenders.

On 11 July, Major General Charles H. Gerhardt's 29th Infantry Division began the attack to take Saint-Lô and the Martinsville Ridge to its east. The 35th Infantry Division attacked on its right, and the 2nd Infantry Division (V Corps) on its left. Defending was General der Fallschirmtruppen (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) Eugen Meindl's II Parachute Corps of the 3rd Parachute Division and badly battered Kampfgruppen: battle groups of varying sizes from the 266th, 352nd, and 353rd Infantry Divisions under command of the 353rd.

The 116th Infantry attacked on the left and the 115th Infantry on the right in the 29th Division's zone, using assault groups composed of infantry, tanks, and engineers method-



Ruins of St.-Lô, France, site of a fierce battle between Allies and the Germans. (Photo by Frank Scherschel//Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

ically to attack and seize each field. Many tanks were now equipped with steel prongs hastily welded to the fronts of their hulls to help them through hedgerows and to punch holes in which to place explosives. By the end of the day, the 116th decisively penetrated German defenses, but heavier resistance stopped the 115th. However, the 2nd Division seized Hill 192, which overlooked the Saint-Lô area.

Attacking U.S. forces made little headway between 12 and 14 July. On 15 July, the Germans stopped both regiments. Starting at 7:30 P.M., however, the 116th again began making headway, but it was halted for the night by higher headquarters. The 2nd Battalion failed to receive the order, and although it was cut off, it was not attacked. Meanwhile, that same day, the 35th Division seized the north slope of Hill 122 about a mile north of Saint-Lô.

On 16 July, the 115th was again thwarted, and the 116th defeated two German counterattacks. On 17 July, the 115th continued attacking the high ground on the Martinville Ridge, commanding the German rear area. Major Thomas D. Howie's 3rd Battalion, 116th Infantry, attacked southwest, and by 6:00 A.M. it had taken the village of La Madeleine without opposition, relieving the regiment's 2nd Battalion. La Madeleine was about 500 yards from Saint-Lô itself.

The 2nd Battalion was supposed to attack into Saint-Lô, but it had suffered too many casualties to do this. Howie then took the mission. Shortly after he issued his orders, he was killed, and his executive officer, Captain William H. Puntenney, assumed command. Severe German artillery and mortar fire followed by a counterattack thwarted the attack plan. U.S. artillery and mortar fire and air strikes then defeated the German counterattack. However, both the 2nd and 3rd Battalions of the 116th were now isolated from the remainder of the division. By the end of the day of 17 July, however, the 29th Division was on the inner slopes of hills that led directly into Saint-Lô. On the morning of 18 July, the 35th Division reported that the Germans had pulled out everywhere in its sector.

Task Force C—commanded by Brigadier General Norman D. Cota, assistant division commander of the 29th Infantry Division, and composed of reconnaissance, tank, tank destroyer, and engineer units—was tapped to seize the town. Cota was to obtain infantry support from the nearest available infantry unit just before entering the town. That was 1st Battalion, 115th Infantry (less one platoon designated to contain a small number of German holdouts). By 7:00 P.M., Saint-Lô had been secured. Major Howie's men carried his body into the town and placed it on the rubble surrounding what had been the Cathedral of Notre Dame.

Pockets of resistance still remained, and the Germans poured in mortar and artillery fire. Cota was wounded, and some 200 of the 600-man task force became casualties, but the capture of Saint-Lô and the adjacent high ground solidly protected the U.S. First Army's left flank as it penetrated the German lines and prepared the way for Operation COBRA.

Uzal W. Ent

See also

Bradley, Omar Nelson; COBRA, Operation

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Saint-Nazaire, Raid on (28 March 1942)

British commando raid on the French port of Saint-Nazaire on the Bay of Biscay. The port of Saint-Nazaire had one of the few dock facilities capable of accommodating the German battleship *Tirpitz* and was the only such facility on the French coast. The plan to raid the port was developed by Captain J. Hughes-Hallet of British Combined Operations. Known as Operation CHARIOT, it called for commandos to ram a ship

loaded with explosives into the dock itself to demolish it while other forces landed to destroy additional port facilities. Wrecking the dry dock might prevent the Germans from sending the *Tirpitz* from Norway on a sortie against the Atlantic convoys because she would lack repair facilities in France.

On the afternoon of 26 March 1942, the British strike force sailed from Falmouth. Commander R. E. D. Ryder had charge of the naval forces, and Lieutenant Colonel A. C. Newman commanded the landing party. The naval force centered on the destroyer *Campbeltown* (the obsolete former U.S. Navy *Buchanan* acquired under the Destroyer-Bases Deal) and naval launches. The *Campbeltown* was packed with four tons of timed explosives. Destroyers *Tynedale* and *Atherstone* provided escort. The flotilla, flying the German naval ensign and flashing German recognition signals, entered Saint-Nazaire harbor early on 28 March. At 1:30 A.M., the Germans, although initially fooled, opened fire with shore artillery, but the darkness hampered the accuracy of their fire.

At 1:34 A.M., the *Campbeltown* slammed into the dry dock's outer caisson at 18 knots. The force of the impact crushed the bow for 36 ft and drove the ship onto the caisson a full 12 inches into the steel gate, while some 260 commandos poured off the *Campbeltown* and launches to destroy machinery, several buildings, bridges, and smaller vessels. German reinforcements arrived, and the firing soon became intense. Although 3 motor launches and the 2 escorting destroyers escaped to Britain under air cover, most of the commandos were left behind.

At 10:30 A.M., high-ranking German officers and engineers were at the dry dock to inspect the damage when the explosives in the destroyer's bow detonated. Another charge aboard a motor torpedo boat destroyed the lock gates of the Saint-Nazaire basin. Some 400 Germans were killed in the raid, most of them in the explosion aboard the *Campbeltown*. Among the dead were 2 of the commando officers, who had refused to reveal the presence of the explosives. The British lost 2 motor torpedo boats and 14 motor launches. Of 621 raiders who participated, 169 were killed and 200 captured; 5 escaped to Spain. The British had achieved their primary objective, as the Germans were unable to use the dry dock for the remainder of the war. Operation CHARIOT has been dubbed the "greatest raid of all."

Stephen Patrick Ward

See also

Destroyers-Bases Deal

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Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, Seizure of (24 December 1941)

Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, island territories of France off the coast of Newfoundland having fewer than 4,500 people, became a cause célèbre in the winter of 1941–1942. Following the German defeat of France in June 1940, the government of the Saint-Pierre and Miquelon territory recognized the French government of Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain in Vichy. Although there was some Free French agitation, threats to bring in Vichy forces kept most such sentiments under control. At the same time, control over the islands was a minor issue for the governments of Canada, Britain, and the United States. Britain advocated Free French control over the territory, whereas the United States vehemently opposed any change, and Canada attempted to hold a middle ground.

In 1941, increased U-boat activity in the North Atlantic added greater weight to the matter, as it was feared that the territory's radio station was broadcasting information detrimental to Allied interests. Proposals were circulated among Ottawa, London, and Washington for pressure to be brought to bear on the territorial government to transfer authority over the station, proposals that received further impetus after the December attack on Pearl Harbor.

Learning of the possibility that authority would be transferred, head of Free French forces in London Charles de Gaulle decided to forestall any Anglo-British action. On 22 December 1941, Vice Admiral Émile Henri Muselier, commander of the Free French Navy, departed Halifax with three corvettes and the *Surcouf*, then the world's largest submarine. Ostensibly leaving on a training exercise, Muselier instead sailed for Saint-Pierre, some 365 miles to the northeast. Arriving there on the morning of 24 December, the Free French forces easily seized the islands. Muselier arrested the leaders of the Vichy government and held a plebiscite on 25 December to demonstrate the wishes of the majority of the people to support the Free French.

In Washington, Secretary of State Cordell Hull was enraged, as he believed that de Gaulle had acted with British approval and support. Although Hull was under attack from American media, which was increasingly critical of what it regarded as his appeasement policies toward Vichy, Hull released an inflammatory statement calling for a return to the status quo in Saint-Pierre and Miquelon and insisting that Canada enforce the return of the territory to Vichy control.

The governments of Canada, Britain, and the Free French all refused to follow the American dictates. Although various plans and projects were suggested, the islands remained in Free French hands. The end result for de Gaulle, however, was

less than he had hoped. He had managed to secure one of France's territories for his cause, but, contrary to his ambitions, it did not lead to any other territories opting to follow his flag. In addition, this event exacerbated de Gaulle's poor relations with Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was already suspicious of his motives, and hampered de Gaulle's later activities.

Daniel M. German

See also

Atlantic, Battle of the; de Gaulle, Charles; France, Free French; France, Role in War; France, Vichy; Hull, Cordell; Pétain, Henri Philippe

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Saipan, Battle of (15 June–9 July 1944)

Important battle in the Pacific Theater. Saipan, part of the Mariana Islands chain that includes Guam and Tinian, had become Japanese territory in 1920 as a consequence of World War I and was considered a part of Japan itself. Following the successful U.S. invasions in the Gilbert and Marshall Islands, U.S. Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Ernest J. King pushed for an assault on the Marianas. Despite opposition from General Douglas MacArthur, King's view prevailed.

The invasion force for Saipan included the 2nd and 4th Marine Divisions; the 27th Army Infantry Division was in reserve. Admiral Raymond Spruance commanded the Fifth Fleet, while Rear Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner had charge of planning and executing the landing. Marine Major General Holland ("Howlin' Mad") Smith commanded V Amphibious Corps and would be in charge of the troops once they disembarked at Saipan.

The attack plan, code-named Operation FORAGER, called for the Marines to land along a strip of beach on the western side of the island. American estimates placed up to 15,000 Japanese soldiers on Saipan, but the actual number was about 30,000 Japanese army and naval personnel. There were also many civilians. Vice Admiral Nagumo Chūichi, victor at Pearl Harbor and loser at Midway, commanded the Fourth Fleet, a small area fleet charged with defending the Marianas. He established his headquarters on Saipan, which was also headquarters for the Japanese Twenty-First Army, commanded by Lieutenant General Hideyoshi Obata. Lieutenant General

Saitō Yoshitsugu had actual ground command on Saipan. His men were well entrenched in caves and other natural fortifications on the island, and they were well supplied with defensive firepower.

More than 800 ships transported the U.S. invasion force from Eniwetok to the Marianas. Bombardment vessels pounded Saipan for three days before the landing, but this bombardment was insufficient, as many Japanese defensive positions had not been identified. Early on the morning of 15 June, the Marines went ashore. Contrary tides and Japanese fire prevented the 2nd Marine Division, aiming for the north end of the target beaches, from landing in the preferred location. The 4th Marines landed with greater accuracy, but the Japanese mounted an excellent defense and subjected the invaders to withering artillery and mortar fire. Both the Marines and the Japanese suffered heavy casualties in the first days of the battle.

Despite stubborn Japanese opposition, the Marines slowly advanced. The 2nd Marines swung north along the western coast of Saipan, while the 4th Marines pushed across to the eastern coast of the island before they turned northward as well. On 16 and 17 June, Holland Smith committed his reserve, the 27th Infantry Division, to the battle. He deployed it between the two Marine divisions and ordered it to drive northward up the center of the island.

While the Marines and infantry were struggling to gain control of Saipan, Admiral Spruance learned that the Japanese fleet had sailed from the Philippines for the Marianas. Spruance then departed with most of his ships to engage the Japanese fleet. Vice Admiral Marc Mitscher, who commanded Task Group 58 of the American carriers, successfully defeated the Japanese threat in the 19–21 July Battle of the Philippine Sea. Known to the Americans as the "Great Marianas Turkey Shoot," this battle destroyed Japanese naval airpower, but it also deprived the Americans on Saipan of much-needed naval gunfire and air support.

In the meantime, Marines and army troops on Saipan continued to drive north. In a controversial decision, General Smith, dissatisfied with army progress, relieved Major General Ralph C. Smith from command of the 27th Infantry Division. This matter, largely the result of different tactical doctrines, led to an interservice dispute that raged well after the end of the war.

On 7 July, the Japanese mounted the largest banzai attack of the war, but that desperation charge by 3,000 Japanese soldiers was the last major effort in a lost battle. Most Japanese fought to the death rather than surrender, and their commanders committed suicide. Hundreds of Japanese civilians also leaped to their deaths from cliffs at the northern end of Saipan rather than surrender. Organized resistance on the island ended on 9 July, and Saipan was declared secure on 13 July. United States forces suffered 3,126 killed, 13,160



Army reinforcements disembarking from LSTs proceed across coral reef toward the beach, Saipan, June–July 1944. (Laudansky [Army], National Archives)

wounded, and 326 missing. Japanese losses were approximately 27,000 killed. Only 2,000 were taken prisoner. Nagumo and Saitō were among those who committed suicide.

The fall of Saipan brought the resignation of Japanese Premier General Tōjō Hideki. Guam and Tinian in the Marianas were also secured by early August. Even as fighting for the three islands was going forward, Seabees were clearing runways for B-29 bombers to strike Japan.

Harold J. Goldberg

See also

Gilbert Islands Campaign; Guam, Battle for; King, Ernest Joseph; MacArthur, Douglas; Marshall Islands, Naval Campaign; Mitscher, Marc Andrew; Nagumo Chūichi; Philippine Sea, Battle of the; Saitō Yoshitsugu; Smith, Holland McTyeire; Spruance, Raymond Ames; Tōjō Hideki; Turner, Richmond Kelly

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Saitō Yoshitsugu (1890–1944)

Japanese army general. Born in Miyagi Prefecture on 28 November 1890, Saitō Yoshitsugu graduated from the Military Academy in 1912 and from the War College in 1924. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1932. A cavalry officer, Saitō was a member of the Inspectorate General for Cavalry during 1932–1933. He then held cavalry commands. Promoted to colonel in 1936, he was next chief of staff of a division.

In 1939, Saitō was promoted to major general and appointed chief of the Military Remount Depot of the Guangdong (Kwantung) Army. In 1941, he became chief of Military Remount Department of the War Ministry. Promoted to lieutenant general in 1942, Saitō was appointed commander of the 43rd Division and given charge of the Northern Marianas District of Saipan and Tinian islands in April 1944.

The convoy carrying 7,000 men of the 43rd Division to the Marianas came under U.S. Navy submarine attack, and five of seven transports were sunk. Although most of the men were saved, they arrived at Saipan without their equipment. Saitō also had little time to prepare for a U.S. invasion of the island. The main body arrived on 5 May and the remainder on 7 June, and U.S. forces invaded on 15 June. Saitō had only his 43rd Infantry Division and the 27th Independent Brigade, in addition to naval personnel. Saitō was junior to both Admirals Nagumo Chūichi and Takagi Takeo, who had their headquarters on the island, but few resources.

Saitō's tactic of trying to defend at the water's edge was not successful, nor were the banzai night attacks against the U.S. beachhead. Overwhelming U.S. ground strength and naval and air support steadily reduced the defenders, who were driven into the northern part of the island. On 6–7 July, some 3,000 Japanese survivors mounted the war's largest banzai attack, which failed, and Saitō committed suicide. That same day, U.S. Marine Major General Holland M. Smith declared the island secure.

Kita Yoshito

See also

Amphibious Warfare; Mariana Islands, Naval Campaign; Nagumo Chūichi; Saipan, Battle of; Smith, Holland McTyeire; Takagi Takeo

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Salazar, António de Oliveira (1889–1970)

Portuguese political leader and dictator. Born on 28 April 1889 in the village of Vimieiro near the town of Santa Comba Dão, Portugal, António Salazar grew up a conservative Catholic. Educated at the University of Coimbra, he became a respected professor of political economy there. Salazar was elected to the Portuguese Chamber of Deputies, but he soon withdrew because he considered it to be a futile exercise.

In 1926, to end chronic political instability in Portugal (there had been 40 cabinets since the overthrow of the monarchy in 1910), the Portuguese military seized power. Salazar was then briefly minister of finance. Recalled to the same post in 1928, he received the full financial authority he demanded, and in short order he placed Portuguese finances on a firm foun-

ation. Over the next few years, Salazar gradually increased his power until, in 1932, he became premier of an authoritarian government. From that point until 1968, Salazar dominated Portuguese affairs.

Under a new constitution ratified in a 1933 referendum, Salazar reorganized Portugal as a corporative unitary republic rather than pluralist state. A national assembly elected by heads of families served as the legislative body. A corporative chamber advised the assembly about social and economic matters and represented syndicates of various corporations. The Catholic Church also had widespread influence. Salazar's National Union Party was the political voice of the so-called *Estado Novo* (new state), which combined eighteenth-century enlightened despotism with Christian morality but also had fascist and democratic trappings. This system came to be known as clerical fascism; it was subsequently a model for the Nationalists in Spain and for Austria.

Profoundly religious, Salazar was also an ascetic and bachelor. Unlike most dictators, he lived frugally on a modest salary and was utterly uninterested in the accumulation of personal wealth. Salazar also remained virtually unknown to his people. Although he admired fascism and supported the Nationalist side in the Spanish Civil War, he also intensely disliked Adolf Hitler and the Nazis, and he maintained diplomatic relations with Portugal's longstanding ally, Great Britain. Unlike Francisco Franco in Spain, Salazar kept his country strictly neutral during World War II, until, under British and U.S. pressure, he agreed in October 1943 to lease bases in the Azores. These proved vital to the Allied cause in the Battle of the Atlantic. Nonetheless, Salazar maintained that the nation was neutral, and Portugal profited from selling goods to both sides. Portugal emerged from the war in a much better position than Spain, and it was readily admitted to the United Nations and invited to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Although Portugal was a police state, Salazar always tried to preserve some of the elements of a democratic facade. Increasingly, in his last years in power, Salazar was forced to devote substantial financial and military resources to maintaining Portuguese control over its overseas empire. A disabling stroke in 1968 finally forced him to give up power. His successor, Marcelo Caetano, introduced some reforms. Salazar died in Lisbon on 27 July 1970.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Atlantic, Battle of the; Franco, Francisco; Portugal; Spain, Role in War

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Salerno Invasion (Operation AVALANCHE, 9 September 1943)

Allied invasion of southern Italy. The Allied plan for the invasion of the Italian mainland called for a three-pronged effort. In Operation BAYTOWN, General Bernard L. Montgomery's Eighth Army would cross the Strait of Messina and land at Calabria on 3 September; then it would work its way north. The following day, in Operation SLAPSTICK, 3,600 soldiers of the British 1st Paratroop Division would drop on the Italian port of Taranto. The third part of the invasion, Operation AVALANCHE, was the largest. It involved the landing of two corps, the British X and the U.S. VI, at Salerno on 9 September. The goal was to then secure the port of Naples 30 miles to the northwest.

U.S. Navy Vice Admiral H. Kent Hewitt had overall command of the operation. U.S. Rear Admiral John L. Hall had charge of the mainly American Southern Attack Force, and Royal Navy Commodore G. N. Oliver commanded the largely British Northern Attack Force. British Navy Rear Admiral Philip Vian commanded one fleet carrier and four escort carriers assisting with air cover. In all, 627 vessels participated in the operation.

Lieutenant General Mark Clark commanded the Fifth Army, the ground force for AVALANCHE. The Fifth Army consisted of the British X Corps of the 46th and 56th Divisions and the U.S. VI Corps of the 36th and 45th Divisions. Two battalions of U.S. Rangers and two of British commandos were included to secure key passes northwest of Salerno.

The Allies expected no opposition. On 8 September 1943, hours before the assault forces landed, General Dwight D. Eisenhower broadcast that Italy had signed an armistice with the Allies. Clark fully expected to be able to secure Naples quickly and then throw a line across Italy, trapping German units between his own army and the British Eighth Army to the south. Clark decided to forego a preliminary bombardment, which meant German forces that had occupied the Italian positions were virtually undisturbed. As it evolved for the Allies, the battle was confusing and hard to control, developing its own momentum.

At 3:10 A.M. on 9 September, the Rangers began going ashore to secure the Allied northern flank. They were followed 20 minutes later by men of the U.S. 36th Infantry Division, who secured the southern flank. The British X Corps then landed between the Rangers and the 36th Infantry Division. The 56th Infantry Division secured the southern sector of the British corps area, and the 46th Infantry Division

secured the north sector. With the support of the Rangers and X Corps, British commandos were able to land at the town of Salerno itself.

On the first day, the Germans mounted only sporadic, small-scale counterattacks. German Theater commander Field Marshal Albert Kesselring immediately ordered his forces south of Salerno to withdraw from southern Italy to prevent them being cut off. The German 16th Panzer Division was to oppose the Salerno landings and prevent any Allied deep penetration there until German troops from the south became available. The Germans concentrated the limited forces initially available against the British X Corps.

On the morning of 10 September, General Clark visited both corps zones. Because VI Corps was making better progress, Clark assigned it 4 miles of the X Corps' area. This, however, stretched the Americans thin. Meanwhile, more men and equipment came ashore, although a shortage of landing craft hampered operations. Naval gunfire, however, strongly supported the troops ashore. During the Salerno operation, Allied warships fired more than 11,000 tons of shell to assist shore operations. On 11 September, German aircraft launched glide bombs at the Allied ships, damaging 2 cruisers, and other attacks followed. On 16 September, 2 glide bombs badly damaged the British battleship *Warspite*.

On 13 September, the Germans launched their first major counterattack, overrunning a battalion of the 36th Infantry Division, but they then encountered stiff resistance along the banks of the Calore River. Tank, tank-destroyer, and artillery units poured fire into the ranks of the attacking Germans, and accurate naval gunfire played an important role. With the beachhead seemingly in jeopardy, on the night of 13 September two battalions (1,300 men) of the 82nd Airborne Division were air-dropped into the 36th Infantry Division sector and quickly thrown into the line.

Throughout 14 September, German units attacked all along the line, probing for weak spots. Meanwhile, Allied aircraft pounded German lines of communication and frontline positions. Elements of the British 7th Armored Division now landed to reinforce X Corps, and the 180th Infantry Regiment landed in VI Corps' sector. That night, another 2,100 paratroopers of the 82nd Airborne Division arrived, further reinforcing the line.

Another airborne operation occurred on the night of 14 September to insert the 2nd Battalion of the 509th Parachute Infantry Regiment 20 miles north of the X Corps zone. Its assignment was to harass German lines of communications for 5 days, then either infiltrate back into the beachhead or link up with advancing units. Only 15 of the 40 transport aircraft involved dropped their men near the target area; most of the paratroopers landed far from their intended drop zones. Although the men of the battalion caused some dis-



U.S. Coast Guardsmen and men of the Navy Beach Battalion hug the beach at Paesternum, just south of Salerno, during a German bombing raid, October 1943. (Library of Congress)

ruption in the German rear areas, they paid a heavy price; of the 600 men who participated in the jump, only 400 gained friendly lines.

On 15 September, Kesselring ordered another counterattack, which failed in the teeth of the Allied reinforcement. Clark now had more than 150,000 men ashore. Meanwhile, Montgomery's Eighth Army was still 50 miles to the south, making slow progress against only light German resistance. Kesselring knew he could no longer hope to defeat the Allies at Salerno, and on 16 September the Germans began a deliberate, well-executed withdrawal northward. The Eighth and Fifth Armies finally linked up on 19 September. The Allies first entered Naples on 1 October.

The Salerno battle had been costly for both sides. The British had suffered 5,259 casualties and the Americans 1,649. German killed, wounded, and missing were 3,472. The

next target was to secure Naples. Salerno was a clear indication that much hard fighting lay ahead.

Troy D. Morgan and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Clark, Mark Wayne; Glide Bombs; Italy Campaign; Kesselring, Albert; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law

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Santa Cruz Islands, Battle of the (26–27 October 1942)

Important carrier battle off the Santa Cruz Islands between the United States and Japan. The Battle of the Santa Cruz Islands was actually the fourth in a series of sea battles for control of the Solomon Islands. Japanese land forces on Guadalcanal were fighting to regain Henderson Field, and Japanese naval forces sought to establish air supremacy there. The battle occurred off the Santa Cruz Islands some 250 miles east of the Solomons. Vice Admiral William F. Halsey commanded U.S. South Pacific Forces; Rear Admiral Thomas C. Kincaid had operational command of the *Hornet* and *Enterprise*, the only two U.S. aircraft carriers left in the Pacific Theater. Vice Admiral Kondō Nobutake's task force, centered on carriers *Shokaku*, *Zuiho*, *Junyo*, and *Zuikaku*, sought to gain air superiority over Guadalcanal, assisting Japanese land forces in retaking Henderson Field.

On 26 October, Halsey moved to block the Japanese advance. He initiated the battle when he ordered U.S. naval

units to search for the Japanese. U.S. reconnaissance aircraft spotted the Japanese first, and at 7:40 A.M. dive-bombers from the *Enterprise* damaged the light Japanese carrier *Zuiho*. Japan countered with 62 Kate torpedo planes from *Shokaku* and 21 Zero fighters from *Zuikaku* and *Zuiho*. At 7:45 A.M., Kincaid sent out another force of 19 Wildcat fighters, 29 SBD dive-bombers, and 25 TBF torpedo planes.

The two strike forces spotted one another while heading toward their respective targets. Zeros attacked the *Enterprise* strike force and destroyed 8 U.S. planes without loss. After this brief fight, the Japanese aircraft continued toward the American carriers. Unfortunately for the Americans, the *Hornet*'s combat air patrol had been vectored to the wrong location. Japanese torpedo planes and dive-bombers attacked *Hornet* simultaneously. The carrier absorbed 4 bombs, 2 torpedoes, and a Japanese plane that crashed through the flight deck, whereon 2 of its bombs detonated. The *Hornet* was left dead in the water. Thirty-eight of 53 Japanese aircraft were shot down. On the other hand, U.S. aircraft hit *Shokaku*, forcing her out of the fight, and nearly hit *Zuikaku*. The American planes also damaged the heavy cruiser *Tone*.



Puffs of flak fill the sky as a Japanese bomb splashes astern of a U.S. carrier and the enemy plane pulls out of its dive above the carrier during the battle of Santa Cruz, 26 October 1942. (National Archives)

The *Hornet's* second wave of aircraft attacked the heavy cruiser *Chikuma* and killed many of her crew at their antiaircraft stations. The second Japanese strike from *Zuikaku*, divided because the Kate torpedo planes had to rearm, attacked the destroyer *Porter* at 10:00 A.M., leaving her dead in the water. They then struck the carrier *Enterprise*, which had escaped the first attack. At 10:17 A.M., 4 Japanese bombs hit the *Enterprise's* port bow and forward elevator. Thirty minutes later, the second part of the strike force struck the *Enterprise* again, with minimal success because of deadly antiaircraft fire, much of it from the battleship *South Dakota*. Japanese planes also struck the *San Juan*, but the U.S. cruiser sustained little damage. Twenty-four of 44 aircraft in the 2 Japanese strike units were shot down.

By the end of the day, the *Hornet* lay dead in the water and the *Enterprise* was out of action. Halsey now ordered a withdrawal to preserve the *Enterprise*, and Kondō pursued. The *Hornet* was under tow at 2:55 P.M. when *Junyo's* second strike wave of Kates attacked and severely damaged her. Kincaid ordered the ship scuttled. Despite 8 American torpedo hits, the carrier was still afloat when 2 Japanese destroyers finally sank her with Long Lance torpedoes at 1:35 A.M. on 27 October. Kondō then called off the pursuit.

During the withdrawal, U.S. planes hit both the Japanese destroyer *Teruzuki* and the carrier *Junyo*. The destroyer *Mahan* was another casualty of the battle. She collided with the battleship *South Dakota* and had to go to a dockyard. Kondō might have achieved a more decisive victory had he continued the pursuit, as Halsey probably would have been forced to stand and fight to protect the damaged *Enterprise*.

During the Battle of Santa Cruz, the Japanese lost 99 aircraft. Sixty-eight pilots and 77 crewmen were killed. Aircrew losses continued to affect Japan, which, unlike the United States, had no effective pilot replacement system. *Zuikaku*, *Zuiho*, and *Chikuma* were all out of action for many weeks. On the other hand, the United States lost the *Hornet* and the destroyer *Porter* (torpedoed by a Japanese submarine, probably the *I-21*), and the *Enterprise* was damaged, although she continued limited service off Guadalcanal while undergoing repairs. Eighty U.S. aircraft, 18 pilots, and 8 crewmen were lost. Although on paper the Battle of Santa Cruz was a defeat for the United States, it prevented the Japanese from disrupting U.S. land operations on Guadalcanal.

Alexander D. Samms

See also

Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Kincaid, Thomas Cassin; Nagumo Chūichi

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Sasaki Toichi (1886–1955)

Japanese army general. Born in Ehime Prefecture on 27 January 1886, Sasaki Toichi graduated from the Military Academy in 1905 and the War College in 1917. From 1919 to 1921, he served on the staff of the Siberian Expeditionary Army. From 1922 to 1924, he was assigned as resident officer in Guandong (Kwantung), where he developed a close relationship with Sun Yat Sen (Sun Wen) and Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek). In 1926, Sasaki was appointed assistant military attaché in China, and in 1927, he was assigned as resident officer in Nanjing (Nanking). That same year, he took part in an operation that overthrew the military government in Beijing (Peking) that was carried out by the revolutionary government at Guandong. Sasaki had hoped the Nationalist Party would be able to achieve national reunification and sovereignty of China, establishing a cooperative relationship with Japan, but he became disillusioned when Nationalist forces massacred Japanese citizens and ransacked their residences in Nanjing in 1927 and in Jinan (Tsinan) in 1928.

In 1930, Sasaki was promoted to colonel and assigned to command the 18th Infantry Regiment. Following the Second Shanghai Incident, he was assigned to the staff of the Shanghai Expeditionary Army. In 1932, he was appointed military adviser to the Japanese puppet government of Manchouguo (Manchukuo). He next became chief adviser in 1934 and contributed to improvements in the puppet government's armed forces. Promoted to major general in 1935, Sasaki took command of the 30th Infantry Brigade in 1937. In 1938, he was promoted to lieutenant general and commanded the Military Police Corps in China. The next year, he took command of the Japanese 10th Division. In April 1941, he went on the reserve list. Recalled in July 1945, he was appointed commander of the 149th Division in China. After the war, he was arrested on charges of war crimes. Sasaki was tried and convicted and died in prison in Fushun, China, on 30 May 1955.

Kita Yoshito

See also

Jiang Jieshi; Matsui Iwane

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Saukel, Fritz (1894–1946)

German plenipotentiary for labor. Born on 27 October 1894 in Hassfurt, Bavaria, Fritz Saukel had only a secondary education before working in the merchant marine. Taken prisoner by the French in 1914 during World War I, he was not released until November 1919. Saukel joined the Nazi Party in 1923 and became Gauleiter (district leader) of Thuringia in 1927, Reich governor in 1933, and Reich defense commissioner for the Kassel Military District in 1940. He also was a Schutzstaffel (SS)-Obergruppenführer without function.

Hitler recognized Saukel's blind obedience and fanaticism and rewarded him with the position of plenipotentiary general for labor mobilization in March 1942. Saukel overhauled the erratic administration and applied an efficient system based on the forced deportation of workers from the occupied territories to Germany to work in the war machine. Saukel boasted openly that of 5 million foreign workers he had secured for the Reich, only 200,000 had come voluntarily. He fully supported the brutal methods by which they were relocated and the terrible conditions in which they lived and worked.

Arrested at the end of the war, Saukel was brought to trial at the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg on charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity. Found guilty on 1 October 1946, he was hanged at Nuremberg on 16 October.

Annette Richardson

See also

Hitler, Adolf; International Military Tribunal: The Nuremberg Trials; Speer, Albert

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Savo Island, Battle of (9 August 1942)

Naval battle in the long struggle between the Japanese and the Americans for control of the Solomon Islands. On 7 August 1942, to protect the lines of communication between the United States and Australia, U.S. Marines landed on Guadalcanal and captured a nearly complete Japanese airfield. U.S.

Vice Admiral Frank Jack Fletcher commanded the landing support force. It included the aircraft carriers *Saratoga*, *Wasp*, and *Enterprise*, the battleship *North Carolina*, 5 heavy cruisers, 1 light cruiser, 16 destroyers, and 3 oilers. Rear Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner had command of the amphibious force of some 75 transports and support vessels. On the evening of 8 August, claiming inadequate fuel, Fletcher withdrew his carriers. Two days of air operations had also reduced his air strength by 21 percent, but the principal reason for the decision was that Fletcher feared the loss of his carriers in the restricted waters surrounding Guadalcanal.

British Rear Admiral Victor Crutchley commanded the screening force of cruisers and destroyers. Crutchley deployed his ships in four main groups on the night of 8–9 August to protect the transports. The U.S. cruiser *Chicago* and destroyers *Bagley* and *Patterson*, along with the Australian cruisers *Australia* and *Canberra*, patrolled the area south of Savo Island. The U.S. cruisers *Vincennes*, *Astoria*, and *Quincy* and the destroyers *Helm* and *Wilson* patrolled east of Savo Island. The U.S. cruiser *San Juan*, destroyers *Monssen* and *Buchanan*, and the Australian cruiser *Hobart* patrolled between Guadalcanal and Florida Island. A final group, mostly destroyers, remained near the transports. Finally, the American destroyers *Blue* and *Ralph Talbot* individually acted as pickets seaward of Savo Island. Within hours of the U.S. landings on 7 August, Japanese Vice Admiral Mikawa Gunichi sailed from Rabaul with the heavy cruisers *Chokai*, *Aoba*, *Furutaka*, *Kako*, and *Kinugasa* along with the light cruisers *Yubari* and *Tenryu* and the destroyer *Yunagi* to contest the Allies and attempt to destroy the transports at the landing site.

At 10:45 P.M. on 8 August, Turner called a meeting to discuss the withdrawal of Fletcher's carriers. Crutchley sailed to the meeting in the *Australia*, signaling Captain Howard D. Bode of the *Chicago* that he had tactical command. Bode never received the message. Shortly after midnight, the Japanese superior ability in night operations was confirmed when Mikawa's force slipped past the U.S. destroyer pickets undetected. The Japanese then attacked at high speed and in column. At 1:40 A.M., the *Patterson* was struck by a shell, opening the battle. Over the course of 3 minutes, the *Canberra* absorbed 24 large-caliber shells and 2 torpedo hits and was put out of the action without firing a shot. The ship sank the next day. The *Chicago* was next. A torpedo struck her bow, and a shell hit the foremast. Confused as to his position, Bode ordered the *Chicago* away from the Japanese.

Unintentionally, the Japanese then divided into 2 nearly equally strong formations. Both attacked the *Vincennes* group. In 22 minutes, all 3 U.S. cruisers were out of action, and by the next day all had sunk. Over the course of the battle, the Japanese also damaged the destroyer *Ralph Talbot*. The destroyer *Jarvis*, which had been damaged the preceding day in an air attack, sustained further punishment during the

battle. Japanese planes sank her on 9 August as she limped to Australia. At 2:40 A.M., Mikawa withdrew without attacking the transports at the landing site, which would have had a much more decisive impact on the battle for Guadalcanal. Mikawa feared reprisals from Allied aircraft, not knowing that Fletcher had already departed. In only half an hour, the Allies lost 4 heavy cruisers and 1 destroyer. Three other ships were heavily damaged; 1,023 men were dead and another 709 wounded. In return, the Japanese ships suffered some 10 shell hits, 38 dead, and 33 wounded. The only major Japanese loss came on the return, when the U.S. submarine S-38 torpedoed and sank the *Kako* as she was about to enter Kavieng harbor.

Several causes led to the Allied disaster in the Battle of Savo Island. First, the Allies ignored reports from an Australian patrol plane that had spotted Mikawa's group on 8 August and other intelligence indicating a Japanese response to the landings. Furthermore, Crutchley issued patrol plans leaving great gaps that radar could not cover in the restricted waters around Savo Island. Additionally, there was a lack of communication among the Allied ships. Each group was unaware of the location of the others. Allied sailors were also exhausted after two days at general quarters. In contrast, Mikawa concentrated his forces. Japanese sailors were fresh and superbly trained in night-fighting techniques.

There were multiple inquiries into the disaster, but none laid the blame on any one individual. Scrutiny fell on Bode, but he was not punished. Nevertheless, he committed suicide in 1943. The Battle of Savo Island was, arguably, the worst defeat ever inflicted on the U.S. Navy in a fair fight.

Rodney Madison

See also

Fletcher, Frank Jack; Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign; Southwest Pacific Theater; Turner, Richmond Kelly

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of Antwerp. On 4 September, after the German Fifteenth Army escaped from the Breskens pocket (formed on the mainland north of the Leopold Canal and west of Antwerp), it was disposed to hold the Scheldt estuary and prevent the Allies from opening Antwerp. German commander General Gustav von Zagen left only a rearguard on the mainland and concentrated his strength on the South Beveland and Walcheren Island, both of which formed the northern boundary of the estuary. In late September, Montgomery assigned clearing the Scheldt to the First Canadian Army, which was already engaged in taking the Channel ports, including Boulogne and Calais.

The British attacks to clear the Scheldt began in October. Canadian Lieutenant General Guy Simonds, commanding the First Canadian Army, designed the plan. Simonds had been temporarily elevated from command of the II Canadian Corps because of the illness of lieutenant general (promoted to general on 14 November) Henry Crerar. A key element in Simonds's plan was the destruction of dikes that protected Walcheren from the North Sea. This action flooded most of the island and restricted German movement and communications. Also important to the plan was the use of special equipment, including flamethrower "wasps" (converted universal carriers) and "buffaloes" (amphibious vehicles).

Simonds's plan had three phases. The first called for the 2nd Canadian Infantry Division to seal off South Beveland while the I British Corps drove northeast to cover the flanks of the II Canadian Corps and the Second British Army. The 3rd Canadian Infantry Division cleared the Breskens pocket in nearly a month of tough fighting. In the second phase, the 2nd Canadian Division and the Scottish 52nd Lowland Division took South Beveland, reaching the causeway to Walcheren at the end of October. Three attempts by the Canadians to cross the causeway ended in failure, although one did gain the other side. The Scottish Division then relieved the exhausted Canadians. In the final phase that began on 1 November, commandos amphibiously assaulted the south and west ends of Walcheren, supported by the 52nd Division in the south, which also attacked from the east. It took a week to clear all pockets of German resistance, but the parts of the island that commanded the Scheldt were taken on 3 November. Throughout the campaign, the Germans were both ably led and entrenched, providing a tough fight for the Canadians and British.

The battles to clear the Scheldt estuary cost the Allies 13,000 casualties. The first oceangoing ships arrived on 29 November. Denying the Allies use of the port for nearly three months delayed the defeat of Germany considerably. The Germans also harassed Antwerp with V-1 buzz bombs and V-2 rockets, which, however, had little effect on port operations beyond the decision to transfer ammunition resupply to other ports. The terror weapons killed many civil-

Scheldt, Battles (October–November 1944)

A series of battles waged by British forces against German troops to gain control of the Scheldt estuary and open the port

ians and caused much damage to the city, however. Montgomery admitted after the war that delaying redirecting the full weight of his forces to clear the Scheldt until 16 October had been a mistake.

Britton W. MacDonald

See also

Antwerp, Battle of; Commandoes/Rangers; Crerar, Henry Duncan Graham; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Simonds, Guy Granville; V-1 Buzz Bomb; V-2 Rocket

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Schmid, Anton (1900–1942)

German army sergeant who was executed for assisting Jews during the Holocaust. Born in Vienna in 1900, Anton Schmid enlisted in the German army in 1938. Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union, he was assigned to the Vilnius ghetto in Lithuania in the autumn of 1941. In Vilnius, Schmid met many Jewish workers who were assigned to perform various tasks in and around his office. Shocked when he witnessed the execution of Jews a few miles from Vilnius in Ponary, Schmid resolved from that point to assist the Jews in any way possible.

Schmid hid Jews in three houses of which he had charge. He also did everything in his power to free people from the Lakishki jail. In addition, Schmid was involved with the Jewish underground, transporting members of the Resistance in his truck and supplying them with identity papers.

In January 1942, Schmid was arrested for assisting the Jews. On 25 February, he was brought before a military tribunal for his actions. Found guilty, Schmid was shot by a firing squad on 13 April 1942. Schmid is credited with saving the lives of more than 250 people. On 16 May 1967, the Israeli government posthumously awarded Schmid the "Righteous among the Nations" medal.

Craig S. Hamilton

See also

Holocaust, The; Resistance

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Scholl, Hans (1918–1944); Scholl, Sophie (1921–1944)

German resisters to the Third Reich. Hans Scholl was born on 28 September 1918. His sister, Sophie Scholl, was born on 9 May 1921 when their father, Robert Scholl, was mayor of Forchtenberg am Kocher. In late 1933, Hans Scholl joined the Hitler Youth, but he soon became disillusioned by the reality of National Socialism. In 1937, he and some of his friends were briefly jailed for "subversive activities" in the Jugendbewegung (Youth Movement).

Although Sophie joined the Bund deutscher Mädel (BdM, League of German Girls) at the age of 12, her initial enthusiasm gradually gave way to criticism. She was aware of the dissenting political views of her father, of friends, and also of some teachers. The arrest of her brother and his friends in 1937 left a strong impression on her.

In March 1937, Hans graduated from secondary school and was drafted into the Reichsarbeitsdienst (RAD, National Labor Service). Two years of military service with a cavalry unit in Bad Cannstatt followed. As a member of the armed forces, Hans began studying medicine at the University of Munich in 1939.

In the spring of 1940, Sophie Scholl became a kindergarten teacher at the Fröbel Institute in Ulm-Söflingen. She had chosen this profession hoping it would be recognized as alternate service to the RAD, membership in which was a prerequisite for university admission. However, from the spring of 1941, she served six months of auxiliary war service as a nursery teacher, and the militaristic regimen of the Labor Service convinced her to practice passive resistance.

In the summer of 1940, Hans was sent as a member of the student medical corps with the German army when it invaded France. Later that year, he returned to Munich, where he joined with Christoph Probst, Kurt Huber, Alexander Schmorell, Willi Graf, and Jürgen Wittenstein to form the "White Rose," a resistance group. These friends, later joined by popular philosophy professor Kurt Huber, formed the heart of the group. From the end of July to October 1940, Hans Scholl served as a medic on the Eastern Front.

In May 1942, Sophie joined Hans at the University of Munich as a student of biology and philosophy, and she insisted on being included in the White Rose. The group's activities included publishing leaflets calling for the restoration of democracy and social justice. During the summer of 1942, the Scholls' father was imprisoned for making a critical remark about Hitler to an employee.

Hans Scholl and Alex Schmorell wrote and duplicated "Leaflets of the White Rose," which were scathing in their criticism of Germans who did nothing to oppose the Third Reich. Three more leaflets headed "Leaflets of the Resistance" were issued, each more hard-hitting than the last. The initial two called for passive resistance in a largely abstract and philosophical way. The third essay advocated specific measures such as sabotage of armament plants, obstruction of scientific research benefiting the war effort, and boycotts of cultural institutions that enhanced the Nazi image.

After publication of the fourth pamphlet, the White Rose suspended activities because Hans Scholl, Schmorell, Graf, and Wittenstein were sent as part of a student medical unit to the Eastern Front. Their experiences in this campaign only hardened their resolve, and when they returned to Munich, they expanded the activities of the White Rose to other German universities. The leaflets were at first sent anonymously to people all over Germany. Two final leaflets appeared, one in January and the last in mid-February 1943.

All of these activities attracted the attention of the Gestapo, which found it relatively easy to track down the perpetrators. Sophie was arrested on 18 February 1943 while distributing the sixth leaflet at the University of Munich. On 22 February, Sophie, Hans, and their friend Christoph Probst were condemned to death and executed by guillotine a few hours later. Both Scholls were later hailed as martyrs by the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

Peter Overlack

See also

Catholic Church and the War; Resistance

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Scholl, Sophie

See Scholl, Hans; Scholl, Sophie.

Schörner, Ferdinand (1892–1973)

German field marshal. Born in Munich on 12 May 1892, Ferdinand Schörner served in the Bavarian army before attending the universities of Munich, Lausanne, and Grenoble.

Commissioned an officer in October 1914, Schörner specialized in mountain warfare. He served on both the Italian and Western Fronts in World War I and was wounded. Following the war, he fought with the Freikorps before joining the Reichswehr. Although Schörner served on the General Staff, he much preferred line service.

Lieutenant Colonel Schörner took command of the 98th Mountain Regiment in 1937. Promoted to the rank of colonel in 1939, he led his unit in the invasion of Poland in September 1939. He then commanded the 6th Mountain Division in the invasion of France and the Low Countries in May 1940. Promoted to Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general) in August, he led the same unit in the April 1941 German invasion of Greece. Schörner's division was then transferred to the Arctic in 1941 and 1942. There he took command of Mountain Corps Norway in January 1942 as a Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general). He was promoted to the rank of general of mountain troops, and his force was reorganized as the XIX Mountain Corps in June 1942. Transferred to south Russia in October 1943, Schörner took charge of Army Detachment Nikopol. Following a brief period in staff work with the High Command in March 1944, Schörner was promoted to full general. He commanded Army Group South Ukraine from March to July 1944 and Army Group North from July 1944 to January 1945.

Schörner commanded Army Group Center from January to May 1945, which he managed to keep largely intact until Germany's surrender. Promoted to field marshal in April 1945 and named in Adolf Hitler's testament to succeed Hitler as head of the Wehrmacht, Schörner caused several of his own men to be executed for cowardice. He was one of the most brutal of German army generals.

Held prisoner by the Soviets after the war, Schörner was sentenced to 25 years in prison as a war criminal, but he was released in January 1955. He returned to the Federal Republic of Germany, where he found himself accused by the Association of Returned Prisoners of War and his former chief of staff, Generalleutnant Oldwig von Narzmer, with ordering the execution of thousands of German soldiers in drumhead court-martial. In 1957, a Munich court found him guilty and sentenced him to four and a half years in prison and loss of his military pension for executing without trial a soldier found drunk at the wheel of an army truck. Veterans of the 6th Mountain Division raised the sum lost in the pension and more to give to their former commander. Following his release, Schörner lived in Munich, where he died on 2 July 1973.

Spencer C. Tucker and John P. Vanzo

See also

Eastern Front; France, Battle for; Greece Campaign (April 1941); Hitler, Adolf; Poland Campaign

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Schuschnigg, Kurt von (1897–1977)

Austrian chancellor. Born in Riva (Lake Garda, today Italy) on 14 December 1897, Kurt von Schuschnigg fought in the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I. After the war, he studied law at the University of Innsbruck and became a lawyer. Schuschnigg joined the Christian Social Party and was elected to the legislature in 1927.

In 1932, Schuschnigg was appointed minister of justice. The following year, he also became minister of education in Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss's cabinet. When Dollfuss was assassinated in July 1934, Schuschnigg became his successor. He attempted to eliminate the threat from the Heimwehr, a paramilitary rightist defense force, by disbanding it. But it was the illegal Austrian Nazi Party that represented the real danger for his government and Austria's independence. Continuing the authoritarian course of his predecessor, Schuschnigg

rejected any reconciliation with the Social Democrats to establish a common defense against German aspirations for Anschluss (union with Austria). Furthermore, Schuschnigg's sympathies with the Habsburg dynasty isolated his country among the European democracies. The situation turned hopeless when Benito Mussolini, Austria's former protector, aligned himself with Germany in the Axis alliance.

Schuschnigg capitulated to Adolf Hitler during a meeting at Berchtesgaden in February 1938. He had to promise to allow the Austrian Nazi Party a legal existence. In addition, he was forced to incorporate Nazis into his government, among them Arthur Seyss-Inquart as minister of the interior. A few days later, the Nazis began a seizure of power in the provinces. On 9 March 1938, Schuschnigg attempted to regain control by arranging for a plebiscite on Austrian independence to be held on 13 March. The German Wehrmacht invaded two days before the scheduled plebiscite, and under heavy German pressure, Schuschnigg was forced to resign and to call publicly for no resistance to the invasion.

Schuschnigg was subsequently arrested and sent to Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where he and his family received unusually comfortable treatment until they were liberated in May 1945. Both the Allies and the new Austrian government prohibited his return to Austria. Schuschnigg was a



Austrian Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg addresses a delegation of Boy Scouts in front of the Chancellery in Vienna. An opponent of Hitler's regime, he was imprisoned by the Nazis for the duration of the war. (Photo by Three Lions/Getty Images)

professor of international law at Saint Louis University in the United States from 1948 to 1967. He died in Mutters, Austria, on 18 November 1977.

Martin Moll

See also

Austria; Mussolini, Benito

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Schutzstaffel

See Waffen-SS.

Schweinfurt and Regensburg Raids (1943)

The attack by the U.S. Eighth Air Force on Schweinfurt and Regensburg on 17 August 1943 and the follow-up mission against Schweinfurt on 14 October 1943 were designed to halt the German war economy and vindicate U.S. commitment to unescorted daylight precision bombing. Instead, German recovery efforts and dispersal negated the impact of the attacks on the important ball-bearing plants in Schweinfurt, and Eighth Air Force aircraft losses were so high that deep-penetration missions were suspended until the bomber force could be reconstituted and long-range escort fighters could be obtained.

Lieutenant General Ira Eaker's Eighth Air Force celebrated the first anniversary of American heavy bomber operations from England in August by striking the two most critical targets on their objective list, the anti-friction-bearing



U.S. Army Air Forces B-17 bomber over Regensburg, Germany, 17 August 1943. (Bettmann/Corbis)

plants at Schweinfurt and the large Messerschmitt aircraft factory complex at Regensburg. This was the deepest penetration into Germany flown to date by U.S. bombers. The attack plan was designed to force the German fighters to meet nearly simultaneous attacks. The 3rd Bombardment Division, commanded by Brigadier General Curtis LeMay, was supposed to take off first, hit Regensburg, and then proceed to landing fields in North Africa. The 1st Bombardment Division, commanded by Brigadier General Bob Williams, was to follow about 30 minutes later; the hope was it would find its route to Schweinfurt unobstructed by enemy fighters lured away by LeMay's force.

Heavy fog ruined the well-laid plans. Because of special training and innovative assembly techniques, the 3rd Division took off in the thick cloud cover, but the 1st Division did not. LeMay's bombers could not wait around and were sent off to Regensburg. The other force did not get airborne for more than 3 hours, giving defending German fighters a chance to refuel and rearm. Escorting P-47s did not have the range to protect the bombers past Aachen on the German border, and the B-17s suffered terribly. Of the 376 that began the raid, 60 were shot down; 24 of those belonged to LeMay. Of the 146 aircraft LeMay took to Regensburg, only about half were able to fly back from North Africa. But the feisty air leader did attack Bordeaux on the way home. Bombing at Regensburg had inflicted some damage on most key buildings, but results at Schweinfurt were not as satisfactory, although some essential machinery was destroyed.

Plans for the return to Schweinfurt on 14 October were just as complicated and also were foiled by weather. A total of 149 B-17s from the 1st Division and 142 from the 3rd Division would cross enemy defenses about 30 miles apart while a third force of B-24s attacked from the south. The B-24s could not assemble properly because of bad weather and flew an uneventful feint instead. The B-17s met an unusually well-coordinated fighter defense using rockets, cannons, and bombs. The attacking force lost 59 bombers over Germany. Another bomber ditched in the English Channel, and 5 others were abandoned over England or crashed on landing. Of the 257 B-17s that made it into Germany, only 50 were not damaged by flak or fighters.

The 14 October attack caused the most damage to the ball-bearing plants of any of the 16 such U.S. Army Air Forces missions during the war. Although Allied leaders exaggerated their success, the 10 percent damage inflicted on the factories inspired the Germans to diversify and disperse their ball-bearing facilities. More important was the effect of the raid on the American bomber force. Leaders realized they could not sustain such heavy losses, and deep-penetration raids were suspended while force strength was rebuilt and long-range fighter escorts were developed. By the time the Eighth Air Force returned to Schweinfurt four months later, its

efforts to destroy the dispersed and reorganized industry were doomed to failure.

Conrad C. Crane

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; "Big Week" Air Battle; Eaker, Ira Clarence; LeMay, Curtis Emerson; Strategic Bombing

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SEA LION, Operation (Planning, 1940)

German preparations for an invasion of Britain. As early as November 1939, the commander of the German navy, Grand Admiral Erich Raeder, had ordered a study of the feasibility of a landing in Britain. The study was to detail the problems the small German navy would confront in conducting an invasion in the face of the overwhelming superiority of the Royal Navy. Following the successful German occupation of Norway and the progress of the German army against France, Raeder ordered a second study and presented the results to a surprised Adolf Hitler on 4 June 1940. The Führer had not yet considered the invasion of England as a possibility.

Raeder's purpose in this case, unlike his energetic promotion of the occupation of Norway (Operation WESER), was to forestall any attempt by others to influence Hitler for a rash descent on Britain. The Naval Command still had reservations against an invasion, especially after heavy losses in the Norwegian Campaign, and Raeder continued to argue that the primary focus should remain on the surface, air, and U-boat campaign against Britain's maritime supply lines. Even with Germany's improved geographic position as a consequence of its acquisition of the French Atlantic and Channel ports, available sealift transport and landing craft were both lacking.

With the defeat of France, Hitler still held to his idea that the British would see reason and be forced to the peace table. He also feared that a total defeat of England would benefit the United States and Japan. The failure of London to respond to Hitler's peace feelers, however, led him to issue a directive on 2 July to initiate immediate preparations for an invasion. On 16 July, Hitler issued Directive 16, "On Preparation for a Landing Operation against England," which placed the navy primarily in a transport role. The key precondition for Operation SEA LION, as the invasion of Britain was to be known, projected for 15 September 1940, was German air superiority.

The German army's demand for a broad-front landing caused an intense debate with naval leaders, who preferred a narrow-front approach. Both services vigorously sought to

persuade Hitler to support their proposal. Initially, the army won support for its plans, but a compromise was eventually reached on 26 August. The army also had no real enthusiasm for an enterprise that, as Raeder lectured them, was not another river crossing. In its planning, the navy estimated that convoying 13 divisions in the initial assault wave against Britain would require 155 transports and more than 3,000 smaller craft: 1,720 barges, 470 tugs, and 1,160 motorboats. Conflicting interests and rivalries prevented any real collaboration among the army, navy, and air force.

The massive preparations undertaken by the navy to assemble the necessary landing craft have been well documented and indicate that the navy did its best to comply with the Führer's decision. However, the debate still lingers as to whether *SEA LION* was simply a propaganda ploy and a diversion for other military operations, especially as Hitler was already contemplating an invasion of the Soviet Union. Certainly, Raeder was sceptical, and he persistently pointed out the impact of the invasion preparations on the navy and maritime transportation, as well as the risks of mounting an operation and supplying an invasion force of at least 40 divisions in waters controlled by the enemy. For Raeder, *SEA LION* remained a last resort, but he loyally continued preparations. Even as he began to sense Hitler's equivocation over *SEA LION*, Raeder spoke positively of the chances for a successful landing.

On 1 August 1940, a Hitler directive ordered the Luftwaffe to switch its preinvasion tactics to a strategic air offensive and to be prepared to switch targets at any time if a new invasion date was set. The failure of the Luftwaffe to control the skies over Britain and the approach of bad weather resulted in the decision to indefinitely postpone the invasion. On 12 October, *SEA LION* was definitively deferred until the spring of 1941. Until 1942, it continued to serve as a deception.

For Hitler, *SEA LION* became a means of psychological warfare. Raeder continued to report on the navy's ongoing planning efforts (e.g., the development of new landing craft), but, as he later reflected, these had been to no effect and had needlessly tied up resources. Yet *SEA LION* had allowed Raeder to keep the navy and its needs in front of the Führer. If the navy's grand building plans in the aftermath of a defeat of the Soviet Union had been successful, no direct attack on Britain would have been necessary.

Keith W. Bird

See also

Britain, Battle of; Germany, Navy; Hitler, Adolf; Raeder, Erich

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Seabees

U.S. Navy Construction Battalions. Organized during the opening days of U.S. involvement in the war, the Seabees built the infrastructure that enabled the navy to extend its operations globally during World War II. Seabees turned the jungles of the Pacific islands into the docks and air bases that allowed the United States to carry out its island-hopping and leapfrogging strategies and to conduct the strategic bombing of Japan.

As U.S. involvement in the war approached in 1941, Rear Admiral Ben Moreell saw that the continued construction of overseas bases, which would be essential to the United States in the event of war with Japan, would be in jeopardy because the civilian crews, which were prohibited from carrying weapons by international law, were at risk from enemy attack. As a solution, he advocated institution of an organization composed of skilled construction laborers who were naval personnel. After the labor unions protested that these battalions would take work away from civilian construction workers, Moreell agreed that his units would only serve overseas, leaving stateside construction for civilian contractors.

On 2 January 1942, Congress authorized the organization of Naval Construction Battalions, the nickname "Seabee" being derived from the initials. The Seabee symbol was a flying fighting bee wearing a sailor cap and carrying a machine gun, wrench, and hammer. The slogan of the Seabees was *Construimus, Batiumus* (we build, we fight).

In a change from other navy units, Seabees were commanded by officers of the Civil Engineering Corps (CEC) who were trained for construction work. The 250,000 men and 8,000 officers who became Seabees were the men who had built American subways and skyscrapers. Seabees were recruited based on their civilian skills and experience in more than 60 skilled trades. Because experience was the key factor, normal physical standards applied to fighting men were relaxed. Seabees ranged in age from 18 to 50, with the average being 37. There were reports that some Seabees were as old as 60. Seabees also received higher pay than the average enlisted man; their pay was equivalent at least to that of petty officers. Because their primary mission was to build, not fight, the Seabees spent only three weeks at boot camp and received only basic small-arms training.

Seabees served in all the war theaters and took part in most of the major operations, but the majority of them served in the South Pacific Theater. They built new naval bases and additions to existing ones, docks, staging facilities, warehouses, hospitals, roads, and airstrips. Aided by such innovations as Marston mats, Quonset huts, and prefabricated buildings, Seabee units were able to construct large air bases



The Black Seabees, members of Naval Construction Battalions, whose training centers were at Camp Allen and Camp Bradford, near Norfolk, Virginia, ca. 1942. Training included landing tactics as well as general military drills. (National Archives)

in a matter of days. Special battalions were also organized, known as Seabee Special Battalions. The first Seabee Special Battalion was composed of enlisted men trained as stevedores and longshoremen to unload the ships in combat zones. Among other units were those that maintained the bases, repaired tires, built pontoon bridges, drove trucks, and handled the transportation and storage of fuel. Although they were not organized as a fighting unit, individual Seabees received 33 Silver Stars and 5 Navy Crosses during the war.

Pamela Feltus

See also

Admiralty Islands Campaign; Gilbert Islands Campaign; Logistics, Allied; Mariana Islands, Naval Campaign; Marshall Islands, Naval Campaign; Moreell, Ben; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign; Southwest Pacific Theater; Tinian, U.S. Invasion of; Two-Ocean Navy Program; United States, Navy

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Sedan, Battle of (14 May 1940)

Site of the German army breakthrough during the Battle for France on 14 May 1940. Located north of the Maginot Line and astride the Meuse River, the city of Sedan was in a poorly defended sector. It served as the pivot point for the German envelopment of Allied forces in the Low Countries under the German operations plan *SICHELSCHNITT* (CUT OF THE SICKLE).

While the German attack into the Low Countries drew the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) and principal French armies into Belgium, Panzer Group Paul von Kleist quietly moved through the Ardennes with the first units of general of panzer troops Heinz Guderian's XIX Panzer Corps arriving opposite at Sedan on the evening of 12 May. General Charles Huntziger's French Second Army defended the Sedan vicinity, but it was not unduly alarmed by the German arrival.

Preceded by a very accurate and demoralizing five-hour bombing attack of French defensive positions conducted principally by Ju-87 Stuka dive-bombers, on 13 May German infantry and motorcyclists succeeded in crossing the Meuse east and west of Sedan. The French defenders, consisting

mostly of new reservists, were surprised by the rapid German river crossing. Despite the lack of reserves and insufficient artillery and air support, the French resisted fiercely, but they were gradually driven back. By the end of 13 May, the Germans had secured a bridgehead 3 miles wide and 6 miles deep. German military engineers worked feverishly to construct pontoon bridges and tank ferries.

The commander of the French 55th Infantry Division at Sedan, Général de Division Henri Jean Lafontaine, remained calm and prepared to continue the fight. Unfortunately, others were not so determined. To the north, General André Georges Corap's French Ninth Army had already retreated, leaving the Second Army's flank exposed. Within the French Second Army, some commanders, believing that the Germans had already penetrated the French positions, ordered their units to retreat. The retreat of these units started a panic within the French forces. Despite this, the French sent two tank battalions and two infantry regiments to counterattack the bridgehead. The French attempted a two-pronged counterattack on 14 May with their 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Armored Divisions, but only the 3rd was able to reach a part of Guderian's forces. The French armored unit lacked the tactical flexibility to mount an effective attack and suffered heavy casualties, not to German armor but to the antitank guns of the German assault engineers. After losing half of their tanks, the French withdrew. Repeated air attacks by French and British bombers throughout the day achieved little and brought heavy air losses for the attackers.

By the end of 14 May, the French defenders were in complete disarray. The French 55th and 71st Infantry Divisions sustained heavy casualties and fled the battlefield, causing panic in the neighboring French X Corps. The German bridgehead was 30 miles wide and 15 miles deep. The Germans also held the key terrain, which denied the French the ability to mount an effective counterattack.

During the course of the battle, the realistic training and combat experience of the German forces proved decisive. German commanders were aggressive and rapidly pursued any advantage they discovered. Their use of combined arms gave them an unmatched tactical flexibility and agility and allowed them to constantly outmaneuver and destroy the French forces piecemeal. By 15 May, Guderian's forces were across the Meuse River in strength and ready to exploit the opening they had punched in the French defenses.

C. J. Horn

See also

France, Battle for; Guderian, Heinz; Kleist, Paul Ludwig Ewald von; Maginot Line; Manstein, Fritz Erich von; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; SICHELSCHNITT, Operation

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Selassie, Haile, Emperor

See Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia.

Selective Service Act (Burke-Wadsworth Act, September 1940)

U.S. conscription legislation passed more than a year before American intervention in World War II. In mid-July 1940, German troops had overrun France and the Low Countries. During a speech accepting the Democratic nomination for a third term, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt expressed support for a draft bill that would make all young American men liable for military service. This action took some political courage, as Roosevelt was running for reelection in a campaign that would be dominated by the issue of peace. Although most Americans supported the Allies, they also feared intervention in the war and hoped that aid to Britain would suffice to check Germany. At this time, Roosevelt himself publicly argued that substantial increases in U.S. military forces were necessary primarily to defend U.S. interests in the Western Hemisphere and deter outside aggressors.



President Franklin D. Roosevelt signing the Burke-Wadsworth Selective Service Act into law, 1 January 1940. (Photo by Thomas D. Mcavoy/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

The eventual legislation's drafting and passage relied heavily on lobbying and publicity by a small group of dedicated pro-Allied eastern patricians who consciously looked back to the comparable efforts they had undertaken for World War I mobilization. They worked closely with sympathetic politicians, notably Senator Edward R. Burke and Congressman James W. Wadsworth, who sponsored the bill that eventually emerged, and consulted incessantly with military leaders, including army chief of staff General George C. Marshall. After considerable debate, Congress passed a Selective Service Act in September 1940, the first peacetime draft in U.S. history, to raise an army of no more than 900,000 men. Initially, the draft was restricted to men between the ages of 21 and 35. Terms of service were to be 12 months rather than the 18 months the army originally sought, and deployment was to be limited to the Western Hemisphere.

As the international situation deteriorated, in August 1941 Congress, by a one-vote margin, removed these restrictions. Between Pearl Harbor and 1945 almost 10 million Americans were inducted into the military under this legislation. The original Selective Service Act expired in 1947, although Cold War tensions caused the passage of replacement legislation in 1948.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Marshall, George Catlett; Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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Servicemen's Readjustment Act

See GI Bill.

Sevastopol, Battle for (30 October 1941–4 July 1942)

One of the great battles on the Eastern Front. Sevastopol is located on the southwestern tip of the Crimean Peninsula. In 1941, it was one of the world's most powerful fortresses and home to the Soviet Black Sea Fleet. Its location made any approach to the city difficult, and it was strongly defended by large concrete bunkers, minefields, and a dozen naval gun batteries containing 42 heavy guns ranging from 152 mm to 304 mm in caliber.

Securing Sevastopol was a major German military objective. By taking the entire Crimean Peninsula with Sevastopol,

Hitler sought to deny the Red Air Force the ability to strike the Ploesti oil fields, which were vital to the German war effort. He also hoped that destruction of the Soviet Black Sea Fleet might bring neutral Turkey into the war against the Soviet Union. Hitler was determined to have Sevastopol, but Stalin was just as determined to hold it. In Soviet hands, it could threaten any further German advance into the southern Soviet Union.

Sevastopol came under air attack in the first hours of the German invasion of 22 June 1941. From late September to mid-November, Lieutenant General Erich von Manstein's Eleventh Army overran the entire Crimean Peninsula save for Sevastopol. Meanwhile, during the last two weeks of October, the Soviets reinforced the base, sending to Sevastopol by sea from Odessa the remains of Major General I. Y. Petrov's Independent Maritime Army, some 32,000 men. Petrov, who took command of all ground forces at Sevastopol, immediately set his men to work building three defensive lines, the most northerly of which was 10 miles from the fortress. Vice Admiral F. S. Oktyabrsky had overall command of Sevastopol and used his cruisers and destroyers to bring in supplies from Novorossisk, which they could reach overnight. In all, Oktyabrsky commanded about 102,000 men. Manstein had the smallest German army on the Eastern Front—seven divisions comprising about 100,000 troops—but with more guns and many more aircraft. There were few tanks on either side.

The siege itself began on 30 October, when Manstein mounted the first effort to break through the well-fortified Soviet lines. After three weeks, the attack had barely penetrated the Soviet defenses and was halted. On 17 December, the Germans launched a second and more intense attack that breached the three defensive lines and pushed to within five miles of the city. The Soviets, however, fought for every inch of ground. The rainy and cold weather became a serious problem for the Germans, who were ill-prepared in summer uniforms.

The fighting was bitter, and tunnels deep below ground helped the Soviets survive. On 26 December, Soviet forces landed on the Kerch Peninsula to the east, diverting German troops. By mid-January, the Germans were again forced to discontinue the attack. For a few months that winter, the population of Sevastopol believed they had won the battle, and life in the city even began to return to some semblance of normalcy.

It was not to be. Stavka, the Soviet High Command, activated the Crimea Front under Major General D. T. Kozlov and ordered him to deploy three armies on the Kerch Peninsula, which was possible in winter when the Kerch Strait was frozen solid. When good weather returned in the spring, Manstein dealt with Kozlov, committing 5 German and 2 Romanian infantry divisions and a German panzer division against Kozlov's 21 infantry divisions and 4 tank brigades. A



A group of Soviet soldiers rests on a pile of rubble in the ruined streets of Sevastopol during the hard-fought battles there in 1942. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

German amphibious landing unhinged Kozlov's defenders and led to the surrender of more than 170,000 Red Army troops. Manstein now returned to the conquest of Sevastopol, which Hitler insisted be taken.

On 2 June, the Germans used 700 guns to begin the systematic reduction of the massive Soviet forts. The German artillery included some three dozen very heavy siege guns that had been specially developed to reduce the French Maginot Line, ranging in size from 280 mm to 800 mm (10.9 inches to 31 inches). The largest of these, the "Dora" Gustav Gun, was in fact the largest artillery piece of all time.

Manstein opened a third assault by four divisions from the north on 7 June, but it failed to break through the defenders, who from tunnels and caves continued an effective resistance with small arms. On 11 June, three German divisions attacked on the southeast but also made little headway. After two weeks of fighting, the Germans were on the shore of Severnaya Bay north of Sevastopol and at the Sapun Heights to the southeast. The last Soviet reinforcements arrived between 22 and 26 June. Thereafter, the only links between Sevastopol and the outside world were by submarine and air. Waves of German bombers leveled the city and naval base, in a week dropping some 50,000 bombs.

A surprise German assault by boat across the bay on 28 June shattered the defenders, and beginning on the night of 30 June, Admiral Oktyabrsky, Petrov, and a few hundred top Soviet military, party, and government personnel were evacuated by air. Fighting ended on 4 July 1942. The Germans claimed 92,000 Soviet prisoners taken, along with 460 guns, but they suffered 24,000 casualties of their own in the June and July fighting alone. An overjoyed Hitler promoted Manstein to field marshal. Manstein had indeed achieved much, given the difficult terrain and weather and the defenders' determination. Hitler then transferred Eleventh Army north to Leningrad, a decision that adversely affected the German army in its drive on Stalingrad later that year.

The Soviets retook Sevastopol in May 1944. Then the situation was reversed, with the German Seventeenth Army defending the city and the Soviets attacking. Although the Germans evacuated 38,000 troops by sea, the Soviets claimed 100,000 others killed and captured. After the long siege and this battle, little was left of Sevastopol itself.

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See also

Artillery Doctrine; Caucasus Campaign; Gustav Gun; Manstein, Fritz Erich von

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SEXTANT

See Cairo Conference.

Shanghai, Battle of (13 August–9 November 1937)

First major battle of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937–1945. Formal war between Japan and China developed rather unexpectedly from a clash on 7 July 1937 between Japanese and Chinese troops near the historic Lugouqiao (Lukouch'iao) Marco Polo Bridge, a major railroad artery 10 miles from Beijing (Peking) in Hebei (Hopeh) Province. Chinese and Japanese officials deadlocked when they tried to reach an appropriate settlement that would cover not just this particular incident, but govern overall Sino-Japanese relations.

As the situation deteriorated, Japanese troops seized control of the Beijing-Tianjin (Tientsin) area. On 7 August, Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), the Guomindang (GMD [Kuomintang, KMT], Nationalist) president of China, decided to retaliate by attacking Japanese forces stationed at the Japanese settlement in Shanghai in Jiangsu (Kiangsu), China's leading port and major international commercial center. Japan and several prominent western powers each administered part of an area of the city called the International Settlement, where their nationals enjoyed special extraterritorial privileges. To protect these rights, the Japanese government had installed its own garrison, a force expanded after the Lugouqiao/Marco Polo Bridge clash. Meanwhile, top Japanese naval officials urged forceful action in the Shanghai area, a hotbed of Chinese nationalist sentiment. At this sensitive time, moreover, several Japanese warships—together with naval vessels of other foreign nations—were moored in Shanghai harbor. The situation in Shanghai grew increasingly explosive, and on 9 August, Chinese soldiers killed two Japanese marines.

Jiang believed that the constricted conditions of street fighting in Shanghai would minimize Japanese superiority in logistics, tanks, and artillery and that the urban location

would prove more advantageous to his own forces than the northern Chinese plains, the focus to date of Sino-Japanese military confrontation. By diverting Japanese attention to central China, he also hoped to allow beleaguered northern Chinese military units to regroup. On 11 August, Jiang ordered his troops to positions within the greater Shanghai area, carefully avoiding the foreign sections of the city. Japanese commanders rushed reinforcements to Shanghai, but when battle began on 13 August, a mere 12,000 Japanese soldiers faced 80,000 Chinese. For a week, the battle hung in the balance, as Chinese units came close to driving their enemy into the Huangpu (Whampoa) River.

From 20 August, Japanese reinforcements arrived en masse by sea, landing on the banks of the Changjiang (Yangzi) River and mounting what quickly became a siege of Shanghai. The Chinese government likewise poured men into Shanghai, where heavy fighting continued for almost three months, as both sides struggled for control of the city. Combat was brutal. On 14 August, Chinese warplanes tried to bomb Japanese naval vessels in Shanghai harbor, but they only succeeded in hitting civilian areas of the city. Japanese warships in the Changjiang and Huangpu Rivers responded with heavy point-blank fire against Nationalist positions, which continued throughout the battle. During the siege, a stray shell hit the U.S. cruiser *Augusta*, killing a crewman and wounding 18 others.

Hoping that the influential foreign residents of the city's International Settlement might conceivably serve as mediators and perhaps win overseas support for China, Jiang ordered Shanghai's defenders to hold out to the end, and for several weeks of bitter house-to-house fighting they did so. Between August and November 1937, 270,000 Chinese troops—constituting 60 percent of the city's Nationalist garrison and the core of Jiang's newly modernized Chinese army—were killed or wounded in the fighting, along with many thousands of civilians. Japanese casualties totaled some 40,000. Much of Shanghai was devastated, although both sides left the foreign settlements undisturbed.

At the beginning of November, a Japanese amphibious force landed at Hangzhou (Hangchow) Bay 50 miles from Shanghai, threatening the city's rear. In what swiftly became a disorganized rout, Chinese forces evacuated Shanghai. Instead of retreating to newly built fortifications along the Shanghai-Nanjing (Nanking) railway line, they fell back further on Nanjing, the Nationalist capital, which became the next Japanese target.

Jiang's decision to launch the battle of Shanghai marked a deliberate extension to central China of Sino-Japanese conflict. It was a major strategic shift reflecting Jiang's new determination, after the Xi'an (Sian) Incident in Shaanxi (Shensi) and his rapprochement with the Communists, to move to outright opposition toward further Japanese incursions. It



Japanese troops fight from behind barricades in Shanghai, 1937. (Corbis)

also constituted the real beginning of the Sino-Japanese War, which would last a further eight years.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

China, Role in War; Jiang Jieshi; Nanjing Massacre; Sino-Japanese War

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Shaposhnikov, Boris Mikhailovich (1882–1945)

Marshal of the Soviet Union. Born in Zlatoust in the southern Urals on 2 October 1882, Boris Shaposhnikov began his military career in the Russian Imperial Army as a private in 1901. He became an officer two years later on graduation from the Moscow Military College. In 1910, after graduation from the General Staff Academy, he served in the Tashkent Military District and in Russian Poland. During World War I, he

served in Galicia, and in 1917, he was promoted to colonel and given command of a grenadier regiment.

Shaposhnikov joined the Red Army in 1918 after the Bolshevik Revolution and served on its field staff during the Russian Civil War. In 1923, he published his first book, *The Cavalry*; shortly thereafter, he published *The Vistula: The History of the 1920 Campaign*. He was an assistant to chief of staff M. V. Frunze by April 1924. In 1926, Shaposhnikov took command of the Leningrad Military District. He became known internationally for his three-volume study *The Brain of the Army* (1927–1929), in which he argued that the General Staff should be the sole agency directing the Red Army.

Long considered politically suspect, Shaposhnikov was admitted to Communist Party membership in 1930; the usual probationary period was waived. From 1928 to 1931, he was head of the Red Army staff. He was demoted in 1931, allegedly because he published an account of the Civil War that gave Leon Trotsky more credit than Josef Stalin could abide. From 1931 to 1937, Shaposhnikov was successively commander of the Volga Military District, chief of the Frunze Military Academy, and commander of the Leningrad Military District. Shaposhnikov then served on the board that helped purge the Red Army in 1937. One of those purged was his successor as chief of the General Staff, Marshal Mikhail Tukhachevsky.

Appointed chief of staff of the army and deputy commissar of defense in May 1937, Shaposhnikov did what he could to modernize and improve the Red Army, although much of his work in this regard was blocked by the opposition of Stalin and others. He also was unable to prevent the disbanding of seven mechanized corps in November 1939, despite Colonel General Georgii Zhukov's success with armor in the Battle of Khalkin-Gol in Manchuria.

Shaposhnikov drew up the plans for the Soviet occupation of eastern Poland at the beginning of World War II and the belated successful offensive in the Soviet-Finnish War (Stalin at first ignored his counsel). Promoted to marshal of the Soviet Union in May 1940, Shaposhnikov relinquished the post of chief of staff because of poor health, although he retained the position as deputy defense commissar.

On the eve of the German attack, Shaposhnikov urged Stalin to abandon forward positions in Poland in favor of the Stalin Line along the Soviet Union's former border. Stalin dismissed Shaposhnikov from his posts for this advice. With the German invasion, Stalin reinstated Shaposhnikov as chief of the General Staff on 29 July 1941 in a reorganized Stavka that apparently followed the form suggested by Shaposhnikov in his study *The Brain of the Army*. Although ill, Shaposhnikov nonetheless played an important role in planning the Soviet defense of Moscow and the subsequent Soviet counterattack. In June 1942, he advised against an attack on Kharkov as being premature. He left his post as chief of the General Staff for reasons of health on 26 June 1942. Although still ill, he

remained on the Stavka and as deputy commissar of defense. In June 1943, he became commandant of the Voroshilov Military Academy. He continued to hold this post and serve on the Stavka until his death in Moscow on 26 March 1945.

Claude R. Sasso and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Stalin, Josef; Vasilevsky, Aleksandr Mikhailovich; Voroshilov, Kliment Efremovich; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Shepherd, Lemuel C., Jr. (1896–1990)

U.S. Marine Corps general. Born on 10 February 1896 in Norfolk, Virginia, Lemuel Shepherd graduated from the Virginia Military Institute and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Marine Corps in April 1917. As a member of the 5th Marine Regiment during World War I, Shepherd participated in all the major U.S. actions and was wounded three times.

After the war, Shepherd served in Brazil, China, and Haiti. In 1937, he graduated from the Naval War College and then commanded the 2nd Battalion, 5th Marine Regiment, which developed amphibious tactics and techniques. In June 1939, Shepherd served on the staff of the Marine Corps Schools. In March 1942, he assumed command of the 9th Marine Regiment. After organizing and training the regiment, he deployed with it to the Pacific as part of the 3rd Marine Division. In July 1943, while serving on Guadalcanal, Shepherd was promoted to brigadier general and was assigned as assistant commander of the 1st Marine Division. From December 1943 through March 1944, he participated in the Cape Gloucester operation on New Britain. Shepherd assumed command of the 1st Provisional Marine Brigade in May 1944 and led it in the recapture of Guam in July and August 1944. Following this operation, Shepherd was promoted to major general and charged with expanding the brigade into the 6th Marine Division, which he led in the assault and occupation of Okinawa from April to June 1945. He next took his division to Tsingtao, China, where he received the surrender of Japanese forces in that area on 25 October 1945.

In 1946, Shepherd was appointed assistant commandant of the Marine Corps. He headed the 1946 board that recom-



U.S. Marine Major General Lemuel Shepherd, commanding general of the 6th Marine Division, on Okinawa in June 1945. (Corbis)

mended the helicopter as the future Marine Corps amphibious assault vehicle. From 1948 to 1950, Shepherd was commandant of the Marine Corps Schools. In 1950, he took command of Fleet Marine Forces in the Pacific and participated in the Inchon landing during the Korean War. In January 1952, Shepherd became the commandant of the Marine Corps, a position he held until his retirement in January 1956. Two months after his retirement, he was recalled to active duty and appointed chairman of the Inter-American Defense Board, a position he held until September 1959. Shepherd died at La Jolla, California, on 6 August 1990.

C. J. Horn

See also

Amphibious Warfare; Guadalcanal, Land Battle for; Guam, Battle for; Okinawa, Invasion of

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Sherman, Forrest Percival (1896–1951)

Admiral in the U.S. Navy. Born in Merrimack, New Hampshire, on 30 October 1896, Forrest Sherman graduated second in his class in 1917 from the U.S. Naval Academy. From then onward he won a reputation as a brilliant, cerebral tactician and skilled mediator. In 1922, he became a naval aviator, and his subsequent career assignments focused heavily on aviation. In 1932, he commanded Fighting Squadron 1 aboard the *Saratoga*. From 1933 to 1936, he was director of the Board of Ordnance's Aviation Ordnance Section, and from 1937 to 1940 he was aviation officer of the U.S. Fleet.

In 1940, Sherman joined the War Plans Division, drafting plans for hemispheric defense, serving on the U.S.-Canadian Permanent Joint Board of Defense, and attending the August 1941 Atlantic Charter conference. Promoted to captain, in May 1942 Sherman assumed command of the aircraft carrier *Wasp*, but he lost his ship to the Japanese submarine *I-19* on 15 September 1942 during the Battle of Guadalcanal, winning the Navy Cross for “extraordinary heroism.”

Sherman then spent a year at Pearl Harbor as chief of staff to Vice Admiral John H. Towers, commander of the Pacific



Admiral Forrest Sherman, chief of naval operations, November 1949. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Fleet's air elements. His talent for staff work, including operational planning, force deployment, and logistical support, caused Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, commander U.S. Forces, Pacific Ocean Area, to appoint Sherman his planning officer as a rear admiral. As deputy chief of staff (plans), Sherman devised and implemented much of Nimitz's strategy in the Pacific Theater, including which specific islands would be attacked or bypassed. He also sometimes represented Nimitz, always ably, before the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington. He stood beside Nimitz and Admiral William Halsey at the Japanese surrender ceremonies of September 1945.

Returning to Washington, Sherman was promoted to vice admiral in December 1945. As deputy chief of naval operations, he became heavily involved in formulating both unification of the armed forces and Cold War strategy. After emphasizing to President Harry S Truman the potential Soviet threat in the Mediterranean, an important influence in the formulation of the Truman Doctrine of February 1947, Sherman became the first commander of the new U.S. Naval Forces, Mediterranean. In November 1949, Sherman became chief of naval operations as a full admiral. He supported U.S. intervention in the Korean War and proposed the successful naval blockade of North Korea. He also gave cautious approval to the September 1950 Inchon landing and backed Truman in his relief of general of the army Douglas MacArthur and the primacy of Europe in U.S. defense planning. While on a diplomatic assignment to Naples, Italy, Sherman suffered a fatal heart attack on 22 July 1951.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; MacArthur, Douglas; Nimitz, Chester William; Towers, John Henry; Truman, Harry S

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Shimada, Shigetaro (1883–1976)

Japanese navy admiral, minister of the navy, and chief of the navy General Staff. Born in Tokyo on 24 September 1883, Shimada Shigetaro graduated from the Naval Academy in 1904 and participated in the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War. Fol-



Japanese Admiral Shimada Shigetaro. (Photo by Carl Mydans/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

lowing the war, he entered the Gunnery School and became a gunnery officer. From 1916 to 1919, Shimada was in Italy first as a resident officer, then as assistant attaché, and later as attaché.

In 1904, Shimada joined the navy General Staff and became an instructor at the Naval War College. Promoted to captain in 1928, he commanded first the cruiser *Tama* and then the battleship *Hiei* (1928). Following promotion to rear admiral in 1929, Shimada became chief of staff of the Second Fleet and then chief of staff of the Grand Fleet in 1930. In 1931, he became the director of the Submarine School, and in 1932, he was chief of staff of the Third Fleet. He next held various posts on the navy General Staff. Promoted to vice admiral in 1934, Shimada became the deputy chief of the Naval Staff until he was assigned as commander of the Second Fleet in 1937. Promoted to admiral in 1940, Shimada became the commander in chief of the China Fleet, and later he served as the commander in chief of the Kure and Yokosuka Naval Districts.

In October 1941, Shimada became minister of the navy in the cabinet of Prime Minister Tōjō Hideki, who had rejected the first candidate, Admiral Toyoda Soemu, who was known to be "anti-army." Shimada owed his appointment to his ability to get along with those around him. Although he shared the

navy's reluctance to go to war against the United States, he found that it was impossible to swim against the tide and followed Tōjō's policies. In February 1944, Shimada assumed the office of chief of the navy General Staff, tasked with Tōjō's demand to conduct the war at sea more effectively. From that date, Shimada concurrently held the offices of minister of the navy and chief of the navy General Staff. Navy and intellectual circles denigrated him, whispering that "Shimada is Tōjō's puppet." Following the loss of Saipan, in July 1944 Tōjō reluctantly ordered Shimada to resign before resigning himself.

In January 1945, Shimada went on the reserve list. After the war, Shimada was arrested by Allied authorities as a Class A war criminal. Tried and convicted by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, he was sentenced to life in prison, but he was released in 1956. Shimada died in Tokyo on 7 June 1976.

Asakawa Michio

See also

Nagano Osami; Tōjō Hideki; Toyoda Soemu

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U.S. Lieutenant General Walter C. Short, military governor of Hawaii, 5 January 1941. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Short, Walter Campbell (1880–1949)

U.S. Army general. Born in Fillmore, Illinois, on 30 March 1880, Walter Short graduated from the University of Illinois in 1901 and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army in 1902. He served in the Philippines and participated in the 1916–1917 Punitive Expedition into Mexico. He went to France following U.S. entry into World War I and served in staff positions, rising to the rank of temporary colonel.

After the war, Short reverted to his permanent rank of captain. He then served with the Far Eastern Section of the Military Intelligence Division. Short was an instructor at the Command and General Staff College (1919–1922 and 1929–1930) and graduated from the Army War College in 1925. He was promoted to colonel in 1934 and commanded the 6th Infantry Regiment. In 1936, he became the assistant commandant of the Infantry School at Fort Benning, Georgia. Promoted to brigadier general in 1937, he commanded a brigade of the 1st Division and then commanded that division (1938–1940). Promoted to major general in 1940, he commanded I Corps.

Widely respected in the army as an expert trainer, in January 1941 Short was appointed to head the Hawaiian Department, and the next month he was promoted to temporary lieutenant general. As relations between the United States and Japan deteriorated in 1941, Short worked feverishly to strengthen Hawaii's defenses, focusing on accelerated train-

ing of his units and antisabotage measures. Despite warnings from Washington that war with Japan was possible, he was caught off guard by the attack against Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, apparently because he believed that if war came it would break out first in Southeast Asia.

Both Short and Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, were blamed for the poor state of U.S. preparedness to meet the Japanese attack, and both men were relieved of their commands shortly after the attack. Short was reduced to major general, and in February 1942, under pressure, he retired from the army. A special investigating committee that year blamed both Short and Kimmel for failing to defend the Hawaiian Islands adequately from attack despite repeated warnings from the War and Navy Departments. Although there were some calls for courts-martial, the secretaries of war and the navy both decided there was no evidence to justify such a trial.

Congressional hearings into the Pearl Harbor attack continued after the war. In 1947, Short accused the War Department of making him a scapegoat for the attack. He admitted to underestimating the possibility of a Japanese strike, but he blamed officials in Washington for withholding critical intelligence about Japanese intentions. Short went to work for Ford Motor Company and died in Dallas, Texas, on 3 September

1949. There are ongoing efforts to restore Short posthumously to the rank of lieutenant general.

Molly M. Wood and John Kennedy Ohl

See also

Kimmel, Husband Edward; Pearl Harbor, Attack on

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**Shtemenko, Sergei Matveevich
(1907–1976)**

Marshal of the Soviet Union. Born into a peasant family in Volgograd Oblast on 20 February 1907, Sergei Shtemenko joined the Red Army in 1926 and became a member of the Communist Party in 1930. Graduating from the Academy of Motorization and Mechanization, he commanded an independent heavy-tank training battalion near Zhitomir. He went to the General Staff Academy in September 1938. Before graduation



Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergei Shtemenko, shown here in 1956. (Yevgeny Khaldei/Corbis)

in 1940, Shtemenko's class was assigned in August 1939 to the Operations Department of the General Staff to prepare for the Soviet occupation of eastern Poland and, later, to work on preparations for the Soviet invasion of Finland.

On graduation, Shtemenko was reassigned to the General Staff, despite his request to command a mechanized unit. Shtemenko then worked in the Office of Operations as a senior assistant to the section chief in 1940, moving up to deputy chief by August 1941. When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, he was appointed a section chief. General Alexi Antonov made Shtemenko his deputy in April 1941. He succeeded Antonov as chief of the Operations Directorate in May 1943, a post he held until April 1946.

Shtemenko successfully organized the operations of the Transcaucasus Front (army group) in 1942 and subsequently for the Black Sea and Northern Fronts. As chief, he was involved in planning for all fronts, and he played a key role in the planning for Operation BAGRATION against German Army Group Center and in the campaign against Berlin. By war's end, he was a colonel general.

In his subsequent two-volume work *The Soviet General Staff at War*, Shtemenko stressed the need for creativity in the direction of war. A genuine admirer of Josef Stalin, Shtemenko frequently praised the Soviet leader's role in the war. In November 1948, Shtemenko was promoted to general of the army. He then served as Soviet deputy prime minister, and in September 1952, he became a candidate member of the Central Committee. Two months later, however, he was replaced by General Vasily Sokolovsky and assigned to Germany as chief of staff of the occupation forces. Shtemenko was demoted in 1953 after Stalin's death but promoted again in 1956 after three years of obscurity when Marshal Georgii Zhukov, who refers to Shtemenko in his reminiscences as an "outstanding strategist," returned to prominence. Shtemenko was demoted again in 1957 and then was again promoted to general of the army in February 1968. Within six months of that promotion, he was appointed chief of staff of Warsaw Pact forces. He planned the Soviet bloc invasion of Czechoslovakia that year. Shtemenko retired in 1975 and died in Moscow on 23 April 1976.

Claude R. Sasso

See also

Antonov, Alexei Innokentievich; Sokolovsky, Vasily Danilovich; Stalin, Josef; Vasilevsky, Aleksandr Mikhailovich; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Shuttle Bombing, Soviet Union (June–August 1944)

U.S.-Soviet collaboration designed to allow American bombers to hit German targets too deep to be attacked from normal operating bases. The concept of shuttle bombing was tested in 1943 in flights between bases in Britain and North Africa, including the Schweinfurt-Regensburg mission on 17 August 1943. Code-named Operation FRANTIC, the shuttle-bombing operation allowed U.S. bombers to fly missions from bases in Britain and Italy and land at bases in the Soviet Union. The planes could then fly missions from Soviet bases and also carry out missions during their return flights to U.S. air bases in Britain and Italy.

Senior U.S. commanders hoped that these missions would force the Germans to disperse their air defense forces, lead to a better Soviet understanding of the value of strategic bombing, and establish a more collaborative relationship between the U.S. and Soviet militaries. Leaders of the U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) also hoped that an improved relationship with the Soviets might lead to U.S. use of airfields in the Soviet Far East for shuttle attacks against Japan. Following extended negotiations, including approval from Soviet leader Josef Stalin at the Tehran Conference in December 1943, the Soviets committed themselves to support the plan by making available airfields at Poltava, Mirgorod, and Piryatin. USAAF personnel worked hard to make the concept of shuttle operations succeed despite considerable restrictions placed by Soviet authorities on support personnel, logistical operations, and communications support.

On 2 June 1944, the Fifteenth Air Force in Italy flew Operation FRANTIC's first mission. It involved 130 B-17 bombers and 70 P-51 escort fighters, with a successful strike on rail yards at Debrecen, Hungary, en route to the Soviet bases. A strike from these bases inflicted damage on an airfield at Galatz, Romania, on 6 June. During the return flight to Italy on 11 June, the bombers successfully attacked an airfield at Foscani, Romania.

The first Eighth Air Force mission from Britain was held on 21 June 1944. It hit its designated target, a synthetic-oil plant near Berlin, but German aircraft shadowed the bombers to Poltava and conducted an air raid on the base that night, destroying 43 B-17s and damaging another 26. The surviving and repaired bombers attacked a synthetic-oil plant near Drohabyz, Poland, on their flight to Fifteenth Air Force bases in Italy on 26 June. These aircraft flew a combined mission with Fifteenth Air Force units and then returned to their bases in Britain.

The Eighth Air Force then performed shuttle-bombing missions on 6–8 August and on 11–13 September. The August mis-



Bombs being loaded into a U.S. B-24 Liberator bomber for a strike against the Axis Powers. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

sion attacked an aircraft plant at Gdynia, Poland, en route to the Soviet bases; successfully hit oil refineries at Trzebinia, Poland, the following day; and then bombed airfields in Romania en route to bases in Italy, followed by return flights to Britain. The September mission involved an attack on an armaments factory at Chemnitz during the flight to Russia and a strike on steel works at Diosgyor, Hungary, on the leg out to Italy. The only other Fifteenth Air Force shuttle operations were fighter-bomber sweeps in late July (P-38 and P-51 raids on Romanian airfields) and in early August (P-38 raids on Romanian airfields and railroads in support of Soviet operations). Also, 117 F-5 (camera-equipped P-38) photoreconnaissance missions were flown to or from Soviet bases between 2 June and 19 September 1944. The last shuttle operation of *FRANTIC* was a resupply effort on 18 September to support the Polish Home Army uprising in Warsaw by 107 B-17s with P-51 fighter escorts.

Because of Soviet resistance to continuing the shuttle missions, by late October 1944 U.S. personnel supporting *FRANTIC* in the Soviet Union were reduced to a small caretaker

contingent. Overall, the shuttle operations had little operational effect, and the targets that were struck could have been hit from the home bases in Britain and Italy. Operation *FRANTIC* did generate increased contacts between the U.S. and Soviet militaries, but it had limited substantive effect on relations between the two states. The operation did not lead to any significant collaboration in the Far East.

Jerome V. Martin

See also

Arnold, Henry Harley "Hap"; Eaker, Ira Clarence; Schweinfurt and Regensburg Raids; Soviet Union, Air Force; Spaatz, Carl Andrew "Tooe"; Stalin, Josef; Strategic Bombing; Tehran Conference; Warsaw Ghetto Uprising

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Sian Incident

See Xi'an Incident

SICHELSCHNITT, Operation (1940)

German military plan for the invasion of the west in 1940. Following the German invasions of Denmark and Norway, Adolf Hitler's next strike was against France and the Low Countries (the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg). Hitler believed that defeating France offered the best chance of forcing Britain to the peace table. The balance of forces appeared to be somewhat equal. By the time of the invasion in May 1940, Germany had assembled in the west 2.5 million men in 136 divisions. The German force was matched on the ground by a combined Allied force of more than 2 million men in 3 army groups of 138 divisions. The Allies actually outnumbered the Germans in tanks, and the French tanks were generally heavier and better armed than those of the Germans. The most glaring Allied weaknesses were in aircraft and anti-aircraft artillery.

The German invasion, originally set for 12 November 1939, was repeatedly postponed because of bitterly cold weather and pleas from Hitler's generals for additional time to prepare. Then, on 10 January 1940, an event occurred that may have changed history. On that date, the pilot of a German military aircraft flying from Munster to Köln became lost in dense fog and was forced to land near Mechelen-sur-Meuse, Belgium. The passenger, Major Helmut Reinberger, was a staff officer of the 7th Airborne Division and was carrying top-secret operational plans for the German attack in the west. Reinberger was to have traveled by train, but delays led him to fly. Although the two Germans tried to burn the papers, the Belgian police secured the bulk of them. That discovery was only one of several indications of a German plan to strike west that caused neutral Belgium to open military talks with France and Britain. In any case, when Hitler learned that the invasion plan had been compromised, he abandoned it.

The need to recast the plan now caused the German invasion to be delayed until May. Generalmajor Erich von Manstein, assisted by Generalmajors Heinz Guderian and Walther Model, drew up the new plan. Known as SICHELSCHNITT (THE CUT OF THE SICKLE), the plan was agreed on in a meeting



German Field Marshal Erich von Manstein, key figure in drawing up plans for Operation SICHELSCHNITT. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

between Hitler and Manstein on 17 February 1940 and became the basis for German planning of the assault in the west (CASE YELLOW). It shifted the major effort from central Belgium to just north of the French defensive system known as the Maginot Line. The northern effort would occur first, drawing the Allies into Belgium. Then the major blow would fall to the south, in the hilly and wooded Ardennes—country reputedly impassable for tanks. The plan called for the invading Germans to cross the Meuse River and crack the French lines at Sedan, then swing northwest to the Channel and cut off the best British and French divisions, which would in the meantime have moved into Belgium.

Colonel General Fedor von Bock's Army Group B, charged with invading Belgium and Holland, was downgraded from 37 divisions in the original plan to only 28 in the Manstein plan, and 3 rather than 8 panzer divisions. Colonel General Gerd von Rundstedt's Army Group A, which was to move through the Ardennes, was upgraded from 17 to 44 divisions, including 7 armor divisions rather than a single armor division. At the point of the breakthrough, the Germans would thus outnumber the defending French 44 divisions to 9.

The original German plan was somewhat similar to the Schlieffen Plan of 1914 and would have followed Allied staff

predictions. Its axis of advance would have encountered the best Franco-British forces and might thus have ended in failure. Still, Manstein's plan appeared risky, and although he had Hitler's firm backing, many senior military leaders opposed the plan. Apart from the plan, factors working in Germany's favor were the experiences it had gained in Poland regarding the movement of massed armor and supply columns, its clear superiority in numbers of combat aircraft and antiaircraft guns, and the fact that a single national command system faced four disparate national armies.

Thomas J. Weiler and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Armored Warfare; Belgium, Role in War; Belgium Campaign; Blitzkrieg; Bock, Fedor von; Guderian, Heinz; Luxembourg; Maginot Line; Manstein, Fritz Erich von; Model, Walther; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von

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Sicily, Invasion of (Operation HUSKY, 9 July–22 August 1943)

Allied invasion of Sicily, to that point the largest amphibious landing in history. At the January 1943 Casablanca Conference, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill and their staffs discussed the next military objective to follow the final defeat of Axis forces in North Africa. The British favored a strike against the Axis southern flank that would avoid the strong German defenses in northern France, whereas U.S. Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall and the Americans advocated a cross-Channel invasion of France as the shorter road to victory. Ultimately, Roosevelt agreed with the British view that a southern advance would secure Allied Mediterranean shipping lanes, provide bombers bases from which to strike Axis southern Europe, and perhaps drive Italy from the war. Thus the next big offensive of the western Allies was the invasion of Sicily, code-named HUSKY.

U.S. General Dwight D. Eisenhower had overall command of Allied forces in the Mediterranean. His ground commander for HUSKY was British General Sir Harold Alexander, commander of Fifteenth Army Group. British Admiral Andrew B. Cunningham commanded the naval forces, and

Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Tedder commanded the supporting Allied air forces. British and American forces would participate in HUSKY in almost equal numbers. The Eastern Task Force would put ashore General Bernard Montgomery's British Eighth Army in southeastern Sicily from just south of Syracuse to the end of the southeastern peninsula. The Eighth Army was then to advance along the coast, its final objective the port of Messina on the northeastern tip of the island. The Western Task Force would land Lieutenant General George S. Patton's U.S. Seventh Army in southeastern Sicily between Licata and Scoglitti. On securing the beachhead, Patton was to move inland to conduct supporting attacks and protect Montgomery's left flank. The newly formed Seventh Army had the supporting role, because Alexander believed that Montgomery's veteran troops were better suited for the chief offensive role. The Allies enjoyed air superiority; they had some 3,700 aircraft as opposed to 1,600 for the Axis forces.

Sicily was defended by Italian General Alfredo Guzzoni's Sixth Army (consisting of seven static coastal divisions and four maneuver divisions) and German Lieutenant General Hans Hube's XIV Panzer Corps of the 15th Panzergrenadier Division and the Hermann Göring Division. On 10 July, the Germans reinforced with the 1st Parachute Division and the 29th Panzergrenadier Division. Axis strength totaled between 300,000 and 365,000 men.

The Allied invasion was preceded by an elaborate British deception, Operation MINCEMEAT. This was designed to convince the Germans that the Allies planned to invade Sardinia and islands in the eastern Mediterranean. The deception worked, causing Adolf Hitler to shift some resources to those locations.

The invasion of Sicily, preceded by naval and air bombardment, began with airborne landings on 9 July 1943, the first large use by the Allies of such troops in the war. Few of the 144 gliders landed on their targets, and many crashed into the sea. The paratroopers were also widely dispersed. Worse, the invasion fleet fired on the second wave of transport aircraft in the mistaken belief they were German aircraft and shot down 23 C-47s. Nonetheless, the widely dispersed airborne soldiers created confusion among the Axis defenders, disrupted communications, and, despite their light weapons, prevented some German armor units from reaching the invasion beaches.

The seaborne invasion began early on 10 July in bad weather. The second-largest landing undertaken by the Allies in the European Theater after OVERLORD, it involved two large task forces and 2,590 vessels. Operation HUSKY was the first Allied invasion of the war in which specially designed landing craft, including the DUKW truck, were employed.

Resistance from the Italian coastal defenses was weak, and by nightfall the Allies had secured the beachheads. At Gela, the Hermann Göring Division attacked the U.S. 1st Infantry



LSTs lined up and waiting for tanks to come aboard at the French naval base of La Pecherie, Tunisia, two days before invasion of Sicily, July 1943. (National Archives)

Division but was driven off by naval gunfire. Inland, the rugged terrain and Axis resistance slowed the Allied advance, although Patton's forces reached the capital of Palermo on 22 July and, several days later, cut the island in two. The British occupied Syracuse with little resistance.

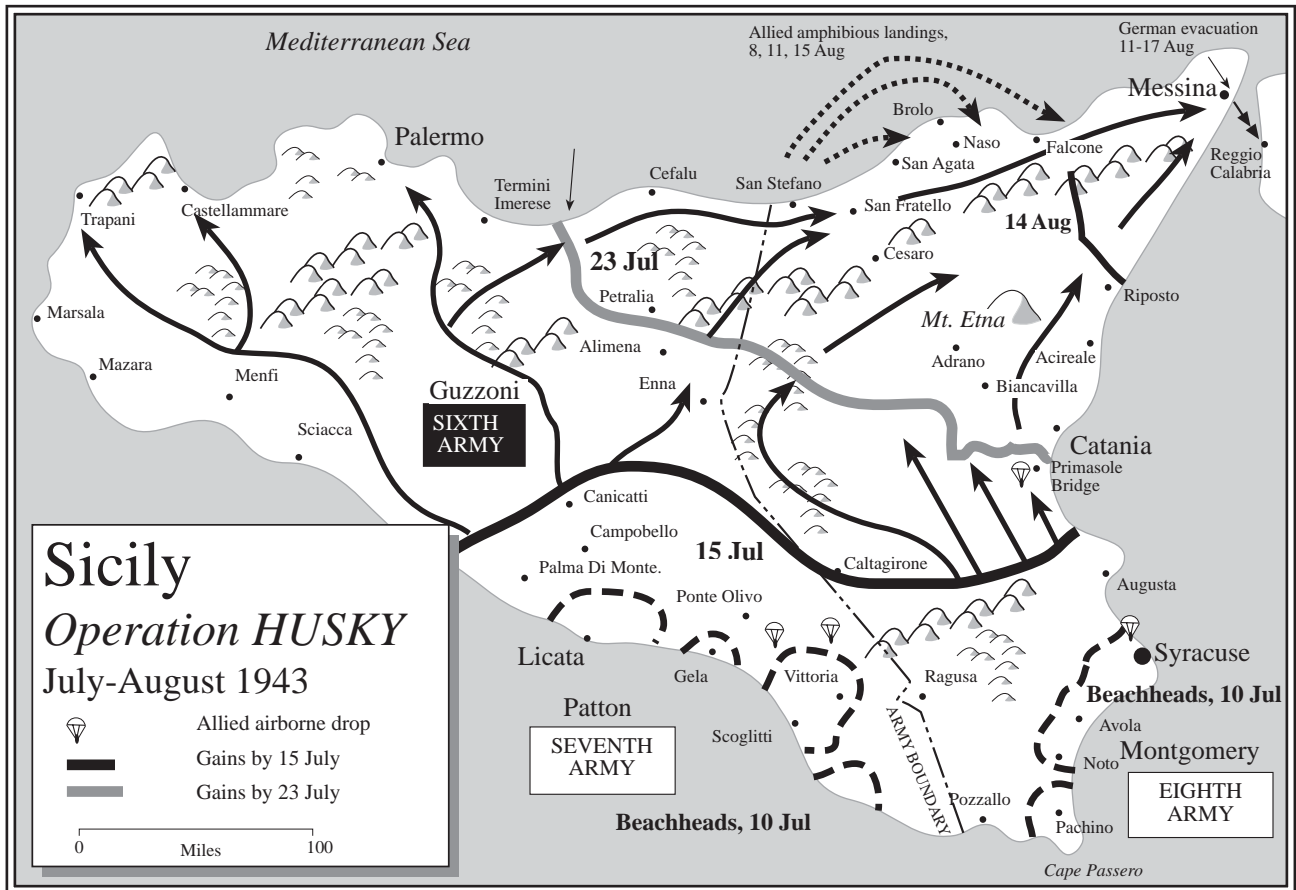
British and American forces were soon in competition to see which would be first to Messina, and a major controversy erupted when Montgomery expropriated an inland road that had been assigned to the Americans. This shift delayed the advance for two days and prolonged the campaign. Meanwhile, on 25 July, Benito Mussolini fell from power in Italy as that government moved toward leaving the war. In Sicily, Axis forces continued a tenacious defense. Allied forces pressed forward, aided by a series of small, skillfully executed amphibious operations on the north coast east of San Stefano.

On 11 August, German Field Marshal Albert Kesselring ordered the evacuation of Axis forces, the Italians having already begun their exodus across the narrow Straits of

Messina to Italy. The Italians brought out 62,000 personnel and 227 vehicles; the Germans evacuated 39,569 troops and 9,605 vehicles. It was thus something of a hollow victory when, on 17 August, Patton's forces reached Messina just hours after the last Germans had evacuated to Italy. Later that day, elements of the British Eighth Army also entered the city.

The conquest of Sicily claimed 11,843 British and 8,781 Americans killed, wounded, missing, or captured. The Germans suffered some 29,000 casualties, including 4,325 killed, 6,663

Sicily's defenders included 1,600 aircraft and between 300,000 and 350,000 men. As many as 170,000 of these men were killed, wounded or captured.



captured, and an estimated 18,000 wounded. Italian losses are estimated at 2,000 killed and 137,000 captured, most of the latter taken by the Seventh Army. The Axis side also lost up to 1,850 aircraft against only 375 for the Allies.

The invasion of Sicily was one of the most important Anglo-American campaigns of the war. It was the first assault by the western Allies on Fortress Europe and another important experience in coalition planning. As such, it set important precedents. It also achieved its goal of driving Italy from the war. On 3 September, a new Italian government signed a secret armistice with the Allied powers.

Anthony L. Franklin and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Alexander, Sir Harold Rupert Leofric George; Casablanca Conference; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Italy, Home Front; Kesselring, Albert; Marshall, George Catlett; MINCEMEAT, Operation; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Mussolini, Benito; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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Siegfried Line, Breaking the (October–December 1944)

Allied penetration of the western defenses of Germany. The Siegfried Line—an Allied label based on German World War I defenses, known to the Germans as the West Wall—was a system of defensive positions in western Germany. The Siegfried Line ran south to north from the Swiss border along the Rhine River to the area of Karlsruhe and then northwest to Saarbrücken; it followed the Saar River to Trier and then paralleled the German border with Luxembourg, Belgium, and the Netherlands. The West Wall did not rely on large fortifications but used terrain features and several belts of mutually supporting bunkers, pillboxes, and firing positions. These defenses, combined with minefields and antitank barriers such as “dragons’ teeth” and deep ditches, protected the German border region. The forward defenses were backed by hardened bunkers for troops, supplies, and command-and-control facilities. The operational concept was to slow attacking forces and create opportunities for counterattacks by mobile reserve forces.

The defensive system was initially developed following the German remilitarization of the Rhineland in 1936, and extensive work on it was carried out in 1938 under the direction of

Fritz Todt. All construction work stopped in 1940 after the conquest of France, and the line was stripped of its armaments. Many guns were shifted to the new defenses on the French coast. In August 1944, German leader Adolf Hitler directed that an accelerated program begin to strengthen the West Wall in response to Allied advances in France, but the defenses were limited by shortages of troops, artillery, and ammunition. Nonetheless, the West Wall provided an important shield for reconstituting forces that had retreated from France, and it became the focal point for the defense of the German homeland in the west under Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt.

The Siegfried Line was a major concern of Allied planning and operations after the breakout from Normandy. German defenses combined with Allied logistical constraints were the major considerations in the debate within the senior Allied leadership over a broad-front or narrow-front strategy. By 11 September 1944, the Allied forces were advancing on the German frontier in a relatively continuous front from

Switzerland to Antwerp, with Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery's 21st Army Group in the north, General Omar N. Bradley's 12th Army Group in the center, and Lieutenant General Jacob L. Devers's U.S. 6th Army Group in the south. After extensive high-level debate, Allied theater commander General Dwight D. Eisenhower shifted logistical priority to the 21st Army Group and authorized Montgomery to conduct Operation MARKET-GARDEN, an effort to flank the German northern defenses, cross the Rhine River at Arnhem, and rapidly penetrate and capture the industrial heart of Germany. When the MARKET-GARDEN operation, which began on 17 September, failed to achieve the final objective of crossing the Rhine at Arnhem, Eisenhower returned to the broad-advance concept to maintain pressure on the German forces and penetrate the Siegfried Line defenses.

Initial contact with the West Wall was made by elements of Lieutenant General Courtney H. Hodges's First Army as it advanced to the German frontier in early September in the area north of Luxemburg. Hodges began a reconnaissance in



American soldiers look down on the German Siegfried Line, 1944. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

force into the Eifel region of Germany on 14 September in an effort to sustain momentum and rapidly breach the fixed defenses. Although the defensive positions were not fully manned, initial U.S. penetrations of the Siegfried Line were blunted by German counterattacks, and the American forces paused to replenish logistical stocks. On 29 September, the First Army began a major offensive against West Wall positions around Aachen, a key defensive stronghold in the Siegfried Line, with the objective of opening a route to the Rhine River. After a vicious urban battle, the Aachen garrison surrendered on 21 October. In October and again in early November, the First Army also attempted to clear the Hürtgen Forest in an effort to open a route to the Rhine and secure the Roer River dams, which potentially allowed the German military to flood crossing areas downstream in the Roer River valley. After initial successes, aggressive German counterattacks pushed back the attackers, and the battle for the Hürtgen Forest became a bloody contest that held up the First Army. At the same time, the Ninth Army cleared the German defenses to the north and secured the west bank of the Roer River by 9 December, but it did not attempt to cross the river due to the flooding threat posed by the dams.

During September, Lieutenant General George S. Patton's Third Army fought through the Lorraine border region south of Luxembourg toward the West Wall, battling German forces that used old French defensive positions of the Maginot Line and pre-World War I fortifications (especially those around Metz) to strengthen resistance to the American advance. Patton's offensive then bogged down from a combination of the German defensive effort and logistical shortages. After resupplying and refitting in late October, the Third Army reinitiated the assault on Metz on 8 November, and the city's garrison finally surrendered on 22 November. After cleaning out the remaining German positions in Lorraine, the Third Army reached the Siegfried Line on 15 December and quickly seized several river crossings. Patton then paused the advance to resupply his forces before pushing through the West Wall and breaking out toward the Rhine in an attack planned for 19 December.

In the south, Devers's 6th Army Group fought to the upper Rhine, capturing Strasbourg on 23 November. However, the Germans continued to hold the West Wall defenses and a pocket in rough terrain around the city of Colmar. Although Devers was prepared to force the Rhine, Eisenhower ordered him to consolidate along that river and reduce the Colmar pocket.

The multiple Allied advances on the West Wall were halted on 16 December when the Germans launched an offensive in the Ardennes that became known as the Battle of the Bulge. As the Allies responded to the German drive in the Ardennes, the Germans launched a second attack out of the Colmar

pocket, threatening to retake Strasbourg. Both offensives fit into the operational concept for the West Wall and provided strength for defensive operations and a base for counteroffensives against the attacking force. Although surprised, the Allies were able to counter the German attacks, and the planned Allied assaults on the Siegfried Line were only delayed.

The final series of advances through the Siegfried Line and into Germany began on 8 February 1945 with an attack from the northern flank of Montgomery's 21st Army Group by the Canadian First Army, with the mission of clearing the west bank of the lower Rhine. This attack was complemented by U.S. attacks into the Roer River valley and the Hürtgen Forest. The Roer River dams were seized on 10 February, and the west bank of the lower Rhine was cleared by 5 March. In February, after repositioning following its counterattack in the Battle of the Bulge, the Third Army began a series of attacks that penetrated the Siegfried Line and allowed an advance toward the Rhine through the Eifel region. In the 6th Army Group area, the Colmar pocket was eliminated by 9 February, and the U.S. Seventh Army captured Saarbrücken on 19 March and broke through the final West Wall defenses on 20 March. The Siegfried Line held up the Allied offensive and allowed the German army to attempt counterattacks, but once the Allied logistical system provided adequate support to the combat forces, the strength of the Allies overwhelmed the German defensive structure.

Jerome V. Martin

See also

Alsace Campaign; Ardennes Offensive; Bradley, Omar Nelson; Devers, Jacob Loucks; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Germany, Collapse of; Hitler, Adolf; Hodges, Courtney Hicks; Hürtgen Forest, Campaign; Lorraine Campaign; Maginot Line; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Rhineland Offensive; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von; West Wall, Advance to the; Western European Theater of Operations

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SIGINT

See Signals Intelligence.

Signals Intelligence (SIGINT)

The collection and analysis of electromagnetic emissions that provide insight into an enemy's technological capabilities. The broader category of signals intelligence (known today as SIGINT) includes both communications intelligence (COMINT) and electronic intelligence (ELINT). COMINT includes the monitoring of radio and telephone traffic, the decryption of coded messages, and analysis of message content. ELINT is the collection and analysis of electromagnetic emissions such as telemetry and radar signals. This essay deals with COMINT.

SIGINT played a key role in World War II. In the 1920s, the knowledge that cryptanalysis had achieved important results in several countries during World War I led to the development of new and improved cipher methods and especially new cipher machines. These were produced not only for diplomatic and military communications, but for use in business. American Edward Hugh Hebern had been working since 1917 to develop a rotor-driven machine, but he secured a U.S. patent only in 1924.

Also in 1917, German Arthur Scherbius experimented with a similar machine; he secured a German patent on 23 February 1918. He was followed in October 1919 by Dutch inventor Hugo Alexander Koch and Swede Arvid Gerhard Damm. In 1923, Scherbius purchased the Koch patents and produced a new rotor-driven cipher machine known as "Enigma." Scherbius demonstrated the Enigma machine in 1923 at Bern and in 1924 at the World Postal Congress at Stockholm. He developed several versions of the Enigma; the commercial version, Enigma-D, was purchased by several countries, including the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, the United States, Great Britain, and Japan.

The Enigma influenced production of cipher machines in other countries for military uses. In Sweden, engineer Boris Hagelin began his improved machine series; in Great Britain, "Type X" was an improved Enigma. In Japan, a special version was constructed, and experiments led to the "97-shiki-O-bun In-ji-ki" for high-level diplomatic communications (later identified by the Americans with the code name "Purple"). During the Spanish Civil War, the Nationalist side and their allied Italians employed Enigma-D machines, and the Italians also used their Enigma version known as "Alfa." The Poles developed their own cipher machine, "Lacida," and the Czechs experimented with a version driven by compressed air rather than electricity. Boris Hagelin successfully marketed his machines in Sweden and France, later with the Italian navy, and finally in the United States, where 140,000 copies of his M-209 machine were built.

The Germans relied heavily on the Enigma machine for military communications during the war. Only in 1975, with the publication of Frederick Winterbotham's book *The Ultra Secret*, did it become generally known that Allied cryptanalysts had unlocked the secrets of the Enigma machine and that Allied intelligence had been able to read the most secret German military and diplomatic communications, although not in real time. Winterbotham's book was only the first in a flood of publications about Allied code-breaking. These included work published by the Poles, who in 1932 and 1933 had been the first to crack the secrets of the Enigma; the French, who had delivered to the Poles cipher materials secured from a German agent; the British, who established at Bletchley Park a decryption center; and the Americans, who also came into this operation and worked to break the Japanese codes.

The concentration on Enigma obscured the fact that there was not one Enigma machine, but rather several versions. Moreover, Bletchley Park could break only some of the cipher key nets of Enigma, depending on the number of signals sent in the daily settings of the various key nets. Concentration on Enigma also led to neglect of the many other machine- or hand-cipher systems of other nations, which were tackled by the cryptanalysts of many countries with mixed success.

The German defeat of Poland in September 1939 came so rapidly that Polish cryptanalysts had virtually no impact on that campaign. Evacuated by way of Romania to France, however, they joined the French Deuxième Bureau (intelligence service), which was operating in close conjunction with the British. But Allied efforts against the German Enigma key nets only had limited success at first and did not greatly influence Allied operations until mid-1940. With the defeat of France, that nation's cryptanalysts went to the unoccupied southern zone. From there, some Poles went on to Algeria and then joined the British at Bletchley Park.

On the Axis side, the German naval decryption service, the xB-Dienst, enjoyed considerable success in breaking the hand-cipher systems of the Royal Navy, which at this time did not use machines but rather super-enciphered codebooks. This fact enabled German warships in most cases to evade superior British forces. It also provided the Germans with information about Allied convoys.

In May 1940, Bletchley Park at last was able, with only short delays, to decrypt the main operational Enigma key net of the German Luftwaffe. This was aided by the introduction of the first "bombes"—devices developed by mathematicians Alan Turing and Gordon Welchman to determine the daily settings of the German machines. These intercepts, now known by the intelligence code name of *ULTRA*, influenced the Battle of Britain, as daily reports by the German air groups revealed their strengths and intended operations. Using this

information, Britain's "home chain" radar, and a system of coast watchers, the British could use fewer fighter aircraft with maximum efficiency, sending fighters aloft at the right time to intercept incoming German bombers.

But Bletchley Park could not then break the Enigma key nets of the German army. Of special importance at the time was breaking the German navy key nets, especially those used by the U-boats. The German Enigma machine was known to the British from a replica the Poles had constructed and delivered to France and Britain in August 1939, but the problem was the wiring of the cipher-rotors. Only five of these were known; but the German navy used eight, and these had to be identified, together with information about the cipher settings, which changed daily. This was only accomplished in May and June 1941.

Despite decoding delays, the Allies were able to read German radio signals and thus had the means to destroy their surface supply organization in the Atlantic. This in turn forced the Germans to cancel commerce raiding operations by their large surface combatants. Also, from early August

The decryption of German U-boat radio signals prevented the sinking of perhaps 300 merchant ships in late 1941.

1941, it became possible to decrypt U-boat radio traffic, which made it possible for the Allies to reroute their Atlantic convoys around the German U-boat dispositions. This prevented the sinking of perhaps 300 merchant ships in the second half of 1941.

Not all German officials had confidence in the security of the ciphers. Admiral

Karl Dönitz tried several times after mid-1941 to improve the system. He introduced a code for the grid map positions and a separate cipher key net for the Atlantic U-boats. Then, on 1 February 1942, Dönitz ordered the introduction of an improved cipher machine known as "M-4" that had a divided "Umkehrwalze B" reflective rotor and an additional, fourth, rotor, the so-called "Greek Beta." This change produced an 11-month blackout at Bletchley Park in reading German U-boat traffic. At the same time, xB-Dienst was able—partially in 1942 and more so in 1943—to decrypt the Anglo-American super-enciphered codebook "Naval Cipher No. 3" used for communication with the convoys. Although there were decoding delays, the decryption led to excellent results for the U-boats in the North Atlantic until early spring 1943.

On 30 October 1942 in the Mediterranean, a German U-boat was forced to surface, and a specially trained British boarding party was able to salvage important cipher materials, especially the "weather short signal book." This was used to find "cribs," the cipher/clear text compromises that aided

in determining daily settings of the MC4 machine. Thus, from mid-December 1942, Bletchley Park could once again send to the submarine tracking room of the Admiralty the dispositions of the German U-boat Wolf Packs in order to reroute convoys. But there were now so many Wolf Packs that new tactics had to be found to avoid repetition of the heavy losses incurred in mid-March, when the Germans introduced a new weather short signal book, producing a new blackout. By concentrating the available bombes to U-boat traffic, Bletchley Park was again able after only 10 days to break the U-boat cipher. Coupled with this, the Allies committed additional antisubmarine forces, very-long-range aircraft, hunter-killer groups of destroyers and the first escort carriers, radar in escort ships and light-weight radar in aircraft, high-frequency direction finders, and Leigh lights. The turning point came in late May 1943, when Dönitz redeployed his submarines from the North Atlantic convoy routes to the Central Atlantic and to distant operational areas. At the same time, Bletchley Park decrypted the orders, enabling the British to relocate their air groups from the convoy routes to Britain over to a strong offensive against U-boat routes in and out of the Bay of Biscay.

In June 1943, the British realized that the Germans had decrypted their signals, and the Admiralty changed to a new super-enciphered code, Naval Cipher No. 5, which led to a blackout for xB-Dienst. On 1 July, the Germans introduced a new "Greek rotor C/Gamma," but this led to only a short interruption in decryption at Bletchley Park because of the introduction of a new high-speed bombe. Development in the United States of high-speed bombes led to the transfer in November 1943 of decryption work on the U-boat cipher to the U.S. decryption organization Op-20G, while Bletchley Park concentrated on the German Enigma ciphers of the German air force and the army, both of which had substantially increased the number of their key nets.

Bletchley Park's first break into the German army ciphers had come as the Germans prepared to invade the Soviet Union in June 1941. This provided information about German deployment of forces to Poland and preparation of trains specifically to transport prisoners of war, clear proof that the deployments were not simply an effort to blackmail the Soviet Union. During the invasion itself, Bletchley Park was able to intercept and read a great many German signals. Because the British did not trust the security of the Soviet code and cipher systems, decryptions from the German forces on the Eastern Front were transmitted to Moscow in a special secure cipher and only under cover stories. It is as yet unknown if the Soviets were aware from their spies in Britain, including Kim Philby and especially John Cairncross at Bletchley Park, of the source of the information and, if so, whether Soviet leader Josef Stalin trusted it. Also, while the German army, navy, and air force decryption services were able to read Soviet codes



Cryptologist Major William F. Friedman, Signal Intelligence Chief at the War Department, explains the principles of a ciphering machine. (Corbis)

and some ciphers and use the information thus obtained in operations, we do also not know how extensively and when the Soviets could decrypt German signals.

Signals intelligence was of great importance in the Mediterranean Theater. When Italy entered the war on 10 June 1940, the Allies could read many of the Italian codes and ciphers. In addition, some ciphers were captured from Italian submarines forced to surface. But the Italians soon changed many of their systems, and decryption fell off sharply as a result. Then, in February 1941, Bletchley Park cracked the German air force cipher "Light Blue" and the Italian version of the Enigma known as "Alfa," used for radio communication between Rome and the Dodecanese Islands. These successes had important consequences, most notably in defeating the Italian navy at the Battle of Cape Matapan in March 1941.

In May 1941, decryption of the German signals provided excellent intelligence concerning German plans to invade Crete, but the British defense of the island failed because the German air force controlled the skies and because the

intercepts included misleading information about a German seaborne invasion. As it transpired, this was not a significant German effort, but it led the British to shift defensive assets to the north away from the airfields, where the main German assault occurred. The Battle of Crete revealed both the advantages and disadvantages of SIGINT regarding enemy intentions.

From June 1941, Bletchley Park's decryption of the Italian Hagelin naval cipher machine "C-38m" used in communications between Supermarina in Rome and Tripoli had important consequences for Axis resupply of Axis forces in the western desert. Axis shipping losses increased dramatically in the second half of 1941 and 1942, when it became possible to vector Allied submarines and surface warship strike groups from Malta to intercept Italian convoys between Sicily and the Tunisian coast and Tripoli. The British always tried first to send reconnaissance aircraft to report the target so the signals they sent prevented the Italians from recognizing the true source of the information.

Decrypted signals had to be used judiciously. Thus Afrika Korps commander General Erwin Rommel exaggerated the evils of his supply situation in order to gain additional support, causing British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill twice to order his commanders in the field to begin offensives that then failed in Rommel's counterattacks. Rommel also learned much about British force strengths in Egypt because the U.S. military attaché in Cairo used a code broken by the Italians for his reports. Allied commanders also made different use of SIGINT results in operations extending from El Alamein to Tunisia and during the landing operations at Sicily, Salerno, and Anzio. Revelations of the ULTRA secret in 1975 did force a reconsideration of the military reputations of several Allied commanders, including Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery.

In connection with the preparation of the Normandy Invasion, the Allies in Operation FORTITUDE successfully used radio deception to convince the Germans of the presence in south-east England of a U.S. Army group commanded by Lieutenant General George S. Patton, a force that in fact did not exist. This false information led Adolf Hitler to believe that the Normandy Invasion was a feint and that the Allies planned to make their major cross-Channel attack in the Pas de Calais area. Hitler thus held back his panzer divisions of the Fifteenth Army from Normandy until too late and then sent them piecemeal into action.

The western Allies also succeeded in the decryption of the German army teleprinter cipher machine used for communications between the highest levels from the army High Command and field armies. This was made possible by development of the first electronic precursor of the later computers, the "Colossus" machine, which became operational in spring 1944. It proved important in halting the German counterattack against the breakthrough at Argentan and led to the encirclement of strong German forces at Falaise. But Allied reliance on ULTRA intelligence, as the German decryptations were known, meant the German Ardennes Offensive (Battle of the Bulge) of late December 1944 took the Allies unawares, as the Germans had observed strict radio silence and used only secure land lines for communication.

Other belligerents and also neutral powers employed SIGINT during the war. The Finns cracked many Soviet codes, and the Swedish mathematician Arne Beurling broke into the German naval teleprinter Siemens T-52 cipher machine. German teleprinter lines running through Swedish territory were tapped there. Swedish intelligence officers, who favored the Allied side, delivered information to the British naval attaché at Stockholm. Thus the Admiralty learned of the German plan to attack convoy PQ 17 in July 1942 with large surface ships, destroyers, submarines, and aircraft, whereon British First Sea Lord Admiral of the Fleet Sir Dudley Pound ordered the convoy to scatter without waiting for the report of the departure of the German Task Forces. This led to catastrophe for

the convoy, as German aircraft and U-boats sank two-thirds of its merchant ships. The rising number of cipher key nets employed by the Germans also overstretched Bletchley Park capacities. Thus even by mid-1942, of about 50 key nets then in use, Bletchley Park could only decrypt about 30, and these with varying time delays and gaps.

SIGINT also had great influence in the Far East Theater. In September 1940, American cryptanalysts under the leadership of William Friedman broke the Japanese diplomatic Purple cipher. (Recently it has been revealed that both the Germans and Soviets were also able to break Purple.) Thus, during negotiations with Japanese in 1941, the U.S. State Department not only knew the documents the Japanese diplomats would present but also their specific negotiating instructions. Purple intercepts provided clear evidence in late 1941 that the Japanese had decided to break off negotiations. But the diplomatic communications gave no hints of Japanese military plans, and the Japanese army codes were still difficult to decrypt. The Japanese navy's super-enciphered codes, especially JN.25—an earlier version of which had been broken—could not be read after changes in the codebooks and super-enciphering tables. Thus U.S. military and naval leaders had to depend on traffic analysis and direction finding, which did provide clear evidence, supported by optical observations, of the deployment of Japanese forces for attacks against the Philippines, Malaya, and the Netherlands East Indies. There was, however, no direct indication of an attack against Pearl Harbor, which thus came as a great surprise.

Breaking the new version of JN.25 and other Japanese codes took time, because reconstructing the tables and codebook was always difficult after changes. In 1942, by clever evaluation of vague indications, Commander Joseph J. Rochefort concluded that the Japanese planned first to invade New Guinea and then to strike at Midway. This conclusion enabled Pacific Fleet Commander Admiral Chester Nimitz to counter the Japanese moves, leading to the Battles of the Coral Sea and Midway.

During the struggle for the Solomon Islands in late 1942 and 1943, U.S. cryptanalysts learned to decrypt the Japanese codes more quickly, and by 1944 they could in most cases provide timely decryptations of Japanese signals in support of strategic operations. Of special importance was the success in breaking the so-called "Maru" cipher for Japanese logistical support to the islands they held in the Pacific. This allowed U.S. submarines to be directed with considerable accuracy to intercept positions, which in turn produced rising losses in the already thinly stretched Japanese merchant ship capacity and in Japanese warships. SIGINT closely supported General Douglas MacArthur's Southwest Pacific Forces from New Guinea to the Philippines and the Central Pacific Forces under Admiral Nimitz against the Marshall, Caroline, and Mariana Islands and finally against Iwo Jima and Okinawa.

In the Indian Ocean area, British cryptanalysts were able to break Japanese army and air force codes. On the other side,

the Japanese had only limited success in decryption operations. In consequence, they employed mainly traffic analysis and direction finding for their military and naval operations.

There is no doubt that SIGINT was of great importance to all belligerents in the war. It is also true that the Allies were much more effective in its use. SIGINT alone did not win the war for the Allies, but undoubtedly it significantly shortened the length of the conflict.

Jürgen Rohwer

See also

Antisubmarine Warfare; Ardennes Offensive; Atlantic, Battle of the; BARBAROSSA, Operation; Cape Matapan, Battle of; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Convoy PQ 17; Coral Sea, Battle of the; Crete, Battle of; Dönitz, Karl; Electronic Intelligence; Enigma Machine; Falaise-Argentan Pocket; Hitler, Adolf; Hunter-Killer Groups; Midway, Battle of; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Nimitz, Chester William; Normandy Landing and Campaign; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Pound, Sir Alfred Dudley Pickham Rogers; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Stalin, Josef; Turing, Alan Mathison

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Prime Minister of the Polish-government-in-exile General Władysław Sikorski, 1940. (Corbis)

neering in Lemberg and served in the Austrian army in 1904 and 1905. Sikorski became chief of the Polish Supreme National Committee's Military Department during World War I and commanded the Polish Fifth Army during the 1919–1920 Polish-Soviet War. Chief of the Polish general staff in 1921 and 1922, he became prime minister in 1922 and minister for military affairs in 1924 and 1925. A rival of Józef Piłsudski, Sikorski was relieved of his command after 1926. He then gained considerable reputation as a military writer, stressing the importance to Poland of the alliance with France.

When the Germans attacked Poland, Sikorski was still without assignment. With the military defeat of his country and internment of the Polish government in Romania, Sikorski arrived in Paris on 24 September. There he became prime minister and minister for military affairs of the newly formed government-in-exile. As supreme commander of the Polish armed forces, Sikorski reorganized those men who reached France. When France was defeated in June 1940, Sikorski convinced British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill to evacuate the Polish troops and the government-in-exile to Great Britain.

Sikorski pushed for the reestablishment after the war of the Polish state in its pre-September 1939 frontiers, and he

Sikorski, Władysław Eugeniusz (1881–1943)

Polish general and politician, prime minister of the Polish government-in-exile and commander of the Polish armed forces. Born in Tuszów Narodowy near Mielec (then Austrian Poland) on 20 May 1881, Władysław Sikorski studied engi-

outlined plans for a Polish-Czech federation. This position was compromised by the fact that Sikorski represented a defeated country, depending on the goodwill of its western allies. Under these circumstances, Sikorski's attempts to normalize Polish-Soviet relations met with difficulties that were only partly resolved following Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union. Relations between the government-in-exile and Moscow then became impossible with the revelation of the Soviet massacre of Polish army officers in the Katyń Forest.

In the midst of this crisis, Sikorski was killed in a plane crash at Gibraltar on 4 July 1943; he had been returning to Britain from an inspection of Polish troops in the Middle East. He was succeeded in authority by much less able men, but in any case the situation for Poland would have been impossible, given the decision by Britain and the United States to maintain harmonious relations with the Soviet Union.

Pascal Trees

See also

Anders, Władysław; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Katyń Forest Massacre; Poland, Role in War

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Simonds, Guy Granville (1903–1974)

Canadian army general, arguably the best Canadian general of the war. Born on 23 April 1903 at Bury Saint Edmunds, England, Guy Simonds graduated from the Royal Military College, Kingston, in 1925 and then served with the artillery in the small interwar Canadian army, where he quickly emerged as a rising star. A brilliant performance at Camberley Staff College in 1936–1937 seemed to confirm this promise. During World War II, Simonds rose from major to brigadier general in September 1942 and to major general in April 1943.

Unlike most of his Canadian peers, Simonds was naturally aggressive with an intuitive grasp of mobile, armored warfare. Field Marshal Sir Bernard Montgomery considered him a protégé and far superior to the plodding General Henry Crerar. Simonds cut his teeth in Italy, commanding the 1st Canadian Division in Sicily with great success and then briefly the 5th Armoured Division in Italy. All this was grooming for Normandy, where he led II Canadian Corps.

Simonds's battle plans in the assaults around Caen and particularly in the bloody, attritional fighting to close the Falaise gap from the north in August 1944 (Operations TOTAL-

IZE and TRACTABLE) were operational masterpieces, but so complex that they often overmatched the abilities of his inexperienced army. Simonds's performance at Falaise remains controversial. Although he sacked subordinates with abandon and relentlessly pressed his exhausted soldiers forward, many historians since have criticized him for showing insufficient "resolution." In fact, the task given to Simonds's army was beyond its capacity—at least in the time allotted—not least because most units were well understrength.

The greatest achievement of Simonds and First Canadian Army (he assumed command from an ailing Crerar in September 1944) was undoubtedly the clearance of the Scheldt estuary in the fall of 1944, which opened Antwerp to shipping and resolved the supply problem that had threatened to strangle Allied mobility. Fighting under the most appalling conditions and despite Montgomery's inexplicable refusal to allocate sufficient troops, at least until General Dwight D. Eisenhower finally intervened, the Canadians prevailed. Simonds displayed more innovation and flexibility, and both commander and men proved they had absorbed the summer's hard lessons.

Simonds's career went into eclipse after the war. He lost out to the more politically astute Lieutenant General Charles Foulkes in running the postwar army and left little mark, save as a critic of Canada's drift into the American military orbit. Simonds died on 15 May 1974 at Toronto, Ontario.

Patrick H. Brennan

See also

Canada, Army; Crerar, Henry Duncan Graham; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Falaise-Argentan Pocket; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Rhineland Offensive; Scheldt, Battles; Sicily, Invasion of

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Simpson, William Hood (1888–1980)

U.S. Army general. Born in Weatherford, Texas, on 19 May 1888, William Simpson graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1909. He then served in the Philippines and in the 1916–1917 Punitive Expedition into Mexico. During World War I, he deployed to France with the American Expeditionary Forces and saw action in the Saint-Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne Offensives, ending the war as a temporary lieutenant colonel.



U.S. Army Lieutenant General William H. Simpson, January 1945. (Photo by William Vandivert/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Reverting to captain after the war, Simpson attended the Infantry School (1924), the Command and General Staff School (1925), and the Army War College (1927–1928). Promoted to colonel in 1938, he took charge of an infantry regiment. He was promoted to brigadier general in October 1940 and became assistant division commander of the 2nd Infantry Division. In September 1941, he was promoted to major general and assumed command of the 35th Infantry Division.

Simpson next commanded XII Corps in September 1942 and was promoted to lieutenant general the next month. He then commanded the Fourth Army in California. Assigned to Europe in May 1944, Simpson organized the new Ninth Army headquarters staff in England. The Ninth Army became operational in France as a single-corps army under 12th Army Group in September 1944.

Simpson's army cleared Brittany and captured the port of Brest. It then occupied a quiet frontline sector in the vicinity of Luxembourg between the First and Third Armies. In the reorganization of army commands in October 1944, Ninth Army Headquarters moved to Maastricht. Simpson had his first major combat test in the November offensive designed to reach the Rhine. The undersized Ninth Army spent nearly four weeks against stiff German resistance reaching the Roer River. The offensive ended when the Germans launched their Ardennes counteroffensive, and the Ninth Army was transferred under British Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery.

The Ninth Army, finally up to strength, got across the Roer River in February 1945. It then crossed the Rhine, linking up with the First Army to encircle the Ruhr. In April, back under

Lieutenant General Omar Bradley's control, the Ninth Army reached the Elbe River, where it met up with Soviet forces. Simpson later claimed his forces could have reached Berlin within 24 hours had Supreme Allied Commander General Dwight D. Eisenhower given the order.

After the war, Simpson commanded the Second Army and headed the board that reorganized the army. Retiring in November 1946, Simpson was promoted to general on the retired list in 1954. He died in San Antonio, Texas, on 15 August 1980.

Thomas D. Veve

See also

Bradley, Omar Nelson; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Germany, Collapse of; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Rhine Crossings; Ruhr Campaign

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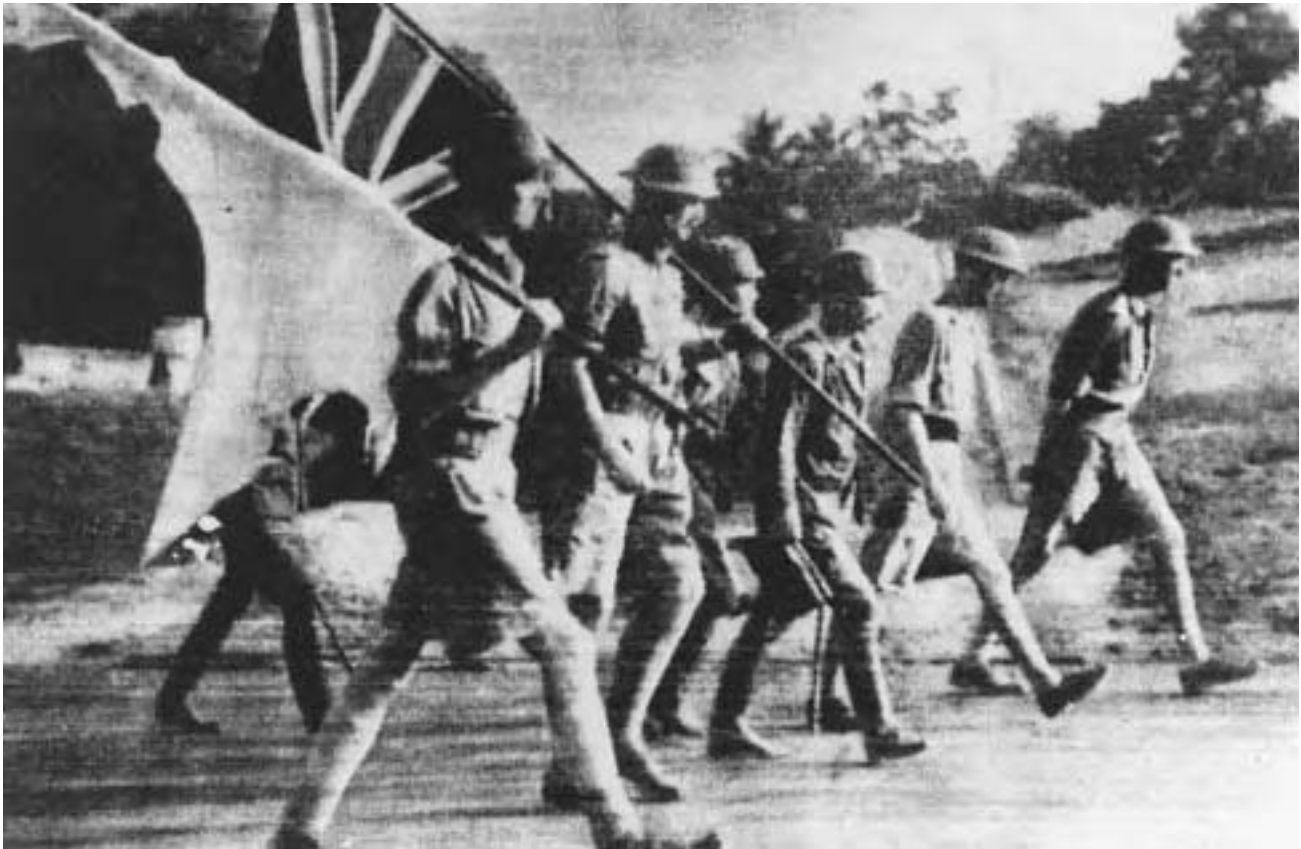
Singapore, Battle for (8–15 February 1942)

Capture of the great British base of Singapore was essential to Japanese success in the Far East. Throughout the 1930s, British governments neglected Pacific defenses, as budgetary constraints forced retrenchment. From 1939 onward, moreover, fighting in Europe and North Africa was Britain's priority, diverting additional men and resources from the Far East, where Singapore was complacently considered impregnable.

The Japanese plan called for an approach to Singapore from the north by land. The British had designed Singapore's defenses primarily to meet a seaborne attack. Although some of the big guns were capable of firing against land targets, they lacked the high-explosive shells for use against attacking troops.

The drive on Singapore began with the Japanese invasion of northern Malaya on 8 December 1941. By 15 January 1942, the British III Corps of the 8th and 11th Indian Divisions had been forced back to the defensive line in Johore, which was held by the 8th Australian Division. By the end of January, the Japanese had driven British forces back across the Straits of Johore into a defensive position on Singapore Island.

The Straits of Johore protected the northern and western shores of Singapore Island. The straits varied in width from 600 to 2,000 yards and were crossed only by a 70-foot-wide causeway that the British cut but could not destroy. Singapore island was largely covered by jungle growth and plantations



The British surrender party being escorted by a Japanese soldier following the Battle of Singapore. British commander Lieutenant General A. E. Percival is on the extreme right. February 1942. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

that sharply limited observation and fields of fire. Save for several towns, the population was concentrated on the south-east coast in Singapore Town, a city of 1 million. The key location around Bukit Timah village in the center of the island contained a large depot of military stores and the three reservoirs for the island's water supply.

Lieutenant General Arthur E. Percival commanded 85,000 defending troops. Japanese commander Lieutenant General Yamashita Tomoyuki had only 30,000 men of the Twenty-Fifth Army. Although the attackers were short of ammunition and other supplies, their aircraft dominated the skies. Percival deployed the bulk of his troops too far forward, defending 30 miles of front to make his stand on the island's beaches. Most of the men were poorly trained. In any case they were exhausted and dispirited after weeks of battle and defeat. Moreover, they had been outfought by a battle-hardened enemy skilled in infiltration and tactics suitable for the jungle terrain. The defending force of Indians (now consolidated into the 11th Division) and the 8th Australian Division had been reinforced on 29 January by the 11th British Division and, a few days earlier, by the partially trained 44th Indian Brigade. The only other troops were fortress troops, with two Malayan brigades and volunteers. All but one of the island airfields were

within reach of Japanese artillery fire, and the few remaining fighter aircraft were thus redeployed to Sumatra, from which they could provide only limited air support. Yamashita planned to throw the British off balance by feinting east of the causeway and making his major attack to the west of it.

On the morning of 8 February, the Japanese attacked. Two divisions crossed in landing craft against the Australian 22nd Brigade west of the Kranji River. Although the Australians sank many landing craft, they were too thin on the ground to hold the line. By the next morning, the Japanese had taken Ama Keng and were attacking Tengah Airfield. The defenders then withdrew to establish a line on the narrow neck of land between the Kranji and Jurong Rivers. Meanwhile, on the evening of 9 February, the Japanese successfully attacked the 27th Australian Brigade, creating a gap between the brigade and the Kranji-Jurong line. The Japanese soon bypassed that line, which was never properly prepared or occupied by the defenders. A British counterattack attempt to restore the position failed.

By 11 February, the Japanese had seized and repaired the causeway, allowing them to send additional resources, including tanks, onto the island and advance toward Nee Soon village. On 12 February, Percival ordered a withdrawal to a

perimeter marked by Bukit Timah road, MacRitchie and Pierce reservoirs, and Paya Lebar-Kallang. Heavy fighting began south of Bukit Timah road on 13 February, where for 48 hours the Australians held, and along Pasir Pajang ridge, where Malayan forces stubbornly repulsed the Japanese. On 14 February, however, the defenders were forced back to what proved to be their final line.

London had ordered Percival to continue the fight and not surrender. However, conditions in the city were shocking, with dead and dying in the streets and loss of the water supply imminent. Reserves of food and ammunition for the troops had been seriously depleted by loss of the depots. Meanwhile, the British evacuated certain key personnel by sea who were essential to the later war effort, and demolitions destroyed heavy guns, aviation fuel, bombs, and other equipment. Many of Percival's troops simply deserted, including the engineers who were to destroy the naval dockyard.

When it was clear that nothing was to be gained by further resistance, on 14 February Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill instructed Field Marshal Archibald P. Wavell, Allied theater commander, to authorize Percival to surrender. Percival also had the welfare of civilians to consider when on 15 February he surrendered his 70,000 troops unconditionally to Yamashita. The Japanese had taken Malaya and Singapore in only 70 days. The loss of Singapore was the greatest defeat of British forces since the 1781 Battle of Yorktown, and it had immense repercussions for British prestige in Asia.

Philip L. Bolté

See also

China-Burma-India Theater; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Malaya Campaign; Percival, Arthur Ernest; Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival; Yamashita Tomoyuki

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Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945)

Struggle between Japan and China that was fought for control of China. The Sino-Japanese War was sometimes known as the Second Sino-Japanese War to distinguish it from the war between these two states in 1894 and 1895. It began against

the backdrop of repeated efforts of Guomindang (GMD [Kuomintang, KMT], Nationalist) Party leader Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) to crush Chinese Communist forces led by Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung). Japanese efforts to control China flared into all-out war in 1937. Previously, an uneasy truce had held, despite Japanese encroachments into Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, and the Chinese provinces outside the Great Wall. As Japanese forces moved onto the north China plain, the situation became more volatile, however, and a confusing three-sided conflict emerged until the Japanese surrender of August 1945.

Scholars of the conflict delineate up to four broad phases of the war. The first began with the September 1931 Mukden (Shenyang) Incident, in which intelligence officers of the elite Japanese Guandong (Kwantung) Army in south Manchuria blew up a portion of track on the rail line at Mukden. They blamed it on the Chinese and used it as an excuse to occupy all of Manchuria, an area roughly the size of Texas and a major resource base. In succeeding years, the Japanese occupied more territory in north China outside the Great Wall as Jiang concentrated on “extermination campaigns” against Mao's Chinese Soviet Republic in Ruijin (Juichin) of Jiangxi (Kiangsi) Province in southeastern China. From October 1934 to October 1935, Jiang pursued Communist forces through China's hinterlands to Yan'an (Yenan) in what became known as the Long March. When Mao's forces reached the relative safety of Yan'an in northeastern Shaanxi (Shensi) Province, Jiang ordered local warlords, nominally loyal to him, to continue the campaign against the Communists instead of concentrating on resisting Japanese expansion. The Xi'an (Sian) Incident in December 1936, a coup staged by two Nationalist generals, forced Jiang to accept a United Front against Japan and helped focus Chinese nationalist fervor against the Japanese.

The Lugouqiao (Lukou-ch'iao) or Marco Polo Bridge Incident began the second phase and marked the start of the larger conflict. On 7 July 1937, Japanese army troops demanded entry into the town of Wanping (Wan-p'ing) about 10 miles west of Beijing (Peking) in Hebei (Hupeh) Province. The town was held by forces loyal to Jiang's Nationalist government. When the GMD troops denied entry to the Japanese, who were supposedly looking for a lost soldier, the Japanese threatened the use of force at Lugouqiao (the Marco Polo Bridge), where the opposing sides met.

In the aftermath of the Japanese demand for entry into the town and the Chinese refusal, Japanese forces began shelling Wanping and attacking the bridge. Larger Chinese units held their positions and even drove the Japanese back. Negotiations then began, used by both sides to concentrate additional forces in the north China plain. On 28 July, the Japanese attacked and seized control of the bridge; shortly thereafter the Japanese captured both Beijing and Tianjin (Tientsin),



Chinese soldiers raise their hands in surrender to Japanese soldiers in September 1938. Japanese forces drove deep into China between 1937 and 1939, despite stubborn Chinese resistance. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

local Chinese commanders having decided to abandon these cities rather than risk their destruction. On 31 July, Jiang informed the Chinese people that “the hope for peace has been shattered” and that the Chinese people had to fight the Japanese “to the bitter end” in order to expel the “invader.”

From July to December, Japanese forces seized most of the territory north of the Huanghe (Hwang Ho, known to westerners as Yellow) River. The fighting was not confined to north China, for in August 1937 the Japanese attacked the great commercial city of Shanghai in Jiangsu (Kiangsu). Not until November, after three months of hard fighting involving the best Nationalist troops, did Shanghai fall. Japanese forces then advanced up the Changjiang (Yangtse) River, and in December they took Nanjing (Nanking), also in Jiangsu Province, where they committed wide-scale atrocities. Nationalist forces withdrew deep into the Chinese interior to Chongqing (Chungking), in Sichuan (Szechwan), where Jiang established his new capital.

Over the next several years, Japanese forces conquered much of northern and east-central China. The Japanese moved somewhat predictably along railroad lines and major

waterways in order to facilitate troop transport and resupply. In theory, this should have aided the Chinese defenders, since it reduced the element of surprise. China, however, did not present a truly unified front because it was more unified in theory than in fact. Although Jiang possessed the most modern Chinese military force, his armies were less powerful than those of the Japanese. Other Chinese commanders were really regional military leaders, warlords unwilling to risk their troops and thereby weaken their position relative to other Chinese warlords. All too frequently, poorly led Chinese troops fought well for a brief time, but then they fled with escaping civilians.

By 1940, the Japanese controlled northern and eastern China, and the Chinese Communists dominated northwestern China. Late that year, the Communists launched the “Hundred Regiments” Offensive against Japan, but they were defeated by the better-equipped Japanese. The Communists then switched to guerrilla warfare against Japanese positions in northern and central China. This policy led to Japanese reprisals against both the Communists and the civilian population. Guerrilla warfare did not drive out the Japanese, but

it did help disrupt their control and served to establish the Communists as dedicated opponents of Japanese rule, enhancing their postwar political position.

By 1940, the situation had stabilized and a third, somewhat quieter, phase began. Although few major battles occurred, there were regular skirmishes in the three-sided conflict that had emerged after 1937. The Japanese occupied most of the eastern third of China, its major ports, and the bulk of its industrial areas. The Japanese-controlled territory included the majority of Han ethnic Chinese people. The Japanese established a puppet regime under Wang Jingwei (Wang Ching-wei), a left-wing member of the Guomindang who had been forced from power in December 1935. With Nationalist forces, Communist guerrillas, and an uncooperative Chinese population, the Japanese military sought to wear down Chinese resistance and cut off China from outside assistance, chiefly from the United States.

None of the three main contending armies could afford a major and costly campaign. Mao's Communist forces carried out a social revolution in the areas under their control, introducing land reform and seeking to improve the lot of the peasantry in health care and education. They also sought to identify landowners and other members of the Chinese upper classes with the hated Japanese occupiers. Mao remained vigilant against Jiang's armies, since the Chinese president continued to keep many of his best military units in a blockade of the Communist base area around Yan'an. Typically, Communist forces attacked troops and sought to convert the peasants to their cause in areas only weakly held by the Japanese.

Jiang also proceeded cautiously, for he intended to conserve Nationalist military strength to continue the civil war and crush the Communists once Japan had been defeated. For a time, the Soviet Union and the western powers provided aid to Jiang, despite logistical challenges. The Soviets sought to keep Japan occupied in China to forestall any invasion of Siberia, but a Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact signed in April 1941 eased Moscow's fears of Japanese expansion and enabled Soviet leader Josef Stalin to concentrate on the greater threat posed by Germany, which invaded in June. Britain, France, and the United States also provided assistance, but the German conquest of France reduced that aid to a trickle as Great Britain fought Germany alone while the United States gave highest priority to assisting Britain in its time of greatest peril.

The civil war, however, was never far from the surface, as evidenced in the so-called New Fourth Army "Anhui (Anhui) Incident" of January 1941. As part of the United Front against Japan, Jiang permitted Mao to reorganize his armed units into the Eighth Route Army and later authorized formation of the New Fourth Army. There was disagreement about its area of operations; Jiang expected the force to operate north of the Huanghe, but the New Fourth Army instead moved south into Shandong (Shantung). Consequently,

GMD armies surrounded and attacked the New Fourth Army on 6 January 1941, badly mauling that smaller force and compelling the surrender of 2,000 of its troops.

In September 1940, meanwhile, Japanese forces moved into northern Indochina, and in July 1941 they move into southern Indochina. These steps, an effort to cut the Chinese off from U.S. aid flowing from India, brought U.S. retaliation against Japan in the form of an economic embargo on certain critical war materials, especially oil. In turn, this triggered Japan's decision to go to war against the United States. Japan's December 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor and its war with Britain and the Netherlands broadened the conflict into a general Pacific war and severely strained its capability to conduct offensive operations in China.

Japanese military leaders were forced to reassign divisions from China to carry out the invasions of Hong Kong, the Philippines, Malaya, and Burma. In consequence, Japanese operations in China subsided. Jiang, confident of ultimate Allied victory, continued his policy of largely avoiding pitched battle with major Japanese military units, although he reluctantly agreed to commit some divisions to assist in operations against Japanese forces in Burma. Meanwhile, Chinese Communist forces continued their pattern of securing the loyalty of the peasants in areas they controlled while engaging in small-unit attacks against the Japanese. The general Nationalist military inactivity against the Japanese aided the Chinese Communists in that it helped them secure the mantle of Chinese nationalism. The Japanese "three-alls" reprisal policy also assisted the Communists. Following a guerrilla attack, Japanese forces would move into a nearby populated area and "kill all, loot all, burn all." Their policy turned many of the survivors into new recruits for the Communists.

U.S. aid to the Nationalists increased after December 1941, but China was a distant part of the China-Burma-India Theater. In April 1942, Japanese forces in Burma took Lashio and cut the Burma Road, Nationalist China's only land route to the outside world. Thereafter, American aid had to be flown over "the Hump" of the Himalayas to reach Chongqing. Jiang's U.S. military adviser, Lieutenant General Joseph Stilwell, tried to train and organize new Chinese divisions equipped by the United States, but he became increasingly frustrated with Jiang's refusal to commit them to fight the Japanese in Burma or in southeastern China. There was also disagreement among U.S. generals about aid to China. Major General Claire Chennault wanted to build on the success of the Flying Tigers and their high kill ratio against Japanese pilots to commit most aid to the new U.S. Fourteenth Air Force in China.

In October 1944, Stilwell was recalled at Jiang's request, and the China-Burma-India Theater was separated into the China Theater and the Burma-India Theater. This final phase of the Sino-Japanese War (late 1944 to August 1945) highlighted the corruption and inefficiency of Nationalist forces.

The United States had provided sufficient aid to build a modern army of 30 divisions and had also created the Fourteenth Air Force. Further, the United States began strategic bombing of Japanese air bases on Formosa some 100 miles from the Chinese mainland. Throughout 1943, American planners had contemplated using either eastern China or Formosa as a staging point for the men and supplies necessary to launch an invasion of the Japanese home islands. Early planning assumed that the new Chinese Nationalist divisions would reopen the Burma Road and contain Japanese forces in China proper. It also assumed that the Fourteenth Air Force would be able to subject Japanese coastal defenses to attack.

The successes of the U.S. amphibious forces in the southwest and central Pacific and the success of U.S. submarines in cutting the flow of food and raw materials, especially oil, from the Japanese-conquered territories to the home islands somewhat reduced the importance of China as a staging area against Japan. At the same time, Japanese forces in China launched a two-pronged offensive that demonstrated continued Chinese military weakness. Operation ICHI-GŌ, which Japan conducted from April to December 1944, aimed to cross the Burma-India border through south China to seize Allied airfields at the western side of the Hump air-transport route, to capture key north-south railroads in China, and to seize Fourteenth Air Force airfields used to stage attacks on Japanese forces. The attack on Assam failed, as Allied forces in Burma under Lieutenant General Sir William Slim broke the siege of Imphal and then went on the offensive. But the Japanese attack in China succeeded. The Japanese first won control of the key north-south railroad between the Huang and Chenjiang Rivers; they then seized the airfields used by the Fourteenth Air Force, and later in 1944 they secured Guilin (Kweilin), Nanning, and Liuzhou (Liuchow) in Guangxi (Kwangsi) Province. Chinese Nationalist forces not only fought poorly, but peasants attacked them as they retreated, demonstrating the huge divide between the Chinese masses and the government. Interestingly, the Japanese did not attack Communist base areas in northern and north-central China, causing some observers to speculate about a de facto Japanese-Chinese Communist truce that benefited both sides.

The ICHI-GŌ operation was the high point of Japanese military operations in China. Thereafter, Tokyo began transferring its best divisions from China and Manchuria to meet the U.S. drive across the Pacific into the Philippines and later the Bonin Islands and the Ryukyus. Remaining Japanese forces in China were badly overextended, and Japanese commanders sought to consolidate, especially by summer 1945, to face a possible Soviet attack. Meanwhile, the weight of corruption and inefficiency was beginning to sink Jiang's Nationalist regime. The Chinese government had limited financial resources because Japanese troops occupied the populous and most productive part of China. Corruption and inefficiency

also hurt the government. Jiang's regime responded by printing more and more paper money, driving down the value of paper and leading to dramatic inflation that wiped out much of the middle class. By contrast, Mao's Communist forces emerged from the war in a much stronger position because of their apparent honesty and commitment to the welfare of the peasants and their resistance to the Japanese.

By the summer of 1945, the war was drawing to a close. In early August 1945, Red Army troops—honoring Soviet leader Josef Stalin's pledge at the February 1945 Yalta Conference that the Soviet Union would enter the war against Japan "two or three months" after the defeat of Germany—invaded Manchuria in overwhelming force and quickly occupied that Chinese province. On 14 August 1945, Japan surrendered. The fighting in China had tied down some 1.2 million Japanese troops, with some 396,000 killed. China had sustained military casualties alone of more than 3.2 million, with more than 1.3 million dead. The number of civilian dead is unknown.

Unfortunately for the Chinese, the end of the long Sino-Japanese War did not bring peace to China. Ignoring American advice, Jiang moved troops to Manchuria to secure that key province before the Communists in north China could do so. Fighting broke out between the Nationalists and the Communists that led to a Communist victory in September 1949, bringing the long years of civil war and international war to an end.

Charles M. Dobbs and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Burma Road; Chennault, Claire Lee; China, Civil War in; Hump, The; ICHI-GŌ Campaign; Imphal and Kohima, Sieges of; Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact; Jiang Jieshi; Mao Zedong; Marco Polo Bridge, Battle of; Nanjing Massacre; Shanghai, Battle of; Slim, Sir William Joseph; Stalin, Josef; Stilwell, Joseph Warren

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Sirte, First Battle of (17 December 1941)

The First Battle of Sirte, an important Mediterranean air and naval battle between the British and Italians, occurred because both navies were conducting simultaneous convoy operations at sea. The British were trying to get a tanker, the *Breconshire*, to a fuel-starved Malta. Rear Admiral Sir Philip Vian departed Alexandria on 16 December 1941 with the *Breconshire* (disguised as a battleship), three light cruisers, and eight destroyers. Meanwhile, British Force K of three light cruisers and six destroyers sortied from Malta to meet it.

Simultaneously, the Italians dispatched supply ships to North Africa. This effort was particularly important, given heavy Italian shipping losses over the previous months. Seven destroyers and a torpedo boat provided close escort for 2 small convoys totaling 4 merchant ships and carrying 400 vehicles, 17 tanks, 10 artillery pieces, and other supplies. Their close escort, commanded by Vice Admiral Carlo Bergamini, consisted of the battleship *Duilio*, 2 light cruisers, and 3 destroyers. Italian Vice Admiral Angelo Iachino's covering force was also at sea. It consisted of the battleships *Littorio*, *Cesare*, and *Doria* as well as 2 heavy cruisers and 10 destroyers. Bergamini had developed the so-called "battleship convoy," with which he had enjoyed success following earlier Italian convoy disasters. The battleship escort operated near the slow-moving convoys and maneuvered in such a way as to remain close to them. At the same time, Iachino's heavier force was steaming between Vian's force and the main Italian convoy east of Malta.

The Italians learned through radio intercepts that British cruisers had departed Alexandria, and on 16 December their reconnaissance aircraft and German Ju-52s flying troops from Greece to North Africa sighted the disguised *Breconshire* and reported her as a battleship. Later that day, the British ships came under ineffective Italian air attack. Iachino assumed that British battleships were at sea hunting for his convoys, although in reality the lack of escorts and the threat of German submarines prevented the commander of British forces in the Mediterranean, Admiral Andrew B. Cunningham, from dispatching battleships from Alexandria.

Iachino then increased speed to 24 knots, the fastest *Doria* could manage, and steamed to engage. Vian had been joined by Force K and was aware of Iachino's approach from aerial reconnaissance early in the afternoon. He turned to the south, away from Iachino, in order to protect the *Breconshire*. Vian was also aware that additional Italian forces were at sea.

On 17 December, Vian's ships had again been subjected to Italian air attack, and the British antiaircraft fire had been observed by Iachino's fleet, which then closed. Sunset was approaching when contact was made, the Italians opening fire at extreme range of 35,000 yards dropping to 24,000 yards.

Vian detached the two destroyers, and later all of Force K, to protect the *Breconshire*, which then steamed south to escape.

Italian fire for this range was quite accurate, and their shells straddled several British ships. The British destroyers made smoke and advanced on the Italians, who countered by ordering their destroyers forward. The British destroyers boldly moved forward, but Vian almost immediately ordered them to retire on the main force.

With night coming on, Iachino ordered a withdrawal. Vian, under orders from Admiral Cunningham, did not try to force a night engagement. One British destroyer suffered one dead and sustained very minor damage. In the morning, Vian ordered Force K to escort the *Breconshire* into Valetta, Malta, while he retired on Alexandria.

Meanwhile, the two Italian convoys arrived safely at Tripoli and Benghazi. In an ancillary development on 19 December, Force K, trying to intercept the Axis convoys, ran into an Italian minefield near Tripoli. One cruiser and a destroyer were lost and two cruisers were damaged at a cost of more than 600 dead.

Jack Greene

See also

Cunningham, Sir Andrew Browne; Sirte, Second Battle of; Vian, Sir Philip Louis

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Sirte, Second Battle of (22 March 1942)

Mediterranean air and naval battle fought between the British and Italians as a consequence of British efforts to resupply Malta. Conditions on the British island were dire in 1942, with the Royal Navy able to sail only a few ships through the gauntlet of Axis air and naval forces dominating the Mediterranean. Admiral Sir Andrew B. Cunningham, Britain's commander in the Mediterranean, was determined that the next effort to resupply Malta would be successful.

On 20 March 1942, British convoy MW.10 of 4 merchant ships, including tanker *Breconshire*, departed Alexandria for Malta with fuel and provisions. Vice Admiral Sir Philip Vian commanded an escort force of 4 light cruisers, 9 large destroyers, and 7 small Hunt-class destroyers. A light cruiser and a destroyer were ordered from Malta to join it. Five British submarines were also on patrol.

German reconnaissance aircraft located the British convoy on the evening of 21 March, and the next morning, a British submarine off the port of Taranto reported an Italian naval force headed south. Vice Admiral Angelo Iachino commanded the battleship *Littorio*, 2 heavy cruisers, 1 light cruiser, and 8 destroyers. Two other Italian destroyers ordered to sea failed to arrive in time to participate in the battle. The Axis powers also had 6 submarines on patrol in the eastern Mediterranean. The Italian ships lacked radar (the first effective set would not be installed until May), but they did have command of the air, and Iachino knew the British lacked battleships.

By 22 March, Vian was nearing Malta and had lost one Hunt-class destroyer, which was torpedoed by a U-boat. At 2:10 P.M. on 22 March, the British sighted the 3 Italian cruisers and 4 destroyers. Vian now carried out the procedures decided on earlier. Five destroyers continued on with the convoy while Vian's remaining cruisers and destroyers made smoke and launched torpedo attacks against the Italian ships. The Italian ships then drew off.

Vian's detached forces had barely regained the convoy when at 4:37 P.M. the Italian fleet again came in sight. Iachino's intention was to steam to the southwest and cut off Vian from Malta, at the same time positioning himself downwind of the immense smoke screens being laid down by the British ships. Vian's force consistently charged and fell back, feinting and threatening the remainder of the afternoon, as the range slowly closed. With the approach of darkness, Iachino closed to within 5,000 yards. Fire from the *Littorio* damaged 2 British destroyers; 2 other British warships suffered minor shell damage. But with nightfall and lacking radar, Iachino decided to withdraw, despite having suffered only 1 British shell hit on the *Littorio*. During Iachino's return to Taranto, however, 2 Italian destroyers foundered in a storm with heavy loss of life.

The Luftwaffe sank 2 of the British transports short of Malta. The other 2 reached Malta, but they had been only partly offloaded before they, too, were sunk by air attack. One of the British destroyers damaged in the battle on 22 March was later sunk at Malta, again from the air, while undergoing repairs. The success of the Axis blockade of Malta led to another failed attempt to resupply the island in June.

Jack Greene

See also

Cunningham, Sir Andrew Browne; Sirte, First Battle of; Vian, Sir Philip Louis

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Sitzkrieg (4 October 1939–10 May 1940)

Period of apparent inactivity in ground or aerial combat between Germany and the Allies following the fall of Poland. Although Adolf Hitler hoped to launch an offensive against France in 1939 before winter began, the Wehrmacht required more time to redeploy its forces before such an undertaking. German generals begged for additional time, and terrible winter weather led Hitler reluctantly to agree to delays that ultimately postponed the invasion until the spring of 1940.

In the interim, France remained committed to the strategy of passive defense it had adopted from the war's outset. The French army had completed its mobilization along the German frontier while Hitler's forces seized Poland. Although France had an overwhelming advantage in numbers and equipment, French army commander General Maurice Gamelin failed to seize the opportunity and invade Germany in strength from the west. On 30 September, Gamelin ordered an end to the small foray he had authorized into the Rhineland and a withdrawal to the French frontier. The French also manned the Maginot Line and settled into garrison duty by 4 October.

Belgium and the Netherlands maintained their neutrality, and the British—who were slow to commit resources to France and to understand the gravity of the situation—believed the economic pressure of the Royal Navy's blockade could force a negotiated settlement. As a result, an illusion of peace called the *Sitzkrieg* (stationary war)—an ironic reference to the German blitzkrieg (lightning war) campaign in Poland—settled over the opposing forces. It was also known as the Phony War or *drôle de guerre* and the Bore War. Both sides were reluctant to unleash premature air action that might bring about the bombing of cities, and the British limited their early bombing activity largely to dropping of leaflets (critics called it the “Confetti War”).

Civilian trains continued to run along tracks between the German and French lines. Children and soldiers alike played in the open fields separating the combatants. The surreal atmosphere at the front began to take a toll on the morale of the French army, as defeatism and apathy spread through the French government.

Meanwhile, preparations for further hostilities continued. The British Expeditionary Force (BEF) gradually grew in strength along the Belgian border, but the Allies failed to take advantage of lessons learned in Poland regarding the use of tanks in divisions. The army largely ignored Colonel Charles de Gaulle's pleas to reform French armor doctrine to reflect Germany's successful demonstration of blitzkrieg warfare in Poland.

As the bitterly cold winter of 1940 gave way to spring, illusions regarding the war continued. Even an American intel-

ligence assessment, correctly noting that Germany would complete its buildup along the French border in May 1940, concluded that no attack would follow. The Norway Campaign of April 1940 did little to weaken that common perception, which lingered in many minds until 10 May, when the Germans launched their invasion of France and the Low Countries.

Jeffery A. Charlston

See also

Blitzkrieg; de Gaulle, Charles; France, Battle for; Gamelin, Maurice Gustave; Hitler, Adolf; Maginot Line; Norway, German Conquest of; Poland Campaign

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Skorzeny, Otto (1908–1975)

German Schutzstaffel (SS) commando officer. Born in Vienna, Austria, on 12 June 1908, Otto Skorzeny studied engineering at Vienna Technical College. His involvement there in a dueling society led to his nickname “Scarface.” Upon graduation, Skorzeny worked as an engineer. After the 1938 Anschluss (union) of Austria with Germany, Skorzeny volunteered as a pilot for the German air force. Rejected because of his age, he joined the SS Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler Division (later the 1st SS Panzer Division). Transferring to the SS Das Reich Division, he fought in the invasion of France and the Low Countries in 1940 and as a lieutenant in the invasions of the Balkans (April to May 1941) and the Soviet Union (June 1941). He was badly wounded in fighting on the Eastern Front and was evacuated. On his recovery, he was assigned to a desk job in a supply depot.

In April 1943, Skorzeny was promoted to captain in the SS and placed in charge of German Special Troops. He studied British commando operations and set up a facility at a hunting lodge at Friedenthal (Valley of Peace) near Berlin, where his volunteers were trained in special operations techniques. On 9 September 1943, Skorzeny and his commandos gained international attention when they rescued former Italian dictator Benito Mussolini in a daring assault on Gran Sasso, a mountain resort where Mussolini was being held, freeing him within five minutes without firing a shot. On 15 October 1944, with Hungarian leaders trying to leave the war, Hitler sent Major Skorzeny and his commandoes into that country. There they seized Milos Horthy, son of the regent of Hungary Miklós Horthy, and the next day they seized the regent himself. A pro-Nazi government then took power in Hungary.

In late October, Hitler personally promoted Skorzeny to lieutenant colonel in the Waffen-SS and charged him



Waffen SS Lieutenant Colonel Otto Skorzeny in prison in Nurmberg, December 1945. (Bettmann/Corbis)

with responsibility for covert operations for the upcoming Ardennes Offensive. Skorzeny took command of the 10th Panzer Brigade, a collection of 2,500 men from different units, some speaking English and dressed in American uniforms to commit sabotage and create havoc behind Allied lines. In Operation GRIEF during the offensive, the brigade had limited success creating confusion among U.S. troops. With the defeat of the Ardennes Offensive, the brigade was disbanded. Skorzeny then fought briefly on the Eastern Front before he was transferred back to the west, where he tried and failed to destroy the bridge captured by U.S. forces over the Rhine at Remagen.

Arrested after the German surrender and charged with war crimes, Skorzeny was acquitted for lack of evidence, but he was not released. He escaped from prison in July 1948 and made his way to Spain, where he married an heiress and established a prosperous engineering business. In 1952, the Federal Republic of Germany government cleared Skorzeny of any wrongdoing in the war. Skorzeny raised funds to enable ex-SS men to find refuge in Latin America. He died in Madrid on 7 July 1975.

Cullen Monk

See also

Ardennes Offensive; BARBAROSSA, Operation; Belgium Campaign; Commandos/Rangers; Denmark Campaign; France, Battle for; Greece Campaign (April 1941); Horthy de Nagybánya, Miklós; Mussolini, Benito; Remagen Bridge

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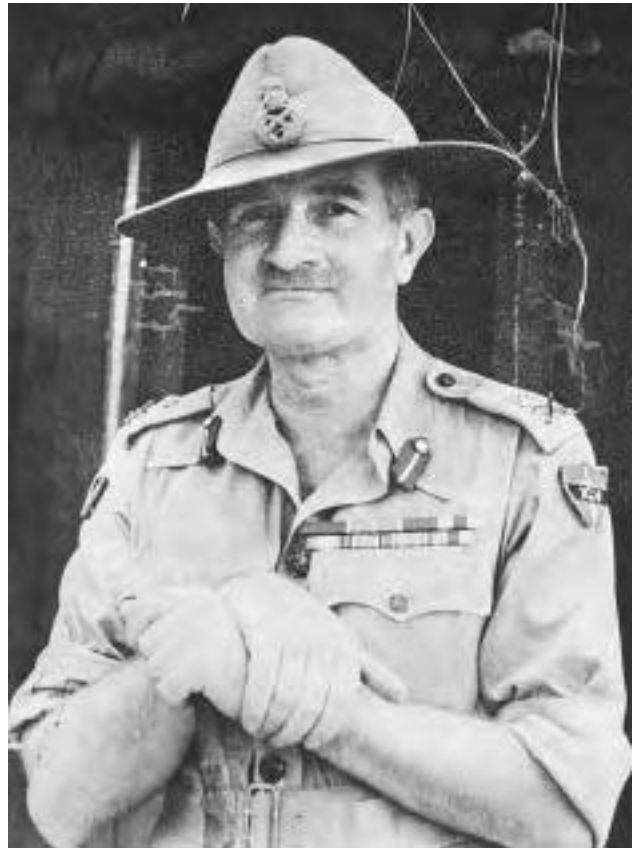
Slim, Sir William Joseph (First Viscount Slim) (1891–1970)

British army general and commander of the Fourteenth Army in India and Burma. Born on 6 August 1891 in Bristol, Slim came from humble stock. He joined the Officer Training Corps, and in August 1914, he was commissioned a second lieutenant. At Gallipoli in 1915, he received a serious wound, but he made a full recovery. He deployed to Mesopotamia in 1916, earning the Military Cross for valor before being wounded again and sent to India to convalesce.

Between the wars, Slim served with the Indian army, honed his writing doing part-time journalism, and distinguished himself as an instructor at the Staff College at Camberley and as a student at the Imperial Defence College. By 1940, he was a brigadier general commanding the 10th Indian Infantry Brigade. At Gallabat in the Sudan, his brigade retreated in the face of inferior Italian forces. After this error in judgment, he adopted a marked preference for offensive boldness. The next year, he rose to major general and command of the 10th Indian Division in Iraq and Syria.

With the Japanese invasion of Burma, Slim returned to the China-Burma-India Theater in March 1942 to command the Burma Corps. Overwhelmed by the superior skill and mobility of attacking Japanese forces, Slim oversaw a 1,000-mile retreat, the longest in British army history. Throughout, he kept his demoralized and seriously outclassed corps together, preserving 12,000 men to fight another day.

Promoted to lieutenant general and given command of XV Corps in April 1942, Slim worked to instill in his soldiers resilience and an aggressive attitude. By emphasizing fitness, night and jungle training, small-unit tactics, and self-reliance, he restored the confidence of a badly shaken army. As with the more famous Bernard Montgomery, Slim had the advantage of being not quite a gentleman. He spoke to his troops using their language (he knew Urdu and Gurkhali), and he shared their sacrifices. A solid physique and strong, lantern-jawed mien lent authority to his tough talk. As he mingled with his men, he transmitted the forcefulness of his



General William Slim, chief of the Imperial General Staff, 10 August 1948. (Bettmann/Corbis)

own personality to the units under his command. Slim continued his personalized brand of leadership when he assumed command of the Fourteenth Army in May 1943.

Slim's Fourteenth Army faced its sternest challenge with the Japanese HA-GŌ and U-GŌ offensives in March 1944, the latter aiming for Imphal and Kohima. Initially caught off balance, Slim's army fought doggedly, forcing the Japanese to expend their momentum and limited supplies in costly attacks. Counterattacking, Fourteenth Army pursued the Japanese across the malarial mountains of Burma during the monsoon season. In its headlong retreat, the Japanese Fifteenth Army lost nearly half of its initial force of 150,000 men. Fighting a unified Japanese army with an aura of invincibility about it, Slim's multiethnic and religiously diverse army inflicted the largest land defeat on Japan up to that time. Slim then led the reconquest of Burma until war's end.

After the war, Slim served as chief of the Imperial General Staff, and in 1949 he earned promotion to field marshal. From 1953 to 1960, he was governor-general of Australia, becoming in 1960 the First Viscount Slim. His memoir, *Defeat into Victory* (1956), is regarded as a classic. Slim died in London on 14 December 1970.

William J. Astore

See also

Burma Road; Burma Theater; China-Burma-India Theater; Chindits; Great Britain, Army; Imphal and Kohima, Sieges of; India

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Slovik, Edward D. (1920–1945)

U.S. Army private, the only U.S. serviceman to be executed for desertion during World War II. Born on 18 February 1920 near Detroit, Michigan, Edward Slovik was classified 4F because of his criminal record but was reclassified as draft-eligible in 1943 because of a manpower shortage. In August 1944, Slovik was sent to France to join the 28th Infantry Division as a replacement.

On 25 August, Slovik and another soldier became separated from their unit and fell in with a Canadian patrol. They spent six weeks with the Canadians before U.S. military police returned Slovik to his original company on 5 October. Slovik told an officer that he was frightened of combat and that he would run away again. Believing his punishment would be the stockade, Slovik deserted the next day. Returning to his unit, he signed a confession of desertion. He was given a chance to clear himself of the charges, but he refused. He was court-martialed on 11 November and sentenced to be executed by firing squad. Supreme Allied Commander General Dwight D. Eisenhower, believing it was necessary for morale, upheld the sentence, and the execution proceeded on 31 January 1945 near Saint-Marie aux Mines, France. Years later, U.S. President Jimmy Carter officially pardoned Slovik.

Harold Wise

See also

Eisenhower, Dwight D.

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Smith, Holland McTyeire (1882–1967)

U.S. Marine Corps general. Born at Hatchachubbee, Alabama, on 20 April 1882, Holland Smith graduated from the Alabama Polytechnic Institute (today Auburn University) in 1901 and then earned a law degree at the University of Alabama in 1903. More interested in military service than



U.S. Marine Corps Lieutenant General Holland M. "Howlin' Mad" Smith at base on Saipan, 1944. From there he helped plan the Allied attack on Guam. (Corbis)

law, Smith received a commission as a second lieutenant in the Marine Corps in 1905.

Over the next decade, Smith held a variety of land and sea assignments. He also earned the nickname "Howlin' Mad" for his frequent explosions of temper. In Santo Domingo in 1916, Smith undertook experiments with amphibious landings. Following U.S. entry into World War I, Smith fought in France with the 5th Marine Regiment and then served as adjutant to the 4th Marine Brigade. Following postwar occupation duty in Germany, he returned to the United States in 1919.

Smith graduated from the Naval War College in 1921. An enthusiastic advocate and pioneer of amphibious warfare, in 1937 Colonel Smith became director of operations and training at Marine Corps headquarters in Washington, D.C. Here he worked to develop new tactics, landing craft, and amphibious tractors. Smith believed that amphibious warfare would be an essential element of any U.S. Pacific military operation. Smith was especially concerned about developing efficient amphibian landing craft, and he worked closely with Andrew J. Higgins on new designs. In September 1939, Smith took command of the 1st Marine Brigade. He was promoted to major general and deployed his brigade to Cuba to practice amphibious techniques. Doubled in size, his brigade became the 1st Marine Division. In June 1941, Smith assumed command of what became the Amphibious Force, Atlantic Fleet.

Smith then headed Marine amphibious training on the west coast of the United States until June 1943, when he com-

manded the joint Army-Marine V Amphibious Corps in the Central Pacific. Smith's troops implemented his amphibious strategies while seizing Japanese-held islands. In November 1943, Smith's forces took the Gilbert Island atolls of Makin and Tarawa. Based on lessons learned at Tarawa, Smith urged the deployment of additional amphibious tractors and the institution of more effective landing-support techniques.

In 1944, Smith's forces seized the Marshall Islands and Mariana Islands, capturing Kwajalein and Eniwetok in the Marshalls in January and Saipan, Tinian, and Guam between June and August. On Saipan, however, Smith relieved 27th Division commander Army Major General Ralph K. Smith for not being sufficiently aggressive. This action led to sharp Marine-Army recriminations but did not prevent Smith's promotion to lieutenant general that August, when he took command of the new Fleet Marine Force, Pacific. In 1945, Smith directed the assault on Iwo Jima, the penultimate amphibious assault of the war.

In July 1945, Smith assumed command of the Marine Training and Replacement Command at Camp Pendleton, California. Smith retired from the Marines in July 1946 with promotion to full general, only the third Marine in history to reach that rank. He died in San Diego, California, on 12 January 1967.

Elizabeth D. Schafer and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Amphibious Warfare; Eniwetok, Capture of; Gilbert Islands Campaign; Iwo Jima, Battle for; Kwajalein, Battle for; Landing Craft; Makin Island, Battle of; Mariana Islands, Naval Campaign; Marshall Islands, Naval Campaign; Nimitz, Chester William; Saipan, Battle of; Smith, Ralph Corbett; Tarawa, Battle of; Tinian, U.S. Invasion of

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Smith, Julian Constable (1885–1975)

U.S. Marine Corps general. Born in Elkton, Maryland, on 11 September 1885, Julian Smith graduated from the University of Delaware in 1907 and was commissioned in the Marine Corps in 1909. He participated in several U.S. operations in Latin America and the Caribbean, including the occupation of Veracruz, Mexico, in 1914. A 1928 graduate of the Army Command and General Staff School, Smith was an instructor

at the Marine Corps Schools. He served in Nicaragua (1930–1933) and was operations officer with the 7th Marine Regiments (1933–1934), and he then became director of operations and training at Marine Corps Headquarters (1935–1938). From 1938 to 1940, Colonel Smith was chief of staff of the 1st Marine Brigade. Promoted to brigadier general in March 1941, Smith served as naval observer in London.

On his return to the United States, Smith was promoted to major general in October 1942, and he assumed command of Marine Training Schools, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina. In May 1943, Smith commanded the 2nd Marine Division, leading it in the invasion of Tarawa in the Gilbert Islands during 20–23 November 1943. In some of the war's heaviest fighting, Smith's Marines defeated the tenacious Japanese defenders at Betio Atoll. In April 1944, Smith became commanding general, Expeditionary Troops, Third Fleet. Smith's forces then captured the southern Palau Islands, and in September 1944, they occupied Ulithi, which became the hub of U.S. naval operations in the western Pacific. In December 1944, Smith assumed command of the Pacific Department, Fleet Marine Force, Pacific, a post he held until the end of the war.

In February 1946, Smith assumed command of the Parris Island Marine Base in South Carolina. He retired from the Marines as a lieutenant general that December. Smith died at Fort Belvoir, Virginia, on 5 November 1975.

Edward F. Finch

See also

Amphibious Warfare; Tarawa, Battle of

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Smith, Walter Bedell (1895–1961)

U.S. Army general. Born in Indianapolis, Indiana, on 5 October 1895, Walter Bedell Smith was nicknamed "Beetle." He joined the Indiana National Guard in 1910 and briefly attended Butler University. Smith earned a commission in the National Guard and served with the 39th Infantry in France during World War I. He was wounded in the Aisne-Marne Offensive in August 1918 and invalided home.

Smith remained in the U.S. Army after the war and proved himself a capable administrator. Assignments included the Bureau of Military Intelligence, the Bureau of the Budget, and the Federal Liquidation Board. He also served as a student or instructor at the Infantry School at Fort Benning, Georgia; the



Marine Major General Julian Smith (foreground) and Rear Admiral Harry Hill observe the action on Tarawa Island from the bridge of the U.S. Navy battleship *Maryland*. (Corbis)

Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas; and the Army War College. His abilities were noted by General George C. Marshall, who became army chief of staff in September 1939. The following month Marshall named Smith assistant secretary of the General Staff and, in August 1941, secretary of the General Staff.

After the United States entered the war, Smith became the U.S. secretary to the Combined Chiefs of Staff in February 1942. Following heavy lobbying from European Theater commander Lieutenant General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Marshall reluctantly ordered Smith to Europe in September 1942 to assume his most recognizable role as Eisenhower's chief of staff. Smith earned Eisenhower's trust to handle staff planning and administration, thus allowing his commander to spend more time on operational matters. In a post far less glamorous than battle command, Smith made decisions beyond staff direction, often issuing orders to field commanders in Eisenhower's name.

Eisenhower rejected any notion that Smith should be assigned anywhere but as his chief of staff. Entrusted by

Eisenhower with the job of negotiating with Italian emissaries, Smith, through a combination of bluster and intimidation, accepted the Italian surrender on 3 September 1943. As planning for Operation OVERLORD began in earnest, Smith became chief of staff, Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces. His staff direction built the core of Operation OVERLORD. On 5 June 1944, when Eisenhower turned to Smith for advice on whether he should launch the Normandy landings, Smith urged that the attack proceed, calling it, "the best possible gamble." When the Third Reich collapsed, Eisenhower authorized Smith to accept the German surrender at Rheims on 7 May 1945.

In January 1946, Smith returned to Washington to be chief of the Operations and Planning Division of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In March, President Harry S. Truman appointed him ambassador to the Soviet Union, where he remained until 1949. Smith was convinced that the United States should take a strong stand against Soviet expansion and that the Soviet Union would back down if confronted by American power.



U.S. Army Lieutenant General Walter Bedell Smith, 1945. (Corbis)

From 1950 to 1953, Smith served as the second director of the Central Intelligence Agency. He was advanced to full general in July 1951. Smith also served as undersecretary of state in the Eisenhower administration.

Smith retired from government service in October 1954. He was embittered that he never received either the fifth star or promotion to chief of staff of the army, which he believed he deserved. He then entered private business. Smith died in Washington, D.C., on 9 August 1961.

Thomas D. Veve

See also

Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Marshall, George Catlett; OVERLORD, Operation; Sicily, Invasion of; TORCH, Operation

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Smolensk, Battle of (10 July–5 August 1941)

Crucial battle at the beginning of the German invasion of the Soviet Union. Smolensk was an important rail and communications center 200 miles from Moscow. The historic gateway to Moscow, Smolensk is located at the western exit from the 50-mile-wide gap between the Dnieper and Dvina Rivers. Soviet Marshal Semen Timoshenko took command of the West Front comprising seven armies with weak infantry divisions and virtually no mobile reserves to stem further German advances. He organized his forces on the Dnieper River line anchored by Vitebsk and Mogilev as the first-echelon defense of the heart of the Soviet Union.

The large concentration of Soviet troops served as a magnet for German commanders who sought to encircle their enemy in a decisive battle. The armored spearheads of Colonel General Heinz Guderian's Panzer Group 2 and General Hermann Hoth's Panzer Group 3 were to cross the Dvina and Dnieper Rivers, advance on a parallel axis along the Minsk-Moscow highway, and link behind Smolensk to trap the Soviets. General Alexander Löhr's Fourth Air Fleet provided aerial support. The plan was risky, as the speed it required of the mechanized elements would preclude use of the slower infantry armies needed to secure the vulnerable flanks of the panzer groups.

On 10 July, Panzer Group 2 crossed the Dnieper and bypassed Soviet troop concentrations without concern for flank security, heavy rains, or determined Soviet resistance. Guderian drove his forces deep toward Smolensk. At the same time, Panzer Group 3 captured Vitebsk and forced the Soviet defense toward Veliki Luki. By 13 July, three Soviet armies were withdrawing toward Smolensk to establish a defense of the city. To buy time, Timoshenko ordered counterattacks with his remaining armies into the exposed flanks of Panzer Group 2, which led to bitter fighting and slowed the German mechanized elements.

On 16 July, Guderian's Panzer Group 2 captured Smolensk, and Panzer Group 3 captured Yartsevo to form an elongated pocket around three Russian armies trapped north of the Dnieper. However, instead of trying to close the pocket, Guderian sent his panzers toward Yelnya, forfeiting a *Kesselschlact* (cauldron, or encircling battle) and offering a salient for the Soviets to attack. On 20 July, Timoshenko formed new armies to counterattack and pin down German forces, especially



Two German soldiers watch burning buildings in the city of Smolensk, 12 August 1941. The Germans used this photo to back up their persistent claims that Smolensk had fallen. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

those in the Yelnya salient. As 60-mile-long columns of Soviet infantry moved forward and hundreds of trains appeared loaded with vehicles and tanks, the Germans realized that the Red Army had not yet been beaten.

Furious battles raged around Smolensk as the Soviets counterattacked to hold open a corridor for more than 100,000 men to escape. The Soviets lost the battle for Smolensk, although fighting continued there until 5 August. In the Smolensk pocket, the Germans captured more than 300,000 prisoners, 3,000 guns, and 3,200 tanks. However, the victory strained the German forces at all levels, forcing a pause of several weeks. As Adolf Hitler and the German army High Command debated whether the next objective should be Moscow or Ukraine, the Soviets reorganized and prepared their defenses that would halt the Germans at the gates of Moscow.

Steven J. Rauch

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Blitzkrieg; Eastern Front; Guderian, Heinz; Hoth, Hermann; Löhr, Alexander; Timoshenko, Semen Konstantinovich

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Smuts, Jan Christian (1870–1950)

South African politician, prime minister, and British field marshal. Born to Afrikaner parents on a farm near Riebeck West, Cape Colony, on 24 May 1870, Jan Smuts won highest honors at Christ's College, Cambridge. He then practiced law in Capetown. During the 1899–1902 Boer War, Smuts fought against the British, leading Boer commandos as a general. Following the war, Smuts, who was a close ally of Louis Botha, helped draft the constitution of the Union of South Africa and sought accommodation with the British.



General Jan Christian Smuts, 1941. (Bettmann/Corbis)

When World War I began, Smuts was defense minister under Prime Minister Botha and headed the southern offensive that took control of German Southwest Africa (the future Namibia) from the Germans. Made a British army general, Smuts then commanded British operations in East Africa. By the time World War I ended, he had joined the British Imperial War Cabinet as minister of air and helped to organize the Royal Air Force, the world's first independent air force. Smuts represented South Africa during the Paris Peace Conference, where he supported the League of Nations and helped to develop the mandate system.

On the death of Botha, Smuts became prime minister of South Africa in August 1919. He remained in that post until the Nationalists attained power in 1924. In 1933, he formed a coalition with Nationalist Party leader (James) Barry Hertzog and was deputy prime minister. On the outbreak of war with Germany, Hertzog favored South African neutrality. Smuts, who advocated war with Germany, narrowly defeated Hertzog in Parliament and became prime minister again on 6 September 1939. He was also minister of defense, and from June 1940, he commanded South African armed forces in the war. During the conflict, despite his unprecedented power, Smuts overcame significant opposition to his policies from Nazi sympathizers, although he refused to suppress his fascist opponents completely.

His longtime friend British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill frequently consulted Smuts on strategic matters. Smuts was a strong advocate of holding onto Egypt, no matter the cost; thus, South African forces, following their participation in the East Africa campaign, deployed to Egypt in late 1941. The next year, they helped to take the island of Madagascar. In 1941, Smuts was made an honorary British field marshal.

Smuts was also a staunch advocate of the formation of the United Nations (UN). He wrote its preamble and helped draft its charter. In April 1945, Smuts attended the San Francisco conference and was thus one of the UN's official founders. His internationalist outlook undoubtedly cost him political support at home, and in 1946 Smuts retired following his defeat in the general elections. Smuts died at his home near Pretoria on 11 September 1950.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Africa; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; East Africa Campaign; Egypt; Madagascar; South Africa, Union of

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Snipers

Individuals firing at long range from concealment against an enemy force. Sniping was a phenomenon of World War I that did not seem likely to occur in the World War II because of the initial rapid advances of invading German and Japanese troops. However, when military operations began to take on a more static aspect, it was realized that sniping could be of great value, especially in affecting morale. The ability of a seemingly invisible sniper to kill individuals at a range of 400 or even 600 yards could have a significant effect on the attacked unit. Snipers generally worked in pairs, one acting as a spotter while the other shot.

Heinrich Himmler can be considered the instigator of German sniper training. He began a Waffen-Schutzstaffel (Waffen-SS) sniper training program. The Germans had sold off many of their sniper rifles and had not reordered any telescopic sights, but Himmler reversed this situation. At first, the Germans used any rifle to which a telescopic sight could be fitted, but later they concentrated on the standard infantry rifle, the Kar 98k, fitted with turret-mount telescopic sights.

When the German army invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, it encountered many Soviet snipers and needed to neu-



Sergeant P. Dorzhiev, a Soviet sniper credited with killing 181 German soldiers on the Leningrad front, looking through binoculars and holding rifle, 1942. (Library of Congress)

tralize them. The Soviet snipers were at first more numerous than skilled, but they improved with training and experience. Stories abound of Russian snipers' effectiveness. One sniper killed 75 German soldiers and wounded another 25 from the German 465th Infantry Regiment in September 1941. Russian snipers were armed chiefly with the Moisin-Nagant 91/30 rifle, which was fitted with a variety of telescopic sights.

As the war progressed, snipers appeared in increasing numbers on both sides on the Eastern Front. The Soviets had snipers who recorded tallies of 400 or even 500 dead. The leading German sniper managed about 300 kills. The movie "Enemy at the Gates" (2001) celebrates the success of Soviet sniper Vassily Zaitsev in the Battle of Stalingrad.

In the Pacific Theater, U.S. snipers were equipped with the Springfield .30 caliber M1903 A-3 and A-4 rifles, with a commercial 2.5 magnification telescopic sight. The sight was fragile, having been designed for deer hunting. Because the rifle had no iron sights fitted, if the telescope was damaged the rifle was rendered useless for sniping. In all, the U.S. Army issued some 28,000 Springfield sniper rifles. The M-1 Garand serv-

ice rifle was also fitted with a telescopic sight, but this came too late in the war to have great effect on sniping techniques and practice.

The U.S. Marine Corps has always had a great interest in sniping, and it parted from the commercial telescopic sight to fit a Unertl scope, which had military durability. One marine sniper, Private David Cass, shot down a Japanese machine-gun crew at a range of 1,200 yds. Japanese snipers often, to their own danger, were roped into trees from which they could fire on advancing Allied troops. Many were killed by machine-gun fire, and on one celebrated occasion a Japanese sniper was comprehensively dispatched by a round from a Boyes .50 caliber antitank rifle, which went straight through the tree and the sniper.

The Soviets had individual snipers who recorded more than 400 deaths on the Eastern Front.

The British army had long been intensely interested in long-range rifle marksmanship, and in February 1940 it established a sniper training school at Bisley Camp in England. Initially, British snipers used the vintage P1914 rifle. The British seldom used snipers in the first half of the war; the war of movement in France and the Low Countries in 1940 did not offer opportunities for sniping, and in the Western Desert Campaign, heat distortion and the lack of cover made sniping virtually impossible. In the campaign in Sicily, however, sniping regained its importance for the British. By this time, snipers were using the new British service rifle, redesignated Rifle No. 4 Mk 1 (T). Originally standard-issue weapons, the rifles were then sent to London gunmakers Holland and Holland for rebuilding. Although there was some criticism of the telescopic sight used, at least one British sniper engaged Germans at a range of 700 yards and scored several hits.

Begun as a minor activity in all armies in World War II, sniping soon accumulated its own lore, and the sight of an oddly dressed rifleman clutching a telescopic rifle, accompanied by another rifleman with a spotting telescope became more and more common. The effect of these men was remarkable, and defending troops went about their business in considerable peril of their lives. Sniping is a tradition perpetuated by many armies today.

David Westwood

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Himmler, Heinrich; Infantry Tactics; Rifles; Stalingrad, Battle of

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Sobibor

See Concentration Camps, German.

SOE

See Special Operations Executive.

Sokolovsky, Vasily Danilovich (1897–1968)

Soviet army marshal. Born in the village of Kozliki near Grodna (then Poland) on 21 July 1897, Vasily Sokolovsky

joined the Red Army in 1918. During the Russian Civil War, he rose to command the 32nd Rifle Division. He attended the Red Army Military Academy of the General Staff in 1921 and served in Central Asia as deputy chief of the Operations Directorate of the General Staff. Sokolovsky was then chief of staff of a division and corps, commanded a division from 1930 to 1935, was deputy chief of staff of the Volga Military District, and was chief of staff of the Urals Military District and then the Volga Military District.

Promoted to major general in May 1938 and to lieutenant general in June 1940, Sokolovsky was deputy chief of the General Staff in February 1941. In midsummer 1941 he became chief of staff of the Western Front, which was responsible for the defense of Moscow. Promoted to colonel general in June 1942, he commanded the Western Front in February 1943. He fought in the Battle of Kursk of July 1943 and was promoted to general of the army in August. As chief of staff of Marshal Georgii Zhukov's First Ukrainian Front beginning in April 1944, he alternated between duties in the field and in Moscow. In the last month of the war, Sokolovsky was deputy commander of the 1st Belorussian Front in the capture of Berlin.

After the war, Sokolovsky was deputy to Zhukov as commander of the Soviet occupation forces in Germany and governor of the Soviet zone of Berlin. Promoted to marshal in 1946, he commanded Soviet occupation forces in Germany from 1946 to 1949. He then became first deputy minister of war and then chief of the General Staff from 1952 to 1960. His final assignment was as general inspector and head of a group working to formulate Soviet nuclear war strategy, published as *Soviet Military Strategy* in 1962. Sokolovsky died in Moscow on 10 May 1968.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Berlin, Land Battle for; Kursk, Battle of; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign (August 1942–February 1943)

Extended six-month-long South Pacific naval campaign between Allied and Japanese forces that halted the Japanese Pacific advance. Between May and July 1942, the Japanese

sought to expand their defensive ring into the eastern and central Solomon Islands. As a part of this drive, they sent elements of their Eighth Army to occupy the island of Guadalcanal. On 6 July, the Japanese began construction of an airfield there, from which they would be able to bomb the advanced Allied base at Espiritu Santo.

News of the construction project forced U.S. commanders to expedite their plans for the Solomons, known as Operation WATCHTOWER. Conceived and advocated by U.S. chief of naval operations Admiral Ernest J. King, WATCHTOWER called for securing the island of Tulagi as an additional base to protect the U.S.-Australia lifeline and as a starting point for a drive up the Solomons to Rabaul. Vice Admiral Robert L. Ghormley, U.S. commander in the South Pacific under Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, then dispatched an amphibious force under Rear Admiral Richmond K. Turner lifting Major General Alexander A. Vandegrift's 1st Marine Division from Nouméa to the Solomons. Vice Admiral Frank J. Fletcher's three-carrier task force provided protection. On 7 August 1942, the Marines went ashore on Tulagi and Guadalcanal and captured the airfield, which they renamed Henderson Field. The airfield soon became the focal point of fighting on the island. In all, the protracted struggle for Guadalcanal included 10 major land actions, 50 engagements involving warships or aircraft, and 7 major naval battles.

The Japanese did not send their main fleet, but rather vessels in dribbles. The Americans soon had Henderson Field operating; American land-based air power controlled "the Slot" (the narrow channel through the Solomon Islands) during the day, but the Japanese initially controlled it at night. The Imperial Japanese Navy excelled at night fighting, for which its crews had been intensively trained, as was shown in the Battle of Savo Island.

When he learned of the landings at Guadalcanal, Vice Admiral Mikawa Gunichi at Rabaul immediately made plans to reinforce the Japanese garrison on Guadalcanal and to attack the vulnerable ships at the landing site. Meanwhile, Vandegrift needed four days to unload all the transports, but Fletcher replied that he could not leave his carriers in position more than 48 hours, and he began removing them on the evening of 8 August. On the night of 8–9 August, Mikawa arrived off the landing site and proceeded to administer the worst defeat suffered by the U.S. Navy in a fair fight. In the Battle of Savo Island, Mikawa sank four Allied cruisers (three U.S. and one Australian) and a destroyer. Three other ships sustained heavy damage. Mikawa did not suffer any losses in the battle, although one of his cruisers was sunk by a U.S. submarine in the return to Rabaul. Mikawa, however, had hauled off without attacking the vulnerable transports. The battle clearly demonstrated Japanese superior night-fighting techniques, excellent gunnery, and the effectiveness of Japan's Long Lance torpedo.

Both sides now reinforced Guadalcanal, but U.S. possession of Henderson Field tipped the balance. Rushed to completion, it ultimately boasted about 100 U.S. aircraft. At night the so-called "Tokyo Express" of Japanese destroyers and light cruisers steamed down the Slot between the islands and into the sound to shell Marine positions and to deliver supplies. The latter effort was never sufficient and only haphazard. It often consisted of drums filled with supplies pushed off the ships to drift to shore. One of the great what-ifs of the Pacific war is the failure of the Japanese to exploit the temporary departure of the U.S. Navy to rush substantial reinforcements to Guadalcanal.

The next major naval action was the 22–25 August Battle of the Eastern Solomons. Rear Admiral Tanaka Raizo dispatched to Guadalcanal a small convoy of destroyers and transports carrying troop reinforcements. Admiral Kondō Nobutake steamed from Truk toward the Solomons with a task force to provide protection. Fletcher's carrier aircraft intercepted the Japanese and sank the light carrier *Ryujo* and several other vessels, but the carrier *Enterprise* suffered damage. On 31 August, the Japanese torpedoed and badly damaged the carrier *Saratoga*, reducing U.S. carrier strength to only the *Wasp*. The *Wasp* in turn fell victim to a Japanese submarine on 15 September. The carrier was so badly damaged by three torpedoes that she had to be scuttled.

Another big naval encounter, the Battle of Cape Esperance, occurred from 11 to 13 October. The Americans detected a Japanese convoy off the northwest coast of Guadalcanal. In a night engagement on 12–13 October, the Japanese lost a cruiser and a destroyer and had a cruiser heavily damaged; one U.S. destroyer was lost and two cruisers were damaged. The next day, American aircraft sank two other Japanese destroyers that were searching for survivors. Although the battle was not decisive, it was the first U.S. Navy night victory against the Japanese, and it substantially lifted U.S. morale. In October there were important command changes: Vice Admiral William "Bull" Halsey replaced Ghormley, and Rear Admiral Thomas C. Kinkaid replaced Fletcher.

Meanwhile, Kondō Nobutake's repositioning of vessels and Halsey's instructions to Kinkaid to seek out the Japanese fleet brought on a fourth naval battle for control of the Solomons: the Battle of the Santa Cruz Islands. In the ensuing battle on 26 October, each side launched simultaneous strikes against the other. In the exchange, U.S. aircraft badly damaged the Japanese light carrier *Zuiho* and fleet carrier *Shokaku*. The U.S. carrier *Hornet* was also severely damaged and was placed under tow; but with Kondō Nobutake closing in, she was abandoned to be sunk by Japanese destroyers. Japan won the Battle of the Santa Cruz Islands, leaving the Americans with only one carrier in the South Pacific, but the Japanese sustained such losses that they were unable to exploit the situation.



Landing operations on Rendova Island in the Solomons, 30 June 1943. Attacking at the break of day in a heavy rainstorm, the first Americans ashore huddle behind tree trunks and any other cover they can find. (National Archives)

From 12 November to 15 November, a series of intense sea fights took place off Guadalcanal. In the first, on 12 and 13 November, U.S. ships and land aircraft blocked reinforcement of the island by Japanese troops in 11 transports protected by destroyers. At the same time, Rear Admiral Daniel J. Callaghan, commanding 5 cruisers and 8 destroyers, moved to intercept a powerful Japanese force under Vice Admiral Abe Hiroaki that included 2 battleships that sought to shell Henderson Field. In a night action east of Savo Island, both sides suffered heavy losses. Abe lost the battleship *Hiei* (badly damaged in the fight, it fell prey to U.S. aircraft the next morning) and 2 destroyers. The Americans lost 2 cruisers and 4 destroyers. Virtually all other ships on both sides were damaged. Rear Admirals Callaghan and Norman Scott were among the dead, but Tanaka was forced to turn back, and the planned Japanese bombardment of Henderson Field was canceled.

On 13 and 14 November, Tanaka returned with his reinforcement convoy, and his cruisers shelled Henderson Field. The

Americans sank 6 Japanese transports and a heavy cruiser and damaged another cruiser. During the third phase of the naval battle of Guadalcanal (November 14–15), Rear Admiral Willis A. Lee with 2 battleships and 4 destroyers met and defeated yet another Japanese force under Kondō near Savo Island. The Americans lost 2 destroyers, but Kondō lost the battleship *Kirishima* and a destroyer. The net effect of this 3-day battle was that Tanaka landed only some 4,000 troops. The Japanese lost 6 transports sunk, but they had to beach another 4, representing some 70,000 tons of scarce shipping. Most important from the American standpoint was that U.S. forces now had around-the-clock control of the waters around Guadalcanal.

On 30 November, U.S. and Japanese naval forces again clashed in the Battle of Tassafaronga. Rear Admiral Carlton H. Wright moved with 5 cruisers and 7 destroyers to intercept Tanaka's force of 8 destroyers carrying supplies to Guadalcanal. In the ensuing fight, the Japanese lost 1 destroyer, while the Americans had 1 cruiser sunk and 3 others badly damaged.

As the numbers of U.S. troops ashore steadily grew and Japanese strength dwindled, at the end of December Tokyo decided to abandon Guadalcanal, and the naval battles of the Solomons came to an end. The final battle of the campaign was a skirmish off Rennell's Island on 30 January 1943, a victory for the Japanese. However, by this time the Japanese had almost completely withdrawn from Guadalcanal. The sustained battle for Guadalcanal gave U.S. naval forces the initiative and led to improved U.S. Navy night-fighting and fire-control techniques that served it well in the long years of fighting yet ahead.

William P. McEvoy and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Cape Esperance, Battle of; Eastern Solomons, Battle of the; Fletcher, Frank Jack; Ghormley, Robert Lee; Guadalcanal, Land Battle for; Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Japan, Navy; Kinkaid, Thomas Cassin; Kondō Nobutake; Lee, Willis Augustus "Ching"; Midway, Battle of; Nimitz, Chester William; Savo Island, Battle of; Tanaka Raizo; Tassafaronga, Battle of; Turner, Richmond Kelly; United States, Marine Corps; United States, Navy; Vandegrift, Alexander Archer

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Somalia

Somalia is located on the horn of Africa. Northern Somalia lies on the choke point of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden; Italian ports in southern Somalia offer bases for raiding into the Indian Ocean. In 1940, Somalia was divided into three colonies. Italian Somaliland, the largest territory, had 1,200 miles of coastline. Its capital was Mogadishu. In 1936, Italian Somaliland had been incorporated as an enlarged province (having received much of Ethiopia's southern desert region) into Africa Orientale Italiana (AOI). AOI consisted of all Italian East Africa. British Somaliland, with its capital of Berbera, bordered the Gulf of Aden. It lacked a good harbor and resources. French Somaliland was a tiny enclave sandwiched between British Somaliland and Italian Eritrea. Its harbor at Djibouti was the finest of any of the three Somali colonies. All three territories were arid or desert, although British Somaliland did have a high plateau in the interior. Djibouti boasted

the only railroad, which wound its way through the Ethiopian highland to Addis Ababa.

In 1939 and 1940, the French reinforced their colony of French Somaliland to a total of about 7,000 men under Brigadier General Paul L. Legentilhomme. When Germany defeated France in June 1940, Legentilhomme attempted to have the territory declare for the Free French. However, French Governor H. J. Deschamps and local commanders of the French navy and air force opposed him, forcing Legentilhomme to flee on 5 August 1940 to British Somaliland with some French troops and several hundred anti-Italian Ethiopian refugees who had been undergoing training by the French. French Somaliland then remained under a weak Allied naval blockade until December 1942, when Free French and Allied forces recaptured the colony. A local battalion from Djibouti participated in the liberation of France in 1944.

Following their own entry into the war in June 1940, the Italians successfully invaded British Somaliland that August. An overwhelming force with command of the air led by Lieutenant General Guglielmo Nasi advanced in three columns and fought a sharp action at Tug Argan on 12 August 1940, resulting in the British retreat to Berbera. The Royal Navy evacuated 5,300–5,700 troops and 1,000 civilians; most went to nearby Aden. Commonwealth losses in this campaign were 140 killed and wounded and 120 missing. Italian losses were 465 killed, 1,530 wounded, and 34 missing, the vast majority being Somali troops. This Italian military success shortened the AOI defensive perimeter substantially.

When Italy entered the war, there were few Commonwealth forces on the Kenya border with Somalia and Ethiopia. Lieutenant General Gustavo Pesenti commanded Italian forces on the Kenya border. With the Italian military effort focused largely on British Somaliland, cut off from home and with limited resources, the Italians went on the defensive. Meanwhile, British Commonwealth strength in Kenya increased under Lieutenant General Alan G. Cunningham, commanding the East Africa Force. The latter eventually numbered one South African division and two African divisions.

In mid-December 1940, Cunningham began raids on AOI from Kenya, using effective light South African armor as a key component. A raid on 16–17 December 1940 against El Wak in Somalia not only showed up Pesenti as an incompetent commander but also cost the Italians valuable cipher material that helped Commonwealth forces read Italian radio traffic. Major General Carlo de Simone, who had distinguished himself at the battle of Tug Argan, now replaced Pesenti.

Relying heavily on South African motorized units, Cunningham launched a full offensive against southern Somalia on the night of 8–9 February 1941. Commonwealth forces advanced with flanking movements up the Somalia coast, quickly collapsing the Italian positions. Mogadishu fell to the British on 25 February without a fight. Using captured ports



Arab cavalymen of Italian forces charging on a position in British Somaliland on 8 September 1940, just before British forces were evacuated from the African colony. (Bettmann/Corbis)

and supplies and innovative sea and land transport, by 1 March 1941, Cunningham had sent a column to pursue the Italians into the highlands toward Harar.

To complete the Italian debacle in Somalia, naval, air, and land forces, making up Aden Force, landed at and easily took Berbera on 16 March 1941. This port soon became a key supply point for Cunningham's advancing forces, which captured Addis Ababa on 16 April. The fighting in Somalia was over, although warfare continued in Ethiopia in Gondar north of Lake Tana until late November 1941. The campaign in Somalia and the southern AOI was a classic military operation, involving the defeat of an enemy in detail through the use of motorized columns to flank each successive defensive position.

Jack Greene

See also

Cunningham, Sir Alan Gordon; East Africa Campaign; Legentilhomme, Paul Louis; Savoia Amedeo Umberto di, Duce di Aosta

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Somervell, Brehon Burke (1892–1955)

U.S. Army general. Born in Little Rock, Arkansas, on 9 May 1892, Brehon Somervell graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1914 and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the engineers. He served in the Punitive Expedition into Mexico in 1916 and 1917 and in engineer and staff posts with the American Expeditionary Forces during World War I.

Somervell graduated from the Command and General Staff School in 1923 and from the Army War College in 1926. He directed a comprehensive study of the Turkish economy in 1933 and 1934 and headed the sprawling Works Progress Administration (WPA) in New York City from 1936 to 1940. In 1940, Somervell's army superiors, impressed by the managerial skills Somervell had demonstrated in his engineering assignments with the WPA, named him head of the army's floundering Construction Division, which had fallen behind in the building of training camps and munitions plants as the nation rearmed.

A hard-driving leader who had little tolerance for bureaucratic red tape, Somervell had the building program on schedule within a year, expediting its operation and initiating new projects including the construction of the Pentagon. In March

1942—after briefly serving as G-4, or supply officer, for the War Department General Staff—Somervell was appointed chief of the newly created Services of Supply, later renamed the Army Service Forces, with the rank of lieutenant general.

In this post, Somervell emerged as a major figure in the U.S. Army's conduct of the war, directing the procurement and shipping of supplies and equipment and the administration of the army and serving as the army's top logistics adviser and troubleshooter. Recognizing the importance of logistics to victory, Somervell spared no effort in seeing that the American fighting man had what he needed. As army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall put it, he got things done "in Calcutta as fast as he did in the meadows around the Pentagon."

Following his retirement in April 1946, Somervell became president of Koppers Company, and within five years he turned the struggling company into a highly profitable enterprise. Somervell died in Ocala, Florida, on 13 February 1955.

John Kennedy Ohl

See also

Logistics, Allied; Marshall, George Catlett; United States, Army

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**Somerville, Sir James Fownes
(1882–1949)**

British navy admiral. Born at Weybridge, Surrey, on 17 July 1882, James Somerville entered the Royal Navy as a cadet aboard HMS *Britannia* in 1897. During World War I, he distinguished himself in the Dardanelles/Gallipoli Campaign. Assigned to the navy Signal School, he was director of the Sig-



British Admiral James Somerville, 1945. (Photo by Wood/Express/Getty Images)

nal Department in the Admiralty from 1924 to 1927. In 1931, he commanded a cruiser. After service at Portsmouth, he won promotion to rear admiral and had charge of destroyer flotillas in the Mediterranean Fleet. He then commanded the East Indies station, but was invalided home in 1938 with tuberculosis and placed on the retired list as a vice admiral in July 1939.

When World War II began, Somerville volunteered his services. He distinguished himself working on the development of radar and then as Vice Admiral Bertram Ramsay's subordinate during the Dunkerque evacuation. After the fall of France, the Royal Navy established a covering force at Gibraltar with Somerville in command. In Operation *CATALPULT*, Somerville negotiated with French Admiral Marcel Gensoul in an attempt to neutralize French naval units at Mers-el-Kébir. His Force H launched successive attacks on Oran and Dakar with aircraft and gunfire. The *Ark Royal's* aircraft then struck Italian bases at Genoa, Livorno, and on Sardinia and Sicily, and Force H covered multiple convoys to Malta from August 1940 to March 1942. Force H fought in the Battle of Cape Teulada on 26 November 1940 and played a decisive role in the hunting down of the German battleship *Bismarck* in May 1941.

In March 1942, Somerville took command of the Eastern Fleet, conducting holding operations against the Japanese First Air Fleet's Indian Ocean offensive. His carriers covered the Diégo-Suarez and Madagascar operations in May and September 1942 before withdrawing to serve elsewhere. Somerville's Eastern Fleet carriers recommenced offensive operations in 1944 until he relinquished command in August. He was reinstated an admiral on the active list after five years' war service at sea.

Somerville went to Washington in October to head the British naval delegation. He became admiral of the fleet in May 1945 and retired permanently the next year. Somerville died at Wells, Somerset, on 19 May 1949.

Paul E. Fontenoy

See also

Bismarck, Sortie and Sinking of; China-Burma-India Theater; Dakar, Attack on; Dunkerque, Evacuation of; Indian Ocean, Japanese Naval Operations in; Madagascar; Malta; Mers-el-Kébir; Ramsay, Sir Bertram Home

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Sonar

Sonar—known as ASDIC (for Allied Submarine Detection Investigation Committee) in British and Commonwealth navies until the 1950s—was the most important underwater detection device during World War II. Sonar took two forms: in its active form, it emitted sonic impulses and measured distance and direction through receiving their reflections. In its passive form, it determined bearing and range through comparative analysis of received sound.

The Allied Submarine Detection Investigation Committee produced an experimental sonar set in 1918, but the first operational units did not go to sea until 1928 (aboard British A-class destroyers). By 1940, most major navies deployed some form of active sonar aboard antisubmarine vessels. All were “searchlight” units that used high-frequency emissions (20–40 kilocycles). They had short ranges (to 3,500 yds) and were ineffective at speeds much above 15 knots. Such sets also had a 200-yd dead zone and slow operating rates, and they determined direction but not depth. Most navies, in consequence, relied heavily on hydrophones for submarine search and used sonar primarily for attack guidance.

Major wartime sonar developments attempted to address these deficiencies. Power rotation and improved displays enhanced operating rates, and streamlined steel domes raised useful search speeds. Dual-frequency sets (operating at either 14 or 30 kilocycles) enhanced ranges, and tilting transducers helped to eliminate or at least reduce the dead zone.

Realization of the performance capabilities of German submarines, in particular, drove sonar development. The introduction of “heavy” depth charges and the monster Mark X* weapon to counter deep-diving U-boats required methods for accurately determining the target's depth because of the still relatively slow sink rate of these weapons. For accurate depth determination, Britain developed a specialized sonar (Type 147B) that was fitted from 1943 to some Atlantic escorts in addition to its standard type.

A simultaneous line of development—scanning sonar that used an omnidirectional transmitter coupled to an array of fixed receiving transducers—offered a possible solution to several of the search problems: range, depth determination, and the dead zone. Such equipment required greater power to maintain range. However, since rotation was eliminated, it could be larger and so could operate at lower frequencies, enhancing performance. The successful operational deployment of such equipment in Allied navies, however, had to wait until after the war.

Wartime submarines also carried sonar. Most navies relied on active sets for target detection, but Germany pursued a different course with its GHG (Gruppen-Horch-Gerät)



Sound operator monitors early sonar gear on board the PC-488. (Corbis)

equipment, a standard installation from 1935. An array of sound-receiving diaphragms on each side of the bow connected to a pulse-timing compensator and provided bearings of received noise. This apparatus could detect single ships out to 16 miles and large groups to 80 miles, but the bearings it provided were insufficiently precise for accurate attacks. At short ranges, however, a supplemental swiveling hydrophone (Kristall-Basisgerät) generated bearings accurate to within 1 degree. Finally, to obtain ranges, U-boats carried an active sonar (SU-Apparatus) developed from surface-warship sets, although this was rarely used since its emissions revealed a submarine's presence. Trials late in the war, however, using GHG together with SU-Apparatus demonstrated that as few as three active pulses sufficed to determine target distance, course, and approximate speed.

At the outbreak of war, sonar was widely—though mistakenly—regarded as rendering the ocean transparent in the search for submarines. Its limitations, however, were rapidly appreciated, and major corrections were implemented. By 1942, sonar was an integrated part of a suite of search sensors that included, most importantly, radar and shipborne high-frequency direction finding.

Paul E. Fontenoy

See also

Antisubmarine Warfare; Depth Charges; Hunter-Killer Groups

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Sopwith, Sir Thomas Octave Murdoch (1888–1989)

British aviation pioneer. Born in London on 17 January 1888, Thomas Sopwith received training as an engineer. A private income allowed him to pursue wide-ranging interests. A self-taught aviator, he was one of the first in Britain to secure a pilot's license. Flying a Howard-Wright biplane, in 1910 Sopwith won the £4,000 Baron de Forest Prize for the longest flight by a British pilot to a continental destination (169 miles). In 1912, he founded Sopwith Aviation Co. Ltd. and Flying School at Kingston-on-Thames. Sopwith began producing his own aircraft and, by August 1914, had delivered 45 aircraft to the Royal Naval Air Service (RNAS).

During World War I, Sopwith built for the British government, and often test-flew, such aircraft as the Pup, Dolphin,

Snipe, Tabloid, and Triplane. His Camel, introduced in 1917, was the finest British fighter aircraft of that war. Sopwith ultimately supplied some 16,000 aircraft to the RNAS and to the Royal Flying Corps and its successor, the Royal Air Force (RAF). He also built the multirole 11/2 Strutter, the first British two-seat fighter. In addition to Britain, Sopwith supplied aircraft to France, Russia, Belgium, and the United States. Sopwith also manufactured the Baby seaplane and the Cuckoo, the first carrier torpedo plane.

The military drawdown after the war forced Sopwith to liquidate his company in 1920. That November, he founded a new aviation firm, the H. G. Hawker Engineering Company, named for Sopwith test pilot Harry Hawker. In 1928, the highly successful Sydney Cramm–designed Hart light bomber brought substantial contracts for the firm and made it the principal supplier to the RAF. Between 1935 and 1938, Sopwith combined several aviation firms, forming the Hawker-Siddeley Group.

Sopwith's most famous aircraft, the Cramm-designed Hawker Hurricane, first flew in 1935. At the beginning of World War II, it constituted 60 percent of RAF Fighter Command strength and played an important role in the Battle of Britain. Usually pitted against bombers because they were marginally outclassed by the German Bf-109E fighter, Hurricanes claimed more German aircraft in the Battle of Britain than all other British defenses combined. Hurricanes underwent modification to fill ground-support and tank-busting roles. A naval version, the Sea Hurricane, saw wide service. Hawker also produced the Sea Fury, Tempest, and Typhoon fighters/light bombers.

In 1959, Sopwith took over the De Havilland firm, and in 1963, he took over Blackburn. He retired in 1963, although he remained a member of the board until 1978, shortly after the British government nationalized the firm as British Aerospace. Sopwith died at Compton Manor in Hampshire, England, on 27 January 1989.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Aircraft, Fighters; Aircraft, Naval

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Sorge, Richard (1895–1944)

Soviet spy. Born in Baku on 4 October 1895 to a German father and Russian mother, Richard Sorge moved with his family to

Germany when he was a child. Sorge enlisted in the German army at the start of World War I. Badly wounded and disillusioned by his wartime experiences, he joined the Communist Party after the war.

After working as an agitator, Sorge traveled to the Soviet Union in 1925, when he was recruited to become an espionage agent for Comintern (Communist International), the Soviet-sponsored international organization dedicated to world revolution. In 1930, Sorge arrived in Shanghai and began forming an espionage ring while developing his cover as a freelance journalist working for a variety of German newspapers. In September 1933, Sorge arrived in Japan on a new assignment and began recruiting agents. The most important recruit was Ozaki Hotsumi, a close associate of future prime minister Konoe Fumimaro.

Still using a journalistic cover, Sorge himself began to cultivate contacts in the German embassy in Tokyo. Using a mixture of false credentials (at the order of Comintern, he had joined the Nazi Party) and a genuine reputation as an expert on Asian affairs, Sorge eventually became a close confidante of German military attaché Major General Eugen Ott, who later became German ambassador to Japan.

During the critical year of 1941, Sorge's ring provided Moscow with valuable information about Japanese intentions. In August, Josef Stalin, informed by Sorge that Japan would not invade Siberia but instead would strike south, was able to transfer divisions from Asia to Europe. These Siberian reinforcements played a vital role in blunting the German drive on Moscow in the winter of 1941. Sorge also kept Moscow informed about the breakdown of negotiations between the United States and Japan until he was unmasked and arrested by the Japanese police in October 1941. Contrary to myth, Sorge did not know of Japan's plans to attack Pearl Harbor; he only predicted war between Japan and the United States.

A Japanese court sentenced Sorge to death for espionage, and he was hanged in Tokyo on 7 November 1944. Belatedly, in 1964 Moscow proclaimed him a Hero of the Soviet Union. Sorge was indisputably one of history's master spies.

John M. Jennings

See also

Japan, Role in War; Konoe Fumimaro, Prince of Japan; Pearl Harbor, Attack on

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Sosabowski, Stanisław (1892–1967)

Polish army general. Born on 8 May 1892 in Stanisławów, Galicia, Stanisław Sosabowski served in the Austrian army from 1913 to 1918. He joined the army of the newly reborn Poland in 1918 and was sent to Paris as an armaments expert on a committee charged with purchasing surplus Allied military equipment for the new Polish armed forces.

In 1922 and 1923, Sosabowski studied at the Warsaw Staff College. He then commanded various infantry units. From 1930 to 1937, he was instructor of military organization and on General Staff service. In 1937, Sosabowski took command of the 9th Infantry Regiment. In 1939, on the eve of the German invasion, he was ordered to take command of the 21st Infantry Regiment stationed in Warsaw and finally of all infantry units of the 21st Division.

After the September 1939 defeat of Poland and its occupation by German and Russian forces, Sosabowski escaped abroad, first to France and then, after France capitulated, to Great Britain. There he organized and trained the 1st Polish Parachutist Brigade. He demanded that the brigade be sent to assist in the Warsaw Rising, which was staged by Polish Resistance forces to destroy German army units stationed there. However, the British government vetoed this idea.

In September 1944, Sosabowski was ordered to participate with his brigade in the airborne phase of Operation MARKET-GARDEN, the effort to secure a crossing over the Rhine River at Arnhem. He protested, arguing that the order was based on faulty intelligence and therefore bound to end in catastrophe. Consequently, he insisted on a formal, written order. Dropped into Arnhem on the second day of the operation, his brigade fought well but was decimated by German armor. His gloomy prediction proved correct. Following the return to Scotland of Sosabowski and what remained of his brigade, he was dismissed from his post at the insistence of angry British superiors.

Sosabowski published two books of memoirs. He died in Middlesex, Britain, on 25 September 1967.

M. K. Dziewanowski

See also

MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Poland, Army; Poland Campaign; Resistance; Sikorski, Władysław; Warsaw Rising

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Sosnkowski, Kazimierz (1885–1969)

Polish army general. Born on 19 November 1885 in Warsaw, Kazimierz Sosnkowski graduated from the Polytechnical School of Lwów (Lviv). From 1914 to 1917 he served as chief of staff to Joseph Piłsudski, commander of the 1st Brigade of the Polish Legion formed to fight Russia at the side of the Austro-Hungarian armed forces. In July 1917 he was arrested by the Germans for his conspiratorial activity and kept at the fortress of Magdeburg until the eve of the capitulation. He returned to Warsaw on 10 November 1918 and, together with Piłsudski, worked to build the newly reborn country's army. As minister of war during the Russo-Polish war of 1919–1920, he was responsible for creating the armed forces that defeated the Red Army in the decisive Battle of Warsaw of 13–15 August 1920.

Sosnkowski continued to serve as minister of war from 1920 to 1924 and as inspector of the Polish armed forces from 1927 to 1939. He was a strong supporter not only of an alliance with France, but also of close cooperation with Czechoslovakia. During the September 1939 German invasion of Poland, he commanded the southern sector of the front and scored several local successes around Lwów. Following the unexpected Soviet invasion of Poland from the east on 17 September, Sosnkowski took refuge in Romania. After the internment of the Polish government there, he managed to escape to France and joined the cabinet of general Władysław Sikorski.

Sikorski appointed Sosnkowski minister without portfolio in charge of relations with the Polish Resistance movement, a post he held from 1940 to 1943. Sosnkowski succeeded Sikorski as commander in chief of the Polish armed forces following Sikorski's death at Gibraltar in July 1943 and continued in this capacity until 1944.

Rather than return to communist Poland, Sosnkowski remained in exile after the war, first in Great Britain and then in Canada. From there he unsuccessfully tried to unite all noncommunist elements of Polish émigrés. A talented writer, Sosnkowski published two books, the latter of which included his major speeches, military orders, and interviews. Sosnkowski died on 11 October 1969 on his farm near Toronto, Canada.

M. K. Dziewanowski

See also

Poland, Army; Poland Campaign; Resistance; Sikorski, Władysław



Polish General Kazimierz Sosnkowski. (Corbis)

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South Africa, Union of

The Union of South Africa played an important—and often overlooked—role in the Allied victory in World War II. Strategically located at the southern tip of the African continent, South Africa controlled vital shipping lanes from the Indian Ocean around the Cape of Good Hope into the South

Atlantic. Even the country's neutrality would have severely hindered Allied antisubmarine efforts. South Africa also possessed important natural resources, including rich deposits of coal, diamonds, iron, gold, and uranium important to both warring sides.

In 1939, South Africa was a British dominion. Nonetheless, sentiment in South Africa toward the war was sharply divided. In 1939, South Africa was home to 7 million native Africans (called *blacks*), 815,000 racially mixed people (called *coloreds*), 231,000 Asians (mostly Indians), and 2.1 million whites. The whites wielded all the power. To the great majority of black South Africans, the war was of scant interest. Unenfranchised, they saw little to gain in a "white man's war." Many harbored bitter memories of having fought in the 1899–1902 Boer War and then being betrayed by both sides. Many white South Africans, especially Boers, who were of Dutch ancestry, sympathized with Adolf Hitler's racist policies and harbored their own resentment against the British.

A South African Nazi party was formed in 1932 and was followed by other right-wing groups. The largest of these was the Ossewabrandwag (OB, Ox-Wagon Sentinels), which became committed to the violent overthrow of the government. The majority of South African citizens, disgusted by OB excesses, repudiated the protofascist groups by giving the moderate United South African National Party 73 percent of the vote in 1938—the largest electoral majority in the country's history. Hitler's demands for the return of Germany's former colony, South West Africa (Namibia), mandated to the Union of South Africa after World War I, also contributed to the election result.

Following the British declaration of war against Germany on 3 September 1939, there was sharp debate in the South African Parliament whether to follow suit. On 6 September, Minister of Justice Jan Christian Smuts, who favored intervention on the British side, won an 80–67 vote over Prime Minister (James) Barry Hertzog, who favored neutrality. Hertzog then resigned and was replaced by Smuts. Smuts also was minister of defense, and, from June 1940, he commanded South African military forces. In 1945, Smuts was made an honorary field marshal in the British army. A longtime friend of Winston L. S. Churchill, who frequently consulted him on strategy, Smuts pushed successfully for a British attack on Vichy French-held Madagascar to deny it as a possible Japanese base, and South African forces took part in the later stages of the Madagascar Campaign.

An energetic leader who held an unprecedented concentration of power, Smuts nonetheless proceeded cautiously on the domestic front. He edged extreme nationalists out of his coalition government, but a significant minority of pro-German citizens still resisted supporting Britain. In some schools of the Transvaal, students began the day with the Nazi salute and were told that shortwave radio broadcasts from

Germany were their only reliable source of information. A few right-wing terrorist acts occurred, but police rounded up the most dangerous elements late in 1940. Despite calls from his supporters, Smuts adroitly refused to suppress his fascist political opponents completely.

During the war, South Africa built a considerable armaments industry, which also employed thousands of women. It manufactured for South African and Allied use armored cars, howitzers, mortars, and ammunition. South Africa also exported food. Industry of all kinds boomed, and by 1945, South African industrial output had nearly doubled. New employment opportunities drew people into urban areas. By war's end, blacks outnumbered whites in towns, and they demanded changes in society. After the war, the reenergized African National Congress became a serious political factor, leading whites to elect a right-wing Parliament in 1948 that passed rigid segregation laws and introduced apartheid (separateness).

The Smuts government made no effort to begin conscription. In September 1939, Major General Pierre van Ryneveld commanded the Union Defence Force (UDF), comprising South Africa's land, sea, and air forces. Its Permanent Force of its regulars numbered only 5,385 men. Coastal defenses were antiquated, and much of the military equipment was obsolete. The UDF had no tanks or modern artillery. The South African Naval Service (SANS) had no ships, and the South African Air Force (SAAF) possessed exactly six modern aircraft. The same situation prevailed among the reserves.

During the war, South Africa raised three infantry divisions. South African troops won laurels in the campaign in Italian East Africa (Abyssinia) in early 1941, advancing more than 1,000 miles in less than two months. By September 1941, there were nearly 60,000 South African troops in Egypt. South Africans fought at Sidi Rezegh (where the 1st South African Division lost nearly one-third of its strength), at Tobruk (where nearly 11,000 men of the 2nd Division became prisoners on its fall in June 1942), and in both battles of El Alamein. Following these battles, what remained of the 1st South African Division was reconstituted as the new 6th Armored Division. It fought in Sicily and then in Italy until the end of the war.

The SAAF was in combat throughout the war. By the end of the conflict, it numbered four wings and 28 squadrons. South African pilots fought in the Battle of Britain and in East Africa and Madagascar under British command. The SAAF ultimately made up about one-third of the strength of the Western Desert Air Force. The SAAF also served in the Central Mediterranean and played a significant role in training Allied air crews.

The SAAF used British, German, and U.S. aircraft, plus indigenous models such as the Wapiti multipurpose biplane. J. E. Frost's total of 15 air victories was the highest among SAAF pilots, but three South Africans—Marmaduke T. Saint



South African troops on parade at a training camp before leaving on active service in the war. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

John Pattle, Adolph Gysbert “Sailor” Malan, and J. J. le Roux—were among the five top-scoring aces of Britain’s Royal Air Force (RAF). Saint John Pattle’s records are incomplete, but he is believed to have achieved 41 victories, more than any other RAF pilot.

The SANS patrolled South Africa’s coastline and carried out minesweeping, antisubmarine, and rescue activities (more than 150 Allied merchant vessels and warships were sunk off South Africa by Axis submarines). SANS minesweepers removed mines laid by several German auxiliary cruisers, and South African ships provided support off Sicily and Italy. By 1945, the navy had 78 vessels, including three new frigates, one of which (the *Natal*) sank a German submarine, the *U-714*.

With very few exceptions, during the war South African blacks served only in noncombatant roles in the Non-European Army Service, but many came under enemy fire. By far the largest number of black recruits came from rural areas that had been hard-hit by drought. Pay was half that given to whites. The Native Military Corps provided mess and hygiene and specially trained support troops for the South African white fighting units.

Thousands of British women and children found wartime haven in South Africa, as did Greece’s royal family and former Shah of Iran Reza Khan Pahlavi. After hostilities ceased,

a stream of German children arrived for adoption; many were *Lebensborn* (Fount of Life) babies, conceived to increase the “Aryan” population and shunned in postwar Germany.

Altogether, 334,224 South Africans volunteered for full-time military service during the war. Of these, 132,194 whites and most of the 123,131 blacks who volunteered served in the South African land forces; 44,569 whites served in the SAAF and another 9,455 in the SANS. A total of 21,265 women served in the various branches of the women’s Auxiliary Defence Corps, and 3,710 served in the Military Nursing Service. The war claimed nearly 9,000 South African dead, more than 8,000 wounded, and 14,000 taken prisoner.

Gerald D. Swick and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Africa; Afrika Korps; Armaments Production; Cunningham, Sir Alan Gordon; Displaced Persons; El Alamein, Battle of; Madagascar; North Africa Campaign; Ruweisat Ridge, Battles of; Tobruk: First Battle for, Second Battle for, Third Battle of

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Southeast Pacific Theater

The U.S. Navy's strategy for the defeat of Japan by a thrust through the Central Pacific depended on control of the southeastern Pacific, particularly the Panama Canal region through which all shipping destined for the Central, South, and Southwest Pacific Theaters transited. In this regard, the Imperial Japanese Navy squandered a huge potential strategic advantage in not challenging the United States in these waters using their large and capable submarine force. But Japanese doctrine called for submarines to operate in direct fleet support or as scouting forces. The Japanese never adopted the more aggressive commerce raiding and interdiction roles for their submarines that were used with great success by both Germany and the United States in the Atlantic and the western Pacific. In this regard, once the anticipated threat to the Panama Canal failed to materialize, the United States dedicated little in the way of naval protection to shipping in the region.

The March 1941 ABC Conference of Britain, Canada, and the United States established Pacific operational areas that the Joint Chiefs of Staff reconfirmed in March 1942. The agreement gave the navy operational control over the central, southern, northern, and southeastern Pacific areas of operation; the army was responsible for the southwest Pacific. Further, the Pacific Military Council determined in March 1943 that all of the Pacific should be under the "strategic command" of Admiral Chester Nimitz, commander in chief, Pacific, although General Douglas MacArthur held overall command of the southwest Pacific. The actual boundaries had been established earlier in Joint Chiefs of Staff directives of 4 April 1942 to MacArthur and Nimitz that outlined the southeastern Pacific as everything east of a line drawn from the Mexico-Guatemala border to the mid-Pacific near Clipperton Island and then southward to the South Pole. To patrol this vast ocean area, Rear Admiral John F. Shafroth commanded a tiny force of three older light cruisers and several destroyers. As events played out, however, Shafroth's force proved more than sufficient, given the lack of Japanese activity.

Concern between the Pearl Harbor attack and the Midway victory over the security of the Panama Canal did not reflect in the naval defenses initially allotted to the region. To protect not only the canal itself but also transiting shipping, the U.S. Army had capable forces, but only in the 10-mile-wide Panama Canal Zone. The various Latin American countries

offered little in terms of genuine security, even after Mexico and Colombia declared war on the Axis powers in 1943. The navy provided only minimal resources for Rear Admiral Clifford E. Van Hook's Panama Canal Force, consisting of the elderly destroyers *Borie*, *Barry*, *Tattnall*, and *Goff* along with the gunboat *Erie*, 2 patrol craft, 2 small converted motor yachts, and 24 Catalina maritime patrol aircraft. Although a few Japanese submarines entered the area as part of the June 1942 Japanese naval offensive against Midway and the Aleutian Islands, they did no damage. However, German U-boats did tremendous destruction to shipping on the Caribbean side of the canal, including two sinkings just outside the eastern entrance. But, again, the Japanese threat, which might have included carrier strikes, a possibility envisioned in war plans prior to December 1941 (*Rainbow 5*), never materialized on the Pacific side. Nor did the large 5,200-ton Japanese submarines of the I-400 class carrying 3 bomber-seaplanes (fielded in late 1944 and clearly designed for operations against the U.S. west coast and the Panama Canal) ever deploy to the region as anticipated.

Despite the ultimate lack of a credible Japanese threat to American shipping in the southeastern Pacific, a fact not realized until later in the war, naval commanders in 1942 assigned whatever escort assets were available to open-ocean vessels, particularly troop convoys transiting to the Central and Southwest Pacific Theaters and Pearl Harbor. In late January 1942, Shafroth's light cruisers *Trenton* and *Concord* and some destroyers escorted 2 large convoys from the canal through to Bora Bora with 4,500 men assigned to the construction of a new naval fueling station. At about the same time, the carrier *Lexington* and its assigned force escorted an 8-ship convoy carrying 20,000 troops through the southeastern Pacific (2 for Christmas Island, 2 for Canton Island, and 4 for New Caledonia).

In retrospect, the failure of the Imperial Japanese Navy to harass Allied shipping or to attempt even limited interdiction operations in the Southeastern Pacific represented a tremendous missed strategic opportunity. Although such a southeastern Pacific campaign would likely not have changed the eventual outcome of the war, it certainly would have mitigated Allied pressure in other Pacific areas of operation and complicated thrusts against the Japanese defensive perimeter.

Stanley D. M. Carpenter

See also

Central Pacific Campaign; MacArthur, Douglas; Nimitz, Chester William; Southwest Pacific Theater

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Southwest Pacific Theater

Geographical area known to the Japanese as the Southern Resource Area and also the Southeast Area and to the Allies as the Southwest Pacific Area (SWPA). Major land areas in this theater were the Philippine Islands, the Netherlands East Indies, New Guinea, Australia, the Bismarck Archipelago, and the Solomon Islands. In August 1942, the boundary was redrawn to exclude Guadalcanal and certain others of the Solomon Islands.

Japan entered the SWPA in a quest for oil. Oil powered Japan's economy and its armed forces, and the U.S. embargo of oil had helped trigger the Japanese decision to go to war against the United States. Dependent on foreign oil imports and rapidly using up its stocks, Japan needed to secure oil, the absence of which would paralyze Japanese industry within a year and immobilize the fleet within two years. Oil resources in the Netherlands East Indies, Japanese leaders believed, would make Japan self-sufficient in that vital commodity.

Japanese Southern Army headquarters in Saigon in French Indochina supervised army operations from the Philippines south. Navy leaders, meanwhile, decided that U.S. airfields and fleet bases could not be tolerated on the flank of this advance. Japanese Lieutenant General Homma Masaharu's Fourteenth Army with two divisions invaded the Philippines beginning on 8 December 1941. U.S. resistance officially ended on 7 May 1942. Meanwhile, Lieutenant General Ima-mura Hitoshi's Sixteenth Army with three divisions invaded the Netherlands East Indies beginning on 20 December. Dutch resistance there ceased on 8 March.

The Japanese had only a marginal shipping capacity during the war. By May 1942, the Japanese were securing oil from the conquests, but the fleet was only using about 42 percent of its merchant tanker capacity. Iron, manganese, chrome, and copper awaited exploitation in the Philippines. The Japanese desperately needed bauxite from the Netherlands East Indies for aircraft aluminum. Nickel was available from the Celebes. Local Japanese commanders were inefficient at developing these resources, and what materials the Japanese did extract from Borneo, Java, and Sumatra encountered shipping bottlenecks.

As the Japanese pushed south, their navy engaged in several actions. The Battle of the Java Sea largely destroyed the American-British-Dutch-Australian (ABDA) fleet. The United States won a small victory against Japanese transports in the Battle of Makassar Strait. There was also a fight at Badung

Strait, and the Allied cruisers *Houston* and *Perth* were destroyed in the Battle of Sunda Strait. The short-lived ABDA Command collapsed in early March 1942, and the Japanese breached the Malay Barrier.

The startling successes of their initial campaigns encouraged the Japanese navy leadership to propose that five divisions invade Australia. Shipping and logistics, however, posed insurmountable problems as Japan, already short of shipping capacity, had lost 700,000 tons of shipping—nearly 12 percent of total capacity—sunk or severely damaged in the first four months of war. The Japanese army had never considered operating in the SWPA and had not planned how to campaign over such a large area and with such extended lines of communications. Japanese army planners estimated that to capture Australia would require 12 divisions and 1.5 million tons of shipping. The Japanese did not have the military assets and resources for such an operation. Australia was simply one continent too far.

Rather than invade Australia, Imperial General Headquarters in Tokyo ordered six of the divisions that had participated in the southern operations back to the Japanese home islands, China, and Manchuria. Planners redirected their logistical effort to the northwest and west when they should have been building bases—especially air bases—and establishing and supplying garrisons in the south.

On 30 March 1942, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff established the Southwest Pacific Area. General Douglas MacArthur received command. It succeeded the ABDA area formed on 15 January as well as the Australia–New Zealand Area (ANZAC) established at the end of January. The first priority was to strengthen lines of communications to Australia and to build up logistics and airpower. The air war here would be primarily land-based.

Japan landed troops on New Guinea in February and March 1942. Japan sought Port Moresby on the south coast as an air base, part of its campaign to cut the lines of communications to Australia and to deny the port as a base for Allied counterattacks. In the May 1942 Battle of the Coral Sea, the U.S. Navy deflected the Japanese seaborne invasion attempt. The Japanese then attempted to seize Port Moresby by land, crossing over the Owen Stanley Mountains. Australian forces fought a delaying action south toward Port Moresby that weakened the Japanese and ultimately halted this thrust. The Australians then drove the Japanese back to New Guinea's north coast. A Japanese landing at Milne Bay failed, boosting Allied morale.

On 2 July 1942, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff ordered MacArthur to begin an offensive to clear the Japanese from New Guinea. This effort was limited by the availability of forces and because the Americans' army and navy were both constrained by the priority given to Europe. The long fight for Buna concluded in late January 1943. The Australians and



A Japanese fuel dump burns following U.S. attack in northern New Guinea, April 1944. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

Americans executed shore-to-shore and ship-to-shore operations up New Guinea's coast. Rabaul on New Britain was initially a target, but the Americans chose to bypass that major Japanese bastion, cutting it off from outside resupply.

Although progress was slow, the Allies kept the initiative, imposed a tremendous drain on Japanese resources, and prevented the Japanese from consolidating their conquests. Weather, disease, and inhospitable terrain inflicted heavy losses on all combatants in this theater, but especially on the Japanese. Particularly devastating to the Japanese was the loss of so many of their air assets, and the destruction of Japanese transports in the Battle of the Bismarck Sea gave Japan a stark warning of the precariousness of its position.

The Americans launched almost every operation so as to extend their air umbrella and logistics closer to the Philippines. The strategy of island-hopping, which made use of growing U.S. Navy strength in the theater, allowed U.S. forces to advance, yet bypass strong Japanese ground forces. Allied shipping constraints and a shortage of service troops were greater impediments to the advance than shortfalls in combat troops.

The SWPA was the location of one of two major U.S. offensives (comprising mainly land-based air and ground forces) aimed at Japan. The second location was the Central Pacific, in which the U.S. offensives comprised mainly carrier air and sea power. The Japanese had insufficient assets to meet both offensives and were often off balance as they tried to maneuver against the two. The Japanese were simultaneously heavily committed in Burma and China and had to maintain major forces in Manchuria as a check on potential action by the Soviet Union.

The American SWPA and Central Pacific offensives indirectly supported each other early in the campaigns and then directly supported one another as they converged at the Luzon-Formosa-China coast area. The speed, flexibility, and mass of the two Allied thrusts neutralized the defender's traditional advantage of interior lines of communications. Coordination between the U.S. Army and Navy of current and future operations was critically important.

The Japanese regarded campaigns in New Guinea as a means to delay their enemies, reduce enemies' resources, and gain time to reorganize for a counteroffensive. Rather than

weakening the Allies, however, the campaigns here became a drain on Japanese manpower, ships, and aircraft. Allied airpower cleared Japanese from the air and sea. Nowhere did the Japanese stop the advance, nor could they sustain the attrition that went with it.

The vast majority of Japanese troop and logistics shipping occurred in SWPA waters. Oil moved north through these waters, and U.S. submarines attacked the vital Malaya/Netherlands East Indies–Japan line of communications. Japan lost half its cargo-carrying capacity in 1944 to air and submarine attacks. Critical oil and raw materials required for war production in the home islands were sent to the ocean bottom.

The Battle of the Philippine Sea in June 1944 largely destroyed what remained of Japanese naval aviation. Japanese navy leaders then developed plans for a decisive battle, depending on the avenue of the U.S. advance. When the Americans invaded the Philippines in October, the Japanese immediately initiated their plan, which resulted in the Battle of Leyte Gulf—the greatest naval battle, in terms of ships and numbers of men engaged, in history. In the ensuing battle, the U.S. Navy all but destroyed the Japanese navy as an organized fighting force.

The inability of Japan to transport men and supplies to Leyte and its similar difficulties in supplying and reinforcing Luzon hastened Japan's defeat in the Philippines. The U.S. conquest of the Philippines enabled U.S. airpower there to sever the seaborne supply lines between the Japanese home islands and its Southern Resource Area. U.S. Navy forces swept into the South China Sea in January 1945 and severed Japanese lines of communications with Indochina. The American conquest of the Philippines, the ability of carrier task forces to go wherever they pleased, and the strangulation wrought by the submarine fleet completely isolated the Southern Resource Area.

Large Japanese ground forces remained in Indochina and in the Netherlands East Indies, but they could play no role in defense of the home islands, nor could raw materials reach the home islands. This fact made MacArthur's use of Australian forces in Borneo in mid-1945 all the more questionable. It was a campaign with little strategic value.

The last operations in the SWPA were American preparations for the invasion of Japan. The Philippines provided staging areas for 18 U.S. Army divisions, large numbers of aircraft, logistics organizations, and hundreds of ships. With Japan's surrender in August, operations in the SWPA came to an end. The conclusion of hostilities did not bring peace, however, as wars in which indigenous peoples sought independence from their colonial occupiers soon began.

John W. Whitman

See also

Australia, Air Force; Australia, Army; Bismarck Sea, Battle of; Blamey, Sir Thomas Albert; Bougainville Campaign; Coral Sea,

Battle of the; Empress Augusta Bay, Battle of; Hart, Thomas Charles; Imamura Hitoshi; Java Sea, Battle of the; Kolombangara, Battle of; Kula Gulf, Battle of; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; MacArthur, Douglas; Makassar Strait, Battle of; Netherlands East Indies; Netherlands East Indies, Japanese Conquest of; New Georgia, Battle of; New Guinea Campaign; New Zealand, Role in War; Philippine Sea, Battle of the; Philippines, Japanese Capture of; Philippines, U.S. Recapture of; Rabaul; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign; Sunda Strait, Battle of

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Soviet Union, Air Force

As part of the reorganization of the Soviet armed forces in 1923, air squadrons were retained under the control of the ground commanders to which they were attached. However, administratively they came under the control of a Chief Directorate of the Air Force of the Red Army. In 1925, the Soviets created a General Staff of the Air Force. Systematic numbering of squadrons began in 1926, and their formation was standardized as five squadrons—each divided into three sections—for an air brigade. As armed force doctrine evolved, in 1928 operational control of all air units was placed under the Chief Directorate of the Air Force.

Nikolai Polikarpov produced fighters such as the I-5 by 1924, and Andrei Tupolev created the first Soviet bomber designs, such as the ANT-4, in 1927. Development stalled during the Great Purges in the late 1930s, when the government ordered the imprisonment of some 450 aircraft designers and engineers, although most were allowed to continue their work from confinement. During the 1936–1939 Spanish Civil War, the Soviet Union supplied both I-15 and I-16 aircraft and pilot/instructors to the Republican side. However, these aircraft were outclassed by the German Messerschmitt Bf-109 fighter. From October 1936 to December 1938, the Soviet Union sent 1,409 aircraft to Spain, of which 1,176 were destroyed. Nevertheless, by January 1937, 17 Soviet pilots had been decorated as Heroes of the Soviet Union.



Ground crew loading bombs on a Red Army aircraft, which is covered with camouflaged net, 1941. (Library of Congress)

The Spanish experience spurred a Soviet response to develop aircraft specifically for ground-attack and close-support duties. Representative of this effort were the Yak-1, MiG-1, and LaGG-3, which entered service in 1939 and 1940. These three designs were later improved. Alexander Yakovlev's Yak-1 was powered by a 1,100 hp engine and had a top speed of 360 mph. It was armed with a 20 mm cannon and two 7.62 mm machine guns. The virtue of this fighter was its simple construction and reliability. The Yak-1 could complete a 360 degree turn in 17 seconds. It enjoyed one of the highest productions of any aircraft of the war; a total of over 30,000 manufactured. Artem Mikoyan and Mikhail Gurievitch combined to produce the 1,350 hp MiG-1, which had a maximum speed of 380 mph. However, the MiG-1 was best suited to an interceptor role at high altitude. The LaGG-3 was the collaboration of Semyon Lavochkin, Vladimir Gorbunov, and Mikhail Gudkov. The LaGG-3, built entirely of wood, had armament, engine, and speed comparable to that of the Yak-1. However, the LaGG-3 had a tendency to spin during sharp turns.

Another reorganization of the Soviet air force took place in July 1940, with a view toward concentrating air assets. The

20 to 30 plane squadrons were amalgamated into 60-plane regiments. Between 3 and 5 regiments made up an air division, each of which supported a ground army. By February 1941, although 106 new air regiments had been authorized, only 19 had actually been formed. Moreover, by the date of the German invasion on 22 June 1941, only 20 percent of Soviet air force units had been fitted with the new Yak, MiG, and LaGG models. In April 1942, Lieutenant General Alexander Novikov took command of the Red Army Air Force. In May, he ordered that all Soviet airpower—heretofore apportioned sporadically among the ground armies and employed without concentration—should be unified. These remnants of surviving post-German invasion Soviet airpower were gathered to become the First Air Army.

The initial success of Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union owed much to the German Luftwaffe, which destroyed many Soviet air force aircraft on the ground. In only the first two days, 2,500 Soviet planes had been destroyed and the Germans had achieved air superiority. Another factor contributing to the demise of the Soviet air force was poor tactics; Soviet bombers attempted to attack without fighter protection. When threatened, Soviet bombers formed a tight wedge pattern, while threatened Soviet fighters maneuvered into a defensive circle. At the beginning of the campaign against Germany—and frustrated by their lack of tactical training and having to fly outclassed aircraft—many Soviet pilots resorted to attempting to ram German aircraft during engagements.

As the German offensive into the Soviet Union continued, the Soviets organized an evacuation eastward of much of their industry, including more than half of the aircraft factories. As a result, production fell off dramatically in the second half of 1941. By June 1942, however, 1,000 aircraft per month were once again being produced in factories that had been relocated east of the Urals. Moreover, the refabricated aviation plants began to produce upgraded aircraft models such as the MiG-3, which had an increased combat radius, and an up-gunned version of the Yak-1 with 12.7 mm cannon and a 1,260 hp engine. LaGG production was decreased in favor of a new product that was the creation of Sergei Ilyushin. His Il-2 Shturmovik began to reach the front lines in mid-July 1942. The impetus behind the design was the creation of a "flying tank": an aircraft with the ability to operate at altitudes of 50 to 500 feet and survive enemy ground fire while supporting Soviet forces by destroying German tanks. A design revision, Il-2m3, began delivery in November 1942. It added protection from German fighters. The new Shturmovik was a two-seater; the gunner faced rearward and manned a 12.7 mm machine gun. The pilot now controlled two 23 mm cannon and either a 1,300 lb bomb load or 880 lbs of bombs and 8 rockets. The Il-2 proved so successful that, at 35,000 units, it was the highest-production aircraft of the war, indeed of all

time. Soviet leader Josef Stalin personally prioritized its production, reportedly remarking, “The Il-2 is as necessary to our armies as air or bread!” The Germans dubbed the Il-2 *Der Schwarze Tod* (the black death).

Soviet pilots revised and developed new principles of engagement, following the practices of their top aces such as Alexander Pokryshkin. His formula was “altitude-speed-maneuver-fire.” From a higher altitude, a pilot had the opportunity to select his target and maneuver with speed into an advantageous position for attack. Squadron formations gave way to the “loose pair” of two aircraft operating together, either covering the other (attacking) aircraft. This tactic was first used during the late 1941 Battle of Moscow and resulted in Luftwaffe losses of 1,400 aircraft between October and December 1941. The six Soviet air regiments taking part in the defense of the capital were given the honorific “Guards” designation. From 15 November to 5 December, Soviet pilots flew 15,840 sorties, compared with only 3,500 for the Luftwaffe.

The new air doctrine also stipulated that bombers have fighter escorts: 4 bombers with 10 fighters and 16–24 bombers protected by a group of 20 fighters. The fighters were organized into groups. Each group consisted of 3–4 pairs totaling 6–8 fighters. Normally, 4 groups would constantly patrol a sector of the combat area. When fighters escorted ground-attack aircraft, the fighters divided into an escort group and an assault group. The escort group remained with the ground-attack aircraft but flew 300 to 1,000 feet higher to engage enemy fighters. The assault group flew 1,500 to 3,000 feet above the escort group and usually a half mile ahead to scout for enemy patrols and act as an advance guard to prevent enemy fighters from closing on the escort group.

Soviet aircraft production continued to climb during the war. From June 1941 to December 1944, the Soviets produced some 97,000 aircraft. During the war, the Soviet air force also benefited greatly from Lend-Lease deliveries of British and U.S. aircraft. The Soviets received 2,097 P-40 Tomahawks, 1,329 Supermarine Spitfires, 4,746 Bell Airacobras, 2,400 Bell Kingcobras, and several transports and bombers. Lend-Lease provided a total of 18,865 aircraft.

By 1945, the Red Army Air Force numbered 17 air armies, each composed of 2 fighter divisions, 2 fighter-bomber divisions, a night-bomber regiment, a reconnaissance squadron, and a liaison squadron. These air armies were held in reserve and tasked to support ground operations on a case-by-case basis. They were under the command of air officers who coordinated efforts with ground commanders. General Novikov also established an air reserve that could be moved around to achieve local air superiority. By 1945, 40 percent of Soviet air strength was held in a reserve capacity. In October 1942, Lavochkin produced the La-5 aircraft. Its 1,600 hp engine pro-

pelled the aircraft 30 mph faster than the Messerschmitt Bf-109F. Simultaneously, Yakovlev produced the Yak-9, which increased the Yak-1’s combat radius and was armed with either a 20 mm or a 37 mm cannon and a 12.7 mm synchronized machine gun.

The Soviets had also organized a long-range aviation force in March 1942. The core of this was the Petlyakov Pe-8 four-engine bomber. But, throughout the war, Soviet emphasis, as with the Luftwaffe, was on ground-support aviation.

All major Soviet campaigns after the Battle of Moscow had substantial air involvement. One-quarter of Soviet airpower was concentrated in the area of Stalingrad by mid-November 1942 for the planned counteroffensive. In the Battle of Kursk in July 1943, the Soviets deployed 1,300 aircraft. During the Battle of Berlin in April 1945, Soviet aircraft were flying a daily average of 15,000 sorties.

The Soviets also organized foreign-piloted air formations, several of which distinguished themselves in combat. These included Regiment Normandie of French pilots, 1st Polish Warsaw Fighter Regiment, 2nd Krakow Night Bomber Regiment, 3rd Polish Ground Attack Regiment, and the Czechoslovak Fighter Regiment. Noteworthy also is the organization of a 400-woman-strong 588th Night Bomber Regiment, the pilots of which were known by the Germans as the “night witches.” During the course of the war, these women flew some 24,000 sorties. Lidiia Litviak was the first woman pilot to shoot down an enemy aircraft in daytime combat.

The Red Army Air Force, much of which was destroyed early in the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, grew dramatically in size during the war. It certainly played an important role in the Soviet victory in World War II on the Eastern Front, especially—as its name indicates—in ground-support aviation.

Neville Panthaki

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Aviation, Ground-Attack; BARBAROSSA, Operation; Fighter Tactics; Ilyushin, Sergey Vladimirovich; Kursk, Battle of; Lend-Lease; Litviak, Lidiia Vladimirovna; Moscow, Battle of; Novikov, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich; Raskova, Marina Mikhailovna; Soviet Union, Army; Soviet Women’s Combat Wings; Stalin, Josef; Stalingrad, Battle of; Women in World War II

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Soviet Union, Army

Russia's defeat in World War I gave strong impetus to Soviet dictator Josef Stalin's industrialization campaign of the 1930s. His emphasis on technological progress, articulated in a speech on 4 February 1931, also implied the need for improvements in military technology to enable the Soviet Union to catch up with the western powers. Soviet Commissar of War Kliment Voroshilov claimed that a future war would be "a war of factories." The Japanese takeover of all Manchuria in the same year provided a compelling reason for Soviet rearmament.

Stalinist repression, however, had sharply affected the military leadership. Perhaps 40 million people were "repressed" during the Stalin era; half that number died. The so-called Great Terror that did away with the old-guard Bolshevik leadership also struck down senior military officers. Among the executed were 3 of 5 marshals, 13 of 15 army commanders, 8 of 9 fleet admirals and admirals grade I, 50 of 57 corps commanders, and 154 of 186 divisional commanders. Undoubtedly the purges claimed the most aggressive and outspoken officers, and their loss was keenly felt, especially during the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. Among those killed was Marshal Mikhail Tukhachevsky, who had foreseen in his "Problems Concerning the Defence of the USSR" of 1936 the German operational concept for an invasion of the Soviet Union and had developed a counter to it. Although it enjoyed modern weapons at the beginning of the war, the Red Army remained committed to the concept that wars were won not by training and technology but by the masses and ideology.

Despite the purges, the Soviet military under Stalin had a strong influence on military-economic policy as it pushed for an armament-in-depth that implied not only state investment in stocks of weapons but support for civilian heavy industry. On the eve of World War II, aircraft, tank, and armament plants were concentrated in the western parts of the Soviet Union. Although some efforts were made during the period before the German invasion of June 1941 to relocate military and general industrial production to the less vulnerable area east of the Ural Mountains, advocates of such a policy were often branded as "defeatists." The German invasion of the western Soviet territories was in fact an economic near-disaster, depriving the Red Army of much of its military industrial base.

The alliance between the Soviet Union and Germany of 23 August 1939 brought advantages to each side. It allowed Adolf Hitler to attack Poland secure in the fact that he would not have to wage war with the Soviet Union, and it bought

time for Stalin to rebuild the Red Army, which he himself had so weakened in the Great Purges. The pact between Germany and the Soviet Union also yielded great economic advantages to the German war machine in the form of Soviet raw materials and the activities of the USSR as a purchasing agent for Germany abroad. It brought far less advantage to the Soviet Union, although it did secure time for Stalin to rebuild his military, and the Red Army also benefited from establishment of a joint tank training center at Kazan and an air base at Lipetsk. Germany also provided some finished machinery and a few weapons of war. But the German and Soviet division of Poland that flowed from the pact also meant the end of a buffer between the two states and the presence of a common military border.

Stalin was shocked at the speed with which Germany defeated France in 1940. Given the punishment that little Finland had inflicted on the Soviet Union in the Winter War of 1939–1940, it is no wonder that Stalin doubted the ability of the Red Army to stand up to the German military. The Soviet leadership counted on a stalemated struggle similar to that of the Western Front in World War I, or at least a war of several years. Critical to a prolonged struggle that would give the Soviet Union a chance to win was denying the Germans the eastern Ukraine, which was the reason why so much Soviet armor was positioned forward in June 1941. Stalin quickly acted on the fall of France to cash in any remaining chips under the pact of August 1939, annexing the Baltic states and taking Bessarabia and northern Bukovina from Romania.

The success of the German tank divisions in France also led Stalin to reverse his decision in the fall of 1939 to eliminate the five Soviet tank corps. A decree of 6 July 1940 ordered the creation of nine new Red Army mechanized corps, and, in February and March 1941, other decrees called for an additional 20 formations.

The invasion of the Soviet Union began early on the morning of 22 June 1941. Stalin was determined not to be tricked into a war with Germany. Not only did the Soviet Union provide no provocation, but it continued to make deliveries of goods under the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact even as the invasion was in progress. Stalin rejected calls by his generals in the weeks and days before the attack to put Soviet forces in the border areas on alert. Even when he was informed that German troops were invading and firing on Soviet positions, Stalin refused for hours to allow an order to return fire; he claimed Hitler must not be aware of what was going on.

On paper, the Red Army seemed in an excellent position to resist a German attack. It had some 5.37 million men under arms, and in the two weeks after the invasion another 5 million were called to the colors. It also enjoyed superiority over its attacker in major areas of military equipment. Germany had some 6,000 tanks, the Soviets 23,140 (10,394 of them in the



Red Army soldiers shown as they move up on the Germans amid the ruins of houses in the worker's settlement on the outskirts of Stalingrad, 26 January 1943. (Bettmann/Corbis)

west). Much of this equipment was also of high caliber. By 1941, the Soviets possessed some of the best tanks of the war. Their BT-series and T-26 were superior in armor, firepower, and maneuverability to the German light PzKpfw I and II and could destroy any German tank. Similarly, the Soviet T-34 medium tank and KV-1 heavy tank were superior to the PzKpfw III and IV, and indeed to any German tank in June 1941. Soviet units also enjoyed superiority in numbers of certain weapons. Thus a fully equipped Soviet tank division was to have 375 tanks; a German panzer division had only between 135 and 208. A fully equipped Soviet rifle division had 1,304 machine guns, whereas a German infantry division possessed only 486.

Although Soviet formations in the west were not fully equipped when Operation BARBAROSSA occurred, they should have been able to repel the German attack. Nonetheless, the Red Army sustained staggering losses early in the invasion. The bulk of Soviet forces in the western areas were in forward positions, where they were easily cut off and surrounded. On the first day alone, 1,200 Soviet aircraft were destroyed, most of them on the ground. Within two days, 2,000 Soviet aircraft had been lost. Within five days, the Germans had captured or destroyed 2,500 Soviet tanks. Within three weeks, the Soviets had lost 3,500 tanks, 6,000 aircraft, and 2 million men, including a significant percentage of the officer corps.

For more than a week, Stalin remained incommunicado, stunned by his failure and hiding from his people. Not until 3 July did he address the nation. Others were made the scapegoats for Stalin's own failures. General Dimitri G. Pavlov, commander of the sector that had borne the brunt of the German attack, had pleaded with Stalin a week before the German onslaught to be allowed to establish rearward defensive positions. He and eight other generals and political officials were tried and shot.

In the first months of the invasion, Stalin consistently ignored sound military advice from his generals, with disastrous results. His orders that the army stand and fight merely meant that larger portions of it were surrounded and destroyed. German armored pincers took Minsk in mid-July, along with 290,000 prisoners, 2,500 tanks, and 1,400 guns. Smolensk followed a week later with 100,000 prisoners, 2,000 tanks, and 1,900 guns. During August and September, instead of letting his armies escape a German panzer pincer on Kiev, Stalin ordered the city held. German infantry then sealed off Kiev. It fell on September 19 and with it most of five Soviet armies: 665,000 prisoners and vast quantities of weapons.

Fortunately for the Soviet Union, the campaign was sufficiently prolonged for Stalin to grow as a war leader. He absorbed specialist knowledge, and, if lacking in imagination, by the end of the war had grown into an highly effective military strategist. He was also famed, and feared, for his frequent and often abrupt interference in the conduct of operations. Front commanders reported to him daily and received orders directly from him. On 8 August, Stalin took over the position of supreme commander in chief. There were frequent changes in the top professional leadership of the General Staff (Glavnokommand). At first, Georgii K. Zhukov was commanding general; from the end of July 1941, it was Boris M. Shaposhnikov; from May 1942 it was Aleksandr M. Vasilevskii; and from February 1945 to March 1946 it was Alexi I. Antonov. Officers who had been imprisoned under the purges were now released to take command. Prominent among some 4,000 so freed was colonel, later marshal of the Soviet Union, Konstantin K. Rokossovsky, who had undergone extensive torture.

Supply remained a serious problem for the army. Early in August 1941, a Main Directorate of the Red Army was established under the General Staff that was responsible for sup-

plying the army. Arms shortages were especially acute in the winter of 1941–1942. By December 1941, only 39 percent of aircraft production goals had been met, and artillery shell production was no more than 20 to 30 percent of targets.

The rapid conversion of Soviet industry to military purposes and the relocation of entire factories east of the Urals both registered considerable results in 1942, when 59 percent of industrial production was devoted to arms manufacture, compared with only 30 percent before 1940. The military share of the state budget on the army also increased dramatically. The General Staff and government concentrated the Soviet Union's entire productive capacity on the war effort, and achievements were dramatic. During 1942, Germany produced 9,200 tanks, but the Soviet Union built 24,089; only the United States, with 24,997, built more. Superior military production to that of Germany was a major factor in the Soviet military victory in the war. In 1944, thanks in large part to the organizing genius of Albert Speer, Germany managed to produce 22,100 tanks, but the Soviet Union kept ahead, with 28,963. Artillery production also grew, from 42,300 guns in 1941 to 127,000 in 1942. Other weapons systems underwent similar production increases.

The vast distances in the Soviet Union and the primitive transportation helped to break down the German blitzkrieg, which had prospered on the short distances of Poland and France. Weather also helped to save the Red Army. Hitler believed that the Red Army could be defeated in a short campaign of only six weeks, and the German army was ill-prepared to deal with the Russian winter and temperatures of –5 degrees Fahrenheit. Eventually, temperatures in the winter of 1941–1942 plunged to –60 degrees Fahrenheit. Soviet forces were able to fight in those conditions, but the German army was unprepared.

Hitler also miscalculated Soviet manpower resources. In 1941, some 22 million Soviet citizens had experienced some degree of military training. Before the invasion, the Germans had estimated Soviet strength in the west at about 155 divisions: 100 infantry, 25 cavalry, and the equivalent of 30 mechanized. This was not far off the mark; actual Soviet strength was 177 divisional equivalents, but this included air force and border troops, and Soviet divisions were smaller than their German counterparts. By mid-August, the Germans had met and defeated the Soviet force they had expected, but by then another 160 Soviet divisions had appeared. By the summer of 1942, despite near-catastrophic losses, the Soviet field army numbered 5,534,000 officers and men.

The bulk of Soviet soldiers were poorly trained. The low educational level of the population hampered creation of technically effective combat units. The numerous nationalities and languages of the Soviet Union also worked against an efficient, cohesive military establishment. Women proved invaluable in the war effort; some 10 percent of Soviet military personnel and 15 percent of partisan forces were female,

many of them serving in combat roles. Women went to the front as pilots, navigators, mechanics, and political officers. In sharp contrast to other armies in the war, there were also all-women ground units, including the 1st Independent Volunteer Women's Rifle Brigade and the 1st Independent Women's Reserve Rifle Regiment. Women also were heavily involved in partisan activities in the western portions of the Soviet Union occupied by the Germans.

Improving circumstances enabled the Red Army to take the offensive in November 1942. The winter campaign of 1942–1943 broke the German stranglehold on Leningrad and drove Axis forces west. Stalingrad, Rostov, and Kursk were all liberated. When the Germans began Operation CITADEL in the summer of 1943, the Red Army halted the German drive in the great Battle of Kursk. That summer and fall, the Red Army resumed the advance, and from this point the Soviets maintained the initiative for the remainder of the war. On a 1,200-mile front, Soviet forces destroyed more than 200 Axis divisions and more than 14,000 aircraft. During this period, partisan activity complemented the combat actions of the regular Soviet forces, tying down large numbers of German troops in maintaining lines of communication stretching all the way back to Germany. In the newly liberated regions, industrial enterprises were set up that increased steadily growing military production. Soviet forces also received improved arms: the machine pistol (PPS), a new heavy machine gun, the 76 mm artillery piece, a 57 mm anti-tank gun, a new 152 mm howitzer, and 120 mm and 160 mm mortars. Furthermore, production was increased of the magnificent T-34 tank with its 76 mm gun, and new KV-85 and IS heavy tanks were introduced.

A large amount of U.S. Lend-Lease aid was certainly important to the Red Army's war effort. The Soviet Union received 375,000 American trucks, 50,000 Jeeps, and 12,000 railroad cars. These greatly enhanced the mobility of the Red Army and allowed it to carry out sustained offensive operations. The United States also supplied sufficient food to provide one-half pound per Russian soldier a day.

If lacking in flair, many Soviet soldiers fought hard during the war with a dogged persistence, even in hopeless situations. Nonetheless, a staggering 5.25 million Soviet soldiers were taken prisoner during the war. Desertion rates remained high, in part because of the brutal conditions. One source estimates that the Soviet Union executed 157,000 people during the war on charges of cowardice or desertion.

Soviet military casualties continued to be high, in part because of the costly Soviet practice of attacking without

In 1941, some 22 million Soviet citizens had experienced some military training.

tanks, holding the armor back until a breakthrough was achieved. The Soviets lost more men in the battle for Berlin alone at the end of the war than the United States lost during the war in all theaters combined.

By the end of 1944, the Red Army had almost completely liberated Soviet territory. In January 1945, the Red Army began its offensive against Berlin. The East Prussian Campaign and the Vistula-Oder Operation were the most important strategic operations for the Red Army in the war. In spring 1945, the Red Army mounted simultaneous operations on a vast front extending from the Baltic to the Carpathians. On 25 April, troops of the First Ukrainian Front met the First American Army in Torgau at the Elbe, symbolizing the end of Nazi Germany. By the end of the fighting in Europe, despite its horrific losses during the conflict, the Red Army had 6 million men under arms, double the number for the German army.

Three months after the conclusion of fighting in Europe, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan. On 9 August, Soviet forces mounted a large, rapid, and highly successful invasion of Manchuria. Lasting only a week, this bold operation was conducted in difficult terrain against what were considered some of Japan's best troops and ended with Soviet control of Manchuria.

Eva-Maria Stolberg and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Antonov, Alexei Innokentievich; BARBAROSSA, Operation; German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact; Hitler, Adolf; Kursk, Battle of; Pavlov, Dimitri Grigorevich; Rokossovsky, Konstantin Konstantinovich; Shaposhnikov, Boris Mikhailovich; Soviet Union, Home Front; Speer, Albert; Stalin, Josef; Vasilevsky, Aleksandr Mikhailovich; Voroshilov, Kliment Efremovich; Women in World War II; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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extending over 11 time zones. The Soviet Union was, in fact, as large geographically as the two next-largest countries—China and Canada—combined. Although Great Russians living around Moscow comprised a majority of the population, the country was composed of many different nationalities who spoke nearly 170 different languages. The largest republic by far in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was the Russian Soviet Federation Socialist Republic, which had more than 100 million people.

Soviet dictator Josef Stalin refused to believe warnings, many of which were supplied by the western powers, that Germany intended to invade. He chose to regard these as attempts by the west to entangle the Soviet Union and Germany in an armed conflict, and he continued to believe that any war between the Germany and the Soviet Union lay years in the future. Stalin's refusal to prepare adequately for a German attack was made worse by his orders that Red Army units stand fast rather than retreat, leading to the cutting off and surrender of vast numbers of Russian soldiers. Stalin's orders were largely responsible for the disastrous Red Army encirclements at Kiev and Vyazma in 1941 and at Kharkov in 1942.

Decisions such as these almost drove the Soviet Union from the war. But while Hitler unlearned the art of war, Stalin proved he was capable of learning it, absorbing specialist knowledge and technical information and paying attention to knowledgeable subordinates. He continued to make the major decisions, shifting units and commanders about. Front commanders reported to him at the end of each day and received their instructions directly from him.

During the war, Stalin deliberately downplayed communism, choosing to emphasize Russian patriotism. Toward this end, he even enlisted the services of the Russian Orthodox Church. Indeed, World War II is known in Russian history as the "Great Patriotic War." The Soviet populace was more used to deprivation and suffering than most peoples, but the war took a huge toll on the population as German and Soviet forces fought back and forth across the Russian heartland and practiced scorched-earth policies.

During the first months of the war, the government exercised total control over the media and withheld any information as to the real losses suffered by the Red Army. There was no hint in the press of hunger or starvation, which were widespread. Even news of the suffering in besieged Leningrad was suppressed. Those spreading rumors were subject to severe punishment under article 58 of the Soviet criminal code. Strict censorship often delayed evacuation of populations westward ahead of German army advances.

On 22 June 1941, the Supreme Soviet declared martial law in all front regions, and two days later it extended martial law to the entire European part of the Soviet Union. Millions of civilians were conscripted to build bunkers, barricades, and tank traps. During July and August 1941, at Leningrad alone,

Soviet Union, Home Front

In 1941, the Soviet Union numbered some 193 million people inhabiting an area of more than 8 million square miles



German soldiers salvaging belongings left behind by withdrawing Russians, in a village on the outskirts of Leningrad, 28 November 1941. (Bettmann/Corbis)

nearly 1 million citizens helped build defensive works. A decree of 26 December 1941 announced that unauthorized leave would be punished by five to eight years' imprisonment. Even more draconian was a decree of 28 July 1942 that stated that all workers who left their jobs without permission would be treated as deserters and would be handed over to military tribunals. All facets of ordinary Soviet life were militarized, with civilian activities directed by the Commissariat of Defense and the secret police. War put a severe strain on the state budget, and the Soviet government therefore imposed a "war tax" on all adult citizens that further tightened the already draconian conditions for most of the population.

The Soviet government pursued a scorched-earth policy. As the Red Army withdrew, it destroyed absolutely everything in its path with no regard to the civilian population left behind. Hundreds of thousands of tons of grain and agricultural products were simply burned to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Germans. This suffering was repeated several times over with the ebb and flow of the war.

At the time of the German invasion, some 11 million Soviet citizens had undergone some military training during the

previous 15 years, and a like number had received some military instruction. Even at the end of the war, after its horrendous casualties, the Red Army had 6 million men under arms, twice the German total.

Increasing industrial production would be vital if the Soviet Union was to have any chance of victory, and it registered great success in this area. In the Third Five-Year Plan (1938–1942), increasing attention had been given to armaments production; to developing new industry in the east; and to relocation of existing production east of the Ural Mountains, where it would be safe from the Luftwaffe. After the German invasion, whole factories were disassembled, loaded on flatcars, and then shipped east, where they were reassembled and resumed production of tanks, planes, and guns. Unfortunately for the USSR, much of the industrial effort was inefficient, the product of confusion and an inept bureaucracy. On the plus side, much of the conversion from peacetime to wartime production was carried out by local initiative, without central intervention.

Not even a majority of production could be relocated so quickly, and in the second half of 1941, the Soviet Union lost

68 percent of its iron production, 63 percent of its coal, 58 percent of its steel, and 40 percent of its farmland. The loss of Ukraine to the Germans was a particularly heavy blow, for it boasted the USSR's most fertile farmland. Despite this, the Soviet Union registered solid gains in arms production during the war. It emphasized simple yet durable weapons. The Russian Ilyushin Il-2 Shturmovik ground-attack aircraft and the T-34 tank were also easy to manufacture and maintain. Between 1940 and 1945, the Soviet Union far outproduced Germany; in that period, it manufactured 146,929 aircraft, 102,301 tanks, and more than 14.6 million rifles and carbines.

During the war, the Soviet civilian population endured hunger, cold, malnutrition, and disease. The German invasion had far-reaching consequences for the food supply, as a large part of Soviet agricultural production was soon in German hands. Also, in the first months of the war, Soviet authorities were far more intent on relocating industry than on saving agricultural production. The relocation of factories east of the Urals had priority over the shipment of food supplies. The Red Army also requisitioned tractors and horses from agricultural work. Soldiers and workers in armaments industries received priority in food and medical supplies at the expense of peasants, the old, and children. The cities were hard hit, and many people there sought refuge in the countryside, where they worked as day laborers to secure bread. Given the lack of machinery, it is not surprising that harvests were poor. Agricultural production fell sharply, resulting in sharp increases in the price of food.

The vast casualties sustained by the Red Army in fighting the Germans, the manpower requirements of the armed forces, and the demands of war industries all led to a severe labor shortage. This shortage was taken up in part by women (who had long been in the industrial workforce in the Soviet Union), by men who were too old for the army, and by teenage boys. Women were the major labor source in the agricultural sector, and by the end of the war, they comprised a majority of the workers in the industrial sector, as well. The percentage of female labor in agriculture rose from 40 percent in 1940 to 70 percent in 1943, to 82 percent in 1944, and to 92 percent in 1945. The loss of their husbands to the army placed an additional burden on married women, who now had to support both children and aged relatives. Workdays were extended to 16 hours a day and longer.

The war exacted a frightful human toll on the Soviet Union. Immediate postwar calculations set the toll at 20 million people dead, an estimate raised 60 years later to as many as 27 million or more. This death toll swelled in part because of Stalin's own policies. During the war, the Soviet authorities executed an astonishing 157,000 of their own soldiers. Stalin wrote off Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) held by the Germans, for surrender was regarded as treason. When Hitler offered to exchange Stalin's only son, Yakov, for Hitler's nephew Leo

Raubal, Stalin refused, and Yakov died in captivity. Even Soviet prisoners who managed to escape from the Germans were severely punished, sometimes with death. To add insult to injury, Red Army POWs captured by the Germans who managed to survive the cruel circumstances of imprisonment were treated as traitors at the end of the war. Many were executed out of hand; others were shipped off to the gulags.

The war was the seminal experience for generations of Soviet citizens. Its legacy of burned villages and hatred came to be reflected in the brutal Soviet treatment of its zone of Germany at the end of the war.

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See also

Soviet Union, Air Force; Soviet Union, Army; Soviet Union, Navy; Stalin, Josef; Women in World War II

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Soviet Union, Navy

When World War II began in September 1939, the Soviet navy was in the process of implementing great changes. In late 1935, Soviet leader Josef Stalin had switched from the strategic concept of a small war at sea and planned to build a large oceangoing fleet. In August 1939, the Naval Staff had finalized a building plan for the next 10 years for 15 battleships, 16 battle cruisers, 2 light aircraft carriers, 28 cruisers, 36 destroyer leaders, 163 destroyers, 442 submarines, and many smaller vessels. Of the new ships, only 1 cruiser, 4 leaders, 13 destroyers, and 158 submarines had been completed by the time the war began. In addition to these, the Soviet navy had available only 3 old battleships, 5 cruisers, 17 destroyers, and 7 submarines.

During the November 1939–March 1940 war against Finland, the Baltic Fleet carried out shore bombardment and submarine operations against supply traffic to Finland. The fleet sank only a few Finnish ships, at the cost of one submarine lost. The end of the war, however, pushed the Soviet bor-

ders forward in the Arctic by inclusion of the entire “Fisher­man’s Peninsula” and in the Baltic in the Karelian sector. These territorial acquisitions and Hanko at the entrance of the Gulf of Finland as a new naval base greatly improved the defenses of Leningrad, the Soviet Union’s second-largest city.

A nonaggression pact with Germany brought further territorial gains for the Soviet Union. In the summer of 1940, acting under its secret provisions, the USSR incorporated the Baltic states, further improving the base situation for the Soviet Baltic Fleet. In the Black Sea, Soviet territorial gains in Bessarabia created an additional buffer for Odessa and allowed the establishment of a Danube Flotilla.

The rising danger of war with Germany forced the Soviet navy in October 1940 to scale down its naval building program. Although Soviet intelligence agencies received many reports about German preparations for an attack, and British and U.S. leaders also sent warnings based on their intelligence reports, Stalin refused to believe Adolf Hitler would attack the Soviet Union before he concluded the war in the west by subduing Britain. He even forbade preparations for a preventative counterattack into the German deployments, which his General Staff had proposed. The German attack of 22 June 1941, therefore, caused great disorder and led to heavy Soviet losses, especially in the army and air force, but also to the Baltic and Black Sea fleets.

The program to build an oceangoing fleet had to be scrapped, as well. By that time, 4 cruisers, 7 destroyer-leaders, 30 destroyers, and 204 submarines had been commissioned, and the Soviets had added a further 4 submarines from the Estonian and Latvian fleets to their own forces. Ships in the Far East yards would be completed, whereas the bigger ships in the western yards were laid up for completion after the war. Of the ships partly completed, only 3 battleships, 2 battle cruisers, 10 cruisers, 2 destroyer-leaders, 42 destroyers, and 91 submarines would be launched.

The Baltic fleet—now comprising 2 old battleships, 3 cruisers, 2 destroyer-leaders, 19 destroyers, and 70 submarines—had to defend the entrances to the Bay of Riga and the Gulf of Finland by laying mine barrages. At the same time, the Germans and the Finns (the Finns had reentered the war as a cobelligerent of Germany) tried to blockade the Baltic fleet by laying mines. The German attack forced the Soviets to abandon its Baltic bases and the Finnish harbor at Hanko, incurring great losses in the process. The German “Juminda barrage” of mines was particularly effective, augmented as it was by air attacks against Soviet ships in the enclosed harbor fortress at Kronstadt and at Leningrad. In 1941, the Leningrad shipyards managed to complete 7 destroyers and 5 submarines, but the Soviet Union lost 1 battleship, 15 destroyers, and 28 submarines in mine and air attacks, with many more vessels damaged.

From 1942 until October 1944, the Baltic fleet was confined to the innermost part of the Gulf of Finland by German

and Finnish mine barrages. Only the submarines could even try to break out into the open. This tactic met with some success in 1942, when the Soviets launched 31 submarine operations; 22 of these breached the mine barriers and reached the Baltic, where they sank 25 ships. Twelve submarines, however, were lost in these actions. In 1943, all attempts to break through the barriers failed, and 4 more submarines were lost. Only after the Finnish truce of October 1944 did Soviet submarines again try to reach the Baltic Sea. By the end of the war, the remaining 22 submarines managed to sink 35 ships, including the liners *Wilhelm Gustloff*, *General Steuben*, and *Goya*. The *Wilhelm Gustloff* was the largest German ship ever sunk by a Soviet submarine; some 9,300 people lost their lives. In the case of the *General Steuben*, of 4,000 people aboard (including 2,000 German military wounded), only 300 survived; and in the *Goya* only 183 survived of some 7,000 passengers and crew. Most of those perishing in these German ships were refugees from East Prussia and the Baltic states. Baltic fleet vessels, operating in conjunction with aircraft, also supported the operations of the Red Army in late 1944 and early 1945. They carried out landing operations in the Gulf of Finland and on the Baltic Islands, and they also attacked German naval forces in the area.

In June 1941, the Black Sea Fleet consisted of 1 old battleship, 6 cruisers, 3 destroyer-leaders, 13 destroyers, and 44 submarines. The German invasion of the Ukraine that month forced the fleet to first support and then evacuate the cities captured by German and Romanian forces in operations beginning in the Danubian estuaries and lasting through mid-1942. Nikolaev, which contained the chief Soviet building yards, had to be evacuated that August. The cruisers, leaders, and destroyers already launched there were towed to Caucasian ports, and the remaining ships were destroyed before the German forces occupied the city.

Between August and October, German and Romanian forces surrounded Odessa by land, and Soviet forces there had to be supported by the fleet, which then evacuated the city successfully. For six months, the Soviet main base at Sevastopol also had to be supplied and supported by naval operations that involved nearly all available naval forces.

In December 1941, the fleet undertook a great amphibious operation against German forces occupying the Kerch Peninsula in an attempt to relieve the defenders at Sevastopol. By May 1942, however, the Germans had annihilated the Soviet ground forces, and only remnants could be successfully evacuated. During and to the very end of the final German attack on Sevastopol, Soviet surface ships and submarines attempted to supply the fortress and evacuate the wounded. During these operations, which lasted through mid-July 1942, the Black Sea Fleet lost 1 cruiser, 2 destroyer-leaders, 9 destroyers, and 12 submarines. Five of the submarines were lost during operations to interdict Axis sea traffic on the west

coast of the Black Sea, an area heavily mined by both the Germans and Romanians.

From August 1942 until September 1943, the Black Sea Fleet concerned itself primarily with the supply of harbors on the Caucasian coast that were endangered by the continuing German offensive. This allowed the Red Army to hold Taupse, and naval landing operations coordinated with submarine and motor torpedo boat attacks assisted in the Soviet offensive on the Kuban Peninsula as well. Here Soviet forces successfully interrupted sea traffic between Romania and Crimea. The attacks against German sea traffic along the west coast, however, were largely a failure.

The battle for the Crimea began in October 1943 and lasted until May 1944. The Black Sea Fleet again tried to disrupt sea traffic from Konstanta to Sevastopol with submarines, light surface forces, and air attacks. On Stalin's order, the larger ships were kept out of these operations. After a short pause, in August 1944 the Red Army began its offensive into Romania. Once Romania capitulated, Bulgaria was occupied, and the Germans were forced to scuttle the remainder of their naval forces in the Black Sea—effectively ending naval combat in that theater. Between July 1942 and the end of Black Sea naval operations, the Black Sea Fleet lost 1 destroyer-leader, 2 destroyers, and 14 submarines. A few small submarines were transferred via inland waterways from the Arctic and by rail from the Pacific to augment the fleet there, but they arrived too late to participate in operations against German-Romanian shipping.

The Soviet Northern Fleet began the war with 8 destroyers and 15 submarines. Its first task was to support the Red Army in halting the German offensive toward Murmansk. The submarines were then sent to attack German supply traffic along the Norwegian coast from the Lofoten Islands to Kirkenes, although they met only limited initial success. A few British submarines sent to Murmansk for some months achieved slightly better results. The Northern Fleet was soon augmented by the transfer of 8 submarines along interior waterways from the Baltic in 1941. A further 5 submarines came from the Pacific in 1942 and 1943, and 12 new submarines arrived from the Caspian during that time as well. The fleet carried out operations throughout the war, inflicting some losses on German shipping and losing 25 submarines, mainly to mine barrages and antisubmarine forces. The fleet also supported Allied convoys over the final portion of the route to Murmansk with destroyers—including 3 sent from the Pacific Fleet via the northern sea route—and naval aircraft. The main defense burden for these convoys, however, fell to the British Home Fleet. In the later years of the war, British and American surface ships and submarines assisted in defending the northern sea route as well. Overall, the Northern Fleet suffered minimal losses beyond the submarines;

only 3 destroyers and some escort vessels and auxiliaries were damaged or sunk.

The Soviet Pacific Fleet served as a reservoir of personnel and for the training of naval crews for most of the war. However, the Pacific Fleet transferred a few destroyers to the Northern Fleet, along with some submarines. In the last month of the war, strengthened by Lend-Lease deliveries of U.S. ships, the Pacific Fleet took part in the war against Japan, conducting landing operations on the east coast of Korea, Sakhalin Island, and in the Kurile Islands. Lend-Lease played a vital role in securing the route along the Aleutian Islands to Kamchatka and Soviet bases in the Far East, especially Vladivostok. This proved to be a much safer route than either Murmansk or Arkhangelsk for Allied supplies to reach the Soviet Union, not least because of the Soviet-Japanese nonaggression pact of March 1941. The fleet lost only 5 submarines through accidents during these operations, though 2 were eventually recovered. One more submarine, which was en route to the Northern Fleet, was lost to a Japanese submarine attack just off the west coast of the United States. A submarine also went down in the final days of the war, sunk in all likelihood by a Japanese mine.

Outside of these major theater operations, the Soviet navy also used river flotillas. The first flotilla operations came on the Pripjet River in September 1939 against the Poles. Other operations followed: on the Danube and the Dnieper in 1941; on the Volga in 1942; and on the Danube again in 1944 and 1945. Flotillas carried out operations on Lake Ladoga and Lake Onega from 1941 to 1944, and they assisted the Red Army in its operations on smaller seas, rivers, and lakes.

Jürgen Rohwer

See also

Convoys, Allied; Finnish-Soviet War (30 November 1939–12 March 1940, Winter War); Finnish-Soviet War (25 June 1941–4 September 1944, Continuation War); Lend-Lease; Sevastopol, Battle for; Stalin, Josef

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Soviet Women's Combat Wings (1942–1945)

Soviet women's combat aviation regiments evolved from the 122nd Aviation Group, established in Moscow in October 1941 by Marina Raskova. The first of these was the 46th Taman Guards (initially designated 588th) Bomber Regiment. Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Evdokiia Bershanskaia, it remained all-female throughout the war and produced 24 Heroes of the Soviet Union. It consisted of one training and three operational squadrons, with two-woman aircrews. The regiment flew about 24,000 short-range sorties in converted U-2 biplane trainers (renamed Po-2 in 1944). The unit became operational in the Ukraine and reached Berlin at the end of the war.

The 125th M. M. Raskova Borisov Guards (initially designated as the 587th) Bomber Regiment was commanded first by Major Marina Raskova and then Major Valentin Markov. It produced five Heroes of the Soviet Union. The unit consisted of two Pe-2 dive-bomber squadrons. These aircraft were armed with five machine guns that were fired by the pilot, navigator and gunner. Initially, the gunners were mostly male. The regiment flew 1,134 medium-range sorties. It became operational near Stalingrad, and by the end of the war, it was stationed in the Baltic.

The 586th Fighter Regiment was commanded first by Major Tamara Kazarinova and then Major Aleksandr Gridnev. It included some male technicians and one men's squadron, formed as replacement for a women's unit sent to Stalingrad. The regiment flew Yak-1 and Yak-9 aircraft and was charged with protecting Soviet industrial centers, rail junctions, and bridges, including those in Voronezh, Kastornaia, Kursk, Kiev, and Budapest. It became operational in Saratov and by the end of the war had reached Vienna.

Also noteworthy were Il-2 pilots Senior Lieutenants Tamara Fedorovna Konstantinova and Anna Aleksandrovna Timofeeva-Egorova, both Heroes of the Soviet Union. Konstantinova was deputy squadron commander of the 999th Ground Attack Regiment, 277th Ground Attack Division, First Air Army, 3rd Baltic Front. Timofeeva-Egorova was chief navigator of the 805th Ground Attack Regiment, 197th Ground Attack Division, Sixteenth Air Army, 1st Belorussian Front.

No statistics as to how many Soviet women flew combat missions were kept, but by the end of the war, women constituted 12.5 percent of all Soviet fighter aviation personnel, including ground support.

Kazimiera J. Cottam

See also

Litviak, Lidiia Vladimirovna; Raskova, Marina Mikhailovna; Women in World War II

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Spatz, Carl Andrew "Tooey" (1891–1974)

General in the U.S. Army Air Forces and later the U.S. Air Force. Born on 28 June 1891 in Boyertown, Pennsylvania, Carl Andrew Spatz (originally *Spatz*; he added the "a" in 1937) graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in June 1914 and began his military career as an infantry second lieutenant at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii. In October 1915, he was detailed to the Aviation School at San Diego, California, where he received his wings in May 1916. In June, he joined the 3rd Aero Squadron in the Punitive Expedition into Mexico.

Following U.S. entry into World War I, Captain Spatz served in France, first as commander of the 31st Aero Squadron and then as an instructor at the American Aviation School. In September 1918, he joined the 13th Squadron, 2nd Pursuit Group, and was credited with downing three German planes.

Following the war, Major Spatz commanded the 1st Pursuit Group (1921–1924), graduated from the Air Corps Tactical School in June 1925, and spent three years in the Office of the Chief of the Air Corps (OCAC), in Washington. During 1–7 January 1929, Spatz commanded an army aircraft, the famous "Question Mark," in a record endurance flight of nearly 151 hours aloft. From 1929 to 1935, he commanded the 7th Bombardment Group and 1st Bombardment Wing in California, subsequently returning to the OCAC. In June 1936, he graduated from the Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and was promoted to lieutenant colonel. He then served at Langley Field, Virginia, and had a third tour with the OCAC. In 1940, during the Battle of Britain, Spatz spent several weeks in Britain as a military observer. By July 1941, he had risen to the rank of temporary brigadier general, serving as chief of the Air Staff for the newly created Army Air Forces (AAF).



Major General Carl Spaatz (*left*) and Brigadier General Ira C. Eaker, 1942. (Library of Congress)

Following U.S. entry into World War II, Major General Spaatz traveled to England in July 1942 to command the U.S. Eighth Air Force. That December, Spaatz transferred to command the Twelfth Air Force in North Africa. Promoted to lieutenant general in March 1943, he assumed command of Allied Northwest Africa Air Forces. During the last six months of 1943, Spaatz served as deputy commander for the Mediterranean Allied Air Forces.

Spaatz returned to England in January 1944 to command U.S. Strategic Air Forces in Europe, consisting of the Eighth Air Force in Britain and the Fifteenth Air Force in Italy. These forces proved vital in preparation for, and then support of, the Allies' Normandy Invasion.

Promoted to temporary general in March 1945, Spaatz returned to AAF headquarters in June only to be assigned to command U.S. Strategic Air Forces, Pacific, in July. He supervised the final air campaign against Japan. Spaatz remained

certain of the efficacy of strategic bombing of industry in the war, and he believed that still heavier bombing might have obviated the need for the Normandy Invasion. In October 1945, he recommended that atomic weapons should form the backbone of U.S. defense strategy.

In late 1945, President Harry S Truman nominated Spaatz for the permanent rank of major general, and in February 1946, he made Spaatz commander of the AAF, a post held previously by General of the Army Henry H. "Hap" Arnold. Spaatz played a leading role in the creation of the separate United States Air Force. Indeed, he was the last commander of the AAF and first chief of staff of the Air Force in September 1947. Spaatz retired in June 1948. Later, he served as chair of the Civil Air Patrol and wrote a column for *Newsweek* magazine. Spaatz died in Washington, D.C., on 14 July 1974.

William Head

See also

Normandy Invasion; Strategic Bombing.

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Spain, Role in War (1939–1945)

After the Nationalist victory in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), Francisco Franco-Bahamonde ruled Spain as dictator. El Caudillo (leader) continued his repressive policies with the aim of preserving the values of traditional Catholic Spain. Spain sided early with the Fascist states of Germany and Italy. On 27 March 1939, Spain joined the Anti-Comintern Pact (*Comintern* is a truncation of Communist International) with the Axis side. Germany, desperate for

Spanish exports of wolfram—the source of tungsten and armor-piercing projectiles—courted Franco. Spain, economically devastated by its Civil War, needed nitrates for fertilizers and oil, of which it had no domestic supply. Pushed by foreign minister and Falangist leader Ramón Serrano Suñer (his brother-in-law), Franco edged Spain closer toward the Axis camp.

When World War II erupted, Franco openly sided with the Fascist states of Germany and Italy. Following the German defeat of France, Hitler met with Franco at Hendaye on 23 October 1940 along the border with Spain and demanded that Franco enter the war. Hitler was angry at Franco's noncommittal response, which was accompanied by an impressive shopping list of required military hardware. Franco was displeased at Hitler's vague reply to the Spanish dictator's demand for territorial compensation, especially French Morocco.

Although he promised Hitler a quick response, Franco dallied and never brought Spain into the war. He did not wish to entangle his still-prostrate country in a new war, and he believed his cause was better served if he posed as a technical neutral. This attitude of nonbelligerency (not neutrality)



Chief of the State Francisco Franco-Bahamonde inspecting members of the German Kondor Legion, 28 May 1939. (Bettmann/Corbis)

infuriated Hitler, who even considered invading Spain (Operation FELIX) as part of a Mediterranean strategy following his defeat in the Battle of Britain.

Franco did congratulate Hitler after each of his early victories and sent troops, under the guise of volunteers, to fight Russia after Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union. This was the Blue Division, so named because the troops wore blue Falange Party shirts with their red Carlist berets and brown Foreign Legion trousers. Commanded by General Agustín Muñoz Grandes, this force of 18,000 men was sent to fight in the Soviet Union to demonstrate Franco's hatred of communism, to get rid of Falange hotheads, as a sop to Hitler, and to demonstrate to Hitler that Spaniards would fight a German invasion of Spain and fight well. The Blue Division, which joined the German order of battle as the 250th Infantry Division in Army Group North, distinguished itself in fighting around Leningrad. From August 1941 to March 1944, some 47,000 Spanish soldiers served in the division. The division sustained 22,000 casualties, a casualty rate of 47 percent, of whom 4,500 died. Fewer than 300 prisoners of war were repatriated in 1954. The Allies pressed Franco to withdraw the Blue Division, but Hitler released it without being asked in order to strengthen Franco's hand against the Allies. The last troops returned to Spain in April 1944, although Spanish volunteers continued to fight for Germany afterward. Several were organized into Waffen-Schutzstaffel (Waffen-SS) units, and a Spanish SS battalion helped defend Berlin to the last.

Throughout the war, Franco provided the Germans and Italians with assistance in the form of observation posts in Spanish Morocco to monitor Allied ship movements, and he allowed German submarines to be serviced in Spanish ports. During the Allied buildup at Gibraltar preceding Operation TORCH, Franco ordered partial mobilization of the Spanish military but did nothing more. The success of TORCH and especially the toppling of Benito Mussolini from power led Franco to shift to a more neutral position. He reduced the strength of the Blue Division and at the end of 1943 dissolved the Falangist militia.

In February 1944, President Franklin D. Roosevelt also ordered an embargo on fuel and food exports to Spain. On 2 May 1944, with stocks of oil nearly exhausted, Franco signed an agreement with the Allies whereby he promised a strictly neutral stance. He agreed to hand over all interned Italian ships, to close the German consulate in Tangier, and to expel German intelligence agents from Spain. He also agreed to curtail wolfram shipments to Germany to a token 20 tons a month. Despite this agreement, until the end of the war Spain continued to furnish the Germans with intelligence information. Only in April 1945 did Spain sever diplomatic relations with Nazi Germany and Japan.

When World War II was over, Spain became a primary refuge for leading Nazis and collaborators. The Allies sought

to punish Franco's wartime conduct with quarantine treatment. Spain was excluded from the United Nations and condemned for its political nature and close association with the Axis nations. The Cold War changed the western attitude, however, and the United States came to view Spain as a bulwark against communism. The boycott of Franco was lifted; U.S. air and naval bases were established in Spain, and U.S. aid helped prop up the regime, a fact remembered with bitterness by many Spanish democrats.

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See also

Franco, Francisco; Mussolini, Benito; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; TORCH, Operation

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Special Operations Executive (SOE)

British intelligence agency specializing in overseas sabotage and secret operations. British officials established the Special Operations Executive (SOE) in July 1940, impelled by a much-exaggerated belief that fifth-column activities in western Europe had contributed greatly to the successful German conquest of those countries. Intended in British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill's words to "set Europe ablaze" by promoting resistance activities in occupied countries, the organization initially combined sabotage, research, and propaganda functions. In August 1941, propaganda operations were transferred to the Political Warfare Executive, a separate agency under the Foreign Office; SOE remained under the Ministry of Economic Warfare, which was headed by Hugh Dalton.

SOE operations focused primarily on delivering agents to European countries to work with—and, where appropriate, inspire—indigenous resistance movements. Because these activities frequently attracted unwelcome attention from the German Gestapo and local police, they aroused the enmity of

the British intelligence agencies, especially MI6, which focused primarily on gathering information and which preferred obscurity to ensure the safety of its operations.

At its height, SOE employed 10,000 men and 3,000 women, many recruited through the British “old-boy” network. At least half of the men and some women spent periods as agents in hostile or neutral countries. SOE was normally organized in country sections, although in France it had six sections each of which worked with a different faction of the French Resistance. Activities of the SOE sections eventually provided arms for half a million French opponents of Germany and so facilitated the success of the June 1944 Allied landings.

Although its earlier efforts in Italy had proved fruitless, in 1943 SOE took part in the unconditional-surrender negotiations between General Dwight D. Eisenhower and Marshal Patrice Badoglio; thereafter it assisted Italian partisans who fought the remaining German occupation forces. SOE’s Scandinavian efforts were also largely successful, assisting Danish and Norwegian anti-German Resistance efforts, foiling German plans to use Norwegian heavy water to develop atomic weapons, gathering military intelligence in Denmark, and securing valuable seaborne supplies of special steels and ball bearings from Sweden. In Poland, SOE operatives assisted in extensive sabotage efforts by severely damaging 6,000 locomotives, which disrupted German railroad traffic to the Eastern Front. SOE agents in Czechoslovakia helped in the May 1942 assassination of German Obergruppenführer Reinhard Heydrich, a propaganda coup that nonetheless provoked savage reprisals against Czech Jews and the town of Lidice. SOE efforts in the Netherlands, by contrast, proved disastrous; in 1942 and 1943, German intelligence secretly penetrated SOE communications networks, capturing—and in many cases executing—more than 50 SOE agents.

SOE sent a mission to the Soviet Union, where officials welcomed it politely and pointedly excluded it from any operational role. Until late 1941, the British agent Kim Philby, later revealed to be a Soviet spy, served as a rather effective SOE trainer.

Communist operatives penetrated the large SOE mission in Cairo, which supervised Balkan missions and helped to steer SOE assistance toward Communist resistance factions. In Greece, the SOE armed several thousand agents, but it found that Communist partisans often used this weaponry to eliminate rival Greek forces rather than the Germans. In Yugoslavia, the SOE initially supported General Draza Mihajlović’s Četnik resistance fighters, but it later switched its support to Josip Broz’s (Tito’s) Communist forces, a decision that aided the latter appreciably in winning control of Yugoslavia. In Albania, SOE operatives likewise tended to favor Communist over right-wing guerrilla groups.

SOE operations extended far beyond Europe. In 1940 and 1941, SOE agents escorted Emperor Haile Selassie back to

Ethiopia. With quiet acquiescence from the United States, in Latin America the SOE secretly established sleeper groups that were ready to take action should pro-Nazi forces seem likely to become predominant.

The most significant non-European SOE operations were in Asia. Australian-based SOE agents of Force 136 clashed, sometimes bitterly, with their counterparts from the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (with whom, by contrast, they cooperated well in Europe). In Burma, SOE contravened its own charter by undertaking intelligence-collecting work. It also helped to organize highly effective bodies of Karen guerrillas, who killed more than 17,000 Japanese troops in the war’s final months. In April 1945, the SOE persuaded the Japanese-sponsored Burmese National Army to switch its loyalties to the Allies. SOE operations in Thailand and French Indochina were limited and somewhat ineffective.

Although it was forbidden to operate in China, the SOE secretly sent two missions there. One undertook highly profitable foreign exchange and smuggling ventures that left SOE finances with a surplus when the agency disbanded in January 1946. The other instructed the Chinese Communists of the Eighth Route Army of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) in SOE sabotage methods.

Although its personnel were relatively few and its resistance and guerrilla efforts in occupied countries could only supplement, not substitute for, full-scale military invasions of those territories, SOE operations proved valuable in boosting Allied morale and dislocating Axis control of subjugated areas.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Badoglio, Pietro; China, Role in War; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia; Heydrich, Reinhard Tristan Eugen; Lidice Massacre; Mao Zedong; Mihajlović, Dragoljub; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Office of Strategic Services; Resistance; Tito

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Speer, Albert (1905–1981)

German minister for armaments from 1942 to 1945. Born on 19 March 1905 in Mannheim, Albert Speer was educated at the Munich Institute of Technology and the Institute of Technology in Berlin-Charlottenburg. He received his architect's license in 1927. He was the protégé and academic assistant of Heinrich Tessenow when he first met Adolf Hitler at a Nazi rally in December 1930. Speer joined the Nazi Party in March 1931. He also joined the Nazi organization for professional architects and soon began receiving party commissions. In 1933, Speer designed the party's celebrations at Tempelhof Airport, introducing the "cathedral of light" concept that became a hallmark of party rallies. This brought him to the attention of Josef Goebbels, the minister of propaganda, who put Speer in contact with Hitler. The Führer soon commissioned Speer to design his official apartments.

By 1934, Albert Speer was "Hitler's architect," and he also held several official posts. In January 1937, Speer added the title of inspector general of construction for Berlin. He reported directly to Hitler and impressed the Nazi leader by completing the Reichs Chancellery in only nine months. In January 1938, Hitler made Speer the first commissioner for the Chancellery. He now controlled all building and industrial materials as well as the transport and labor—some 65 million workers—associated with them.

In 1941, Speer offered his services to the army reserve and became chief of defense construction. When Fritz Todt died in a plane crash in February 1942, Hitler again turned to Speer. On 15 February Speer was sworn in as the new minister for armament and munitions. His brief also covered most aspects of construction and transportation.

Between 1942 and 1944, Speer tripled overall German armament output. Ammunition production increased 300 percent, and tank output rose 600 percent. By 1943, he was in charge of naval armaments as well as German rocket and atomic programs. Many saw him as Hitler's successor, since the two shared a close acquaintance based on their mutual interest in architecture.

The workload, however, took its toll on Speer. It also brought him into contact with the concentration camps and the conditions of slave labor, which Speer claimed to have found abhorrent. After touring facilities in the northeast, Speer fell gravely ill in the winter of 1943–1944. He remained hospitalized until early May 1944.

When he returned, Speer found his influence diminished. His name appeared on the list of putative ministers during the attempted coup of 20 July 1944; his friendship with Hitler and the fact that he was listed as someone to be approached after



Albert Speer (left) with Adolf Hitler in 1942. (Library of Congress)

the attempted coup saved him. Speer remained at his posts and was made responsible for the construction of Germany's western defenses. Yet Speer was now less than committed to the Nazi cause. He spoke publicly of final victory and promised miracle weapons, but he privately doubted both. When Hitler adopted a scorched-earth policy, Speer sought to undermine it, and he involved himself in several wild schemes to assassinate or eliminate the top Nazi leadership.

On 23 April 1945, Speer visited Hitler in his bunker. He then flew to join Admiral Karl Dönitz's successor government at Flensburg as minister of economics and production. While there, following the German surrender, Speer was debriefed for the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey before being arrested by the British on 23 May 1945. He then became one of the main defendants at the Nuremberg trials. Speer adopted the strategy of accepting collective responsibility while simultaneously denying personal culpability. Found guilty, he received 20 years' imprisonment and served the full sentence.

While he was in prison, Speer wrote the accounts of his work and experiences in Nazi Germany that would make him

both famous and infamous. He remained a significant literary and historical figure until his death in Paddington, England, on 1 September 1981.

Timothy C. Dowling

See also

Dönitz, Karl; Goebbels, Paul Josef; Hitler, Adolf; International Military Tribunal: The Nuremberg Trials

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Sport and Athletics

The value of sports and athletics programs in maintaining combat effectiveness was thoroughly demonstrated in World War I. Spectator sports and fitness programs during that conflict helped to maintain both the morale and productivity of the civilian populace. As a result, many nations promoted official athletic programs and policies during World War II. The preferred sports and the nature of officially sanctioned athletic programs differed from nation to nation, as did their announced purposes. Those variations demonstrate the cultural differences among the combatant nations and the separate paths each had taken in developing sports and athletics.

However different in their particulars, officially promoted sports and athletics programs can be loosely grouped into four functional categories. Physical training programs featured mandatory athletic activities, often specialized, that were intended to develop physical and psychological fitness for military service as part of routine duty. Recreational athletic programs supported morale, discipline, and physical fitness through voluntary—but often heavily encouraged—leisure activities. Mass-participation sports programs employed competition as a means to foster physical and psychological fitness while improving morale and esprit de corps. Both recreational athletics and mass-participation sports programs were often deliberately promoted as alternatives to less beneficial pursuits. Finally, elite spectator sports programs provided morale-boosting entertainment while encouraging more active participation in sports and athletic pursuits.

Britain established the Army Sport Control Board in 1918 to govern an expanding number of military sports associations, thus regulating and promoting recreational athletics, mass participation, and spectator sports programs. The board supplemented efforts by the Army Physical Training

Corps and its staff of instructors from the Army School of Gymnastics at Aldershot to promote uniform physical training throughout the British army. When Britain entered World War II, it boasted an established and centralized program of military sports and athletics.

Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa followed the British model to various degrees. France had its own apparatus for regulating physical training and promoting recreational athletics. The armies of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden each promoted physical training, recreational athletics, and participant and spectator sports. But Japan may have reaped the earliest substantive benefit from such programs, as it began fighting in China in 1937.

The Japanese armed forces featured systematic physical training and some forms of competitive sport. Physical training played a particularly important role in the development of Japanese fighter pilots. A program of gymnastics, diving, and trampoline exercises incorporated into the lengthy flight training process theoretically improved a pilot's ability to remain oriented and under control during violent aerial maneuvers. While the material contributions of such physical and mental conditioning to the early success of Japanese aviation are anecdotal, the rigorous and unparalleled training did contribute to the mystique and esprit de corps of Japanese fighter pilots early in the war. As the United States began mobilization, American flight training programs responded by adopting some of the same techniques.

U.S. military personnel were the beneficiaries of programs formally established following World War I. Both the army and navy trained all officers to lead physical training, sports, and athletic activities as part of their routine duties. Specially trained instructors supplemented the officers' efforts, benefiting from the expansion of military athletic facilities undertaken as relief projects during the Great Depression. As the nation mobilized, the growing network of military posts offered such facilities in accordance with both official regulations and public expectations. American men and women entering wartime service generally viewed themselves as civilians temporarily in uniform rather than as military personnel, and their government went to great lengths to support that view by providing them with familiar civilian comforts. These included provisions for sports and athletics.

As a result, Americans, perhaps more than the people of any other nation, created an extensive sporting infrastructure that extended to frontline areas. Facilities and equipment for baseball, basketball, and other favored sports became commonplace, and American military newspapers devoted substantial space to sports coverage. That coverage linked soldiers and the home front by including major civilian sporting events. Some concessions had to be made, however; American football, with its substantial equipment



Two British gunners and heavyweight boxers practice for boxing championships in London with an audience of mostly women gunners, 1943. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

requirements and high risk of injury, was deliberately deemphasized in the U.S. military during the war.

Despite some controversy, American professional sports continued through the war to support both military and civilian morale and to promote civilian physical fitness. The health, stamina, and strength of civilian workers were significant concerns to fully mobilized nations. Both the programs and the propaganda efforts of the Soviet Union and Germany demonstrate that concern was not limited to the democratic combatants. Germany, in particular, employed an athleticism to support nationalism and the National Socialist ideology, a famous factor in the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin.

Sport also contributed to the cohesion of Allied forces. Both formal and informal competitions flourished when military forces came into close contact. In North Africa, for example, British, French, and American servicemen shared an interest in boxing. Competitions in boxing and other sports, coordinated by an Allied Sports Commission, fol-

lowed the advance from North Africa through Italy. This social interaction and less formal athletic competition promoted an awareness of common interests and shared participation in the war.

Sports and athletics provided the same unifying function within national or imperial forces. The cultural ties of the British Empire found expression in the shared sporting interests of its military forces. Within the U.S. armed forces, sport provided a venue to express common interests and culture despite gender and racial segregation. Although programs generally reflected gender and racial segregation policies, the shared interest, language, and experience of sports and athletics reinforced American nationalism just as it highlighted the common experiences of the British Empire.

Jeffery A. Charlston

See also

Combat Fatigue; Germany, Home Front; Military Medicine; Music and the War; Propaganda; United States, Home Front

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Sprague, Clifton Albert Frederick (1896–1955)

U.S. Navy admiral. Born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, on 8 January 1896, Clifton Sprague graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1918. He served on board the gunboat *Wheeling* in the Mediterranean from June 1917 to October 1918.

Following shore duty, Sprague qualified as a naval aviator at Pensacola Navy Air Station in 1920. He then served aboard the airship tender *Wright* on the West Coast (1920–1923). From 1926 to 1928 at Hampton Roads Naval Air Station, he helped develop arresting gear for aircraft-carrier landings. He was then assistant air officer aboard the aircraft carrier *Lexington* (1928–1929) before commanding a patrol squadron aboard the *Wright* at San Diego, in the Panama Canal Zone, and at Pearl Harbor. He served once again at the Hampton Roads Naval Air Station before helping to outfit the *Yorktown*, where he was air officer from 1937 to 1939. From 1939 to 1941, he commanded auxiliaries. He was commanding the seaplane tender *Tangier* at Pearl Harbor when the Japanese attacked.

In June 1942, Sprague became chief of staff of the Gulf Sea Frontier, helping to develop convoy techniques. In 1943, he commanded the Seattle Naval Air Station. Promoted to captain, Sprague outfitted the carrier *Wasp* and brought it into commission that November. He continued as skipper of the *Wasp* through the Battle of the Philippine Sea. Promoted to rear admiral in August 1944, Sprague commanded escort carrier Task Unit 77.4.3 ("Taffy 3") in the invasion of Leyte, Philippines.

On the morning of 25 October 1944, Japanese Vice Admiral Kurita Takeo's superior force suddenly surprised the Americans in Leyte Gulf. Sprague's command of six escort carriers, three destroyers, and four destroyer escorts was nearest to an advancing Japanese force that consisted of four battleships, six heavy cruisers, and numerous destroyers. While ordering his destroyers to attack the Japanese, Sprague summoned air support from other escort-carrier groups. His defensive efforts eventually led the Japanese to withdraw. Sprague's handling of the battle, as well as the bravery of the men on the destroyers, are credited with preventing the



Captain Clifton A. F. Sprague on the bridge of the U.S. Navy aircraft carrier *Wasp*, in 1944. (Corbis)

Japanese force from destroying the American transports anchored off the invasion beaches. In February 1945, Sprague took command of Carrier Division 26, participating in support of the U.S. landings at Iwo Jima and Okinawa. He then headed Carrier Division 2.

In summer 1946, Sprague commanded Joint Task Group 1.1.2 and Navy Air Group Joint Task Force 1 in the Bikini atomic bomb tests. From 1946 to 1948, he was chief of naval air basic training at Corpus Christi, Texas. He commanded Carrier Division 6 in the Mediterranean in 1948 and 1949 and the 17th Naval District and Alaskan Sea Frontier from 1941 to 1951. Sprague retired in November 1951 as a vice admiral. He died at San Diego, California, on 11 April 1955.

Edward F. Finch

See also

Iwo Jima, Battle for; Kurita Takeo; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; Okinawa, Invasion of

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Sprague, Thomas Lamison (1894–1972)

U.S. Navy admiral. Born in Lima, Ohio, on 2 October 1894, Thomas Sprague graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1917. Following U.S. entry into World War I, he served in Atlantic convoy duty aboard a cruiser and then on antisubmarine patrol aboard the destroyer *Montgomery*, commanding her as a lieutenant in 1920.

Sprague next underwent flight training at Pensacola Naval Air Station and was designated a naval aviator. Staff and flight assignments followed. During 1931 and 1932, he commanded Scouting Squadron 6. He then supervised a laboratory at the Philadelphia naval aircraft factory, was air officer aboard the carrier *Saratoga* in 1935 and 1936, and became superintendent of naval air training at Pensacola from 1937 to 1940. Sprague served as executive officer of the carrier *Ranger* in the Atlantic in 1940 and 1941. He next helped to commission the new escort carrier *Charger* and took command of her during Chesapeake Bay training operations for antisubmarine patrols.

Following a tour of duty as chief of staff to the commander of air units in the Atlantic Fleet in the first half of 1943, Sprague fitted out and commanded the carrier *Intrepid* through operations in the Marshall Islands and off Truk. He was promoted to rear admiral in June 1944 and assumed command of Carrier Division 22, which comprised 18 escort carriers and numerous destroyers and destroyer-escorts, for operations off Guam and the Philippine Islands.

On the morning of 25 October 1944, Sprague's division, designated Task Group TG 77.4 ("Taffy 1"), was divided into three groups spread across Leyte Gulf supporting the amphibious operation when a powerful Japanese surface force under Vice Admiral Kurita Takeo surprised the Americans. Sprague ordered all of his aircraft to attack the enemy while two of his groups made smoke and moved away from the foe. The other group (TG 77.4.3, "Taffy 3"), commanded by Rear Admiral Clifton A. F. Sprague (no relation), bore the brunt of the Japanese attack. The ferocity of the American counterattack convinced Kurita that his forces had encountered the bulk of the American fleet, not merely an escort carrier group. Kurita then called off the attack, sparing both Thomas Sprague's unit and the vulnerable transports supporting the invasion of Leyte.

Sprague next commanded Carrier Division 3 off Okinawa (April–June 1945) and Task Force 38.1 off Japan (July–August 1945). Following the war, Sprague was first deputy chief and then chief of the Bureau of Naval Personnel (1946–1949). He was promoted to vice admiral in August 1949, and he then commanded all air units in the Pacific Fleet until his retirement in April 1952. He returned briefly to duty

in 1956 and 1957 to negotiate with the Philippine government about bases in the Philippines. Sprague died in Oakland, California, on 17 September 1972.

Edward F. Finch

See also

Guam, Battle for; Kurita Takeo; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; Marshall Islands, Naval Campaign; Okinawa, Invasion of; Sprague, Clifton Albert Frederick; Truk

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Spruance, Raymond Ames (1886–1969)

U.S. Navy admiral. Born on 3 July 1886 in Baltimore, Maryland, Raymond Spruance graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in September 1906. His early assignments included service on the battleship *Minnesota* during the around-the-world cruise of the Great White Fleet. His first command was the destroyer *Bainbridge* in 1913. During World War I, Spruance rose to the rank of commander and commanded a troop ship. He then commanded destroyers, attended the Naval War College, served in the Office of Naval Intelligence, taught at the Naval War College, and commanded the battleship *Mississippi*.

Spruance was promoted to captain in 1932 and to rear admiral in 1939. In July 1941 he took command of Cruiser Division 5 at Pearl Harbor. As surface screen commander for Vice Admiral William F. Halsey's carriers, he participated in raids on the Gilberts, Marshalls, Wake, and Marcus Islands, and in the raid on Tokyo in April 1942. When Halsey was confined to the hospital with a severe skin allergy, Pacific Fleet commander Admiral Chester Nimitz, on Halsey's recommendation, appointed Spruance to replace him as Task Force 16 commander. Spruance brilliantly handled the air and naval assets available to him and his forces won the Battle of Midway. Nimitz then named Spruance his chief of staff.

In May 1943, Spruance was promoted to vice admiral. In August he took command of the Pacific Fleet and Pacific Ocean Area, later known as the Fifth Fleet. Promoted to admiral in February 1944, he then led campaigns against Japanese naval forces and island strongholds from the Gilberts and Marshalls through the Battle of the Philippine Sea and the invasions of Iwo Jima and Okinawa.

Spruance took command of the Pacific Fleet from Nimitz in November 1945. In February 1946 he became the president



U.S. Vice Admiral Raymond Spruance. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

of the Naval War College. He retired from the navy in July 1948, only to serve as ambassador to the Philippines during 1952–1955. Spruance died on 13 December 1969. The Spruance-class of destroyers is named for him.

William Head

See also

Gilbert Islands Campaign; Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Iwo Jima, Battle for; Marshall Islands, Naval Campaign; Midway, Battle of; Nimitz, Chester William; Okinawa, Invasion of; Philippine Sea, Battle of the; Tokyo Bombing of (18 April 1942)

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Stalin, Josef (Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili) (1879–1953)

General secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, supreme commander of the Soviet armed forces, marshal of the Soviet Union, and Soviet dictator. Stalin was

indisputably one of the most powerful rulers in history, as well as one of the greatest murderers.

Born Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili in the Georgian town of Gori on 21 December 1879, Josef Stalin was the only child of his parents to survive infancy. His parents were semi-literate peasants, the descendants of serfs; his father worked as cobbler and his mother as a washerwoman and domestic. Soso, the common Georgian nickname for Iosef, was admitted to the four-year elementary ecclesiastical school in Gori in September 1888 and graduated (six years later) in July 1894. His mother wished a career in the priesthood for him, so in September 1894, he entered the Tiflis theological seminary on a free scholarship.

Stalin's "official" biographies obscure more than they reveal, and they differ for the most part on the cause of Soso's exit from the seminary in 1899. Some say he was expelled for revolutionary activity, and others claim that he quit, but it was at seminary that Dzhugashvili was introduced to Russian socialism and Marxism. His career as a low-level party functionary began in 1901 and included "expropriations" (robbery) and counterfeiting in support of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP). Arrested, he was tried, convicted, and exiled to Siberia in 1903 under the pseudonym Koba.

Koba escaped from exile in 1904, and the next year he joined the Bolshevik faction of the RSDLP (Georgia being a stronghold of the Menshevik faction), which was led by Vladimir Lenin. By 1907, he was recognized as an outstanding Bolshevik propagandist—particularly on the nationalities question—in the Caucasus. By 1912, he was sponsored by Lenin to membership in the Bolshevik-controlled RSDLP Central Committee at the Prague conference where the final split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks took place. Stalin (steel), as he was then known, was freed from Siberian exile by the Russian Revolution of March 1917. He returned to Petrograd and became editor of the party newspaper *Pravda*. His seniority on the Central Committee allowed him to assume leadership of the Bolsheviks until Lenin's return to Petrograd from Switzerland in April 1917. Stalin seems to have played little role in the Bolshevik seizure of power in October 1917.

Stalin's supposed expertise on the nationalities question led to his appointment as commissar of nationalities in the new Bolshevik government. Through the Civil War period, the real government of Russia was the Bolshevik Politburo of five men: Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Lev Kamenev, Nikolai Bukharin, and Stalin. To Stalin fell the day-to-day management of the party, which gave him considerable power. In 1922, his power base was expanded when he was appointed general secretary of the Central Committee, whereby de facto control of the Politburo accrued to him.

Following Lenin's incapacitation by stroke in 1923 and his death on 21 January 1924, over time Stalin was able to parlay



Josef Stalin, general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1942. (Library of Congress)

his base of power into control of the organs of Soviet governance. By 1929, his accumulation of power was complete and unchallengeable. In the 1930s, he began to purge “old Bolsheviks”—his former adversaries—in his quest to maintain and strengthen his hold on power.

Periodic purges were not unprecedented after the Bolshevik seizure of power. Most were directed at subordinate officials and low-ranking party members, who bore the brunt of policy failures. The Great Purges, conducted on Stalin’s orders, were characterized by their focus on party and state elites, the use of mass terror, and dramatic public “show trials” and “confessions” by the accused.

Beginning in 1936, in a series of show trials held in Moscow, numerous leading Communists and old Bolsheviks were tried; they confessed and were executed or sentenced to hard labor. At the same time, millions of ordinary Soviet citizens simply disappeared in what became known as the “deep comb-out.” Eventually some 8 million people were arrested, 1 million of whom were executed; the remainder were sent to the gulags. In 1937, after the destruction of his former adversaries, Stalin began to eliminate potential threats to his power with the purge of Red Army leaders. Eventually, 40 to 50 percent of the senior officer corps disappeared. Not all were executed or died in the gulags; many survived and were rehabilitated in World War II. Others left in the army found the previously closed path to military prominence open.

Simultaneously, Stalin reversed Lenin’s New Economic Policy, which had introduced a degree of capitalism in order to revive the economy, purged the middle-class peasants who had emerged under that policy (the Kulaks), and carried out the collectivization of agriculture. Reliable casualty figures for the collectivization drive are unavailable, but if one includes the famine fatalities, the number of those who died may exceed 10 million people—a figure that, for whatever it is worth, Stalin gave to Winston L. S. Churchill in Moscow in August 1942. Russian writer Nikolai Tolstoi has put the number who died in the gulags under Stalin at 12 million people. These numbers compare with a total of 15,000 executions in the last 50 years of the tsars. In terms of the sheer number of victims, the Soviet Union under Stalin unquestionably outdistanced Hitler’s Germany.

In addition to pushing the collectivization of agriculture, Stalin also implemented a series of five-year plans that set quotas for growth in all areas of the economy. Much of this effort was devoted to the exploitation of Soviet natural resources and development of heavy industry. The last of these plans prior to World War II also emphasized armaments production. Although growth was uneven, considerable progress was registered, much of which came at the expense of the living standards of the Soviet people.

In the 1930s, German ambitions alarmed Stalin, who grew interested in collective security. He instructed People’s Com-

missar for Foreign Affairs Maksim Litvinov to pursue an internationalist course. In 1934, the USSR joined the League of Nations. Stalin also secured defensive pacts with other nations, including France. In the late 1930s, many western leaders still distrusted the Soviet Union; thus, even though the Kremlin was willing to enter into arrangements with the west against Germany and Japan, no effective coalition was forged, and events during the decade took a course that largely ignored the Soviet Union. Unsentimental in such matters, in August 1939 Stalin arranged a nonaggression pact with Germany that allowed Adolf Hitler to invade Poland without fear of war with the Soviets. Stalin hoped, thereby, to gain time to strengthen his own military. He also gained territory in eastern Poland and the Baltic states. When Finnish leaders rejected his demands, in November 1939 Stalin ordered Soviet forces to invade Finland in order to secure territory and bases against a potential German attack.

Stalin rejected numerous western warnings in the winter and spring of 1941 that Germany was preparing to attack the Soviet Union, viewing these as efforts by the Allied powers and the United States to trick the USSR into war with Germany. In consequence, Soviet forces were largely unprepared for Operation BARBAROSSA, the German invasion of 22 June 1941. Soviet military units were not even immediately authorized to return fire.

For nearly two weeks after the German attack, Stalin remained incommunicado, but he finally reappeared to proclaim the “Great Patriotic War” and rally his people and the Red Army to the defense of the “motherland.” During the course of the fighting on the Eastern Front, Stalin grew dramatically as a military commander. All important strategic and operational decisions—and some not so important—required his personal approval as supreme commander. He also absorbed specialist military knowledge, although he held no strategic dogmas or pet operational blueprints. For the most part, Stalin allowed his generals to formulate their own views and develop their own plans following his general ideas, based on well-founded knowledge of the situation. If Stalin bears great responsibility for the early defeats suffered by the Soviet Union in the first two years of the war, he must also be credited for Soviet successes in its last two years.

Besides rallying the Soviet people and armed forces with speeches and rhetoric, Stalin demonstrated his own readiness to stand firm against the German onslaught. On 15 October 1941, the Germans having driven to within 50 miles of Moscow, the Soviet government and diplomatic community were evacuated to Kuibyshev on the Volga. This caused a panic among the Muscovites, who believed they had been abandoned. The announcement on 17 October that Stalin was in the Kremlin restored relative calm to the city. Stalin remained in the Kremlin, directing strategic operations throughout the siege of Moscow and, with rare exceptions, for the remainder of the war.

During the war, Stalin had a clear picture of his postwar objectives. As the western powers had used the new eastern European states after World War I to isolate Communist Russia and contain Bolshevism, so Stalin planned to use the same states—under Soviet control as satellites—to exclude western influences from his own empire. At no time in the war after June 1941 was less than three-quarters of the German army committed on the Eastern Front. Stalin used this fact, delays by the western Allies in opening a true second front, and the great suffering of the Soviet Union (up to 27 million dead in the war) to secure massive amounts of Lend-Lease aid. He also used the actual occupation of eastern and much of central Europe by the Red Army to secure major concessions from the west at Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam, thereby ushering in the Soviet empire.

Stalin continued to rule the Soviet Union with an iron fist almost until the day of his death. He died on 5 March 1953, a month after suffering a stroke, at Kuntsevo near Moscow.

Arthur T. Frame and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Belorussia Offensive; Eastern Front; Finnish-Soviet War (1939–1940); Lend-Lease; Moscow, Battle of; Potsdam Conference; Tehran Conference; Voroshilov, Kliment Efremovich; Yalta Conference; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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In spring 1942, Hitler placed major emphasis in the summer campaign on the southern portion of the German-Soviet Front in Operation BLAU (BLUE). Hitler sent General Fedor von Bock's Army Group South east from around Kursk to secure Voronezh, which fell to the Germans on 6 July. Hitler then reorganized his southern forces into Army Groups A and B. General Siegmund W. List had command of the southern formation, Army Group A; General Maximilian von Weichs commanded the northern formation, Army Group B.

Hitler's original plan called for Army Groups A and B to cooperate in a great effort to secure the Don and Donets Valleys and capture the cities of Rostov and Stalingrad. The two army groups could then move southeast to capture the oil fields that were so important to the Red Army. On 13 July, Hitler ordered a change of plans, demanding the simultaneous capture of Stalingrad—a major industrial center and key crossing point on the Volga River—and the Caucasus. Dividing the effort placed further strains on already inadequate German resources, especially on logistical support. This also meant that inevitably a gap would appear between the two German army groups, enabling most Soviet troops caught in the Don River bend to escape eastward. Meanwhile, on 23 July, Army Group A captured Rostov. It then crossed the Don River and advanced deep into the Caucasus, reaching to within 70 miles of the Caspian Sea.

Hitler now intervened again, slowing the advance of General Friedrich Paulus's Sixth Army of Army Group B toward Stalingrad when he detached General Hermann Hoth's Fourth Panzer Army to join Army Group A to help secure the Caucasus oil fields. Nonetheless, the Sixth Army reached the Volga north of Stalingrad on 23 August.

The great city of Stalingrad curved for some 20 miles along the high western bank of the Volga River. Hitler's original intent was merely to control the river by gunfire and to destroy the city's arms factories, notably the Tractor, Red October, and Barricades works, but now he demanded a full occupation of the Soviet dictator's namesake city.

To meet the German thrust toward Stalingrad, on 12 July 1942 the Soviet General Staff had formed the Stalingrad Front. It consisted of the Sixty-Second, Sixty-Third, and Sixty-Fourth Armies, all under the command of Marshal Semen K. Timoshenko, who was replaced by Lieutenant General V. N. Gordov on 27 July. The Twenty-First Army and the Eighth Air Army were also integrated into the Stalingrad Front. General Vasily Chuikov, a protégé of Marshal Georgii Zhukov, commanded the Sixty-Second Army, which was holding on the west bank of the Volga. Stalin, meanwhile, rushed reinforcements and supplies to Stalingrad.

Angry over the slow progress of the Sixth Army into Stalingrad, Hitler on 11 August ordered Hoth's Fourth Army from the Caucasus north to that place, leaving a badly depleted Army Group A holding a 500-mile front and stalling

Stalingrad, Battle of (23 August 1942–2 February 1943)

One of the epic battles of the war; some hold that the Battle of Stalingrad was the turning point on the Eastern Front. The Battle of Stalingrad, the first large encirclement of a German army in the war, gave the Soviets a psychological lift and the military initiative.



In the outskirts of Stalingrad, where each street is a small, furious battleground, Soviet soldiers move toward one of many demolished and burning buildings, December 1942. (Bettmann/Corbis)

the southernmost drive. Hitler also ordered his sole strategic reserve in the area, Field Marshal Erich von Manstein's Eleventh Army, north to Leningrad.

Such wide-ranging shifts of German resources took a terrible toll on men but especially on equipment. They also consumed precious fuel and stretched the German lines far beyond what was reasonable or safe. German army High Command Chief of Staff General Franz Halder and other German generals grew more and more alarmed. They pointed out to Hitler that the German army in Russia now had to maintain a front of more than 2,000 miles. Between the two armies of Army Group B, a sole division held a 240-mile gap. North of Stalingrad, Romanian troops protected the single railroad bringing supplies to the Sixth Army. The possibilities open to the Soviets were enormous, providing they had the resources available. Hitler claimed they did not. Halder continued warning Hitler and tried to get him to break off the battle for Stalingrad. This time, Hitler sacked Halder. He also relieved List, and from a distance of 1,200 miles, Hitler took personal command of Army Group A, which was nominally under General Paul L. E. von Kleist. The irony is that the Germans might have taken Stalingrad in July had Hitler not diverted Hoth south to assist Kleist.

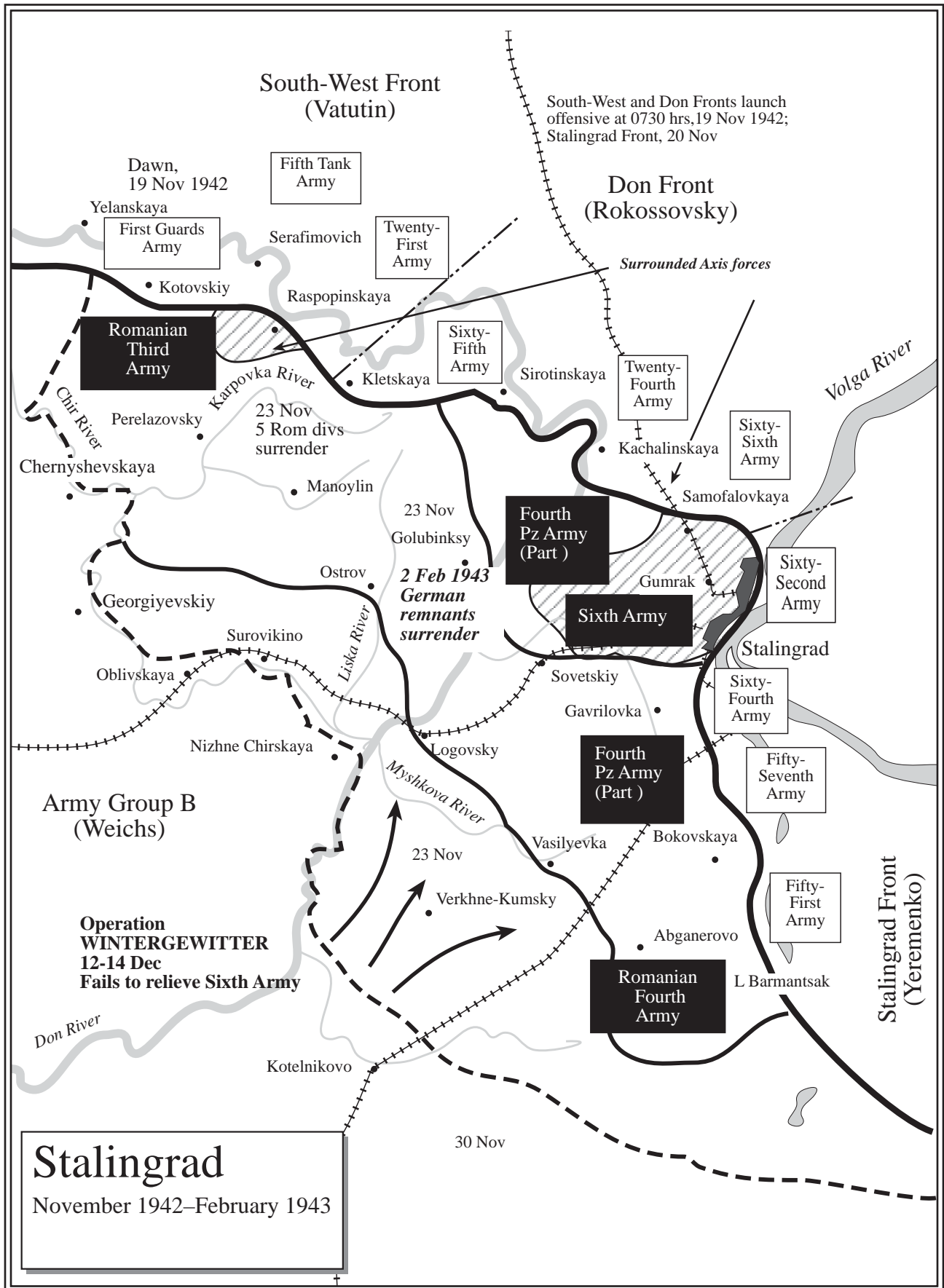
Beginning on 24 August, a costly battle of attrition raged over Stalingrad. Luftwaffe carpet bombing at the end of

August killed some 40,000 people, but it also turned the city into defensive bastions of ruined buildings and rubble. Stalin refused to allow the evacuation of the civilian population, believing that this would force the defenders, especially local militia forces, to fight more tenaciously.

The ruined city posed a formidable obstacle. Germany's strength lay in maneuver warfare, but Hitler compelled the Sixth Army to engage the Soviet strength of static defense. Stalin ordered the city held at all costs, and Soviet forces resisted doggedly. To make things as difficult as possible for German artillery and aviation, Chuikov ordered his troops to keep within 50 yards of the Germans. Zhukov, who had just been appointed deputy supreme commander—second in authority only to Stalin—arrived at Stalingrad on 29 August to take overall charge of operations.

Meanwhile, Hitler became obsessed with Stalingrad, and he wore down his army in repeated attempts to capture that symbol of defiance. Taking Stalingrad was unnecessary from a military point of view; the 16th Panzer Division at Rynok controlled the Volga with its guns, closing it to north-south shipping. But Hitler insisted the city itself be physically taken.

For a month, the Sixth Army pressed slowly forward, but casualties in the battle of attrition were enormous on both sides, with advances measured in yards. The battle disinte-



grated into a block-by-block, house-by-house—even room-by-room—struggle for survival.

General Paulus has been blamed for refusing to disobey Hitler's order to stand firm and extracting his army before it was too late, but his and Hitler's greatest failing lay in not anticipating the Soviet encirclement. Nor did Paulus possess mobile tank reserve to counter such a Soviet effort and keep open a supply corridor.

While he fed the cauldron of Stalingrad with only sufficient troops absolutely necessary to hold the city, Zhukov patiently assembled 1 million men in four fronts (army groups) for a great double envelopment. This deep movement, Operation URANUS, began on 19 November and was timed to coincide with the frosts that would make Soviet cross-country tank maneuvers possible against Axis infantry. For the northern pincer, the Soviets assembled 3,500 guns and heavy mortars to blast a hole for 3 tank and 2 cavalry corps and a dozen infantry divisions. They encountered Romanian infantry divisions. The Romanians fought bravely, but their 37 mm guns and light Skoda tanks were no match for the Soviet T-34s. The southern Soviet prong of 2 corps, one mechanized and the other cavalry, broke through on 20 November against 2 Romanian infantry divisions.

By 23 November, URANUS had encircled the Sixth Army and had driven some units of the Fourth Army into the pocket. Hitler now ordered Manstein from the Leningrad Front and gave him a new formation—Army Group Don, drawn from Army Group A—with instructions to rectify the situation.

Hitler forbade any withdrawal, convinced that the Sixth Army could be resupplied from the air. Reichsmarschall (Reich Marshal) Hermann Göring is usually blamed for assuring Hitler that this could be done, but responsibility is more properly be shared among Göring, chief of the General Staff of the Luftwaffe General Hans Jeschonnek, and Hitler. Hitler was no doubt misled by Luftwaffe success the previous winter in supplying by parachute drops 5,000 German troops surrounded at Kholm near Moscow and 100,000 men at Demyansk.

The decision that Stalingrad could be supplied by air was taken at a time when the Soviets enjoyed air superiority. By 20 November, the second day of URANUS, the Soviets committed between 1,350 and 1,414 combat aircraft (depending on the source) to Stalingrad. Meanwhile, General Wolfram F. von Richtofen's Luftflotte 4, flying in support of the Sixth Army, had 732 combat aircraft, of which only 402 were operational. The Soviets used their air superiority to attack German army positions and for bombing raids on the main Ju-52 base at Zverevo, where they destroyed a substantial number of German transport aircraft. Worsening weather impeded the relief effort, and much of the Luftwaffe's airlift capability was redeployed to resupply Axis troops in North Africa after Allied landings there in early November.

A fair appraisal of air transport available, even in the best weather conditions, was that the Luftwaffe could only bring in one-tenth of the Sixth Army's requirements. By the last week in December, the Luftwaffe delivered only an average 129 tons of supplies a day, condemning the German forces in the pocket to slow starvation and death. Then, on 16 January 1943, the Soviets took Pitomnik, the principal airfield within the Stalingrad pocket. Its loss was the death blow to the airlift operation. During the last days of the battle, supplies were dropped only by parachute, and many of the supplies fell into Soviet hands.

Hitler still refused to authorize any attempt by the Sixth Army to escape. He would allow only a linking up of a relief force. None of the hard-won territory was to be surrendered, but it was simply impossible for Sixth Army to link up with a relief force and not surrender territory in the process. Paulus favored a breakout, but he was not prepared to gamble either his army or his career. Manstein's force of three understrength panzer divisions managed to reach within 35 miles of Sixth Army positions, and he urged a *fait accompli*, forcing Hitler to accept it. However, Paulus replied with a pessimistic assessment of his army's ability to close the short distance to reach Manstein's relief force. There was insufficient fuel, the horses had mostly been eaten, and it would take weeks to prepare. The relieving forces would have to come closer. A linkup could succeed only if Sixth Army pushed from the other side against the Soviets, but this could not be done without shrinking the Stalingrad pocket, which Hitler forbade.

In mid-December, the Volga froze, allowing the Soviets to use vehicles to cross the ice. During the next seven weeks, Zhukov sent 35,000 vehicles across the river along with 122 mm howitzers to blast the German defensive works. By then, seven Soviet armies surrounded the Sixth Army, and breakout was impossible. Even in this hopeless situation, Paulus refused to disobey Hitler and order a surrender. He himself surrendered on 31 January (he maintained he had been "taken by surprise"), but he refused to order his men to do the same. The last German units capitulated on 2 February.

There may have been 294,000 men trapped at Stalingrad, including Hiwis (Soviet auxiliaries working with the Germans) and Romanians. Of only 91,000 men (including 22 generals) taken prisoner by the Soviets, fewer than 5,000 survived the war and Soviet captivity. The last Germans taken prisoner at Stalingrad were not released until 1955. Including casualties in Allied units and the rescue attempts, Axis forces lost upward of half a million men. The Stalingrad Campaign may have cost the Soviets 1.1 million casualties, more than 485,000 dead.

The effect of the Battle of Stalingrad on the German war effort has been hotly debated. It is frequently seen as the turning point in the European theater of war, the decisive defeat from which the Wehrmacht could never recover, but militarily Stalingrad was not irredeemable. The German front lines had

A TURNING POINT?
Battle of Stalingrad

No historian doubts that the battle of Stalingrad ranks among the most important engagements of World War II. Indeed, the significance of the battle between August 1942 and February 1943 was readily apparent to contemporaries. In an article published on 2 February 1943, the day the German Sixth Army finally surrendered, *Washington Post* columnist Barnet Novet called it the equivalent of the Battle of Verdun and the First and Second Battles of the Marne, combined. In November 1943, during the Tehran Conference, British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill presented Soviet Premier Josef Stalin with the Sword of Stalingrad on behalf of King George VI and the British people, and U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt said in 1944 that the battle was the turning point of the war.

Scholars and veterans have questioned, however, whether Stalingrad represents the most significant turning point of the war, and whether it ranks as the single most critical battle on the Eastern Front. Some opine that the successful Soviet defense of Moscow in November and December of 1941 was a more important battle (see Albert Seaton's *The Battle for Moscow*), whereas others point to the Battle of Kursk in July 1943 as more critical. In a November 1943 Moscow speech, Stalin suggested that Kursk was decisive, and modern authors David M. Glantz and Jonathan M. House argue in *The Battle of*

Kursk (1999) that Kursk represented "a turning point in the war strategically, operationally, and tactically." Moreover, German and Soviet generals shared this view in their memoirs (see works by Heinz Guderian, F. W. von Mellenthin, Erich von Manstein, Aleksandr M. Vasilevsky, and Georgii K. Zhukov), although all of them also suggested that the battles for Moscow and Stalingrad were critical, as well.

Despite these debates, however, many historians remain convinced that the battle for Stalingrad represents the decisive turning point of World War II in Europe. Michel Henri summarized the case well in *The Second World War* (1975), and it has been reinforced by Antony Beevor's *Stalingrad* (1998), Geoffrey Roberts' *Victory at Stalingrad: The Battle That Changed History* (2002), and Stephen Walsh's *Stalingrad, 1942–1943: The Infernal Cauldron* (2000). These authors hold that Stalingrad was significant because of massive German personnel losses, the psychological blow to German morale of losing an entire army for the first time in the war, the corresponding lift in Soviet and Allied morale as the myth of German invincibility was shattered, the political and diplomatic impact on neutral nations and at the 1943 Tehran Conference, and the inability of Germany after Stalingrad to launch strategic offensives on a scale matching those of 1941 and 1942.

Finally, if contemporary accounts have any meaning, there is little doubt that ordinary Germans marked Stalingrad as a significant downward turn in their fortunes. All German radio broadcasts were suspended for an unprecedented three days of mourning following the defeat, and it became readily apparent after the battle that Germany was suddenly fighting for survival rather than victory.

Lance Janda

See also

Chuikov, Vasily Ivanovich; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Kursk, Battle of; Moscow, Battle of; Paulus, Friedrich; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stalin, Josef; Stalingrad, Battle of; Tehran Conference; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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been largely recreated in the time the remnants of the Sixth Army surrendered. Stalingrad was more important for its psychological than its military value. If any single battle denied Germany victory, it was Kursk, still six months and several German successes away.

Eva-Maria Stolberg and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Bock, Fedor von; Chuikov, Vasily Ivanovich; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Halder, Franz; Hitler, Adolf; Hoth, Hermann; Jeschonnek, Hans; Kleist, Paul Ludwig Ewald von; Kursk, Battle of; Manstein, Fritz Erich von; Paulus, Friedrich; Richtofen, Wolfram von; Stalin, Josef; Timoshenko, Semen Konstantinovich

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Stark, Harold Raynsford "Betty" (1880–1972)

U.S. admiral and chief of naval operations. Born in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, on 12 November 1880, Harold Stark graduated in 1903 from the U.S. Naval Academy, where he acquired the nickname "Betty" for a remark made by Revolutionary War hero John Stark. He was commissioned an ensign in the U.S. Navy in 1905. Stark participated in the Great White Fleet's 1907–1909 around-the-world cruise, and, as a World War I staff officer, he helped coordinate Anglo-American naval operations. He then commanded a flotilla in the Mediterranean, and he subsequently captained torpedo boats, destroyers, and an armed cruiser.

Stark graduated from the Naval War College in 1924 and then served as an aide to the secretary of the navy from 1930 to 1933. Promoted to rear admiral in November 1934, he was chief of the Bureau of Ordnance from 1934 to 1937. After his promotion to vice admiral, he commanded all cruisers in the Battle Force in 1938 and 1939. During these years, Stark was a staunch proponent of naval preparedness.

In August 1939, one month before World War II began in Europe, President Franklin D. Roosevelt named Stark chief of naval operations as a full admiral. Stark, who shared Roosevelt's profoundly interventionist outlook, immediately launched an expansion program designed to make the U.S. Navy the world's largest naval force. His memorandum Plan D (Dog), prepared for Roosevelt in November 1940, delineated what became the fundamental U.S. wartime strategy—that Germany, the greatest threat to the United States, must be defeated first.

Convinced that Britain's survival was essential to U.S. national security, in early 1941 Stark proposed and held staff talks with a high-level British delegation. The resulting ABC-1 (America-Britain-Canada) Rainbow 5 strategic agreement, much of which Stark drafted, became the basis of wartime Anglo-American cooperation. Stark constantly urged Roosevelt to do more to assist Britain, and, by autumn 1941, American naval forces were effectively at war with Germany in the Battle of the Atlantic.

Although Stark attempted to improve Pacific fortifications and naval strength, he opposed measures (such as an oil embargo) that might provoke forceful Japanese responses. Like other American military and civilian officials, he failed to interpret correctly or transmit to Admiral Husband Edward Kimmel, U.S. commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet, deciphered cable traffic indicating Japan might attack America's Hawaiian Pearl Harbor naval base. One investigation later faulted him for this misjudgment.

Shortly after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt replaced Stark as commander of U.S. naval forces with



U.S. Admiral Harold A. Stark shown here during the Congressional Pearl Harbor Inquiry on 31 December 1941. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Admiral Ernest J. King. In March 1942, Roosevelt dispatched Stark to Europe as commander of U.S. naval forces in that theater. Stark performed valuable wartime liaison functions between London and Washington, established and later dismantled certain American naval bases in Europe, directed logistical support for U.S. naval forces, and served as Washington's unofficial envoy to Free French leader General Charles de Gaulle. Stark retired from active duty in 1946. He died in Washington, D.C., on 20 August 1972.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

de Gaulle, Charles; Kimmel, Husband Edward; King, Ernest Joseph; Knox, William Franklin; Leahy, William Daniel; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stimson, Henry Lewis; United States, Navy

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STARVATION, Operation

The mining by U.S. aircraft of Japan's home waters. By 1945, Japan had withdrawn most of its remaining merchant shipping to the home islands, where it operated principally in coastal waters, relatively safe from submarine attack. After some delays and interservice squabbles in which U.S. Army Air Forces Major General Curtis LeMay protested the diversion of his aircraft to this mission, on 27 March 1945, U.S. B-29s of the Mariana Islands-based XXI Bomber Command launched Operation STARVATION. It was a systematic mining campaign designed to disrupt Japan's overseas and inter-island trade, complete the submarine blockade, and thus prevent food and raw materials from reaching Japan. B-29s planted mines outside Japan's major ports, in the Inland Sea, and in critical straits, particularly the heavily trafficked Shimoseki Strait.

Japan proved to be as unprepared for mines as it had been for submarines. It relocated searchlights and antiaircraft batteries in an effort to shoot down the minelaying B-29s, and it increased research into mine countermeasures, but the efforts were inadequate. Japan never developed effective techniques to sweep acoustic and pressure mines. Instead, the Japanese continued to sail ships into mined waters, hoping to run ships through the minefields faster than the United States could lay additional mines.

In May 1945, U.S. mines sank or disabled more Japanese ships than did submarines. Mines blocked 19 of Japan's 22 principal shipyards, preventing the repair of damaged ships. Arrivals at Japan's industrial ports dropped from 800,000 tons in March to 250,000 tons in July, when food displaced coal and iron as Japan's predominant import. Yet Japan failed to import enough food to meet its people's needs, and average daily per capita food intake dropped from 1,900 calories in 1944 to 1,680 calories by midsummer 1945. Hundreds of thousands of Japanese (millions, according to some estimates) faced imminent starvation, and growing numbers of Japan's remaining factories were rendered idle for lack of raw materials.

Mining sorties accounted for only 5.7 percent of XXI Bomber Command's sorties that summer. Short of mines and more interested in bombing Japanese cities, the XXI Bomber Command never devoted the effort to laying mines that the navy had hoped for. Yet, at a cost of only 15 planes, 1,528 B-29 sorties dropped 12,135 mines into Japanese home waters by the war's end. These damaged or sank at least 750,000 tons of Japanese shipping (possibly as much as 1.25 million tons) and closed most of Japan's ports. Damaged ships piled up in Japanese ports, and mercantile traffic dropped to a trickle. Pacific Fleet commander Admiral Chester Nimitz described

Operation STARVATION's results as "phenomenal." It proved a vital element of the strategy of blockade and bombing that forced Japan's surrender.

Stephen K. Stein

See also

LeMay, Curtis Emerson; Mines, Sea; Nimitz, Chester William

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Stauffenberg, Claus Philip Schenk von (Graf) (1907–1944)

German army officer who attempted to assassinate Adolf Hitler. Born on 15 November 1907 at Greifenstein Castle, Jettigen, into a staunchly Roman Catholic Prussian noble family, Claus von Stauffenberg was strikingly handsome and highly intelligent. With a passion for languages, culture, and horses, he qualified for the German Olympic team.

In 1926, Stauffenberg joined the 17th Bamberg Cavalry Regiment as an officer cadet, and he was commissioned in 1930. He attended the War Academy in Berlin in 1936 and—then a captain—became a logistics officer in 1938. He served in the campaigns in Poland in 1939 and France in 1940 and was posted to the General Staff in 1940. Stauffenberg seriously questioned National Socialism after the virulent anti-Jewish Kristallnacht of 9 November 1938. Service with German forces in the Soviet Union exacerbated his disillusionment with Hitler's inhumane policies.

Stauffenberg was badly wounded by the explosion of a mine in April 1943 while serving in the 10th Panzer Division in North Africa. He injured his knee and left ear and lost his left eye, right hand, and two fingers of his left hand. While convalescing, he came to realize that removing Hitler was the only answer to Germany's dilemma, and he then became a leading figure in the conspiracy to assassinate the German leader.

Promoted to colonel in June 1944, the next month Stauffenberg was appointed chief of staff to General Friedrich Fromm, commander of the Reserve Army. This position allowed him access to Hitler. As a severely disabled war hero, he was spared the searches of persons who were admitted to see Hitler. Two assassination attempts, on 11 July and 15 July,



German Army Major Claus Schenk von Stauffenberg who led the July 1944 assassination attempt on Adolf Hitler. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

were aborted, but on 20 July 1944, Stauffenberg placed a bomb hidden in a briefcase beside Hitler at his headquarters, the Wolf's Lair, in Rastenberg, East Prussia, and quickly left the scene to fly to Berlin. The briefcase was moved, and the explosion only slightly injured Hitler. However, Stauffenberg was convinced the Führer was dead. The subsequent coup in Berlin failed because of delays, poor coordination, and simple bad luck. Stauffenberg and several others were arrested on the night of 20 July, court-martialed, and shot in the courtyard of the War Ministry in Berlin. Several thousand others who were also opposed to the regime also subsequently perished.

Annette Richardson

See also

Hitler, Adolf; July Bomb Plot

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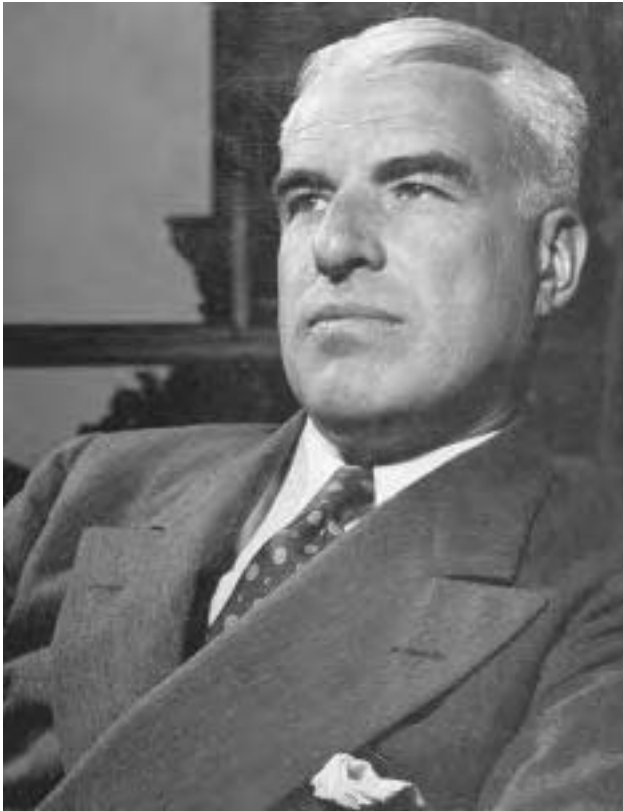
Stettinius, Edward Reilly, Jr. (1900–1949)

U.S. Lend-Lease administrator (1942–1943), undersecretary of state (1943–1944), and secretary of state (1944–1945). Born in Chicago, Illinois, on 22 October 1900, Edward Stettinius was the son of a prominent industrialist who moved to New York in 1914 to direct World War I Allied purchasing for the private banking house J. P. Morgan and Company. After attending the University of Virginia, Stettinius joined General Motors, implementing innovative employee benefit programs. He moved to U.S. Steel in 1934, and four years later he became chairman of the board.

In 1940, because of his earlier business-government liaison work on New Deal industrial recovery programs, Stettinius received the government position of chairman of the War Resources Board, which had been established to survey potential American war needs. In 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt placed Stettinius on the National Defense Advisory Commission. At that point, Stettinius resigned from U.S. Steel to devote full time to government service. As director of priorities in the Office of Production Management, he encouraged the development of synthetic rubber. Then, in 1942, Roosevelt appointed Stettinius to head administration of the Lend-Lease program, which he streamlined and made more effective while successfully winning congressional support for its sometimes-controversial programs of aid to the European Allies.

In September 1943, Stettinius became undersecretary of state, working under Secretary of State Cordell Hull with a commission to improve and coordinate the State Department's notoriously inefficient organizational structure and improve its lackluster public image. Stettinius's other major responsibility was the creation of an international security organization, the United Nations (UN). After laying the groundwork for this organization in discussions with British Foreign Office counterparts in the spring of 1944, Stettinius attended the August 1944 Dumbarton Oaks conference, where he played a major role in drafting the UN Charter.

When poor health caused Hull's resignation in November 1944, Stettinius succeeded him. The new secretary of state instituted public relations policies that greatly enhanced his department's popularity. He attended the controversial February 1945 Yalta Conference of Allied leaders, helping to draft American proposals for a Declaration on Liberated Europe



U.S. Secretary of State Edward Stettinius. (Photo by Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

and to further clarify the UN Charter. Stettinius's greatest diplomatic contributions occurred between April and June 1945 at the San Francisco Conference, which drafted the final UN Charter. His diplomatic skills were instrumental in persuading the numerous delegates to reach consensus on a charter all could support.

Many officials considered Stettinius a lightweight, and during the San Francisco conference, Harry S Truman, who had succeeded Roosevelt as president in April 1945, decided to replace him with the South Carolina Democrat James F. Byrnes. On 27 June 1945, one day after the conference ended, Stettinius resigned to become first U.S. representative to the new United Nations. Disillusioned with the Truman administration's failure to use UN mechanisms to resolve the developing Cold War, in June 1946 Stettinius resigned to become rector of the University of Virginia. In 1949, he published a carefully documented account of the Yalta Conference, defending Roosevelt's decisions there. Stettinius died in Greenwich, Connecticut, on 31 October 1949.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Dumbarton Oaks Conference; Hull, Cordell; Lend-Lease; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Truman, Harry S; United Nations, Formation of; Yalta Conference

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Stilwell, Joseph Warren (1883–1946)

U.S. Army general. Born on 19 March 1883 near Palatka, Florida, Joseph Stilwell was commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry on graduation from the U.S. Military Academy in 1904. Promoted to temporary major in August 1917, Stilwell served with British and French forces before his assignment to the U.S. Army IV Corps of the American Expeditionary Forces in France during World War I. After the war, he studied Chinese and spent several years in China, serving with American units stationed there and as attaché to China and Siam (Thailand). He was promoted to colonel in August 1935. Stilwell earned his nickname “Vinegar Joe” as a result of his direct and critical manner while an instructor at the Infantry School at Fort Benning, Georgia. Promoted to temporary major general in October 1940, by July 1941 Stilwell was commanding III Corps at Monterey, California.

In February 1942, Stilwell, promoted to temporary lieutenant general, received command of all U.S. Army forces in the China-Burma-India Theater, while also serving as chief of staff to Guomindang (GMD [Kuomintang, KMT], Nationalist) Chinese leader Generalissimo Jiang Jieshi [Chiang Kai-shek]. Charged with coordinating the efforts of Britain, China, and the United States against Japan, Stilwell was also responsible for preparing China for the planned Allied invasion of the Japanese home islands. When the Japanese captured Burma in the spring of 1942, Stilwell personally led an Allied column on a 140-mile march through the Burmese jungle to avoid capture. To prevent the collapse of China, Stilwell continued to resupply Jiang's forces, but the loss of the Burma Road forced the Americans to fly the needed matériel over the Himalayas, known as “the Hump.”

Stilwell's belief that China's best hope for recapturing its territory from the Japanese was through the employment of Western-trained and equipped Chinese army forces brought him into direct conflict both with Jiang and Major General



Lieutenant General Joseph W. Stilwell, 1942. (Library of Congress)

Claire Chennault, former commander of the American Volunteer Group (“Flying Tigers”). As commander of the Fourteenth Army Air Force and a firm proponent of airpower, Chennault believed his air force capable of defeating the Japanese without the assistance of significant ground forces; he continually argued that he should receive the bulk of supplies coming over the Himalayas. Jiang, worried that any forces used against the Japanese would not be available for his anticipated postwar conflict with the Chinese Communists, was more than willing to support Chennault’s position. Throughout 1943 and 1944, tensions between Stilwell, Chennault, and Jiang mounted. Despite the demonstration of the potential of Chinese forces against the Japanese and the gains in Burma, highlighted by the capture of Myitkyina in August 1944, Stilwell was unable to convince Jiang to reform his army. When President Franklin D. Roosevelt urged Jiang to place Stilwell (who had been promoted to temporary general in August 1944) in command of all Chinese forces, Jiang refused and then demanded Stilwell’s relief. Unwilling to alienate Jiang, Roosevelt ordered Stilwell’s return. On 18 October 1944, Lieutenant General Daniel Sultan replaced him.

After his relief, Stilwell received command of the Tenth Army, a command slated for the planned invasion of Japan.

Following Japan’s surrender and the inactivation of the Tenth Army, Stilwell returned to the United States and took command of the Sixth Army. Suffering from advanced stomach cancer, Stilwell died at the Presidio in San Francisco, California, on 12 October 1946.

David M. Toczek

See also

Burma Road; Burma Theater; Cairo Conference; Chennault, Claire Lee; China, Eastern Campaign; Commandos/Rangers; Flying Tigers; Hump, The; Imphal and Kohima, Sieges of; Jiang Jieshi; Merrill, Frank Dow; Mountbatten, Louis Francis Albert Victor Nicholas; Myitkyina, Siege of; Slim, Sir William Joseph; Sultan, Daniel Isom; Trident Conference; Wedemeyer, Albert Coady

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Stimson, Henry Lewis (1867–1950)

U.S. secretary of war. Henry Stimson was born in New York City on 21 September 1867 into a family whose American ancestry dated back to the seventeenth-century Puritans and whose tradition of service he himself would embody. He was educated at Phillips Andover Academy, Yale University, and Harvard Law School. In 1891, he entered the law firm of Root and Clarke. Its leading partner, Elihu Root, a future secretary of war and secretary of state, became one of Stimson’s two life-long role models, the other being future president Theodore Roosevelt.

Like Roosevelt, Stimson found public service more satisfying than the pursuit of a career in the law, and he soon became active in New York Republican politics. Appointed secretary of war in 1911, Stimson followed in Root’s footsteps in attempting to modernize the army and improve troop training and the efficiency of the General Staff, although congressional opposition blocked his contemplated consolidation and rationalization of army posts around the country.

When World War I began in Europe in 1914, the staunchly interventionist and pro-Allied Stimson campaigned ardently for “preparedness”—massive increases in American military budgets in anticipation of war with Germany. After Congress declared war on Germany in April 1917, Stimson volunteered, serving in France as a lieutenant colonel of artillery. He returned from the war convinced that the United States must assume a far greater international role.

As governor general of the Philippines in 1928, Stimson ruled in the spirit of benevolent paternalism. Appointed



U.S. Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson. (Corbis)

secretary of state in 1929, he played a prominent role in negotiating the London Naval Treaty of 1930. He attempted to strengthen the League of Nations by protesting firmly against Japan's establishment in 1931 of the puppet state of Manchouguo (Manchukuo), instituting the U.S. policy of nonrecognition that endured throughout the 1930s.

In the later 1930s, Stimson was among the strongest advocates of firm American opposition to the fascist states' demands for territory and international influence. When World War II began in 1939, Stimson, a convinced believer in an Anglo-American alliance, outspokenly demanded extensive American assistance to the Allies and massive United States rearmament. Seeking bipartisan support for his foreign policies, in June 1940 the Democratic President Franklin D. Roosevelt recruited Stimson as secretary of war, a position Stimson held throughout the war. He attracted an able group of younger lawyers and businessmen, including Robert A. Lovett, Robert P. Patterson, and John J. McCloy. With army chief of staff General George C. Marshall, they not only oversaw the massive recruitment and industrial mobilization programs the war effort demanded, but also accepted and wished to carry forward the forceful internationalist tradition their revered chief embodied. Stimson directed the development of atomic weapons in the MANHATTAN Project, and in April 1945

he informed new president Harry S Truman of this initiative's existence. In summer 1945, Stimson suggested that the Allies publicly warn the Japanese government that, unless Japan surrendered, it faced attack by unspecified but devastating new weaponry. This advice led the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union to issue the July 1945 Potsdam Declaration to this effect. Shortly afterward, Stimson argued to Truman that in the interests of bringing this new scientific discovery under international control, the Allies should—with appropriate safeguards—share the secrets of nuclear power with the Soviet Union. After retiring in 1945, Stimson endorsed a greatly enhanced American international role. He died at Huntington, New York, on 20 October 1950.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

MANHATTAN Project; Marshall, George Catlett; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Truman, Harry S

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Stirling, Sir Archibald David (1915–1990)

British army colonel and founder of the British Special Air Service (SAS). Born the son of a British general in Kier, Scotland, on 15 November 1915, David Stirling studied architecture at Trinity College, Cambridge, but he did not complete his academic work. He preferred other activities, such as mountaineering. Stirling was in the Canadian Rockies preparing for a Mount Everest climb when war commenced.

Stirling joined the British army as a junior officer and served a short stint in the Scots Guards before joining “Layforce,” founded by Lieutenant Colonel Robert E. Laycock, whose commandos were soon dispersed as reinforcements. Stirling deployed to the Middle East with Number 3 Commando. Hospitalized for several months following his injury in a parachute training jump, Stirling formalized plans for a special raiding group. Still on crutches, in July 1941 he secured approval from his commander in chief, General Claude Auchinleck, for the plan. Auchinleck designated 66 men of Layforce as L-Detachment, Special Air Service Brigade, under Stirling's command. The unit designation implied the presence of a large formation. The men were to mount parachute operations against Axis airfields in Libya.

This was the beginning of the elite SAS, which grew to regimental size. The first attack encountered high winds and sandstorms, and only 22 men of the force survived. Stirling then switched to specially equipped ground vehicles of the Long Range Desert Group. His tactics were to make the final approach on foot, strike the target, and then move by vehicle deeper into enemy territory. In 18 months, his SAS destroyed 350 Axis aircraft and also blew up ammunition dumps, supply depots, and trains. These raids forced the Axis powers to divert frontline troops to provide rear-area security. The Germans came to know Stirling as “the Phantom Major.” Captured in Tunisia on 10 January 1943, Stirling escaped four times, but he was recaptured thanks in large part to his 6-foot 5-inch height. He ended the war imprisoned at Colditz Castle, a maximum-security prison near Leipzig.

Stirling’s force expanded into three regiments and remained in existence for the remainder of the war. Today, the SAS Stirling founded is recognized as one of the world’s premier counterinsurgency forces. Following his release at the end of the war, Stirling settled in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). He returned to the United Kingdom in 1961, where he became involved in numerous security-related ventures. Stirling died in London on 4 November 1990, having been knighted that year.

Robert B. Martyn

See also

Auchinleck, Sir Claude John Eyre; Commandos/Rangers

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STRANGLE, Operation (15 March–11 May 1944)

Interdiction campaign by Allied air forces during the spring of 1944 directed against German supply lines in central Italy that supported the Gustav Line. Operation STRANGLE was intended to force a German withdrawal through the application of airpower alone.

The Germans established the Gustav Line centered on Monte Cassino to block an Allied northward advance on Rome. By spring 1944, three major ground assaults had failed to breach this line, and even the amphibious landing at Anzio in January 1944 had failed. Lieutenant General Ira C. Eaker, commander of the Mediterranean Allied Air Forces, decided to launch a supply interdiction operation to break the stalemate and force a German withdrawal.

Operation STRANGLE was directed mainly against the Italian rail system, Germany’s primary means of supply transportation, but it also encompassed ports and bridges. The campaign involved an interdiction belt running across Italy from east to west as far north of the Gustav Line as possible to force the Germans to use alternate transport means to the front. Medium bombers of the U.S. Army Air Force’s Twelfth Air Force and British First Air Force began operations on 19 March, and the strongly escorted daylight raids continued until 11 May 1944. The bombers succeeded in inflicting substantial damage on the rail system, cutting the lines more than 100 times each day and coming close to closing down all rail traffic 100 miles north of Rome. Nonetheless, the operation failed to force the Germans to withdraw from the Gustav Line in order to shorten their supply lines.

The campaign failed for four principal reasons. First, there were no significant ground operations during this period, and the aerial campaign was thus unsupported by other arms. Second, the Allies significantly overestimated (by a factor of close to 10) German supply requirements while they were in the static defenses of the Gustav Line, especially in the absence of any serious ground actions. Third, the German army minimized the effects of the campaign against the rail system through rapid repair of damage and construction of bypasses around destroyed rail sections, imposition of stricter rationing, movement at night, and diversion of scarce motor vehicles to transport supplies. Finally, the Allies could not deploy an adequate night bombing force, which prevented their air forces from neutralizing the Germans’ very effective countermeasures.

By the end of April, the Allies determined that airpower alone would not force a German withdrawal from the Gustav Line, and they launched Operation DIADEM on 11 May. The operation combined an aerial interdiction campaign against supply lines with a ground offensive. This air offensive was focused closer to the immediate German rear areas and also targeted their operational reserves and major command-and-control facilities. Within less than a month, Allied ground forces penetrated the Gustav Line, linked up with the Anzio beachhead, and captured Rome on 4 June.

Paul E. Fontenoy

See also

Alexander, Sir Harold Rupert Leofric George; Anders, Wladyslaw; Anzio, Battle of; Aviation, Ground-Attack; Cassino/Rapido River, Battles of; Clark, Mark Wayne; Eaker, Ira Clarence; Freyberg, Bernard Cyril; Italy Campaign; Juin, Alphonse Pierre; Kesselring, Albert; Leese, Sir Oliver William Hargreaves; Rome, Advance on and Capture of

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Strategic Bombing

Strategic bombing may generally be defined as air attacks directed at targets or systems capable of having a major impact on the will or ability of an enemy nation to wage war. Airpower proponents have touted strategic bombing as a unique war-winning capability and have used it to justify independent air services.

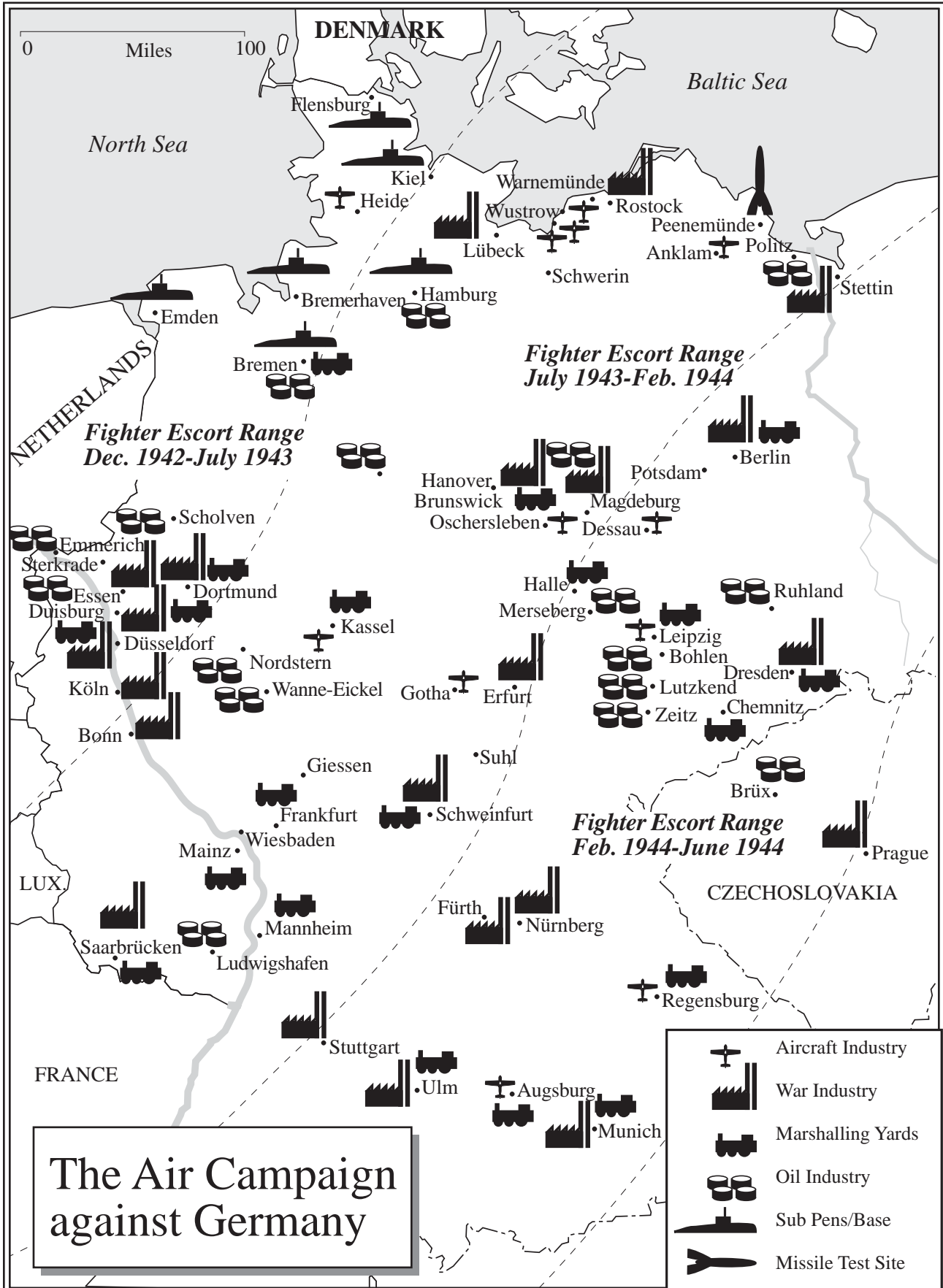
When World War II began, only two nations had a coherent and committed strategic bombing program: Great Britain and the United States. Although most states with advanced militaries had interest in powerful airpower, continental concerns, resource limitations, or misguided procurement poli-

cies hindered most aspirants to powerful long-range bombing forces. Only relatively protected naval powers such as the United States and Britain could afford to focus so much attention on strategic bombing, lured by the strong political appeal of its promise of quick victory at relatively low cost. Both efforts had roots in the experience of the Royal Air Force (RAF) in World War I, when Sir Hugh Trenchard developed tactics and policies for the world's first independent air service and when talented subordinates such as Hardinge Goulburn Giffard, 1st Viscount Tiverton (subsequently 2nd Earl of Halsbury) pioneered target analysis for morale and material effects to assault the foundations of the German war economy. Although airmen in both countries became aware of the ideas of Giulio Douhet during the interwar years and used them to support arguments for strategic airpower, Douhet had little impact on the evolution of the RAF or the U.S. Army Air Corps.

The RAF continued to pursue Trenchard's ideal of a massive aerial offensive, assisted by politicians who were willing to fund an aerial deterrent instead of large expensive land armies that could become involved in more bloody conti-



B-17 Flying Fortresses of the 303rd (Hell's Angels) Bomber Group dropping their bombs on industrial targets in Germany, 1944. (Bettmann/Corbis)



mental wars. However, targeting priorities remained vague, and the war would soon reveal the large gap between claims and capabilities.

The Americans took a different approach that can be traced back to Tiverton's precedents. Although the subordinate army air service's primary mission remained ground support, a group of smart young officers at the Air Corps Tactical School (ACTS) developed a theory of precision daylight bombing of carefully selected targets in the industrial and service systems of enemy economies. Pinning their hopes on the capabilities of new aircraft such as the B-17 Flying Fortress, these airmen expected unescorted self-defending bombers to destroy vital nodes of the enemy's war economy that would grind it to a halt.

Bombing examples before and during the early days of World War II—in Spain and China and even the German Blitz on London—appeared to demonstrate the ineffectiveness and drawbacks of indiscriminate attacks on cities and to support the superiority of precision tactics. When President Franklin D. Roosevelt asked the army and navy for munitions estimates for a potential war in 1941, many of those ACTS instructors had joined the Air Staff in Washington. They soon developed a plan called AWPD/1 that envisioned a precision bombing campaign as a key component of the American war effort. When a larger plan that included AWPD/1 was accepted, the U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) finally had a justification for pursuing its own independent strategic bombing. They also found it difficult to put theory into practice.

Early British attacks moved from a Tivertonian focus on key systems like power plants or oil to a more Trenchardian reliance on widespread morale effects. Daylight raids proved deadly for RAF Bomber Command, revealing critical deficiencies in the number and quality of their bombers. Operations shifted to the nighttime, but the August 1941 Butt Report concluded that only about one in five aircrews were bombing within five miles of their intended targets. Adapting to the reality of their capabilities, in February 1942 Bomber Command was directed to attack area targets—that is, cities—with the objective of undermining German civilian morale, particularly that of industrial workers. Under the direction of Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Harris, Bomber Command built up its strength and obtained better aircraft, especially Halifax and Lancaster four-engine bombers. On 30 May 1942, Bomber Command mounted the first “thousand bomber raid” on Cologne, and in July 1943 it achieved the first bombing-induced firestorm against Hamburg, killing about 45,000 people. However German night defenses also adapted. When Harris decided to mount a full-scale assault on Berlin in late 1943, the Luftwaffe shot down so many British aircraft, and bombing results were so disappointing, that the utility of the whole night area campaign was brought into question.

Meanwhile, the Americans had also encountered difficulties. At Casablanca in January 1943, Allied leaders had agreed to a Combined Bomber Offensive (CBO) of round-the-clock attacks. It was rather poorly coordinated, but it did allow each air force to pursue its preferred approach. The most significant USAAF strategic attack of that year was General James Doolittle's July 1943 attack on Rome from North Africa, which heavily damaged the marshaling yards, limited collateral damage with impressive accuracy, and contributed to the fall of Benito Mussolini's government. Elements of the Eighth Air Force began bombing the continent from England in August 1942, although they did not fly deep penetration raids into central and eastern Germany until a year later. Losses among unescorted B-17 and B-24 “Liberator” bombers were horrendous, especially during attacks against ball-bearing plants at Schweinfurt in August and October 1943. Although the Fifteenth Air Force in Italy joined the daylight campaign in November 1943, the Americans were unable to sustain such attrition. By the end of the year, such deep attacks on Germany were suspended, and it appeared that the Luftwaffe was on the verge of winning the strategic air war in Europe.

Everything changed, however, with the advent of the Allied long-range escort fighter, most notably the P-51 “Mustang.” In mid-February 1944, the U.S. Strategic Air Forces (USSTAF) began their “Big Week” attacks against German aircraft factories. The air battles that ensued decimated the Luftwaffe, and by the time of the D-day landings in June, the Allies achieved air supremacy over France and air superiority over Germany. The escort fighters began by sticking close to their bombers, but they proved most effective when they were released to sweep against enemy aircraft in the air and on the ground. Because of the American adoption of radar-directed bombing methods through overcast skies, the Germans had little respite even in poor weather, and their losses were increased by many accidents. Although the strategic bombers had an initial priority to operations in support of the coming invasion, Allied airpower had built up to the point that USSTAF commander General Carl Spaatz could begin sustained attacks against oil targets in May. By the fall of 1944, Luftwaffe and Wehrmacht operations were severely crippled by fuel shortages, and concentrated attacks against transportation networks further limited German mobility and economic activity.

During this period, Harris resisted diversions against “panacea targets” such as oil and remained committed to “dehousing” German workers. However, British bombers did sometimes assist with attacks on oil and transportation targets, and their larger loads of bombs could cause considerable damage. The RAF greatly improved its ability to navigate and bomb at night or in bad weather, and it usually achieved greater accuracy than the Americans under such conditions. Even in clear weather, precision bombing did not



Aerial view of Kobe docks during a raid by 500 B-29 bombers. Smoke obscures most of the city, with more bombs falling, 4 June 1945. (Corbis)

approach the image often portrayed in the press of bombs dropping down smokestacks. Usually, all aircraft in the B-17 and B-24 formations dropped their loads together, with intervals set between bombs so they would fall a few hundred feet apart. The pattern therefore covered a wide area. As USSTAF strength increased and targets became scarcer, planners became more tolerant of civilian casualties, adopting less accurate radar-directed bombardment methods in bad weather and hitting transportation objectives in city centers.

At least in Europe, American air leaders remained committed to attacks aimed primarily at economic and military targets instead of at civilian morale, a policy that sometimes caused friction with their British allies. There were also differences over bombing in occupied countries, where the British were particularly sensitive to political repercussions. The Americans were willing to bomb any Axis factory regardless of the nationality of the workers, whereas the British preferred to strike any German anywhere. The British also favored heavy attacks on the capitals of Axis allies in the Balkans, although the Americans successfully blocked what they saw as an inefficient and ineffective diversion of valuable

airpower. Debates about the relative success and morality of RAF and USAAF bombing have continued to the present day.

The differing national approaches also played a role as the war in Europe approached its end, and both air forces sought an aerial death blow to finish the war. The British plan, code-named *THUNDERCLAP*, was based on shattering morale by destroying Berlin. That major assault was conducted by the Eighth Air Force on 3 February 1945. Allied concerns about assisting the Soviet advance helped produce the firestorm that devastated Dresden 10 days later. The corresponding American plan, code-named *CLARION*, aimed to awe the German populace with widespread attacks on targets in every village. It was eventually changed into primarily a transportation assault because of concerns for efficiency, public image, and even morality. The controversy in Great Britain over the Dresden attack was one factor in the suspension of the strategic air war against Germany in April, although it was not as important as the simple fact that Allied bombing forces were running out of suitable targets.

American air leaders such as USAAF commanding General Henry H. “Hap” Arnold, who had hoped to build support



for service independence by demonstrating the ability of air forces to win wars on their own, still had a chance against Japan. The USAAF referred to the B-29 Superfortress either as a very heavy bomber or a very long range bomber, and by World War II standards it was assuredly both. Every theater wanted to receive the B-29s, but the aircraft's impressive capabilities and late availability destined it for the Pacific. The Joint Chiefs of Staff established the Twentieth Air Force and named Arnold its "executive agent" to command the B-29s. Although operational control of the aircraft supposedly remained in Washington, in practice the commanders of the subordinate XX and XXI Bomber Commands enjoyed a great deal of independence.

The XX Bomber Command, based in India and China, mounted its first raid against Japan in June 1944. Operation MATTERHORN had little success, even after Arnold assigned his leading troubleshooter, Curtis LeMay, to command it. Bases were too far from key Japanese targets, difficult to supply, and hard to protect from Japanese ground attacks. Additionally the B-29s had been deployed a year early, and testing had to be completed in combat.

More was expected from the XXI Bomber Command based in the Mariana Islands, which was within range of the most important enemy industrial complexes in Honshu. Initial attacks were launched from Saipan in November 1944,

but again results were disappointing. Besides technical and logistical problems, the command faced severe weather over target areas that made normal high-altitude precision bombing impossible. Although the vulnerability of Japanese cities to fires was well known and had inspired some USAAF planning for incendiary bombing, there was no meaningful pressure from Washington for such tactics. Impatient, however, for a better payoff on a huge investment, Arnold decided in January 1945 to concentrate all the B-29s in the Marianas under LeMay. Although the feisty and innovative air commander received little specific guidance from Washington, LeMay knew that he, too, could be relieved if he proved ineffective.

After trying to make daylight precision bombing work, on his own initiative LeMay adopted a new approach to destroy key industrial targets. His first low-level night area incendiary raid in March 1945 was a spectacular military success, incinerating 16 square miles of Tokyo and killing 90,000 people. Although he would mount some periodic day and night precision attacks, the fire raids dominated LeMay's air campaign against Japan. Eventually, he burned 178 square miles of some 66 Japanese cities, killing hundreds of thousands of people and causing millions to flee to the countryside. B-29s also dropped the two atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. MacArthur's Far East Air Forces contributed three attacks against Kyushu before the Japanese surrender, but the last American bombs that fell on Japan came from the Twentieth Air Force. More than 1,000 planes hit Japan on 14 August, some even after the Japanese radio had announced acceptance of the terms of surrender.

Both the British and Americans conducted postwar assessments of the strategic bombing campaign. The massive U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey compiled an impressive collection of data, although differing personalities and agendas within the survey committees produced several conflicting conclusions. They agreed, however, that the American approach to targeting was superior to RAF area bombing. The British Bombing Survey Unit relied on the American data along with some of its own, but overall it was not as thorough or comprehensive. It was also critical of the city attacks, but it gave much credit to the RAF-USAAF campaign against transportation.

In retrospect, the most important contribution strategic bombing made in Europe was to defeat the Luftwaffe and ensure that when Allied troops driving across northwestern Europe saw aircraft, they could be certain the planes were friendly. The CBO did not prevent the late-mobilizing German economy from peaking in 1944, but the oil and transportation campaigns had a major impact on degrading it thereafter. Civilian morale did not break, but some British observers have noted that the city bombing motivated German industry to disperse, thus making it more vulnerable to transportation interdiction. More than 700,000 German

civilians died from Allied bombing, about the same number who succumbed to the effects of the British naval blockade in World War I. The cost of the CBO was also high for the air forces involved. The USSTAF lost 9,949 bombers, 8,500 fighters, and 64,000 airmen killed. RAF Bomber Command lost 57,000 killed or missing from all causes. In the Pacific, the incendiary attacks and atomic bombs were an important component of the series of shocks that produced the Japanese surrender, although the significance of other factors such as the submarine and naval blockade, as well as Soviet entry into the war, cannot be underestimated.

The World War II strategic bombing experience had several legacies. In the United States, the new U.S. Air Force was born in 1947, espousing a doctrine of air warfare based on the perceived lessons of their air campaigns against Germany and Japan along with the awesome power of nuclear weapons. "Vertical" targeting approaches against key Soviet industries resembled the German oil and transportation attacks, whereas "horizontal" methods based on LeMay's incendiary campaign were aimed at Soviet industrial concentrations in cities. One planner described the Strategic Air Command's early war plans as "precision attacks with area weapons." Since that time, the U.S. Air Force has dedicated itself to the pursuit of real precision, and the extreme accuracy of its contemporary munitions as well as current targeting doctrines have roots in the ideas developed at ACTS in the 1930s. However, while Americans trumpet their ongoing commitment to the principles of precision bombing, the rest of the world also remembers the images of Tokyo, Hamburg, and Dresden.

Conrad C. Crane

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Antiaircraft Artillery and Employment; Army Air Forces; Arnold, Henry Harley "Hap"; B-29 Raids against Japan; Berlin, Air Battle of; "Big Week" Air Battle; Blitz, The; Britain, Battle of; Carpet Bombing; Casablanca Conference; Doolittle, James Harold "Jimmy"; Douhet, Giulio; Dresden, Air Attack on; Eaker, Ira Clarence; Great Britain, Air Force; Guernica, Kondor Legion Attack on; Hamburg, Raids on; Harris, Sir Arthur Travers; Incendiary Bombs and Bombing; Köln; LeMay, Curtis Emerson; Ploesti, Raids on; Portal, Sir Charles Frederick Algernon; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Rotterdam, Destruction of; Schweinfurt and Regensburg Raids; Shuttle Bombing, Soviet Union; Spaatz, Carl Andrew "Tooley"; Tokyo, Raid on; Udet, Ernst; Wilhelmshaven

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Stratemeyer, George Edward (1890–1969)

U.S. Army Air Forces general. Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on 24 November 1890, George Stratemeyer graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1915. On graduation, he was commissioned in the infantry and served along the Mexican border. In 1916, however, Stratemeyer transferred to the Signal Corps and became an aviator, completing flight training in 1917 at Rockwell Field in San Diego, California.

During World War I, Stratemeyer commanded the School of Military Aeronautics at Ohio State University. He was then chief test pilot at Kelly Field, Texas, and Chanute Field, Illinois. He transferred to the Army Air Service in 1920. In 1921, he took command of Chanute Field, Illinois. Stratemeyer was next assigned to Hawaii and then taught tactics at West Point from 1924 to 1929. He graduated from the Air Corps Tactical School at Langley Field, Virginia, in 1930 and the Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1932, where he then taught for several years. Promoted to lieutenant colonel, he commanded the 7th Bombardment Group at Hamilton Field, California, from 1936 to 1938. He graduated from the Army War College in 1939 and then commanded the Southeast Air Corps Training Center, Maxwell Field, Alabama. He next served as chief of the Air Staff at Washington, D.C., and was promoted to major general in 1942.

In August 1943, Stratemeyer arrived in India to take command of U.S. Army Air Forces in the China-Burma-India Theater, where his forces performed important work in the resupply of Chinese troops fighting the Japanese. President Franklin D. Roosevelt approved Stratemeyer's plan to bomb Japanese forces from a base in India and others in China. Stratemeyer next headed the Eastern Air Command (a joint U.S.-British air organization) and Army Air Forces in China with headquarters in Chongqing (Chungking). His units helped relocate some 200,000 Chinese troops and 5,000

horses from eastern to western China. Stratemeyer was promoted to lieutenant general in 1945.

From February 1946 to April 1949, Stratemeyer led the new Air Defense Command. A forceful advocate of an expanded air force, he promoted the establishment of an air force academy. He then took command of the Far East Air Force. When the United States entered the Korean War, Stratemeyer's meager air assets attacked the invading North Korean forces and helped prevent their victory. Throughout, his units maintained air supremacy over Korea.

A massive heart attack in May 1951 cut short Stratemeyer's career, and he retired in January 1952. He died in Orlando, Florida, on 9 August 1969.

Uzal W. Ent and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

China-Burma-India Theater; Flying Tigers; Hump, The

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Student, Kurt (1890–1978)

German army general. Born at Birkholtz, Brandenburg, on 12 May 1890, Kurt Student was educated at the cadet school at Lichterfelde (1905–1908). He joined the German army as an ensign in 1910 and was commissioned a lieutenant in 1911. He volunteered for flying school and qualified as a pilot in 1913. On the outbreak of World War I, he was testing aircraft armament. From 1916, he commanded a fighter squadron on the Western Front, where he was wounded in aerial combat.

Student continued in the army after the war and was posted to the Central Flying Office, where he worked with the illegal German air units training in Russia. He then reverted to the infantry (1928–1933), where he was promoted to major and served as a battalion commander. Following Adolf Hitler's accession to power, Student directed air training schools for the Aviation Ministry. Promoted to full



German General Kurt Student, under arrest and being escorted by British Military Police. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

colonel in August 1933, he headed the test center for aviation equipment and organized Germany's first airborne forces. Promoted to Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general) in 1938, Student was inspector of Airborne Forces. As commander of the 7th Air Division of paratroops and gliderborne infantry, Student was chiefly responsible for this major innovation of airborne warfare. Thanks in part to his high standards and his talent in picking capable subordinates, Student soon commanded some of the finest infantry in the world.

Student played a key role in Hitler's May 1940 invasion of France and the Benelux, directing his elite forces in reducing key strong points, most notably Fortress Eben Emael in Belgium. He suffered a serious head wound while personally directing an assault at Rotterdam, the Netherlands, and departed on leave. Student urged an immediate assault on Britain and establishment of an airhead in the Folkstone area before Britain could recover its balance. However, Adolf Hitler believed the British would recognize the inevitability of a German victory and negotiate. Hitler let the opportunity pass. Student returned to duty in September, when he was promoted to major general.

Student participated in operations against Greece and then directed the successful airborne assault on Crete in May 1941. The heavy casualties in this operation, the consequence of ULTRA intercepts, convinced Hitler that the days of parachute troops were over. From that point, the German airborne forces were employed as elite infantry. Student planned and his airborne forces carried out the rescue of Mussolini in September 1943.

As lieutenant general, Student commanded First Parachute Army during the Normandy Invasion. As a full general in September 1944, he assisted in the defense of Holland during Operation MARKET-GARDEN. In November 1944, he assumed command of Army Group H in defense of the Rhine. In late April 1945, he commanded Army Group Vistula. Taken prisoner by the British in Schleswig-Holstein, he was charged and convicted of war crimes by a British court, but he was released in 1948. Student died in Lemgo, Federal Republic of Germany, on 1 July 1978.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Airborne Forces, Axis; Crete, Battle of; Greece Campaign (April 1941); Hitler, Adolf; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; SEA LION, Operation; Signals Intelligence

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Stülpnagel, Karl Heinrich von (1886–1944)

German army general and leader in the Resistance. Born in Darmstadt on 2 January 1886, Karl Stülpnagel received a classical education and pursued studies in Geneva. In 1904, Stülpnagel entered the German army as a cadet officer. He served on the General Staff during World War I, rising to the rank of major.

Stülpnagel continued in the army after the war and held infantry commands. Promoted to colonel in 1932, he headed the foreign studies branch of the General Staff from 1933 to 1937. Promoted to Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general) in 1936 and Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) in 1937, he was appointed head of the Operations Section of the General Staff in 1938.

Stülpnagel impressed his colleagues with his wit and intelligence. Fellow officers praised his abilities and believed him to be one of the best officers in the German army. Stülpnagel's personal opposition to war against Britain led him to join his close associates, Generals Ludwig Beck and Franz Halder, in the conspiracy against Adolf Hitler.

Stülpnagel was promoted to General der Infanterie (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) in April 1939, and he served as quartermaster and deputy chief of the General Staff from August 1938 to May 1940. He commanded II Corps in the 1940 invasion of France, and following the defeat of France, he served as chairman of the Armistice Commission at Wiesbaden from June 1940 to February 1941. He then commanded the Seventeenth Army in Operation BARBAROSSA, the invasion of the Soviet Union. Poor health forced him to relinquish this command in November 1941.

In March 1942, Stülpnagel took over from his cousin Otto von Stülpnagel the post of military governor of Paris. In this position, he enforced German occupation policies, including the execution of 29,000 hostages in an effort to end resistance to German rule. Here, too, he became active in the Resistance plot to assassinate Hitler. He was the only German general outside of Berlin who actively pursued the coup plans of July 1944. Believing that the bomb plot of 20 July had been successful, Stülpnagel ordered the arrest of some 1,000 German security personnel in Paris.

Stülpnagel's inability to convince Field Marshal Günther von Kluge (German commander in chief west) to support the coup doomed his efforts. Kluge ordered Stülpnagel to release the German prisoners and then fired the beleaguered general. Ordered to report to Berlin on 21 July, Stülpnagel stopped en route at Verdun and there attempted suicide by shooting himself in the head. Only blinded, he was arrested by the Gestapo and taken to Berlin. He was tried by the People's



German Army General Karl-Heinrich Stülpnagel. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Court, convicted, and sentenced to death. Stülpnagel was hanged at Ploetzensee Prison on 30 August 1944.

Gene Mueller and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Beck, Ludwig; France Campaign (1940); Halder, Franz; Hitler, Adolf; July 1944 Bomb Plot; Kluge, Günther von

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Submachine Guns

The submachine gun (SMG) was a pistol-caliber automatic firearm that could be carried by one man in vehicles for local defense. It was also extremely useful in trench fighting and in operations to clear buildings. In the latter form of warfare, the SMG came into its own, able to fire bursts of pistol ammuni-

tion in enclosed spaces at short ranges within which the cartridge was still fully effective. On the battlefield, it also had its uses in fighting in bunkers and in wooded areas where ranges were short. All special forces used it during World War II.

Bethel Abiel Revelli, an Italian more famous for his machine-gun designs, invented the first submachine gun. His Villar Perosa weapon of 1915, although a tactical failure, used a pistol cartridge but fired it automatically by the blow-back principle. This principle relies simply on the weight of the breech block to delay rearward movement caused by the explosion of the gases in the cartridge case. These gases push the cartridge case to the rear, and safety is assured by delaying the movement of the breech block until the pressure in the barrel has dropped after the bullet has left the barrel. Also in World War I, the Germans used their Mauser pistol as an SMG and issued an attachable stock for it, but this weapon was too light to be really effective.

In the interwar period, the Americans developed the highly effective Thompson SMG using a .45 caliber automatic Colt pistol cartridge. The Thompson was an important development, for it used a pistol cartridge but was of sufficient weight to fire accurately in short bursts. At the same time, the Germans further developed their World War I Bergmann SMG. It eventually became well known as the MP38 and MP40 SMGs.

The United States continued to make and issue the Thompson in .45 caliber throughout the war, although a much cheaper variant, the M3 (known as the "grease gun" from its appearance), was also issued. Both weapons were very effective at the short ranges for which they were designed, and British troops were often armed with the Thompson, which they preferred to their own Sten gun.

The Sten gun was a weapon born from economic need. British forces needed an SMG, but only rimmed cartridges were in use for the British army pistol. The 9 mm Parabellum round was, however, available, and so the design was based on that cartridge. The weapon was initially quite crude, although it developed as the war progressed. It had the unfortunate capability of firing when it was not required to do, and British troops often relieved German troops of their MP38 or MP40 SMGs as soon as they could.

These weapons utilized the same ammunition, which simplified supply. The Germans used the MP38 and MP40, as well as some older Bergmann SMGs, throughout the war. These solid and reliable weapons were effective to 50 yards. They were steel and plastic throughout and had no wood in their construction, a hallmark of all later examples of SMGs.

German troops in the field often preferred the Soviet PPSH M1941. A much cruder weapon, it had a wooden stock and fired from a 71-round drum magazine (as opposed to the MP38 32-round magazine). Further, the weapon took little



U.S. Marine Corps patrol pushes through the New Britain jungle in pursuit of Japanese forces on Cape Gloucester with the lead soldier carrying a Thompson submachine gun. (Bettmann/Corbis)

notice of weather and could be fired in dusty, muddy, or icy conditions, a characteristic of immense value to the operator.

The later PPS 1943 models were stamped out so that tolerances were maximized, allowing the weapon to gather dust, dirt, carbon deposits, and other encrustations that defeated the more accurately made German weapons. This fact allowed the Soviet weapons to keep on firing when the Germans were struggling with their own weapons. In the fighting in Stalingrad and Berlin, these were the standard house-clearing weapon, in concert with grenades and shovels.

The Japanese came upon the SMG idea late in the war, and the Type 100 SMG was used by Japanese paratroops in the attack at Leyte in 1944. It was not well made and was considered inferior to European and American standards, but it could also be seen as a simple, cheap weapon, two of the characteristics of the SMG.

The Italians, having invented the weapon, did not fail to develop the idea themselves. Pietro Beretta and his company designed and manufactured the Model 38 SMG, which was followed by the Models 38A and 18/42, all in 9 mm Parabellum. These were wooden-stocked weapons and were highly regarded at the time.

A combination of the SMG and the standard rifle evolved into the assault rifle, which was first developed by the Germans in World War II.

David Westwood

See also

Pistols and Revolvers; Rifles

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Submarines

During the period between the two world wars, the world's major navies constructed small series of submarines that served the dual purpose of meeting immediate operational needs and providing data for the development of improved vessels. By the mid-1930s, most of these navies had evolved one or two basic types that were well matched to their operational requirements, had attained substantial design maturity, and were suited to large-scale series production. The vast majority of submarines that served during World War II, rather than having radical new designs, were of standardized types that had been modified in the light of operational experience.

These standardized submarine types shared many common features. Functionally, they were submersibles rather than true submarines; their designs were optimized for operation on the surface, and they had only limited capabilities while submerged. Underwater, they relied on electric motors powered by large storage batteries for propulsion; on the surface, they used diesel engines for propulsion and to recharge the batteries. The submarines incorporated substantial numbers of torpedo tubes and reload torpedoes, and they also mounted guns for use against surface or aerial targets. Their operational range was a function of the capacity of their bunkers for diesel fuel; their radius of action while submerged was limited by battery cell capacity. Maximum speed while submerged usually was not much more than half their surface speed, and maintaining high submerged speeds was impossible for any length of time without totally draining the batteries and forcing the submarine to the surface. Consequently, most navies during the conflict primarily operated their submarines as stealthy surface vessels that could submerge for evasion or escape before or after an attack.

Britain

British submarine development was influenced by the cruiser and fleet submarine concepts. The main thrust of early evolution between the wars centered on the overseas patrol type, which displaced 1,475 tons on the surface and had a range of 10,900 miles at 8 knots, a submerged endurance of 36 hours at 2 knots, and a diving depth of 500 feet. Armament included a battery of 8 torpedo tubes with 14 torpedoes and a 4-inch deck gun. A group of similar-sized minelaying submarines also was built, as was a small series of very fast large submarines for work with the fleet, but both of these developments proved very expensive and of limited operational usefulness.

In the early 1930s, a fresh start was made with the Swordfish-class, which was designed for offensive patrols in

narrow waters. These boats displaced 640 tons standard. They had a cruising range of 3,800 miles at 9 knots on the surface and 36 hours at 3 knots submerged, and they could dive to 300 feet. Armament was 6 torpedo tubes with 12 torpedoes and a 3-inch gun. A larger overseas patrol type, the Triton-class, appeared in 1937. These displaced 1,090 tons standard; they had a cruising range of 4,500 miles at 11 knots on the surface and 55 hours at 3 knots submerged, and they could dive to 300 feet. Armament was 10 torpedo tubes with 16 torpedoes and a 4-inch gun. Britain concentrated its production of submarines during the war on these two types, producing a total of 62 of the S type and 53 of the T type.

Just before the war, the Royal Navy developed a small submarine for training not only crews and new commanding officers but also antisubmarine vessels. When war came, the design was quickly adapted for operational use, and the submarine proved particularly useful in confined waters such as the North Sea and Mediterranean. The U class displaced between 540 and 646 tons on the surface, with a range of 3,600 miles at 10 knots on the surface, a submerged endurance of 60 hours at 2 knots, and a diving depth of 200 feet. Armament included a battery of 6 torpedo tubes with 10 torpedoes and a 3-inch deck gun. A total of 71 boats were constructed of this class and its slightly improved successors of the V class. Although they were useful boats in the early part of the war, the later examples diverted resources from construction of more effective vessels. Britain also built some 36 midget submarines; with 4-man crews, these vessels attacked ships at anchor in harbor.

France

France constructed three series of submarines in the period between the wars: large oceangoing long-range vessels for worldwide service and for operation with the fleet, smaller boats for offensive patrols in European waters, and a successful group of minelayers. The first postwar French submarines were of the 1922 and 1923 programs and were based on the study of German U-boats taken as reparations. These 9 submarines of the Requin-class had a standard surface displacement of 947 tons and were armed with 10 × 21.7-inch torpedo tubes, 1 × 3.9-inch deck gun, and 2 × 25.2 mm machine guns. The 31 large submarines of the Redoutable-class (launched between 1928 and 1937) generally were regarded as very effective boats. They displaced 1,384 tons standard on the surface; their maximum range was 10,000 miles at 10 knots on the surface, and their submerged endurance was 60 hours at 2 knots. They had a battery of 11 torpedo tubes (7 of them in 2 remotely controlled trainable external mounts) with a total of 13 torpedoes and a single 3.9-inch deck gun.

The French also constructed several smaller seagoing patrol-type submarines. A 1922 building program called for

4 × 600-ton boats. These were the Sirène-class, 9 of which were eventually built. Several other patrol-type submarine classes were authorized in the years before the war, but not all were complete when France fell in June 1940. These submarines displaced between 600 and 900 tons. The Aurore-class, the last series of French submarines being constructed when World War II began, displaced 893 tons and were armed with 9 × 21.7-inch torpedo tubes (3 in an external remotely controlled trainable mount) plus a single 3.9-inch deck gun and 2 × 13 mm machine guns.

The French minelaying submarines of the Saphir-class displaced 761 tons on the surface and could cruise for 7,000 miles at 10 knots on the surface. They had a submerged endurance of 48 hours at 2 knots and could safely operate to a depth of 250 feet. They carried 5 torpedo tubes (3 in a trainable external mount) with 7 torpedoes, 32 mines, and a single 3-inch deck gun.

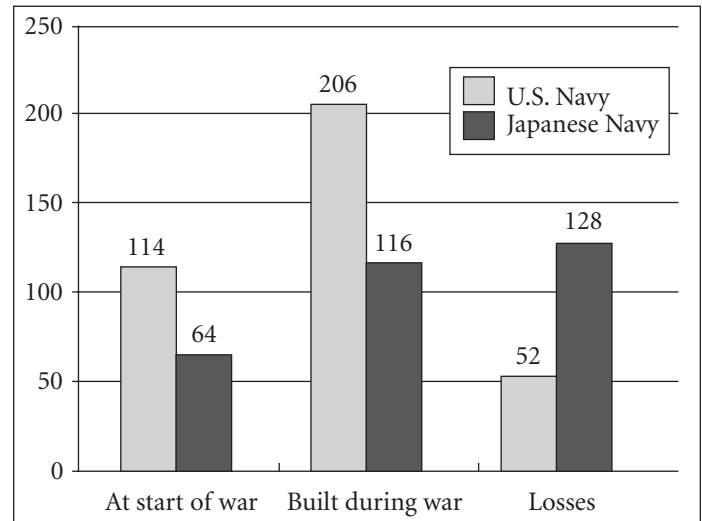
The French navy also operated the largest submarine in the world at the outbreak of the war. The *Surcouf*, designed for long-range commerce warfare, displaced 2,880 tons standard on the surface and had a range of 10,000 miles at 10 knots on the surface. It had a range of 60 hours at 2 knots submerged and could operate safely at a depth of 250 feet. The *Surcouf*'s battery included no fewer than 12 tubes (8 in external mounts) with 22 torpedoes, 2 × 8-inch guns in a special turret mounting, and a seaplane stowed in a hangar and launched with a catapult. The *Surcouf* also was equipped with a special compartment to accommodate prisoners taken from intercepted vessels and a small motor launch to transport boarding parties. The submarine proved to be successful in peacetime, but it never operated as designed during combat because of the fall of France and the boat's subsequent loss in a collision.

Soviet Union

At the outbreak of war in September 1939, the Soviet Union deployed the world's largest submarine force, with 168 boats in service. Soviet mass production of submarines began early and produced a wide variety of different types. There were two basic series of M-type coastal submarines, two basic medium submarine series (the S-type, derived from the same basic design as the German Type VII, and the Shch or Pike-type of indigenous origin), minelayers of the L-type, and long-range boats of the K-type.

The final M-type displaced 283 tons when surfaced, had a range of 4,500 miles at 8 knots on the surface or 36 hours at 3 knots submerged, could dive to 295 feet, and had a battery of 2 torpedo tubes with 4 torpedoes and a 45 mm anti-aircraft gun. The S-type displaced 856 tons surfaced, had a range of 9,500 miles at 9 knots on the surface or 45 hours at 3 knots submerged, could dive to 330 feet, and had a battery of 6 torpedo tubes with 12 torpedoes and a 4-inch deck gun. Their indige-

Submarines, U.S. and Japan during World War II



nous rivals displaced 587 tons, had a range of 3,650 miles at 7 knots on the surface or 50 hours at 2.5 knots submerged, could dive to 295 feet, and carried 6 torpedo tubes with 10 torpedoes. The minelayers displaced 1,108 tons, had a range of 10,000 miles at 8.6 knots on the surface or 60 hours at 2.5 knots submerged, could dive to 330 feet, and carried 8 torpedo tubes with 14 torpedoes and 20 mines. The K-type were very popular with their crews and were regarded as the best Soviet submarines of the war. These displaced 1,480 tons, had a range of 15,000 miles at 9 knots on the surface or 50 hours at 2.5 knots submerged, could dive to 330 feet, and carried 10 torpedo tubes with 24 torpedoes. Despite this variety, the Soviet Union's yards produced a great many submarines, completing some 200 boats during the course of the war.

United States

The U.S. Navy took the process of type standardization the farthest, entering World War II with a single basic design that was improved but never replaced during the course of the conflict. These "fleet boats" emerged through the crystallization and synthesis of a series of designs produced to meet requirements for fleet submarines to accompany the battle fleet, cruiser submarines for long-distance raiding, and patrol submarines for offensive operations in the Pacific. Nine vessels (essentially experimental prototypes) in five classes were produced between 1921 and 1934, ranging in size from 1,100 tons to 2,700 tons standard on the surface. Overall, these submarines were not very successful, suffering problems with their diesel machinery, diving ability, and general reliability, but they provided valuable experience and data for an improved design.

The new series that began with the Porpoise-class of 1934 were of 1,310 to 1,475 tons standard on the surface. They



Looking forward along the deck from the stern of a U.S. submarine off the coast of New London, Connecticut, August 1943. (Navy, National Archives)

introduced diesel-electric reduction drive, which proved vastly more reliable than previous arrangements. Surface cruising range was 11,000 miles at 10 knots, and they had a patrol endurance of 75 days. They could operate for up to 48 hours submerged at 2 knots and had a safe-operating-depth limit of 250 feet. A battery of 6 to 8 torpedo tubes with 16 to

24 torpedoes was fitted, along with a light deck gun. Between 1934 and 1940, 38 submarines of this group were constructed, and they formed the backbone of the American submarine force when the United States entered the war.

The Gato-class that followed became the first wartime standard class. Displacement rose to 1,526 tons, the torpedo

tube battery increased to 10 tubes, and safe depth increased to 300 feet. They were followed by the very similar Balao-class; its deeper safe-operating depth of 400 feet was accomplished by substituting high-tensile steel for the mild steel used in earlier boats. The Tench-class introduced diesel-electric direct drive that brought about a very significant reduction in noise and internal machinery space, leading to the addition of 4 reload torpedoes to the outfit. A total of 221 submarines from these 3 classes were completed during or immediately after the war. Significant wartime modifications included reducing superstructure, adding radar, and enlarging the gun armament by fitting 4-inch or 5-inch deck guns and adding multiple light anti-aircraft weapons.

Germany

Germans developed their submarines clandestinely, since the Versailles Treaty prohibited them such weapons. Design work continued for foreign navies, with production undertaken in the customers' yards under German supervision. The first new German submarine, *U-1*, was completed only five weeks after the repudiation of the Versailles Treaty on 29 June 1935.

The overwhelming majority of the 1,150 U-boats commissioned between 1935 and 1945 belonged to two groups: the so-called 500-ton Type VII medium boats and the 740-ton Type IX long-range submarines. The Type VIIC actually displaced between 760 and 1,000 tons on the surface; it had a cruising range of 6,500 to 10,000 miles at 12 knots on the surface and 80 miles at 4 knots submerged. It had a battery of 55 torpedo tubes with 14 torpedoes, an 88 mm deck gun, and ever-increasing numbers of light anti-aircraft weapons. Almost 700 of these boats in all their variants entered service during World War II. The Type XIIC actually displaced 1,120 tons; it had a cruising range of 11,000 miles at 12 knots on the surface and 63 miles at 4 knots submerged. It had a battery of 6 torpedo tubes with 22 torpedoes, a 105 mm deck gun, and ever-increasing numbers of light anti-aircraft weapons. Almost 200 of this type and its variants were commissioned.

Germany also commissioned several other important types of submarines during the war. Among the most important were the Type X minelayers and the Type XIV supply boats. Both variants operated as resuppliers for the operational boats during the Battle of the Atlantic, providing fuel, provisions, medical supplies, reload torpedoes, and even medical care and replacement crew members. Consequently, they became prime targets for Allied anti-submarine forces, and few survived. The other major vessels were the radical Type XXI and Type XXIII boats designed for high submerged speed and extended underwater operation. Revolutionary streamlined hull shapes, greatly increased battery space, and the installation of snorkels allowed these boats to operate at submerged speeds that made them very difficult targets for Allied anti-sub-

marine forces. However, confused production priorities and the general shortage of materials late in the war prevented more than a very few from putting to sea operationally.

Italy

Italian submarines were of four basic types: very large ocean-going cruiser submarines, large minelayers, large long-range patrol boats, and medium-size vessels. The cruisers were few in number and proved rather unsuccessful, especially as they were slow to dive; they saw little operational service. The minelayers were much more successful. They displaced between 1,054 and 1,305 tons standard on the surface, with a range of 8,500 miles at 9 knots on the surface, a submerged endurance of 60 hours at 2 knots, and a diving depth of 330 feet. Armament included a battery of 6 to 8 torpedo tubes with 8 to 14 torpedoes, 36 mines, and 1 or 2 3-inch deck guns.

The 2 series of patrol submarines emerged as essentially standard designs immediately before the war began. The larger group displaced between 920 and 1,000 tons standard on the surface, with a range of 9,000 miles at 8 knots on the surface, a submerged endurance of 60 hours at 2 knots, and a diving depth of 330 feet. Armament included a battery of 8 torpedo tubes with 12 torpedoes and 1 × 4-inch deck gun. The smaller group displaced between 650 and 680 tons standard on the surface, with a range of 5,000 miles at 8 knots on the surface, a submerged endurance of 60 hours at 2 knots, and a diving depth of 330 feet. Armament included a battery of 6 torpedo tubes with 12 torpedoes and 1 × 4-inch deck gun. These smaller patrol submarines were very successful boats and performed well in the shallow, clear waters of the Mediterranean. The larger boats performed quite effectively in the Atlantic.

Japan

Japan constructed very large submarines intended to operate primarily as integral components of the battle fleet. The *kaidai* (admiralty) type design was based on a large German cruiser submarine from World War I, and the type evolved into a series of 24 boats in 5 classes, constructed between 1921 and 1935. These vessels displaced between 1,390 and 1,635 tons standard, had operating ranges between 10,000 and 14,000 miles at 10 knots, carried a battery of 6 to 8 tubes with 14 to 16 torpedoes, could operate submerged for 36 hours at 2 knots, and had a safe operating depth of between 200 and 250 feet. Japan also developed very large cruiser submarines of the *junsen* (cruiser) type between 1924 and 1938. These 8 huge vessels had standard displacements between 1,970 and 2,231 tons and an operational range of 24,000 miles at 10 knots on the surface. They could dive safely to 300 feet.

In 1939, Japan essentially standardized its large submarine type with a vessel design displacing about 2,100 tons and capable of cruising on the surface for 14,000 miles at 16 knots

or 24,000 miles at 10 knots. They could dive to 330 feet. Three models were produced—a headquarters type emphasizing communications and command facilities, an attack type emphasizing torpedo armament, and a scouting type that added hangar space and a catapult for a small reconnaissance floatplane. Some 46 of these large submarines were constructed, plus 3 others that brought together the facilities of all 3 types into the sen-toku (special submarine) type, a single monster hull displacing 3,530 tons standard. Japan also constructed 10 final examples of the kaidai type early in World War II.

Japan also developed and constructed a series of medium submarines intended for coastal work. In addition, Japan expended considerable effort on the development of midget submarines: small boats with two-man crews intended for stealthy attacks on ports and roadsteads after they were transported close to the scene of operation by larger submarines. Finally, late in the war, Japan was developing submarines with high underwater performance, but these never entered service.

Technology played a major part in determining the effectiveness of submarines. Most navies encountered problems with their torpedoes early, especially those submarine arms that relied on magnetic rather than contact pistols. Radar development conferred a special advantage on Allied submarines in particular, offsetting the edge in optical quality possessed by German and Japanese vessels. U.S. submarines were almost unique in their level of habitability, and they were almost the only boats that featured full air-conditioning and adequate space for their crews to sleep. Sonar developed rapidly, as did countermeasures; some navies put considerable effort into stealth and self-defense measures by emphasizing use of wakeless electric torpedoes and special antisubmarine homing torpedoes. The course of the submarine war demonstrated that those arms that fell behind in the technological battle suffered disproportionately heavily in combat.

Paul E. Fontenoy

See also

Antisubmarine Warfare; Atlantic, Battle of the; Depth Charges; Hunter-Killer Groups; Sonar; Submarines, Midget; Torpedoes; Wolf Pack

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Submarines, Midget

Small submarines, “human torpedoes,” and submersibles. Although envisioned as a low-cost, mass-producible weapon against both shipping and warships, midget submarines as a group achieved little success. First developed by Italy and then by Germany, Japan, and Great Britain, midget submarines have had a history of futility mottled with occasional success. Other than the unprecedented success of the British X-Craft, midget submarines proved costly in terms of human losses and ineffectual in the overall war effort. However, their low production costs doubtless made the designs attractive to increasingly desperate nations.

On 1 November 1918, Italian divers riding a modified torpedo sank the ex-Austrian, now Yugoslav dreadnought *Viribus Unitas*. This provided the foundation for the first human-torpedo designs. The Italians continued to experiment with these craft and used them in World War II against the British in the Mediterranean and against the Soviet Union in the Black Sea.

When a prototype of the *Siluro a Lenta Corsa* (slow-running torpedo) class of submersibles proved hard to handle during testing, its operators cursed the boat with the enduring name of *Maiale* (pig). A two-man crew straddled the 22'-long, 21"-wide *Maiale*. Mounted on the nose was a 5'11"-long 485-lb warhead, which would be attached underneath the keel of a target. Later, the *Maiale* employed heavier warheads weighing 550 and 660 pounds. Shrouded propellers afforded propulsion through netted waters.

Operating from one end of a converted tanker, several *Maiale* boats engaged in assaults against British ships at Gibraltar. Although many of their operators were captured or killed, these efforts nonetheless produced results. Three crews sank more than 20,000 tons of British vessels at Gibraltar on 19 September 1941. On 19 December, three crews were captured after heavily damaging the battleships *Queen Elizabeth* and *Valiant* at Alexandria. Similar attacks damaged other ships but at the loss of most of the operators.

However limited their success, the *Maiale*-class design gave rise to the *Forzatori di Basi*. CB-class craft were the only ones of this type to see action. In these, a four-man crew coned a 49'3" × 9'10" boat armed with two 17.7-inch (450-mm) torpedoes. Most of the operational CB craft were used in a blockade of Sevastopol in the summer of 1942. The Italians planned to conduct a raid on New York harbor by a refitted version, the CA.2-class boat. On 25 May 1943, however, British warships sank the Marconi-class submarine *Leonardo da Vinci*, which was to shuttle the CA.2 across the Atlantic.

A German program, hoping to build on the success of the *Maiale*, was perhaps the most extensive yet least productive



Japanese midget submarine beached at Bellows Field, Hawaii, after the attack on Pearl Harbor of 7 December 1941. (National Archives)

effort by the warring powers to build a midget submarine. The *Biber* (beaver) was a small, single-man vessel armed with two torpedoes attached underneath. The *Molch* (salamander) was its larger cousin. During 25–26 December 1944, Molch boats attacked Allied vessels supporting Operation DRAGON. Ten of the 12 Molch boats involved were sunk, with no Allied vessels lost. During the first months of 1945, 70 Molch and Biber craft were lost, having sunk only seven Allied vessels and damaging two.

The *Neger* (Negro) was a slight improvement with increased range. On 5 July 1944, a flotilla of Neger boats attacked the Allied Normandy Invasion fleet, losing 15 of 24 of their own and sinking only the British minesweepers *Magic* and *Cato*. The flotilla attacked again on 7–8 July, losing all 21 Neger boats to antisubmarine forces and sinking only one additional minesweeper, HMS *Rylades*. The German navy ordered more than 1,000 *Seehund* (seal) design craft, but only

138 were commissioned. Operated by a two-man crew and armed with two torpedoes, 35 *Seehund* craft were lost in early 1945 over the course of 140 missions, having sunk only eight Allied ships.

The Japanese counterpart to these, the *Ko-Hyoteki*, was well designed but had a poor service record. The Type A-class boats had a crew of two aboard a vessel 24 meters long by 1.85 meters wide that was armed with two torpedoes. Piggybacked on C1-class submarines, five *Ko-Hyoteki* boats took part in Japan's 7 December 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor. Ensign Sakamaki Kazuo of the *Ko-Hyoteki* that ran aground near Bellows Field became the first U.S.-held Japanese prisoner of war.

The Japanese also deployed Type B-class boats off their Pacific islands. Slightly larger and slower than the Type A, these boats could carry a three-man crew for two or three days. Seven Type-B *Ko-Hyoteki* craft were sunk in attacks on Diégo-Suarez and Sydney on 31 May 1942, in which they

damaged two British warships and sank a ferry. On 5 January 1945, *No. 82* launched its two torpedoes at the U.S. cruiser *Boise*, which was carrying General Douglas MacArthur and his staff. The cruiser evaded the torpedoes, and one of her escorts rammed and sank the Japanese midget sub.

The naval version of Japanese kamikaze (divine wind) suicide aircraft came in the form of the *Kaiten* (heaven-shaker). Essentially a human-guided torpedo, it had a 3,416-lb warhead. Limited range and dependence on a “mother” submarine severely restricted the effectiveness of these, and 900 men and several mother submarines were lost in largely unsuccessful limited operations from November 1944 through July 1945.

The British, after fortifying their Mediterranean harbors against the Italian and German raiders, designed their own improved midget submarines. On 21 November 1943, the British used four *Welmans* (a *Welman* was a single-man boat with 3-knot speed) against a floating U-boat dock near Bergen, Norway. One man was captured when his *Welman* became entangled in antisubmarine netting; the other three craft encountered various other problems. They escaped to the north, and all three were scuttled. The *Chariot* was a much-improved design. It was essentially a hollowed-out 21-inch torpedo with a 600-lb detachable warhead. Only six operations involving *Chariots* were launched, including an aborted attack on 1 November 1942 against the German battleship *Tirpitz*. The British also sank an Italian cruiser completing for sea in 1943 and attacked and sank the German (ex-Italian) heavy cruisers *Bolzano* and *Gorizia* at La Spezia on 21 June and 26 June 1944, respectively.

The British X-Craft exemplified the best designs and the most successful midget submarines of the war. Three types saw the most service: the X510, X20, and XE series. Each had a four-man crew aboard a 49'3" × 5'9" boat, could achieve nearly 6 knots in speed, and could dive to about 300 feet. Craft X5 through X10 were all tasked with sinking the *Tirpitz*. X6 and X7 successfully placed charges that severely damaged the German warship in its harbor at Bergen, but both crews were captured. X20 and X23 served an important role in the Allied D day invasion of Normandy, placing a navigational beacon just before the invasion of 6 June 1944. In 1945, several of the XE-class saw action in the Far East. On 31 July, multiple operations achieved success, including the sinking of the Japanese cruiser *Takao* by XE1 and XE3 and the destruction by XE4 and XE5 of the underwater telephone cables connecting Saigon to Hong Kong and Singapore.

Daring in design and operations, midget submarines represented the marriage of technology and desperation. The difficulty of transport and the risks of loss of support craft and personnel outweighed the benefits of these small craft. Although midget submarines and human torpedoes did have

some spectacular successes, their limited range, speed, and offensive capabilities rendered them largely ineffectual.

Matthew Alan McNiece

See also

Kaiten; Submarines

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Sugihara Chiune (1900–1986)

Japanese diplomat. Born 1 January 1900 at Yaotsu, Gifu Prefecture, Sugihara Chiune entered Waseda University in 1918. The next year, he passed an examination given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for overseas studies, and he became a student at a language institute in Harbin, Manchuria. After graduation, in 1924 Sugihara entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and worked in the Japanese consulate in Harbin.

In 1932, Sugihara was transferred to the Division of Foreign Affairs of Manchouguo (Manchukuo) and was involved in negotiations with the Soviet Union for the transfer of the Eastern Chinese Railway. He then returned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo. After working in the ministry's Personnel Section and the Information Bureau, he was assigned in 1937 as a secretary and interpreter of legation in Helsinki, Finland.

Two years later, Sugihara was assigned as a vice consul to the Japanese consulate in Kaunas, Lithuania, where he was acting consul. In July 1940, as the annexation of the Baltic countries to the Soviet Union loomed, many refugees (most of them Jews who had escaped from Poland) asked Sugihara for Japanese transit visas to escape from Lithuania. Sugihara took personal responsibility for issuing visas until the end of August. As a result, more than 6,000 Jewish refugees were saved.

Sugihara then worked in the Japanese consulates in Praha and in Königsberg and in the Japanese legation in Romania. After internment following the end of the war, Sugihara returned to Japan. He resigned from the diplomatic service in 1947. In 1978, the Israeli government honored him with a medal for his services in saving the lives of Jews during World War II. The government also bestowed on him Israel's highest honor as “Righteous among Nations.” Sugihara died on 31 July 1986, at his home near Tokyo.

Masaaki Shiraishi

See also

Holocaust, The

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Sugiyama Hajime (1880–1945)

Japanese army general. Born in Fukuoka Prefecture on 2 January 1880, Hajime Sugiyama graduated from the Military Academy in 1900. Following routine assignments, he gradu-



Japanese Army General Sugiyama Hajime. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

ated from the Army War College in 1910. During World War I, Sugiyama commanded the 14th Infantry Battalion. In February 1915, he became military attaché in India. He then held several overseas assignments, including with the Japanese mission to the League of Nations.

In 1922, Sugiyama began his rise in the Ministry of War, first as chief of the Aviation Section of the Military Affairs Bureau and then as director of the Military Affairs Bureau. In 1930, he became deputy minister of the army. Appointed army deputy chief of staff in 1934, in February 1937 he joined the cabinet of Senjuro Hayashi as army minister. He was retained in that position in the succeeding cabinet of Fumimaro Konoe. After the 7 July Marco Polo Bridge Incident, Sugiyama was among the faction that pushed for escalation of the conflict, leading to the Sino-Japanese War.

In December 1938, Sugiyama assumed command of the North China Theater. Between October 1940 and February 1944, he was army chief of staff. Although Sugiyama's career was capped by the conferment of the title of generalissimo in 1943, he did not distinguish himself for enlightened leadership. He excelled only in political maneuvering and followed the prevailing political winds within the army. Emperor Hirohito often reprimanded Sugiyama for his evasive statements and his claims that victory over China and then the United States would be easily achieved.

In July 1944, Sugiyama joined the cabinet formed by his former classmate Kuniaki Koiso, who replaced Hideki Tōjō as prime minister. Sugiyama presided over the final mobilization efforts as Japan began preparations for an anticipated Allied invasion of the main islands in early 1945. He responded to the Japanese surrender by taking his own life with a pistol on 12 September 1945.

Kurosawa Fumitaka

See also

Hirohito, Emperor of Japan; Japan, Army; Japan, Home Front; Tōjō Hideki

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Sultan, Daniel Isom (1885–1947)

U.S. Army general. Born in Oxford, Mississippi, on 9 December 1885, Daniel Sultan graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1907 and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers. During the next decades, he rose

to the rank of colonel while holding a variety of engineer assignments, including assisting in the construction of fortifications on Corregidor in the Philippine Islands and conducting surveys for a proposed canal in Nicaragua. He also served as a member of the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors; had tours as district engineer for Savannah, Georgia, and Chicago, Illinois; and was engineer commissioner for Washington, D.C. Sultan graduated from the Command and General Staff School and the Army War College.

In December 1938, Sultan, recently promoted to brigadier general, was named commander of the 22nd Infantry Brigade in Hawaii. In April 1941, as a major general, he received command of the 38th Infantry Division. A year later, he took command of VIII Corps. In November 1943, Sultan, now a lieutenant general, was appointed deputy commander of the China-Burma-India Theater (CBI), headed by Lieutenant General Joseph W. Stilwell.

Operating from Delhi, India, Sultan assumed much of Stilwell's administrative and logistical burden, concentrating on getting vitally needed supplies to beleaguered China by air over the Himalayan Mountains (the Hump) and through the construction of a road (known as the Ledo Road, later renamed the Stilwell Road) and a pipeline across northern Burma from Ledo, India, to Wanting, China. Following the recall of Stilwell in October 1944, Sultan became commander of the India-Burma Theater. In this post, he was in charge of all U.S. forces in the theatre, and he personally commanded a combined force of American, British, and Chinese troops that helped drive the Japanese from northern Burma in 1945.

At the end of the war in the summer of 1945, Sultan was named U.S. Army inspector general. A skilled engineer, able administrator, and successful field commander, Sultan died in Washington, D.C., on 14 January 1947.

John Kennedy Ohl

See also

Burma Road; China, Role in War; Hump, The; Stilwell, Joseph Warren; Wedemeyer, Albert Coady

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Sun Liren (Sun Li-jen) (1900–1990)

Nationalist Chinese general, regarded as one of the best Chinese commanders of the war. Born in Lujiang (Lukiang), Anhui (Anhui) Province on 17 October 1900, Sun Liren (Sun Li-jen) graduated from Qinghua (Tsinghua) University in 1923. He added an engineering degree from Purdue University in 1924 and a bachelor's degree from the Virginia Military Institute in 1927. Returning to China, he enlisted as a corporal in the Guomindang (GMD [Kuomintang, KMT], Nationalist) Army, and by 1930 he commanded a regiment. In the 1937 Battle of Shanghai in Jiangsu (Kiangsu) Province, Japanese grenade fragments grievously wounded Sun.

Sun recovered, and in 1942 he and his 38th Division gained fame during the Allied retreat in Burma by rescuing a nearly surrounded British division at Yenangaung. For this action, London awarded Sun the Commander Order of the British Empire. While other units collapsed before the Japanese onslaught, Sun kept his division together, withdrawing in good order through mountainous northwest Burma and joining Lieutenant General Joseph Stilwell's training operation at Ramgarh as deputy commander of the Chinese army in India—the so-called X-Force.

In late 1943, Sun led his New First Army into northern Burma to help clear the Ledo Road route. In December, Sun took Yupbang Ga, initiating a six-month drive through the Hukawng and Mugaung valleys, toward Myitkina. Sun had impressed Stilwell earlier as aggressive and professional. But in January 1944, "Vinegar Joe" fulminated at apparent Chinese malingering, convinced that Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) had ordered Sun not to risk well-trained Chinese forces in Burma's jungles. Sun countered that American intelligence grossly underestimated Japanese strength, necessitating slowing for more reconnaissance. Scholars substantiate both allegations. Still, in March the 38th fought successfully alongside Merrill's Marauders in the first joint Sino-American combat operation. Sun took Kamaing, just west of Myitkina, in June and Bhamo, near the Chinese border, in December. Sun's 38th Division led the X-Force across the frontier, linking up with the Yunnan Province-based Y-Force on 27 January 1945. This action ended the three-year blockade of China and opened the way for the newly christened Stilwell Road to Kunming. In August, Sun took the Japanese surrender in Guangzhou (Canton), Guangdong (Kwangtung) Province.

After combat in the Chinese Civil War, Sun became commander in chief of all Nationalist forces in Taiwan in 1950. In 1955, however, he was forced to resign following a subordinate's alleged anti-Jiang plot. Although a secret investigation cleared him of any wrongdoing, he was not only forced from his position but was placed under house arrest from 1955

Sun Li-jen

See Sun Liren.



Nationalist Chinese General Sun Liren (Sun Li-Jen), 1949. (Photo by Jack Birns/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

until 1988, after the end of the Jiang era. A tragic and popular figure, Sun died at his home in Taichung, Taiwan, on 19 November 1990.

Mark Wilkinson

See also

China, Army; China, Role in War; China-Burma-India Theater; Merrill, Frank Dow; Myitkyina, Siege of; Stilwell, Joseph Warren; Yenangyaung, Battle of

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Sunda Strait, Battle of (28 February–1 March 1942)

Naval battle in the southwest Pacific between Allied and Japanese forces. By February 1942, the collective Allied

defense of the southwest Pacific, the ABDA (American-British-Dutch-Australian) command, had largely collapsed.

Following the Battle of the Java Sea on 27 February, three Japanese invasion forces continued to steam toward landings on the island of Java. The Western Attack Force, which included the aircraft carrier *Ryujo*, four heavy cruisers, and several destroyers, under the command of Rear Admiral Kurita Takeo, began landing troops at the eastern entrance to Sunda Strait late on 28 February 1942. Allied intelligence knew of the Japanese intention to land in the region but did not know the exact timetable. Believing a landing would not occur until the following day, overall ABDA naval commander Dutch Vice Admiral Conrad Helfrich ordered the surviving Allied naval forces to reassemble at Tjilatjap in a futile effort to halt the Japanese.

The U.S. heavy cruiser *Houston* and Australian light cruiser HMAS *Perth* exited Batavia harbor at 7:00 P.M. on 28 February as ordered. Their escort, the Dutch destroyer *Evertsen*, was delayed, however, and did not take part in the coming battle. The crews of both Allied ships were exhausted after weeks of incessant action. Morale was also low; Japanese forces had handed the Allies one defeat after another in the Pacific. Neither ship carried a full load of fuel, both were low on ammunition and in need of maintenance, and the *Houston*'s after turret was inoperable following an air attack on 4 February.

At approximately 10:15 P.M. on 28 February, the Japanese destroyer *Fubuki* spotted the *Perth* and *Houston* approaching Bantam Bay on the eastern edge of Sunda Strait. At the same time, the Allied cruisers sighted Japanese transports off-loading troops and supplies, and the cruisers immediately attacked. The *Fubuki* fired a signal flare and launched nine torpedoes. No torpedoes struck the Allied ships, but some ran long and hit the Japanese transports.

By 11:40 P.M., however, Japanese covering forces converged on the Allied ships. In the ensuing melee, minesweeper *No. 2* sank, as did the *Sakura Maru*. The *Ryujo Maru*—headquarters ship of General Imamura Hitoshi, commander in chief of the Sixteenth Army—was also struck, and the explosion threw the general into the water. He reached shore three hours later after swimming through oil-coated water. Two additional transports were heavily damaged. The heavy cruisers *Mikuma* and *Mogami* opened fire with their 8-inch guns. The light cruiser *Natori* then arrived and commenced firing as well.

Japanese destroyers launched torpedoes as the Allied cruisers attempted to escape. Over the course of the battle, the Japanese ships fired 87 torpedoes. The *Perth*, struck by multiple torpedoes and several 8-inch shells, sank about midnight. The *Houston* continued to fight for another 30 minutes, resorting to firing star and practice shells once available live ammunition had been expended. Shrapnel killed Captain Albert Rooks just after he had issued an abandon-ship order

at 12:25 A.M. By that time, the *Houston* had absorbed overwhelming punishment. Four to six torpedoes had struck the American cruiser as well as numerous 8-inch and smaller-caliber shells. A full salvo had struck the after engine room, bursting steam lines and killing the entire engine room crew. The cruiser finally rolled over and sank at about 12:45 A.M. on 1 March. Nearly two-thirds of the *Houston*'s crew died during the battle. The survivors of both ships spent the next three and a half years as Japanese prisoners of war. Excluding the transports, damage among Japanese ships was light. Worst hit was the destroyer *Harukaze*, which had three men killed and five wounded. The Battle of Sunda Strait finalized the Japanese navy's victory at sea in the East Indies.

Rodney Madison

See also

Imamura Hitoshi; Java Sea, Battle of the; Kurita Takeo; Netherlands East Indies; Southwest Pacific Theater

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Suzuki Kantarō (1867–1948)

Japanese navy admiral and prime minister of Japan. Born in Osaka on 18 January 1867, Suzuki Kantarō graduated from the Naval Academy in 1887 and the Naval War College in 1898. He saw combat in the 1894–1895 Sino-Japanese War and in the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War. Following service in a variety of positions at sea and ashore, including command of the Naval Academy, Suzuki was promoted to admiral in 1923. In 1925, he became chief of the Naval General Staff. He retired in 1929. Transferring to the reserves, he was appointed grand chamberlain to the emperor and a member of the Privy Council. Suzuki served in that post until he was badly wounded by assassins during a failed military coup attempt on 26 February 1936.

On 5 April 1945, Suzuki was recalled from retirement to replace Koiso Kuniaki as prime minister. Faced with Japan's military collapse, Suzuki's cabinet remained deadlocked over whether to surrender or fight a last-ditch battle in defense of the home islands. Although Suzuki continued to maintain a bellicose pose in public, he supported foreign minister Tōgō Shigenori's desperate and ultimately unsuccessful attempt to enlist the help of the Soviet Union as a mediator with the United States.

By August 1945, the situation for Japan had become dire. On 6 August, the United States dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima; it followed with an atomic attack on Nagasaki three days later. On 8 August, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan and invaded Manchuria. Nevertheless, the members of Suzuki's cabinet were unable to reach a decision until Emperor Hirohito broke the deadlock himself. Suzuki and his cabinet resigned on 17 August 1945, two days after accepting the terms of the Potsdam Declaration. Suzuki died in Noda-city in Chiba Prefecture on 7 April 1948.

John M. Jennings

See also

Hirohito, Emperor of Japan; Hiroshima, Bombing of; Japan, Surrender of; Koiso Kuniaki; Nagasaki, Bombing of; Potsdam Conference; Tōgō Shigenori

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Sweden

In September 1939, Sweden was a democratic state with a population of just under 6.5 million people. Strategically located in northern Europe, Sweden shared a common border with Norway to the west and Finland to the east. Denmark lay across the Baltic Sea to the south. Swedish interests before the war had been served by the balance of great powers in Europe, and Swedes greatly feared this would be upset during the conflict. Sweden had a long tradition of neutrality; it had last been at war during the Napoleonic Wars in 1814. Despite Nordic solidarity and strong Swedish sympathy for the plight of its neighbors, this sentiment was not allowed to upset Swedish national interests during the war.

Sweden was underprepared militarily in 1939. Although the nation had begun a rearmament program in 1936, it still lacked modern equipment in any significant quantities. Military weakness continued until near the end of the war. In 1937, the Swedish army had only 403,000 men, with only 79 antiaircraft guns and no tanks. In 1945, the army had grown to 600,000 men, 2,750 antiaircraft guns, and 766 tanks. The air force went from 596 aircraft in 1940 to 1,018 in 1945; the navy increased from 47 vessels of all types in 1939 to 126 by May 1945. The expansion of Sweden's military and the generally deteriorating German military position after 1942 precluded any German invasion of the country.



The Swedish army used reindeer to transport reinforcements and food supplies. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

Sweden had large deposits of high-grade iron ore, and in 1939 it provided half of all German iron-ore imports. This trade was vital for the German war effort. Depending on the season, the ore came either down the Baltic or through the northern Norwegian port of Narvik. Sweden was less fortunate in other areas, having to import such vital commodities as coal and oil. During the war, Sweden lost 241 ships involved in its foreign trade.

Sweden proclaimed its neutrality at the beginning of the war in September 1939. When the Finnish-Soviet War (the Winter War) began in November 1939 with the Soviet invasion of Finland, Swedish Prime Minister Per Albin Hansson, leader of the Socialist Party, established a coalition government that included all political parties save the Communists. Its principal goal was to keep Sweden out of a wider war. Swedish sentiment heavily favored Finland, and by the end of the war, some 10,000 Swedes had volunteered to fight with the Finns against the invading Soviet forces. Plans to occupy the Åland archipelago between the two countries were never carried out, however. At the same time, the Swedish government denied Britain and France the right to send troops across its territory to assist Finland. Stockholm correctly assumed that the western Allies had plans to seize the north-

ern Swedish ore fields in the course of such an operation. Sweden did act as an intermediary between the Soviet and Finnish governments to end the Winter War in March 1940.

In April 1940, when Germany invaded Denmark and Norway, Sweden's military was placed on full alert, but this time the government insisted on absolute neutrality. The national government lengthened military conscription from four months to 450 days and ordered army strength increased to 600,000 men. The failure of Allied arms in Norway and in the campaign for France and the Low Countries effectively cut Sweden off from the west and placed it within the German zone of control. This development caused the Swedish government to yield to German demands that a portion of the Swedish railroad network be made available for the passage of supplies to Norway and the rotation of German troops between Norway and Germany. The Swedish government was also forced to accede to German demands for the transit to Finland of a German division stationed in Norway so it could participate in the German invasion of the Soviet Union.

As the tide of war turned against Germany—and with the Swedish military considerably stronger than it had been at the beginning of the war—under Allied pressure, Sweden canceled its transit agreement with Germany in August 1943.

Although Sweden remained neutral until the end of the war, it was generally accommodating to the Allied side. In addition, many Norwegian and Danish volunteers wishing to combat the Germans received military training in Sweden. These forces played little role in the fighting at the end of the war, however.

Sweden emerged from the war as the leading Nordic power, although the end of the European balance of power and Soviet domination of Eastern Europe presented a difficult challenge for Sweden's political leadership in the decades that followed.

Thomas J. Weiler and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Finland, Role in War; Finnish-Soviet War (30 November 1939–12 March 1940, Winter War); Finnish-Soviet War (25 June 1941–4 September 1944, Continuation War); Northeast Europe Theater; Norway, Role in War

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Switzerland

Switzerland occupied a key position between warring nations during World War II. In 1939, Switzerland was a democratic state of some 4.2 million people with a strong tradition of neutrality. The situation was nonetheless delicate for Switzerland, because it had German- and Italian-speaking minorities. Because Germans comprised a majority of the population, Switzerland could be the target of German expansionist policies; likewise, Italian dictator Benito Mussolini cast his sights on securing the Italian-speaking Swiss canton of Ticino.

The Swiss observed Axis politics in the 1930s with growing alarm, and from 1934 they acted to shore up their national defenses. Germany's absorption of Austria and Czechoslovakia confirmed Swiss fears. By 1939, Swiss citizens were used to air-raid drills; they had gas masks and stockpiles of food at home, while the government moved foodstuffs for army use to fortified emplacements in the Alps and relocated the country's gold reserves. Eligibility for military service was continuously extended. Aside from these precautionary measures, Switzerland adopted a strategy of dissuasion that later would be adapted to the circumstances. For the time being, this meant increased military spending, modernization of equipment, and construction of a defensive line at the national

frontiers. Bridges and roads running to the frontiers were mined. Artillery, small arms, and munitions stocks were concentrated along the borders, and antiaircraft batteries protected the industrial centers.

On 30 August 1939, the Swiss Parliament elected Colonel Henri Guisan commander in chief of the army. Colonel Jakob Labhart became chief of the General Staff. On 2 September, following the German invasion of Poland and realizing that a German invasion of Switzerland was possible, the Federal Council declared general mobilization and issued a formal declaration of neutrality. The small Swiss air force was also mobilized. It consisted of 150 Swiss-built fighters of indifferent quality and 50 modern Messerschmitt Me-109s. Switzerland had the one advantage of being (and remaining) only a secondary objective of the Axis powers. German war plans to outflank the French through Swiss territory were dismissed because of the difficult terrain and potentially stubborn Swiss resistance.

When World War II began, 435,000 Swiss citizens were mobilized for the armed forces, a number that approached 700,000 during the war. The army was organized into three army corps, including nine divisions (three of which were specially trained mountain divisions) and three mountain brigades. A fourth corps was created in 1939 and 1940.

When Poland, Denmark, and Norway fell to the German blitzkrieg, Guisan and Labhart planned to mass infantry (and what little artillery existed) behind the Swiss fortified northern borders along a line of rivers, lakes, and mountains parallel to Germany. The joint orders for resistance issued by Guisan and the Federal Council in April 1940 made it plain that surrender was not an option; an invader would have to fight for every inch of ground.

Switzerland's situation became perilous on the defeat of France in June 1940, when the Axis effectively surrounded Swiss territory (the remaining exit was closed off after the occupation of Vichy France near the end of 1942). Assuming that an invasion from all sides would occur in just a matter of time, Guisan developed the idea of the "Alpine redoubt," relying on a mountain fortress centered on the Saint Gotthard massif. Even though they would be defeated at the borders, Swiss forces could resist from the massif indefinitely, controlling (and, if necessary, destroying) the transportation routes through the Alps and thus defeating the main purpose of any Axis invasion.

After June 1940, Axis attention to Switzerland became more intense. Plans for occupation were made, but these were never carried out. After Germany turned east and invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, Switzerland again became an issue only when the Allies started rolling back Axis forces in Italy, and the Alpine republic blocked the German retreat. Eventually, Switzerland was able to avoid invasion until the end of the war. A meeting point for diplomats and a



Sentry guards the gateway along the Swiss border. (Bettman/Corbis)

center for espionage (the Swiss arrested 387 spies and executed 17 of them) as well as for Red Cross relief efforts throughout the war, Switzerland by 1945 was also a venue for diplomatic negotiations to bring the war to an end.

Although Switzerland's effort to establish credible defenses against the Axis powers was remarkable, some aspects of its role in the war became the matter of considerable controversy during the 1990s. The Alpine republic's economic transactions with all belligerents—although permitted by its neutral status—sufficed to tarnish its image as the tiny defender of liberty in fascist-ruled Europe. Switzerland's restrictive refugee policy cast another shadow when the world learned how Germany annihilated Europe's Jews, and some isolated yet notorious remarks made by Swiss politicians advocating acceptance of the "New Order" did not help. The manner in which Swiss banks handled the Nazi gold issue is perhaps the biggest stain on Helvetia's shield.

In the final analysis, this criticism boils down to the question of whether Switzerland was too accommodating in its relations with the Axis powers. It is probably true that the Swiss avoided invasion partly by cooperating to the extent

allowed under the concept of armed neutrality. Then again, German military planners took Swiss defenses seriously and advised against getting entangled in protracted mountain warfare. It is difficult to see what other options Switzerland might have followed.

Pascal Trees

See also

Blitzkrieg; Mussolini, Benito

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Sydney, Japanese Raid on (31 May 1942)

Sydney, a major Australian port for Allied merchant shipping, was within striking distance of Japanese oceangoing submarines based in Rabaul and New Guinea. In an attempt to disrupt this vital Allied commerce, Japanese naval officials ordered the submarines to the harbor. On the night of 31 May 1942, the *I-22*, *I-24*, and *I-27* arrived at Sydney, and each deployed a Type A two-man midget submarine to penetrate the port's defenses and torpedo shipping that lay at anchor.

The element of surprise was lost when the midget submarines approached antitorpedo netting in the harbor. Allied forces were alerted when one of the Japanese craft became entangled in the netting. The American heavy cruiser *Chicago* then opened fire on the vessel but only inflicted damage on the shore. The failure to hit the midget submarine notwithstanding, the Japanese elected to scuttle their boat.

A second midget submarine avoided the nets and launched its torpedoes. One failed to detonate, but the other hit an

accommodation ship, the explosion killing 19 servicemen and wounding 11 more. The fate of this midget submarine is unknown, although presumably it sank during the attack. The crew of the third midget submarine, after being hunted for hours by a collection of Australian light warships, chose to commit suicide. Contributing to the attack of their diminutive counterparts, the fleet submarines, joined by *I-21* and *I-29*, shelled Newcastle and Sydney with their deck guns and sank three merchantmen with gunfire and torpedoes as they left port, before retiring to base.

After the raid, the Allies recovered one of the midget submarines. Following its study by naval architects, it went on a tour of Australia in an effort to raise the morale of the Australian people. Today it is on display at the Australian War Museum in Canberra.

The Japanese submarine attack against Sydney was the last executed by Japanese naval forces against Australian ports in World War II.

Eric W. Osborne

See also
Submarines, Midget



The aftermath of a Japanese submarine attack on ships in Sydney Harbor. This ferry was hit by a torpedo, 1 January 1943. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

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Syria

Formerly part of the Ottoman Empire, after World War I Syria became a mandate of France. Following the defeat of France by Germany in June 1940, Syria was controlled by the Vichy government headed by Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain, which appointed General Henri Dentz as high commissioner with a cabinet headed by Khalid al Azm. Pétain ordered Dentz to allow landing rights in Syria for German and Italian aircraft on their way to support Radhid Ali's regime in Iraq.

On 8 June 1941, Allied forces commanded by British Lieutenant General Maitland Wilson that included the British Ninth Army, Australian, and Major General Paul Legentilhomme's Free French Forces, along with troops of the Transjordan Arab Legion, crossed from Palestine into Lebanon and

Syria. By 15 June, they had reached the Syrian capital of Damascus, which fell on 21 June. On 13 July, Dentz and the Vichy French surrendered and the next day signed the Acre Convention. The fighting had claimed 4,500 Allied and 6,000 Vichy French casualties.

Syria was then turned over to the Free French authorities. The French recognized Syria's independence but continued to occupy the country, which was used as an Allied base for the rest of the war. Free French Commander General Georges Catroux became Syria's Delegate-General and Plenipotentiary. French authorities declared martial law, imposed strict press censorship, and arrested political subversives.

In July 1943, following pressure from Great Britain, France announced new elections. A nationalist government came to power that August, electing as president Syrian nationalist Shukri al-Quwwattî, one of the leaders of the 1925–1927 uprising against the French. France granted Syria independence on 1 January 1944, but the country remained under Anglo-French occupation for the remainder of the war. In January 1945, the Syrian government announced the formation of a national army, and in February it declared war on the Axis powers.



Australian troops just before they advance into French-mandated Syria in collaboration with Free French forces, 10 July 1941. (Bettman/Corbis)

Syria became a charter member of United Nations in March 1945. In early May 1945, anti-French demonstrations erupted throughout Syria, whereon French forces bombarded Damascus, killing 400 Syrians. British forces then intervened. A United Nations resolution in February 1946 called on France to evacuate the country, and by 15 April, all French and British forces were off Syrian soil. Evacuation Day, 17 April, is still celebrated as a Syrian national holiday.

Gary Kerley

See also

France, Vichy; Iraq; Pétain, Henri Philippe

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Syria and Lebanon, Campaign in (8 June–14 July 1941)

The growing German commitment in the Balkans and the Mediterranean encouraged Iraqi elements that favored the Axis side to stage a coup on 2 April 1941. The coup brought to power Rashid Ali el-Gaylani, who was closely linked with the violently anti-British mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el Husseini. The Arab nationalists hoped a German victory would liberate their country and the Arabs from the yoke of British control and restrict the growing Jewish presence in Palestine. Encouraged by the Germans, who promised air support and promised to persuade the Vichy French in Syria to provide matériel help, Rashid Ali refused the British the right to transit troops through Iraq and surrounded the British air base at Habbaniya, 25 miles west of Baghdad.

With the British fully committed in the Western Desert, Greece, and East Africa, it seemed an opportune time to move. In desperation, British commander in the Middle East General Sir Archibald Wavell, apprehensive about losing British communications with India and the supplies of Iraqi oil, ordered a minor offensive. The besieged garrison at Habbaniya attacked on 2 May. A 5,800-member-strong column, Habforce, was hastily organized from the 1st Cavalry Division in Palestine. Habforce made a 500-mile trans-desert dash to reach Habbaniya on 19 May, by which time the 10th Indian Division had landed in Basra. Although Axis planes flew to Syria in support and were involved in the fighting, the Iraqis moved a month too early, before the Germans were able to offer effective assistance. The Germans were themselves too slow in reacting, and the British captured Baghdad on 31 May.

The British were alarmed by ULTRA evidence that the Vichy high commissioner in Syria General Henri Ferdinand Dentz,

who buttressed his pro-Vichy patriotism with a strong personal Anglophobia, had supplied weapons to the Iraqis and freely cooperated with the Germans. The British worried that Germany—supported by the vehemently anti-British French Admiral Jean Darlan, who was now in control of Vichy France—would extend its victories beyond Crete and through Syria into the Middle East.

This fear, combined with the threat posed to the British base in Egypt by the French Army of the Levant, a force of 45,000 hard-core professional soldiers that included four battalions of Foreign Legionnaires, convinced the British to launch Operation EXPORTER, the invasion of Syria and Lebanon. On 8 June, a hastily concocted force consisting of the 21st and 25th Australian Brigades, the 5th Indian Brigade, and the weak 1st and 2nd Free French Brigades, all commanded by General Maitland “Jumbo” Wilson, invaded in three drives—through Deraa to Damascus, through Merjayun to Rayak, and along the coast from Haifa to Beirut.

The British had hoped for a peaceful occupation by guaranteeing the independence of Syria and Lebanon, but Dentz was aware of negotiations between Vichy France and Germany that would culminate in the Paris Protocols, and he was determined to demonstrate solidarity with Germany. By the end of the first phase on 13 June, it was evident that the Vichy French showed no sympathy with Free French ambitions, and all advances were stalled by fierce fighting at Kissoué, Mezze, the River Litani, and especially at Merjayun. Damascus finally fell on 22 July, and with the conclusion of Operation BATTLEAXE in the Western Desert, the British were able to bring up two fighter and three bomber squadrons. Meanwhile, Habforce and Major General William Slim’s 10th Indian Division invaded Syria from Iraq against Palmyra and Aleppo on 21 June to isolate Dentz’s force.

The campaign for Syria and Lebanon also involved naval operations. Vice Admiral E. L. S. King commanded a British force of three cruisers, eight destroyers, and a landing ship with a small commando unit. Opposing them was a Vichy French force of two large destroyers, a sloop, and three submarines. The naval portion of the campaign consisted of small skirmishes as the British carried out both coastal landings and shore bombardment. The French damaged several of the British warships through both air and naval attack, necessitating the dispatch of other ships. The French lost to air attack on 21 June just 50 miles from Syria one of two large destroyers dispatched from Toulon. The other French destroyer made it safely to Beirut on 21 June, but it was damaged there in bombing the next day. The Vichy French government considered dispatching the battle cruiser *Strasbourg* from Toulon but, with the campaign too far gone, decided against it.

After five weeks of bitter fighting, Dentz capitulated on 11 July, and an armistice known as the Acre Convention was



French cavalry on the march along the frontier between Syria and Palestine, July 1941. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

signed on 14 July. Although its terms were generous, the immediate results of the armistice did little to encourage belief in any French desire to see the defeat of Nazi Germany. Only 5,668 troops (only 1,006 of whom were native Frenchmen) opted to join Free French Forces rather than be repatriated to France.

This tragic, regrettable episode, which cost the lives of 3,500 men, was a short but sour war imbued with resentment, particularly between the Vichy and Free French Forces who wreaked sacrilegious vengeance on each other. For the British, however, the campaign consolidated their flank and guarded against any German attack through Turkey.

A few weeks later, Britain, in unison with the Soviet Union, occupied Iran to guarantee the transfer of Lend-Lease supplies through Iran to Russia. In the process, Britain secured its position in the Middle East. Thus, in midsummer 1941, Germany consolidated its position in the Balkans while Britain dominated the entire Middle East. The British commander was liberated from all other preoccupations but that of defeating Axis forces in Libya, and for the first time he could concentrate all his force on a single task.

Paul H. Collier

See also

Darlan, Jean Louis Xavier François; Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia; Iran; Iraq; Lend-Lease; North Africa, Role in War; Slim, Sir William Joseph; Syria; Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival; Wilson, Henry Maitland

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Szabo, Violette Bushnell (1921–1945)

British Special Operations Executive (SOE) agent. Born in Paris on 26 June 1921 to an English father and a French



British Special Operations Executive (SOE) agent Violette Szabo. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

mother, Violette Bushnell grew up in both countries. An avid bicyclist and crack marksman, the tomboyish Bushnell left school at age 14 and held a series of jobs, including as apprentice corsetière and cosmetic saleswoman. In 1940, she joined the British Land Army and developed a reputation for fearlessness during air raids and blackouts. On Bastille Day, 14 July 1940, she met Étienne Szabo, a former French Foreign Legionnaire and Free French soldier, whom she married on 21 August, shortly before he shipped out for Africa. She saw Szabo only once more, during a week in Liverpool in March 1941.

Szabo worked as a telephone operator and then for the Auxiliary Territorial Service as part of an antiaircraft battery,

where she proudly wore her husband's Free French insignia. In June 1942, she gave birth to a daughter, Tania. Shortly afterward, Szabo learned that her husband had been killed in the Battle of El Alamein. Szabo's courage and loyalties had been noted by Captain Selwyn Jepson of the SOE, and he recruited her for intelligence and Resistance work. Assigned to the First Aid Nursing Yeomany, a cover for SOE female recruits, Szabo underwent screening at Wanborough Manor and attended the commando course, parachute school, and psychological training at Beaulieu.

Szabo's first mission, a parachute drop outside Paris, took place in April 1944. She then worked with the French Resistance in Rouen. Although police questioned her twice, Szabo's cover as a commercial secretary held. Her second mission, to aid French sabotage during the D day landings, began on 5 June 1944. Sent north to Corrige as an escort to Jacques Dufor, a valuable agent, with information about an advancing panzer division, Szabo encountered an unexpected concentration of Germans at Salon La Tour. Covering Dufor's escape, Szabo was captured after engaging the soldiers in a running gun battle through the town. The Gestapo transferred her to Paris, where she was physically and psychologically tortured before being shipped to Ravensbruck concentration camp in Germany. From there, she was sent to Torgau to be a factory slave and then to a labor camp at Königsberg in East Prussia.

Szabo returned to Ravensbruck in early February 1945. There she and two Resistance colleagues, Denise Bloch and Lilian Rolfe, were executed by firing squad on the orders of the Gestapo and were cremated. In January 1947, Violette Szabo was posthumously awarded the French Croix de Guerre and the British George Cross, the first occasion the latter award was made to a woman.

Margaret Sankey

See also

El Alamein, Battle of; Resistance

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T

Taiwan (Formosa)

Taiwan (Formosa), an island about 14,000 square miles in area, is located 115 miles off China's eastern coast; it was named *Formosa* (Beautiful) by the Portuguese who visited it in 1590. As a consequence of the 1894–1895 Sino-Japanese War, China ceded control of the island to Japan. The Japanese subsequently expanded existing military bases on Taiwan while constructing additional facilities. With the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Japan used Taiwan as a base for air attacks against the Chinese mainland. By late 1941, the island had a population of some 6 million people and served as the base for Japan's Eleventh Naval Air Fleet and its Fifth Army Air Force. On 8 December 1941, the Japanese used Taiwan to launch the first air attacks against U.S. bases in the Philippines.

As Taiwan lay deep within Japan's defensive perimeter, it was not subjected to concerted attacks until 1944, when U.S. forces pushed across the Central Pacific toward the Japanese home islands. By that time, many U.S. military officials, including Chief of Naval Operations Ernest J. King and the Pacific Fleet commander, Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, favored an invasion and occupation of the island in order to sever the Japanese lines of communication south to the Netherlands East Indies. Air attacks by the China-based XX Bomber Command against Japanese installations on Taiwan were largely ineffectual.

Ultimately, these bombing raids proved unnecessary in the context of a prelude to a U.S. amphibious assault, for in July 1944, President Franklin D. Roosevelt decided to pursue the conquest of the Philippines, followed by Iwo Jima and Okinawa rather than Taiwan. The Japanese air bases on Tai-

wan, however, maintained aircraft capable of reaching the Philippine Islands. Consequently, between 12 and 14 October 1944, the U.S. Third Fleet launched punishing air strikes against Japan's facilities on Taiwan in order to reduce Japanese air strength there prior to the invasion of the Philippines. These assaults destroyed more than 500 Japanese aircraft, with important effects on the subsequent Battle of Leyte Gulf.

Taiwan was attacked by Allied naval aircraft twice more during the war. The first of these strikes occurred in January 1945, prior to the U.S. invasion of the Philippine island of Luzon. The second was executed in April 1945 by air assets of the British Pacific Fleet in order to reduce the number of Japanese planes capable of flying kamikaze missions against Allied naval forces off Okinawa.

On 25 October 1945, formal surrender ceremonies took place on Taiwan, and the island reverted to Chinese control in accordance with an agreement reached at the Cairo Conference in November 1943. In 1949, the island became a refuge for Chinese Nationalist forces. Today, it is known as the Republic of China. The People's Republic of China, however, claims Taiwan.

Eric W. Osborne

See also

King, Ernest Joseph; Leyte, Landings on and Capture of; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; Nimitz, Chester William; Philippines, Japanese Capture of; Philippines, U.S. Recapture of; Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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Japanese soldiers turn away as British and Australian soldiers leave their prison camp on Taiwan after liberation by U.S. Marines, 8 October 1945. (Keystone/Getty Images)

Takamatsu Nobuhito, Imperial Prince of Japan (1905–1987)

Japanese Imperial prince and navy officer during the war. Born on 3 January 1905, the third son of Emperor Taishō and younger brother of Emperor Hirohito (1901–1989), Takamatsu Nobuhito graduated from the Naval Academy and the Naval War College. He pursued a career as a gunnery officer in the Imperial Navy.

In November 1941, following several line and staff appointments, Commander Prince Takamatsu became a member of the Operation Planning Section of the Navy General Staff. In November 1942, he was promoted to captain, and in August 1944, he was appointed deputy head of the Yokosuka Gunnery School.

As a liberal thinker in the navy and within the Imperial family, Prince Takamatsu was highly critical of the government's decision to go to war with the United States, and during the war, he advocated an early peace with the Allies.

Elements in Japan opposed to Premier General Tōjō Hideki, including Prince Konoe Fumimaro, saw in Prince Takamatsu a possible candidate for prime minister. Takamatsu died in Tokyo on 3 February 1987. His posthumously published diaries are an important source for the study of Japanese political history of the 1930s and 1940s.

Tohmatsu Haruo

See also

Hirohito, Emperor of Japan; Konoe Fumimaro, Prince of Japan; Tōjō Hideki

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Sitting cross-legged on a cushion, Prince Takamatsu (*right*), brother of Emperor Hirohito, chats with some of the several hundred Japanese who were repatriated to Japan from Manchuria, Mukden, Korea, and many parts of China in 1947. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Tanaka Giichi (Baron) (1864–1929)

Japanese army general and prime minister in the interwar period. Born on 22 June 1864 in the Choshu Hagi domain of Japan, he graduated from the Japanese Military Academy and served in the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War as the chief of operations. After the war, Tanaka held several key positions within the Ministry of War and on the Army General Staff. He pressed for an expansionist foreign policy on the Asian mainland while he overhauled military training and effected greater coordination between military and civilian education.

Tanaka was appointed army minister in the Hara Takashi cabinet in 1918 and cooperated with Hara in withdrawing troops from Siberia. Tanaka understood the nature of modern warfare as total war and sought to incorporate the lessons of World War I into army preparedness and training reform. His service in the Hara cabinet and his strategic vision shaped Tanaka as a politician. Awarded the title of baron in 1920, he served as army minister again in the second cabinet of

Yamamoto Gonnohyoe in 1923. Then, in April 1925, he assumed the presidency of the Rikken Seiyukai Party on the recommendation of Korekiyo Takahashi and left the army. He was elected to the House of Peers the following year. In April 1927, Tanaka became prime minister and foreign minister. He convened the Eastern Council two months later to refashion Japan's China policy, a move widely perceived as reflecting his hard-line position on Chinese affairs.

The so-called Tanaka Memorandum, cited by a Chinese journal in December 1927 as evidence of Japan's expansionist intent, allegedly evolved from this conference and was presented to Emperor Hirohito. In all likelihood, this document, containing many stylistic and factual errors, was fabricated. Tanaka was reprimanded by the emperor for his handling of the bombing death of Chang Hsueh-liang in July 1929, and his cabinet collapsed as a result. Tanaka died in Tokyo on 29 September 1929.

Kurosawa Fumitaka

See also
Hirohito, Emperor of Japan

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Tanaka Raizo (1892–1969)

Japanese navy admiral who was famous for his night-fighting prowess and his supply runs to provision troops. Born in Yamaguchi Prefecture, Japan, on 27 April 1892, Tanaka Raizo graduated from the Naval Academy in 1913 and trained as a torpedo specialist. He developed a reputation for excellence in seamanship. Promoted to captain in 1935, he held command of destroyers, the cruiser *Jintsu*, and then the battleship *Kongo*. In 1937, he took charge of a destroyer squadron.

Made a rear admiral in October 1941, Tanaka commanded the 2nd Destroyer Flotilla, one of the most highly trained units of the Japanese navy and especially expert in night action. In his flagship cruiser *Jintsu*, Tanaka was involved in most major battles of the first 18 months of the war. He was particularly well known for the so-called Tokyo Express—nightly supply runs to Japanese army units on Guadalcanal. Called by the Americans “Tenacious Tanaka,” he routinely slipped past often superior Allied naval forces equipped with radar and gained a reputation in the West as one of the most brilliant and indefatigable Japanese navy commanders of the war. In the Battle of Tassafaronga on 30 November 1942, a superior U.S. force under Rear Admiral Carlton H. Wright intercepted Tanaka's ships trying to float barrels of supplies ashore to Guadalcanal. The ships were not deployed for combat, and Tanaka lost a destroyer, but his crews used their Long Lance torpedoes to good effect and sank one U.S. cruiser and damaged three others before making their escape.

The Americans learned from their mistakes in this and other actions and developed improved night-fighting techniques. In July 1943, while Tanaka was trying to reinforce the Japanese garrison on Kolombangara in the Solomon Islands, U.S. Navy warships badly damaged his flagship, the *Jintsu*, which then sank. Shortly thereafter, Tanaka was dismissed from his post and assigned to command an obscure naval base in Burma, allegedly for criticizing his superiors' decision to squander scant Japanese destroyer assets in trying to supply Japanese island outposts. Although promoted to vice admiral in 1944, Tanaka did not again see combat. He died in Yamaguchi, Yamaguchi Prefecture, Japan, on 9 June 1969.

Hirama Yoichi



Japanese Admiral Tanaka Raizo. (Photo courtesy of the Japanese Defense Agency)

See also

Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Kolombangara, Battle of; Tassafaronga, Battle of

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Tanks, All Powers

Armored, tracked, armed vehicles, originally developed in World War I. Improved in the years leading up to World War II, the tank came into its own as a weapon system in the latter conflict. After World War I, a number of pioneers surfaced who greatly influenced the structure of armored forces and the design of tanks: J. F. C. Fuller and Basil Liddell Hart in Britain, Jean E. Estienne and Charles de Gaulle in France, Heinz Guderian in Germany (also secretly in the Soviet Union), and Adna Chaffee in the United States. These intel-



A German tank near Grodno, Poland, in June 1941, on its way to the Russian border in the initial phase of Hitler's Operation BARBAROSSA, the invasion of the Soviet Union. (Corbis)

lectuals shaped the armored forces of World War II. Yet even as imaginative military thinkers contemplated what could be done with a properly organized and equipped armored force, some of the senior leaders in each army continued to see tanks only as support to traditional infantry and cavalry elements. Limited military budgets also greatly hindered the development of armored forces, at least until Germany rose again as a threat to peace. The impact of prewar thinking and actions on tank designs varied among nations.

France

In the 1930s, the French General Staff considered tanks primarily as infantry support. New ideas emerged, however, including the development of mechanized infantry and cavalry. The cavalry concept involved three types of reconnaissance vehicles, one that was wheeled for long-range reconnaissance, a machine-gun-armed light tank for cross-country reconnaissance, and a more heavily armed and armored tank capable of fighting. A four-year rearmament plan in 1936 included the formation of three *divisions légères*

mécaniques (DLM), equipped with S-35 and H-35 tanks, and two *divisions cuirasses de réserve* (DCR), with B tanks and R-35 and FCM-36 light tanks to accompany infantry forces.

The S-35 (SOMUA) was a medium tank designed for cavalry combat. One of the best tanks of the time, it was the first to use an all-cast hull and turret construction. Weighing 20 tons, with a crew of three, its electric-drive turret mounted a 47 mm main gun. The 190 hp gasoline engine provided a speed of 25 mph. About 500 were manufactured. After the defeat of France, both the Germans and Italians employed them in their armies.

The H-35 (Hotchkiss) light tank, developed for cavalry use, was later also adopted by the infantry. Product improvements—a long-barreled 37 mm main gun and a new engine—led to production of the H-39 by 1939. This 10.6 ton tank had a crew of two and was driven by a liquid-cooled gasoline engine. Captured vehicles were used by Germany in the Soviet and Mediterranean Theaters of war. Free French Forces also used the H-39.

The 1935 production version of the Char B heavy tank was the Char B1, further improved as the Char B-1 bis. The main

battle tank of the French army in 1940, it weighed 32 tons, had a crew of four, and mounted a 75 mm main gun in the hull and a 47 mm gun in the turret. Final production models were powered by 300 hp aircraft engines.

Germany

From an analysis of the writings of British theorists Fuller and Liddell Hart, Guderian led the development of panzer (armored) divisions, three of which were formed in 1935. Based on tanks, they also included infantry, artillery, and other elements. Initially, the divisions were equipped with the specially developed light tanks PzKpfw I and II (PzKpfw is the abbreviation for *Panzerkampfwagen*, or tank), while two larger designs, the PzKpfw III and IV, were being built. Germany planned to phase out the earlier tanks but kept PzKpfw I and II in service with second-line units into 1945.

Many product improvements of the PzKpfw I, II, III, and IV were incorporated in production. The PzKpfw I, originally intended as a cheaply produced training vehicle, weighed less than 6 tons, had a crew of two, and mounted only two machine guns. Its 60 hp gasoline engine could drive it at 25 mph. The main production version of the PzKpfw II weighed 9.5 tons, had a crew of three and a 20 mm main gun, and was driven by a 140 hp gasoline engine. From 1937 through 1942, several versions of the PzKpfw III were produced. The main armament was increased from 37 mm to 50 mm, with some of these tanks mounting a close-support, short-barreled 75 mm cannon. Added armor increased the weight from 15 to 22.3 tons. Gasoline engine power increased from 230 hp to 300 hp.

Late versions of the PzKpfw IV became the backbone of German armor at the end of the war. The most important tank of the series, upgunned and uparmored from earlier versions, it weighed 23.6 tons, carried a crew of five, and mounted a long-barreled 75 mm main gun. Its 300 hp gasoline engine could drive the PzKpfw IV at 25 mph. Its main armament gave it parity in hitting power with later Soviet and American tanks.

When Germany invaded the USSR in 1941, German armor encountered the Soviet T-34, whose superior firepower, speed, shape, suspension, armor, and maneuverability made all German tanks virtually obsolete. By March 1942, however, Germany had prototypes of the PzKpfw VI Tiger heavy tank. With armor up to 100 mm thick and an 88 mm main gun, based on the successful anti-aircraft gun, it was superior to any other tank, in spite of its low speed and poor reliability. It had a five-man crew. The 700 hp gasoline engine could drive the 55 ton tank at 23.5 mph.

In November 1942, the first production PzKpfw V Panther was delivered. A new tank designed to counter the T-34, it was Germany's best tank of the war. The 1944 version carried a crew of four and mounted a long-barreled 75 mm gun. The 44.8 ton vehicle was equipped with a 700 hp gasoline engine.

The final German tank of the war was the PzKpfw Tiger II, with production models appearing in November 1944. Also known as the King Tiger, it was, at 69.7 tons, the heaviest operational tank of the war. With a massive turret mounting a long-barreled 88 mm gun, the tank's maximum armor thickness reached 150 mm. It had a five-man crew. Its 700 hp gasoline engine could drive the tank at 23.5 mph. A total of 484 were produced.

Great Britain

By World War II, Britain had opted for two categories of tanks—high-speed cruiser tanks and heavily armored but slow infantry tanks. An emphasis on mobility and armor protection, obscuring the importance of gun power, plagued British tanks throughout the war.

In 1940, the army was equipped with the Cruiser Mark I and II and the Infantry Tank Mark I and II (Matildas). The 12 ton Cruiser Mark I had a crew of six men and a 2 pounder main gun. The major production version, the Cruiser Mark IIA, an improved Mark I, weighed 13.5 tons, held a crew of four to five men, and had a 2 pounder main gun. The Infantry Tank Mark I (Matilda I) quickly proved inadequate. Although well armored, it carried only a crew of two and an armament of one machine gun. The Mark II (Matilda II), of which 2,987 were manufactured between 1940 and 1943, was the most important British tank in the Western Desert. This 26.5 ton tank carried a crew of four men and a 2 pounder main armament. Two diesel engines drove it at 15 mph.

German tanks armed with more powerful guns led to British attempts to design replacements. However, when the British designs, the Centaur and Cromwell, were ready in 1942, German tanks had even heavier armament. The redesigns, the Challenger and Black Prince, respectively, were either unsuccessful (in the case of the Challenger) or produced too late (the Black Prince).

Meanwhile, British requirements were met by American tanks, originally the M-3 and M-4 medium tanks and the M-3 light tanks. The most effective British tank of the war became the M-4 with a 17 pounder gun, known as the Sherman Firefly.

Britain fielded an effective tank of its own design, the Churchill, before the end of the war. Originally produced in 1941, it was not truly successful until 1944, with the Churchill VII production. This 40 ton version had a crew of five and a 75 mm main gun. Its 350 hp engine could drive it at 12.5 mph. Variations were used for many purposes, for example, as engineer vehicles and for close support.

United States

U.S. tank development and doctrine were hampered before World War II by a decision to assign tanks to the infantry only and a reluctance on the part of the cavalry to give up the horse.



A U.S. M-4 Sherman tank transporting infantrymen forward in southern Okinawa, 5 May 1945. (Corbis)

By the 1930s, however, the army had formed a mechanized cavalry brigade, leading to the creation of the Armored Force by 1940. A number of tank designs had also been explored.

Based on the earlier M-2 series, the M-3 light tank was standardized in July 1940. The Stuart weighed 12.3 tons, had a crew of four, and mounted a 37 mm gyro-stabilized main gun. Improvements finally resulted in the M-5A1. With twin gasoline engines, this tank could reach a speed of 40 mph.

Serious tank production began with the 1940 design of the M-3 medium Lee and Grant tanks, in service by mid-1941. Six basic models were eventually produced, with their weight growing from 30 to 32 tons. The crew of six men operated a sponson-mounted 75 mm gun and a turret-mounted 37 mm gun. Various engines were utilized, both gasoline and diesel, in the 340 to 375 hp range. The limited-traverse 75 mm gun was less than ideal, but the M-3 provided a quickly available tank with a large gun.

Production of the M-4 medium Sherman tank, with a 75 mm cannon in a fully traversable turret, began in October 1941. The standard U.S. Army medium tank, the Sherman was improved as the war progressed to the M-4A3 version;

almost 50,000 of them were produced. This tank's weight, initially 33.25 tons, grew to 35.5 tons. The most significant improvement was the high-velocity 76 mm gun. The crew was composed of five men. Engines varied widely, and the maximum speed was 24 to 26 mph. Variants to the standard tank included flamethrowers and recovery vehicles.

The United States was slow to develop a heavy tank, the consequence of General George S. Patton's belief that tank destroyers rather than other tanks should deal with German armor. The heavy tank M-26 was standardized in January 1945, but only a few reached Europe before the end of the war there. With a crew of five men, the Pershing weighed 46 tons and mounted a 90 mm main gun. The 470 hp engine could drive the tank at 20 mph.

Soviet Union

In the late 1930s, it was the Soviet Union, rather than Germany, that was most interested in massive armor formations. It also possessed more armored fighting vehicles than any other nation. In June 1941, the Soviets had 23,140 tanks (10,394 of them in the west), whereas the invading Germans

had only some 6,000. Moreover, the Soviets had some of the best tanks in the world. During the war, the Soviet Union built more tanks than any other power, including a wide range of armored fighting vehicles (AFVs), from light to heavy tanks.

At the beginning of World War II, the Soviets possessed a large number of their medium BT-series tanks, chiefly the BT-5s and BT-7s. These and the Soviet T-26 tanks were superior in armor, firepower, and maneuverability to the German light PzKpfw Marks III and IV and could destroy any German tank. The Soviet T-34 medium tank, introduced in 1941, and the KV-1 heavy tank, introduced in 1940, both mounted the 76.2 mm (3-inch) gun and were superior to the PzKpfw III and IV and indeed any other German tank in 1941.

The T-34 was probably the best all-around tank of World War II, better armed and armored than the German tanks it faced. The short-barreled 76.2 mm gun initially mounted on this tank was replaced by a longer version that was mounted in most vehicles, followed later by an 85 mm version. Weighing 26.3 tons, with a crew of five men, the tank could reach 31 mph with its 500 hp diesel engine.

The USSR also produced a series of heavy tanks. The Soviets began the war with the KV-1, which entered service in December 1940. Wholly a Soviet design, the KV was named for Defense Commissar Kliment Voroshilov. Initially, the KV-1 had a 550 hp diesel engine, but this was upgraded to 600 hp in the KV-1B. The KV-1B weighed nearly 47.5 tons, carried a five-man crew, and had a maximum speed of 22 mph. The KV-1 mounted the powerful 76.2 mm gun and three machine guns. It had a maximum 100 mm armor protection and was proof against the 88 mm gun and anything else the Germans might throw against it, save for heavy artillery. The KV-1 disproved the myth that the Soviets were technologically backward.

The KV-1 evolved into the IS-1 through IS-3, the final Soviet heavy tanks of the war and the most powerful tanks in the world for a decade thereafter. (IS or JS stood for the Soviet dictator Josef Stalin.) The IS-1 was produced beginning in 1944 to counter the new, more powerful German tanks. The IS-1 had an improved transmission and suspension system as well as a redesigned hull and a new, larger turret mounted well forward.

The IS-1 weighed nearly 49.5 tons and had a crew of four. Powered by a 600 hp diesel engine, it was capable of a speed of 23 mph. The first IS-1 tank mounted the 85 mm gun, but shortly thereafter, a 100 mm gun was used; some IS-1s even mounted the 122 mm gun. In addition, this tank had four machine guns. The IS-1 was followed by the IS-2, with an improved hull shape and streamlining throughout. The IS-3 was a complete redesign, based on the experience of the IS-1 and IS-2 in combat. The IS-3 had a lower silhouette, a ballistically shaped hull, and a new "inverted frying pan," lower-profile turret shape to provide maximum deflection against

incoming shells. It weighed nearly 51 tons and mounted an improved 122 mm gun and had two machine guns. The IS-3 entered service in January 1945 and participated in the spring 1945 Battle of Berlin. Although never available in large numbers, it was, for a decade, the most powerful tank in the world and a major influence on subsequent tank design across the globe.

Czechoslovakia

The Czechs produced LT-34 and LT-35 light tanks for their army. Germany later provided LT-34 tanks to its ally Romania and used LT-35 tanks on the Eastern Front. The LT-38 was chosen as the light tank after the LT-35 and was produced up to 1942 for Germany. All these vehicles were armed with the 37 mm gun. Only prototypes of the medium tank ST-39, armed with a 47 mm gun, had been made when Germany took over Czechoslovakia in March 1939.

Italy

The basic Italian light tank of the war was the Fiat Carro Armato L6/40, somewhat equivalent to the German PzKpfw II. It weighed approximately 7.5 tons, had a 70 hp engine, and was capable of a speed of 26 mph. It mounted a 20 mm main gun and one machine gun. Unsuitable for frontline service because of its light armament, the L-6/40 was utilized in North Africa in cavalry and reconnaissance roles. It also was sent to the Eastern Front in fighting against the Soviet Union, and it served in Italy.

In 1940, the Italians decided on a new tank, the Fiat M-13/40, which became their principal medium tank and the mainstay of Italy's armor force in North Africa. The 15.5 ton M-13/40 had a crew of four men. It carried a new high-velocity 47 mm gun in the turret, with a secondary armament of four machine guns in the hull. There were no other significant tank-producing countries in Europe during the war.

Japan

Although no match for Allied tanks, the most successful Japanese tank was the medium tank Type 97, initially produced in 1937. This 15 ton tank had a crew of four and mounted a 57 mm main gun. Its 170 hp diesel engine could drive it at 23.5 mph. The tank was based on the light tank Type 95, designed in 1933 and produced until 1942. With a crew of three and armed with a 37 mm gun, the light tank weighed 7.4 tons and could reach 25 mph with its 110 hp diesel engine. Some additional work was done by Japan on medium tanks with larger main guns.

Throughout the war, the trend was to field tanks with larger main guns to counter the other trend of adding heavier armor. These trends continued in the postwar years.

Philip L. Bolté

See also

Armored Warfare; Chaffee, Adna Romanza, Jr.; de Gaulle, Charles; France, Army; Germany, Army; Great Britain, Army; Guderian, Heinz; Italy, Army; Japan, Army; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Soviet Union, Army; United States, Army

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Taranto, Attack on (11 November 1940)

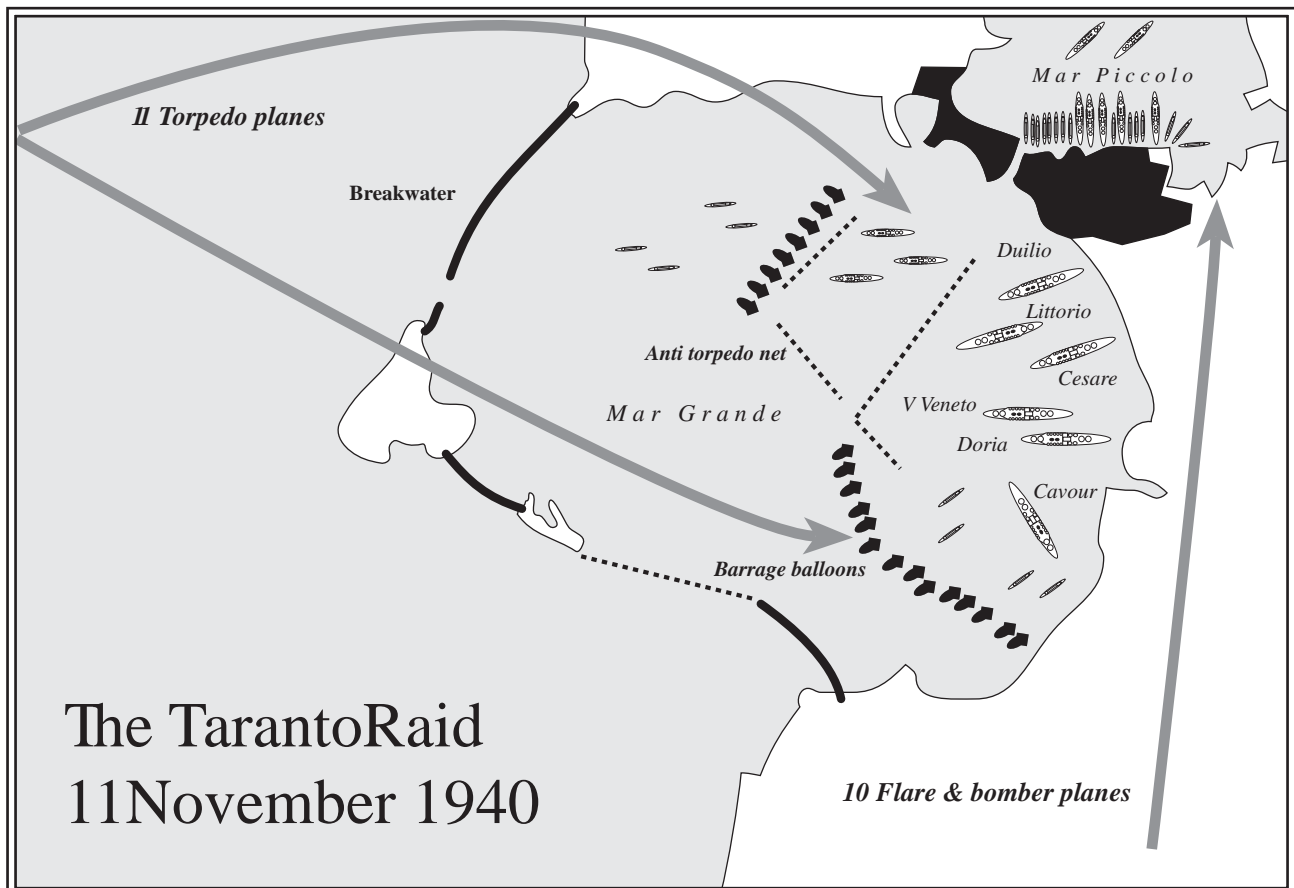
British navy raid on the principal Italian naval base, the fortified harbor of Taranto. Admiral Sir Andrew Cunningham and Rear Admiral A. L. St. G. Lyster of the carrier *Illustrious*

planned the operation, code-named JUDGMENT. The date for the raid was to be 27 October 1940, the anniversary of the Battle of Trafalgar and a night with a full moon. Thirty Fairey Swordfish were slated to make the attack from the aircraft carriers *Illustrious* and *Eagle*. The Swordfish, though it was a 10-year-old biplane, was nonetheless a reliable, sturdy torpedo platform, especially effective in night operations.

A fire on the *Illustrious*, which destroyed several aircraft, forced postponement of the operation. Then the *Eagle*, which had sustained near misses from Italian bombs, was found to have been more seriously damaged than originally estimated.

As a consequence, the attack was delayed until the next full moon, when the raid was conducted by the *Illustrious* alone. Twenty-one Swordfish fitted with extra fuel tanks participated, with 11 of them armed with torpedoes and the remainder carrying bombs and flares. The torpedoes were modified to negate the effects of “porpoising” in the harbor’s shallow water.

At 8:30 P.M. on 11 November, *Illustrious* launched her aircraft some 170 miles from Taranto. All six of Italy’s battleships were in the harbor, where they were protected by barrage balloons, more than 200 antiaircraft guns, and torpedo nets,



although the quantity of the latter was far short of the number the Italian navy considered necessary. The planes set out in two waves an hour apart. The first wave achieved complete surprise when it arrived at Taranto at 11:00 P.M. The pilots cut off their engines and glided in to only a few hundred yards from their targets before releasing the torpedoes against the battleships, which were illuminated by the flares and Italian anti-aircraft tracers. *Conte di Cavour* was the first battleship struck, followed by *Littorio*. In the second attack at 11:50, *Littorio* was struck again, and *Duilio* was also hit. In the two attacks, *Conte di Cavour* and *Duilio* each took one torpedo and *Littorio* three.

Conte di Cavour was the only battleship to sink, and she went down in shallow water. Italian tugs towed the other two damaged ships to shore. The cruiser *Trento* and destroyer *Libeccio* were both hit by bombs, but the bombs did not explode and caused only minor damage. Fifty-two Italian sailors died in the attack. The British lost two planes; the crewmen of one were rescued by the Italians.

Conte di Cavour was later raised and towed to Trieste to be repaired, but the work was not completed and she was never recommissioned. The *Littorio* was overhauled by March 1941, and the *Duilio*, which was transferred to Genoa, was repaired and returned to Taranto in May 1941. The Taranto raid thus deprived Italy of its naval advantage and at least temporarily altered the Mediterranean balance of power, and it also underscored the effectiveness of naval aircraft. The attack was also useful to the Japanese. They were already working on techniques to employ air-dropped torpedoes in shallow water. Taranto provided confirmation for their own plan to strike Pearl Harbor.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Aircraft Carriers; Aviation, Naval; Cunningham, Sir Andrew Browne; Great Britain, Navy; Italy, Navy; Pearl Harbor, Attack on

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Tarawa, Battle of (20–24 November 1943)

One of the bloodiest amphibious assaults in military history. In December 1941, a Japanese task force seized Tarawa—part of the Gilbert Islands, which stretch some 500 miles along the



U.S. Marine fires at a Japanese pill box from behind the remains of a palm tree, November 1943. (National Archives)

equator. Tarawa is a hook-shaped atoll with a lagoon formed by a coral reef just beneath the ocean surface. The barb in the hook is formed by 2-mile-long, triangular-shaped Betio Island, less than 300 acres of nondescript coral sand and coconut palms rising no more than 15 feet above sea level.

The Japanese constructed an airfield there, and by November 1943, they had turned Betio into a fortress. Rear Admiral Shibasaki Keiji commanded 5,000 naval infantry troops who manned reinforced concrete blockhouses, coconut-log bunkers, and gun pits, all connected by a network of tunnels and trenches. Heavy guns in hardened revetments commanded virtually every approach to the island, prompting Shibasaki to remark that Betio could not be taken by a million men in a hundred years.

The Central Pacific commander, U.S. Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, decided to seize the Gilberts in a joint assault by the army and the Marines as the first test of offensive amphibious operations. V Amphibious Corps, commanded by Marine Major General Holland M. Smith, was responsible for the landing, code-named Operation GALVANIC. The 2nd Marine Division, led by Major General Julian C. Smith, would seize Tarawa, while the army's 27th Infantry Division, commanded by Major General Ralph C. Smith, landed at Makin.

V Corps staffers decided the portion of Betio that faced the lagoon was the least heavily defended terrain, and they designated landing areas there as Red Beaches 1, 2, and 3. A disadvantage to those sites was the precise navigation required for the landing craft to pass into the lagoon and then maintain formation as they approached the beaches. Amphibious doctrine called for landings at high tide so the landing craft could clear defensive obstacles. Unfortunately, however, the planners did not have reliable tide charts, and when Holland Smith designated 20 November 1943 as D day, the tides would not be favorable to the Marines. By then, U.S. aircraft had flown hundreds of sorties against Betio, saturating the island with bombs as ships of Fifth Fleet pounded the island's defenses one last time. Faulty U.S. reconnaissance reports indicated that nothing was left alive on Betio.

At 9:00 A.M., almost two hours after the last bombardment began, Colonel David M. Shoup led three reinforced battalions of his 2nd Marine Regiment toward Red Beaches 1, 2, and 3. Japanese heavy guns then opened up, unleashing a deadly hail of fire into the tightly packed amphibious tractors (amphtracs) as they neared the reef, paused briefly to climb over it, and then landed on the beaches. However, the shallow-draft Higgins boats that followed could not get over the reef. A nightmare for the Marines began when they were forced to debark into the water about 600 yards from the shore. Withering Japanese machine-gun fire met the Marines, who were unable to return fire as they slowly waded toward shore laden with equipment. A small seawall afforded little cover from Japanese small-arms fire as navy corpsmen set up aid stations.

By afternoon, the Marines had penetrated no more than a few hundred feet in many places. Shoup, who was wounded, still directed the fight and requested that reserves be committed in a message that emphasized the precariousness of the situation, stating, "Issue in doubt." Of the 5,000 Marines who landed that day, almost 1,500 became casualties. During the night, the Japanese threatened with counterattacks, snipers, and infiltrators. Many Marines had drained their canteens and emptied their cartridge belts. The wounded suffered and could only wait for evacuation in the morning.

The morning saw little improvement. Stiff resistance compelled the attackers to destroy each Japanese strong point at a heavy price as U.S. Navy destroyers provided fire support at dangerously close ranges. The day of 21 November ended with more of Betio in Marine hands, but the island was not yet secure. At midmorning on 22 November, the Marines began their final assault on the Japanese command post, where they poured gasoline down air vents and then ignited it, killing those inside, including Shibasaki. Many Japanese committed suicide as the Marines cleared the western portion of the island and pushed the remaining defenders into a narrow tail of land in the east.

The final Japanese act entailed a series of nighttime banzai attacks, in which mobs of enemy soldiers charged Marine positions with drawn swords and bayonets. They were cut down by artillery and machine-gun fire from the exhausted Marines. Commanders declared the battle over on the morning of 23 November, after 76 hours of horrendous fighting. The Japanese had 4,690 men killed; only 17 prisoners were taken, along with 129 Korean laborers. The desperate Japanese defense of the island cost the Marines and the navy 1,027 dead, 88 missing, and 2,292 wounded. The casualties shocked an American public that viewed the fight on Tarawa as evidence there would be no cheap victories as the battles were carried to the Japanese homeland. The Battle of Tarawa brought many changes, including improved naval fire support and significant increases in firepower ashore, to include more automatic weapons, tanks, explosive charges, and flamethrowers.

Steven J. Rauch

See also

Amphibious Warfare; Central Pacific Campaign; Gilbert Islands Campaign; Makin Island, Battle of; Nimitz, Chester William; Smith, Holland McTyeire; Smith, Julian Constable; United States, Marine Corps

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Tassafaronga, Battle of (30 November 1942)

Naval battle of the Guadalcanal Campaign. Responding to intelligence that the Japanese navy intended to resupply Guadalcanal on the night of 30 November 1942, Rear Admiral Thomas C. Kinkaid dispatched Rear Admiral Carlton H. Wright's Task Force 67 (TF 67)—consisting of the heavy cruisers *Minneapolis*, *New Orleans*, *Pensacola*, and *Northampton*, the light cruiser *Honolulu*, and six destroyers—to intercept Rear Admiral Tanaka Raizo's 2nd Destroyer Squadron, which was steaming in a southeasterly direction. Tanka had eight destroyers, six of which carried supply drums; the other two destroyers were unencumbered.

To avoid enemy identification and detection problems, the Americans formed into one destroyer and two cruiser groups, each having one ship equipped with the new SG surface-search radar. Cruiser scout planes would provide reconnaissance and night illumination. Destroyers took station on the engaged bow of the cruisers to deliver a torpedo attack prior to the commencement of gunnery.

Tanaka sought to avoid a general engagement. He intended to have his destroyers drop their floating supply drums, to be

retrieved by small Japanese craft from the beaches. As TF 67 approached the Lengo Channel on a northwesterly heading, the lack of a U.S. forward destroyer picket heralded a critical mistake. Tanaka was cruising only 2 miles off the Guadalcanal beach but remained undetected until radar picked up his column dead ahead at 23,000 yards. However, no flare planes had been able to launch to illuminate the Japanese ships. Wright delayed in ordering the destroyers to commence their torpedo attack, believing the range was greater than the 7,000 yards reported by the destroyer *Fletcher* at 11:20 P.M. Thus, the initial tactical advantage provided by radar had been squandered, with the loss of four precious minutes until Wright unleashed the destroyers. The Japanese column had already passed abaft the destroyers' port beam, making hits difficult as the range opened.

At about 9,000 yards, the U.S. cruisers opened fire, hitting the nearest Japanese destroyer, the *Takanami*. Several ships fired illumination star shells, but the accuracy of the U.S. gunfire was poor. Well drilled in night-detection, maneuver, and torpedo tactics, Tanaka's crews executed a column turn and launched 20 torpedoes at the U.S. ships even while sustaining some shell hits themselves. At 11:27 P.M., the *Minneapolis* suffered two torpedo hits, destroying her bow. Putting her rudder over hard right to avoid a collision, the *New Orleans* took a torpedo near a magazine, which blew off her bow back to no. 2 turret. The third in line, the *Pensacola*, veered left to avoid the *New Orleans* but took a torpedo hit at 11:39 that flooded the after engine room and knocked out three turrets and all power. Steaming behind the three damaged U.S. cruisers, the *Honolulu* avoided any hits, but the *Northampton* proved not so fortunate. She first turned right with the *Honolulu*, then back to a westerly heading. Two torpedoes struck her at 11:48, destroying the after engine room and setting her afire from the mast to the stern.

Tanaka reformed his squadron for a second but unsuccessful attack and then cleared the area by 1:30 A.M., with the undamaged *Honolulu* in fruitless pursuit. The *Minneapolis* limped safely into Tulagi harbor, as did the *New Orleans* and *Pensacola*, all heavily damaged. The *Northampton* sank at 3:04 A.M., with the loss of 58 hands. Jury-rigged to make the voyage home, all three damaged cruisers returned to action by October 1943. The Tassafaronga debacle for the U.S. forces resulted from superb Japanese night-fighting training and techniques combined with poor American gunnery and the failure to detach destroyers ahead for forward operations.

Stanley D. M. Carpenter

See also

Guadalcanal, Land Battle for; Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Kinkaid, Thomas Cassin; Radar; Southwest Pacific Theater; Tanaka Raizo; Torpedoes

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Tedder, Sir Arthur William (First Baron Tedder) (1890–1967)

Royal Air Force (RAF) marshal who helped plan the Normandy Invasion and commanded the tactical air forces from late 1944. Born on 11 July 1890 at Glenguin, Scotland, Arthur Tedder graduated from Magdalene College, Cambridge. Commissioned in the British army in 1913, he served in France at the beginning of World War I but was posted to the Royal Flying Corps in 1916. He rose to command 70 Squadron and accepted a commission in the RAF in 1919.

From 1929 to 1931, Tedder was assistant commandant of the RAF Staff College. He then held administrative positions



General Dwight D. Eisenhower (left), supreme Allied commander, announces German unconditional surrender at SHAEF Forward Headquarters, Reims, France, May 1945. With him is RAF Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Tedder (right), deputy supreme commander. (Signal Corps photo, Library of Congress)

at the Air Armament School and the Air Ministry. He headed up training from 1934 to 1936, then was commander in the Far East. He returned to Britain to become director of research in the Air Ministry in 1938.

In the summer of 1940, Tedder was transferred to North Africa as deputy air commander. He became air commander in chief of the Middle East Air Force in June 1941, directing air operations against the Axis powers in North Africa. Tedder constantly struggled with a shortage of air assets. A forceful advocate of airpower, along with his subordinate Arthur Coningham, he worked to combine and coordinate RAF activities with ground forces in innovative ways. In February 1943, as commander in chief of Allied air assets in the Mediterranean, he was overall air commander for the 1943 Tunisia and Sicily Campaigns.

In late 1943, Tedder used the experience gained in these operations to help plan air support for the Normandy Invasion as deputy supreme commander, earning high praise from General Dwight D. Eisenhower. He developed a detailed plan to use airpower to disrupt German communications and supply lines prior to the actual landings. In November 1944, he replaced Air Chief Marshal Trafford Leigh-Mallory as commander of tactical air forces.

At the end of the war in Europe, Tedder signed the surrender agreement with Germany on behalf of Eisenhower. On his return to Britain, he was promoted to air marshal. In January 1946, Tedder was made a baron and appointed chief of the air staff, a post he held until his retirement in 1950. From 1954 to 1960, he was chairman of the Standard Motor Company. He published his memoirs, *With Prejudice*, in 1967. Tedder died in Surrey, England, on 3 June 1967.

Harold Wise

See also

Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Leigh-Mallory, Sir Trafford L.; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; North Africa Campaign; OVERLORD, Operation; Sicily, Invasion of; Tunisia Campaign

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meeting at Tehran was in fact equally or more important than Yalta because of the decisions that were made there. Attending were the “Big Three”—U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, and Soviet leader Josef Stalin. The conference was also the first face-to-face meeting between Roosevelt and Stalin. The Soviet leader claimed that his wartime responsibilities would not allow him to travel far, so the conference, code-named EUREKA, took place at Tehran, Iran; the journey to Tehran was Stalin’s first trip abroad since 1912. Held from 28 November to 1 December 1943, the conference was immediately preceded by a meeting at Cairo (code-named SEXTANT) that involved Chinese Nationalist leader Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) and featured a discussion of the Allied effort against Japan. Since the Soviet Union was not then at war with Japan, Stalin refused to attend that meeting, necessitating the EUREKA conference.

At the Tehran meeting, Roosevelt was convinced that he could win over Stalin, and toward that end, he turned on all his formidable charm to try to secure the Soviet leader’s confidence. At Tehran and later at Yalta, Roosevelt deliberately distanced himself from Churchill, a serious mistake. The British prime minister could not believe that the democracies would take separate paths.

The Western leaders labored under a number of disadvantages at Tehran. The first involved the strategic military situation. British and U.S. troops were then fighting the Germans only in Italy with 14 divisions, whereas the Soviet Union had 178 divisions locked in combat. If the Tehran Conference marked the beginning of the Soviet empire, it also reflected the reality of forces on the ground. In addition, the Western leaders feared that Stalin might yet seek a diplomatic accommodation with Adolf Hitler, and Roosevelt was also anxious to secure Soviet assistance in the war against Japan.

At Tehran, Stalin pressured the West on an early date for an Allied invasion of France. The Soviet ambassador to London, Ivan Maisky, had counseled Stalin to press for an immediate second front, which he knew was impossible, in order to secure additional Lend-Lease aid. Stalin insisted on learning the name of the commander of OVERLORD as proof that the Western Allies were indeed serious about a cross-Channel invasion, and in a follow-up meeting in Cairo after EUREKA, Roosevelt named General Dwight D. Eisenhower to the post. The three leaders also spent a great deal of time discussing Germany and its possible future division at Tehran. Roosevelt suggested splitting Germany into five states and internationalizing the Ruhr and other areas. Churchill, fearful of potential Soviet expansion into Europe, thought that Prussia might be detached from the rest of Germany.

Discussions over Poland were more controversial. All three leaders agreed on the Oder River as the future Polish-German boundary, but the Western leaders rejected the

Tehran Conference (28 November–1 December 1943)

One of the most important Allied conferences during the war. Usually overshadowed by the later Yalta Conference, the



Marshal Josef Stalin (left), President Franklin D. Roosevelt (center), and Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill (right) at historic conference, Russian Embassy, Tehran, Iran, 28 November to 1 December 1943. (Library of Congress)

Soviet demand that a tributary of the Oder, the Western Neisse River, be the southern demarcation line. Nor did they sanction Poland securing the important port of Stettin on the west bank of the Oder. The three did concur that Poland would receive most of East Prussia, although the Soviet Union claimed the Baltic port of Königsberg (the future Kaliningrad) and land to the northeast. The Western leaders could hardly oppose the Curzon Line, established by the victorious Allies at the Paris Peace Conference following World War I, as the eastern boundary of Poland. The British did object, however, to the Soviet seizure of the predominantly Polish city of L'viv (Lvov).

Churchill pointed out to Stalin that Britain had gone to war over Poland, but Stalin insisted that the Red Army needed security in its rear areas and that a primary goal of the war was to protect the Soviet Union against future German attack.

Obviously, a Poland that had been compensated for the loss of its eastern territory to the Soviet Union by receiving German territory in the west would necessarily have to look to the Soviet Union for security. Later, Churchill had the difficult task of promoting all these arrangements to the Polish government-in-exile in London; the large Polish community in the United States was also upset by then. Stalin refused normal diplomatic relations with the London Poles, charging that they were stirring up trouble for the Red Army. No independent Polish government would ever concede changes that put the country at the Soviet Union's mercy. Thus, a Polish government subservient to Moscow was probably inevitable.

Stalin also demanded that the Soviet Union be allowed to keep its 1939–1940 acquisitions of Bessarabia, the Karelian isthmus, and the Baltic states. Although these acquisitions were clear violations of the Atlantic Charter, the siege of

Leningrad gave Stalin a strong argument for a security zone there. He also demanded that Finland cede its Arctic port of Petsamo, pay heavy reparations, and provide space for a base to protect sea approaches to Leningrad. In return, he promised to respect Finland's independence, assuming that country behaved properly.

Stalin reassured Roosevelt that the Soviet Union would enter the war against Japan after the defeat of Germany. He also stressed the importance of an Allied invasion of France to relieve pressure on the Red Army from German troops on the Eastern Front. Further, Stalin expressed the view that a landing in southern France (the future Operation ANVIL) would be most helpful. He was pleased when the Western leaders told him that the invasion of northern France (Operation OVERLORD) was scheduled for May 1944. He promised to launch a Soviet ground offensive to coincide with it. The three leaders also agreed that after the war, Iran, which was serving as a supply corridor to the Soviet Union and occupied by Allied troops, would be restored to full territorial integrity and sovereignty and that all troops would be withdrawn.

Although the Tehran Conference served to dissipate tensions between the two Western leaders and Stalin, sharp differences on the conduct of the war and the composition of postwar Europe remained. These differences were very much in evidence at the February 1945 Yalta Conference.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Cairo Conference; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; DRAGOON, Operation; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Jiang Jieshi; Lend-Lease; OVERLORD, Operation; Poland, Role in War; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stalin, Josef; Yalta Conference

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Terauchi Hisaichi (Count) (1879–1946)

Japanese army field marshal and commander of the Southern Expeditionary Army. Born in Yamaguchi Prefecture on the Japanese island of Honshu on 8 August 1879, Terauchi Hisaichi was the eldest son of a prominent Meiji-era general, Count Terauchi Masatake, who was prime minister of Japan between 1917 and 1918. Terauchi graduated from the Military Academy in 1899 and the War College in 1903. He was appointed assistant military attaché in Austria in 1911, regimental commander of the 3rd Imperial Guards in 1919, chief of staff of the Imperial Guards Division in 1922, commander of the 19th Infantry Brigade in 1924, and chief of staff of the Korea Army in 1927. Promoted to lieutenant general in August 1929, he commanded the Imperial Garrison Unit in 1929 and then the 5th Division in August 1930. In January 1932, he took command of the 4th Division, and in August 1934, he became Formosa Army commander. In October 1935, he was promoted to full general.

A prominent member of the Control Faction, Terauchi served as minister of war in the Hirota Kōki cabinet (March 1936–January 1937) and was one of the leading figures in the ouster of Hirota. He next served as inspector general of military training (1937), North China Area Army commander (1937–1938), and military counselor (1938–1941). In November 1941, he took command of the Southern Expeditionary Army, which, at the start of the Pacific war, conquered the Philippines, Malaya, Burma, and the Netherlands East Indies (December 1941–May 1942). He subsequently became responsible for the defense of an area extending from Burma to western New Guinea. Promoted to the honorary rank of field marshal in June 1943 and briefly considered to succeed Tōjō Hideki as prime minister in July 1944, Terauchi commanded the Southern Expeditionary Army until September 1945, the only senior general in the Japanese army to hold the same post throughout the war.

As a commander, Terauchi was essentially a coordinator who typically allowed subordinate officers great latitude in the conduct of operations. He also carried out his orders to the letter—for example, in his ruthless 1942–1943 execution of an order to construct the infamous, 265-mile “railway of death” linking the Thai and Burmese rail systems.

Thanks to the intervention of Lord Louis Mountbatten, Allied supreme commander in Southeast Asia, Terauchi, who had suffered a debilitating stroke in April 1945, avoided prosecution as a war criminal. Allowed to settle near Johore Bahru, Malaya, he died there on 12 June 1946.

Bruce J. DeHart

See also

Burma Theater; Malaya Campaign; Mountbatten, Louis Francis Albert Victor Nicholas; Netherlands East Indies, Japanese

Conquest of; Philippines, Japanese Capture of; Philippines, U.S. Recapture of; Southeast Pacific Theater; Southwest Pacific Theater; Tōjō Hideki

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Theobald, Robert Alfred (1884–1957)

U.S. Navy admiral who commanded the North Pacific Force. Born in San Francisco, California, on 25 January 1884, Robert Theobald graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1907 and was commissioned an ensign. Over the next years, he served in a variety of assignments at sea and in shore posts, impressing his superiors with his skills in gunnery, his seamanship, and his intellectual acumen. During the 1930s, Theobald was both a student and an instructor at the Naval War College. He commanded the battleship *Nevada*, served as a member of the navy's General Board, and commanded a cruiser division and later a destroyer flotilla.

Shortly after the Japanese attack against Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, Rear Admiral Theobald took charge of the destroyers in the Pacific Fleet. In May 1942, he was appointed commander of the North Pacific Force. Since the force initially had a main body of only five cruisers and four destroyers, Theobald was inclined to be cautious in moving against the Japanese in the Aleutian Islands, an approach that placed him at odds with the more aggressive-minded army commanders in the theater.

The conflict between Theobald and the army, along with the admiral's irritation at being assigned to a backwater in the war, angered Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, commander of the Pacific Fleet. On 4 January 1943, Nimitz relieved Theobald, who then took charge of the First Naval District and the Boston Navy Yard. Theobald retired from the navy in February 1945.

After the war, he involved himself in the Pearl Harbor controversy, arguing that Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, commander of the Pacific Fleet in 1941 and a friend of long standing, and Lieutenant General Walter Short, commander of the Hawaiian Department, were unfairly made the scapegoats for the Japanese success on 7 December 1941. In his book *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor: The Washington Contribution to the Japanese Attack* (1954), Theobald charged that President Franklin D. Roosevelt and members of his administration did not adequately warn Hawaiian commanders of a possible attack and had shifted the blame to

Kimmel and Short to cover up their own errors in judgment. Theobald died in Boston on 13 May 1957.

John Kennedy Ohl

See also

Aleutian Islands Campaign; Buckner, Simon Bolivar, Jr.; Kimmel, Husband Edward; Pearl Harbor; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Short, Walter Campbell

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Thierry d'Argenlieu, Georges Louis Marie (1889–1964)

French admiral and commander of Free French naval forces. Born in Brest, Brittany, France, on 7 August 1889, Georges Thierry d'Argenlieu graduated from the École Navale in Brest in 1906 and was commissioned in the navy. During World War I, he served in the French marines and commanded a patrol boat in the Mediterranean.

In September 1919, Thierry d'Argenlieu left the navy and entered the Carmelite Order as Père Louis de la Trinité (Father Louis of the Trinity). In February 1932, he became provincial superior in Paris. In 1939, he was called back into the navy at Cherbourg, and in February 1940, he was appointed captain. Captured by the Germans on 19 June, Thierry d'Argenlieu escaped three days later and joined General Charles de Gaulle's Free French movement in Britain by the end of the month. Thierry d'Argenlieu participated in the ill-fated September 1940 Free French attack on Vichy forces at Dakar and was wounded three times. He then took command of Free French naval forces in Equatorial Africa. Operating in conjunction with Colonel Philippe Leclerc on land, he led the naval operations at Gabon.

Between February and May 1941, Thierry d'Argenlieu led a mission to Canada seeking to rally support for de Gaulle, and by July, he was named high commissioner for the Pacific, which involved, in conjunction with the other Allies, defending French territories in the Pacific and easing diplomatic tensions between Free French administrators in Tahiti and New Caledonia. The following year, in May, he helped rally the Wallis and Futuna Islands.

In June 1943, Thierry d'Argenlieu was promoted to rear admiral and became commander in chief of all Free French



Free French Navy Captain Georges Thierry D'Argenlieu, January 1941. (Photo by William Vandivert/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

naval forces. Following the liberation of France, he was advanced to vice admiral in December 1944 and made “chef d'état major general adjoint de la marine.” He had been named a “compagnon de la libération” on 29 January 1941, when he also became the first grand chancellor of that order, serving until 1958.

After the war, the French government sent Thierry d'Argenlieu to San Francisco in April 1945 as a delegate to the UN meetings and then to Indochina as high commissioner to reestablish French control there. His efforts to roll back the colonial clock and his decision to employ force and order the shelling of Haiphong by the cruiser *Suffren* on 23 November 1946 led directly to the outbreak of the First Indo-China War.

In June 1946, Thierry d'Argenlieu was promoted to admiral. The following year, he was recalled to Paris, and in 1948, he returned to his monastery in Brest. He died in Relecq-Kerhuon (Finistère), France, on 7 September 1964.

John MacFarlane

See also

Dakar, Attack on; Darlan, Jean Louis Xavier François; de Gaulle, Charles; France, Free French; France, Vichy

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Thierry d'Argenlieu, Georges. *Souvenirs de guerre, juin 1940—janvier 1941*. Paris: Plon, 1973.

Thoma, Wilhelm Ritter von (1891–1948)

German army general who briefly commanded the Afrika Korps (Africa Corps) in September 1942. Born on 11 September 1891 at Dachau, Germany, Wilhelm von Thoma joined the German army in 1914 as an officer candidate and was commissioned in the infantry. He continued in the Reichswehr after World War I and became a leading theorist of armored warfare, second in the German army only to General Heinz Guderian. In 1934, Major Thoma took command of Germany's only tank battalion. He then had charge of all German ground troops in the Spanish Civil War, from 1936 to 1939.

Thoma led the 3rd Panzer Regiment in the 2nd Panzer Division during the invasion of Poland in September 1939, where he performed brilliantly. Following the conquest of Poland, he became director of Mobile Forces. Sent to North Africa to report on whether German forces should be dispatched there, he submitted a negative report but urged that, if a commitment were to be made, four armored divisions should be sent. Promoted to brigadier general in August 1940, he received command of the elite 3rd Panzer Division.

In July 1941, Thoma replaced Lieutenant General Hans Jürgen von Arnim as commander of the 17th Panzer Division in the Soviet Union and participated in the encirclement of Smolensk and Kiev. That September, he assumed command of the 20th Panzer Division in the Moscow region, a post he held until January 1942.

In September, having been promoted to head a corps as a major general, Thoma was ordered to North Africa in command of the Afrika Korps. He arrived there in time to participate in the October Battle of El Alamein, when British General Bernard Montgomery's Eighth Army took the offensive against Axis forces. On the death of General Georg Stumme, Thoma briefly commanded Panzerarmee Afrika and was promoted to lieutenant general. Adolf Hitler then ordered Field Marshal Erwin Rommel to return to Africa from sick leave and resume command. On his arrival on 25 October, Rommel criticized Thoma for his tactics.

Thoma had been slightly wounded in the fighting, and he reported to Rommel that he had only 35 tanks remaining. Rommel ordered a withdrawal, which Hitler countermanded. On 4 November 1942, complaining of Hitler's “unparalleled madness,” Thoma donned a clean uniform, put on his medals, and climbed into a tank, racing from one point to another on the front lines in the thick of the battle. His tank was hit

several times and caught fire, and Thoma was taken prisoner. That same night, he dined with Montgomery but refused to discuss German strategy in the battle. Released from prison in early 1948, Thoma died in Starenberg, Germany, on 30 April 1948.

Gene Mueller and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Arnim, Hans Jürgen Dieter von; El Alamein, Battle of; Guderian, Heinz; Kondor Legion; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Poland Campaign; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen

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Timoshenko, Semen Konstantinovich (1895–1970)

Soviet marshal who had numerous commands during the war and served as defense commissar between 1940 and 1941. Born in the village of Furmanka, near Odessa in Ukraine, on 18 February 1895, Semen Timoshenko was drafted into the Russian army in 1915. He served as a machine gunner and was decorated. In 1917, then a noncommissioned officer (NCO), he was jailed for striking an officer, but he was freed during the Russian Revolution. Timoshenko joined the Red Army in April 1918 and earned his military reputation in the Russian Civil War, fighting at Tsaritsyn (later Stalingrad), near Warsaw, and in the Crimea. A man of great personal courage, he also developed a friendship with Josef Stalin, to whom he remained intensely loyal.

Virtually illiterate until he began his military schooling, Timoshenko duly graduated from the Frunze Military Academy in 1922, from cavalry schools, and from the Lenin Political Academy in 1930. He then held a succession of military commands. In August 1933, he was appointed deputy commander of the Belorussia Military District. He went on to head the Northern Caucasus, Kharkov, and Kiev District commands. He escaped persecution in the Great Purges and certainly benefited from the execution of thousands of fellow officers.

A member of the Supreme Soviet on its creation in 1937, Timoshenko retained this position for life. In September 1939, he commanded the Ukrainian Front in the Soviet occupation of eastern Poland. When Soviet forces performed poorly in the Finnish-Soviet War, Stalin appointed Timoshenko to command in Finland on 7 January 1940.

The day after being promoted to marshal on 7 May 1940, Timoshenko succeeded Kliment Voroshilov as defense commissar. Rough and blunt, he was, in many ways, unsuited for high command. He worked to rebuild the Red Army, although



Marshal of the Soviet Union Semen Timoshenko. (Corbis)

he slavishly followed Stalin's guidelines. As such, he must bear, along with Stalin, responsibility for the military debacle that followed the German invasion of 22 June 1941. Initially, Timoshenko refused authorization for Soviet commanders to return fire. On 21 July, he yielded the post of defense commissar to Stalin and became commander in chief of the Western Front, where he had some success in delaying the German advance.

Transferred to command the Southwestern Front in September 1941, Timoshenko failed to prevent a German breakthrough to the Crimea and the disaster of the Kiev encirclement, which, however, could be blamed on Stalin's refusal to allow a withdrawal. He was transferred to the Finnish Front in January 1942 and remained there through May, then he was back in the Ukraine, where his offensive at Kharkov that month failed. During the remainder of the war, he served in lesser assignments and, at one point or another, commanded operations on the Northern Caucasus, 2nd and 3rd Baltic, and 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Ukrainian Fronts.

After the war, Timoshenko commanded the South Ural Military District between 1946 and 1949 and the Belorussian Military District in 1946 and again from 1949 to 1960. Timoshenko died in Moscow on 31 March 1970.

Michael Share and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Finnish-Soviet War (Continuation War, 25 June 1941–4 September 1944); Voroshilov, Kliment Efremovich

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Tinian, U.S. Invasion of (24 July–1 August 1944)

U.S. action in the Marianas chain, located in the west-central Pacific. Located some 3 miles south of the island of Saipan, Tinian Island is roughly 13 miles long from north to south and 5 miles wide from east to west. It was the site of an amphibious landing by the U.S. Marines on 25 July 1944 as part of Operation FORAGER, itself part of the U.S. Navy's campaign across the Central Pacific as directed by the Pacific Fleet commander, Admiral Chester Nimitz. The invasion of Tinian followed assaults, also part of FORAGER, on Saipan and Guam

in the Marianas. Saipan was secured between 15 June and 9 July, and Guam—a U.S. territory taken by Japan at the beginning of the war—was recaptured between 21 July and 12 August 1944.

In the summer of 1944, the Marianas were an important part of the Japanese defensive ring, sitting astride the Pacific supply routes to Japan's home islands. U.S. Navy planners decided to seize the islands to provide forward naval bases for the Allied push toward the home islands, to interdict Japanese supply lines, and to draw out the Japanese fleet so that it might be engaged in decisive battle. This engagement did indeed occur, resulting in significant aircraft and ship losses for Japan in the Battle of the Philippine Sea, also known by the Americans as "the great Marianas turkey shoot." U.S. Army Air Forces' planners strongly advocated the Marianas operation to provide air bases from which Boeing B-29 Superfortress bombers might strike Japan. Tinian was especially valuable for airfields because it was relatively flat.

General Obata Hideyoshi, the commander of the Japanese Thirty-First Army, directed the defense of the Marianas, and Colonel Ogata Takashi commanded the reinforced 50th Infantry Regiment and other supporting army and navy



From Coast Guard–manned landing craft, U.S. soldiers waded through a shallow surf to the beach of Tinian Island. (National Archives)

forces on Tinian. Ogata had a total of some 8,000 to 9,000 men. The Japanese expected the assault, and the defenders did what they could with their limited resources to prepare, determined to inflict as many casualties on the Americans as possible.

In Operation FORAGER, Vice Admiral Richmond Turner commanded the Joint Amphibious Forces and Marine Lieutenant General Holland Smith commanded the landing forces. Rear Admiral Henry W. Hill served as the commander of the assault forces for Tinian, and Marine Major General Harry Schmidt led the landing force. U.S. ships and both army and navy aircraft subjected Tinian to a heavy preparatory bombardment, during which napalm was first used. Additionally, since Tinian was only 3 miles from Saipan, Marine and army artillery units there contributed gunfire support to the invasion force.

The landing forces embarked from Saipan several days before the 24 July landing on Tinian. Vice Admiral Turner wanted the landing to take place on the more suitable but more heavily defended southwestern beaches, but the Marines insisted it occur on two small northern beaches (allowing only one division to come ashore at a time), and Turner reluctantly agreed. A feint at the southern beach served to attract much of the defenders' attention, while the V Amphibious Corps, consisting of the 4th Marine Division and then the 2nd Marine Division, went ashore to the north. U.S. artillery on Saipan and aircraft flying from that island provided support throughout the battle.

The Marines overcame fierce Japanese counterattacks and were able to declare Tinian secure on 1 August. Almost all Japanese defenders died in the fighting. U.S. casualties included 389 killed in action and more than 1,800 wounded.

Navy Seabees quickly converted Tinian into a massive air-support facility. Soon, B-29s of the Twentieth Air Force were striking Japanese cities. Additionally, Seventh Air Force fighters and bombers supported other operations in the Central Pacific, including the subsequent invasions of Iwo Jima and Okinawa. Tinian was also the home base for the two atomic bomb missions at the end of the war.

Jerome V. Martin

See also

Amphibious Warfare; B-29 Raids against Japan; Central Pacific Campaign; Conolly, Richard Lansing; Guam, Battle for; Hiroshima, Bombing of; Iwo Jima, Battle for; LeMay, Curtis Emerson; Mariana Islands, Naval Campaign; Nagasaki, Bombing of; Napalm; Naval Gunfire, Shore Support; Nimitz, Chester William; Norstad, Lauris; Okinawa, Invasion of; Philippine Sea, Battle of the; Saipan, Battle of; Smith, Holland McTyeire; Turner, Richmond Kelly; Twining, Nathan Farragut

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Tiso, Jozef (1887–1947)

Slovak nationalist leader named president of the Slovak Republic in 1939. Born on 13 October 1887 at Velka Bytca, Slovakia (then Hungary), Jozef Tiso was ordained a Roman Catholic priest in 1910. In 1918, he helped to found the Slovak People's Party (SPP). Tiso represented the SPP in the Czechoslovakian Parliament in 1925 and served as minister of health between 1927 and 1928. With the death of SPP leader Andrej Hlinka in August 1938, Monsignor Tiso took over as head of the party.

On 6 October 1938, he became prime minister of an autonomous Slovakia created under the terms of the Munich Pact. In March 1939, the Czechoslovakian government deposed him for promoting Slovak independence, but Tiso received



Josif Tiso, appointed prime minister of Slovakia when the German Reich took it under its "protection" on 16 March 1939. (Corbis)

Adolf Hitler's support during a visit to Berlin on 13 March, and the following day, he proclaimed Slovak independence. The Germans occupied Czechoslovakia on 15 March, and on 16 March, Tiso placed the new Slovak state under the protection of Germany, primarily to avoid its annexation by Hungary.

On 26 October 1939, Tiso became president of the newly created Slovak Republic. Although he personally opposed Nazism, he was forced to share power with the fascist paramilitary Hlinka Guards, and his government willingly collaborated with the Germans, allowing some 68,000 Slovakian Jews to be deported to German concentration camps.

Tiso's government survived an internal uprising in August 1944 but fell to the Red Army and Czech partisans in April 1945. Tiso fled to Austria but was apprehended by U.S. authorities and extradited to Czechoslovakia, where he was tried and convicted of treason and war crimes. He was executed by hanging at Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, on 18 April 1947. Largely as a consequence of his authoritarian, collaborationist regime, the postwar Communist government of Czechoslovakia treated the Slovaks as second-class citizens and repressed the Catholic Church.

Charles R. Shrader

See also

Catholic Church and the War; Czechoslovakia; Hitler, Adolf

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Tito (born Broz, Josip) (1892–1980)

Yugoslav Resistance leader and later the head of Yugoslavia. Born into a peasant family in the village of Kumrovec in Croatia, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Josip Broz was apprenticed to a mechanic. He then followed this trade, traveling throughout the Dual Monarchy. In 1913, he was drafted into the Austro-Hungarian army. An excellent soldier, Broz was a sergeant major commanding a platoon in a Croatian regiment at the outbreak of World War I, and he fought on the Carpathian Front against the Russians until his capture in 1915. While a prisoner of war, Broz became fluent in Russian. Released following the March 1917 Russian Revolution, he joined the Bolsheviks at Petrograd but was then a political prisoner until the Bolsheviks took power in October 1917.

Broz fought in the Red Guard during the Russian Civil War but returned to Croatia in 1920 to take an active role in the



Josip Tito, leader of Communist Partisan movement in Yugoslavia. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Yugoslav Communist Party (YPJ). His underground work, often conducted from jail, brought his rapid rise in the party apparatus as a member of the YPJ Politburo and Central Committee. He took the pseudonym "Tito" for security reasons.

Imprisoned from 1929 to 1934, Tito became secretary general of the YPJ in 1937. Following the German invasion of Yugoslavia in April 1941, he assumed command of the Communist Partisan movement, with the twin goals of expelling the Germans and ultimately securing control of the government. Tito and the Partisans employed guerrilla tactics to compensate for their lack of advanced weaponry. His Partisans were in competition with the Serbian-dominated Četniks (Chetniks) led by General Dragoljub "Draza" Mihajlović, minister of war in the exiled government. For the most part, the Četniks were unwilling to embark on the types of actions that would bring widespread reprisals by the Germans against the Yugoslav population, whereas the Partisans had no such inhibitions. In a controversial decision that had far-reaching repercussions for the political future of Yugoslavia, the British government, which provided the Allied military support for the Yugoslav Resistance, shifted all support to the Partisans in 1943.

Tito's Partisans grew to a force of 800,000 men and women by the end of the war, tying down a large number of Axis divisions. By then, Tito was in full control of Yugoslavia, and he insisted that the Red Army ask permission to enter Yugoslavia in pursuit of the Germans. Tito's forces attempted to annex the southern provinces of Austria, moving into Carinthia. The seizure of this territory was only prevented by the timely arrival of the British V Corps. The Yugoslavs were finally convinced by threat of force to leave Austria in mid-May 1945.

Tito took his revenge on the Croats, many of whom had been loyal to the Axis powers, as had the Slovenes. Perhaps 100,000 people who had sided with the Germans were executed by the Partisans without trial within weeks of the war's end. The majority of German prisoners taken in the war also perished in a long "march of hate" across Yugoslavia.

With the support of the Red Army, Tito formed the National Front and consolidated his power. He nationalized the economy and built it on the Soviet model. He often went his own way in matters of foreign policy, leading to a break with the Soviet Union in 1948. After that, he became more pragmatic in economic matters and allowed a degree of decentralization. He claimed there might be "different paths to socialism," giving birth to what became known as "polycentralism."

Tito traveled widely and became one of the principal leaders of the nonaligned nations. By 1954, however, he had ended reform, and in the mid-1970s, the Yugoslavian economy began to falter and nationalist pressure from various ethnic groups threatened to break up the state. Tito died on 4 May 1980, in Ljubljana, Yugoslavia. The complicated federated state system that he had decreed did not long survive his death, as the various ethnic groups asserted their independence.

Jeremy C. Ongley

See also

Mihajlović, Dragoljub; Yugoslavia

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August 1885, Henry Tizard studied math and chemistry at Magdalen College, Oxford, and established his academic reputation with the publication of a paper on the color changes of indicators in 1911. Tizard joined the Royal Garrison Artillery at the start of World War I. In June 1915, he transferred to the Royal Flying Corps as an experimental equipment officer, testing bombsights and then aircraft. In 1917, he published his scientific system for investigating the performance of aircraft. As a lieutenant colonel, he was assigned to the headquarters of the Ministry of Munitions in 1917.

Tizard left the army and returned to Oxford as a lecturer in the spring of 1919. There, he conducted pioneering work on aviation fuel, which led to a new understanding of the internal combustion engine. He accepted an invitation to join the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in 1920, and by 1927, he was its permanent secretary. He was largely responsible for establishing the Chemical Research Lab. Tizard became rector of the Imperial College of Science and Technology in 1929, a post he held until 1942. He was also increasingly involved with defense matters as a member of the Aeronautical Research Committee, which he chaired from 1933 to 1943, as he did the engine subcommittee.

That period saw revolutionary advances in aircraft and engines as well as research into ways to defend against hostile aircraft. The Air Ministry appointed Tizard to head a committee that would apply technical and scientific knowledge to strengthening British air defenses. Known as the Tizard Committee, it first met in January 1935. Its efforts led to the development and deployment of ground and airborne radar in time for the Battle of Britain and the Battle of the Atlantic. Britain led the world in such work, and Tizard was knighted in 1937.

Tizard was instrumental in establishing a government group to conduct scientific intelligence, and he also investigated the feasibility of an atomic bomb. His greatest service to the war effort, however, may have been the mission he headed to Canada and the United States in August 1940. Tizard proposed that Britain share its most sensitive technical secrets with the United States. Ultimately, Britain provided full information on radar and the cavity magnetron.

On his return to Britain, Tizard became a semiofficial adviser to the minister of aircraft production and served on the Air Council. He did not get along with Frederick A. Lindemann (later Lord Cherwell), Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill's scientific adviser, which led Tizard to accept the presidency of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1942, although two years later, he agreed to chair a new committee to study the potential effects of new weapons on defense policy. He left Magdalen College in 1946 and returned to Whitehall as chairman of the Defence Research Policy Committee and the Advisory Council on Scientific Policy. He retired in 1952. Tizard died in Fareham, Hampshire, England, on 9 October 1959.

Jon D. Berlin

Tizard, Sir Henry Thomas (1885–1959)

British scientist whose work contributed substantially to the Allied war effort. Born in Gillingham, Kent, England, on 23

See also

Atlantic, Battle of the; Britain, Battle of; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Radar; Watson-Watt, Sir Robert Alexander

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Tobruk, First Battle for (6–22 January 1941)

North African battle between Italian and British forces. The Mediterranean port of Tobruk, located in northeast Libya some 70 miles from the Egyptian border, was an important focal point in the North Africa fighting between 1941 and 1942. On 9 December, 1940, Major General Richard O'Connor's Western Desert Force launched Operation COMPASS to drive invading Italian forces from Egypt. On 11 December at Sidi Barrani in Egypt, O'Connor's unit soundly defeated the Italians but was unable to capitalize on this victory immediately, as one of its two divisions, the Indian 4th Division, was withdrawn for service in the Sudan several weeks before the arrival of the replacement Australian 6th Division.

Following this necessary pause, O'Connor's forces crossed into Libya, and on 5 January 1941, they took Bardia on the coast, just across the border and east of Tobruk. On 6 January, the British 7th Armoured Division (the Desert Rats) and the Australian 6th Division assaulted Tobruk, completely besieging the fortress there three days later.

Italian Lieutenant General Pitassi Mannela defended Tobruk with 32,000 men, 220 guns, and 70 tanks along a defensive perimeter of some 30 miles. Following preparations, the Australian 6th Division launched an attack on the morning of 21 January. It began with the largest artillery barrage in the western desert to that point, on a front about 2,500 yards wide along the southeast portion of the Italian perimeter, and it was supported both by British naval gun fire against the town itself and by Royal Air Force (RAF) bombers. Bangalore torpedoes blasted holes in the Italian wire, and the infantry moved forward, supported by Matilda tanks. That portion of the Italian defensive line was secured, and General Mannela was taken prisoner. The remainder of the Italian garrison surrendered the next day but not before destroying some of the port facilities.

At Tobruk, for a cost of some 500 casualties, the British took 25,000 prisoners. They also captured 208 guns, 23 medium tanks, and 200 trucks. In the campaign thus far,

O'Connor's forces had taken 100,000 Italian prisoners. The British were soon able to get the port of Tobruk back into working order. Most of the city, including two water-distillation plants, was undamaged. O'Connor then continued his drive west.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

O'Connor, Richard Nugent

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At Tobruk in 1941, British forces captured 25,000 prisoners, 208 guns, 23 medium tanks, and 200 trucks with only 500 British casualties.

Tobruk, Second Battle for (April 1941–January 1942)

Important land battle between the Afrika Korps (Africa Corps) and British Commonwealth forces in Tripoli, Libya, North Africa. Spearheaded by German Lieutenant General Erwin Rommel's 5th Light Division (later reconstituted as the 21st Panzer Division), Axis forces had driven Commonwealth units back through Cyrenaica to the Egyptian border in March and April 1941. Allied losses had been heavy, but the commander in chief for the Middle East, Lieutenant General Archibald Wavell, had made the crucial decision to defend the port of Tobruk.

Initially garrisoned by the Australian 9th Division, Tobruk repulsed several Axis attacks during mid-April. Throughout the following siege, Allied naval units and aircraft provided critical supplies and reinforcements to the garrison. During the summer and fall, Germany sent in the nonmotorized Afrika Infantry Division, the remainder of the 15th Panzer Division, and some miscellaneous German units. Italy supplied both regular infantry and Bersaglieri, artillery, and better armor elements, upgrading its previously poor-performing units. All this was in preparation for an Axis seizure of Tobruk, followed by an advance on Egypt.

Axis forces also established a line of interlocking fortified posts at Bardia and along the Egyptian border, built around the Savona Division. Between Tobruk and the border, Rommel, nominally under the command of the Italian governor



British soldiers patrolling in tanks at Tobruk, Libya. (Library of Congress)

of Libya, General Ettore Bastico, established armor units centered on the Afrika Korps. The Italian Maneuver Corps was in support; it consisted of the Ariete Armored Division and elements of the Trieste Motorized Division.

In May and June, General Wavell conducted Operations *BREVITY* and *BATTLEAXE*, respectively, in an attempt to break through the frontier line and to relieve Tobruk. Both failed, and Wavell was relieved and replaced by Lieutenant General Claude Auchinleck. Under him, Lieutenant General Alan Cunningham commanded Eighth Army. Auchinleck began gathering his growing strength for Operation *CRUSADER*, scheduled for November, while Rommel brought in siege artillery for a final assault of the now largely British-garrisoned Tobruk.

The Allies struck the first blow, their well-camouflaged preparations being complete by 17 November. The two-pronged Allied operation consisted of a slow but steady advance along the coast road by infantry and heavy tanks, while inland, Cunningham moved with his armor units. A portion of the Ariete Division repulsed the British 22nd Armour Brigade at Bir el Gobi on 18 November, but it was not until two days later that Rommel began to react to the Allied attack.

As Rommel shifted armored forces to attack and hammer some of the Allied mobile units, the British 70th Division in Tobruk assaulted the largely Italian infantry units holding the siege lines. Rommel wanted to force the Allies back so he might make his “dash to the wire” (the barbed wire along the Egyptian border erected by the Italians in the 1930s), but his advance failed to disrupt the Allies or to capture Allied supply dumps. Believing Cunningham was moving too slowly, Auchinleck replaced him with Lieutenant General Neil Ritchie. Meanwhile, the elite 2nd New Zealand Division continued its advance to link up with the 70th Division at Tobruk.

Throughout this period, the Allied naval stranglehold in the Mediterranean kept supplies from arriving in North Africa. The dramatic destruction of the *Duisburg* convoy on the night of 8–9 November resulted in the temporary halt of all Axis convoys to Libya at the same time that Rommel’s battles exhausted his ammunition and tanks. He had no choice but to retreat.

As Axis forces began to pull back near Gazala, just west of Tobruk, and the Allies linked up with Tobruk, the Second Battle of Bir el Gobi occurred on 4 December. The *Giovani*

Fascisti (Young Fascists), a two-battalion volunteer unit, held off the advance of a brigade of the 4th Indian Division. However, with this battle and one other small action, Bastico and Rommel were in agreement by the middle of the month that Axis forces had to fall back through Cyrenaica in mid-December. The retreat went well, although all of Cyrenaica was lost. Isolated Axis units along the border were forced to surrender. The first German general of the war to be captured, Major General Arthur Schmitt, and 13,800 men marched off to prisoner-of-war camps.

This action was the first major victory by the British against an army with a substantial German element. Axis forces had sustained 38,300 casualties, with almost 30,000 of them prisoners. Allied losses were only 17,700 (7,500 prisoners).

The Axis supply situation from Italy soon improved, enabling the shipment of important reinforcements to North Africa. In January 1942, an Axis counterattack went as far as Gazala, where both armies would face each other over the next several months.

Jack Greene

See also

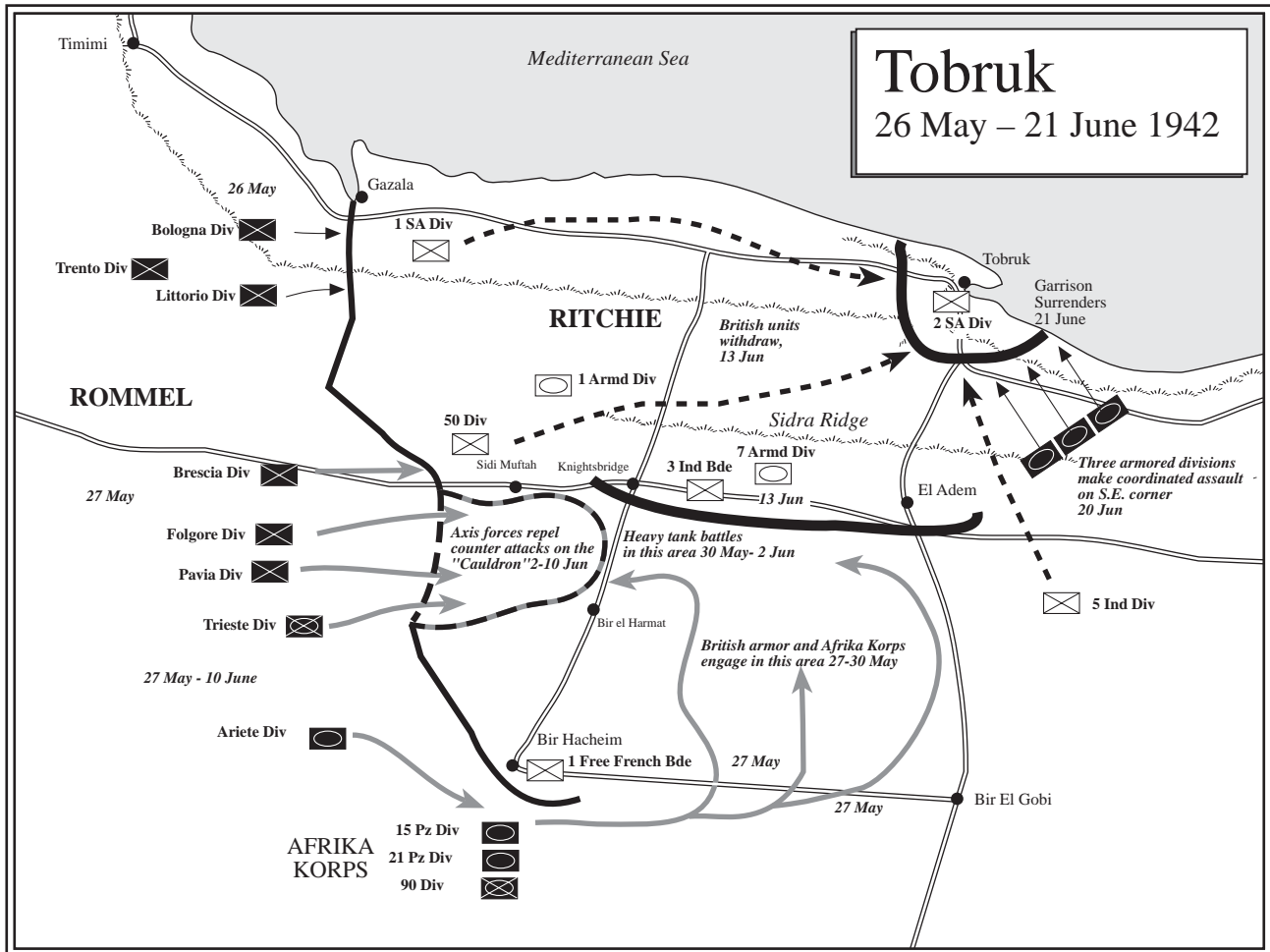
Afrika Korps; Auchinleck, Sir Claude John Eyre; Bastico, Ettore; Cunningham, Sir Andrew Browne; Freyberg, Bernard Cyril; Gazala, Battle of; Italy, Army; Ritchie, Sir Neil Methuen; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Sirte, First Battle of; Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival

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Tobruk, Third Battle of (20–21 June 1942)

The port of Tobruk in eastern Libya held great military significance but had also become a symbol of Allied defiance





German Ju-87 Stuka bombers flying over Tobruk, 21 June 1942. (Keystone/Getty Images)

after it had withstood an eight-month Axis siege. During the 1941–1942 winter, the British commander in the Middle East, General Claude Auchinleck, had decided not to defend Tobruk in the event of another Axis advance. At the last moment, British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill reversed this decision, and in March 1942, the 2nd South African Division took over the defense of Tobruk. The Tobruk garrison consisted of two brigades of the 2nd South African Division, the 11th Indian Brigade, the 201st Guards Brigade, and the British army's 32nd Tank Brigade with 61 operational Valentine tanks and a few Matildas. South African Major General H. B. Klopper exercised command, but he and his men had little time to prepare for an approaching Axis assault. The defenses had deteriorated over time, and many of the mines had been removed and placed on the Gazala Line. As Major General Ettore Baldassarre's Italian XX Motorized Corps and Major General Walther Nehring's Afrika Korps (Africa Corps) approached, the overall Axis commander, Lieutenant General Erwin Rommel, feinted toward the Egyptian border as if in pursuit of Major General Neil N.

Ritchie's retreating British Eighth Army; then he wheeled north to the eastern end of the Tobruk defenses, which he reached on 18 June. In 1941, Rommel had attacked the western end and failed in a series of bloody assaults. This time, however, he had both momentum and surprise on his side, and he was determined not to leave an enemy's fortified position to his rear as he advanced eastward.

The Axis attack began at dawn on 20 June 1941, led by assault engineers and supported by air attacks. The Afrika Korps had the most success, and the Italian XX Corps followed through a break in the defenses created by the Afrika Korps. A series of rapid movements within the fortress itself paralyzed the Allied response, and by the evening of 21 June, the last of the garrison had surrendered, destroying as many supplies and as much of the port facilities as possible beforehand.

The Allies had 32,220 troops captured, including virtually all of the 2nd South African Division. Axis forces also secured invaluable supplies, including nearly 2,000 tons of fuel, 5,000 tons of food, 2,000 vehicles, and large amounts of ammuni-

tion (including both German and Italian stores). This booty was of immense help to Rommel in resuming his eastward drive, although there was considerable squabbling over its distribution.

The fall of Tobruk provided a supply port for the Axis forces close to the front. Moreover, it was a tremendous psychological blow to the Allies. With this and the Axis victory at Gazala earlier in the campaign, Rommel and the Italian commander in chief in Libya, General Ettore Bastico, were promoted to field marshals. Conversely, the Allied defeat led Britain's Middle Eastern commander, Auchinleck, to remove Ritchie from command of Eighth Army on 25 June and assume that position himself. The fall of Tobruk also led Adolf Hitler to delay an assault against Malta in favor of allowing Rommel to continue his advance eastward toward the Nile, setting the stage for the great First Battle of El Alamein.

Jack Greene

See also

Auchinleck, Sir Claude John Eyre; Bastico, Ettore; Gazala, Battle of; Ritchie, Sir Neil Methuen; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen

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Todt Organization (OT)

Organization Todt (OT), named for German Minister of Arms and Munitions Fritz Todt, handled construction projects throughout territory occupied by the German army during World War II. Formed in 1933 by Todt, then head of technology and road construction, the OT was at first chiefly identified with construction of the great autobahn road system in Germany that was the pride of the Third Reich. In 1938, German leader Adolf Hitler assigned OT the task of quickly completing the West Wall (also known as the Siegfried Line), defenses in western Germany that were designed to hold back a French army attack in order to allow Germany to concentrate



Fritz Todt leading procession along the new Autobahn from Halle to Leipzig, Germany, 6 May 1936. (Bettmann/Corbis)

its military resources in the east. Todt was an adroit manager, and in record time, some 500,000 workers constructed 5,000 concrete bunkers.

With the beginning of World War II, the OT provided the German army with engineers and construction specialists involved in the building and repair of bridges, dams, airfields, and fortifications, as well as factories. In March 1940, Todt became the Reich's minister of arms and munitions. The OT was in fact the only organization in the Third Reich, apart from the Hitler Youth, that bore the name of a member of the governing elite.

Following the German invasion of the Balkans in the spring of 1941, the OT was in charge of extracting minerals there and shipping them to the Reich. With the invasion of the Soviet Union, it took on the great responsibility of reconstructing and maintaining the Soviet transportation network. OT also made use of vast numbers of conscript laborers throughout German-occupied Europe. In all, the OT mobilized some 1.4 million people, 80 percent of whom were non-Germans (many were prisoners of war).

OT's most ambitious task was the construction of the Atlantic Wall, the German defenses against an invasion of France by the Western Allies; it ran from Norway to the Bay of Biscay. On this effort, the OT expended some 13.3 million tons of concrete and 1.2 million tons of steel in 3,000 fortifications. The ruins of many of these may still be seen today. The OT also built the submarine pens in France that proved so difficult for Allied aircraft to destroy.

Following Todt's death in an airplane crash in February 1942, his assistant, Albert Speer, took over the organization, and under him, it reached its greatest extent. Increasingly, the OT was involved in cleaning up bomb damage from Allied air raids on Germany. In autumn 1944, the organization was renamed the Front-OT, when it was armed and enlisted in the defense of German territory.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Speer, Albert

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Tōgō Shigenori (1882–1950)

Foreign minister of Japan from 1941 to 1942. Born in Kagoshima Prefecture, on Kyushu, on 10 December 1882, Tōgō Shigenori graduated from Tokyo Imperial University in



Japanese Foreign Minister Tōgō Shigenori. (Corbis)

1908 and became a member of the faculty of Meiji University. He joined the Foreign Ministry as a moderate in 1912. Developing an expertise in European and American affairs, he served in a number of increasingly senior posts at home and abroad during the 1920s and 1930s. From the mid-1930s, Tōgō emerged as a vocal, if ineffective, critic of the diplomatic orientation toward Nazi Germany that accompanied the military's growing domination of the Japanese government. He opposed the decision of Foreign Minister Hirota Kōki to conclude the Anti-Comintern Pact with Germany, which both countries nonetheless signed in November 1936.

Ironically, Tōgō became ambassador to Germany in 1937, but his tenure was short because of his views, and in 1938, pro-Nazi Ōshima Hiroshi replaced him. That same year, Tōgō became ambassador to the Soviet Union, where he played a major role in settling a long-standing dispute over fishing rights in the northern Pacific. He also helped to prevent the Soviet-Japanese border clash at Nomonhan from becoming a full-scale war in the summer of 1939. Tōgō then launched an initiative to conclude a nonaggression pact with the Soviets. Although unsuccessful at the time, those negotiations helped to lay the groundwork for the Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact of April 1941.

In November 1940, two months after the government concluded the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy, Tōgō was recalled to Japan. Despite his opposition to the pact, Tōgō became foreign minister in the cabinet of Prime Minister Tōjō Hideki in October 1941. As Japan prepared for war with the United States and other Western powers in Asia and the Pacific, he continued to conduct last-minute negotiations with Washington through Japanese Ambassador Nomura Kichisaburō and Special Envoy Kurusu Saburō.

Following the outbreak of hostilities in the Pacific on 7 December 1941, Tōgō and the Foreign Ministry were increasingly marginalized within the Japanese government. In the summer of 1942, the Tōjō cabinet established the Greater East Asia Ministry, an umbrella organization charged with coordinating Japanese policy in occupied areas of China and Southeast Asia. Tōgō opposed the creation of the new ministry, not only because it took over part of the conduct of Japan's foreign relations but also because it drew personnel away from the Foreign Ministry. He resigned from his post in protest on 1 September 1942, when Tōjō himself took over the Foreign Ministry portfolio.

After resigning, Tōgō was appointed to the House of Peers, where he remained throughout most of the war. In April 1945, he became foreign minister in the cabinet of Suzuki Kantarō. An advocate of pursuing an early peace before Japan lost all diplomatic leverage, Tōgō hoped at least to be able to preserve the Imperial throne. He continued an ultimately abortive effort to secure Soviet mediation with the United States during the summer of 1945. With Japan facing imminent destruction by August 1945, the Suzuki cabinet remained deadlocked over the issue of accepting unconditional surrender or fighting to the finish. By that time, Tōgō had emerged as the cabinet's most forceful opponent of the military's plans for a last-ditch defense of the home islands. Following the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on 6 and 9 August and the Soviet declaration of war and invasion of Manchuria on 9 August, Emperor Hirohito himself broke the deadlock in favor of peace. On 15 August 1945, Hirohito announced Japan's surrender.

After the war, Tōgō was tried for war crimes by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East in Tokyo. He was accused of conspiring with the militarists to wage aggressive war by conducting bad-faith negotiations with the United States in order to give the military time to complete its final preparations. Tōgō acknowledged that he was aware of the plans for the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, but he claimed that he was forced by the military into continuing negotiations with the United States even after the decision for war had been made. Nevertheless, Tōgō was convicted on the charge of conspiracy to wage aggressive war and received a 20-year sentence. He died in Sugamo Prison, in Tokyo, on 23 July 1950.

John M. Jennings

See also

Anti-Comintern Pact; Hirohito, Emperor of Japan; Japan, Surrender of; Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact; Ōshima Hiroshi; Suzuki Kantarō; Tōjō Hideki; Tripartite Pact

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Tōjō Hideki (1884–1948)

Japanese army general and prime minister from 1941 to 1944. Born in Tokyo on 30 December 1884, Tōjō Hideki graduated from the Military Academy in 1905. A career staff officer, he served as an attaché in Europe in the early 1920s. During the early 1930s, he associated himself with the Control Faction, an influential clique within the Japanese military that favored military cooperation with the civil bureaucracy and large corporations to expand Japanese influence in China. The failure of a coup attempt by the rival Imperial Way Faction in February 1936 paved the way for the Control Faction's domination of the army and eventually of Japan itself.

Because of his position as one of the Control Faction leaders, Tōjō's career in the late 1930s prospered. In 1938, he was recalled to Tokyo from Manzhouguo (Manchukuo), where he had been serving on the staff of the Guandong (Kwantung) Army, to take up an appointment as a vice minister of the army. In 1940, he became army minister in the cabinet of Konoe Fumimaro. An ardent militarist determined to advance Japanese power by force of arms, Tōjō was a keen supporter of the Axis alliance with Nazi Germany and expansion of the war in China.

Following the collapse of the Konoe cabinet in October 1941, Tōjō, still an active army officer, was appointed prime minister in an atmosphere of escalating tension with the United States. As prime minister, he did nothing to alleviate those tensions but rather prepared Japan for a war that he considered inevitable. On 7 December 1941, Japan initiated hostilities in the Pacific with its attack on Pearl Harbor.

Following an early succession of victories in Southeast Asia and the Pacific during 1941 and 1942, it became increasingly apparent that Tōjō and other Japanese leaders had grossly underestimated the political will and resources of the United States and its allies. In view of Japan's growing matériel inferiority, Tōjō attempted to centralize and coordinate the war effort by taking personal control of key posts in the cabinet and in the army in 1943 and 1944. These actions,



Japanese General and Prime Minister Tōjō Hideki, January 1942. (Photo by MPI/Getty Images)

however, aroused opposition among members of powerful civil and military circles who resented Tōjō's intrusions. He also made a vain attempt to cultivate closer relations with Japan's Asian neighbors by convening the Greater East Asia Conference in November 1943. But the conference, which was attended by Japanese-sponsored puppet rulers from China and Southeast Asia, merely produced a vague declaration of Asian solidarity.

Under increasing pressure from his military and political rivals, who held him responsible for Japan's mounting defeats, Tōjō resigned in July 1944 after the fall of Saipan. Koiso Kuniaki became the new prime minister. Following Japan's surrender on 15 August 1945, Tōjō was tried and convicted of war crimes. He was hanged in Tokyo on 23 December 1948.

John M. Jennings

See also

Guandong Army; Japan, Army; Japan, Role in War; Koiso Kuniaki; Manzhouguo; Pearl Harbor, Attack on

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Tokyo, Bombing of (18 April 1942)

On 18 April 1942, 16 U.S. Army Air Forces (AAF) B-25 Mitchell bombers, launched from the aircraft carrier *Hornet*, bombed Tokyo and other Japanese cities. They were led by Lieutenant Colonel James "Jimmy" Doolittle. Although physical damage caused by the Doolittle raid was slight, the psychological and military impacts were considerable.

The original idea to launch twin-engine army bombers against Japan from a navy ship came from Captain Francis Low, a submariner on Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Ernest J. King's staff. The mission was planned at the highest levels and had the full support of King and Lieutenant General Henry H. Arnold, the chief of the AAF. President Franklin D. Roosevelt approved the plan. Doolittle, the army liaison officer, secured command of the mission. He and his handpicked crews trained on short landing fields, but none had made a takeoff with a fully loaded aircraft from a carrier until the actual mission. The plan required each B-25 to drop 1 ton of bombs on its specified target, fly to Zhuzhou (Chuchow), China, to refuel, and then proceed 800 miles farther to Chungking.

Unfortunately, the U.S. ships were spotted early by a Japanese picket boat. Task force commander Vice Admiral William "Bull" Halsey decided to launch the aircraft about 200 miles early, 650 miles from the coast. Most of the planes dropped their loads, each consisting of two 500-pound high-explosive bombs and two 500-pound incendiary bombs, on Tokyo, although others hit Kobe, Yokohama, and Nagoya. The Americans were lucky in attacking soon after a practice air-raid drill, when defenses were relaxed.

The combination of the early launch, inaccurate maps, and the lack of a radio at Chuchow meant that the B-25s had no place to land. Most of the crews headed for friendly Chinese territory and bailed out or ditched, although one plane landed at Vladivostok (the crew was interned in the USSR). All the planes were lost. Of the 80 crewmen, 3 were killed, 4 were seriously injured, 5 were interned, and 8 were captured by the Japanese. Of the latter group, 3 were executed after a show trial and 1 died in captivity. Their experience inspired the classic 1944 propaganda movie *The Purple Heart*. The Japanese also killed many thousands of Chinese in retaliation for the assistance given the crewmen who escaped.

Although bomb damage from the mission was insignificant, its results were important. President Roosevelt's announcement of the raid launched from "Shangri-La" (his mountain retreat in the Catoctin Hills of Maryland) boosted American morale, and the attack shocked the Japanese nation and embarrassed the government in Tokyo. The Japanese Supreme Command overreacted by assigning extra fighter groups to protect Japan and ordering the Chinese Expedi-

tionary Army to root out enemy air bases there. Most important, the impact of the Doolittle raid allowed Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku to gain final approval for his operation to take the island of Midway and destroy the American carriers, setting the stage for the decisive Battle of Midway in June.

Conrad C. Crane

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Arnold, Henry Harley "Hap"; Doolittle, James Harold "Jimmy"; Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; King, Ernest Joseph; Midway, Battle of; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Yamamoto Isoroku

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Tokyo, Bombing of (9–10 March 1945)

The B-29 incendiary raid on Tokyo on the night of 9–10 March 1945 was the deadliest air attack of World War II. Conducted as a test of new tactics after disappointing results with precision methods, the raid set the pattern for a new fire-bombing campaign that devastated Japanese cities over the next five months.

By February 1945, the U.S. Twentieth Air Force's strategic bombing campaign against Japan was in trouble. The new commander of its combat operations from the Marianas, Major General Curtis LeMay, knew he had been given the assignment in January to get results. He had reorganized the staff, instituted new training, and designed new maintenance programs, but the achievements of his high-altitude precision-bombing attacks remained disappointing. Besides technological problems with the hastily fielded B-29 Superfortress, the



Incendiary bombs leveled entire city blocks of downtown Tokyo during air raids in 1945. (Corbis)

biggest difficulty he faced was the weather. Overcast skies and jet stream winds at normal bombing altitudes obscured targets and negated flight patterns.

Other theater commanders were trying to gain control of the expensive B-29s, and LeMay knew he could be relieved just as his predecessor had been if he did not produce significant success. He had had some experience with fire raids in China and had conducted some experiments over Japan. Although unsure how higher headquarters would react to a departure from precision bombing, he and his staff decided to destroy key targets by burning down the cities around them. This result would be achieved with low-level, mass night raids. These tactics would avoid high winds, reduce the strain on the B-29s' problematic engines, allow aircraft to carry more bombs, and exploit weaknesses in the Japanese air defenses.

The first raid employing these new tactics, Operation MEETINGHOUSE, was conducted against Tokyo beginning on the night of 9 March. The selected zone of attack covered six important industrial targets and numerous smaller factories, railroad yards, home industries, and cable plants, but it also included one of the most densely populated areas of the world, Asakusa Ku, with a population of more than 135,000 people per square mile. For the first time, XXI Bomber Command had more than 300 bombers on a mission—325 to be exact—and they put more than 1,600 tons of incendiary bombs on the target.

Before the firestorm ignited by Operation MEETINGHOUSE had burned itself out, between 90,000 and 100,000 people had been killed. Another million were rendered homeless. Sixteen square miles were incinerated, and the glow of the flames was visible 150 miles away. Victims died horribly as intense fires consumed the oxygen, boiled water in canals, and sent liquid glass rolling down streets. The B-29 crews fought superheated updrafts that destroyed at least 10 aircraft. They also wore oxygen masks to avoid vomiting from the stench of burning flesh. A total of 14 Superfortresses were lost on the mission.

The attack on Tokyo was judged a great success. It resuscitated the flagging strategic bombing campaign against Japan and restored the hopes of Army Air Forces leaders that the B-29s could prove the worth of independent airpower by defeating an enemy nation without the need for an invasion. MEETINGHOUSE set the standard for the incendiary raids that dominated Twentieth Air Force operations for the remainder of the war.

Conrad C. Crane

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; B-29 Raids against Japan; Incendiary Bombs and Bombing; Strategic Bombing

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"Tokyo Rose" (Iva Ikuko Toguri D'Aquino) (1916–)

Japanese propagandist to U.S. troops in the South Pacific during World War II. Toguri D'Aquino achieved notoriety as one of several women who broadcast from Tokyo between 1943 and 1945. "Tokyo Rose" was a moniker created by her listeners, as there is no trace of the name in broadcast records. Born in Los Angeles on 4 July 1916, she graduated from the University of California in Los Angeles with a BS degree in zoology in January 1940 and pursued graduate work there until June, when she began working with her father's business. In July 1941, she sailed for Japan without a U.S. passport, planning to visit a sick aunt and to begin the study of medicine. By September 1941, she had decided to return permanently to the United States and applied for a passport, but that application was still in State Department hands when the war began. By mid-1942, she had worked as a typist for a news agency in Tokyo and then for Radio Tokyo. In November 1943, she began to host *Zero Hour* on Radio Tokyo, part of the Japanese psychological warfare designed to lower U.S. military morale. The 75-minute program was broadcast early each evening. Toguri was variously introduced as Orphan Ann, Orphan Annie, "Your favorite enemy Ann," or "Your favorite playmate and enemy, Ann." The program was popular because it featured recorded big-band music.

Only in early 1944 did Toguri become aware that U.S. troops had given her—and other Japanese women broadcasting over Radio Tokyo—the "Tokyo Rose" title. She was the only American citizen given that nickname; the others were all Japanese. In April 1945, she married Felipe D'Aquino, a Portuguese citizen of Japanese-Portuguese ancestry.

Following her postwar admissions to the press about her wartime role as well as inflammatory stories by columnist Walter Winchell, among others, Toguri D'Aquino was arrested by the U.S. Army in September 1948 and taken to the United States to stand trial for treason. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) inquiries into her activities took several years (the nearly 750-page FBI report is available on the Internet). Her treason trial began in San Francisco on 5 July 1949 and ended on 29 September when the jury delivered a guilty verdict. On 6 October 1949, she was sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment, fined \$10,000, and stripped of her American citizenship. She became only the seventh person to be convicted of treason in U.S. history.

On 28 January 1956, Toguri D'Aquino was released after serving six years and two months of her sentence. She fought



Iva (Tokyo Rose) Toguri D'Aquino on her release from federal women's reformatory, 1956. (Library of Congress)

several efforts at deportation and went to work in the Chicago area. In November 1976, she filed a third petition seeking a presidential pardon (she had applied unsuccessfully in 1954 and 1968). She received a full pardon on 19 January 1977 from President Gerald Ford and now lives in the Chicago area.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also

Propaganda

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concentrate on Germany, the most powerful of the Axis opponents. Indeed, U.S. planners, especially Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall, sought the earliest possible invasion of France. They supported GYMNAST, a British contingency plan based on a cross-Channel invasion, and ROUNDUP, a 48-division invasion of France projected to occur by April 1943. However, the failure of the attack on Dieppe, France, on 19 August 1942 (Operation JUBILEE) led the Americans to concede that a cross-Channel invasion lay many months if not years in the future. Winston L. S. Churchill and British planners, meanwhile, attempted to interest the United States in a more opportunistic approach that would include operations in the Mediterranean Theater.

Roosevelt had promised Soviet leader Josef Stalin that the Western Allies would undertake an invasion by the end of 1942, and he was determined to honor that pledge. But if a cross-Channel invasion was impossible, where might such an assault be mounted? Churchill argued for attacks against what he termed the "soft underbelly of Europe," in the Mediterranean. Even before the Dieppe raid, Roosevelt and Churchill had settled on an invasion of North Africa, supposedly not to the exclusion of ROUNDUP.

TORCH, Operation (8 November 1942) and Aftermath

The Allied invasion of North Africa. Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt agreed with the British position that the Allies should first



Some of the many vessels in the Allied convoy crossing the Atlantic to the North African coast to take part in Operation TORCH, November 1942. (Corbis)

Gaining control of Vichy-administered Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia would provide bases from which the Allies could conduct both air operations to help protect their Mediterranean shipping and strategic bombing raids against targets in southern Europe. The area would also offer a location from which to mount invasions of such Mediterranean islands as Sicily, Sardinia, and Crete or even mainland Europe in Italy or Greece. Further, an invasion of northwest Africa would provide badly needed combat experience for inexperienced U.S. troops but against a military substantially inferior to the German Wehrmacht.

Roosevelt became the chief proponent of the operation and insisted on it over the objections raised by many of his own service chiefs, including Marshall. The invasion, code-named TORCH, was timed to coincide with the planned breakout of British Empire forces at El Alamein in Egypt; the Allies hoped to crush Axis troops in a pincer movement between the two forces. On 23 October, British Eighth Army commander

General Bernard Montgomery initiated the final contest for control of North Africa in Operation LIGHTFOOT, the Battle of El Alamein. Superior British resources carried the day against tenacious Axis resistance, and by 2 November, the Eighth Army had broken through. The army then began a pursuit of German Field Marshal Erwin Rommel's Axis forces, which made good their escape. Again and again, Axis forces eluded Montgomery's lethargic encirclement attempts.

On 8 November, British and U.S. forces carried out their surprise landings in Morocco and Algeria, the largest amphibious operation in history to that time. The British had favored landings in central North Africa, at Tunis and Bizerte in Tunisia, or at least at nearby Bône in eastern Algeria, but the Americans were more cautious and won the point. The landings occurred at Casablanca in Morocco and at Oran and Algiers in Algeria. U.S. Army Lieutenant General Dwight D. Eisenhower, commanding U.S. troops in Britain, was appointed commander in chief, Allied Expeditionary Force. His deputy was another

American, Major General Mark W. Clark. Eisenhower saw to it that both U.S. and British officers were thoroughly integrated within his staff, and British Fleet Admiral Andrew B. Cunningham directed all naval forces.

The most westerly landing, at Casablanca on the Atlantic, assured the Allies a lodgment in North Africa even if the other two landings inside the Mediterranean went awry. Major General George S. Patton commanded the Western Task Force of 38,000 men, escorted by warships led by U.S. Rear Admiral Henry K. Hewitt. The force had steamed all the way from Norfolk, Virginia, one of the longest expeditionary efforts in history.

The other two invasions were mounted from England and went ashore in Algeria. Central Task Force, under U.S. Army Major General Lloyd Fredendall, numbered nearly 41,000 men (37,100 Americans and 3,600 British), supported by British Commodore Thomas H. Troubridge's covering warships. The 55,000-man Eastern Task Force headed for Algiers was largely British in composition (45,000 British troops and only 10,000 Americans), but to give the illusion that it was mostly American, U.S. Major General Charles Ryder had command. Once Algiers was secured, British Lieutenant General Kenneth A. N. Anderson took charge. British Vice Admiral Sir Harold M. Burrough commanded its covering warships.

During the landings, the Allies made every effort to emphasize the U.S. role and downplay British participation. Given the British attack against French ships at Mers-el-Kébir, Algeria, in July 1940 and British operations in Syria, Allied leaders rightly assumed that Americans would receive a far friendlier reception from French forces than would the British. Thus, efforts were made to show the American flag, quite literally, wherever possible.

No one knew the extent to which French troops would resist the invasion. U.S. diplomat Robert Murphy made preliminary contacts with Vichy French officials in North Africa, and on 22 October, General Clark had a secret meeting near Algiers with French Major General Charles Mast, chief of staff of XIX Corps. This meeting did not bring the desired agreement, and for the most part, French troops resisted the landings.

TORCH began early on the morning of 8 November. The Casablanca operation was widely dispersed, at Safi, Fedala, Mehdiya, and Port Lyautey. Although taken by surprise, the French troops fought well. The unfinished French battleship *Jean Bart* lay at Casablanca. Although she was incapable of movement, her 15-inch guns nonetheless soon began a duel with the U.S. battleship *Massachusetts*. French naval units, including the cruiser *Primauguet*, attempted a sortie, but superior U.S. naval strength beat them back. In the battle, four destroyers and eight submarines of the French navy were either sunk or missing, and 490 French fighters were killed and another 969 wounded. The French at Casablanca surrendered on 11 November.

The two Allied landings east and west of Oran encountered heavy French resistance. An attempt by two former U.S. Coast Guard cutters to run into the port failed, and a U.S. airborne battalion, flying all the way from Britain, was only partially successful in securing nearby airfields. At Algiers, the frontal naval assault failed, but the city was soon ringed by Allied troops on the land side.

The Allies secured their objectives before long. Overall casualties were light, and the landings provided the Allies with excellent training for their subsequent invasions of Europe. Although the British were correct in that they could easily have landed farther east, Adolf Hitler now decided to reinforce North Africa. Had these resources been sent to Rommel earlier, the Axis powers might have secured the Suez Canal. Hitler's belated decision only delayed the inevitable and ensured that the ultimate Axis defeat in Tunisia would be more costly.

Despite misgivings, Eisenhower negotiated with the commander of Vichy France's armed forces and former premier Admiral Jean Darlan, who was visiting in Algiers at the time of the landings. On 11 November, Darlan agreed to assist the Allies by ordering a cease-fire in return for heading the administration of French North Africa. Darlan was, however, assassinated on 24 December, allegedly by a monarchist acting alone, a deed that removed a potential embarrassment to the Western governments. The British and French then installed General Henri Giraud, who had escaped from France, as commander of French forces in North Africa, ignoring General Charles de Gaulle. The latter, understandably furious, had not even been informed of the landings beforehand.

On 9 November, Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain's Vichy French government responded to the Allied North African invasions by severing diplomatic relations with the United States. Nonetheless, Hitler ordered German troops into "unoccupied" France. Operation *ATTILA* had been drawn up by the Germans in 1940. Its main objective was to capture the principal French naval units at Toulon. But on 27 November, French crews frustrated the German attempt and scuttled 77 ships, including 3 battleships.

Once the Allied forces that had landed in North Africa had secured their initial objectives ashore, they proceeded on to accomplish two key objectives: to secure ports in Tunisia in order to block the resupply of Axis units and to build up a force in Morocco to occupy Spanish Morocco if Spain—or the Germans acting through Spain—should attempt to take Gibraltar. As it transpired, the latter was unnecessary, since the landings alone caused Franco to move Spain into a more neutral stance.

Allied forces were unprepared for immediate overland operations but nonetheless were forced into conducting a land campaign by Hitler's prompt reinforcement of North

Africa. As early as 9 November, he had dispatched troops to Tunisia to occupy the important airfield at El Aouina. German and Italian units began arriving in North Africa at a rate of about 1,000 men a day.

Patton's force at Casablanca linked up with units moving west from Oran to threaten Spanish Morocco, and the British moved east to secure airfields in eastern Algeria, necessary for providing air support for ground operations beyond the range of Gibraltar. On 12 November, two British parachute companies dropped on Bône, supported by commandos from the sea. The Souk-el-Arba airfield fell on 16 November. The next day, General Anderson's I Corps drove from Oran and Algiers into Tunisia, with the objective of securing the port of Bizerte.

Although I Corps had moved from Bône into the mountains only 20 miles southwest of Bizerte, the drive stalled after several weeks. It fell victim to insufficiently aggressive Allied leadership, rainy weather that delayed reinforcements from Algiers some 500 miles to the west, the rapid Axis reinforcement, and aggressive defensive actions by Lieutenant General Walther Nehring, whose counterattacks ended the Allied "race for Tunis." But Nehring, who was pessimistic about Axis chances, soon found himself replaced by General Jürgen von Arnim. Thus, 1942 ended in a temporary stalemate once Rommel's forces successfully linked up with von Arnim's Tunisian defenders. TORCH, which many claim delayed the Allied goal of a cross-Channel invasion, had nonetheless proven successful. Subsequent Allied amphibious operations in Sicily, Italy, and Normandy benefited immensely from the operation.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Anderson, Sir Kenneth Arthur Noel; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Clark, Mark Wayne; Cunningham, Sir Andrew Browne; Darlan, Jean Louis Xavier François; de Gaulle, Charles; Dieppe Raid; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; El Alamein, Battle of; Fredendall, Lloyd Ralston; Giraud, Henri Honoré; Hewitt, Henry Kent; Kasserine Pass, Battle of; Marshall, George Catlett; Mers-el-Kébir; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; North Africa Campaign; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stalin, Josef; Toulon; Tunisia Campaign

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Torpedoes

Self-propelled weapons armed with explosive charges designed to be launched by ships, submarines, or aircraft against enemy shipping. Torpedoes were the deadliest of naval weapons, especially when launched from submarines.

The torpedo was invented by Englishman John Whitehead for the Austro-Hungarian navy in 1866, but those in use by 1939 were far more capable than his 7-knot, flywheel-driven weapon. However, except for Japan, no nation entered World War II with torpedoes that differed significantly from those of World War I. All were straight running and had the same top speeds (39–47 knots), ranges (2,500–7,000 yds), and depth-setting mechanisms as those of the earlier war. A few countries had influence warheads that were expected to detonate as they passed under the ship's hull, thereby breaking its back, but those weapons proved unreliable in early operations and had to be withdrawn until their technical faults were corrected. However, by war's end, the most advanced torpedoes had homing guidance and a complex variety of influence warheads, and more important, they had become the critical weapon of war between naval forces on and above the surface and those below.

Employed mostly by submarines, torpedoes were responsible for more than 30 percent of the warship losses and 70 percent of merchant shipping losses during the war. Those statistics are rather ironic, given that, before the war, submarines were not expected to play a significant role in naval operations and that the three naval powers that employed torpedoes most effectively suffered torpedo reliability problems during the war's early years. U.S. and German difficulties with their weapons' warheads, depth-setting mechanisms, and guidance systems are the best known, but Great Britain suffered similar problems with its own torpedoes. However, the Royal Navy accepted the fleet's reports and corrected the technical faults within nine weeks of receiving the first report. The United States and Germany waited nearly a year to examine their problems, and another year passed before they corrected their weapons' deficiencies. Nonetheless, those two countries best demonstrated the deadly effectiveness of the submarine-torpedo combination in naval warfare. In fact, Germany and the United States possessed the most technologically advanced torpedoes at war's end, with the former having the best anti-ship torpedo and the latter the world's only antisubmarine torpedo, designated the Mark 24 "mine" to hide its true nature.

For its part, Japan entered the war with the only torpedoes that were significantly better than those used in World War I. Japanese submarine and ship torpedoes employed an oxygen-alcohol power train that gave their torpedoes a speed



One of the aerial torpedoes carried by the U.S. Navy's crack torpedo bomber, the Grumman TBF Avenger, aboard an aircraft carrier in the South Pacific, January 1943. (National Archives)

of almost 50 knots and a range exceeding 42,000 yds, with little wake. They also had the war's most powerful warheads (weighing more than 1,000 lbs) and were extremely reliable, providing Japan's highly trained crews with a critical advantage in ship-to-ship and submarine-to-ship engagements.

Japan, however, wasted that technological advantage by not employing the torpedoes' most effective platform, the submarine, effectively. Moreover, unlike Germany, Japan never developed a homing system to guide their torpedoes toward a ship's engine noises or wake, which reduced the probability of their hitting a distant maneuvering target. More important, by 1943, naval airpower and air defenses including radar had increased engagement ranges to the point that submarines became the torpedo's only tactically viable weapons platform, rendering Japan's advantage in torpedo range all but irrelevant. Indeed, antiship torpedoes diminished in importance as ship and aircraft weapons from that year and have been supplanted on those platforms by antisubmarine torpedoes since the early 1950s.

France entered the war with torpedoes that were obsolete by World War II standards, and the nation was defeated by Germany before newer models could be developed. The Soviet Union and Italy also suffered from a lack of torpedo research and development. All three nations were slow to make the change from the 45 cm (18-inch) torpedoes for surface ships and submarines to the 533 mm (21-inch) torpedoes adopted by most other nations, whereas Japan had gone to 61 cm (24-inch) torpedoes (but only in surface ships, for Japanese submarines used the 21-inch oxygen-driven torpedo). However, Soviet and Italian torpedoes were simple and reliable. In fact, Italy's aircraft-carried torpedoes were so much better than those of Germany that Luftwaffe antishipping squadrons preferred to use Italian models rather than their own.

Many of the minor navies still employed the smaller and older torpedoes on their ships and submarines, but 45 cm torpedoes were carried primarily by aircraft until 1943, when they also began to carry the larger 533 mm models.

Much has been written about the revolutionary changes torpedoes underwent in the course of the war. Most of this transformation was driven by the Battle of the Atlantic between the Western Allies and the German Kriegsmarine (navy), where torpedo and antisubmarine-detection systems shaped the course of the battles.

Denied heavy weapons by the Versailles Treaty, post-World War I Germany's naval doctrine underemphasized torpedo engagements. This situation changed when Adolf Hitler rose to power and, with the navy under Admiral Erich Raeder, sought to build a large, conventional German naval force capable of challenging Britain on the seas. Partly as a result of this concentration, there were no new designs or concepts in torpedo warfare before the U-boat arm's effectiveness became essential to

Germany's war effort after 1940. By 1942, however, Germany had homing torpedoes that guided onto the target ship's engine noises and pattern-running torpedoes that made evasion difficult. Research programs included wake-homing, active sonar-based terminal guidance, and even a rocket-propelled high-speed torpedo, which, however, never got past the drawing board.

Fortunately for the Allies, Germany's research and development effort lacked direction before Admiral Karl Dönitz took command of the Kriegsmarine in January 1943. As torpedoes proved critical to the German U-boat arm, so, too, did they figure in the Western Allies' struggle against the U-boat. The Allies developed search and guidance systems for torpedoes to attack maneuvering underwater submarines. The Mark 24 "mine" employed from Allied antisubmarine aircraft used a descending circular search and "passive acoustic homing" guidance to seek, find, and attack submerged German submarines by detecting and following the noises made by the U-boats' machinery. The Mark 24 was the precursor to modern antisubmarine torpedoes, as was the German homing torpedo, father to the antiship torpedoes carried by today's submarines.

Carl O. Schuster

See also

Antisubmarine Warfare; Dönitz, Karl; Hitler, Adolf; Mines, Sea; Raeder, Erich; Submarines

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Toulon, Scuttling of French Fleet at (27 November 1942)

When British and U.S. forces invaded French North Africa on 8 November 1942, 81 ships of the French navy were anchored at Toulon, France, under the command of Admiral Jean de Laborde. Only a third of the fleet's ships were ready to sail. Another third required significant work, and the remainder had been decommissioned in accordance with the armistice with Germany.

Even before the July 1940 armistice with Germany, the French government had promised Britain that it would destroy the fleet if necessary in order to prevent it falling into

German hands. This pledge notwithstanding, London made an effort to secure units of the French fleet, and at Mers-el-Kébir during Operation CATAPULT in July 1940, British ships opened fire on French ships, sank a number of them, and killed nearly 1,300 French seamen. Despite these actions, France honored its pledge.

Two years later, after arranging a cease-fire with the Allies in North Africa on 11 November 1942, French navy commander Admiral Jean Darlan ordered the fleet to sail from Toulon to North Africa. That same day, German soldiers began occupying the area around the port city and positioned artillery to fire on the fleet should it attempt to depart. While the Germans tightened their noose, the fleet's officers debated their options. They feared both a German effort to capture the French ships from the land and a repetition of the incident at Mers-el-Kébir. Most remained loyal to the Vichy government and opposed the idea of attempting to sail the fleet to Africa, although the officers subsequently had to quell anti-German demonstrations on several ships. Darlan tried to convince the Vichy minister of the navy, Admiral Paul Auphan, to order the fleet to sail, but Vichy officials replaced Auphan with the more pliable Admiral Jean Abrial. They negotiated an agreement with the Germans that promised the neutrality of the Toulon naval base and handed over the remaining 158 ships of France's merchant fleet (totaling 646,000 tons). Germany, however, continued its preparations to seize Toulon.

On 14 November, Laborde ordered all ship crews to make the necessary preparations to scuttle in order to prevent the capture of their vessels. German troops entered the Toulon base in force at 4:45 A.M. on 27 November but failed to surprise the French. Laborde then ordered the ships scuttled, and most had sunk by the time German soldiers reached the piers at 6:20 A.M. French crews sabotaged critical systems and heavy guns with explosives to prevent their salvage, and they detonated explosives on those ships in dry dock. Five submarines managed to reach the open sea, and of these, 1 was lost at sea, 3 joined the Allies in North Africa, and 1 was interned in Spain. In all, the French scuttled 77 ships, roughly half the tonnage of the entire French navy. The total included 3 battleships (the *Strasbourg*, *Dunkerque*, and *Provence*), 7 cruisers, a seaplane tender, 32 destroyers, 16 submarines, and 18 smaller craft. German and Italian engineers subsequently managed to salvage and repair 4 destroyers, 2 torpedo boats, and 2 submarines.

Stephen K. Stein

See also

Auphan, Paul G.; CATAPULT, Operation; Darlan, Jean Louis Xavier François; France, Navy; France, Vichy; Mers-el-Kébir

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Towers, John Henry (1885–1955)

U.S. Navy admiral and pioneer naval aviator who played a key role in developing the navy's air arm during the war years. Born in Rome, Georgia, on 20 January 1885, John Towers graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1906. He qualified as a pilot in 1911, only the second U.S. Navy officer to win his wings, and he then helped develop and test early naval aircraft. In 1913, he led the navy's first air unit in exercises in the Caribbean. In 1914, he commanded the naval aircraft in operations at Veracruz, Mexico.

During World War I, Towers served as assistant director of the new Division of Naval Aviation in the office of the chief of naval operations, helping to organize the navy's air effort, including antisubmarine activity. After the war, as an early and committed advocate of naval airpower, he commanded the navy's first aircraft carrier, the *Langley*, between 1927 and 1928. He also studied at the Naval War College and commanded the San Diego Naval Air Station and the aircraft carrier *Saratoga*.



U.S. Navy Admiral John H. Towers. (Corbis)

In June 1939, Towers was promoted to rear admiral and began a three-year appointment as chief of the Bureau of Aeronautics, where he oversaw the growth of U.S. naval air forces and pilot training. Under his leadership, the air arm of the navy grew from 2,000 aircraft in 1939 to 39,000 in 1942. In October 1942, he became commander of U.S. naval aviation in the Pacific (ComNavPac) and was promoted to vice admiral. In early 1944, Towers became deputy commander in chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet and Pacific Ocean Area. However, his fervent advocacy of naval aviation created enemies and kept him from a combat assignment until July 1944, when he received command of Task Force 38, too late in the war to see any significant action.

Promoted to full admiral, Towers assumed command of the Fifth Fleet in November 1945 and of the U.S. Pacific Fleet in February 1946. He consistently opposed the creation of an independent air force. He headed the General Board until his retirement in December 1947 and then worked as assistant to the president of Pan American World Airways. Towers died in Saint Albans, New York, on 30 April 1955.

Molly M. Wood

See also

Aircraft, Naval; Aircraft Carriers; Aviation, Naval; Naval Warfare

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Toyoda Soemu (1885–1957)

Japanese navy admiral who was made commander in chief of the Combined Fleet in 1944. Born in Ōita Prefecture, Japan, on 22 May 1885 into a Samurai family, Toyoda Soemu graduated from the Naval Academy in 1905 and became a gunnery officer. He graduated from Gunnery School, then taught there, and from the Naval War College. Between 1919 and 1922 as a lieutenant commander, he was a resident officer in Britain. Promoted to captain in 1925, Toyoda commanded the cruiser *Yura* and then the battleship *Hyuga*. In 1927, he took command of the Submarine Division 7. Promoted to rear admiral in 1931, he was assigned as chief of the Intelligence Department. He next served as chief of the Operations Department of the Naval General Staff and then as chief of staff of the Grand Fleet (1933) and chief of the Education Bureau of the Navy Ministry (1934).

Promoted to vice admiral in 1935, Toyoda assumed command of the Second Fleet and then the Fourth Fleet in 1937. Thereafter, he was assigned as chief of the Naval Affairs Bureau of the Navy Ministry and chief of the Shipbuilding Office. Promoted to admiral in September 1941, Toyoda

commanded the Kure Naval District. In 1941, he was recommended for the post of minister of the navy, but General Tōjō Hideki blocked the appointment because of Toyoda's strong antiarmy sentiments. Toyoda joined the Supreme War Council in November 1942 and assumed command of the Yokosuka Naval Yard in May 1943.

In May 1944, Toyoda succeeded Admiral Koga Mineichi as commander in chief of the Combined Fleet. He was firmly committed to the policy of making a strong offensive strike. His first attempt took place in Operation A-Gō and resulted in the 19–20 June 1944 Battle of the Philippine Sea, which turned out to be a catastrophic defeat for Japan. Nonetheless, Toyoda continued his policy of initiating a major offensive fleet action, and he developed a series of contingency plans (the SHŌ operations). Operation SHŌ-1 culminated in the Battle of Leyte Gulf, waged from 23 to 26 October 1944. The largest naval battle in history, it was a major Japanese defeat. In April 1945, Toyoda instituted steps to save Okinawa, resulting in kamikaze attacks, including that of the battleship *Yamato*. He replaced Admiral Ozawa Jisaburo as navy chief of staff in May 1945 and held that position to the end of the war. He was one of the triumvirate of die-hard military leaders, with Generals Umezu Yoshijiro and Anami Korechika, who rejected unconditional surrender. Following the war, Toyoda was arrested as a war criminal. He was then tried but acquitted. Released in September 1949, he died in Tokyo on 22 September 1957.

Hirama Yoichi

See also

Anami Korechika; Kamikaze; Koga Mineichi; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; Philippine Sea, Battle of the; Tōjō Hideki; *Yamato*, Suicide Sortie of

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Trident Conference (15–25 May 1943)

Anglo-American diplomatic conference. The Trident Conference, also known as the Third Washington Conference, was held in Washington, D.C., between British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill and U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and their political and military advisers. The debate in the conference involved military activities for the rest of the year and the date of a possible cross-Channel invasion. The British objective was to get the Americans to agree to an invasion of Italy after the conquest of Sicily (Operation

HUSKY) was completed. The British argued that such a course would deprive Germany of an ally and make the western and central Mediterranean an Anglo-American lake. Churchill hoped that new options for Anglo-American strategy would be opened and perhaps break the U.S. obsession with a cross-Channel attack.

The Americans, particularly Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall, were prepared for such arguments by the British. They pointed out that Soviet and American public opinion would demand an invasion of France. The Americans insisted that BOLERO, the buildup of men and matériel in England, should take precedence and that it would not prevent an invasion of Italy, although they did not commit to that invasion. Roosevelt and Marshall agreed to follow up HUSKY with the best means to drive Italy from the war and tie down the maximum number of German forces. Certainly, this position pointed toward an invasion of Italy, but it left options open. For the first time, Roosevelt had not come down in favor of Churchill's position, and the British leader would never again feel confident that Roosevelt would support him once they had discussed all aspects of a question. The two leaders agreed on a date of 1 May 1944 as the deadline for the cross-Channel attack, splitting the difference between the preferred American date of 1 April and the British date of 1 June.

Other topics of discussion included the China-Burma-India Theater, which generated much talk but little action, and the atomic bomb. Over British skepticism, the conferees approved (but never implemented) plans for operations in Burma. Churchill and Roosevelt could not agree on whether aiding Chinese leader Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) or forcing the Japanese from Southeast Asia should be the goal. Churchill was further frustrated because no one, not even members of his own delegation, favored his proposal for a landing in Sumatra.

Churchill and Roosevelt continued their debate from the Casablanca Conference on developing an atomic bomb, with the British leader protesting the U.S. refusal to share information, a course of action recommended by most of Roosevelt's advisers. The president reluctantly agreed to reveal secrets to the British but had not done so by the Quebec Conference that August.

Britton W. MacDonald

See also

Casablanca Conference; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Marshall, George Catlett; Quebec Conference (14–24 August 1943); Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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Tripartite Pact (27 September 1940)

Diplomatic agreement between Germany, Italy, and Japan. Negotiated in Tokyo, the pact was signed in Berlin on 27 September 1940 by German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop, Italian Foreign Minister Galeazzo Ciano, and Japanese Ambassador Kurusu Saburo. Primarily designed to forestall the entry of the United States into the war, the agreement stated as its main principle the establishment and maintenance of a new order, calculated to promote the mutual prosperity and welfare of the peoples concerned. The pact formalized the Axis partnership.

The agreement, which was to last 10 years, contained six articles. In Article 1, Japan recognized the establishment of a new order in Europe under the leadership of Germany and Italy. In Article 2, Germany and Italy recognized Japanese leadership in the establishment of a new order in greater East Asia. Article 3 pledged each partner to cooperate in the processes that would lead to the final goal stated in Articles 1 and 2. Article 3 was also a direct warning to the United States, although there was no mention of that power by name. In it, the three Axis powers vowed to “to assist one another with all political, economic, and military means when one of the contracting powers is attacked by a power not involved in the European war or in the Chinese-Japanese conflict.” Thus, Germany and Italy would be bound to fight on the side of Japan were the United States to attack that country. Article 4 called for joint technical commissions from the three powers to meet without delay to implement the agreement. Article 5 stated that the three powers respected the agreements made by the date on which the agreement was signed by any of the three powers with the Soviet Union. Article 6 set the 10-year limit of the agreement and provisions for its renewal.

Soviet leaders were alarmed by the pact, although Article 5 supported the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact of 1939. In November 1940, to allay Soviet concerns, the German government formally asked the Soviet Union to join the pact, and meetings were held to discuss that possibility. Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov was invited to Berlin, and talks concerning German-Soviet relations began on 12 November 1940. These negotiations did not result in agreement, as



German, Italian and Japanese leaders sign the Tripartite Alliance Pact in Berlin, 27 September 1940. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

Adolf Hitler, already planning to invade the Soviet Union, rejected the Soviet insistence on concrete agreements concerning territory and spheres of influence.

Other nations were also pressured by Germany to adhere to the Tripartite Pact. Romania signed on 23 November 1940, as did Slovakia the next day. Bulgaria joined on 1 March 1941, when Tsar Boris III pledged his country's allegiance. Yugoslavia adhered to the pact on 25 March 1941 but renounced its action two days later, after the government of Prime Minister Dragiša Cvetković was overthrown on the issue and replaced by that of General Dušan Simović. Unlike the Allies, the Axis coalition never developed a grand strategy for fighting the war.

Joseph C. Greaney

See also

Anti-Comintern Pact; Ciano, Galeazzo; German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact; Hitler, Adolf; Molotov, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich; Ribbentrop, Ulrich Friedrich Willy Joachim von; Stalin, Josef

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Truk

Principal Japanese fleet anchorage in the Central Pacific during the war. In 1940, the Japanese began fortifying the island of Truk, strategically located at the center of Micronesia. Although the base never became the “Gibraltar of the Pacific” or a facility comparable to Pearl Harbor, it was headquarters for the Japanese Combined Fleet by July 1942. Defensive construction continued into early 1944, eventually including four airstrips and two seaplane bases supporting 335 aircraft, 3 torpedo boat bases, and heavy coastal artillery. There were

only 40 anti-aircraft guns, however, and the total garrison of soldiers, sailors, and airmen amounted to fewer than 12,000 individuals.

American plans for attacking Truk emerged from preparations for assaulting Eniwetok, 669 miles northeast, in order to secure the U.S. hold on the Marshall Islands. Neutralizing Truk would also enhance efforts to isolate the Japanese base at Rabaul, 696 miles south, that had begun in the fall of 1943. Alerted by an American reconnaissance flight on 4 February 1944, the Combined Fleet commander in chief, Fleet Admiral Koga Mineichi, dispatched most of his combatant ships to Palau in the Marianas, 1,055 miles west. Before dawn on 17 February, Rear Admiral Marc Mitscher, commander of U.S. Task Force 58, sent planes from three of his four fast carrier groups lying 90 to 100 miles east-northeast of Truk on the first of 30 strikes during that day and the next. These air attacks destroyed or damaged 250 to 275 of the 365 Japanese aircraft stationed there and

sank 2 auxiliary cruisers, a destroyer, 2 submarine tenders, an aircraft ferry, 6 tankers, and 17 other transports/freighters. These losses amounted to almost 200,000 tons sunk.

During the first day of the attack, Vice Admiral Raymond Spruance, commander of the U.S. Fifth Fleet, circumnavigated the atoll with a powerful task group to catch escaping Japanese ships; they sank a light cruiser, a destroyer, and an auxiliary vessel. Japanese resistance was relatively light—only 25 American planes were lost—but a Japanese torpedo-bomber struck the large carrier *Intrepid* on the night of 17 February, inflicting damage that kept her out of action until June 1944.

The February U.S. attacks ended Truk's usefulness to the Japanese fleet. Another carrier raid, on 29 April 1944, left only 12 aircraft on the island serviceable and destroyed nearly all air-support facilities. Thereafter, heavy bombers from Eniwetok and the Admiralties routinely pounded Truk, but the



U.S. naval bombing attack on the Japanese base of Truk in the Carolines, 16 and 17 February 1944. A flotilla of Japanese vessels of varying sizes under the rain of U.S. Navy bombs. The largest of the ships is on fire from a hit forward. (Bettmann/Corbis)

earlier attacks showed that a major base could be eliminated by carrier-based planes alone.

John A. Hutcheson Jr.

See also

Aviation, Naval; Caroline Islands Campaign; Central Pacific Campaign; Japan, Navy; Koga Mineichi; Marshall Islands, Naval Campaign; Mitscher, Marc Andrew; Spruance, Raymond Ames; United States, Navy

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Truman, Harry S (1884–1972)

U.S. political leader and president from 1945 to January 1953. Born in Lamar, Missouri, on 8 May 1884, Harry Truman grew up on the family farm in Grandview. Poor eyesight kept him from the U.S. Naval Academy and the U.S. Military Academy. Truman never formally attended college, but he read for the bar at night at the Kansas City School of Law. He enlisted in the National Guard as a young man and served in combat in France during World War I as a field artillery battery commander.

Following the war, Truman entered politics, and with the backing of “Boss” Tom Pendergast, he was elected a judge in the court of Jackson County, Missouri. He served in that post from 1926 to 1934, when he was elected to the U.S. Senate from Missouri. Truman remained active as a reserve officer, rising to the rank of colonel and only retiring from the Army Reserve after he left the presidency. He was reelected to the Senate in 1940, but he remained relatively obscure until his service as chairman of the Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program, when he helped eliminate millions of dollars of waste in defense contracting. His efforts contributed significantly to the efficiency of the U.S. defense industry on the eve of the U.S. entry into World War II and thereafter.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt selected Truman as his running mate in 1944, and Truman was sworn in as vice president in January 1945. Roosevelt did not share with Truman his thinking on many significant war-related issues, and Truman was thus poorly prepared to become president when Roosevelt died suddenly on 12 April 1945. Yet despite his almost blind start, Truman made some bold moves virtually immediately. He supported the San Francisco Conference of Nations that established the United Nations, and he mustered popular and bipartisan support for that fledgling organiza-



U. S. President Harry S Truman, ca. 1945. (Library of Congress)

tion, with the intention of altering the nation’s traditionally isolationist outlook in favor of a postwar internationalist foreign policy.

When the Germans surrendered only 26 days after he assumed office, Truman appointed General Dwight D. Eisenhower to head the American occupation zone in Germany, and he supported a vigorous program of de-Nazification and war crimes prosecution. He opposed, however, the draconian Morgenthau Plan, the goal of which was to convert Germany into an agricultural state. Attending the July 1945 Potsdam Conference, Truman worked with Soviet dictator Josef Stalin and new British Prime Minister Clement Attlee to build on the agreements that had been reached by Stalin, Roosevelt, and British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill at Yalta. Truman also decided to employ the atomic bomb against Japan, a decision he later said he never regretted or agonized about.

As it became increasingly clear that the Soviet Union was systematically acting contrary to the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, Truman concluded that a strong Anglo-American stand was the only means of preventing a total Soviet domination of Europe. But rapid American demobilization had reduced U.S. military strength in Europe to 391,000 men by 1946, whereas the Soviets still had 2.8 million troops under arms. Truman used U.S. economic power and the country’s

momentary nuclear monopoly to blunt the Soviet aspirations in postwar Europe. He also effectively blocked the Soviets from assuming any role in the occupation of Japan.

Truman was wary of Soviet conventional military power in Europe, but he also tried to maintain the wartime alliance that he considered essential to the viability of the United Nations. When Soviet intentions finally became crystal clear—first with the 1948 Communist coup in Czechoslovakia and then with the Berlin Blockade—the defining Cold War American policy of containment solidified with three landmark decisions: the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and the establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Truman laid down the principles of the Truman Doctrine in a speech before Congress on 12 March 1947, when he stated he believed the United States had to adopt a policy to support free peoples resisting subjugation by armed minorities or by outside influences. In response, Congress approved his request for \$400 million in economic and military aid for both Greece and Turkey. Greece was then being torn apart in a civil war, and Turkey was under heavy pressure from Moscow over control of the Dardanelles. The support package for Greece also included U.S. military advisers.

The \$12 billion Marshall Plan was the engine of economic recovery in Europe, and it effectively prevented Moscow from stoking and exploiting economic chaos. The Soviet Union rejected aid under Washington's conditions and forced what were now its Eastern European satellites to do likewise. In March 1948, Britain, France, and the Benelux countries, with American backing, formed the Brussels Pact, which developed into the Western European Union in 1955.

Truman decided on an airlift as the answer to a Soviet blockade of Berlin, demonstrating U.S. resolve to block the spread of communism in Western Europe. In April 1949, the United States entered into its first (and still its most durable) standing military alliance since 1800 with the establishment of North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Truman also put Moscow on notice that the United States was willing to use its fledgling nuclear arsenal to defend Western Europe. In May 1949, when it became clear that the Soviets had no intention of allowing all of Germany's four occupation zones to reunite under a democratically elected government, Truman supported the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany, formed from the three western occupation zones. The Soviets retaliated almost immediately by establishing the German Democratic Republic in the east.

In what he described as his most difficult decision while in office, Truman authorized the employment of U.S. forces in Korea in June 1950, within a week of the North Korean invasion of South Korea. He also supervised the reorganization of U.S. defense and intelligence establishments along the lines that remain familiar at the start of the twenty-first century. His administration established the National Security Council, the

Department of Defense, the U.S. Air Force, and the Central Intelligence Agency, and it formally established the Joint Chiefs of Staffs and the global network of joint military commands.

Truman's decision to remove General Douglas MacArthur as U.S. and UN commander in Korea and the negative American public reaction to this, together with the stalemate in the war there, led Truman not to run for reelection in 1952. He left office in January 1953.

Harry Truman played an important role during World War II, and his postwar policies rebuilt Western Europe, integrated the greater part of Germany into the West, and prevented the spread of communism outside the Soviet occupation zone. Truman died in Kansas City, Missouri, on 26 December 1972.

David T. Zabecki

See also

Atomic Bomb, Decision to Employ; Attlee, Clement Richard; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Cold War, Origins and Early Course of; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Germany, Occupation of; Morgenthau, Henry, Jr.; Potsdam Conference; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stalin, Josef; Stimson, Henry Lewis; United Nations, Formation of; Yalta Conference

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Truscott, Lucian King, Jr. (1895–1965)

U.S. Army general who assumed command of VI Corps and then Fifth Army in 1944. Born in Chatfield, Texas, on 9 January 1895, Lucian Truscott had a limited formal education but taught school in Oklahoma. He joined the army when the United States entered World War I and was selected for officer training. Commissioned into the cavalry in August 1917, he did not see overseas service during the war.

Between 1919 and 1925, Truscott was stationed at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii. He was promoted to captain in 1925, major in 1926, and lieutenant colonel in 1935. He was first a student and then an instructor at the Cavalry School (1925–1931) and the Command and General Staff School (1934–1940).

In February 1941, Truscott joined IX Corps as assistant G-3 and profoundly impressed his chief, Colonel Dwight D. Eisenhower. As both men rose in the army, Eisenhower



U.S. Army General Lucian Truscott. (Library of Congress)

repeatedly selected Truscott for important assignments. Promoted to brigadier general in May 1942, he was assigned to Britain's Combined Operations headquarters, where he developed ranger units that participated in the Dieppe raid that summer. After becoming a major general in November 1942, he commanded the force that seized Port Lyautey in French Morocco. During the fighting for Tunisia, Truscott served as Eisenhower's deputy in charge of training, and in March 1943, he took command of the 3rd Infantry Division.

In fighting in Sicily and again in peninsular Italy, Truscott's division established an exemplary reputation. He himself became known for his rigorous training, steely leadership, and ability to inspire confidence. A month after the Anzio landing on 22 January 1944, he replaced Major General John P. Lucas as commander of the U.S. VI Corps after Lucas became the scapegoat for the operation's initial failure. On 23 May, Truscott's greatly augmented VI Corps broke out of its beachhead. Had Fifth Army commander Lieutenant General Mark W. Clark not redirected Truscott's advance to Rome, VI Corps might have trapped large numbers of retreating Germans.

On 15 August 1944, Truscott's corps landed on the French Riviera as the vanguard of Lieutenant General Alexander M. Patch's Seventh Army in Operation DRAGOON. VI Corps drove rapidly up the Rhône Valley and again only narrowly missed making a major entrapment of German troops. Promoted to lieutenant general in September 1944 and thus too senior to keep his corps, Truscott handed over command in the Vosges Mountains in late October. In mid-December, back in Italy, he succeeded Clark as commander of Fifth Army, and in April 1945, he directed its 19-day final offensive through the Po Valley to the Alps.

Truscott was the only U.S. general of the war to command in battle at four successively higher echelons. Had his superiors in the Mediterranean not blocked his transfer to England—which Eisenhower had requested early in 1944—he, instead of Major General J. Lawton Collins, would have led VII Corps over Utah Beach into Normandy.

Truscott retired from the army on medical grounds in 1947. In retirement, he wrote his memoirs and served in various advisory capacities. He was promoted to full general on the retired list in 1954, and he died in Washington, D.C., on 12 September 1965.

Richard G. Stone

See also

Anzio, Battle of; Clark, Mark Wayne; Collins, Joseph Lawton; Dieppe Raid; DRAGOON, Operation; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Italy Campaign; Lucas, John Porter; Patch, Alexander McCarrell, Jr.; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; TORCH, Operation; Tunisia Campaign

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Tulagi Island, Battle of (7–8 August 1942)

Tulagi is a 2-mile-long and half-mile-wide island in the Solomon chain, located just off Florida Island and 20 miles north of Guadalcanal. It was part of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate until occupied by Japan in May 1942. At the beginning of the war, Tulagi was the site of an Australian-built seaplane base. The Japanese began bombarding the island in January 1942, and with the approach of the Japanese task force in the Coral Sea operation, the Australian government ordered



U.S. Marines wading ashore in the assault on Tulagi in the Solomon Islands, 1 January 1942. (Photo by U.S. Navy/Getty Images)

the evacuation of the island on 1 May. The Japanese then garrisoned Tulagi with a 350-man detachment of the 3rd Kure Special Landing Force, under Commander Suzuki Masaaki.

Targeted for invasion as part of the U.S. Guadalcanal Offensive, Tulagi had to be cleared of Japanese forces in order to secure the chief U.S. target—the airfield being constructed by the Japanese on Guadalcanal. Transport Group Yoke, consisting of three transports and four destroyer transports, delivered Brigadier General William Rupertus's landing force of the 1st Raider Battalion, 1st Battalion 2nd Marines, 2nd Battalion 5th Marines, and 1st Parachute Battalion.

The landing on Tulagi on 7 August 1942 was unopposed, but the Marines soon ran into stiff Japanese resistance. Tulagi was the first battle in which U.S. troops had encountered Japanese defensive tactics, including strongly entrenched dugouts and tunnels constructed to withstand heavy naval or air bombardment. These fortifications had to be taken by assault with grenades and high-explosive charges.

It was not possible to secure the small island on the first day, so the Marines dug in. During the night of 7–8 August, they encountered a Japanese banzai charge. Turning back this attack, the Marines secured the island the next day. Some 200 of the Japanese defenders were killed and only 3 were captured; 40 others escaped to nearby islands. U.S. forces had 36 men killed and 54 wounded in the operation.

Herschel M. Sarnoff

See also

Guadalcanal, Land Battle for; Southwest Pacific Theater

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Tunis, Battle of (3–13 May 1943)

By the end of April 1943, the converging Allied offensive conducted by General Harold Alexander's 18th Army Group with Lieutenant General Bernard Montgomery's British Eighth Army and Lieutenant General Kenneth Anderson's British Fifth Army had pushed the Axis forces into a pocket around Tunis and Bizerte. Although the two Axis armies in Colonel General Jürgen von Arnim's Army Group Afrika—General Giovanni Messe's First Italian Army and General Gustav von Vaerst's Fifth Panzer Army—had linked up for the final defense, their loss of equipment had been so great that defending even the

100-mile arc was impossible in the face of the massive Allied superiority. Alexander had 20 divisions with 300,000 men and 1,400 tanks against Arnim's fighting strength of only 60,000 men and up to 100 tanks.

The Allies took some 250,000 prisoners in the Battle of Tunis, the largest surrender by the Axis troops to that time.

The British had taken the high ground around Medjez-el-Bab, allowing a direct attack against Tunis and Bizerte. Arnim held off the Allied offensive, delivered simultaneously on every sector between 19 and 25 April, but in doing so, the

Axis forces consumed the last of their scanty resources. The tourniquet applied by the Allied air and naval blockade across the Mediterranean from Italy was now so tight that few reinforcements or supplies reached Tunisia. Field Marshal Erwin

Rommel and Arnim had reported in February that 140,000 tons per month would be required to maintain the fighting power of the Axis forces, but they received just 23,000 tons in April and a paltry 2,000 tons in the first week of May.

As a result, Axis forces suffered severe shortages of food, ammunition, and fuel. Fuel resources were sufficient to move just 16 miles, which drastically restricted all tactical movement. Despite heroic efforts to transfer even the smallest amounts by air and submarine, Arnim later admitted that he would have been forced to capitulate by the beginning of June regardless of Allied operations simply because of a shortage of food. The complete breakdown of the logistics system explains the collapse of Axis resistance far more clearly than any Allied offensive.

Montgomery's failure to break through the Enfidaville bottleneck led Alexander to devise a new final plan. He switched the 4th Indian and 7th Armoured Divisions and the 201st Guards Brigade from Eighth to First Army and charged Lieutenant General Brian Horrocks's IX Corps with making



Colorful Spahis (Algerian cavalry) troops of the French colonial army passing a French tank in the foreground in the Allied victory parade along Avenue Gambetta in Tunis, 1943. (Library of Congress)

the final attack. Operation STRIKE was to be an overwhelming onslaught on a 3,500-yard front by the 4th Indian and 4th British Divisions, supported by a massive phalanx of 470 tanks in the valley south of the Medjerda River. Its goal was the capture of Tunis. American forces, meanwhile, had captured Mateur on 3 May and had pushed the German line back to Chouïgui, just 15 miles from Bizerte, preventing the Germans from reinforcing their positions in the Medjerda Valley.

The assault opened at 3:00 A.M. on 6 May with a concentrated barrage by up to 652 guns, which pulverized Axis strong points with a concentration of shells five times greater than the opening barrage in the October 1942 Battle of El Alamein; this was followed by an intense air assault at dawn. Under this massive onslaught, German resistance collapsed, and the Allied infantry broke through almost without opposition, so that by 10:00 A.M., tanks of the 6th and 7th Armoured Divisions were pouring through the gap and could “go as fast and as far as they liked.” They failed, however, to grasp the elementary principles of exploitation that Rommel had earlier demonstrated and advanced with extreme and unnecessary caution.

On 7 May, the 11th Hussars entered Tunis, the first unit to cross the Egyptian border in 1940, aptly crowning the end of the campaign, and U.S. forces entered Bizerte later the same day. The Fifth Army was thus trapped between the British and American spearheads, and Vaerst surrendered on 8 May, furnishing 40,000 prisoners. Also on that day, British Admiral Andrew Cunningham carried out Operation RETRIBUTION, a rejoinder to the agonies suffered by the British during the evacuation of Greece and Crete in 1941, to prevent any escape of the Axis forces by sea, signaling, “Sink, burn and destroy. Let nothing pass.”

Alexander’s principal concern thereafter was to prevent the vast bulk of the Axis troops south of Tunis from retreating with Messe’s First Army into the Cape Bon peninsula and establishing a redoubt. Immediately, 1st and 6th Armoured Divisions drove to Hamman Lif at the neck of the peninsula, but the hills there reach almost to the beach, and a small detachment of Germans held up the Allies for another two days. Without fuel or ammunition or any hope of escape, further resistance was futile, and the remaining Germans were mopped up, the last units surrendering on 13 May. In all, the Allies took some 250,000 prisoners in the Battle of Tunis, the largest capitulation yet suffered by the Axis powers.

Paul H. Collier

See also

Afrika Korps; Alexander, Sir Harold Rupert Leofric George; Anderson, Sir Kenneth Arthur Noel; Arnim, Hans Jürgen Dieter von; Bradley, Omar Nelson; Cunningham, Sir Andrew Browne; El Alamein, Battle of; Horrocks, Sir Brian Gwynne; Kesselring, Albert; Meese, Giovanni; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Tunisia Campaign

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Tunisia Campaign (1943)

Allied military campaign leading to the clearing of Axis forces from North Africa. Following the Anglo-U.S. invasion of north-west Africa on 8 November 1942, German Chancellor Adolf Hitler belatedly recognized that a collapse of Axis power in Africa threatened not just Benito Mussolini’s regime in Italy but also Germany itself by exposing the whole of southern Europe to Allied attack. He therefore allocated massive reinforcements to Tunisia, on a scale far greater than ever before seen in Africa. By the end of 1942, the commander of the Fifth Panzer Army, Colonel General Jürgen von Arnim, had achieved his short-term objectives. He had prevented the Allies from reaching the central Tunisian coastline and thereby isolating Fifth Army from General Erwin Rommel’s Panzerarmee Afrika, which was withdrawing into southern Tunisia. He had also deepened the Axis bridgehead by pushing back the British around Tébourba in the north, and he had blocked the way to Tunis by tenaciously recapturing Longstop Hill, which the Germans finally took on Christmas Day 1942 and renamed Christmas Hill. Thereafter, Allied operations ground to a halt as winter rain turned the terrain into a muddy morass.

Allied judgments that German tanks could not operate in the drier, mountainous terrain were dramatically proven wrong on 18 January 1943, when Arnim launched an offensive against the French around Pont du Fahs. By the end of January, the veteran 21st Panzer Division had captured the Faid Pass and the Allies had been pushed back from the Eastern Dorsals, whereas Rommel had withdrawn to the Mareth Line, a prewar French defensive system in southern Tunisia.

Rommel now had close to 80,000 troops, and Fifth Army had risen to a strength of 100,000 men, mostly German troops, giving the Axis forces a much better ratio to Allied strength, despite being significantly weaker in tanks. Moreover, the strategic position had now reversed, as the Axis units were able to concentrate their forces in a strong central position with the advantage of “interior lines,” and fleetingly, the two panzer armies had the opportunity to strike back. Rommel was not dismayed by the threat of Lieutenant General Lloyd Fredendall’s U.S. II Corps poised on the line of his retreat, and indeed, he conceived an ingenious plan to crumple the Americans, while Lieutenant General Bernard L. Montgomery’s British Eighth Army was still stretched out



Axis prisoners of war are herded out of the city as Allied armies enter Tunis. (National Archives)

along a supply line across Libya, before turning the Axis strength against it.

On 14 February, Arnim attacked Sidi bou Zid and Sbeitla with the 10th and 21st Panzer Divisions, while Rommel occupied Gafsa virtually unopposed and then captured the American airfields at Thelepte, 60 miles beyond. Rommel wanted to exploit the Allied confusion with a combined drive to Tebessa and secure Allied supply dumps, then sweep up behind the British army in the north. Unfortunately for him, he no longer had the freedom that he had enjoyed in the desert to disregard Comando Supremo's instructions, which were to push on toward Thala and Le Kef.

By 20 February, Rommel had broken through Kasserine Pass, instead of farther north as the Allies had been led to expect through ULTRA intelligence. Fredendall's force cracked after losing two tank, two infantry, and two artillery battalions. Nevertheless, increasing Allied resistance, poor terrain

for mobile operations, Arnim's lack of cooperation, and growing Axis losses obliged Rommel to call off the operation on 22 February.

Rommel's offensive was a brilliant success as a limited objective and came perilously close to driving the Allies from Tunisia, but it had no long-term effect on Allied strategy. The Americans had suffered a humiliating defeat and significant losses of men, matériel, and confidence. The commander in chief, Mediterranean, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, replaced Fredendall with the more aggressive Major General George S. Patton Jr. U.S. forces had, however, gained invaluable battle experience. The Allies quickly retook most of the passes, and on 20 February, they formed First and Eighth Armies into 18th Army Group under General Harold Alexander, with the aim of ending the campaign before May.

Rommel was promoted to commander in chief of Army Group Afrika, and his Panzerarmee was renamed First Ital-

ian Army, under General Giovanni Meese. On 26 February, Arnim launched an abortive offensive, which merely delayed Rommel's second strike against the Eighth Army at Medenine until 6 March. The interval also enabled Montgomery to rush extra divisions forward, which decisively shattered Rommel's attack. The defeat did not end the war in Africa, but it dispelled any hope that the Axis forces could overcome one of the two Allied armies before they developed a combined pressure and therefore decided the final conclusion. Rommel was ill, and on 9 March, he flew to Germany in an effort to convince Hitler to evacuate the Tunisian bridgehead. As it turned out, Rommel never returned to his beloved Afrika Korps (Africa Corps).

At the end of March, after his initial frontal attack had failed, Montgomery's forces outflanked the Mareth positions and then joined with the First Army in the early days of April. Montgomery, however, failed to prevent Meese from withdrawing to the defensive bottleneck at Wadi Akarit, north of Gabes. Although the two Axis armies formed a strong force, the Allied air and naval tourniquet prevented reinforcements or supplies of food, ammunition, and fuel from reaching Tunisia, and the Axis forces suffered severe shortages, particularly of fuel, which drastically restricted all tactical movement. Patton's U.S. II Corps now threatened Messe's rear and flank, but Meese withdrew to Enfidaville as the two Axis armies were pressed into a pocket around Tunis and Bizerte. Although both armies had linked up for the final defense, improving their position, their loss of equipment had been so great that defense of even the 100-mile arc was impossible in the face of the massive Allied superiority.

Political and psychological considerations strongly influenced the final assault, as Eisenhower ordered that the Americans, now under Lieutenant General Omar Bradley, should make the main effort in the north. Alexander launched the final offensive on 22 April, with the British First Army attacking toward Tunis and Bradley striking against Bizerte and Montgomery on the defensive at Enfidaville. When the advance stalled, two of Montgomery's best divisions were switched to First Army, and a fresh assault was launched.

Axis defenses quickly collapsed, and Tunis and Bizerte both fell on 7 May; the last German and Italian units surrendered six days later. Some 250,000 prisoners were captured, the largest capitulation yet suffered by the Axis powers, depriving them of experienced troops that would have been invaluable in the defense of Europe. Coming soon after the German defeat at Stalingrad, the situation was a further humiliation for Hitler. For Benito Mussolini, however, the Tunisia Campaign was a disaster. The best part of the Italian army had been lost, and the Italian empire on which he had based the credibility of his regime simply ceased to exist. Mussolini's survival now depended entirely on Hitler.

Paul H. Collier

See also

Afrika Korps; Alexander, Sir Harold Rupert Leofric George; Arnim, Hans Jürgen Dieter von; Bradley, Omar Nelson; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Fredendall, Lloyd Ralston; Hitler, Adolf; Kasserine Pass, Battle of; Kesselring, Albert; Mareth, Battle of; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Mussolini, Benito; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Stalingrad, Battle of; TORCH, Operation; Tunis, Battle of

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Turing, Alan Mathison (1912–1954)

British mathematician and cryptologist. Born in Paddington, England, on 23 June 1912, Alan Turing was educated at Cambridge University, where he was a brilliant student in quantum mechanical and mathematical logic. While still an undergraduate, he published a seminal article suggesting a machine that could, by following a proscribed set of rules, move from one “state” to another. Afterward known as the “Turing Machine,” this concept was the foundation for the logical structure of modern-day computers.

From 1939, British intelligence collected top mathematicians and code-breakers at Bletchley Park outside of London to assist in breaking the German codes of the Enigma machine. There, Turing led a mix of individuals attempting to build on work that had been conducted by the Poles. Bletchley Park was ultimately able to read all German encrypted radio traffic, although not in real time. Nonetheless, this work was immensely successful, and the information it provided, code-named Top Secret ULTRA, proved vital to the Allied victory in World War II. Turing left Bletchley Park in 1943 to develop a speech encipherment system.

Following the war, he worked on the development of the first electronic (as opposed to mechanical) computers and wrote papers that are considered the foundation of today's field of artificial intelligence. Arrested, tried, and convicted

in 1952 for homosexual activities, Turing acceded to a regimen of estrogen injections in lieu of imprisonment and continued with his research while under observation by members of a security detail, who were vexed when he took a Greek vacation in 1953. Turing, whose mother claimed he often experimented with poisonous chemicals, died on 4 June 1951 at Winslow, Cheshire, England, after eating part of an apple laced with potassium cyanide; an inquest deemed his death a suicide.

Robert Bateman

See also

Bletchley Park; Enigma Machine; Signals Intelligence

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Turkey

Straddling both Europe and Asia Minor, Turkey occupied an important strategic position during the war. The nation had been on the losing side in World War I and had been forced to give up substantial territory. Turkish political leaders were also well aware that their military machine was obsolete. For these reasons, despite their hatred of their traditional enemy, the Soviet Union, the Turkish leaders were determined to keep the nation neutral in World War II.

Domestically, Turkey had been a secular state since 1924, but it was hardly a democracy. The father of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal (Kemal Atatürk), died in 1938. Premier Ismet İnönü, his closest associate, then took over the leadership of the nation and its one political party, the People's Party. İnönü was reelected president in 1943.



Turkish infantrymen, May 1940. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Turkish leaders were particularly apprehensive over the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact of 23 August 1939, as well as the possibility that Germany and the Soviet Union might combine against their country. In September 1939, they attempted without success to negotiate a mutual security pact with the Soviets. Turkey also kept its large army mobilized throughout the conflict, worried not only by the ambitions of Germany and the Soviet Union but also by those of Italy in the Balkans. The period of greatest threat for Turkey was from the beginning of the war to the German invasion of the Soviet Union.

Although it remained neutral, Turkey was pro-West in its orientation. Once the Germans controlled the Balkans, however, Ankara signed the Treaty of Territorial Integrity and Friendship with Berlin on 18 June 1941, which offered economic concessions to Germany. Nonetheless, İnönü strongly resisted pressure by German Ambassador Franz von Papen to get Turkey to enter the war on the German side. When the tide of war turned against the Axis powers, Turkey resumed its pro-West position, although it also resisted pressure from the United States and Britain to enter the war on the Allied side. Indeed, by 1944, relations between the Allies and Turkey had reached a low point. Although Turkey declared war on Germany on 23 February 1945, this step was taken to ensure membership in the United Nations.

Following the war, the Soviet Union applied tremendous pressure on Turkey in an effort to annex Kars and Ardahan. These two northeast Turkish provinces had long been a source of contention between the two nations. Moscow also demanded a share of control over the defense of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles Straits. This Soviet pressure on Turkey and the communist threat to Greece led to the 1947 Truman Doctrine and to Turkish membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1952.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Cold War, Origins of and Early Course of; German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact

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Turner, Richmond Kelly (1885–1961)

U.S. Navy admiral who oversaw the bulk of amphibious operations carried out by U.S. forces in the Pacific Theater. Born on 27 May 1885 in Portland, Oregon, Richmond Turner graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1908. Following service in World War I, he held a variety of posts, eventually qualifying as a pilot at the age of 42. He attended the Naval War College in 1935 and remained there until 1938 as head of the Strategy Section. He then became director of the War Plans Division of the Navy Department in Washington. In March 1941, Turner was promoted to rear admiral.

Following the U.S. entry into World War II, Turner assumed additional duties as assistant chief of staff to Admiral Ernest J. King. In this dual capacity, he played a significant role in strategic planning for the Pacific Theater. In July 1942, he became commander of the Amphibious Force, South Pacific, and he directed most U.S. amphibious landings in the Pacific during the war. "Terrible Turner" had a reputation for being both brilliant and hot-tempered. His first operation involved the amphibious landings at Guadalcanal and Tulagi in August



U.S. Navy Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner. (Corbis)

1942. Turner also had charge of amphibious assaults in the central Solomons: Russell Island (February 1943) and Rendova Island (June 1943). As U.S. forces readied for their drive through the Central Pacific, he received command of the Fifth Amphibious Force, U.S. Fifth Fleet.

Turner planned and commanded the landings against the Gilbert Islands of Makin and Tarawa (November 1943). In early 1944, he also had charge of the landings against the Marshall Islands of Kwajalein (January–February 1944) and Eniwetok (February 1944). He was promoted to vice admiral in February 1944.

In March, Turner became commander, Amphibious Forces Pacific, while simultaneously retaining command of the Fifth Amphibious Force. He directed the June–August invasions of the Mariana Islands of Saipan, Tinian, and Guam. He also commanded the amphibious forces in the onslaughts against Iwo Jima (February 1945) and Okinawa (March–June 1945). In May 1945, in the midst of the Okinawa Campaign, Turner received promotion to admiral, and he next worked on plans for the invasion of Japan (Operation OLYMPIC), scheduled for the fall of 1945. He attended the Japanese surrender ceremonies on 2 September 1945 in Tokyo Bay.

Following the war, Turner served as U.S. naval representative on the UN Military Committee until his retirement in July 1947. Richmond Kelly Turner died in Monterey, California, on 12 February 1961.

R. Kyle Schlafer

See also

Amphibious Warfare; Central Pacific Campaign; Eniwetok, Capture of; Gilbert Islands Campaign; Guadalcanal, Land Battle for; Guam, Battle for; Iwo Jima, Battle for; King, Ernest Joseph; Kwajalein, Battle for; Landing Craft; Makin, Battle of; Mariana Islands, Naval Campaign; Marshall Islands, Naval Campaign; Naval Gunfire, Shore Support; New Georgia, Battle of; Okinawa, Invasion of; Saipan, Battle of; Savo Island, Battle of; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign; Southwest Pacific Theater; Spruance, Raymond Ames; Tarawa, Battle of; Tinian, U.S. Invasion of; Tulagi Island, Battle of; United States, Navy

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Tuskegee Airmen

Personnel of the all-black combat units of the U.S. Army Air Forces during World War II. The U.S. Army Air Corps

(USAAC) specifically saw to it that no African Americans had ever entered its ranks. But in 1938, the Civil Aeronautics Authority, in a far-sighted move, authorized flight training for 20,000 college students per year, and soon after its inception, the program was opened to African Americans. The following year, Public Law #18 provided for contracting with civilian aviation schools for the elementary and primary phases of USAAC combat aviation training. This program also was reluctantly opened to blacks.

Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, would emerge as the primary site for training African American military aviation cadets. Air Corps commanders favored Tuskegee, comforted by the belief that the institution still adhered to the "accommodationist" philosophy of its founder, Booker T. Washington. But contrary to popular opinion, the training at Tuskegee was fully the equal of any "white" USAAC facility. The USAAC realized that the Tuskegee program was of minor importance in the total air-training effort and that its success or failure would have very little effect on the total World War II effort.

On 19 July 1941, the USAAC activated the pioneer all-black 99th Pursuit Squadron. After lengthy training at Tuskegee, the 99th, under the rigorous command of Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin O. Davis Jr., was sent into combat in North Africa and Italy. It was later joined by the 100th, 301st, and 302nd Pursuit Squadrons to form the 332nd Pursuit Group, again commanded by Davis. Davis insisted that his men stick close to the bombers that they were to escort, and consequently, the 332nd's "Good Shepherds" compiled a unique and enviable record in never losing an escorted aircraft to aerial attack while shooting down 103 German aircraft. The 332nd's pilots flew a greater variety of fighter aircraft than any other U.S. fighter group: P-39s, P-40s, P-47s, and P-51s.

In the postwar decades, many Tuskegee Airmen pursued distinguished careers in the U.S. Air Force and in the civil aviation industry. Many historians have argued that the militant effort of American blacks to participate unsegregated in World War II was the catalyst of the U.S. civil rights movement beginning in the 1950s. It is certainly true that the American armed forces ended racial segregation a full decade ahead of civil society in the United States.

Stanley Sandler

See also

Aircraft, Fighter; Davis, Benjamin Oliver, Jr.; United States, Air Force

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African American U. S. Army Air Forces pilots in Italy, 1944. (Bettmann/Corbis)

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Twining, Nathan Farragut (1897–1982)

U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) and U.S. Air Force (USAF) general who commanded U.S. air forces in both the European and Pacific Theaters during the war. Born in Monroe, Wisconsin, on 11 October 1897, Nathan Farragut Twining joined the Oregon National Guard in June 1916 and served as a corporal in the 3rd Oregon Infantry Regiment when the National Guard was called for service on the Mexican border in 1916. He received an appointment to the U.S. Military Academy in May 1917 and graduated from an abbreviated wartime course there in November 1918 but remained as an officer cadet until June 1919.

Twining's early career was in the infantry, but he entered the Primary Flying School at Brooks Field, Texas, in August

1923. He graduated from Advanced Flying School at Kelly Field, Texas, and received his wings in September 1926. Twining transferred to the Air Corps that November. His first operational assignment was to the 18th Pursuit Squadron in Hawaii. He returned to the mainland in March 1932.

Between March 1932 and August 1935, Twining served with several operational units and was promoted to captain. He graduated from the Air Corps Tactical School, Maxwell Field, Alabama, in 1936 and from the Command and General Staff School, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1937. From 1937 to 1940, Twining was stationed at Duncan Field, Texas. Promoted to major in August 1940, he became assistant chief of the Technical Inspection Division, Headquarters (HQ) Air Corps, Washington, D.C., and was later promoted to lieutenant colonel.

In March 1942, Twining was promoted to brigadier general and became chief of staff to Major General M. F. Harmon, commander of U.S. Army Forces in the South Pacific. In January 1943, he took command of the newly formed Thirteenth Air Force, operating in the Solomon Islands and Bismarck Archipelago. Nicknamed the "Jungle Air Force," the unit



U.S. General Nathan F. Twining. (Library of Congress)

provided invaluable support to General George C. Kenney's Fifth Air Force. On 26 January, Twining's B-17 was forced down in the Coral Sea. He and the other 15 survivors spent five days in a life raft before being rescued. In July, Twining, now a major general, assumed command of all Allied air assets in the South Pacific.

In November 1943, he took charge of the newly formed U.S. Fifteenth Air Force in Italy. Among his command's critical targets were the Romanian oil refineries at Ploesti. In June 1945, he was promoted to temporary lieutenant general and then was given command of Twentieth Air Force in the Pacific in August. His new command dropped the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In December 1945, Twining took charge of the Air Matériel Command, Wright Field, Ohio. In 1947, he headed the Alaska Command, and in May 1950, he became deputy chief of staff of the air force. Promoted to general in October and made vice chief of staff, Twining oversaw much of the air force's conversion from propeller to jet aircraft.

In June 1953, Twining became chief of staff of the U.S. Air Force. He oversaw the reorganization of the service, the intro-

duction of new aircraft, and improvements in training and living conditions. He also fought against decreases in conventional forces in favor of nuclear missiles.

In August 1957, Twining became the first air force general to be chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. His 1957 assertions that there was a "bomber gap" with the Soviet Union led to a substantial increase in air force appropriations from Congress. Twining retired in 1960 and entered private business as vice chairman of the publishing firm of Holt, Rinehart and Winston. His book *Neither Liberty nor Safety* (1966) sharply criticized the administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson for refusing to upgrade U.S. missile weaponry. Twining died at Lackland Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas, on 29 March 1982.

William Head

See also

Guadalcanal, Land Battle for; Hiroshima, Bombing of; Nagasaki, Bombing of; Ploesti, Raids on

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Two-Ocean Navy Program

Massive U.S. Navy expansion approved by Congress in 1940. Because agreements signed at the Washington Conference in early 1922 limited most U.S. naval construction, Washington could counter the rising naval power of Japan only by shifting naval assets from the Atlantic to the Pacific. After 1933, however, Germany's rearmament raised new potential dangers in the Atlantic; meanwhile, the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, himself a naval enthusiast, viewed naval expansion as one of many economic stimuli and promoted building programs in 1933 and 1934 to bring American numbers of noncapital ships up to treaty-authorized limits. In 1935, Germany and Britain reached an agreement stipulating that the German fleet could have up to 35 percent of the tonnage of the Royal Navy, and in 1936, Japan abandoned its 1922 limits. A "two-ocean" war now became a real possibility for U.S. planners.

Early in 1938, Roosevelt proposed a 20 percent increase in U.S. warship tonnage, an increase that Congress approved on 17 May. Through the remainder of 1938 and into 1939, as Germany's aggressive moves led to the absorption of Czechoslova-

kia and prompted Anglo-French guarantees of Poland's security, Roosevelt concluded that the greater danger to U.S. national interests lay in the Atlantic rather than the Pacific, with a special concern for defending the Panama Canal. After World War II began in September 1939, Roosevelt organized a "neutrality patrol" in the western Atlantic, defined in October 1939 as lying west of a line from the Saint Lawrence River to Trinidad.

German conquest of the Low Countries and France in May and June 1940 affected the Pacific as well as the Atlantic. French possessions in Indochina and Dutch holdings in the Netherlands East Indies were tempting targets for the Japanese, as were the Philippines. On 14 June 1940, as he was still planning a defensive posture in the Pacific while making the Atlantic the main theater of American naval operations, Roosevelt requested a 25 percent increase in the carrier, cruiser, and submarine tonnage authorized in May 1938, amounting to an 11 percent rise in total U.S. fleet tonnage. Three days later, after German troops had occupied Paris, Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Harold Stark asked Congress to appropriate \$4 billion for a two-ocean navy—a 70 percent increase in the combat fleet, which would add 1,325,000 tons of new construction, amounting to 257 ships above the 488 that already existed or were being built at that time.

Roosevelt signed the Two-Ocean Navy Act on 19 July 1940. The largest naval appropriation in U.S. history and designed to increase the size of the navy by 70 percent, it

authorized construction of 2 new Iowa-class and 5 Montana-class battleships, 6 Alaska-class battle cruisers, 18 aircraft carriers, 27 cruisers, 115 destroyers, 43 submarines, and 15,000 aircraft. It also provided for the purchase or conversion of 100,000 tons of auxiliary ships and the expenditure of \$50 million for patrol, escort, and miscellaneous vessels. Although modified to meet the changing demands of the war, the act created the combat core of the U.S. Navy as it developed from the middle of 1942 through the remainder of the war and for much of the decade that followed. Under its aegis were built the Essex-class carriers, Baltimore-class heavy cruisers, Cleveland- and Atlanta-class light cruisers, Bristol- and Fletcher-class destroyers, and numerous submarines and smaller surface vessels.

John A. Hutcheson Jr.

See also

Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stark, Harold Raynsford "Betty"; United States, Navy

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U

Udet, Ernst (1896–1941)

German air force general and armaments director who was blamed for the Luftwaffe's failings early in the war. Born on 26 April 1896 at Frankfurt am Main, Germany, Ernst Udet took flying lessons at the outbreak of World War I. He then joined the German army and became a pilot. In March 1918, he joined Baron Manfred von Richthofen's Flying Circus. After Richthofen's death, Udet temporarily led this military unit until Hermann Göring assumed command. Udet ended the war with 62 victories, the highest-scoring German ace to survive.

Thereafter, he remained in aviation as a stunt pilot and explorer. Göring recruited his old comrade into the new German air force (the Luftwaffe) in 1935. Udet assumed the rank of general and was the first inspector of fighters, a post for which he was well suited. Later, Göring made him director of armaments, overseeing technical development. Udet was a brilliant flyer and technically proficient but ill suited for administration. He constantly clashed with Inspector General of the Luftwaffe General Erhard Milch. Udet did oversee the procurement of the Messerschmitt Bf-109 and the Junkers Ju-87 Stuka, and he also pushed for the development of jet aircraft, but overall, he lacked the temperament needed for his position. As a result of his actions, as well as those of Göring, Milch, and Chief of Staff of the Luftwaffe General Hans Jeschonnek, German industry continually failed to meet production goals. The situation was so serious by the spring of 1941 that Göring replaced Udet with Milch. After having become the scapegoat for the air force's failures over Britain and elsewhere, a despondent Udet committed suicide in Berlin on 17 November 1941.

Rodney Madison



Ernst Udet, shown here at the Cleveland Air Race, September 1931. (Bettmann/Corbis)

See also

Aircraft, Fighters; Britain, Battle of; Fighter Tactics; Germany, Air Force; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Hitler, Adolf; Jeschonnek, Hans; Jet and Rocket Aircraft; Milch, Erhard

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Ukraine Campaign (November 1943–July 1944)

Soviet campaign to retake Ukraine. During the period between August and November 1943, the Soviet 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Ukrainian Fronts pushed back German Field Marshal Erich von Manstein's Army Group South from the Donets River to the Dnieper River. On 6 November, General Nikolai Vatutin's 1st Ukrainian Front took the Ukrainian capital of Kiev, and by the beginning of December, Soviet forces had crossed the Dnieper in a number of places, forcing the Germans from their hastily prepared positions. The Soviets then committed massive resources to liberate the remainder of Ukraine, including 70 percent of their armor and more than half of their air strength. The Soviet advantage in the air was especially glaring: a four-to-one superiority in numbers of aircraft over Luftwaffe units supporting Army Group South.

On 11 November 1943, German units launched a counter-attack toward Kiev, and on 20 November, they retook Zhitomir. Although fighting seesawed back and forth, the 1st Ukrainian Front launched a major assault on the First and Fourth Panzer Armies on 24 December. By 31 December, the Soviets again held Zhitomir.

As Soviet pressure mounted, Manstein feared that Army Group South would be cut off, and he requested permission from Adolf Hitler to withdraw from the Dnieper bend. Hitler refused, and on 5 January 1944, General of the Army Ivan Konev's 2nd Ukrainian Front drove southwest from the vicinity of Cherkassy. Over the next three weeks, the Soviets trapped 70,000 to 80,000 German troops of XI and XLII Corps in a pocket near Korsun. Over a five-day period, the Germans lost 44 Ju-52 transport aircraft in a vain attempt to supply the pocket by air. Manstein's efforts to break through with two panzer corps failed, and the Soviets continued to reduce the pocket. On 15 February, Hitler finally authorized a breakout, and on the night of 16–17 February, some 30,000 Germans managed to escape in the direction of Lysyanka, although they abandoned their wounded and heavy equipment. The Germans sustained 20,000 deaths in the Korsun pocket, and

the Soviets captured another 17,000 German troops, including 1,500 wounded. The victory led to Konev's promotion to marshal of the Soviet Union.

Simultaneous with Konev's attack, part of the 1st Ukrainian Front began the Rovno-Lutsck operation on 27 January 1944 to separate Army Group South from Army Group Center. On 2 February, Rovno fell, and nine days later, the Soviets took the major railroad junction at Shepetovka. To the south on 7 February, Colonel General Fedor Tolbukhin's 4th Ukrainian Front occupied Nikopol on the east bank of the Dnieper. It then turned south into the Crimean Peninsula, and on 22 February, General Rodion Malinovsky's 3rd Ukrainian Front took Krivoy Rog, with its important metallurgical deposits.

On 29 February, Vatutin was fatally wounded by Ukrainian partisans while on an inspection tour north of Kiev. Marshal Georgii Zhukov then took command of the 1st Ukrainian Front, and on 4 March, he began an offensive from Shepetovka toward the juncture between the First and Fourth Panzer Armies. On 5 March, the 2nd Ukrainian Front drove southwest toward Uman, joined the next day by the 3rd Ukrainian Front. Vast quantities of U.S. Lend-Lease trucks provided a degree of mobility that was previously lacking in Soviet offensive operations.

The 1st Ukrainian Front entered Tarnopol on 9 March, outflanking the Germans on the Bug River, which Konev's 2nd Ukrainian Front forces reached three days later. Striking south from Tarnopol into the rear of the First Panzer Army, Zhukov's 1st Ukrainian Front reached the Dniester River at the end of March. Meanwhile, the 2nd Ukrainian Front gained the Prut River by 26 March, and when tank units of both fronts linked up, they completely isolated the First Panzer Army. Farther south, the 3rd Ukrainian Front drove back the German Sixth Army to the Bug, sealing off the Crimean Peninsula.

On 25 March, Manstein flew to Berchtesgaden and managed to convince a reluctant Hitler to allow First Panzer Army to break free to the west of its encirclement, but on 30 March, the Führer relieved Manstein and replaced him with Field Marshal Walther Model. Hitler also renamed the two army groups in the south. Army Group South became Army Group North Ukraine, and Army Group A became Army Group South Ukraine. First Panzer Army managed to break free of its encirclement, and Model then launched a counteroffensive along the Dniester River.

For the next several months, the front remained relatively static. However, Zhukov's armor reached the Carpathian Mountains, effectively cutting the German front in two. Having gained the Romanian border, 2nd Ukrainian Front now turned south and joined with General Malinovsky's 3rd Ukrainian Front in a night attack led by General Vasily Chuikov's Eighth Guards Army to retake the Black Sea port



A Soviet soldier runs past a burning German tank in the battle for Kiev. (Corbis)

of Odessa, which Sixth Army abandoned on 10 April. Hitler then relieved Field Marshal Ewald von Kleist of command of Army Group South Ukraine, replacing him with General Ferdinand Schröder.

On 8 April 1944, Soviet forces launched an offensive into the Crimea. Too late, Hitler authorized an evacuation. By the evening of 9 May, the Soviets had retaken Sevastopol, capturing another 30,000 Axis troops. The Soviets now controlled most of the Ukraine, including its key industrial and agricultural areas. Stavka (the Soviet High Command) had employed all six of its tank armies in the Ukrainian operation but now began to transfer units, including four tank armies, to Operation BAGRATION—the destruction of Army Group Center in Belorussia, which began on 22 June 1944, the third anniversary of Operation BARBAROSSA. The Soviets retook the remainder of the Ukraine following the Battle of Brody-Lwów in July.

Claude R. Sasso and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Hitler, Adolf; Kleist, Paul Ludwig Ewald von; Konev, Ivan Stepanovich; Malinovsky, Rodion Yakovlevich; Manstein, Fritz Erich von; Model, Walther; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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ULTRA

See Bletchley Park; Signals Intelligence.

Unarmored Vehicles

General-purpose and specialized vehicles vital to mobile warfare, sometimes known as “soft” vehicles as opposed to “hard” (armored) vehicles. During World War II, the Allied side produced an overwhelming number of unarmored vehicles, an important factor in its ultimate victory. Most such



U.S. Army trucks leaving the motor pool to join the first convoy to travel over the Stilwell Road into China, 1 June 1945. (Photo by Fox Photos/Getty Images)

vehicles were in fact hurriedly evolved from existing commercial designs.

During the war, the United States manufactured 3.2 million military vehicles, a production level previously believed unattainable. Canada made no military vehicles in 1938 but turned out nearly 816,000 between 1939 and 1945, more than were produced by all Axis nations combined. Germany led the Axis powers in production of unarmored military vehicles, but the majority of the German infantry units nonetheless moved on foot or by rail and horse: nearly 3 million horses pulled German supply wagons.

Trucks were especially important in resupply, as a combat division could require up to 750 tons of supplies daily. In the seven-month-long Tunisia Campaign, for example, 6,000 Allied supply vehicles traveled a total of more than 35 million miles. During the Allied drive through France from 25 August to 16 November 1944, the Red Ball Express hauled more than 412,000 tons of supplies. Even this effort was not sufficient to meet all needs, however. Britain's equivalent, the Red Lion Express, delivered 500 tons daily to its Second Army. Axis operations, by contrast, often suffered for want of adequate supply transport and fuel.

The war's most notable truck design was the General Motors (GM) CCKW series (C for model year 1941, C for conventional cab, K for all-wheel drive, and W for tandem rear axle); this 22 ton truck was popularly known as the "deuce-and-a-half" or "Jimmy" (for GMC, or General Motors Corporation). One in four was to have a ring for mounting a .50 caliber anti-aircraft gun. The Jimmy was so popular that a joke claimed Adolf Hitler ordered 11,000 of them but told GM not to deliver; his army would pick them up on its way through Detroit.

The U.S. Army's Quartermaster Corps determined 22 tons was the maximum weight possible for a truck that could be produced quickly in unlimited quantities. Few such trucks existed in 1939, but more than a half million were made by various manufacturers during the war. The CCKW series featured six-wheel drive and cab-mounted levers to engage the front wheels. About half the trucks were made with Timken split-housing axles, the rest with GM's "banjo"-style axles. On the latter version, front and rear driveshafts turned in reverse rotation of each other. Engines blocks were cast iron. Bodies might be wood or steel or a combination of both. Variants included cargo trucks, flatbed trucks, troop carriers, fuel

and water tankers, dump trucks, tractors, and wreckers. Their distinctive Saginaw Steering recirculating ball gear made for exceptionally easy steering.

International Harvester created the M-5H-6—a 22-ton 6 × 6 for use by the U.S. Navy and Marines. Its Hendrickson rear walking-beam suspension was more durable off-road and allowed greater flexibility on uneven terrain than the standard 6 torque rod version. Thornton locking differentials let both rear axles lock together and turn all four rear wheels at the same time for exceptional traction, even on Pacific beaches.

Most Canadian trucks were Canadian Military Pattern (CMP), developed jointly by GM and Ford of Canada from British military specifications and used by all Commonwealth forces. Their cab-over-engine design was a radical departure.

Britain utilized Canadian and U.S. vehicles extensively but also made its own. Vauxhall Motors, Ltd., manufactured more than 250,000 trucks during the war, notably the Bedford 15 cwt (15 hundredweight, or 1,680 lbs) and the 3 ton Model OY. The USSR depended on the U.S. Lend-Lease program for the bulk of its motor transport, supplemented by its own GAZ and ZIS trucks.

Germany's most successful truck was the Blitz (Lightning), a 1938 design by Opel, Germany's General Motors subsidiary. More than 82,000 were produced between 1937 and 1944. The standard model was a 4 × 2 with 6 cylinder motor and 5 speed gearbox. Some 100 variants served as mobile workshops, laundries, labs, command vehicles, radio vans, and ambulances. A 4 × 4 version, Type A, was a reasonably good cross-country vehicle.

Italy's heavy trucks, such as the 6 ton Autocarro Unificato Pesante (heavy unified truck), won the respect of the British, who captured and used them in North Africa. Among medium trucks, the most modern was the Fiat 665 NL. Tough and powerful, it had very large wheels and front drive.

Japan's land transport consisted principally of trucks purchased earlier from the United States and captured vehicles. As these broke down, no spare parts were available, but for the most part, the terrain of the Pacific islands and Japanese jungle-infiltration tactics did not lend themselves to extensive motorized transport. The primary Japanese truck was the 4 wheeled, 12 ton Type 97. Other models included the 52 ton Type 2 heavy truck and the 6-wheeled Type 94. All were built by Isuzu, Japan's largest wheeled-transport manufacturer during the war.

China had an estimated 7,000 trucks in 1937, mostly small European models suited to the primitive Chinese road system. Some light American trucks were received through Lend-Lease. Chinese Communist forces procured transport by capture from the Japanese.

U.S. military planners saw the need for a specially designed small truck, something extremely lightweight, high-speed,

exceptionally rugged, and dependable in all terrain—essentially, a mule with wheels and an engine. The result became an American icon. Officially designated Truck, 3 ton, 4 × 4, or General Purpose (GP) 4 × 4, it was dubbed “jeep,” an existing nickname for any handy utility vehicle, by the troops. Soon, “jeep” was identified exclusively with the GP 4 × 4. The versatile little vehicle hauled supplies and wounded, performed reconnaissance duties, served command and communications roles, and shot up soft targets with its .50 caliber machine gun. Willys-Overland, Ford, and American Bantam produced more than 654,000 jeeps between 1940 and 1945. The jeep inspired a Soviet look-alike, the GAZ-67B Field Car, a 4 × 4 with a 4 cylinder Ford Model A engine and steel ladder-frame chassis.

Britain also developed a lightweight utility vehicle, the Austin 10. It featured a “pickup” truck body (that term was coined later). Replaced by jeeps in fighting units, it saw extensive service with signal, military police, and headquarters units.

Germany's Kfz Kublewagen (bucket car), Volkswagen (VW) 82, was based on existing plans for a civilian car (the famous VW Beetle, which began production in 1945). The Kublewagen had an open, boxy body of flat panels for rapid production and a rear-mounted engine. It had excellent cross-country performance and was easy to handle, although it lacked four-wheel drive. More than 520,000 were built. Japan's Type 95 by Kurogane was a light, 4 × 4 scout and field car with a 2 cylinder, air-cooled, front-mounted engine. Some 4,700 were made.

Tractors towed antitank and artillery guns cross-country and performed vehicle recovery. Breakdown recovery vehicles often had a trailer that pivoted on a turntable mounted on the tractor.

Britain's Scammell tractors were famous for their articulating rear bogie. The USSR's fully tracked agricultural tractors were slow and primitive compared with Western military models, but they were well suited to Soviet terrain and climate and were readily available due to a prewar Five-Year Plan production drive. The S-65 and S-80 6 cylinder diesel Stalinets saw extensive service.

The U.S. M26 truck-tractor from Pacific Car Foundry Company became the U.S. Army's standard tank-recovery vehicle, used in conjunction with 8 wheeled M15 and M15A1 transporter semitrailers, which had capacities of 40 to 45 tons. Its three winches could pull 35,000 to 60,000 lbs each.

Italy favored compact tractors with big wheels and powerful engines, such as the snub-nose Fiat TM40 Trattore Medio (medium tractor) 4 × 4. Germany developed specialized designs to cope with mud and snow in the Soviet Union. The Ostradschlepper (east wheel tractor) 4 × 4 Skoda 175, designed by the father of the VW Beetle, Ferdinand Porsche, had extremely large wheels with cleats but offered no great advantage and proved hard to handle. The more successful



U.S. Army soldiers on Harley-Davidson motorcycles. The Harley-Davidson Motor Co. built more than 90,000 motorcycles during World War II for the U.S. armed forces. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Raupenschlepper-Ost (Caterpillar-east) Steyr RSO/1 could replace its conventional 340 mm wide steel tracks with a 600 mm version for better traction.

Motorcycles carried messengers, reconnaissance patrols, sharpshooters, and even mortars. Britain's premier wartime cycle was the M20 from Birmingham Small Arms. More than 125,000 served in Allied armies around the world. In the United States, Harley-Davidson received so many government contracts it eclipsed rival firm Indian for dominance in the U.S. motorcycle market. Harley's WLA, a cheaper, hardier military version of its popular V-twin WL, proved to be the best motorcycle of the war, used in every theater. More than 90,000 were made.

Japanese troops also rode a version of the Harley. In 1935, the Rikuo Nainen Company obtained a Harley-Davidson license, from which it developed the Type 37 motorcycle for military use, with an air-cooled gas engine, higher body, and magnetic plugs. German motorcycle troops were as much a symbol of blitzkrieg as tanks or dive-bombers. Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW, Bavarian Motor Works) produced its R-71 model throughout the war. Germany developed a unique

crossbreed for paratroopers. First used on Crete in 1941, the Kleine Ketterkraftrad Sd Kfz (small, linked vehicle) placed a tracked rear end behind the front of a motorcycle to create a compact half-track cycle for supply transport.

Amphibious vehicles ran on land and swam through water. The most famous was America's DUKW (D for model year 1942, U for amphibian, K for all-wheel drive, and W for tandem rear axles), built on the dependable CCKW truck chassis. About 21,000 were built. The USSR's ZIL-485 and Britain's Terrapin were essentially enlarged DUKWs. Japan's Su-Ki was based on Toyota's 4 × 4 truck of the same name, and Germany's Kfz1/20 Schwimmwagen, VW 166, was a Kublewagen with a propeller and a bathtub-shaped body.

Unarmored vehicles were the yeomen that kept armored fighting vehicles (AFVs) moving and permitted infantry to keep up with fast-moving armored units. The ability to deploy effective designs quickly in unprecedented numbers allowed the Allies to maintain constant pressure on their enemies and respond rapidly to fluid combat situations, critical components for victory in mobile warfare.

Gerald D. Swick

See also

Amphibious Warfare; Armored Personnel Carriers; Armored Warfare; Blitzkrieg; Canada, Role in the War; Jeep; Lend-Lease; Logistics, Allied; Red Ball Express; United States, Home Front

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Unconditional Surrender

Total surrender without conditions or terms. At the Casablanca Conference, on 24 January 1943, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt announced, “The elimination of German, Japanese, and Italian war power means the unconditional surrender by Germany, Italy, and Japan.” Caught off guard by the announcement, Britain’s Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill nonetheless supported the president. In his Guildhall Speech of 30 June 1943, Churchill declared that unconditional surrender meant “that [the Axis] willpower to resist must be completely broken, and that they must yield themselves absolutely to our justice and mercy.”

The term *unconditional surrender* was identified with Union Brigadier General Ulysses S. Grant in 1862 during the U.S. Civil War when he demanded the surrender without terms of Fort Donelson, Tennessee. The demand for unconditional surrender had not been U.S. policy in conflicts with other nations prior to World War II. It sprang from the widespread belief in Germany after World War I that the German armed forces had not been defeated on the battlefield but rather had been “stabbed in the back” by the civilian government. This myth greatly assisted the rise to power of Adolf Hitler. To obviate another stab-in-the-back theory, Roosevelt demanded unconditional surrender, which would make it clear to all that the Axis powers had been defeated militarily. Unconditional surrender would also allow the victors to dictate peace terms to the vanquished in order to destroy the racist, aggressive philosophies extant in the Axis states. In addition, the policy reassured Soviet leader Josef Stalin that the United States and Great Britain were committed to the war effort and to the complete defeat of the Axis nations.

Under unconditional surrender, there would be no negotiations with members of the Axis. There would also be no “recognition” or “vacuum” rule, meaning that enemy leaders



Jubilant American soldier hugs Englishwoman, and victory smiles light the faces of happy servicemen and civilians at Piccadilly Circus, London, celebrating Germany’s unconditional surrender, 7 May 1945. (National Archives)

would not be able to act or exercise political authority. The victorious alliance would install a military government to exercise the defeated powers’ higher governmental functions.

In one sense, this declaration played into the hands of the Axis leadership. German Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels told the German people, “Enjoy the war; the peace will be awful.” Some have also charged that it prolonged the war because it precluded negotiations with the German Resistance.

Douglas B. Warner

See also

Casablanca Conference; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Goebbels, Paul Joseph; Hitler, Adolf; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stalin, Josef

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Unit 731, Japanese Army

Japanese army's secret biological warfare unit. Established under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Ishii Shiro in Harbin, Manchuria, in August 1936, Unit 731 was officially known as the Epidemic Prevention and Water Purification Bureau. Some 3,000 personnel worked to produce bacteria for anthrax, bubonic plague, cholera, dysentery, tetanus, typhoid, typhus, and other infectious diseases.

To develop methods to disperse biological agents and enhance their effectiveness, Unit 731 infected prisoners of war. At least 3,000 of them died in the experiments. Unit personnel referred to the prisoners—mostly Chinese, Koreans, and Soviets—as *maruta* (logs) because the Japanese informed the local Chinese that the Unit 731 facility was a

lumber mill. U.S., British, and Australian prisoners were also used as human guinea pigs.

Unit 731's activities were outrageous crimes against humanity. After infecting a prisoner with the virus, researchers might then cut open his body, sometimes while he was still alive, to determine the effects of the disease. No anesthetics were employed, as these might affect the results.

Medical researchers also confined infected prisoners with healthy ones to determine how rapidly diseases spread. In addition, Unit 731's doctors conducted experiments on compression and decompression and the effects of extreme cold on the body, subjecting limbs to ice water and then amputating them to determine the effects. The Japanese army also repeatedly conducted field tests using biological warfare against Chinese villages.

In a more widespread use, Japanese aircraft spread plague-infected fleas over Ningbo (Ningpo) in Zhejiang (Chekiang) Province in eastern China in October 1940, causing 99 deaths. The Chinese government correctly concluded that an epidemic of plague in these areas was caused by Japanese biological weapons, and it publicized its findings. Japanese troops also dropped cholera and typhoid cultures into wells and ponds. In 1942, germ-warfare units deployed dysentery, cholera, and typhoid in Zhejiang Province.

At the end of the Pacific war, Ishii and other researchers escaped to Japan. They left behind their laboratory equipment, as well as plague-infected mice that produced out-

breaks of the disease in the Haerbin (Harbin) area between 1946 and 1948. The U.S. government feared that the Japanese might employ biological warfare against North America via balloon bombs from Japan, but such a plan was never carried out.

After the Japanese surrender, the United States did not bring Ishii and his colleagues before the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (the Tokyo War Crimes Trials) for their crimes. Instead, they were granted immunity in exchange for providing information on the experiments to U.S. authorities, which Washington considered invaluable in its own biological warfare program. The Soviet government did prosecute 12 members of the unit at Khabarovsk in December 1949, all of whom admitted their crimes. They were convicted and received sentences of from 2 to 25 years in a labor camp.

Kotani Ken

See also

Chemical Weapons and Warfare

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To develop methods to disperse biological agents and enhance their effectiveness, Unit 731 infected Allied prisoners, then studied the effects.

United Nations, Declaration (1 January 1942)

Declaration of cooperation that led to the establishment of world institutions. The Atlantic Charter of basic war goals resulted from the Placentia Bay Conference involving U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill in August 1941. The Washington Conference held from 22 December 1941 to 14 January 1942 (code-named ARCADIA) brought together Roosevelt, Churchill, and their staffs to develop an overall strategic war plan. The resulting United Nations Declaration was issued by China, Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union on 1 January 1942. Later, 22 other nations signed and were designated "joint declarers." Signatory nations agreed to use their full resources to secure the defeat of the Axis powers, to continue the war until victory was achieved, and to avoid making any separate peace. There was also a concluding declaration that the agreement could be joined by any other nation that provided or that in the future would provide "mutual assistance and contributions" for the defeat of the Axis powers. Eventually, 19 other governments signed that accord. This understanding thus became not only a statement of general principles but also a device for binding diverse governments together. Further, the Washington Conference addressed



Twenty-six Allied nations representatives are gathered around U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt to sign the Declaration by the United Nations on 1 January 1942. (Bettman/Corbis)

such topics as an invasion of North Africa, countering the Japanese invasion of the Philippines, and Lend-Lease aid for the Soviet Union. In addition, Roosevelt agreed to send U.S. troops to Iceland and Northern Ireland.

The conference led to the first official use of the term *United Nations*, coined by President Roosevelt and immediately accepted to describe the Allies. This label both implied the impressive diversity of the Allied regimes and encapsulated Roosevelt's own very comprehensive—critics would argue utopian—vision of the postwar system of international relations. Throughout the war, Churchill and other leaders readily employed the term as a shorthand reference to the great, inclusive military alliance. Immediately after the war, the term would become the title for new global institutions established to encourage international agreements, facilitate international cooperation, and endeavor to prevent a future global war as well as more limited armed conflicts.

Arthur I. Cyr

See also

Atlantic Charter; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Cold War, Origins and Early Course of; Hull, Cordell; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stalin, Josef; Stimson, Henry Lewis; United Nations, Formation of; Welles, Benjamin Sumner

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United Nations, Formation of

The creation of the United Nations represented an attempt by the World War II Allies to establish an international organization that would be more effective than the interwar League of Nations at mediating international disputes and preventing



Edward Stettinius, chairman of the United States delegation to the United Nations Charter meeting in San Francisco, signs the Charter for the U.S. while President Harry Truman (second from left) and others look on, 25 June 1945. (Corbis)

full-scale conflicts. In the war's early months, even before the United States intervened, U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull established a departmental planning group for this purpose. Meeting off the Newfoundland coast in August 1941, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill included a broad proposal for an international security system in the Atlantic Charter, their declaration of overall war objectives.

On 1 January 1942, the governments of 26 nations fighting Germany, Italy, and Japan issued a declaration affirming their alliance against the Axis powers and also stating their commitment to liberal war objectives, as set forth in the Atlantic Charter, and the restoration of the principles of international law. In 1943, both houses of the U.S. Congress also passed resolutions demanding the creation of a postwar international security organization, in which they implied their own country should take the leading role it had abdicated in the League of Nations. Meeting in Moscow in Octo-

ber 1943, foreign ministers of the four leading Allied powers—the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China—signed the Declaration of Four Nations on General Security, committing themselves in general terms to the creation of a postwar international organization.

More specific proposals emerged from the Dumbarton Oaks Conference of 39 nations held in Washington, D.C., from August to October 1944. These proposals represented a compromise between the ideas of Roosevelt and other devotees of *realpolitik*—that agreement between the “Big Four” Allied powers that “the four policemen” must be the foundation of postwar international security—and more idealistic popular visions of a world in which all powers, great and small, enjoyed equal status and protection. Participants at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference agreed to create the bipartite United Nations organization, modeled on the earlier League of Nations but reserving ultimate authority to the dominant Allied states. All member states would be represented in the

General Assembly, which would debate, discuss, and vote on issues that came before it. Executive authority was to rest with the 11-member Security Council, which would have 5 permanent members—Britain, France, the United States, the Soviet Union, and China. The remaining Security Council representatives were to be drawn from other United Nations states, all of whom would serve two-year terms in rotation. Besides providing an international security mechanism, the United Nations was also expected to promote international cooperation on economic, social, and humanitarian issues.

At the Yalta Conference in February 1945, the Allies agreed, on Soviet insistence, that each permanent Security Council member should enjoy veto power over all General Assembly decisions. The Soviet Union also obtained separate representation for Belorussia (Belarus) and the Ukraine. Participants at the Yalta Conference further agreed on a United Nations trustee system to administer both former League of Nations mandatory territories—originally colonies taken from Germany and Turkey after World War I—and areas seized from the Axis powers when the ongoing war ended.

The Yalta Conference formally invited all Allied and most neutral powers to attend a meeting that would open in San Francisco on 25 April 1945 to establish the new United Nations organization. Representatives of 50 nations attended this gathering, which ended on 25 July 1945 and hammered out the details of the charter of the new organization. The charter accorded smaller states slightly more authority than had the original Dumbarton Oaks proposals, and it also incorporated the International Labor Organization established under the original 1919 League of Nations Covenant. To pursue its stated nonsecurity objectives, the charter created the United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Organization. By the end of 1945, all states represented at San Francisco had ratified the United Nations Charter. In 1946, the body held its first session in London, and a year later, it moved permanently to the United States, where its headquarters in New York City were completed soon afterward.

Although sometimes derided as ineffective and handicapped in international crises by its reliance on military forces contributed by member states, the United Nations often provided a valuable forum for the quiet exchange of views and the promotion of humanitarian and social goals. On occasion, it also conveniently furnished a useful alternative channel of communications among powers whose diplomatic relations were otherwise limited or even nonexistent.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Atlantic Charter; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Dumbarton Oaks Conference; Hull, Cordell; Moscow Conference; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stalin, Josef; Yalta Conference

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United States, Army

When World War II began in Europe, the U.S. Army ranked nineteenth in the world in size; with only 190,000 men, it was just after that of Portugal. On 1 September 1939, as the war started in Europe, President Franklin D. Roosevelt named General George C. Marshall to be army chief of staff. Junior to some 60 other general officers when appointed, Marshall proved to be a brilliant choice. A superb organizer and staff officer, he came to be known as the “Organizer of Victory.”

In September 1940, Congress passed the Selective Training and Service Act (the Burke-Wadsworth Act), the nation's first peacetime draft. The measure provided for the registration of all males between the ages of 21 and 35 and the induction into the armed forces of 800,000 draftees. Securing men was relatively easy, but training them and mobilizing U.S. military production would take time, and much of the new U.S. weaponry was going to Great Britain to keep that nation in the war. Marshall's draftees trained with broomsticks for rifles and logs representing artillery pieces. Trucks bore signs with the word *tank*.

In World War II, the United States deployed a citizen army, mainly volunteers and draftees. Only two Regular Army divisions in 1940 were sufficiently equipped to be considered real divisions. In any case, most of the army's Regulars were soon scattered to assist in training. At the height of the war, Regulars made up only 3.5 percent of the Army Ground Forces, 2.6 percent of the Army Service Forces, and 1.3 percent of the Army Air Forces. The vast majority of the officers—54 for every 1,000 enlisted men—were National Guardsmen, Reservists, or newly commissioned. Ultimately, 59 percent of army officers were drawn from the ranks.

By 7 December 1941, the army was training 16 Regular Army divisions in the continental United States, along with



U.S. troops of the 163rd Infantry Regiment hit the beach from Higgins boats during the invasion of Wadke Island, Dutch New Guinea, 18 May 1944. (Army, National Archives)

18 National Guard divisions, and 2 Army of the United States divisions (composed of Regulars, federalized Guardsmen, and Reservists). There were also the Regular Army's Philippine Division and 12 Philippine army divisions, all of which were destroyed in fighting there early in 1942.

U.S. forces were initially poorly equipped and ineffectively trained, and they lacked supporting weaponry such as tanks and antitank and anti-aircraft guns. Ammunition was also scarce. All this changed when the United States fully mobilized for war. By 1944, U.S. steel production was about half the world total. This statistic translated into large numbers of aircraft and ships but also 86,333 tanks, 650,000 Willys jeeps, and 12,573,000 rifles and carbines. The army had so many vehicles that it could have placed every man and woman in the service in them at the same time and had room left over.

Marshall stressed firepower and maneuver. To him, this meant not only that tanks would play a prominent role but also that the entire army would be mechanized and motorized to a degree beyond that of any other military in the world. This emphasis would also enable the army to make effective use of the "triangular" concept, worked out while he was

deputy commander of the Infantry School at Fort Benning, Georgia, between 1927 and 1932. The army went from large, foot-bound, 2-brigade (4-regiment) infantry divisions of 22,000 men to highly mobile, 3-regiment, 15,245-man (14,037 in January 1945) divisions. This triangular concept extended to the lowest level. One maneuver unit would fix an enemy formation in place while another turned its flank and the third maneuver unit remained in reserve.

In July 1941, President Roosevelt called for an estimate of the forces required to defeat "potential enemies." Tasked with this assignment, Major Albert C. Wedemeyer estimated that by the end of 1943, Germany and its allies might field 400 divisions. Conventional wisdom held that attacking forces needed a 2-to-1 ratio to overcome defenders, and Wedemeyer thus set the requirement at 800 divisions. Leaving out the Soviet Union, which he believed might not be able to withstand the German onslaught, he calculated that other allies could provide 100 divisions, which meant the United States would have to raise 700. Counting support troops, this would mean a total U.S. military of 28 million men. But the U.S. population was only 135 million people, and industrial produc-

tion requirements, which experts believed would limit any military to a maximum of 10 percent of the overall population, meant that the armed forces could comprise no more than 13.5 million men. Of this total, the army would get 8.8 million—2.05 million in the air forces and 6.75 in the ground forces. The latter were to be formed into 5 armies, 3 purely offensive task forces and 2 defensive ones. Wedemeyer postulated 215 maneuver divisions—61 armored, 61 mechanized, 54 infantry, 4 cavalry, 10 mountain, and 7 airborne. He thought that with overwhelming air superiority, firepower, and heavy armored components as well as a high degree of mechanization and motorization, such a force would be sufficient. Transporting a force of this size to Europe would require 1,000 ships, and building these alone would take two years, as would raising, equipping, and training the troops.

As it evolved, the U.S. Army fell far short of Wedemeyer's figure. Instead, the so-called 90-division gamble was instituted. Actually, the U.S. Army of World War II numbered only 89 divisions—66 infantry, 1 (dismounted) cavalry, 16 armored, 5 airborne, and 1 mountain. Only 2 divisions did not enter sustained combat, and only 1 failed in combat.

In early 1943, Marshall reorganized the army into three major components: the Army Ground Forces, the Army Service Forces, and the Army Air Forces. In personnel, the army grew to 8,157,386 men and women by April 1945, of whom 1,831,091 served in the 16 Army Air Forces. Many of the army's best soldiers were not in the infantry, however. The Army Air Forces and specialist branches, such as rangers and paratroops, and the service staffs were permitted to skim off too high a proportion of the best-educated and fittest recruits. The infantry rifle companies were, however, called on to fight the Wehrmacht, the most skilled army of modern times.

The army worked on developing new high-firepower weapons. These included remodeled Browning automatic rifles; the Browning air-cooled, lightweight .30 caliber machine gun; the Mark II .50 caliber machine gun (which remains in use); and the superb M1 Garand infantry rifle with an 8-round clip. The M1, designed by John C. Garand and adopted by the army in 1936, fired 40 rounds a minute in the hands of the average rifleman, but an expert could get off 100 rounds in the same time frame. It had 40 percent less recoil than the Springfield '03 it replaced and had only 72 parts, compared to 92 for the Springfield. The Garand could be entirely broken down using only one tool, a .30 caliber round. There was also the lightweight (5 lb) M1 Carbine, which was issued to officers instead of a handgun. Later, the army introduced the M3 submachine gun, most of the parts of which were stamped out. This weapon was capable of a rate of fire of 450 rounds per minute.

The artillery developed new techniques to minimize the time necessary for all guns in a battery to fire on a target and to coordinate the fire of several batteries so that their shells

rained down on one spot simultaneously (the "time on target," or TOT, technique). The 105 mm howitzer and the 155 mm "Long Tom" artillery pieces provided the U.S. Army with remarkably effective firepower. Self-propelled guns also enabled the artillery to keep up with the fast-moving armored and mechanized formations.

The army was not so efficient in other areas. Congress had abolished the Tank Corps in 1920 and relegated tanks to the infantry. Not until 1931 did the cavalry, which still employed horses, receive light "tankettes," known as "combat cars." The U.S. Armored Force came into being only in July 1940 after the defeat of France, but its M-3 Grant, designed hurriedly in 1940, was obsolescent before it was built. Even the M-4 Sherman medium tank, the main U.S. and British tank of the war, had trouble matching up with some of the more powerful German tanks. The army had no heavy tank in the field until the M-26 Pershing arrived in Europe in January 1945 because its armor commanders, notably Lieutenant General George S. Patton, believed that tanks should not fight other tanks. Between 1944 and 1945, the 3rd Armored Division alone had 648 Shermans completely destroyed in combat and another 700 knocked out of action, repaired, and put back into operation—a loss rate of 580 percent. The U.S. lost 6,000 tanks in Europe in World War II, whereas the German army never had more than 1,500 tanks operable at any one time.

Despite shortcomings, the U.S. Army had greater firepower than any other army in the world. It was not only the quality and quantity of military equipment and supplies produced but also the speed with which new weapons came online. The bazooka antitank weapon, for example, went from development to production of 5,000 units in only 30 days.

The U.S. way of waging war is to use machines if possible to do the killing and to minimize American loss of life. The army carried a strong indirect fire punch, including massive air forces and substantial quantities of field artillery. For Operation COBRA, the Normandy breakout in July 1944, VII Corps disposed of 43 battalions of field artillery. In December 1944 in Europe alone, the army fired more than 3 million rounds of 105 mm ammunition. Artillerymen were able to shift and mass fire on a target on a scale never before seen. The time-on-target technique was a devastating weapon. Air-ground coordination vastly exceeded that of other combatants. Joint and combined operations typified the army's campaigns.

The bazooka antitank weapon went from development to production of 5,000 units in only 30 days.



View of 90-mm AAA gun emplacement with crew in pit, D Battery, 98th AAA Gun Battalion, 137th AAA Group, Okinawa, 18 July 1945. (Army, National Archives)

Europe was the U.S. Army's principal theater. It was accorded a priority over the Pacific, which affected all fighting and supply efforts. Seventy-seven percent of army divisions, a total of 68, went to Europe, and there were over 3 million army personnel in Europe and the Mediterranean by April 1945. The Pacific absorbed only 23 percent of all army divisions (21). But despite the priority of Europe, the Pacific Theater claimed half or more of the army forces for the first two years of the war. Only in October 1943 were there more divisions in Europe than in the Pacific; 1.8 million army personnel served in the Pacific by the end of the war.

Although green U.S. Army divisions experienced some problems at first, notably in the Battle of Kasserine Pass in February 1943, they also showed a great ability to learn from their mistakes and adapt. As the army gained experience in the late summer of 1944, its units were arguably better, man for man, than the highly touted Germans. Average U.S. infantry divisions could defeat average German divisions and could even match elite German divisions. They were signifi-

cantly better than Japanese divisions, whose tactics had deteriorated to digging in and dying in place.

Army doctrine and tactics were also basically sound and flexible. The Germans and Japanese were impressed at how quickly the Americans adapted and how rapidly they replaced unsuccessful tactics with effective ones. Communications, engineering, and medical services were the best in the world. Only at the senior command level in Europe did the army show some debatable weaknesses, with a desire to execute the safe rather than the risky course of action—for instance, the broad-front strategy. Yet even that “cautious” approach presented the Germans with crisis piled on crisis, unsustainable attrition, and too much pressure everywhere to allow recovery.

European combat, especially long, multiple-month campaigns, cut heavily into available army manpower. In Europe, 81 percent of all casualties occurred in the divisions, and they were heavily concentrated in the infantry. Units might lose 30 percent of their men in a week, yet they stayed in the line and

continued to fight. The 9th Division, for instance, sustained 17,974 casualties in a four-month period, yet it fought on.

The army did not replace combat losses efficiently or in the necessary quantities, despite training 1.1 million men as replacements and despite a peak strength of 99,288 Women's Army Corps personnel to replace men for battle. There were too few divisions to allow frequent rotation off the line for rest and training. Units were usually short of personnel, and replacements from the States could hardly replace battle casualties, let alone nonbattle losses. A flow of replacements from the States was mandatory. But that system did not always work well. Regardless, the personnel system did keep the divisions fighting for extended periods of time. Units learned how to receive, train, and integrate replacements.

The manpower situation was different in the Pacific. Campaigns were usually relatively short in duration and limited in space, with obvious exceptions such as those on New Guinea and Luzon. Battalions and regiments were the key maneuver units, not divisions and corps as in Europe. And in the Pacific, infantry losses were far higher than expected. During the entirety of the war, the U.S. Army sustained in action 937,259 total casualties—killed, wounded, taken prisoner, and missing (234,874 dead).

The U.S. Army had come a long way since 1939. By 1945, it was the best-armed, most-mobile, best-equipped, best-supplied, most-educated, and highest-paid army in history.

John W. Whitman and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Artillery Doctrine; Artillery Types; COBRA, Operation; Engineer Operations; Kasserine Pass, Battle of; Marshall, George Catlett; McNair, Lesley James; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Selective Service Act; Tanks, All Powers; United States, Army Air Forces; United States, Marines; United States, Navy; United States, Women's Army Corps; Wedemeyer, Albert Coady; Women in World War II

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United States, Army Air Forces

World War II witnessed a dramatic change in the scope and use of airpower by the U.S. military. Prior to and during World War II, there was no independent air force. Instead, the army controlled the employment of airpower over land, and the navy had charge of it over water. Since World War I, airpower advocates such as Brigadier General William Mitchell had argued for an independent air force. (And for his outspoken criticism of the military leadership, a tribunal court-martialed Mitchell in 1926.) Whatever its status, the pre-World War II Army Air Corps remained a relatively small coterie of professionals in which all pilots had to be officers.

By the mid-1930s, Air Corps theory centered around strategic bombing—the use of large bombers to destroy specific industrial targets and thereby cripple an opposing army for lack of essential supplies and win a war without a costly ground assault. Not only was such a campaign relatively inexpensive, it also created an argument for air force independence, since this was a mission unique to airpower. The strategic bombing theory entailed a number of corollary assumptions. First was the belief that the bomber would always reach the target. The aircraft envisioned by army leaders were large, fast, and heavily armed. As a result, there was little development of long-range fighter aircraft prior to the war, since escorts were held to be unnecessary. Another assumption involved the denigration of tactical aviation—aircraft used to support the immediate needs of the battlefield. Leaders believed that by tying aircraft to ground forces, airpower lost its unique advantage along with the justification for independence. These ideals were epitomized by Major General Henry “Hap” Arnold, who became chief of the Army Air Corps in October 1938 and held that post throughout the war.

Whatever theory existed, tight budgets and isolationist views in Congress limited the growth of American aviation between the world wars. In 1939, even with war clearly on the horizon, the American aviation industry delivered only 921 aircraft to the U.S. Army and U.S. Navy. Changes quickly ensued following the German invasion of Poland in September 1939. European governments placed large orders with American aircraft firms. And earlier, in November 1938, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, long concerned about the threat posed by Adolf Hitler's Germany had privately expressed a desire for an Air Corps of 20,000 aircraft, but publicly, he sought half that number. At the time, the Air Corps only possessed some 1,600 aircraft. Following the fall of France in May 1940, Roosevelt increased his goal to 50,000 aircraft for the army and navy together.

Despite massive orders, the aviation industry mobilized slowly. By 1941, the Air Corps possessed only 5,500 aircraft, and few matched the performance of their European counterparts. Only in heavy bombers, with the Boeing B-17, did American equipment approach that of Europe. In March 1941, Robert Lovett became assistant secretary of war for air, and he immediately set about increasing U.S. production. Output rose from 12,000 aircraft annually to 96,000 by the end of 1944. Manpower also increased dramatically. From 43,000 personnel in 1939, the number of people serving in the Air Corps rose to 300,000 by December 1941. To meet increased manpower requirements, the Air Corps lowered its standards, but it remained much more difficult to enter the Air Corps than other services.

The organization of the corps also changed with expansion. In 1941, the Air Corps gave way to the U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF), with Arnold as chief; it was coequal with the Army Ground Forces and the Army Service Forces. In return for greater autonomy, Arnold verbally promised Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall, himself a strong supporter of airpower, that he would not seek independent status for the air force for the duration of the war.

Individual theaters each had their own numbered air forces, sometimes further divided by primary mission. For example, the First Air Force remained in New York, provided training, and oversaw the defense of the Northeast region of the United States; the Eighth Air Force served in Great Britain and undertook the strategic bombardment of continental Europe; and the Ninth Air Force, which began in the Mediterranean Theater, moved to Britain in 1943 as a tactical air force for the invasion of France. By the end of the war, there were 16 numbered air forces.

In 1941, to utilize airpower properly, the Air War Plans Division wrote AWP/1 as an annex to the army's comprehensive plan to defeat the Axis powers. AWP/1 embodied the tenets of strategic bombardment. It called for 1,060 medium bombers, 3,740 heavy bombers, 3,740 very heavy bombers, and 2,000 fighters to destroy 154 specific industrial targets in Germany—primarily aircraft-manufacturing sites, followed by power plants, the transportation network, and synthetic petroleum plants. In six months, the authors argued, Germany would be unable to resist the Allied armies, and civilian morale would be shattered, making an invasion unnecessary. These attacks were to be carried out in precision daylight strikes.

With the American entrance into the war on 7 December 1941, the USAAF could not immediately launch the kind of offensive action envisioned in AWP/1. In the Pacific Theater, the Japanese advanced so rapidly that American forces found themselves fighting defensive battles for their very survival. With the American aircraft industry just beginning to gear up, it would take time to deploy the kind of force called for in AWP/1 to defeat either Japan or Germany.

Major General Carl Spaatz commanded the Eighth Air Force, charged with carrying the air war to Germany. Activated in January 1942, the Eighth did not fly its first mission until 4 July 1942, when American medium bombers joined British aircraft attacking German airfields in the Netherlands. On 17 August 1942, American strategic bombardment began when 12 B-17s attacked the railroad marshaling yard in Rouen, France. That November, the Eighth lost much of its force to the Mediterranean Theater, where Allied troops had invaded North Africa. The North African Campaign provided valuable experience to American airmen. Most important, the Americans learned from the British the value of close cooperation between air and ground forces.

In January 1943, President Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, and their respective military staffs met in Casablanca to discuss strategy. Despite British pressure for the USAAF to join the Royal Air Force in its area attacks against German cities at night, the Americans argued for daylight precision strikes, which meant that Germany would be bombed around the clock. From the meeting came a directive for the Combined Bomber Offensive (CBO) that eventually destroyed Germany's industrial base as well as its civilian morale. To accomplish the goals of the CBO, Brigadier General Ira Eaker, the new commander of the Eighth Air Force, oversaw the development of the Pointblank Directive, which called for establishing air supremacy first by using the bomber to attack aircraft-manufacturing plants. To protect themselves from enemy fighters, bombers flew in large box formations that massed defensive firepower. The first large Pointblank raid was against the Schweinfurt ball-bearing works, with a second mission against the Messerschmitt plant at Regensburg. American P-47 fighters had only enough range to escort the bombers to the German border. As a result, the Eighth lost 60 bombers, one-sixth of the attacking force. A second raid in October cost an equal number of bombers during a day referred to as "Black Thursday." The USAAF could not sustain such losses, and American bombers suspended raids deep into Germany until long-range escorts became available. Meanwhile, Arnold questioned the leadership of the Eighth and replaced Eaker, whom he sent to the Mediterranean, with Major General James H. Doolittle. Spaatz returned to England to oversee all American air operations as commander of the U.S. Strategic Air Forces in Europe.

Technical changes improved USAAF performance. By January 1944, external fuel tanks and increased tankage permitted P-47 and P-38 fighters to escort the bombers far into Germany. Finally, P-51 Mustangs began reaching units in Britain; they could escort bombers as far as Berlin.

In February 1944, the Americans launched Operation ARGUMENT, a coordinated attack on the German aircraft industry by both the Eighth Air Force and the Fifteenth Air



General Henry H. Arnold (center), commanding general of the U.S. Army Air Forces, chats with Captain George Roberts (right), pilot, of Fairmount, West Virginia, at an advanced air base in Italy, 1943. At left is Lieutenant General Carl Spaatz, commander of the USAAF in the Mediterranean, who had charge of the strategic American bombing force operating against Germany from Italy. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Force flying from Italy. “Big Week,” 20–25 February 1944, witnessed thousands of sorties. The loss rate was only one-sixth that of the previous year, and U.S. fighter escorts began to take a grievous toll on inexperienced German pilots. In the air battles of 1944, the USAAF gained mastery of Europe’s skies not directly through bomb damage but rather through the attrition of German pilots. In March 1944, Spaatz began the systematic bombing of Germany’s petroleum industry. German fighters had to defend their source of fuel. Attrition among German aircrews could not be replaced, and the lack of fuel meant replacement pilots had greatly reduced training time. By the date of the Allied invasion of France on 6 June 1944, the German air force could not challenge Allied airpower. The appearance of Germany’s jet and rocket fighters, the Me-262 and Me-163, created brief consternation within the USAAF, but these aircraft were too few in number and their pilots were too inexperienced to pose a serious threat.

On the other side of the world, the USAAF provided support for General Douglas MacArthur’s ground forces in the southwest Pacific. Initially, the Pacific Theater lacked large industrial targets within range; however, heavy bombers did contribute to the ultimate victory. More important were the medium bombers of the Fifth Air Force commanded by Major General George C. Kenney. Operations tended to be directed against Japanese island garrisons and shipping. To meet the low-level operations found in the theater, Kenney modified many B-25 bombers to carry additional machine guns or cannon in the nose. His pilots also practiced bombing from treetop level using fragmentation bombs slowed by parachutes. Finally, to better strike ships, Kenney’s bombers attacked from mast height.

The USAAF also flew missions in the China-Burma-India Theater, although operations there were decidedly of secondary importance. Part of the problem involved logistics.

The Japanese controlled all of coastal China as well as Burma. To supply China and the American forces there, the USAAF developed an aerial route over the Himalayas, referred to as “the Hump.” By July 1944, despite a slow start, the operation was finally delivering sufficient matériel to meet operational needs, although at a very high cost. In China, Major General Claire Chennault led the Fourteenth Air Force in its efforts to push back the Japanese. Always operating at the limits of supply, his forces enjoyed only moderate success.

By 1944, the U.S. Navy’s advance through the Central Pacific included the Mariana Islands. These islands provided bases for the Boeing B-29 Superfortresses then entering service. To ensure the proper use of the new bombers, Arnold maintained operational authority over their employment by controlling the Twentieth Air Force directly from Washington. Though the bombers were initially deployed in India and China, the Marianas proved far superior as bases, and all of the bombers eventually flew from there. But initial efforts to strategically bomb Japan did not fare well. The B-29 was unique in that it was the first aircraft to contend with the jet stream, making bombing accuracy more difficult than normal. Not until January 1945, when Major General Curtis LeMay arrived in the Marianas to improve effectiveness, did the B-29s have a vital impact on Japanese industry. Instead of high-altitude, precision strikes against industrial targets, the B-29s switched to low-altitude, night incendiary attacks against cities. The largely wooden structures in Japan became so much kindling. The most destructive of these raids—and probably the single most destructive raid in the history of air warfare—occurred on the night of 9–10 March 1945, when the B-29s set 16 square miles of Tokyo aflame, killing at least 90,000 people. The destruction of cities peaked on 6 August 1945, when the B-29 *Enola Gay* dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima. A second atomic bomb fell on Nagasaki three days later.

The U.S. Army Air Forces fought in every theater of World War II, contributing substantially to the Allied victory. As Germany and Japan surrendered, teams from the United States conducted a survey of the exact impact of the bombing. The U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey (USSBS) concluded that airpower had a notable impact on Germany and Japan, yet bombing itself could not have won the war. Aircraft played an integral part in the Allied war-fighting capabilities, making victory possible. The most effective uses of bombing were the systematic assault on the German petroleum industry late in 1944 and the assault against transportation. In the Pacific, to avoid conflict with the navy, the USSBS assessed the USAAF campaign as part of the overall force applied against Japan. The report concluded that the atomic bombs simply compelled Japan’s leaders to accept reality.

By the end of the war, the USAAF had taken delivery of some 158,800 aircraft, including 51,221 bombers and 47,050

fighters. A total of 22,948 aircraft were lost in action. During the conflict, the USAAF flew 2,363,800 combat sorties and dropped 2,057,000 tons of bombs, 75 percent of them on Germany. By March 1945, the USAAF had more than 1,831,000 personnel, representing 22.4 percent of the army’s total strength. USAAF personnel casualties over the course of the war came to 115,382, including 40,061 dead. Even without the unqualified endorsement of the USSBS, the USAAF had proved its worth, leading to its independence from the army in 1947.

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See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Aircraft, Reconnaissance and Auxiliary; Aircraft, Transports; Arnold, Henry Harley “Hap”; Atomic Bomb, Decision to Employ; Casablanca Conference; Chennault, Claire Lee; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Doolittle, James Harold “Jimmy”; Eaker, Ira Clarence; Hiroshima, Bombing of; Hitler, Adolf; Hump, The; Jet and Rocket Aircraft; LeMay, Curtis Emerson; Lovett, Robert Abercrombie; MacArthur, Douglas; Marshall, George Catlett; Nagasaki, Bombing of; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Schweinfurt and Regensburg Raids; Spaatz, Carl Andrew “Tooy”; Strategic Bombing; Tokyo, Bombing of (9–10 March 1945); United States, Women’s Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron; Women in World War II

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United States, Coast Guard

U.S. sea service that played a notable role in antisubmarine and escort efforts in the North Atlantic, in domestic port safety and security missions, and in amphibious operations in both the Pacific and Atlantic theaters while maintaining its peacetime search-and-rescue and law-enforcement responsibilities. During World War II, the Coast Guard saw worldwide action manning destroyers, transports, and auxiliary vessels, as well as cutters, patrol boats, and landing craft.

The late 1930s and early 1940s brought the expansion of the Coast Guard in terms of missions, ships, and personnel. The Lighthouse Service joined the Coast Guard in July 1939, and the Bureau of Marine Inspection transferred to the service in 1942, strengthening its marine safety and security mission. As war approached for the United States, the service began preparing its 19,000 men and cutter fleet for war.

Even before the United States formally entered the war, the service went on a wartime footing when, in September



Coast Guard–manned LST at Iwo Jima. (U.S. Coast Guard Historian's Office)

1941, Coast Guard Commandant Rear Admiral Russell R. Waesche ordered cutters to don wartime paint schemes and, pursuant to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's order, to engage German and Italian submarines and aircraft operating west of 26 degrees west longitude. The Coast Guard cutter *Northland* promptly seized a German weather station and supporting trawler on the Greenland coast in September 1941. Then, on 1 November 1941, Roosevelt ordered the Coast Guard transferred to the Navy Department.

On North Atlantic escort duty, the Coast Guard sank 12 German submarines and rescued over 1,000 Allied sailors, while losing the cutters *Escanaba* and *Alexander Hamilton* to hostile action. Notable in this service was the cutter *Bibb*'s rescue of nearly 250 survivors from three ships sunk by U-boats in convoy SC.118 during February 1943 and the destruction of *U-175* by the cutters *Spencer* and *Duane* in April 1943. Coast Guard cutters also provided important escort and antisubmarine service in the Greenland Patrol Area, including the October 1944 capture of the German aux-

iliary *Externsteine*, the only German surface combatant taken at sea by U.S. forces during World War II.

At home, Coast Guard captains of the port oversaw marine safety and security and assumed responsibility for the inspection of commercial vessels and the administration of professional seamen. Search-and-rescue stations and a wartime beach patrol provided coastal surveillance for Axis submarines and espionage activity. The volunteer Temporary Reserve was also formed and provided numerous civilian vessels for coastal patrol duties. Seaman John Cullen of Station Amagansett on Long Island, New York, helped foil German saboteurs when, while conducting a beach patrol in June 1942, he discovered them landing. Cutters, small boats, and aircraft all played an important role in antisubmarine and rescue efforts in the western Atlantic. During the war, the Coast Guard rescued some 1,500 sailors from vessels torpedoed along the U.S. Atlantic coast.

The Coast Guard manned attack transports and LSTs (landing ships, tank) and applied its small-boat handling

skills to operating landing craft in all the major amphibious assaults of the war. Just as significantly, Coast Guard surfmen trained others for this dangerous and difficult duty. The Coast Guard crews of the attack transport *Leonard Wood* and the attack cargo ship *Aquarius* each participated in eight amphibious assaults. Signalmen First Class Douglas A. Munro, operating from the Coast Guard–manned attack transport *Hunter Liggett*, led a group of landing craft evacuating U.S. Marines near Matanikau on Guadalcanal in September 1942. Munro beached his Higgins boat between a large Japanese force and the Marines on the beach, shielding the other boats from hostile fire and engaging the Japanese with light weapons while the evacuation was completed. In the course of the fighting, he was fatally wounded by Japanese fire. For his actions, Munro was posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor.

Active in numerous assaults in the European Theater as well, the Coast Guard had a large presence at Normandy. The 60 83-foot Coast Guard patrol boats assigned to search-and-rescue duties during the Operation OVERLORD assault rescued more than 1,500 Allied soldiers whose landing craft had been destroyed on D day.

As commandant, Admiral Waesche piloted the service through the war and oversaw the enlistment of women and blacks into the Coast Guard. Led by Captain Dorothy C. Stratton, the Women's Reserve—better known as the SPARs (an acronym from the Latin and English versions of the Coast Guard motto)—played an important support role during the war. More than 230,000 men and 10,000 women served in the Coast Guard over the course of World War II. Ultimately, their skill and bravery were the service's major contributions to victory.

Thomas J. Stuhlfreyer

See also

Amphibious Warfare; Antisubmarine Warfare; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; United States, Navy; Waesche, Russell R.

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Although the nation's security from direct attack played a considerable role in its remarkable capacity for production, the U.S. achievement was a peculiarly American phenomenon and a function of distinctly American traits.

Still reeling from the effects of the Great Depression, many Americans saw the war as a means to escape hard economic times. In 1940 and 1941, war orders and Lend-Lease contracts had already begun to bring the nation's economy out of a decade of hardship. The introduction of peacetime conscription removed thousands of young men from the job market, thereby improving job opportunities for those who remained. The military's preparedness campaign also sparked the economy through construction of new military facilities and orders for goods required by the armed services, from tents to aircraft. Grateful for meaningful, well-paying jobs, Americans threw themselves into war work with ardor and energy.

The war eventually pulled 12 million young men and women out of the labor force and into the armed services, but the United States was still able to increase production tremendously. The U.S. Army, cognizant of the supremely important role that war production would play, opted to have only 90 divisions—the “90-division gamble.” This decision put a ceiling on the number of men called to military service, thereby ensuring that workers with critical industrial skills would be exempt from conscription. The military gamble also permitted the exemption of most miners and agricultural workers, ensuring the continued growth and expansion of those sectors as well.

The United States also had three significant underutilized sources for labor on which it could draw. More than 6 million women entered the workforce. Marginalized by New Deal programs that had emphasized male breadwinners, many women welcomed the chance to work outside the home. They also embraced the opportunity to make direct contributions to the American war effort, though many worked for unequal wages and were discouraged from joining unions. Most women worked in traditionally female sectors or in newly created industrial jobs, and their share of nonmilitary government jobs nearly doubled during the war. The image of “Rosie the Riveter,” sleeves rolled up and bandanna tied in her hair, sent the powerful propaganda message that women in the workforce were crucial to American industrial might.

The United States also called on the labor of African Americans. The combination of Jim Crow segregation in the South and the availability of industrial jobs in the West and North created a “second great migration” (the first occurred during World War I) of nearly 700,000 blacks from the South. Others moved to industrial and commercial jobs in southern cities such as Atlanta, Montgomery, and New Orleans. African American workers found they could escape Jim Crow in the North and West, but they continued to face discrimination, lower pay, and outbreaks of white violence. Few of

United States, Home Front

Following its entry into World War II in December 1941, the United States devoted its considerable resources to the production of industrial goods at previously unimagined levels. This effort allowed the country to become the “arsenal of democracy” envisioned by President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

these individuals returned to the South after 1945, however. Some white workers protested the modest advances made by black workers, especially in skilled sectors, and race riots in Detroit and Mobile underscored abiding problems.

A presidential executive order guaranteeing blacks equal wages and freedom from discrimination did little to create real equality in the workplace. Nor was it lost on black Americans that the United States was fighting a war against fascism while retaining segregation in the military. Many blacks embraced the “double V campaign” aimed at achieving victory over fascism abroad while also destroying racism at home, although the United States proved more ready to fight the first battle than the second. Despite segregation, the service of African Americans in the armed forces, especially the prestigious Tuskegee Airmen, was a source of great pride to the black community.

Mexicans also helped to solve the nation’s need for agricultural labor. The labor crisis caused by the war forced the United States to rethink its immigration policies toward Mexicans. In 1942, the government admitted 200,000 Mexican workers under the bracero program. Untold thousands of other Mexicans entered illegally as immigration restrictions were informally relaxed to meet labor needs. The braceros worked primarily as fruit pickers in western states, although they also had jobs in construction and maintenance. The bracero program proved to be so beneficial to the American economy that it was continued into the 1960s.

The growth of labor unions, which gained millions of members in the 1930s, also helped U.S. production. Unions provided spokespeople and leaders with whom the government could negotiate. Many unions, such as the American Federation of Labor, were willing to work with both government and business. They agreed to suppress strikes and work stoppages in return for higher wages and guarantees of overtime pay. As a result, both organized and wildcat strikes (work stoppages called without the support of national organizations) were kept to a minimum. Unions that did strike during the war, such as the United Mine Workers, faced a backlash of public opinion and charges that ranged from antipatriotism to treason. The increase of industrial work, of course, meant more workers and more union members. Over 4 million American workers joined unions during the war years.

As a result of these factors, the United States easily met its labor needs without resorting to coercion. The nation added more than 6 million industrial jobs in three and a half years; General Motors alone added 750,000 workers to its payroll. Careful use of selective service, the 90-division gamble, support from organized labor, and the introduction of new groups to the industrial labor pool gave the United States the workforce required for vastly increased production.

Control of the economy proved to be a contentious issue. Most leaders of American big business disliked and dis-



Movie star Rita Hayworth sacrificed her car's bumpers for the duration. Besides setting an example by turning in unessential metal car parts, Hayworth was active in selling war bonds. (National Archives)

trusted President Roosevelt and the New Deal. The president first tried to manage the economy through a series of bureaucratic agencies that were based on the New Deal model and appealed to American patriotism and volunteerism. That approach proved ineffective and led to creation of the War Production Board. When that in turn failed, the Roosevelt administration created another board under the stewardship of former Supreme Court Justice James Byrnes. Roosevelt introduced two dozen separate agencies to enforce centralized control of the economy, but none of these met the government’s need for production and business’s desire for autonomy. The government eventually secured the cooperation of big business through a “cost-plus” system, by which the federal government paid for the costs of wartime conversion and guaranteed contractors a profit.

The results were amazing. In 1940, President Roosevelt stunned leaders in the aviation industry by asking them to produce what seemed an impossible goal of 50,000 airplanes; by the end of the war, the United States had produced nearly 300,000. In 1944 alone, the country built 96,318 airplanes, while Germany and Japan together built 67,987. In the same

year, the United States built 2,247 major naval vessels; Japan built just 248. Also by 1944, the United States was producing half of the world's steel. The Ford Motor Company alone produced a greater value of durable goods than did the entire nation of Italy. America's wartime industrial capacity provided the nation tremendous strategic flexibility and allowed the United States to conduct warfare in the European and Pacific Theaters simultaneously, while also supplying allies such as the British Empire, the Soviet Union, and China through the Lend-Lease program.

The massive war production ended the period of chronic unemployment and underemployment in the United States. Job security and high wages meant near universal improvements in American standards of living. Nutrition levels and housing quality increased dramatically, although the concentration of industry in war production meant that many desirable consumer goods, such as automobiles, were hard to find. After its entry into the war, the United States halted production of civilian vehicles. As a consequence, money was available for the purchase of war bonds. Individual savings also rose. Thus, despite being involved in a two-front global war, many people remember World War II as "the good war" in part because of its beneficial effects on the economy.

Relative affluence and a common sense of purpose contributed to a national mood of unity. The war led to a reduction of the divisiveness that had characterized the depression years. Community activism rose amid a sense of shared struggle. Whereas most people experienced the depression as an individual or familial crisis, the war was communal and national. The Okies and Arkies who had been reviled as unwelcome migrants to California in the 1930s had, by 1942 or 1943, become soldiers or well-paid industrial workers. The War Department's decision to conscript men into national units, a policy used to great effect in World War I, underscored the idea of the war as an American endeavor, although select National Guard units also went to war as representatives of specific states or regions.

Some scholars have argued that the American home front was devoid of both ideology and romanticism. The internment of 110,000 Japanese Americans and alliances struck with the Soviet Union and with China under Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) disturbed those Americans who tried to find ideological justifications for the war. But most Americans understood the war more practically as a job that needed to be done. Appeals to Roosevelt's Four Freedoms—freedom from fear and want and freedom of speech and worship—therefore did not carry the same patriotic meaning as similar appeals in World War I.

The persistency of racism notwithstanding, most Americans experienced better economic times and a great deal more optimism in the 1940s than in the 1930s. The sharp contrasts between the war years and the depression years undoubtedly

helped to make the home front a more hopeful place than would have been expected. Government policies that assigned relatively few fathers to combat units helped as well: by sending proportionally fewer fathers into combat, the U.S. military ensured that the nation would have as few widows and orphans as possible. World War II was surely not "the good war" for all Americans, but the U.S. home front did witness dramatic social and economic changes that improved the lives of millions.

Michael S. Neiberg

See also

Armaments Production; Byrnes, James Francis; Capra, Frank; GI Bill; Japanese Americans; Jiang Jieshi; Lend-Lease; Liberty Ships; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Truman, Harry S; Tuskegee Airmen; Women in World War II

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United States, Marine Corps

Founded in 1775 as a shipboard security force for the Continental navy, the Marine Corps struggled to maintain its institutional viability while performing numerous and varied missions around the globe during the first century of its existence. Sustained by its reputation as a rapidly deployable, tenacious combat force, the corps and its civilian proponents argued that the U.S. expansionist policies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries demanded a naval infantry force capable of seizing and defending advanced naval bases. Progressive Marine Corps leaders had begun preparing this new doctrine when World War I interrupted their planning, although the valiant exploits of the corps during this conflict further endeared the service to the American public. Following World War I, the prevalent antimilitarism of the 1920s ushered in a period of military retrenchment, and the resulting scramble for available funds heightened inter-



Marines take cover behind a seawall on Red Beach Number 3, Tarawa, November 1943. (Marine Corps, National Archives)

service rivalries. The Marine Corps's lack of a clearly defined mission brought tremendous scrutiny on its funding and reductions in its strength that threatened its very existence. A massive public relations campaign featuring the Marine service in policing domestic mail routes and protecting American interests in Latin America and China bolstered the Corps's public image and political clout with Congress, allowing the Marines to withstand meager appropriations and perpetuate the claim of being America's premier fighting force.

In the early 1920s, U.S. military strategists began planning for numerous wartime contingencies, focusing primarily on Japan, the nation's Pacific rival. Recognizing the navy's need to secure advance operating bases on islands west of Hawaii in any war against Japan, the Marine Corps adopted amphibious assault as its *raison d'être*.

Integrating the newly constituted Fleet Marine Force into the U.S. Navy, the Marines streamlined their bureaucracy and

concentrated on preparations for seizing and defending advance bases in the Pacific. The corps assigned personnel to naval intelligence and planning staffs and began educating its officers in the tactics of amphibious operations. Lieutenant Colonel Earl "Pete" Ellis's exhaustive studies of Japanese-held Pacific islands in the early 1920s formed the nucleus of the Marines' amphibious assault doctrine. In 1934, the corps published a more exhaustive guide to amphibious operations, *The Tentative Manual for Landing Operations*, and held a series of fleet landing exercises designed to test its concepts. These exercises were crucial in highlighting the need for detailed logistical planning, speed in ship-to-shore movement, overwhelming fire superiority from air and naval bombardment, and specialized equipment to successfully carry out opposed landings. Although Marine aviation utilized previous experience in Latin America to develop rudimentary close-air support tactics based on dive-bombing (which the German Luftwaffe then

adopted), the navy's ambivalence toward developing close-in naval gunfire support techniques and constraints on the procurement of new equipment severely limited the development of U.S. amphibious warfare prior to 1939.

Between 1939 and 1941, as the U.S. military buildup went forward, the Marine Corps tripled in size from some 25,000 to 75,000 men and improved its amphibious capabilities. However, the corps was spread thinly to cover a wide range of duties in garrisons and aboard ships, from Iceland to the Caribbean to Hawaii and numerous smaller islands throughout the Pacific.

On 7 December 1941, Marines aboard battleships at Pearl Harbor and at nearby airfields assisted in defending Hawaii against the Japanese attacks. Elsewhere in the Pacific, isolated Marine garrisons on Guam and in China had little choice but to surrender. Marines on Wake Island and in the Philippines valiantly attempted to resist Japanese invasions, but Wake fell after two weeks of resistance, and the Philippines surrendered in May 1942.

Marines were at the forefront of early U.S. operations against Japan. In the southwest Pacific, the 1st Marine Division carried out assaults in the Solomon Islands in August 1942. The long campaign for Guadalcanal revealed the complexities of conducting amphibious operations under battle conditions, including the need for increased logistical support and a simplified command-and-control structure. Advancing up the Solomons from 1942 to 1944 toward the Japanese fortress at Rabaul, the Marines found themselves engaged in jungle warfare against a determined Japanese foe.

In 1943, encouraged by success in the Solomons, the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps undertook a thrust through the Central Pacific toward the main Japanese islands. The atolls of the Gilbert and Marshall Islands proved a different kind of challenge to the Marines than the jungle warfare of the southwest Pacific. Ineffective fire support, confused communications, and a shortage of proper equipment made the initial assault at Tarawa a bloody and sobering affair.

Employing the lessons learned from Tarawa to refine their amphibious doctrine, the Marines advanced through the key Marshall Islands atolls of Kwajalein, Roi-Namur, and Eniwetok. During the summer of 1944, Marines landed on Saipan, Tinian, and Guam in the Marianas. They also learned how to conduct sustained combat operations on these larger, extensively fortified islands. In the fall of 1944, Marine infantry and aviation forces assisted General Douglas MacArthur's advance on the Philippines. Marines landed on Peleliu in September and suffered heavy casualties in a savage, week-long battle. From September 1944 to April 1945, Marine Corps tactical air support became a vital component of army operations on Leyte and Luzon.

In February 1945, the Marines invaded the island of Iwo Jima in their most spectacular and costly operation of the war.

Nearly the entire 21,000-man Japanese garrison died defending the island, while inflicting almost 30,000 casualties on American forces in a 36-day slugfest. During the battle, a journalist snapped a photo of five Marines and one navy corpsman raising a flag on Iwo's Mount Suribachi. This image instantly became an icon of Marine Corps valor and esprit de corps as well as a symbol of American fortitude in World War II. In June 1945, the Marines and the army secured Okinawa, just 360 miles from Japan, after three months of ferocious combat in the hills and caves across the island. After the Japanese surrender on August 1945, the Marines served throughout the Pacific in occupation duties.

World War II was a defining moment for the Marines. Their seemingly prophetic development of amphibious assault doctrine in the interwar period proved invaluable to winning the Pacific campaigns, and their prior planning and experience also aided the army-led invasions of Europe. The corps had grown to twenty times its prewar strength, with approximately 500,000 men in six Marine infantry divisions and four Marine air wings. It had honed its amphibious doctrine, while expanding its aviation and combat support capabilities. Though the corps comprised less than 5 percent of the U.S. military in the war, Marines constituted nearly 10 percent of all American wartime casualties, with 19,733 killed and 67,207 wounded.

Despite continued and often heated interservice clashes between the army, the navy, and the new U.S. Air Force, the Marines' combat performance during World War II further attached the corps to the public, thus ensuring the service would survive demobilization as a separate institution within the navy and an elite component of the U.S. military establishment.

Derek W. Frisby

See also

Amphibious Warfare; Bataan, Battle of; Bourgainville Campaign; Central Pacific Campaign; Corregidor, Battle of; Eniwetok, Capture of; Geiger, Roy Stanley; Guadalcanal, Land Battle for; Guam, Battle for; Iwo Jima, Battle for; Kwajalein, Battle for; Landing Craft; MacArthur, Douglas; Makin Island, Battle of; Makin Island Raid; New Britain, Landings; New Georgia, Battle of; New Guinea Campaign; Nimitz, Chester William; Okinawa, Invasion of; Peleliu, Battle of; Philippines, Japanese Capture of; Philippines, U.S. Recapture of; Saipan, Battle of; Smith, Holland McTyeire; Smith, Julian Constable; Southeast Pacific Theater; Southwest Pacific Theater; Tarawa, Battle of; Tinian, U.S. Invasion of; Tulagi Island, Battle of; Turner, Richmond Kelly; United States, Navy; Vandegrift, Alexander Archer; Wake Island, Battle for

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United States, Navy

U.S. naval preparations for war were under way long before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941. The government was well into the move away from its post-World War I emphasis on naval arms limitation following the outbreak of war between China and Japan in July 1937. On 7 May 1938, Congress passed a naval expansion bill authorizing a 20 percent increase in the overall tonnage of the navy. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his advisers hoped that this step would deter the Japanese from further expansion in the Pacific that might threaten American interests there. The Japanese, however, continued their actions. The concern of the Roosevelt administration over this failure was heightened by the outbreak of war in Europe in September 1939 and the string of Allied defeats that followed. On 20 June 1940, believing that the United States might soon stand alone in the face of Axis aggression, Congress passed a second naval expansion bill, which called for a two-ocean navy through a 70 percent increase in overall naval tonnage.

Despite the fact that the bulk of the navy was based in the Pacific, the initial deployment of U.S. naval forces in World War II was in the Atlantic theater and took place while the United States was still technically neutral. President Roosevelt aligned the United States with the European Allied powers, and following the fall of France, he sent material aid to Great Britain. The transport of these supplies across the Atlantic via merchant convoys led to the need to protect them against German submarines. By mid-1941, U.S. naval forces were engaged in escorting convoys to Iceland, where they then became Britain's responsibility. This situation led to an escalation of hostilities with the September 1941 German torpedo attack on the escorting destroyer *Greer*. Roosevelt responded with a "shoot on sight" order regarding Axis warships threatening convoys. On 31 October 1941, a German submarine torpedoed and sank the U.S. destroyer *Reuben James*, the first American warship lost in World War II.

Yet war for the United States came not in the Atlantic but in the Pacific. With the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the nation formally joined the Allied side. The U.S. Navy, which by late December was under the direction of the commander in chief of the U.S. Fleet, Admiral Ernest J. King, faced a multiple-theater conflict. In the Atlantic, the war at sea centered on the protection of Allied supply lines to Great Britain. Although the Battle of the Atlantic was fought primarily by British and Canadian forces, the United States contributed through the deploy-

ment of convoy escorts largely under the direction of the Atlantic Fleet commander, Admiral Royal E. Ingersoll. In early 1943, the United States assumed responsibility for the protection of convoys in the Central Atlantic. In addition to the destroyer forces deployed for this duty, "hunter-killer groups" based around escort carriers executed search-and-destroy operations against Axis submarines. Through the use of radar and sonar, these forces played an important role in the Allied victory in the critical Battle of the Atlantic. By the close of the war, U.S. naval units had accounted for 25 percent of the 781 German U-boats sunk during the conflict.

In addition to commerce protection, the U.S. Navy also contributed warships to aid the Royal Navy in fleet surface operations in the Atlantic. In March 1942, the United States sent its first naval task force, centered on the aircraft carrier *Wasp*, into the Atlantic. The U.S. Navy provided critical gunfire support and sealift in all the Allied amphibious operations of the war, beginning with Operation TORCH, the Allied invasion of North Africa, and extending through Operation OVERLORD, the Normandy Invasion. As with the U-boat war, the British provided the lion's share of the vessels required for this task.

Initial American involvement in the Mediterranean Theater was the result of Allied disagreement over the strategy to attack the European Axis powers. Although the United States favored an attack on German-held France via the English Channel, to take place in mid-1943, the prevailing British view called for a peripheral attack via the Mediterranean. This attack took the form of the November 1942 Operation TORCH, the amphibious invasion of North Africa. The Royal Navy conducted assaults on the Mediterranean beachheads of northern Africa, and the United States had responsibility for the Atlantic coast. The majority of the naval units covering the landing forces and providing fire support were British, and overall command of the naval force rested with the Royal Navy, but the U.S. Navy employed a task force under Rear Admiral H. Kent Hewitt that included 1 fleet carrier, 3 battleships, and 4 converted escort carriers. Following this operation, U.S. involvement increased through the mid-1943 Allied invasion of Sicily. Hewitt once again commanded an American squadron under the direction of the Royal Navy. This arrangement was repeated in the Allied invasion of mainland Italy.

In the June 1944 Normandy Invasion, of all the Allied gunfire support ships—7 battleships, 23 cruisers, and 80 destroyers—the United States supplied 3 battleships, 3 cruisers, and 31 destroyers. These vessels provided invaluable covering fire for amphibious forces landing on the beaches. The final major Allied landing in the Atlantic theater, Operation DRAGOON—the August 1944 invasion of southern France—was predominantly composed of U.S. units and under the command of Admiral Hewitt. The U.S. gunfire support ships included 3 battleships, 3 heavy cruisers, and numerous destroyers.



The gun crews of a Navy cruiser covering American landing on the island of Mindoro scan the skies in an effort to identify a plane overhead. Two 5-inch guns and inboard 20 mm antiaircraft crews are ready to act, 15 December 1944. (National Archives)

Although the involvement of the U.S. Navy in both the Atlantic and the Mediterranean was eclipsed by that of the Royal Navy, the chief reason for this was that the United States bore the brunt of the naval war in the Pacific. This effort faced great challenges from the outset, as the U.S. Pacific Fleet, under the command of Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, was gravely wounded by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, which put all of the fleet's battleships out of commission. In any case, the initial American effort in the vast Pacific centered on U.S. Navy's carriers, which had not been in Pearl Harbor at the time of the attack. The denuded U.S. Pacific Fleet was further weakened following the loss of the British capital ships *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* on 10 December 1941 and the February 1942 destruction of the American-British-Dutch-Australian (ABDA) Command, a collection of Allied warships. As a result of these blows, the U.S. Navy was,

for most of the war, the sole Allied naval force pitted against the Japanese, who seized the U.S. possessions of Wake Island, Guam, and the Philippines.

Amid these disasters, U.S. and British military officials met in early 1942 and resolved that the United States would assume responsibility for the Pacific Theater. American strategists realized that, to defeat Japan, it was necessary to recapture lost American possessions and take Japanese Pacific holdings, thus isolating the Japanese home islands and starving their war machine of supplies. Command of the Pacific was divided into two theaters to achieve this end. The Southwest Pacific was under General Douglas MacArthur, who pursued an advance from Australia through the Netherlands East Indies to the Philippines. The North, Central, and South Pacific areas were assigned to Admiral Chester Nimitz, who succeeded Admiral Kimmel as commander of the U.S.

Pacific Fleet. Consequently, Nimitz was in charge of the majority of U.S. naval forces in the Pacific. He pursued War Plan Orange, a prewar strategy that called for an advance toward Japan through the Central Pacific.

These operations, however, could not take place until the country's industrial strength produced more warships to augment the force that remained after Pearl Harbor. War Plan Orange saw the role of submarines as scouts for the U.S. battle line, but after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the U.S. Navy deployed its submarines with the destruction of Japanese overseas commerce as a key mission. Surface units were charged with preventing further Japanese expansion. While the submarine war unfolded, a critical concern was the threat posed to Australia, which was both a vital naval base and an area to station troops. The need to protect Australia led to the Battle of the Coral Sea in May 1942. This engagement aborted a Japanese landing at Port Moresby in New Guinea. A Japanese attempt to take Midway Island and draw out and destroy the U.S. carriers led to the pivotal Battle of Midway in June 1942. The loss of four of Japan's finest carriers in this battle was a great blow to further Japanese expansion in the Pacific and, in a very real sense, the turning point in the Pacific war.

The U.S. Navy subsequently implemented its plan to defeat Japan. The amphibious operations that ensued were made possible by the tremendous wartime naval production of the United States. By 1944, the U.S. Navy was larger than all other navies of the world combined, and the Pacific Fleet comprised 14 battleships, 15 fleet carriers, 10 escort carriers, 24 cruisers, and hundreds of destroyers and submarines. The Japanese, whose industrial base was much smaller than that of the United States, could not match this production.

One of the keys to Allied victory in the war was the ability of U.S. Navy task forces to operate at great distances across the vast Pacific. To support this effort, the navy created an extensive logistics network. This Service Force Pacific Fleet, known as the "fleet train," included tankers and supply and repair ships moving in the wake of the combat ships. A massive system of reprovisioning and repair, the fleet train markedly reduced the need for combat ships to spend precious time moving to and from their home bases and thus greatly increased the number of combat ships deployed.

In the Central Pacific, the navy lifted army and marine elements to take Japanese-held islands in the Marshall, Caroline, Mariana, and Philippine Islands. In the Battle of Leyte Gulf from 23 to 26 October 1944, the U.S. Navy eliminated the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) as a cohesive fighting force and cut the Japanese off from their southern resources area. The Allied conquest of Okinawa in mid-1945 signaled to American amphibious forces the completion of Plan Orange. With the destruction of the IJN and the seizure of bases within striking distance of Japan, the home islands were both iso-

lated and subjected to the strategic bombing of cities and the devastation of coastal trade.

Equally important in the isolation of Japan was the submarine campaign, the most successful *guerre de commerce* (war against trade) in modern history. Of Japan's total of 8 million tons of merchant shipping (at best marginal for meeting Japanese requirements in peacetime), U.S. submarines sank almost 5 million tons, thus crippling Tokyo's ability to supply the home islands, especially with oil.

By the end of World War II, the U.S. Navy had participated in every major theater of the naval war. The cost was high, as the navy lost 36,674 officers and enlisted personnel. In the Battle of Okinawa alone, Japanese kamikaze attacks caused the navy more casualties than it had suffered in all its previous wars combined. Materially, the navy lost 2 battleships, 4 fleet aircraft carriers, 1 light carrier, 6 escort carriers, 12 cruisers, 68 destroyers, and 47 submarines in the course of the war. Nevertheless, the manpower and industrial strength of the United States had not only made good the losses but also augmented the navy to the point that its size in both personnel and ships eclipsed that of all the other naval powers of the world combined. This force was pivotal to the Allied victory in World War II.

Eric W. Osborne

See also

Aircraft Carriers; Atlantic, Battle of the; Battle Cruisers; Battleships; Cape Esperance, Battle of; Caroline Islands Campaign; Central Pacific Campaign; Convoy PQ 17; Cruisers; Destroyers; DRAGON, Operation; Eastern Solomons, Battle of the; Gilbert Islands Campaign; Guadalcanal Naval Campaign; Guam, Battle of; Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Hewitt, Henry Kent; Hunter-Killer Groups; Iwo Jima, Battle of; Kimmel, Husband Edward; King, Ernest Joseph; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; MacArthur, Douglas; Mariana Islands, Naval Campaign; Marshall Islands, Naval Campaign; Midway, Battle of; Naval Warfare; Nimitz, Chester William; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; North Africa Campaign; Okinawa, Invasion of; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Philippine Sea, Battle of the; Philippines, Japanese Capture of; Philippines, U.S. Recapture of; *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse*; *Reuben James*, Sinking of; Saipan, Battle of; Sicily, Invasion of; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign; Southeast Pacific Theater; Southwest Pacific Theater; Sprague, Clifton Albert Frederick; Spruance, Raymond Ames; Submarines; Tarawa, Battle of; Tinian, U.S. Invasion of; TORCH, Operation; Two-Ocean Navy Program; United States, Submarine Campaign against Japanese Shipping; United States, Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Services; Wake Island, Battle of; Women in World War II

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United States, Submarine Campaign against Japanese Shipping (1941–1945)

One day after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Harold R. Stark declared unrestricted submarine warfare against Japan. On the outbreak of the war, the U.S. Navy’s Asiatic and Pacific Fleet submarine forces included 55 large boats and 18 medium-sized ones (out of a total of 111). Some 73 submarines were under construction.

Yet until 1 April 1942, U.S. submarines only sank a modest 93,300 tons of Japanese shipping, less than one-tenth of what an average of 100 operational German submarines sank in the same period. At this stage of the war, American submarine operations suffered from the early loss of the Philippines, for which the poorly developed Australian submarine bases could not compensate. In addition, operations were hobbled by a doctrine that required submarines to concentrate on enemy heavy warships and by the chronic problems of the Mark XIV torpedoes.

Following the erratic performance in 1942 that yielded a total of 620,616 tons of Japanese merchant shipping, the U.S. submarine campaign gathered pace in 1943. The smaller S-class coastal submarine and the T-class fleet submarines were gradually replaced by the larger and more capable submarines of the Gato, Balao, and Tench classes. Beginning in mid-1942, the U.S. Navy began installing the first SJ surface search radars in the submarines, which further enhanced their combat value (German submarines, by comparison, only received radars in mid-1944), and in October 1943, the torpedo problems were finally resolved.

The Japanese mercantile fleet amounted to 6.4 million tons at the time of Pearl Harbor. Following the cessation of neutral shipping to Japan, this volume was barely sufficient to cover the needs for industrial and civilian imports (3 million tons) and the movement of troops and supplies across the sea. The situation was briefly alleviated by the capture of 1 million tons of merchant ships during the Japanese advance in early 1942. By mid-1943, however, the U.S. submarine campaign had already eaten up these small gains made by captures and new construction.

In 1943, the U.S. submarine service was fully committed to the war against the Japanese sea lines of communications,

even though an operational order issued by Admiral Chester W. Nimitz in June 1943 still listed aircraft carriers and battleships as prime targets. Key traffic patterns of Japanese shipping had been identified, and American submarines operating from Pearl Harbor and Australian bases conducted systematic patrols of such choke points as the “Luzon bottleneck.” Because the Japanese navy failed to respond to the increasing threat and organize valuable transports and cargo vessels into convoys, Japan lost merchant shipping weighing a total of 1,668,000 tons in 1943, of which 1.34 million were claimed by submarines. The volume of imports into Japan fell from 35 million tons in 1942 (already down from a peacetime level of 67 million tons) to 27 million in 1943. In late 1943, the Japanese navy reluctantly committed itself to convoying some of the more valuable transports and cargo ships, but the assets assigned remained woefully short of what was necessary to stem or even reduce the bloodletting. In addition, Japanese escort vessels possessed neither active sonars nor radars, and their depth charges were ineffective. Nonetheless, U.S. submarine losses were substantial.

In response to the Japanese convoys, the U.S. Navy introduced the Coordinated Submarine Attack Groups—small, ad hoc wolf packs. Throughout 1944, U.S. submarines continued to inflict crippling losses on the Japanese merchant marine, amounting to 2.43 million tons. In 1944, imports dropped to a mere 16 million tons. The figures for the key materials were even more alarming. Oil imports fell from 1.75 million barrels a month in August 1943 to 360,000 barrels in July 1944. After September 1943, only 28 percent at best of the petroleum shipped from the southern regions actually made it to the home islands, and during the last 15 months of the war, only an average of 9 percent did. By the time the massive strategic air attacks began to lay waste to Japan’s cities, a substantial part of the industry located therein was already idle due to the lack of materials. The destruction of more than 3 million tons of Japanese merchant shipping in 1944 left barely enough tonnage to cover the basic military requirements of the Japanese army and navy.

During this phase of intensive war on the enemy’s sea lines of communications, the U.S. submarines also achieved some remarkable successes against Japanese warships. During the Battle of the Philippine Sea on 19 June 1944, they claimed 2 Japanese carriers (*Taiho* and *Shokaku*), and during the prelude to the Battle of Leyte Gulf (for which no less than 29 submarines had been deployed), they sank 2 heavy cruisers and fatally damaged a third on 23 October 1944.

Toward the end of 1944, the diminutive Japanese escort force was raised to the status of an escort fleet and provided with somewhat better means, including aircraft, simple radar sets, and useful depth charges. Thus, in the last quarter of 1944, the Japanese antisubmarine forces reached their peak efficiency (as did the U.S. submarines), sinking four U.S. sub-



A sinking Japanese destroyer seen through the periscope of a U.S. submarine. (National Archives)

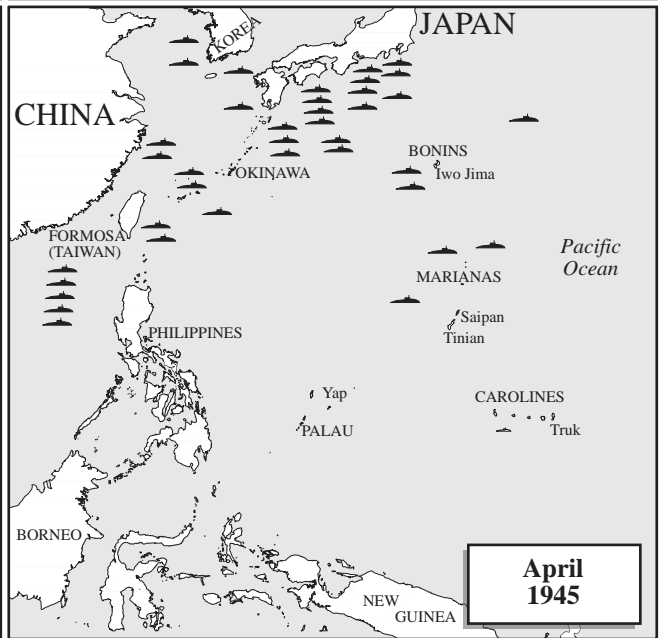
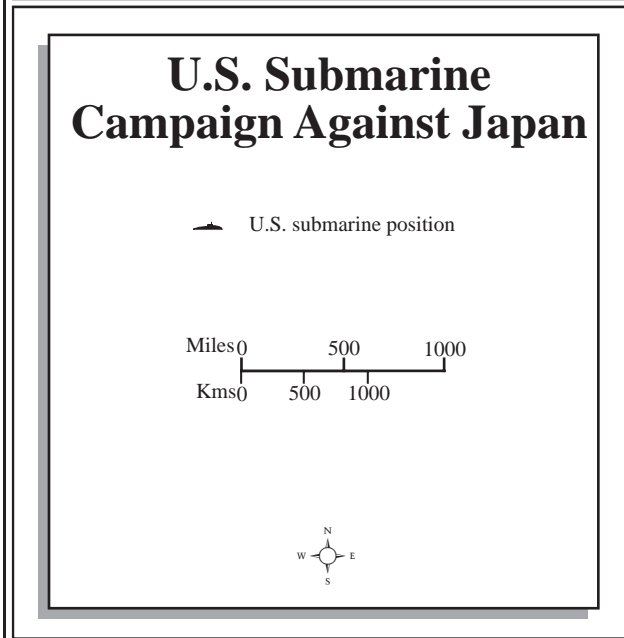
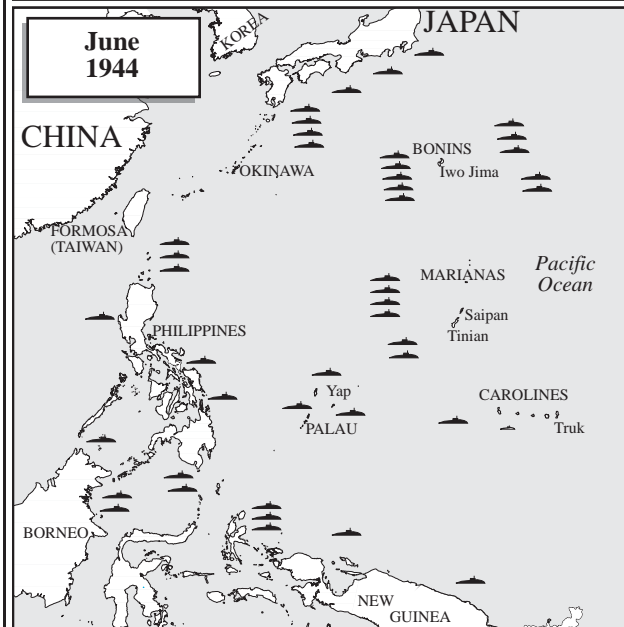
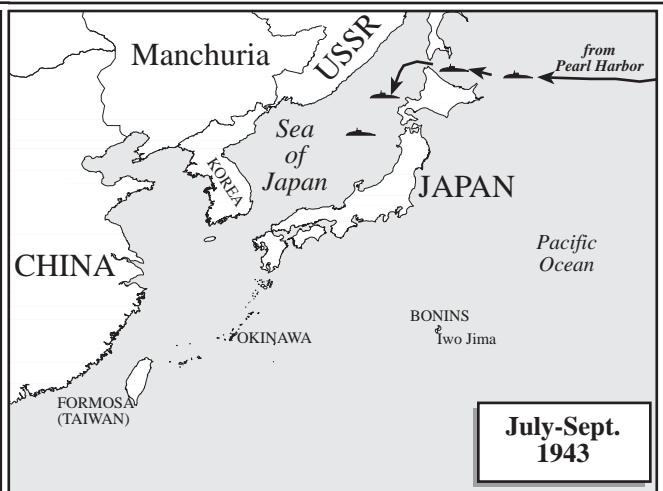
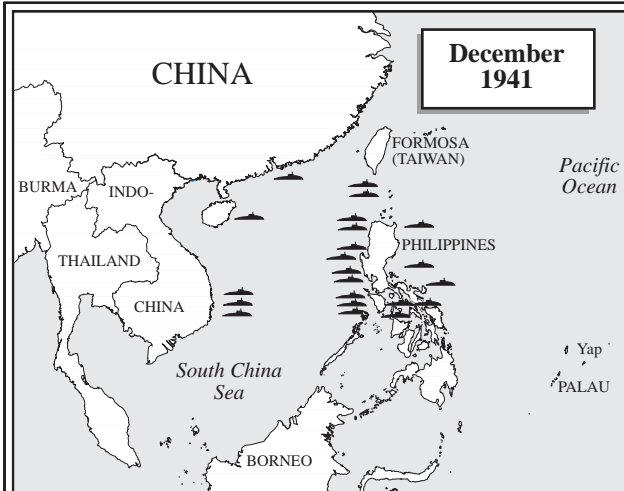
marines in October and another four in November. Thereafter, crushing Allied naval and air superiority and the lack of fuel oil put an end to most organized Japanese naval activities, although not before U.S. submarines had scored further spectacular successes against the Japanese fleet. In November, the U.S. submarine *Archerfish* sank the giant carrier *Shinano* on its shakedown cruise and the *Sealion* dispatched the battleship *Kongo*, and in December, *Redfish*'s torpedoes claimed the new carrier *Unryu* in the East China Sea.

The number of U.S. submarine successes—of any kind—declined steeply in 1945 for want of suitable targets and because of a highly successful mining campaign in the Japanese home waters that year, which claimed the lion's share of the 1.6 million tons of Japanese shipping lost in 1945. U.S. submarines entered the last sanctuaries of Japanese shipping in the Sea of Japan in June 1945 to ravage the remnants of the Japanese merchant fleet but found targets exceedingly scarce thereafter. During the last months of the war, the submarines were confined to seeking what little coastal traffic had managed to escape the mine barrages and the attention of American aircraft. When the war was over, Japan's merchant fleet had been reduced to 12 percent of its prewar size, and only

half of the surviving ships—a paltry 312,000 tons of mostly minor vessels were in operation due to fuel shortages.

In addition to their economic impact, the American submarines played a decisive role in paralyzing Japan's maritime empire in the western and southwestern Pacific by denying the Japanese the use of their interior lines of communications for the movement of troops and equipment by sea. Thus, they facilitated the advance of the U.S. amphibious forces, which could safely bypass the immobilized and isolated Japanese island garrisons.

The U.S. submarine service started the war with 111 boats, added 203, and lost 52 (50 of them in the Pacific). Of the 16,000 submariners who sailed on war patrols, 3,506 did not return—a casualty rate of 22 percent, the highest of all arms in the American services during the war. Nevertheless, the U.S. submarine campaign in World War II was the only campaign of its type in the history of naval warfare that can be rated a complete success. The submarines played a decisive role in the war by incapacitating the Japanese Empire's economy. Of the 7.8 million tons of Japanese merchant shipping lost between 1941 and 1945, nearly two-thirds (4.8 million tons) was sunk by U.S. submarines, which were also responsible for one-third



of the Japanese warship losses. *The U.S. Submarine Operational History*, however, conceded that scholars would do well to “ponder the fact that Japanese anti-submarine defenses were not the best. If our submarines had been confronted with Allied anti-submarine measures, the casualty list of the submarine force would have been much larger and the accomplishment of Allied submarines much less impressive” (Van Der Vat 1992, 339).

Dirk Steffen

See also

Antisubmarine Warfare; Armaments Production; Convoys, Axis; Depth Charges; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; Lockwood, Charles Andrew, Jr.; Naval Warfare; Nimitz, Chester William; Philippine Sea, Battle of the; Radar; Sonar; Stark, Harold Raynsford “Betty”; Submarines

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United States, Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES)

U.S. Navy Women’s Reserve (1942–1948). The acronym WAVES stood for Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service. The WAVES was established on 30 July 1942 under Public Law 689, H.R. 6807, an amendment to the Naval Reserve Act of 1938. The first director of the WAVES, Lieutenant Commander Mildred McAfee, was also the president of Wellesley College in Massachusetts.

Public Law 689 specifically stated that the WAVES would remain restricted to the continental United States and not serve on board naval vessels or aircraft. This restriction is, however, misleading, as women did serve on vessels and in combat areas as nurses in the Navy Nurses Corps, established in 1908. The restriction keeping WAVES in the continental United States did not last, and by September 1944, they were allowed to volunteer for duty in Alaska, Hawaii, the Caribbean, and Panama. By the end of the war, women constituted nearly 2 percent of the U.S. Navy. In some areas, such as the Navy Department in Washington, over half the uniformed personnel were WAVES.

WAVES served in many noncombat roles during the war. Eighty were naval air navigators. Some trained future naval aviators in instrument flying and served as gunner’s mates to teach men antiaircraft gunnery. Others were involved with decoding messages or with the hospital corps. Well over 85,000 women served in the WAVES during World War II. A



Recruiting poster for the WAVES, 1943.

study conducted in 1944 showed that the WAVES then in service released from noncombat duties enough male personnel to man 10 battleships, 10 aircraft carriers, 28 cruisers, and 50 destroyers. There was also a Coast Guard women’s auxiliary, the SPARS (combining the Latin and English versions of the Coast Guard motto, *Semper Paratus*, meaning “always ready”) and the Marine Corps Women’s Reserve (MCWR).

The WAVES became a permanent part of the navy in 1948 when Congress passed the Women’s Armed Service Integration Act (Public Law 625). This step eventually led to the full integration into the armed forces of all women’s units in the 1970s.

Suzanne S. Finney

See also

Great Britain, Women’s Royal Navy Service; United States, Navy; Women in World War II

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United States, Women's Army Corps (WAC, Formerly WAAC)

As the likelihood that the United States would join the war intensified, many American women expressed an interest in assisting the U.S. military. By the spring of 1941, Edith Nourse Rogers, a member of Congress from Massachusetts, prepared legislation that outlined the formation of a women's military corps. She sought legal benefits and protection that had been denied to contract and volunteer nurses in previous wars. However, reluctant to give women military recognition equivalent to that granted to men, the War Department ensured that the bill under consideration did not entitle women to full military benefits.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941 and the U.S. entry into the war underscored the need for women who could perform routine noncombat work and thereby free men for combat duties. Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall encouraged a resistant Congress to pass a bill creating the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps (WAAC) in May 1942.

Oveta Culp Hobby, head of the Women's Interest Section in the War Department's Bureau of Public Relations, became the WAAC commanding officer. Assigned the rank of major, she oversaw the enlistment of qualified applicants. Recruitment posters for the WAAC featured a uniformed woman standing in front of an American flag and above the statement "This Is My War Too!" The WAAC was open to women who were 21 to 45 years of age and without dependents and who met minimum height and weight requirements. Marital status was not a factor. Applicants went to army recruitment stations, where interviewers evaluated their abilities and skills. The women also took aptitude tests and had to pass physical examinations.

Every applicant wrote an essay to explain her motivation to join the corps. Many sought service for patriotic reasons and to help bring the war to an earlier end because they had a boyfriend, a spouse, or another relative in service. Economic incentives motivated many; they enjoyed having employment and professional opportunities unavailable to them in peacetime. Some considered wartime service as a valuable work experience that would be helpful in acquiring jobs in the future. The potential for adventure lured many.

Initial WAAC officer candidates trained at Fort Des Moines, Iowa, and were commissioned in September 1942. The officers then trained the first 12,200 enlistees for the 150,000 WAAC positions authorized by Congress. Instructors taught the enlistees basic military skills, such as map reading and defense against air attack, as well as military customs and protocol. Women also practiced first-aid tech-

niques and drilled to acquire discipline and physical fitness. WAACs perfected administrative procedures for assignments to supply and company positions.

At first, WAACs were deployed to assignments such as translation and folding parachutes. Although many WAACs served in nursing or clerical roles, some utilized mechanical skills for radio operation and motor pool duties. Later WAACs were trained at specialist schools and sent to assignments where their skills were needed. Some attended officer candidate school. Officials often assigned WAACs to U.S. military bases where they could perform routine tasks so that male soldiers could be sent overseas more quickly. WAACs were assigned to such specialty units as the Transportation Corps, Chemical Warfare Service, Signal Corps, Army Medical Department (where they served on land and in hospital ships), Army Ground Forces, and Corps of Engineers (where some worked on the MANHATTAN Project).

Some WAACs were sent overseas. The 149th Post Headquarters Company, assigned to Lieutenant General Dwight D. Eisenhower at Algiers, was the first to go, in January 1943. Women also served with Lieutenant General Mark W. Clark's Fifth Army in Africa and Italy, often near the front lines.

WAACs encountered varying attitudes. Many male officers and soldiers accepted their presence, but some men disliked them and attempted to make their service difficult and force them to quit. WAACs occasionally faced unfair disciplinary actions or endured verbal abuse and hostility. Such treatment, health concerns, fear, disillusionment with military service, or family pressure led some WAACs to ask to be discharged. Others deserted. Military officials could not court-martial these women because the WAACs did not have full military status.

In July 1943, legislation reorganized the WAAC into the Women's Army Corps (WAC), granting women the same military status as male troops. WAACs who wanted to transfer to the WAC as soldiers were expected to meet more demanding standards, including more thorough medical examinations. Each also had to secure the recommendation of her commander. Approximately 75 percent of the WAACs transferred. Hobby held the highest WAC rank, that of colonel.

Soon after the establishment of the WAC, the U.S. Eighth Air Force asked for the services of a WAC battalion. The first WACs assigned there went to London in July 1943. Notable WAC service included providing assistance to the 1944 Normandy Invasion. WACs plotted bomber positions, collected intelligence, censored soldiers' mail, and served as cryptographers. Only women considered sufficiently mature and stable were selected to serve in Europe.

Most commanders recognized the competence and efficiency of the WACs. Ultimately, the army requested as many as 600,000 women in the corps. That demand was never met



WACs, part of a convoy of ATS drivers going to Paris, were among the first women to drive their own vehicles through France, 16 November 1944. (Photo by Harry Todd/Fox Photos/Getty Images)

because many women preferred higher-paying jobs on the home front or joined rival military auxiliaries. Overall, approximately 150,000 served in the corps. WACs were stationed in the United States, in Europe, in North Africa, in the Middle East, in the China-India-Burma Theater, and in the southwest Pacific. Many were awarded Purple Hearts for wounds they received from bombings and artillery fire. Others received Air Medals, Bronze Stars, and other citations.

Although it consisted primarily of whites (94 percent), the corps also represented the diverse population of the United States. Some 4,000 African Americans as well as Hispanic, Asian, and Native American women served in the corps. As with other military units at that time, African American units were segregated, but Hobby sought improvements such as the integration of black officers and equitable salaries for WACs.

An estimated 2,000 WACs chose to enlist after World War II. Most of the women, however, were honorably discharged at the end of the conflict. Hobby retired in July 1945, and Lieutenant Colonel Westray B. Boyce became WAC director. The public reception given to returning WACs was generally apathetic and unappreciative: men, not women, were regarded as war heroes. Because of their military status, WAC veterans were, like their male colleagues, eligible for such benefits as the GI Bill, but they often had to fight legally to receive health care from the Veterans Administration. The WAC enabled women to seek careers in the postwar military, although many initially encountered difficulties in achieving ranks and pay equivalent to their service achievements. In 1948, the Women's Armed Services Integration Act incorporated the WAC as a corps within the U.S. Army. Thirty years later,

the separate corps came to an end and female soldiers joined the army directly instead of the WAC. The Army Women's Museum, located at Fort Lee, Virginia, preserves artifacts and materials documenting the WAC's history.

Elizabeth D. Schafer

See also

Clark, Mark Wayne; Hobby, Oveta Culp; Marshall, George Catlett; United States, Home Front; Women in World War II

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United States, Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron

Women's auxiliary component of the U.S. Army Air Forces, formed during World War II. When war broke out in Europe in 1939, two notable women aviators, Jacqueline Cochran and Nancy Harkness Love, proposed separate military flight-training programs. Love proposed using women pilots who held commercial licenses to fill noncombat flying positions in the United States to deliver or ferry military aircraft. Cochran proposed a military flight-training program for women holding private pilot licenses.

In 1942, when manpower requirements became critical, both plans were implemented. Love was placed in charge of

the Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron, and Cochran headed the Women's Flying Training Detachment. After some advanced instruction, Love's group began ferrying fighters and bombers from factories to bases throughout the United States. Cochran's group trained at Sweetwater, Texas, completely segregated from male training units.

In September 1943, the two groups were merged into the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASPs). Cochran remained in charge of the training program and Love the ferry squadron. WASPs was disbanded on 20 December 1944.

Henry M. Holden

See also

Cochran, Jacqueline; Great Britain, Women's Auxiliary Air Force; Love, Nancy Harkness; United States, Women Airforce Service Pilots; Women in World War II

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United States, Women's Land Army (WLA)

U.S. government program to provide agricultural labor to the nation's farmers, loosely based on the British program of the same name. By mid-1943, an extreme shortage of farm labor forced the government to develop a comprehensive plan to assist farmers. The Emergency Farm Labor Program, Public Law 45, under the control of the Department of Agriculture and Extension Service, created several farm labor programs, including the Women's Land Army (WLA). As part of the Emergency Farm Labor Program, the WLA brought women to the forefront of agricultural labor. Beginning in April 1943 and continuing to the end of 1945, the WLA recruited, hired, and placed more than 3 million farm and nonfarm women over the age of 18, putting them to work in full- or part-time positions on American farms.

Mirroring the New Deal program structure, the WLA established a national office, under the direction of home economist Florence L. Hall. It disseminated information and moneys to state-level organizations run by extension agents. The national WLA mandated federal policy for its members, whereas state programs implemented plans for housing, insurance, local transportation, uniforms, and equitable wages. In 1943, 13 states had full-time WLA supervisors, and 30 states had part-time supervisors. In some states where the WLA organization was quite large, state supervisors were

assisted by county supervisors who worked on the local level. Successful state supervisors planned recruitment campaigns, organized camps for women workers, provided training courses, opened child care centers, and monitored farmer/worker opinion of the WLA. States without the WLA or the Emergency Farm Labor Program in place hired women through local labor initiatives.

Farmers in the western and eastern coastal regions of the United States readily accepted and hired female labor in 1943 and throughout the war. Continuing a prewar trend, eastern and western states supported the use of women in agricultural labor to harvest perishable crops. But even though much of the nation favored wartime domestic policy, some areas of the country resisted the placement of nonfarm women on farms. States in the South and Midwest, historically opposed to nonfarm and middle-class women in the fields, did not accept the WLA in 1943. In the Midwest, the opposition to nonfarm women in agriculture left farms understaffed and crops unharvested. In the South, racial issues plagued several states and state labor programs. In 1943, some southern states made a conscious effort to recruit only white women, effectively preventing African American women from joining the organization. In 1944 and 1945, as the labor situation became dire, it proved impossible to hire African American women, as many had left the region or taken jobs in industry.

Most midwestern and southern farmers who protested the WLA in 1943 would ultimately use women as farm laborers by the end of the war; in all, several hundred thousand women would work on farms in these regions. Farmers in the Great Plains and eastern Rocky Mountains, however, remained opposed—sacrificing agricultural production and money—to having women as farm workers.

By the end of 1945, farmers had, for the most part, accepted the WLA, and agricultural production goals were met. The Emergency Farm Labor Program continued until 1947, but the WLA ended with World War II.

Stephanie Carpenter

See also

Great Britain, Women's Land Army

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Upham, Charles (1908–1994)

Soldier who was awarded the Victoria Cross (VC) twice for his service in World War II. Born on 21 September 1908 at Christchurch, New Zealand, Charles Upham was the only British Commonwealth soldier in the war to win the Victoria Cross and Bar and only the third soldier in history to do so. He was actually recommended for the VC three times, but the last two recommendations were consolidated into a single award.

Upham won his first VC as a second lieutenant in the 20th Battalion, 2nd New Zealand Expeditionary Force on Crete for actions between 22 and 30 May 1941. At Minqar Qaim in North Africa while in command of a company, he was recommended for his second VC when, on the night of 27 June 1942, he single-handedly attacked a stalled column of German trucks while armed with a sandbag full of hand grenades. At Ruweisat Ridge, he was severely wounded twice on the night of 14–15 July, but he refused evacuation. When the Germans attacked his company for the last time, he led the counterattack, personally destroying a German tank and several guns. He kept going until he passed out from loss of blood.

Captured, Upham spent the rest of the war as a prisoner of war (POW), but he received a third VC recommendation for his conduct at Ruweisat Ridge. After his many attempts to escape, the Germans finally sent Upham to Colditz, where he remained until he was freed by American forces in 1945. Even then, he demanded that his rescuers give him an American uniform and a weapon and allow him to accompany them as they pursued the retreating Germans.

Following his repatriation, Upham's two pending VC recommendations were resurrected from the files where they had sat while he was a POW. For whatever reason, the British military could not accept the idea of a soldier with three VCs, so he essentially received the Bar for the Ruweisat Ridge action. After being decorated in London by King George VI, Upham returned to his native New Zealand and became a sheep farmer. For the remainder of his life, he resisted all urging to enter politics or to exploit in any way his status as one of the greatest Allied heroes of World War II. Upham died in Christchurch, New Zealand, on 22 November 1994.

David T. Zabecki

See also

Crete, Naval Operations off; Medals and Decorations; New Zealand, Role in War; North Africa Campaign; Ruweisat Ridge, Battles of

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Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitry Fedorovich Ustinov, minister of defense of the Soviet Union. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Ushijima Mitsuru (1887–1945)

Japanese army general who was a key figure in the Battle of Okinawa. Born on 31 July 1887 in Kagoshima Prefecture, Japan, Ushijima Mitsuru graduated from the Military Academy in 1901 and the Army War College in 1916. He held major military posts as a staff officer and a commander of troops both within and outside Japan. Promoted to lieutenant general in 1939, he assumed the post of head of the Military Academy three years later.

Arriving in Okinawa in August 1944, Ushijima took command of Thirty-Second Army. That unit had been established under direct control of the Imperial headquarters in March 1944 specifically for the purpose of defending the Ryukus Islands. By that time, the Thirty-Second Army numbered four divisions and five mixed brigades. However, its military potential was hugely diminished when the 9th Division, one of the elite units in the army, was relocated to Taiwan (Formosa) in December and not replaced on Okinawa. Ushijima

did what he could to strengthen the island's defenses, but the loss of his best division forced him to change his strategy from pursuing a "fight to the finish" to instigating delaying tactics. The goal of this strategy was to prolong the battle against U.S. forces in order to forestall a landing in the main Japanese home islands as long as possible.

The Battle of Okinawa began on 26 March 1945 when the U.S. forces landed on the Kerama Islands. On 1 April, those forces went ashore on Okinawa proper. The landing was deceptively easy, as Ushijima had withdrawn the bulk of his forces to fight for the populous interior. The fighting continued into late June. With the battle lost, Ushijima committed ritual suicide on a cliff on 23 June (22 June, according to another account), leaving as his last orders: "Guard your own position, follow the orders of your superiors, and fight bravely to the last breath for your homeland." Ushijima had been promoted to the rank of general on 20 June, just prior to his death.

Tomoyuki Takemoto

See also

Okinawa, Invasion of

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Ustinov, Dmitry Fedorovich (1908–1984)

Soviet marshal and minister of defense during World War II. Born in the city of Samara, Russia, on the Volga River on 30 October 1908, Dmitry Ustinov volunteered for service in the Red Army in 1926, but his one stint of active duty was cut short when his unit was demobilized the next year. Ustinov joined the Communist Party in 1927 and worked as a metals craftsman between 1927 and 1929. In 1934, he graduated from the Institute of Military Mechanical Engineering in Leningrad, where he studied artillery design. He was then a design engineer at the Bolshevik Arms Factory in Leningrad, becoming its director in 1938.

The Bolshevik factory produced considerable quantities of weapons for the 1939–1940 Finnish-Soviet War (the Winter War). Ustinov's efficient management of the factory attracted the attention of Josef Stalin, who made him commissar (minister) of armaments just after the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. As armaments minister, he oversaw the relocation of factories east from the

western Soviet cities endangered by the German advance. He also dramatically increased the production of tanks and other military matériel. Commissioned colonel general of military engineers in 1944, Ustinov continued as minister of armaments well after the war, until 1957.

An enthusiastic supporter of the space program, Ustinov was a key participant in the successful 1961 launching of the first man to go into space, Yuri Gagarin. Appointed minister of defense in 1976, Ustinov was named a marshal of the Soviet

Union that same year. He was responsible for the deployment of troops to Afghanistan in 1979 and remained minister of defense until his death in Moscow on 20 December 1984.

Michael Share and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Soviet Union, Home Front; Stalin, Josef

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V

V-1 Buzz Bomb

The first operational cruise missile, produced by the Germans during World War II. On 13 June 1944, a British Observer Corps watch post on the Kentish coast spotted a stubby-winged aircraft with a strange engine inbound from the North Sea. Its engine made a buzzing sound as it flew overhead. This “buzz bomb” was on its way to London and was the first of more than 7,900 to be launched by Germany against Great Britain. Another 4,883 attacked Antwerp late in the war. Although only 4 of the first 12 missiles launched against Britain actually reached the island and only 1 hit its target of London, the campaign drew extensive Allied defensive and offensive reactions and gave birth to today’s cruise missile programs.

Germany’s Vergeltungswaffe 1 (Vengeance Weapon 1, or V-1) had its origins in a 1938 Luftwaffe research program to develop new aircraft propulsion systems. Given the code name FLAKZEILGERÄT (antiaircraft training device) 76 to hide its true purpose, the project was centered on the Schmidt pulse-jet engine designed in 1928. Fiesler, the manufacturer, designated it the Fi-103 and intended it as a test platform; however, on 19 June 1942, the Luftwaffe directed that it be developed as a flying bomb.

The first airframe flew successfully on 24 December 1942. Subsequent testing revealed and led to the correction of problems with the autopilot and airframe design. Both surface- and air-launched variants were built. The result was a 25-ft-long, midwing monoplane missile with a 17.6 ft wingspan; it was fueled by cheap 75 octane gasoline and could deliver a 1,870 lb warhead to a target up to 200 miles away.

Guidance was simple: a gyro-based autopilot ensured the V-1 stayed on course and at the correct altitude. A nose pro-

peller connected to a counter determined the missile’s flight range. The propeller spun as the missile flew, and the V-1 dived when the counter reached a preset number of rotations. This system resulted in half of the missiles landing within 8



A German V-1 flying bomb about to strike a residential area of southern England. (Corbis)

miles of the aim point. Dual fuzing made the warhead one of the most reliable of the war: fewer than 4 out of every 1,200 missiles were duds. A steam-powered catapult system was developed for the surface-launched version.

Development and production of this weapon occurred rapidly. The V-1 campaign was to have begun on 13 December 1943, but delays were caused by strategy disagreements; the debate concerned whether to launch the new weapons as missiles became available or to wait until stockpiles and protective bunker sites could be built to support a sustained campaign. The Allied landings in Normandy on 6 June 1944 forced a decision, and six days later, Adolf Hitler ordered the offensive to commence.

The Western Allies reacted swiftly, as they had anticipated the flying-bomb campaign. They directed hundreds of bombing sorties at the launch sites, the V-1 production facilities, and the transport systems that delivered the missiles. The Allies also reinforced their antiaircraft defenses, assigning some 944 heavy guns, 700 rocket launchers, and 1,200 light antiaircraft guns as well as 4 Mosquito fighter-bomber squadrons and 8 single-engine fighter squadrons to defend London and other

Germany launched more than 10,000 buzz bombs against Great Britain, killing 6,184 people and injuring 17,981.

strategic targets from the V-1. One daring approach was to intercept the V-1 (which was possible because of its 360 mph speed) and then carefully tip up one of its wings, causing the missile to crash.

The Germans launched slightly more than 10,000 V-1s against England. Of these, some 7,488 crossed the English Channel; 3,957 were shot down. Of the 3,531 that made it past the defenses, 2,419 reached London. About 30 fell on Southampton and Portsmouth, and 1 made it to Manchester. The V-1 offensive killed 6,184 people and injured an additional 17,981. Although the V-1s were relatively ineffective, their use marked the beginning of a new era in weaponry.

Carl O. Schuster

See also

Hitler, Adolf; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; V-2 Rocket

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V-2 Rocket

German strategic guided missile, first launched against London on 8 September 1944. Germany's *Vergeltungswaffe 2* (Vengeance Weapon 2, or V-2) had its origins in the Versailles Treaty imposed on Germany by the Allied powers after World War I. That agreement prohibited Germany from possessing long-range artillery or military aircraft, limitations that ultimately led to a secret German army program to develop long-range rocket artillery. The program initially focused on relatively simple solid-fuel artillery rockets, but in early 1930, the military's interest shifted to liquid-fueled rockets when Captain Walter Dornberger joined the Heereswaffenamt (Army Weapons Bureau, or HWA). A year later, Dornberger established a small research center at Kummersdorf, south of Berlin, to conduct army-controlled research into liquid-fueled rockets. Progress was slow until he recruited scientist Wernher von Braun and two of his colleagues to the program. The V-2 design team was formed.

Originally designated the Aggregat 4 (or A-4), the V-2 was based on the stated requirement for a 200 mile bombardment rocket to enter service by mid-1943. The team's first liquid-fueled rocket, the A-1, was a static, proof-of-concept design that led to the A-2, first launched in 1934 from Borkum Island in the Baltic Sea. The more powerful A-3 followed, and three years later, the project moved to a new test center at Peenemünde on the Baltic coast. However, most of the A-3's early flights failed, with test rockets rarely getting off the launchpad. The rocket's fins and guidance systems suffered design faults because little was understood about high-speed flight and powerful-thrust rocket engines.

The A-5 was built to resolve these problems. Slightly larger than the A-3 at 16 ft in length, the A-5 incorporated parachute-recovery, telemetry, and radio-control systems to ensure a thorough monitoring of the rocket's flight and problems. These additions and the construction of a supersonic wind tunnel greatly enhanced the designers' ability to discover and correct problems.

Progress slowed significantly in 1940, however, when Adolf Hitler suspended any weapons research projects that could not be placed in production immediately. Things accelerated again in December 1942, when the Army General Staff restored the project's pre-1940 funding. In late 1943, it provided increased support, including a program involving a submerged launch from a U-boat. But on 17–18 August 1944, the Royal Air Force (RAF), which had been made aware of the program in large part by the work of the Polish underground, launched a raid on Peenemünde that killed at least 120 personnel and damaged sufficient facilities there to set back the program by some six months. Development decelerated fur-



German V-2 rocket at Cuxhaven, 1944. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

ther as equipment and personnel were dispersed to reduce the program's vulnerability. As a consequence, production of the V-2 did not begin until June 1944.

The V-2 weighed 13.6 tons and was 46 ft in overall length. Its gyroscopic autopilot controlled graphite fins located in the rocket-engine exhaust to direct the missile's flight. The early missiles used a radio-controlled fuel cutoff to control range, but most production models incorporated a gyro-integrating accelerometer for that purpose. The last models used a combination of the two systems. The rocket engine employed alcohol and liquid oxygen to generate some 55,000 lbs of thrust. The warhead consisted of 1,605 lbs of cast amatol, a relatively weak explosive that was chosen because it did not detonate when atmospheric friction drove up the missile's skin temperature. As with the V-1, warhead fuzing was extremely reliable. Of 1,150 V-2s hitting Great Britain, only 2 were duds.

Unlike the V-1, however, the V-2's supersonic speed and ballistic flight profile precluded in-flight intercept, forcing the Allies into an expensive bombing campaign to destroy the missiles before they could be launched. That effort was further complicated by the V-2's reliance on a mobile, quickly set up launch system. The Western Allies directed hundreds of bomber sorties at V-2 production facilities and Germany's transportation network to prevent the missiles from reaching operational units. Hundreds of other fighter-bombers conducted low-level sweeps over suspected launch areas to attack V-2 units before they fired. A later commander would face the same challenge and employ similar tactics in the 1991 Iraq War against the V-2's Soviet-built successor, the Scud missile.

The first V-2 fell on Chiswick, near London, on 8 September 1944, killing 3 people and wounding 17. Between that date and 27 March 1945, 1,054 V-2s fell on England, and 517 of these struck London. Slightly more than 2,700 Londoners died because of the V-2s. The port of Antwerp also came under heavy V-2 attack, with 900 missiles fired on it in the last three months of 1944.

The V-2 was expensive (one estimate suggests it cost about one-third as much as the MANHATTAN Project in the United States), and many have argued that resources expended on it would have been better used to develop surface-to-air missile (SAM) systems to protect Germany from Allied bombing. This argument overlooks two critical elements of the V-2 program. First, it diverted a significant portion of the Allied bombing effort. Second, SAMs require electronic guidance systems that are susceptible to countermeasures, and by 1943, the Allies enjoyed a massive superiority in this area. Viewed in that context, the V-2 was an early asymmetrical warfare system that allowed the Germans to use technologies that circumvented Allied capabilities, forc-

ing them into an expensive countereffort with forces that might otherwise have been employed against German industry or forces on the ground.

Carl O. Schuster

See also

Braun, Wernher von; Peenemünde Raid

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Vandegrift, Alexander Archer (1887–1973)

U.S. Marine Corps general who commanded the I Marine Amphibious Corps in the Pacific. Born on 13 March 1887 in Charlottesville, Virginia, Alexander Vandegrift attended the University of Virginia from 1906 to 1908 and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Marine Corps in 1909. Much of his early years in the Marine Corps were spent in Latin America and the Caribbean, with operations at Vera Cruz and in Haiti. He subsequently served in China and on various staffs and was promoted to brigadier general in April 1940.

Vandegrift took command of the 1st Marine Division in April 1942 and led it on Guadalcanal from August to December 1942. The division's success was due largely to the training program that he instituted. In three months of hard fighting, despite the haphazard nature of air and naval support, Vandegrift and his men gradually pushed back the Japanese forces. For his actions at the Battles of Tenaru River (21 August) and Bloody Ridge (12 September), Vandegrift received the Navy Cross and the Medal of Honor.

Promoted to lieutenant general in June 1943, Vandegrift commanded the I Marine Amphibious Corps during its assault on Empress Augusta Bay, Bougainville, in November 1943. Using deception and a careful choice of landing sites, his forces surprised the Japanese ashore and quickly established a beachhead. On the successful completion of this operation, Vandegrift returned to the United States in January 1944 to serve as commandant of the Marine Corps. He was promoted to general in March 1945, becoming the first Marine to achieve that rank. He served as commandant until December 1947, when he left active service. He was placed on



U.S. Marine Lieutenant General Alexander Archer Vandegrift. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

the retired list in April 1949. Vandegrift died in Bethesda, Maryland, on 8 May 1975.

C. J. Horn

See also

Amphibious Warfare; Bougainville Campaign; Guadalcanal, Land Battle for

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Vandenberg, Hoyt Sanford (1899–1954)

U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) and U.S. Air Force (USAF) general who helped plan the Normandy Invasion and took command of Ninth Air Force in August 1944. Born in Mil-

waukee, Wisconsin, on 24 January 1899, Hoyt Vandenberg graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1923 and was assigned to the Air Service. He earned his wings in 1925. He attended the Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1936 and the Army War College in 1939.

Vandenberg joined the Planning Division under Chief of the Army Air Corps Brigadier General Henry H. Arnold. His work in helping to direct the Air Corps buildup following Pearl Harbor led to his promotion to colonel. In June 1942, he was assigned to Major General Dwight D. Eisenhower's staff in Britain to assist in the development of air plans for Operation TORCH, the Allied invasion of North Africa. Promoted to brigadier general in December, he accompanied Brigadier General James Doolittle to North Africa as chief of staff of Twelfth Air Force in February 1943. In the summer of 1943, Vandenberg became chief of strategic forces under Lieutenant General Carl Spaatz, commander of Northwest African Air Forces. In March 1944, he received a promotion to major general and was assigned to England as deputy commander of the Allied Expeditionary Air Forces under British Air Chief Marshal Sir Trafford Leigh-Mallory. In August 1944, Vandenberg assumed command of Ninth Air Force, which covered the



U.S. Air Force General Hoyt S. Vandenberg, April 1948. (Bettman/Corbis)

advance of Allied forces across France and into Germany. In the process, he won high praise from army generals for the Ninth's close support of their forces. In March 1945, he was promoted to lieutenant general.

After the war, Vandenberg held a number of staff assignments, including service as director of the Central Intelligence Group, forerunner to the Central Intelligence Agency. Promoted to full general in 1947, Vandenberg played an important role in making the air force a separate service in September of that year. Spaatz became its first chief of staff, and Vandenberg was vice chief of staff. After Spaatz retired in April 1948, Vandenberg succeeded him. When the Soviet Union imposed a blockade on Berlin that summer, he helped convince President Harry S Truman that the air force could adequately supply West Berlin.

Vandenberg was a forceful and effective advocate for the Strategic Air Command in battles with the navy over strategic deterrence in 1949. The Korean War saw a doubling of air force strength, to 106 wings. He vigorously defended the need for a flexible and technologically advanced conventional and nuclear air force capable of strategic and tactical missions, which ran counter to the Eisenhower administration's emphasis on nuclear weapons. Vandenberg retired in June 1953 and died in Washington, D.C., on 2 April 1954.

William Head

See also

Doolittle, James Harold "Jimmy"; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Leigh-Mallory, Sir Trafford L.; Spaatz, Carl Andrew "Tooe"; TORCH, Operation

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Vasilevsky, Aleksandr Mikhailovich (1895–1977)

Soviet marshal and chief of staff of the Red Army. Born in Novaya Golchikha in the Volga region on 30 September 1895, Aleksandr Vasilevsky was the son of an Orthodox priest and attended a seminary before entering the tsar's army and rising to captain. He joined the Red Army in 1919, and during the Russian Civil War, he was elected commander of a rifle regiment. Vasilevsky then commanded the 143rd Regiment of the Moscow Military District and was chief of the Red Army's Combat Training Directorate from 1931 to 1934. In 1935, he was appointed deputy chief of staff of the Volga Military District. Between 1936 and 1937, he attended the Frunze General Staff Academy and taught tactics there for several months.

Vasilevsky was then attached to the General Staff as chief of the Operations Training Section. Admitted to the Communist Party as a full member in 1938, he was deputy chief of operations of the General Staff in 1939 and 1940 and then chief of the Operational Department in 1941. Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June, Vasilevsky became invaluable to Stavka (the Soviet High Command) in his visits to and coordination of the various military fronts. Only General Georgii Zhukov, with whom he worked out the successful 1942–1943 Soviet winter offensives, was more active in this regard. Appointed chief of the General Staff in June 1942, Vasilevsky was promoted to full general in January 1943 and to marshal of the Soviet Union in February 1943.

Vasilevsky coordinated the 3rd and 4th Ukrainian Fronts from Kursk through the advance from the Dnieper River to the Dniester and Prut Rivers. He subsequently coordinated operations for the 1st Baltic and 2nd Belorussian Fronts in East Prussia. In February 1945, he stepped down as chief of the General Staff to take command of the 3rd Belorussian Front following the death of its commander, General Ivan Chernyakhovsky.

Less volatile than Zhukov, Vasilevsky is said to have been a "rational influence" on Josef Stalin, who selected him in July 1945 for the singular honor of being the first Soviet theater commander against the Japanese. Vasilevsky's Manchurian campaign was a lightning operation that required the coordination of three fronts from three directions, with the object of penetrating into central Manchuria to destroy the Japanese Guandong (Kwantung) Army. The campaign was a complete success.

In November 1948, Vasilevsky was reappointed chief of the General Staff, and in March 1949, he became minister of defense. He retired from public life following Stalin's death in March 1953. Vasilevsky was one of 11 Soviets to receive the five-star ruby Order of Victory and was twice named a Hero of the Soviet Union. He published his war memoirs, *Delo Vsei Zhizni* (A Lifelong Cause), in 1973. The work revealed Stalin's failure to follow the recommendations of his military advisers in the opening and disastrous stages of the German invasion. Vasilevsky died on 5 December 1977.

Claude R. Sasso

See also

Guandong Army; Kursk, Battle of; Shaposhnikov, Boris Mikhailovich; Stalin, Josef; Stalingrad, Battle of; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Vella Gulf, Battle of (6–7 August 1943)

Pacific Theater naval battle, fought around midnight when an American destroyer force under Commander Frederick Moosbrugger intercepted a Japanese transport group off northwest Kolombangara. Following the Battles of Kula Gulf and Kolombangara, the Japanese had switched to the Vella Gulf–Blackett Strait route. On the night of 1–2 August, the Japanese had made a successful run by this route, the only opposition coming from an unsuccessful attack by U.S. patrol torpedo (PT) boats. Against the advice of his ship captains, who worried that the Americans would be waiting, the Japanese commodore, Captain Sugiura Kaju, decided to try it again. This time, however, a U.S. search plane spotted the Japanese force approaching off Bougainville at 5:30 P.M.

The Americans were indeed lying in wait. Moosbrugger with Destroyer Division 13—the *Dunlap*, *Craven*, and *Maury*—and Commander Roger R. Simpson’s Destroyer Division 15—the *Lang*, *Sterett*, and *Stack*—were on the prowl south of Vella Gulf when the search plane’s warning came. The moon had set when Moosbrugger led his destroyers in two columns into the gulf. The sky was overcast, and rainsqualls reduced visibility to less than 4,000 yards. Moosbrugger hugged the shore of the high, volcanic cone of Kolombangara.

At 11:33 P.M., radar picked up the Japanese destroyers: Sugiura in the *Hagikaze*, followed by the *Arashi*, *Kawakaze*, and *Shigure*. The Japanese ships, crammed with 50 tons of supplies and 900 troops, sailed into an ambush. Moosbrugger had been privy to Captain Arleigh Burke’s planning for a night destroyer action, and he executed it to near perfection. With Simpson’s division covering, Moosbrugger delivered the torpedo attack on the unsuspecting Japanese ships at 11:41 and then turned away to avoid any Japanese torpedoes. Simpson turned to port to cross the Japanese T, and a few minutes later, as the three leading Japanese destroyers exploded in flames that lit up the dark night, he opened fire. Only the *Shigure*, lagging behind because of engine problems, escaped and then only because the torpedo that stuck her rudder failed to explode.

For the Japanese, the Battle of Vella Gulf marked the first time they had been bested in a night destroyer action. The second time, in the Battle of Cape St. George, Burke himself, in an action remarkably similar to Vella Gulf, would administer the defeat.

Ronnie Day

See also

Kolombangara, Battle of; Kula Gulf, Battle of; New Georgia, Battle of; Vella Lavella, Naval Battle of

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Vella Lavella, Land Battle of (15 August–7 October 1943)

Vella Lavella is the northwestern island of the New Georgia group in the Solomons chain. Its capture marked the first time that the Allies successfully bypassed a major Japanese position in the South Pacific.

The costly New Georgia Campaign of July and August 1943 had made the South Pacific Theater commander, Admiral William F. Halsey, reluctant to assault the nearby and strongly defended Kolombangara. But Vella Lavella, which lay beyond Kolombangara, was only lightly held by the Japanese and offered superior prospects as an Allied air base. Because it was only some 35 nautical miles from the recently captured Munda Airfield on New Georgia, planes from the latter could easily provide air cover for a landing on Vella Lavella.

A small U.S. landing party reconnoitered Vella Lavella in late July and found, at Barakoma on the southeast coast, suitable sites for both a landing beach and an airstrip. Several days before the scheduled invasion on 15 August, an advance landing party of about 100 men slipped ashore with orders to mark the landing beaches. Most of the few Japanese troops on the island proved to be emaciated refugees from the New Georgia fighting.

The main landing on 15 August was executed by Task Force 31, commanded by Rear Admiral Theodore S. Wilkinson. Once the landing was completed, overall command of the Vella Lavella force passed to Major General Oscar W. Griswold, commander of XIV Corps and the New Georgia Occupation Force. A Marine defense battalion was included, but the principal ground component was the army’s 35th Regimental Combat Team (RCT), led by Brigadier General Robert B. McClure, assistant commander of the 25th Division. Overall, the landing force totaled about 4,600 soldiers, Marines, and Seabees.

Confronted with such a strong invasion force, General Imamura Hitoshi, commander of the Eighth Area Army at Rabaul, decided not to mount a counterlanding at Vella Lavella. Instead, he would fight a delaying action in order to evacuate as many men as possible northward to Bougainville. Thus, most of the fighting in and around Vella Lavella—and most of the 198 Allied casualties in the operation—resulted from Japanese aerial attacks against the landing force and its supporting ships. Ground combat was essentially limited to patrolling and skirmishing.

On 18 September, McClure and his American troops turned over their operation to elements of Major General H. E. Barrowclough's 3rd New Zealand Division. While American Navy Seabees completed the Barakoma Airfield, the New Zealanders worked their way up both the east and west coasts of the island. Although they failed to trap the escaping Japanese, the island was fully in Allied hands by 7 October. The Allies also failed to prevent the withdrawal of nearly 10,000 Japanese from bypassed Kolombangara. Nevertheless, the air bases at Barakoma and at Munda and Ondonga on New Georgia brought all of Bougainville within the combat radius of Allied fighters and greatly facilitated the landings that began there on 1 November.

Richard G. Stone

See also

Bougainville Campaign; Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Imamura Hitoshi; Kolombangara, Battle of; New Georgia, Battle of; Wilkinson, Theodore Stark "Ping"

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Vella Lavella, Naval Battle of (6–7 October 1943)

Pacific Theater naval battle, the last surface action of the New Georgia Campaign. The battle resulted from Japan's decision to evacuate 600 of its troops on Vella Lavella Island. For this purpose, the Japanese put together at Rabaul a transport group of three old destroyers, four subchasers, and eight smaller craft supported by the destroyers *Akigumo*, *Isokaze*, *Kazegumo*, *Yugumo*, *Shigure*, and *Samidare*, under the command of Rear Admiral Ijuin Matsuji.

The U.S. Navy force patrolling the Slot (the passage formed by the Solomons) on the night of 6–7 October consisted of the destroyers *Selfridge*, *Chevalier*, and *O'Bannon*, under the command of Captain Frank R. Walker. When an accurate assessment of Ijuin's strength became known, however, three destroyers under Captain Harold O. Larson were detached from convoy duty and sent speeding to the scene. Larson arrived too late to participate in the action.

The sea was calm, and a brilliant half moon made for excellent visibility when a Japanese search plane reported, at 8:58

P.M., that Walker's force consisted of one cruiser and four destroyers, the first of a number of mistakes the Japanese were to make. Ijuin allowed the subchaser group to proceed on to Vella Lavella (this group had left earlier and was ahead of the main body), but he ordered the destroyer-transport (which were also ahead of the main body) back to the Shortlands; their two escorts, the destroyers *Samidare* and *Shigure*, were to join the main group. Walker made contact at 10:31, and his radar picked up the two Japanese groups just before they joined. Walker made for the larger group.

Ijuin mishandled his force, missed a chance to cap the T, and ended up with his ships staggered and the *Yugumo* masking the torpedo tubes of the other three. In the exchange that followed, U.S. gunfire and a torpedo sank the *Yugumo* but not before a torpedo from the latter struck the *Chevalier* a mortal blow. The *O'Bannon*, following through thick gun smoke, collided with the *Chevalier*, and although she was able to back clear, she was also out of the fight. The *Selfridge* continued on alone as all five of the Japanese ships headed west (Japanese aircraft had reported Larson's force coming up from the south as cruisers), but at 11:06 P.M., a torpedo caught the *Selfridge* on her port side. Ijuin fled the scene, leaving the U.S. destroyer *Chevalier* damaged so badly she had to be sunk and the other two ships barely able to limp home to Tulagi. The subchaser group meanwhile rescued the stranded Japanese troops and escaped unnoticed.

The final chapter was written the next morning when four U.S. patrol torpedo (PT) boats were sent in 5 miles west of Vella Lavella to look for survivors. The *PT 163* picked up 33 of the *Yugumo*'s crew and put in at Biloa to transfer them to the army; at that point, 1 of the Japanese killed a sailor with his own gun and was in turn killed, along with 3 other prisoners who joined in the fray.

Ronnie Day

See also

Kolombangara, Battle of; Kula Gulf, Battle of; New Georgia, Battle of; Vella Gulf, Battle of

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Vengeance Weapon 1, Vengeance Weapon 2

See V-1 Buzz Bomb; V-2 Rocket.

Vereker, John Standish Surtees Pendergast (Sixth Viscount Gort, Lord Gort) (1886–1946)

British army field marshal who led the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) in France at the outset of the war. Born in London on 10 July 1886, John Standish Surtees Pendergast Vereker, Sixth Viscount Gort, was educated at Harrow and the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst. He served in World War I first as an operations officer and then with the Grenadier Guards, winning the Victoria Cross. Between the wars, Gort rose steadily in rank and responsibility. He commanded the Staff College, Camberley, and then a brigade. Advanced ahead of other officers in his class, he was appointed chief of the Imperial General Staff (IGS) in December 1937 and promoted from major general to full general.

Gort's appointment as IGS was a mistake, for he did not work well with the secretary of state for war, Leslie Hore-Belisha, who was both unorthodox and flamboyant. Gort, the traditional soldier, was neither. He did develop plans for cooperation with the French in the event of war, but he failed in key areas of modernization, including the development of armored forces and air-ground coordination.

When World War II began, Gort assumed the job of commander in chief of the BEF in France, even though he lacked experience in high command. He was glad to escape the bureaucracy and openly anticipated the excitement of war. He built up the BEF in France from 4 to 13 divisions, and as a commander, his dependability and determination stood him in good stead. But he was frequently criticized for his penchant for details: even as the German blitzkrieg drove into France in May 1940, he was discussing uniforms. Gort's relationship with Hore-Belisha worsened when the war minister, during an inspection trip to France, was critical despite the real progress that had been made on defensive positions. Gort may not have been directly involved in the subsequent campaign that led Hore-Belisha to resign from office, but his friends certainly were.

Following the German invasion of 10 May 1940, Gort took personal command of the BEF troops in the field. This move was a mistake because his place was at headquarters, not in the field directing specific operations, and he only worsened the situation by taking many experienced staff officers with him. He did manage to mount a counterattack on 21 May. Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill ordered him to provide two British divisions for a last-ditch French counterattack, but on 27 May, Gort disregarded the order. Believing the attack would most certainly fail and anticipating the impending surrender of Belgian forces, he took the decision on his



British Field Marshal John Standish Surtees Pendergast Vereker (Sixth Viscount Gort, Lord Gort) (1886–1946)

own to use the two divisions to protect his flank. Disregarding Churchill's orders and those of the French army commander, Maxime Weygand, Gort ordered the BEF to fall back on the port of Dunkerque, through which it was evacuated to England. He intended to stay to the end, but on 1 June, he was ordered home.

Gort feared being made a scapegoat for the military disaster of the BEF in France. His next two assignments were as inspector general of training forces (1940–1941) and governor of Gibraltar (May 1941–May 1942). In May 1942, he was appointed governor of Malta, a vital British outpost then under heavy attack. There, his proclivity for details and his leadership paid off. He organized both military and civil defenses, and in January 1943, he was promoted to field marshal.

Gort remained in Malta until July 1944. Later that year, he was sent to Palestine as high commissioner and commander in chief. In 1945, King George VI made him a viscount, but he was already mortally ill. Gort returned home in November 1945 and died in London on 31 March 1946.

Fred R. van Hartesveldt

See also

Dunkerque, Evacuation of; France, Battle for; Malta; Weygand, Maxime

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Vian, Sir Philip Louis (1894–1968)

British navy admiral. Born in London on 13 June 1894, Philip Vian entered the Royal Navy in 1910. Educated at the Hillside School and the Royal Naval Colleges of Osborne and Dartmouth, he served in destroyers and cruisers during World War I and the interwar years.

At the beginning of World War II, Vian was commanding a reserve destroyer flotilla on Atlantic convoy duty. He soon

distinguished himself as an aggressive and effective leader of light forces: as commodore commanding the 4th Destroyer Flotilla, composed of four modern Tribal-class destroyers and a cruiser; when he boarded the German supply ship *Altmark* in Norwegian territorial waters on 16 February 1940 and freed 299 British prisoners held on her; and in the 1941 Norwegian Campaign and the chase of the German battleship *Bismarck*, which led to his early promotion to rear admiral that July. Vian then led Force K, a squadron of light cruisers, in offensive operations along the Norwegian coast until he was transferred to command Cruiser Squadron 15 in the Mediterranean in October 1941.

In the Mediterranean, Vian further demonstrated his skill as his ships covered resupply convoys to Malta, most notably during the Second Battle of Sirte on 22 March 1942. In 1943, he commanded a squadron of five escort carriers charged with providing fighter cover and close-air support for the Salerno landings. Force V, operating in light winds and confined waters, provided over half of all air support during the



British Admiral Sir Philip Louis Vian (left) confers with U.S. Admiral William F. Halsey. (Corbis)

operation's first four days. This success was tempered, however, by his inexperience in carrier operations, which showed in extraordinarily high operational losses.

Vian then led the Eastern Task Force covering the Normandy Invasion before taking command of the British carrier squadron destined for the Pacific. After preliminary strikes against oil refineries in Sumatra, the carriers joined the U.S. Pacific Fleet in March 1945 at Okinawa. After two months of providing important air support to U.S. land operations on that island, the British Pacific Fleet withdrew to refit, then rejoined the U.S. Third Fleet for the final attack on the Japanese home islands. Vian's adaptability to carrier warfare requirements supported the integration of U.S. practice into the Royal Navy, and his drive was manifest in the fleet's accomplishments.

Following World War II, Vian served ashore and afloat until his retirement in 1952, when he was specially promoted to Admiral of the Fleet. He died at Ashford Hill, Berkshire, England, on 27 May 1968.

Paul E. Fontenoy

See also

Altmark Incident; Aviation, Naval; *Bismarck*, Sortie and Sinking of; Central Pacific Campaign; Cunningham, Sir Andrew Browne; Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Malta; McCain, John Sidney; Narvik, Naval Battles of; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Norway, German Conquest of; Okinawa, Invasion of; Ramsey, Sir Bertram Home; Salerno Invasion; Sirte, Second Battle of

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Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy (1869–1947)

Italian monarch during both world wars. Born in Naples on 11 November 1869, the only child of Umberto I and Margherita of Savoy, Victor Emmanuel, Prince of Naples, was tutored in a rigorous, Prussian-style military regimen despite his diminutive size. He inherited the Italian throne after his father's assassination in 1900. Presiding over a Liberal constitutional monarchy and playing Italy's Triple Alliance position against overtures to the Triple Entente, he procured Libya following the 1911–1912 Italo-Turkish War and entered World War I in 1915 on the side of the entente. Fascist Party leader Benito Mussolini made a bid for primacy in ruling Italy in 1922, and the king failed to remove him by invoking his cabinet's martial law decree; in 1924, he sealed the Fascist triumph by allowing the embattled Duce to stay



King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy. (Corbis)

on despite widespread furor over the murder of socialist leader Giacomo Matteotti by Fascist operatives.

The attentive yet reticent figurehead acquiesced in the 1935–1936 Italian war with Ethiopia, the intervention in Spain's civil war, Mussolini's inchoate anti-Semitic laws, the 1939 invasion of Albania, the Pact of Steel approved later that year, and Italy's ill-advised declaration of war on the Allies on 10 June 1940. Witnessing his country's abysmal military efforts, the king did not relish being swept away in the inevitable Fascist defeat. Retaining his authority over Italy's armed forces, Victor Emmanuel arrested Mussolini after his ouster by the Fascist Grand Council on 25 July 1943, replacing him with the army's Marshal Pietro Badoglio.

Following the 8 September 1943 armistice with the Western Allies, the king, with his family and aides, fled Rome for Brindisi as German troops surrounded the capital, provoking the ire of his subjects in liberated and occupied Italy alike. Urged by the Allies to abdicate, he nonetheless clung to his title but relinquished power as his son, Crown Prince Umberto, was installed as the ruling "lieutenant of the realm" following the 4 June 1944 liberation of Rome. On 9 May 1946,

the stubborn Victor Emmanuel III formally passed the throne to Umberto II, but it was too late to save the monarchy. He then went into exile in Egypt and died in Alexandria on 28 December 1947.

Gordon E. Hogg

See also

Badoglio, Pietro; Italy, Home Front; Mussolini, Benito

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Vietinghoff genannt Scheel, Heinrich Gottfried von (1887–1952)

German army general in command of Germany's forces in Italy in 1945. Born on 6 December 1887 at Mainz, Germany, into an old noble family, Heinrich Vietinghoff genannt Scheel joined the Garde-Grenadier Kaiser Franz Regiment in 1906 and was commissioned a year later. In 1914, he was promoted to lieutenant and the next year to captain. During World War I, he served on both the Western and Eastern Fronts and was awarded the Iron Cross, both First and Second Class. In December 1916, he was assigned to the Army High Command; in April 1917, he was posted to the General Staff, where he remained until the end of the war.

Vietinghoff remained in the Reichswehr after the war and served on the staff of army commander General Hans Seeckt and later at the War Ministry. He also held various troop assignments. In November 1938, as a Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general), Vietinghoff assumed command of the 5th Panzer Division, and from October 1939, he commanded XIII Army Corps. He served ably in these positions, and in June 1940, he was promoted to General der Panzertruppen (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) and given command of the XLVI Panzer Corps under General Heinz Guderian on the Russian Front until June 1942. After briefly leading Ninth Army in the Soviet Union on an interim basis, he took charge of the Fifteenth Army on the Channel coast.

In August 1943, Vietinghoff assumed command of Tenth Army in Italy and the next month was promoted to Generaloberst (U.S. equiv. full general). He temporarily replaced the wounded Field Marshal Albert Kesselring as commander of Army Group C and the Southwest Front and, following a month in command of Army Group Kurland from the end of January to early March 1945, he returned to Italy to be named



German General Heinrich von Vietinghoff-Schiel is questioned by U.S. Captain Ralph C. Opperman, interpreter for Lieutenant General Lucian Truscott following the German surrender. (Corbis)

commander of German forces in that country, on 10 March. That same month, he and Schutzstaffel (SS) General Karl Wolff met in Switzerland in secret talks with the Allies regarding a separate surrender of German forces in Italy. Following discussions at his headquarters at Recoaro and pressed by his chief of staff, General Hans Röttiger, Vietinghoff dispatched the special envoys who signed the surrender on the Italian Front that went into effect on 2 May 1945. Taken prisoner by the Allies, Vietinghoff was held until 1948. He died at Pronten on 25 February 1952.

Alessandro Massignani

See also

Guderian, Heinz; Italy Campaign; Kesselring, Albert

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Vlasov, Andrei Andreyevich (1901–1946)

Soviet army general who would head the German-sponsored Russian Liberation Army. Born on 16 December 1901 in Chepukhimo, Nizhni-Novgorod Province, Russia (now Kursk Oblast), Andrei Vlasov fought in the Red Army during the Russian Civil War. In 1928, he attended a course in infantry tactics in Moscow, and two years later, he became an instructor at the Leningrad Officers' School. Between 1937 and 1938, Vlasov was a military adviser in China to Nationalist leader Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek). He returned to the Soviet Union and, as a general major, led the 90th Infantry Division into Bessarabia.

After Germany invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, Vlasov assumed command of IV Mechanized Corps in delaying actions around Przemysl and L'viv (Lvov). In August, he had charge of Thirty-Seventh Army in the defense of Kiev. In December 1941, Vlasov, now a lieutenant general, commanded the reinforced Twentieth Army before Moscow and was regarded as one of the principal heroes of the battle that drove the Germans from the Soviet capital city. In January 1942, he was awarded the Order of the Red Banner.

Vlasov was one of Josef Stalin's favorite generals, and in March 1942, the Soviet dictator sent him to beleaguered Leningrad as second in command of the new Volkhov Front. The next month, Vlasov took over the Second Guards Army. Under heavy German attack, their supply lines severed, and permission to withdraw denied until it was too late, he and his unit were surrounded. Vlasov ordered his troops to split into small units and fend for themselves. He himself was taken prisoner in July 1942.

Vlasov's hatred of Stalin for his disastrous mismanagement of the military situation led German intelligence officers to seek his cooperation in heading an army of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) committed to fight against the Soviet Union. Hundreds of thousands of Soviet POWs were already serving as auxiliaries to the German army in non-combat roles, many of them doing so simply to stay alive. Vlasov worked out a political program for a non-Communist Russian state, but this concept flew in the face of Adolf Hitler's policy of subjugating and colonizing the Soviet Union. Although German intelligence officers proceeded to create the Russian Liberation Army (ROA), Hitler refused it any combat role, and it became a device only to encourage Red Army desertions.

German Schutzstaffel (SS) Chief Heinrich Himmler met with Vlasov in September 1944 and promised him a combat role. Himmler also arranged for the creation of the multiethnic Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia (KONR), which was announced in Prague that November.

Two divisions of the ROA came into being, one of which was sent along the Oder River in mid-April 1945 but retreated before the Red Army. The "Vlasov Army" then changed sides. Cooperating with the Czech Resistance, it helped liberate Prague and disarmed 10,000 German soldiers, hoping to be recognized by the Western Allies.

At the end of the war, Soviet authorities demanded Vlasov's return in accordance with repatriation agreements reached at the Yalta Conference, and on 12 May 1945, U.S. units handed him over, together with other ROA prisoners of war. On 13 August 1946, the Soviet Supreme Court condemned Vlasov as a "German collaborator" and an "enemy of the Russian people" and imposed the death penalty on him the same day.

Eva-Maria Stolberg and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Collaboration; Himmler, Heinrich; Hitler, Adolf; Jiang Jieshi; Leningrad, Siege of; Moscow, Battle of; Stalin, Josef; Yalta Conference

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Vörös, János (1891–1968)

Hungarian army general, chief of staff, and minister of defense during the war years. Born in Csabrendek, Hungary, on 25 March 1891 to a family of the lesser nobility, János Vörös graduated from a military prep school in 1911 and joined the joint army of the Dual Monarchy. He distinguished himself during World War I as a first lieutenant and was decorated. On graduation from the Military Academy in 1921, Vörös joined the General Staff. Between 1931 and 1936, he taught strategy at the Military Academy. In May 1941, he was promoted to brigadier general, and in November 1943, he took command of II Corps. Appointed chief of staff of the Hungarian army under pressure from the Germans after their occupation of Hungary, he served between 19 April and 16 October 1944. That May, he was promoted to full general.

It was partly Vörös's fault that Governor Miklós Horthy's attempt to surrender failed on 15 October 1944. Although Horthy made a proclamation requesting an armistice, Vörös ordered the continuation of military operations. A day later, Hungarian Fascists took power in Budapest, appointed a prime minister friendly to Germany, and relieved Vörös, who

had concluded that Hungary must leave the war. Vörös fled, disguised as a Franciscan monk, and surrendered to the Soviets on 1 November. He was taken to Moscow, and he served as a member of the Hungarian delegation that negotiated an armistice with the Soviet Union. On his return from Moscow, Vörös was appointed minister of defense in the new interim government (December 1944–November 1945) and was a member of the Hungarian government delegation that signed the peace treaty with the Soviet Union on 20 January 1945. Vörös resigned his position as chief of staff on 2 March 1946.

On 25 March 1949, Vörös was arrested by the Hungarian government on charges of spying for the United States. Tried and convicted, he was sentenced to life in prison, but he was freed during the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. He died in Balatonfüred, Hungary, on 23 July 1968. In 1992, the Hungarian Supreme Court annulled the charges against Vörös and rehabilitated him.

Anna Boros-McGee

See also

Budapest, Battle of; Horthy de Nagybánya, Miklós; Hungary, Army; Hungary, Role in War; Soviet Union, Army

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Voroshilov, Kliment Efremovich (1881–1969)

Marshal of the Soviet Union who commanded the Northern Axis in the defense of Leningrad but was removed from that post by Josef Stalin. Born in Verkhneye, Bakhmut Region, Yekaterinoslav Province, Russia, on 4 February 1881, Kliment Voroshilov joined the Bolshevik Party in 1903 and participated in November 1917 Russian Revolution. He served as a military commander in the civil war that followed. He was a member of the Ukrainian provisional government and organized the defense of Tsaritsyn, where he became acquainted with Josef Stalin. His close relationship with Stalin rather than his military competence led to his rapid advance to prominence.

In 1925, after the death of Mikhail Frunze, Voroshilov was appointed people's commissar for army and navy affairs and chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the USSR.



Marshal of the Soviet Union Kliment Voroshilov, shown here c. 1930. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

In 1934, he was appointed people's commissar for defense (minister of defense), a post he held until 1940, when he was removed for serious Soviet military deficiencies in the war with Finland. When the Red Army reinstated officer ranks in 1935 and established the rank of marshal of the Soviet Union, Voroshilov was one of the first five appointed. He was also one of only two marshals who survived the Great Purges of the military in 1937, supporting the tribunal that condemned his colleagues and announcing their fate. The Soviet KV-1 heavy tank, which entered service in December 1940, was named for him.

When the Germans attacked in June 1941, Voroshilov was appointed to command the strategic Northern Axis defending Leningrad. In August of that year, when Leningrad was seriously threatened because of Voroshilov's incompetence, Stalin relieved him from command and replaced him with General Georgii Zhukov. Voroshilov was shortly thereafter appointed to the State Defense Committee, where he served for the remainder of the war.

In 1945, as Stalin's representative, Voroshilov supervised the establishment of the Communist regime in Hungary as the chairman of the Allied Control Commission. On Stalin's death in 1953, he became the chairman of the Presidium of

the Supreme Soviet. Voroshilov died in Moscow on 2 December 1969.

Arthur T. Frame

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Eastern Front; Finnish-Soviet War (Winter War, 30 November 1939–12 March 1940); Leningrad, Siege of; Moscow, Battle of; Stalin, Josef; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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Vosges, Advance to (29 August–15 September 1944)

Allied campaign following the 15 August 1944 ANVIL-DRAGOON landings in southern France. The Allied landings opened a new phase in the war in the European Theater of Operations (ETO). One day after the surrender of Toulon and Marseille on 28 August 1944, American and French troops commenced a campaign northward up the Rhône River valley, linked up with Lieutenant General George S. Patton's American Third Army, and halted at the Vosges Mountains passes on 15 September.

The ensuing campaign was a joint American-French effort. Lieutenant General Alexander M. Patch, commanding the U.S. Seventh Army, led the American troops. Directly under



Frenchwoman exclaims to neighbor and to American soldier, "Tout Belfort est libre" (All Belfort is liberated). (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

Patch was Lieutenant General Lucian K. Truscott Jr., who commanded VI Corps. Truscott's corps consisted of three American infantry divisions—the 3rd, 36th, and 45th. General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny commanded the First French Army, which ultimately was divided into I and II Corps. Facing this array of Allied forces was the German Nineteenth Army under General der Infanterie (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) Friedrich Wiese, with eight divisions, the most reliable of which was the 11th Panzer (the “Ghost Division”).

The Allied plan was to strike quickly up the Rhône River valley, trapping as many Germans as possible in southern France and closing off the Rhône as an escape route. By forcing Wiese's troops northward, the Allies hoped to either push them into Patton's advancing Third Army or place themselves between the Germans and the Reich. By 25 August, General Patch had finalized his plans for the campaign. The American VI Corps was to drive up the east bank of the Rhône to Lyon, proceed on to Dijon, and then head northeastward toward Strasbourg on the Rhine. The French II Corps was to advance up the west bank of the Rhône, and the I Corps would guard the right flank of VI Corps.

The VI Corps jumped off on 29 August, and by 1 September, the 36th Division reached the high ground overlooking Lyon. By 2 September, the Germans had all but abandoned the city, and on the next day, the 1st French Infantry Division had the honor of liberating France's third-largest city. By 3 September, it was obvious that the German Nineteenth Army was in full retreat, so General Truscott requested permission to press on without pause and close off the Belfort gap in the Vosges Mountains. In short order, the 3rd Division accepted the surrender of Besançon on 7 September, and on 10 September, the French II Corps captured Dijon. Later that evening, elements of the American Seventh and Third Armies linked up, forming a united Allied front. Truscott then ordered his troops to wheel eastward to take Vesoul, which the Germans evacuated on 12 September. On 13–14 September, the VI Corps pivoted again, this time in the direction of the Belfort gap.

The advance against the Belfort gap was not carried out, as the U.S. Seventh Army and French First Army came under the command of General Dwight D. Eisenhower and Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF). The troops were realigned so that Truscott's three divisions were on the left, connected to Patton's forces, and the French troops were on the extreme right of the Allied line. The campaign to the Vosges Mountains, sometimes called the “Champagne Campaign,” was over.

Christopher C. Meyers

See also

DRAGOON, Operation; France Campaign; Lattre de Tassigny, Jean Joseph Marie Gabriel de; Patch, Alexander McCarrell, Jr.; Truscott, Lucian King, Jr.

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- Wyant, William. *Sandy Patch: A Biography of Lt. Gen. Alexander M. Patch*. New York: Praeger, 1991.

Vyazma-Bryansk, Battle for (2–20 October 1941)

Important Eastern Front land battle. After German forces encircled Leningrad in the north, Adolf Hitler turned his attention to the center part of the Soviet front. His Führer Directive 36 on 6 September focused German preparations on a drive against Moscow in Operation TAIFUN (TYPHOON), entrusted to Field Marshal Fedor von Bock's Army Group Center. Bock commanded 5 field armies consisting of 14 panzer divisions, 9 panzergrenadier divisions, and 44 infantry divisions. He planned to use his armor to seize two key towns, Vyazma (some 150 miles west of Moscow) and Bryansk (220 miles southwest of Moscow) in order to open the road to the Soviet capital for his infantry. The leading German units involved were Colonel General Heinz Guderian's 2nd Panzer Group, Colonel General Hermann Hoth's 3rd Panzer Group, Colonel General Erich Hoepner's 4th Panzer Group, and Colonel General Maximilian von Weich's Second Army.

To defend Moscow, the Soviets had assembled 6 armies under Colonel General Ivan Konev's Western Front. They were backed by 4 second-echelon armies. To Konev's immediate south were 2 additional armies of Marshal Semen Budenny's Reserve Front. Three more reserve armies were eventually brought forward. All the armies were badly understrength: totaling 80 divisions, they were, in fact, the equivalent of only 25 full-strength divisions. The Germans had more than twice the number of tanks (an estimated 1,000 to 479), and the Soviets had only about 360 aircraft to at least twice as many German planes. The Soviets also suffered from a shortage of trained officers, as many had been pulled out of their units in August and September to organize new formations in the rear. In addition, the Soviets had shortages in modern antitank and anti-aircraft weapons.

Lieutenant General Andrei Yeremenko commanded Soviet forces in the Bryansk area where the Germans planned to attack. On 2 September, Stavka (the Soviet High Command) ordered Yeremenko's Bryansk Front to move in two different directions, toward Roslav and southwest on Starodub in an

effort to halt the German advance. The Soviet effort ended in failure, necessitating a return to defensive operations by 13 September. German forces also moved into a gap of some 36 miles between the Bryansk and Southwestern Fronts.

On 30 September, Guderian's 2nd Panzer Group began an advance that carried it 50 miles the first day and 100 miles over the next three days. Guderian took the key rail junction of Orel, 150 miles in the Soviet rear, on 8 October. Two days earlier, 2nd Panzer Group had surrounded Bryansk. At the same time, von Weich's forces moved from the west, trapping the Soviet Third, Thirteenth, and Fiftieth Armies, although some of Yeremenko's forces escaped to the east on 25 October.

To the north, meanwhile, Hoth's 3rd Panzer Group drove into the gap between the Soviet Nineteenth and Thirtieth Armies northwest of Vyazma, while 4th Panzer Group penetrated a vulnerable area between the Reserve and Bryansk Fronts. Konev countered by sending his deputy, Lieutenant General I. V. Boldin, and his operational group of three divisions and two tank brigades to strike the flank of 3rd Panzer Group on 3–4 October, but these efforts came too late. Boldin's force was caught in the German encirclement, along with the greater part of Konev's Nineteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-Fourth, and Third-Second Armies west of Vyazma. General Konstantin Rokossovsky had been sent to Vyazma with his staff to gather five reinforced divisions there for a counterattack on 6 October, only to find no Soviet divisions and German tanks already on the scene. He fled the town and soon discovered that he was between the inner and outer rings of the encirclement; he decided to break out to the northeast, picking up units along the way, including the 18th Infantry (the Home Guard Division) and an NKVD unit. These units broke out and joined Konev in Mozhaisk, 40 miles west of Moscow, where surviving elements of the West-

ern and Reserve Fronts were forming a new 135-mile-long line to Kaluga.

Lieutenant General M. F. Lukin, Nineteenth Army's commander, also broke out of the encirclement to the east with two-plus divisions on the night of 12–13 October. The Germans were hampered by the onset of the rainy season, which turned the roads into quagmires. But Stalin's penchant for linear defense with fronts deployed in single operational echelon had been pierced by German armor supported by artillery and Stukas, resulting in the encirclement and capture of as many as 660,000 Soviet troops, 1,242 tanks, and 5,412 artillery pieces. Vyazma surrendered on 14 October and Bryansk on 20 October. This engagement was, however, the last of the great German encirclements.

When word reached Moscow of the defeat, a great many citizens took flight, necessitating the proclamation of martial law in the capital on 19 October. Konev received the blame for the defeat; he was replaced by General of the Army Georgii Zhukov, who was charged with the final defense of Moscow.

Claude R. Sasso and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Bock, Fedor von; Budenny, Semen Mikhailovich; Guderian, Heinz; Hoepner, Erich; Hoth, Hermann; Konev, Ivan Stepanovich; Rokossovsky, Konstantin Konstantinovich; Smolensk, Battle of; Weichs zur Glon, Maximilian Maria Joseph von; Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich

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W

WAAF

See Great Britain, Women's Auxiliary Air Force.

WAC; WAAC

See United States, Women's Army Corps.

Waesche, Russell R. (1886–1946)

U.S. Coast Guard admiral and commandant during the war years. Born on 6 January 1886 at Thurmont, Maryland, Russell Waesche was educated at Purdue University and the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service School of Instruction (later the U.S. Coast Guard Academy). After commissioning in October 1906, he served aboard and commanded several cutters. In 1915, Waesche was assigned to Coast Guard Headquarters in Washington, D.C., as the chief of the Communications Division, where he served throughout World War I. During the 1920s, he commanded several patrol cutters and destroyers and returned to headquarters in 1928 as the chief ordnance officer. In 1932, he was appointed as the aide to the new commandant, Rear Admiral Harry G. Hamlet. In June 1936, he succeeded Hamlet as commandant and was promoted to the rank of rear admiral.

From 1936, Waesche oversaw the growth, reorganization, and modernization of the Coast Guard, its vessels, and its facilities, and in the later half of 1941, he prepared the service for war. In September, he transmitted President Franklin D. Roosevelt's order for all cutters to engage German and Ital-

ian aircraft and submarines west of 26 degrees west longitude. On 1 November, Roosevelt ordered the transfer of the Coast Guard to the Navy Department.

During the course of the war, Waesche worked closely with both Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Ernest King and



U.S. Coast Guard Admiral and Commandant Russell R. Waesche. (U.S. Coast Guard Historian's Office)

Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau to ensure the Coast Guard successfully prosecuted both its peacetime and wartime missions. Even while diligently preserving his service's identity, he pursued a policy of unprecedented cooperation with the navy and army, in which Coast Guardsmen served with distinction in every theater of operations. He ensured that the Coast Guard's unique capabilities in such areas as small-boat handling and Arctic operations were recognized and utilized in the war effort.

Waesche shaped the postwar Coast Guard as he worked diligently to have the service returned to the Treasury Department and to retain several missions acquired during the war, including marine inspection and licensing. After seeing his service through unprecedented changes and challenges, the Coast Guard's first four-star admiral and arguably its most important commandant retired from active service in December 1945. Waesche died in Bethesda, Maryland, on 17 October 1946.

Thomas J. Stuhldreier

See also

King, Ernest Joseph; Morgenthau, Henry, Jr.; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; United States, Coast Guard; United States, Navy

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Waffen-SS (Schutzstaffel)

Military component of the German Schutzstaffel (SS) that fought alongside the Wehrmacht (German army) as an elite National Socialist force. Created in 1925 through the merger of the guard organization of the Nazi Party (the Stabswache) and the Nazi Stosstruppe (shock troop), the SS initially functioned as a body-guard unit for the Nazi hierarchy and contained the most ideologically fervent party members. Party leader Adolf Hitler appointed Heinrich Himmler as the SS-Reichsführer in 1929, and Himmler increased SS membership from 280 to 50,000

In 1929, Heinrich Himmler increased SS membership from 280 to 50,000 and gave members the distinctive black uniforms.

and endowed members with a distinctive black uniform, as well as the skull and double runic S symbols. Himmler's aim was to transform the SS from its security function within the

Nazi Party into a separate and powerful bureaucratic organ of the German state.

Between 1933 and 1936, Himmler combined all state police functions, merging the Gestapo (Geheime Staatspolizei, or secret state police) with the Nazi Party's security organization (Sicherheitsdeinst, or SD) to create the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA). He ensured his organization a more pervasive role in 1939 after his appointment as Reichskommissar for the Strengthening of German Ethnicity. Through this post, the SS was assured economic and political control of occupied Europe, especially in the east where Nazi ideology envisaged a German territorial expansion (*Lebensraum*) and the subordination/elimination of the Slavic and Jewish populations. To achieve this goal, Himmler created a separate economic office for the SS, the Wirtschafts und Verwaltungs Hauptamt (WVHA), and oversaw the Race and Population Resettlement program (Rasse und Siedlungshauptamt, or RuSHA).

Himmler had much higher ambitions for the SS than mere police functions. He wanted it to be a professional military body that might one day subsume the German army itself. As its political and bureaucratic functions expanded, the SS formed illegal military units, originally known as Verfügungstruppe, or special assignment troops. On 17 March 1933, Josef "Sepp" Dietrich established, on Hitler's direct order, a personal armed guard, the Leibstandarte. Early on, members of the unit served, among other things, as honor guards and color guards at parades and other events, such as the 1934 Nuremberg rally. The rally involved Dietrich's SS Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler, composed of 2,600 men. But Himmler also employed such units in liquidating the leadership of the Sturmabteilung (SA, or storm troops) during the Blood Purge of June 1934.

To qualify for the Verfügungstruppe, males had to be between 17 and 22 years old and at least 5'11" tall. These units were supposed to be superior to army formations in training and morale and were to receive the best weapons. Early armed SS personnel also included concentration camp guards, the SS Totenkopfverbände (or Death's Head formations), organized by Theodor Eicke. By March 1936, the SS was subdivided into five Sturmabteilungen (battalions) totaling 3,500 men: No. 1 Oberbayern, No. 2 Elbe, No. 3 Sachsen, No. 4 Ostfriesland, and No. 5 Brandenburg. After Germany introduced conscription in 1935, the SS organized two 5,000-man regiments, the Deutschland and the Germania.

On 1 October 1936, the SS Inspectorate was created to supervise the two SS officer training schools in operation at Bad Tolz and Braunschweig, under the supervision of Oberstgruppenführers Paul Hausser and Felix Steiner. Early applicants had to have served at least two years in the army. Training emphasized physical fitness and endurance rather than parade-ground drill, so that fully equipped troops could



A mortar squad of the Waffen-SS mans a Leichte Infanterie Geschütz 18, a small 75 mm infantry support weapon. (Corbis)

march/run 1.86 miles within 20 minutes. There was also a rigorous combat-training course. Steiner's demanding standards meant that, in 1937, only 15 of every 100 SS applicants were accepted. Steiner also sought to instill a sense of family in each SS unit, encouraging officers to consort with non-commissioned officers (NCOs) and not to address one another by rank but rather as "comrade." In addition, the SS oath contained a sense of elitism and personal bond to the Führer: "I swear to Adolf Hitler, as Führer and Chancellor of the German Reich, loyalty and bravery. I vow obedience to you and to the superiors whom you shall appoint, obedience unto death, so help me God."

The SS motto was "Loyalty is my honor" (*Meine Ehre Heisst Treue*). Mystique and symbolism were used to entice and muster group solidarity. Only those who had graduated from the two officer training schools and possessed the rank of Untersturmführer or above were permitted to carry a special dagger. SS recruits were also tattooed in their armpits, and the first 10,000 received an SS ring (later on, only officers who had served three years might wear the ring). Himmler

also created a pseudo-Arthurian court at Wewelsburg Castle near Paderborn in Westphalia, where he organized a round table of favorite officers (the Circle of Friends of the SS-Reichsführer), with a runic coat of arms for each member.

On 17 August 1938, a decree by Hitler set up a separate headquarters for the military training of these SS units and established their military character as fighting (*Waffen*) SS. For obvious reasons, the leaders of the Army High Command (OKH) rejected the idea of another military establishment independent of its authority and had some success in limiting its size. By the eve of the war, there were only about 23,000 men in the SS formations, including the Death's Head groups. But with the coming of the war, the size and scope of SS activities increased dramatically. During the Polish Campaign of September 1939, Waffen-SS regiments were merged together within regular Wehrmacht divisions. In October, the first three SS divisions were formed, one each from the Verfügungstruppe (later known as SS Das Reich Division), the Death's Head units (SS Totenkopf Division), and the police (Polizedivision). Hitler's Leibstandarte, initially a motorized

regiment, became a fourth SS division (SS Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler). In November, the various SS branches were united under the name Waffen-SS.

SS divisions were fully integrated into the regular army command structure, but that did not mean that there was no tension between regular army and SS commanders. The SS divisions were highly politicized and supported the National Socialist credo and its racial policies, especially in eastern Europe. They were also guilty of numerous atrocities. The same was not true of many German regular army units. There was also anger in the army over the fact that the SS units had claim on the best weaponry. Sharp tensions and inefficiencies also existed within SS headquarters, where Himmler mirrored his master in practicing a divide-and-rule style of leadership.

The Waffen-SS role was greatly expanded after the German invasion of the Soviet Union began in June 1941. It was a foregone conclusion that the SS would play a paramount role during this ideological war of annihilation. In addition to the 1st SS Panzer Division (Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler), there were five other Waffen-SS divisions at this time: the 2nd SS Panzer Division (Das Reich), the 3rd SS Panzer Division (Totenkopf), the 4th SS Polezei Panzergrenadier Division, the 5th SS Panzer Division (Viking), and the 6th SS Gebirge Division (Nord, composed largely of Norwegians). The SS Einsatzgruppen (special action groups), death squads to murder Jews and Communists, were also formed, a third of their membership being recruited from Waffen-SS units. Four of these groups of about 3,000 men each were formed by July 1941 to follow Army Groups North, Center, and South into the Soviet Union. Their role of exterminating Jews and Soviet officials had been decided prior to the Soviet invasion, and it was sanctioned by Hitler through his Commissar Order (*Kommissarbefehlen*) of May 1941, as well as the operational orders to the Wehrmacht stipulating that no German soldiers were to be disciplined for any action against the civilian Soviet population.

SS formations fought on all battlefronts in which Germany was engaged, with the exception of the Western Desert campaigns. As casualties mounted and following the general army reform of May 1943 that reduced divisional size, Waffen-SS units were amalgamated and renamed. By the end of the war, when the total number in the SS mounted to more than 800,000 men in 38 divisions, some 200,000 were foreign volunteers (*Freiwilligen*). This practice of recruitment was accepted despite the SS pretense of representing only the most racially pure Germanic elements. Among the militarily effective new formations were the 9th SS Panzer Division (Hohenstaufen), the 10th SS Panzer Division (Frundsberg), and the 12th SS Panzer Division (Hitler Jugend, composed largely of Latvians).

Paradoxically, the early Waffen-SS units suffered higher casualties than their regular Wehrmacht counterparts, specifically as a result of their ideological zeal to fight the enemy. As the war progressed, anti-Semitic and anti-Communist ele-

ments of the occupied populations formed their own Waffen-SS units, for example: Nordland, which was the first non-German organized (Norwegian and Danish); Lettisches (Baltic); Skanderbeg (Albanian); Maria Theresa (Austrian); Kama (Croatian); Nederland (Netherlands); Hunyadi (Hungarian); Charlemagne (French); Bohmen-Mahren (Czech and Slovak); Kalevala (Finnish); Galicia (Ukrainian); and Kamin-ski (Ukrainian and Russian).

Some Waffen-SS units were among the most effective German military formations, and there were a number of capable commanders. Undoubtedly, the most effective of the latter was Hausser, who became the first SS general to command a German field army and directed the Normandy defenses beginning in late June 1944. But Waffen-SS formations were also the most brutal German military units in their treatment of enemy prisoners and conquered peoples, and they committed numerous atrocities. The growing strength of the SS also posed a real threat to the ascendancy of the Wehrmacht, especially in the last year of the war. Hitler despised many of the army generals, and it is clear that, had Germany won the war, the Waffen-SS would have replaced the Wehrmacht as the army of the Reich. In all, as many as 250,000 Waffen-SS members may have been killed during the course of the war.

Neville Panthaki

See also

Ardeatine Massacre; Babi Yar Massacre; BARBAROSSA, Operation; Commissar Order; Concentration Camps, German; Dietrich, Josef "Sepp"; Hausser, Paul "Papa"; Heydrich, Reinhard Tristan Eugen; Himmler, Heinrich; Holocaust, The; Malmédy Massacre; Oradour-sur-Glane Massacre

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Wainwright, Jonathan Mayhew (1883–1953)

U.S. Army general and commander of U.S. forces in the Far East in 1942. Born on 23 August 1883 at Fort Walla Walla, Washington Territory, Jonathan "Skinny" Wainwright grad-



U.S. Army Lieutenant General Jonathan M. Wainwright in Yokohama, Japan, after his release following the Japanese surrender, 1945. (Corbis)

uated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1906 and was commissioned in the cavalry. During his early career, he fought against Moro rebels in the Philippines (1906–1908) and was assigned to various military posts in the western United States. Following the U.S. entry into World War I, he served with the American Expeditionary Forces in France and participated in the Saint-Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne Offensives. He ended the war as a lieutenant colonel.

Wainwright then reverted to his permanent rank of captain and held a variety of command and staff slots. Promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1929, he graduated from the Command and General Staff School, Fort Leavenworth (1931), and the Army War College (1936). Promoted to colonel, he commanded the 3rd Cavalry Regiment at Fort Myer, Virginia (1936–1938). After being made a temporary brigadier general (1938), he was put in charge of the 1st Cavalry Brigade. In September 1940, Wainwright was advanced to temporary major general and assigned to the Philippines to command the Philippine Division.

Following the Japanese landings there on 8 December, Wainwright commanded the North Luzon Force. General Douglas MacArthur, confident his forces could throw back any Japanese invasion, had scrapped the original plan to meet a Japanese invasion by withdrawing into the Bataan Peninsula.

Wainwright's Filipino and U.S. forces fought well but were ultimately forced from the Lingayen Gulf onto Bataan. Much of their equipment and supplies were lost in the withdrawal.

With a Japanese victory in sight, Washington ordered MacArthur to leave the Philippines for Australia. He was then awarded the Medal of Honor. On MacArthur's departure on 11 March 1942, Wainwright took over as commander of U.S. forces in the Far East, with the rank of lieutenant general. Forced off Bataan to Corregidor, he had no choice but to surrender on 6 May 1942. MacArthur protested Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall's recommendation that Wainwright receive the Medal of Honor.

Treated harshly as a prisoner of war in camps in northern Luzon, Formosa, and Manchuria for the next three years, Wainwright was liberated by the Soviets in August 1945. He witnessed the formal Japanese surrender on 2 September on the USS *Missouri* and traveled to the Philippines to receive the surrender of Japanese forces there.

Wainwright returned to the United States and, despite MacArthur's opposition, was awarded the Medal of Honor. In September 1945, he was promoted to full general. He took command of Fourth Army at Fort Sam Houston, Texas, in 1946 but retired in August 1947. Wainwright died in San Antonio, Texas, on 3 September 1953.

T. Jason Soderstrum

See also

Bataan Death March; MacArthur, Douglas; Marshall, George Catlett; Philippines, Japanese Capture of

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Wake Island, Battle for (8–23 December 1941)

Early Pacific Theater battle. Strategically located in the Central Pacific, Wake Island—which is actually an island group—had been a U.S. possession since 1899. Approximately 2,000 miles west of Hawaii, it is composed of three islets: Wake, Peale, and Wilkes. This otherwise insignificant spit of coral served as a refueling stop for the Pan American Airways Clipper Service, but it gained strategic importance as war loomed between the United States and Japan. Both sides recognized the value of Wake Island as a base for reconnaissance operations, but the United States did not begin fortifying it until 1941.



Wake Island, December 1941. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

In January of that year, the first of more than 1,000 workers arrived to begin converting Wake Island into a naval air station. They were followed by the 500 men of the U.S. Marine Corps's 1st Defense Battalion, commanded by Major James P. S. Devereux. To assist in the defense of the island, this unit brought with it 6 5-inch naval guns, 12 3-inch antiaircraft guns, and numerous .30 and .50 caliber machine guns. On 28 November, Commander Winfield S. Cunningham arrived to assume command. On 4 December, 12 F-4F-3 Wildcats of VMF 211 flew off the carrier *Enterprise* and landed at the partially completed airstrip on Wake.

On 8 December (7 December Hawaiian time), the defenders were notified that Pearl Harbor had been attacked. As the Marines went to general quarters, Pan American Airways prepared their passengers and personnel for evacuation. At 11:58 A.M., however, 18 Japanese land-based bombers from the Marshalls struck the island, destroying 8 Wildcats on the ground and damaging the 3-inch batteries and fire-control equipment of a 5-inch battery. Although riddled by Japanese

machine-gun bullets, the Pan American Clipper resting in the lagoon was otherwise undamaged, and it took off with a capacity load of civilians that afternoon. Japanese air attacks continued for two more days.

Convinced that the defenses on Wake Island had been sufficiently reduced, a Japanese invasion force arrived on 11 December. The force consisted of three light cruisers, six destroyers, four transports, and 450 troops of the Special Naval Landing Force (Japanese marines). The defenders held their fire until the Japanese were in point-blank range. After a short, sharp fight, the Japanese withdrew—but not before the defending U.S. Marines had sunk two Japanese destroyers and damaged other ships.

On 23 December, the Japanese returned with a larger invasion and support force including the aircraft carriers *Hiryu* and *Soryu*, which had participated in the Pearl Harbor raid. Superior Japanese numbers overwhelmed the defenders before a relief force—en route from Pearl Harbor and centered on the carrier *Saratoga*, three cruisers, and nine destroy-

ers—could arrive. The defenders held out for 11 hours before Commander Cunningham ordered Major Devereux to surrender the island. All defenders, save 100 civilians, were sent to prison camps. The Japanese put the remainder to work finishing the air station. They were executed in October 1943 (the Japanese commander was later tried on war crimes' charges and executed). The heroic Marine defense of Wake Island provided a boost to American morale during the early days of the U.S. involvement in World War II.

M. R. Pierce

See also

Amphibious Warfare

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Major General Walton H. Walker. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

Walker, Walton Harris (1889–1950)

U.S. Army general and commander of XX Corps in France in 1944. Born in Belton, Texas, on 3 December 1889, Walton Walker attended the Virginia Military Institute (1907–1908) before graduating from the U.S. Military Academy in 1912. Commissioned in the infantry, he commanded a machine-gun battalion in the 5th Infantry Division in France during World War I, winning promotion to major, but he reverted to captain on his return to the United States.

Between 1919 and 1923, Walker was both a student and an instructor at the Field Artillery School, Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and the Infantry School, Camp (now Fort) Benning, Georgia. He was then posted to West Point as an instructor and tactical officer until 1925. Walker graduated from the Command and General Staff School in 1926 and was then infantry representative at the Coast Artillery School until 1930. Between 1933 and 1935, he served as a battalion commander in the 15th Infantry Regiment in Tianjin (Tientsin), China. Walker then served at Headquarters, III Corps Area, Baltimore, Maryland. Promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1936, he graduated from the Army War College that year and was assigned as executive officer to Brigadier General George C. Marshall at Vancouver Barracks, Washington. Having impressed Marshall, Walker moved to the War Plans Division of the War Department General Staff in 1937. Shortly before the U.S. entry into World War II, he was promoted to colonel and took command of the 36th Armored

Infantry Regiment. In January 1942, he was placed in command of the 3rd Armored Division, and that August, he assumed command of the IV Armored Corps at Camp Young, California. There, he established the Desert Training Center, responsible for training armored units for desert warfare in North Africa.

In February 1944, Walker's IV Armored Corps was redesignated XX Corps and ordered to Britain. In July, the corps was committed in Normandy as part of Third Army, commanded by Walker's idol, Lieutenant General George S. Patton Jr. XX Corps became known as the "Ghost Corps" for the speed of its advance. In August 1944, Walker was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for battlefield heroism. Pushing into France from the Loire River to the Moselle, XX Corps reduced German fortifications at Metz in November 1944. Walker was criticized during this time for an apparent lack of concern about taking heavy casualties.

During the German Ardennes Offensive (Battle of the Bulge), Patton swung the bulk of his Third Army north to counterattack into the southern flank of the German thrust. Walker's XX Corps remained to cover the front that had been previously held by an entire army. In April 1945, his units liberated the Buchenwald concentration camp near Weimar. By May 1945, the units reached Linz, Austria, the farthest advance east of any of Patton's units.

Promoted to lieutenant general in April 1945, Walker ended the war as commander of the 8th Service Command in Dallas, Texas. In June 1948, he received command of Fifth Army, headquartered in Chicago. That September, he assumed command of Eighth Army in Japan, the ground-force element of General Douglas MacArthur's Far Eastern Command (FEC). The four divisions there were at two-thirds of their authorized wartime strength. Although Walker instituted a training program, it had reached only the battalion level when the Korean War began in June 1950.

Eighth Army was committed to the defense of South Korea, and Walker had the daunting task of stopping the rapidly advancing North Korean army. To add to his problems of insufficient strength and lack of equipment, only three of his four U.S. division commanders and none of the Republic of Korea (ROK) division commanders had ever previously commanded a division. ROK and American troops carried out delaying actions back to the Naktong River, where the Pusan Perimeter was formed. There, Walker led the longest, largest, most complex, and most successful mobile defense in U.S. military history. He combined a magnificent sense of timing, helped by the U.S. success in reading North Korean communications, with a judicious employment of his meager reserves and threatened, coerced, and exhorted his American and ROK commanders, refusing to yield ground without a fierce struggle, justifying his "Bulldog" nickname. Failure in the campaign would have ended the war.

Eighth Army then took the offensive but was forced to withdraw from North Korea following the Chinese military intervention. Walker had Patton's weakness for driving at high speeds, and on 23 December 1950, while racing to inspect units north of Seoul, his jeep was struck by a truck and he was killed. Walker was posthumously promoted to full general.

Uzal W. Ent

See also

Ardenne Offensive; Armored Warfare; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; MacArthur, Douglas; Metz, Battle of; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Tanks, All Powers

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Wang Ching-wei

See Wang Jingwei.

Wang Jingwei (Wang Ching-wei) (1883–1944)

Chinese politician who became head of a puppet government in Nanjing, China, in 1940. Born in Guangzhou (Canton) in Guangdong (Kwangtung) Province, China, on 4 May 1883, Wang Jingwei (Wang Ching-wei) studied law in Tokyo in his youth, but his avocation was politics. An early ally of Sun Yixian (Sun Yat-sen), he quickly rose to a prominent position in Sun's revolutionary movement devoted to overthrowing the ruling Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty. Imprisoned for participating in a plot to assassinate the regent Prince Qun (Ch'ün) in 1910, Wang was released after the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911. He then spent the period from 1912 to 1917 in exile after Sun's movement collapsed.

Wang's revolutionary credentials and his role in rebuilding the Nationalist Party—the Guomindang, or GMD (Kuomintang, or KMT)—made him the logical candidate to succeed Sun after the latter's death in 1925, but he was pushed aside by Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), who controlled the army. Wang attempted to form his own government, but he failed and eventually mended fences with Jiang in a show of unity following the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931.

Appointed titular head of the Nationalist government in 1932, Wang was forced to bear the onus of appeasing the Japanese while Jiang led the army in a campaign to exterminate



Wang Jingwei, who led the puppet government of China during its occupation by the Japanese. (Corbis)

nate the Communists. Disillusioned, he resigned and left China in 1935 to recover from an assassination attempt. He returned following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, but he quickly grew pessimistic about China's military prospects. After failing to persuade Jiang to make peace with Japan (which led Nationalist agents to make another attempt on his life), Wang fled to Japanese-occupied China. In March 1940, the Japanese army installed him as head of the puppet Reorganized Nationalist Government in Nanjing (Nanking), Jiangsu (Kiangsu) Province.

Wang's hopes of presenting himself as a credible alternative to Jiang were ultimately doomed by the harsh reality of Japanese military domination. He died in Nagoya, Japan, on 10 November 1944 while undergoing medical treatment.

John M. Jennings

See also

China, Role in War; Collaboration; Jiang Jieshi

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Obergruppenführer Reinhard Heydrich, who convened and organized the Wannsee Conference. (Corbis)

Wannsee Conference (20 January 1942)

Day-long conference of German leaders to discuss the bureaucratic demands of arranging for the emigration, deportation, concentration, and elimination of the Jewish population within Germany and the occupied territories. The conferees also established policies for the treatment of Jews who were of mixed blood or in mixed marriages.

The conference was convened and organized by Chief of the Security Police Reinhard Heydrich, who invited 15 top Nazi bureaucrats and Schutzstaffel (SS) officers to plan for the concentration of Jews and their execution. It took place in the Wannsee villa in suburban Berlin on 20 January 1942.

The German invasion and occupation of much of eastern Europe, especially Poland and the Soviet Union, presented a demographic challenge to the German government because of the large Jewish populations in those areas, especially in Poland and the western Soviet Union. By the end of 1941, the head of the SS, Heinrich Himmler, recognized that deportation and emigration were no longer adequate for the task of eliminating the Jewish population. He authorized Heydrich to create the bureaucracy and arrangements for a “final solution to the Jewish question.” The Wannsee Conference dealt with these matters. Jews were to be “evacuated” to the east, with the “Jewish question” to be resolved first in the General Government.

The organizational challenges of identifying, transporting, housing, and eventually eliminating what the conferees overestimated as a population of 11 million European Jews (this number included those in neutral nations, such as Ireland and Switzerland) demanded that the Nazi government establish an infrastructure and clear procedures for implementing the goals of the regime. Although much of the discussion focused on forced emigration and deportation to eastern Europe, the underlying objective of the conference was initiating the “final solution,” the systematic murder of the Jewish population in Europe. Specific topics discussed at the conference included estimating the size of Europe's Jewish population, organizing a systematic sweep of Europe to eliminate all Jewish remnants, and confronting local resistance in occupied countries.

Using the Nazi racial laws (the Nuremberg Laws), those attending the Wannsee Conference established criteria for dealing with mixed-blood Jews and mixed marriages. Mixed-blooded individuals were divided into a complex classification system based on “Mixed Blood of First Degree” and “Mixed Blood of Second Degree.” This juridical understanding of race was designed to bring about the complete extermination of Jews in Europe.

Stenographers carefully documented the day's events in a complete record of the conversations. In 1984, a German

documentary about the Wannsee Conference appeared, based on this source and letters written by Hermann Göring and Adolf Eichmann.

James T. Carroll

See also

Eichmann, Karl Adolf; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Heydrich, Reinhard Tristan Eugen; Himmler, Heinrich; Holocaust, The

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Warsaw, Battle of (8–27 September 1939)

On 1 September 1939, German forces invaded Poland from three directions, with the bulk of German forces deployed on the flanks in Army Groups North and South. Only weak German forces to the west connected the two army groups. The meeting point for the German northern and southern pincers was to be the capital of Warsaw, which, with 1.3 million people, was Poland's largest city.

On 5 September, the government began evacuating its offices in the city, and the next day, Marshal Edward Rydz-Śmigły and his commanders departed for Brest in the east. On 8 September, as German troops closed on Warsaw, Lord Mayor Stefan Starzyński formed a defense committee composed of both civilian and military leaders; its Order No. 1 proclaimed that the city would be defended. All public transport was commandeered, rationing was begun, and the populace was organized into guard and labor battalions. Polish General Juliusz Rommel had overall command, and General Walerian Czumę was charged with the actual defense of the city; he commanded some 120,000 Polish army troops.

The Poles did what they could, utilizing old Russian city defenses, turning city blocks into strong points, covering intersections with artillery, and taking advantage of rubble for ambush positions. They also made use of makeshift weapons, including gasoline bombs used against German tanks. The Polish defensive positions were difficult to detect, and the German formations, organized for rapid movement, would have little advantage in city fighting at close quarters.

Defending against the Luftwaffe was another matter altogether. The city had 54 fighter aircraft, which had some success against the Germans in the first days. But their numbers were steadily reduced both through aerial combat and lack of spare parts. Those that remained were withdrawn entirely on 8 September, leaving only 40 mm and 75 mm anti-aircraft guns and machine guns, and these were spread thin. German



German troops parade through Warsaw, Poland, September 1939. (National Archives)

air strength was so dominant that the Poles were forced to restrict ground counterattacks to night actions.

In addition to shortages of military equipment, particularly for use against air attack, Warsaw had little in the way of food. By 14 September, even with rationing, stocks were sufficient only for two weeks. Despite this, people in the city were defiant, and morale remained high.

At first, Warsaw was subject only to German air attacks, but on 8 September, German ground units arrived and entered the fray. On that day, Polish troops repulsed an attack by the 4th Panzer Division in the Ochota suburb, destroying some 60 German armored vehicles. This rebuff convinced the Germans on the ground that a direct ground assault on the city would be costly and that the best course would be a protracted siege. That day also, the Germans began what would be a growing artillery bombardment, probably the key factor in the city's eventual surrender. Warsaw had been under intermittent terror bombing from the first day of the invasion, but on 13 September, the Germans announced their intention to bomb cities, and Adolf Hitler himself ordered that civilians be prevented from leaving Warsaw. These decisions were based on the belief that terror bombing would hasten the Polish surrender. The next day, 14 September, the bombing of Warsaw was especially severe. That day was the Jewish New Year for Warsaw's 400,000 Jews, who were specially targeted by German bombers while in the streets and in the synagogues of Nalewki, the Jewish quarter.

Hitler rejected any talk of a siege, and German army units were sent into the city on 15 September. Five days later, 12 German divisions supported by more than 1,000 artillery pieces

began an assault that reached its peak on 25 September, when the Germans launched Operation COAST, an air attack that was expressly ordered by Hitler and involved some 400 bombers and dive-bombers. They dropped 72 tons of incendiary bombs, causing fires throughout the city. On 26 September, the Germans captured two of the three Polish defensive lines and the Poles opened negotiations with the German Eighth Army commander, General Johannes von Blaskowitz.

On 27 September, Warsaw surrendered unconditionally. The Germans took 140,000 Poles prisoner, 36,000 of them wounded. In addition, some 2,000 Polish military troops died in the battle, along with 60,000 civilians. Damage to the city itself was immense, with an estimated 12 percent of the structures destroyed. Warsaw was the first capital to suffer such devastation in the war.

Michael Share and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Blitzkrieg; Hitler, Adolf; Poland Campaign; Rydz-Śmigły, Edward

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Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (1943)

Armed attempt by Jews living in the Warsaw ghetto to prevent further deportations to concentration camps. Through the summer of 1942, the Germans deported or executed over 300,000 Jews, leaving between 55,000 to 60,000 people in the Warsaw ghetto. Resolved to fight back against the Germans, inhabitants of the ghetto formed the Jewish Fighting Organization (Żobytowska Organizacja Bojowa, or ŻOB) and prepared to obstruct future German deportations.

Lightly armed and poorly trained for combat, the ŻOB saw its first action against a small German *Aktion* (the German euphemism for an operation to round up and deport those destined for concentration camps) in January 1943. Surprised by the opposition and suffering several casualties, the Germans withdrew from the ghetto to regroup their forces and evaluate the situation.



Jewish civilians during the destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto, Poland, 1943. (German photo, U.S. National Archives)

Shocked that the Jews would arm themselves and fight another round of deportations, the Germans returned in force in April to liquidate the ghetto completely. On 19 April 1943, Waffen-SS, police, and Wehrmacht units moved into the ghetto to complete the January operation. To ensure success, they sent in columns of troops, a tank, and two armored cars. Shortly after the Germans began to fan out to round up the deportees, the ŻOB struck with pistol fire, homemade hand grenades, and Molotov cocktails.

Despite facing an overwhelming superiority of men and matériel, the ŻOB forced the Germans from the ghetto within two hours, a noteworthy, though short-lived, achievement. Chagrined and angered by the resistance, SS-Brigadeführer Jürgen Stroop, the police chief of Warsaw, ordered his troops back into the ghetto. Using their superior firepower, the Germans forced the ŻOB fighters from the rooftops and into the buildings and below the streets into the sewers. Desiring to force a rapid conclusion to the Aktion, Stroop petitioned and received permission from SS-Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler to use whatever means necessary to eliminate resistance. Unable to quell the ŻOB, the Germans set about systematically destroying each building in the ghetto with explosives and fire.

Despite the destruction of its headquarters building on 8 May, the ŻOB continued to engage the German troops. Increasingly frustrated by his units' inability to subdue the resistance completely, Stroop ordered that the main synagogue be destroyed as a signal that the reduction of the ghetto was at an end. On 16 May, with sporadic fighting continuing as small bands of ŻOB fighters persistently engaged the German troops, Stroop declared the operation complete when Warsaw's most prominent synagogue collapsed into a pile of rubble. In his report to his superiors, he acknowledged that 16 of his troops were killed and 85 wounded; deaths among the ghetto's inhabitants ran into the thousands, with roughly 50,000 taken into custody and either shot outright or deported.

Although some members of the underground Polish Home Army (Armia Krajowa, or AK) assisted the ŻOB during the ghetto uprising, the majority did not participate in the fighting, waiting instead for their own planned revolt.

David M. Toczek

See also

Bór-Komorowski, Tadeusz; Concentration Camps, German; Himmler, Heinrich; Holocaust, The; Jewish Resistance; Waffen-SS; Wannsee Conference; Warsaw Rising

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Warsaw Rising (1 August–2 October 1944)

By the summer of 1944, the Red Army had pushed the German army almost completely out of the Soviet Union and continued moving west across German-occupied Poland. The Soviets, however, had split with the London-based Polish government-in-exile and established their own Communist provisional government. As the Soviet troops advanced, they disarmed the Polish Home Army (Armia Krajowa, or AK), a branch of the London-based government. On 26 July, the London Poles ordered AK commander General Tadeusz Bór-Komorowski to capture Warsaw from the Germans before the Soviets arrived.

The AK had around 40,000 fighters in Warsaw, and they were desperately short of arms and ammunition. Although they had some clandestine arms factories in the city, their total armament amounted to little more than 2,000 pistols, 1,000 rifles, 25,000 homemade grenades, and a handful of antitank rifles. The German garrison in Warsaw numbered more than 21,000 well-equipped, combat-experienced troops, including three Waffen-SS divisions and two Wehrmacht panzer divisions. Lieutenant General Reiner Stahel had command of German combat units around Warsaw.

Operation BURZA (TEMPEST) began on 1 August 1944. The lead units of the Red Army were only some 12 miles away, closing in on the east bank of the Vistula River. On the first day of the rising, the AK gained control of most of the west bank of the Vistula, but the Poles never managed to take the bridges. Fighting back almost immediately, the Germans took Warsaw's Old Town on 2 August. By the next day, German reinforcements were pouring into the battle, and the Luftwaffe had begun round-the-clock bombing of the Polish-controlled areas.

The savage street fighting ground on for weeks, with the Polish insurgents using the city's sewers for lines of communication and as routes of escape. Schutzstaffel (SS) Chief Heinrich Himmler ordered that the entire city should be "razed to the ground" and all its inhabitants killed as an object lesson to all other cities under German occupation.

On 10 September, Red Army units under General Konstantin Rokossovsky finally moved into Warsaw's Praga district on the east bank of the Vistula. After five days of heavy fighting, the Soviets consolidated their positions on the east bank and ceased to advance. Not only did the Soviets provide no further support to AK forces fighting desperately on the other side of the river, they also refused permission for Western Allied aircraft to land on Soviet airfields after making supply drops to the beleaguered insurgents. Under pressure from U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Soviets finally



Soldiers of the Polish Home Army fighting during the Warsaw Uprising of August-October 1944. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

allowed a single wing of 110 U.S. B-17 bombers to refuel at Poltava for a supply drop on 18 September.

On 30 September, as the Germans systematically reduced the pocket of Polish resistance, Bór-Komorowski appointed General Leopold Okulicki as his successor in command of the AK. Bór-Komorowski and his surviving fighters finally surrendered on 2 October, after 63 days of fierce resistance. Some 15,000 insurgents and 150,000 Polish civilians died during the rising. Another 700,000 of Warsaw's inhabitants were sent to concentration or slave labor camps, where 245,000 later died. Approximately 93 percent of the city was a featureless pile of rubble.

The Germans lost about 10,000 killed during the fighting. Shortly after suppressing the rising, the German army withdrew from Warsaw at its own pace, and the Red Army followed it into the city. Soviet commanders later claimed that stiff German resistance and the lack of supplies had prevented them from giving the AK any more support. Many historians, however, have suggested that the Soviet commanders were following specific orders from their leader, Josef Stalin, who wanted the German army to eliminate any Polish opposition to the establishment of a postwar government under Moscow's control.

David T. Zabecki

See also

Bór-Komorowski, Tadeusz; Himmler, Heinrich; Poland—East Prussia Campaign; Rokossovsky, Konstantin Konstantinovich; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stalin, Josef

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Watson-Watt, Sir Robert Alexander (1892–1973)

British scientist who developed radar. Robert Watson Watt (who would hyphenate his name after being knighted in the 1940s) was born in Angus, Scotland, on 13 April 1892. He graduated in 1912 in engineering from University College, Dundee, part of the University of St. Andrews, where he won medals in mathematics and electrical engineering. His interest in radio



Sir Robert A. Watson-Watt. (Bettmann/Corbis)

waves began after graduation, when he worked as an assistant to the professor of natural philosophy, William Peddie.

During World War I, Watson Watt volunteered for the war effort, working as a meteorologist at the Royal Aircraft Factory, Farnborough, and applying his knowledge of radio to locate thunderstorms that posed hazards to airmen. In 1916, he proposed the use of cathode ray oscilloscopes to record and display such information, a project that led to his development of cathode ray direction finders in the mid-1920s, by which date Watson Watt was superintendent of the Radio Research Station at Slough, part of the National Physical Laboratory.

In 1933, Watson Watt took over a new radio department in Teddington, where he elucidated the theoretical basis for radar, conducting early experiments in using radio waves to locate aircraft. By 1938, he was director of communications development in the Air Ministry, and in 1940, he was appointed scientific adviser on telecommunications to the Ministry of Aircraft Production.

Watson Watt's assorted inventions proved their worth in the Battle of Britain, which might have been lost without them, and made major contributions to the ultimate Allied victory. In 1938, Chain Home, a pioneering early-warning system of fixed radar stations, was installed along Britain's

east coast, where incoming German aircraft might be expected, and the system was later refined to detect low-flying airplanes. Watson Watt also developed airborne interception radar for installation in aircraft, to allow them to locate other airplanes and also seaborne vessels; these proved invaluable in the Battle of the Atlantic. And he developed identification, friend or foe (IFF) devices that could distinguish between friendly and hostile aircraft and could be installed on anti-aircraft artillery, as well as radio navigation for bomber airplanes, which greatly facilitated the massive Allied bombing raids on Germany and Japan. Britain shared these technological innovations with the United States, and they represented the most significant instance of reverse Lend-Lease, save perhaps for ULTRA intercepts.

Knighted in 1942, Watson-Watt received a substantial financial award from the British government after the war for his work on radar, as well as numerous other professional honors and prestigious appointments. He established a consulting firm and lived in Canada for some years before returning to Britain. He died in Inverness, Scotland, on 5 December 1973.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Atlantic, Battle of the; Britain, Battle of; Lend-Lease; Radar

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Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival (First Earl) (1883–1950)

British army field marshal who was commander in chief and then viceroy in India during the war. Born in Colchester, England, on 5 May 1883, Archibald Wavell was educated at Winchester and graduated at the top of his class from the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, in 1901 and was commissioned in the Black Watch. He established his military reputation during the 1899–1902 Boer War and in service on the Northwest Frontier in India. Wavell graduated, again at the top of his class, from the Staff College of Camberley and then studied the Russian language for two years in Russia. During World War I, he served in France, losing an eye in fighting at Ypres. After his recovery and eight months with the Russian army in the Caucasus, he served in Palestine under General Edmund



British Field Marshal Sir Archibald Wavell. (Corbis)

Allenby as a brigadier general. He held a variety of posts in the 1920s and 1930s and returned to Palestine in 1937 to command British forces there during the Arab-Jewish riots.

Promoted to lieutenant general in 1938, Wavell was appointed commander in chief, Middle East, in August 1939. He had to create the command virtually from scratch in Cairo, with few resources. His heavily outnumbered forces halted the Italian invasion of Egypt from Libya, and he then launched Operation COMPASS. The operation was a spectacular success, destroying more than a dozen Italian divisions and clearing all of Cyrenaica. Empire forces operating under his command also had considerable success in Ethiopia and against anti-Allied elements in Syria and Iraq. Reversals followed, however, largely due to the arrival in North Africa of German reinforcements under General Erwin Rommel and Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill's decision to strip resources from Wavell's command for an ill-fated intervention in Greece. Following the British defeat in Greece and Crete (over which Wavell had no control) and the failure of Operation BATTLEAXE to drive the Germans from Egypt and relieve Tobruk, Churchill replaced Wavell with General Claude Auchinleck in July 1941 and transferred Wavell to India as commander in chief there.

With the U.S. entry into the war, Wavell was briefly Allied commander in the Far East. Following the loss of Malaya, Singapore, and Burma, he prepared India for invasion, then mounted a counterattack against Japanese forces in Burma, which the Japanese repulsed. Promoted to field marshal in January 1943 and raised to the peerage in July, he was named viceroy of India in June 1943, a post he handled well until he was replaced by Admiral Louis Mountbatten in 1947. Made an earl with the title Viscount Keren, of Eritrea and Winchester, Wavell returned to Britain and settled in London. A prolific and talented writer, he wrote *The Palestine Campaigns* (1928), *Allenby* (two volumes, 1940 and 1943), *Generals and Generalship* (1941), *Allenby in Egypt* (1943), *Speaking Generally* (1946), and *The Good Soldier* (1948). He also edited a poetry anthology, *Other Men's Flowers* (1944). Wavell died in London on 24 May 1950.

David M. Green and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Afrika Korps; Auchinleck, Sir Claude John Eyre; COMPASS, Operation; Crete, Battle of; Greece Campaign (28 October 1940–March 1941); India; Malaya; Mountbatten, Louis Francis Albert Victor Nicholas; North Africa Campaign; Syria and Lebanon, Campaign in; Tobruk, First Battle of

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WAVES

See United States, Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service.

Wedemeyer, Albert Coady (1897–1989)

U.S. Army general who succeeded General Joseph Stilwell as chief of staff to Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) in China in 1944. Born in Omaha, Nebraska, on 9 July 1897, Albert Wedemeyer graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1918 in an accelerated program and was commissioned in the infantry. Between the wars, he served in the United States, the Philippines, and China and attended the Command and General Staff School, making captain in 1936. Wedemeyer's father-in-law and mentor, Colonel Stanley Embick, inspired in him a lifelong interest in strategic questions and economic issues in warfare.

From 1936 to 1938, Wedemeyer attended the German War College (Kriegsakademie), producing a lengthy final report on the German military. This document strongly impressed Major General George C. Marshall, then assistant chief of staff



U.S. Army Major General Albert C. Wedemeyer. (Corbis)

in the War Department General Staff War Plans Division; in fact, in 1941, after he became chief of staff, Marshall placed Wedemeyer, a major at the time, in the same division. Wedemeyer contributed heavily to the War Department's "Victory Plan," which governed overall planning for the wartime mobilization of American manpower and industrial resources. In 1942 and 1943, promoted to brigadier general, he served in the War Department Operations Division, where he fervently advocated an early cross-Channel invasion of western Europe and opposed British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill's alternative proposals for Mediterranean operations.

In the fall of 1943, Wedemeyer, now a major general, became deputy chief of staff to the new South-East Asia Command. In that capacity, he helped to develop plans for future operations and unsuccessfully attempted to resolve differences between China's Jiang Jieshi, president of the Nationalist Party—the Guomindang, or GMD (Kuomintang, or KMT)—and General Joseph W. Stilwell, commander of American military forces in the China-Burma-India Theater and Jiang's chief of staff. In October 1944, Wedemeyer replaced Stilwell and soon developed a far less antagonistic working relationship with Jiang. Though critical of corruption and ineptitude within the GMD government and military, Wedemeyer, who was promoted to lieutenant general in early

1945, energetically helped to reorganize the Chinese army and enhance its fighting abilities, drafting plans—never implemented—to retake south China's coast from Japanese forces. He urged greater levels of U.S. aid for Jiang's government and the denial of such assistance to Chinese Communist leaders.

Following the Japanese surrender in August 1945, Wedemeyer supervised the demobilization of Japanese troops in China and their replacement by Jiang's forces. Despite continuing to criticize corruption and inefficiencies within the Nationalist government, he believed the United States should give it staunch backing and much-expanded economic and military aid, and he expressed misgivings over Marshall's year-long 1946 effort to establish a coalition Chinese government that would include Communist leaders. In April 1946, Wedemeyer left China. After Marshall sent him on a two-month fact-finding mission to China and Korea the following year, he repeated these recommendations, while also forcefully urging the Chinese government to institute major reforms in order to survive and to attract U.S. aid. The Truman administration ignored Wedemeyer's advice and deemed his report too politically sensitive, suppressing it for two years.

After serving on the War Department General Staff and commanding the Sixth Army, Wedemeyer retired in 1951 to become a business executive. In 1954, he was promoted to full general on the retired list. He was active in conservative Republican politics, and in his memoirs, he openly condemned the Truman administration's failure to provide greater assistance to China. Wedemeyer died at Fort Belvoir, Virginia, on 17 December 1989.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

China, Army; China, Civil War in; China, Role in War; Jiang Jieshi; Marshall, George Catlett; Stilwell, Joseph Warren

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Wei Lihuang (Wei Li-huang) (1897–1960)

Chinese Nationalist military commander. Born in Hefei (Hofei) in Anhui (Anhui), China, on 16 February 1897, Wei

Lihuang (Wei Li-huang) began his military career as a volunteer in the revolutionary army of his native province in 1912. In 1916, Wei went to Guangzhou (Canton) in Guangdong (Kwangtung), where he joined the Nationalist Party—the Guomindang, or GMD (Kuomintang, or KMT)—participating in the 1925–1928 Eastern and Northern Expeditions and the antiwarlord and anti-Chinese Communist “bandit extermination campaigns” of the early 1930s. In late 1935, Wei became commander in chief of GMD forces on the border between Hunan, Hubei (Hupeh), Anhui, and Jiangxi (Kiangsi), a position second only to Chen Cheng (Ch’en Ch’eng).

After the Sino-Japanese War began in July 1937, Wei led the Fourteenth Group Army to defend Beijing (Peking) in Hebei (Hupeh), and in October, he became deputy commander of the Second War Area of Shanxi (Shansi) and the two defunct provinces of Chaha’er (Chahar) and Suiyuan (today’s northwestern Hebei plus part of Inner Mongolia contingent to Hebei and the central part of Inner Mongolia west of Chaha’er, respectively). There, he engaged the Japanese in the Battle of Xinkou (Hsinkow) near Taiyuan in Shanxi, which fell in November. In January 1939, Wei also became commander in chief of the First War Area of Hebei, northern Shandong (Shantung), Henan (Honan), and Anhui, and, in October, also governor of Henan. Between September and December 1940, Wei joined the Chinese Communist Eighth Route Army to launch the One Hundred Regiments Offensive against the Japanese in north China. At year’s end, he received the concurrent command post of the Hebei-Chaha’er War Area. Because of his growing connections with the Eighth Route Army, Wei was relieved of all of his posts at the end of 1941 and assigned to the GMD Military Affairs Commission’s Xi’an (Sian) office in Shaanxi (Shensi). In October 1943, he succeeded Chen Cheng (Ch’en Ch’eng) as commander in chief of the Chinese Expeditionary Force, with headquarters at Kunming in Yunnan, where he participated in the joint Anglo-American-Chinese campaign for the recovery of Burma. In the Second Burma Campaign of May 1944 to January 1945, Wei, as deputy commander of the Chinese ground forces, led five Chinese armies across the Nu River, captured Wanting, and reopened the Burma Road through Tengchung and Lungling in coordination with Allied forces stationed in India. The Chinese mission then ended, and Wei was militarily inactive throughout the remainder of the war.

In January 1948, he succeeded Chen as acting director of the Northeastern Headquarters and commander in chief of “bandit suppression” in the northeast, which fell to the Chinese Communists in October. Subsequently relieved of all his titles and posts, Wei was then imprisoned at Nanjing (Nanking) in Jiangsu (Kiangsu), awaiting trial on charges of corruption. Released after Li Zongren (Li Tsung-jen) became acting president in January 1949, Wei retired in Hong Kong until March 1955, when he returned to Beijing and spent the rest of his life



Chinese Generalissimo Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-Shek) conferring with Wei Lihuang (Wei Li-Huang), November 1948. (Photo by Jack Birns/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

serving the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, the GMD Revolutionary Committee, and the National Defense Council. Wei died in Beijing on 17 January 1960.

Debbie Law

See also

Burma Road; China-Burma-India Theater

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Wei Li-huang

See Wei Lihuang.

Weichs zur Glon, Maximilian Maria Joseph von (Baron) (1881–1954)

German army field marshal who was given command of Army Group B in 1942. Born in Dessau, Germany, on 12

November 1881 into an old and established Roman Catholic family, Maximilian Weichs zur Glon joined the 2nd Bavarian Heavy Cavalry Regiment in July 1900 and would maintain an association with the cavalry for most of his military career. He attended the War Academy in 1910 and served in several positions as a General Staff officer during World War I.

After the war, Weichs was selected to continue in the Reichswehr, the new German army. He then held several cavalry-related positions. Promoted to Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general) in April 1933, he took command of the 3rd Cavalry Division at Weimar, which became the 1st Panzer Division in 1935. Weichs was promoted to Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) in April 1935 and to General der Kavallerie (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) in October 1936. His career suffered a temporary setback when he and 15 other generals were “retired” by Adolf Hitler following the Fritsch Affair.

Weichs was recalled to duty for the 1939 Polish Campaign that began World War II. He commanded the XIII Corps and enjoyed success at Kutno and Warsaw. Given command of the new Second Army, he participated in the Battle for France under Field Marshal Karl Rudolf Gerd von Rundstedt in the mop-up phase and was promoted to colonel general in July 1940. He commanded the forces invading northern Yugoslavia in April 1941, and after occupying Zagreb, Sarajevo, and Belgrade, he received the Yugoslav surrender on 18 April.

Second Army then moved east and participated in Operation BARBAROSSA, the invasion of the Soviet Union, as part of the southern flank of Army Group Center. Weichs fought in the battles for the Bialystok pocket, Gomel, and Bryansk. He fell ill in November and did not return to duty until January 1942, at which time his Second Army was on the northern wing of Army Group South. His forces captured Voronezh in July 1942.

Weichs received command of Army Group B when Hitler divided Army Group South into two army groups in July 1942. Army Group B eventually consisted of the Second and Sixth German Armies, the Fourth Panzer Army, the Second Hungarian Army, the Eighth Italian Army, and the Third and Fourth Romanian Armies. Not only was Weichs short of German troops, but Hitler also stripped him of half his motorized transport to support Army Group A. As the Sixth Army under General Friedrich Paulus invested Stalingrad, Weichs worried about the ability of his Axis allies to protect his flanks, and he called attention to this concern.

In November, when the Soviets launched their encirclement of Stalingrad, Weichs had no reserves, and Hitler refused his request to withdraw Sixth Army westward. Although restoring the situation was beyond the means Weichs had available, Hitler showed his lack of confidence in him by assigning most of Army Group B in late November to the newly created Army Group Don, commanded by Field Marshal Erich von Manstein. Weichs was promoted to field marshal in February 1943, but his remaining forces were distributed between Army Group

Center and Army Group Don. He was transferred to the Führer Reserve on 10 July.

Weichs’s retirement was short-lived. He was recalled on 26 July and named both commander in chief, Southeast, and commander in chief, Army Group F. With responsibility for all Axis forces in the Balkans, he was forced to contend both with growing guerrilla activity and with the Italian defection in September 1943. Weichs performed well, conducting several successful antipartisan operations. He also kept open supply lines for vital raw materials going to the Reich.

With the collapse of Romania and the defection of Bulgaria in August and September 1944, Weichs successfully extricated German forces in the Balkans with minimal losses. By January 1945, the remnants of Army Group F were fighting in Hungary. Hitler retired him in March. The aristocratic Weichs, despite his deep religious beliefs, remained loyal to the Führer and had the latter’s respect, though not his full confidence, until the very end of the war.

Weichs was held as a prisoner after the war and was one of the defendants at the International War Crimes Tribunal, but he was released due to poor health in 1948 before the trial took place. He died in Burg Rösberg/Bonn on 27 September 1954.

Jon D. Berlin

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Fritsch, Werner Thomas von; International Military Tribunal: The Nuremberg Trials; Paulus, Friedrich; Poland Campaign; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von; Stalingrad, Battle of; Warsaw, Battle of; Yugoslavia Campaign (1941); Yugoslavia Campaign (1944–1945)

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Welles, Benjamin Sumner (1892–1961)

U.S. undersecretary of state in the Roosevelt administration. Born in New York City on 14 October 1892 into a socially prominent family, Sumner Welles attended Groton School and Harvard University, acquiring a strong interest in history and literature. In 1915, on the advice of family friend Franklin D. Roosevelt, he applied to join the Foreign Service. Assigned to Buenos Aires in 1917, he decided to specialize in Latin America. Welles resigned from the department in 1922, but



U.S. Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles. (Corbis)

within three months, Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes appointed him commissioner to the Dominican Republic. His mandate was to implement the withdrawal of U.S. troops and the restoration of the indigenous government there.

Appointed assistant secretary of state by Roosevelt in 1933, Welles implemented the administration's Good Neighbor policy of greater equality with Latin American nations. In 1937, Roosevelt promoted him to undersecretary, annoying Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who resented Welles's close relationship with the president. When World War II began in Europe, Welles won Latin American nations' acquiescence in the declaration of a neutral zone around the entire continent.

In February and March 1940, Roosevelt dispatched Welles on a well-publicized peace mission to Rome, Berlin, Paris, and London, the major European belligerent capitals, purportedly to explore the possibility of negotiating peace before Germany launched its anticipated spring offensive and, if this proved impossible, to detach Italian dictator Benito Mussolini from German leader Adolf Hitler. Another objective of this unsuccessful venture was almost certainly to demonstrate to American voters that the president had made every possible effort to bring about peace.

Welles attended Roosevelt's August 1941 meeting with Winston L. S. Churchill off the Canadian coast, where he helped

to draft the Atlantic Charter. In January 1942, shortly after the Axis powers declared war on the United States, he met with all Latin American foreign ministers at Rio de Janeiro, winning their consent to a proclamation recommending a break with Germany, Italy, and Japan. For the sake of maintaining unanimity, Welles accepted this measure rather than the outright declaration of a diplomatic break preferred by Hull.

From 1939 onward, Welles was heavily involved in postwar planning undertaken jointly by the State Department and the Council on Foreign Relations. After the United States entered the war, he began an extensive speaking campaign to win popular support for the creation of a postwar international organization, which would eventually become the United Nations. In 1943, Hull, prompted by his antagonism toward Welles, used reports of his subordinate's involvement in a homosexual incident as a reason to insist on his resignation. Welles retired that September. He then wrote and spoke extensively on foreign affairs, publishing four books. He died in Bernardsville, New Jersey, on 24 September 1961.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Atlantic Charter; Hitler, Adolf; Hull, Cordell; Latin America and the War; Mussolini, Benito; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; United Nations, Formation of

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WESERÜBUNG, Operation (April 1940)

German invasion of Norway and Denmark, the first and only joint operation of German armed forces in the war. On the order of Adolf Hitler, the commander of the German navy, Admiral Erich Raeder, instigated plans to occupy Norway in order to protect Swedish iron ore imports and to forestall an expected Allied invasion. Norway would also provide the German navy with bases for surface raiders and U-boats to break out into the Atlantic for its commerce war.

The *Altmark* Incident of February 1940 provided strong evidence, in German eyes at least, of a pro-British stance in the Norwegian government, on the grounds that the Norwegians had not defended their territorial waters against the British. Hitler was convinced that the British intended to invade Norway, a move he sought to forestall. Psychological

considerations also played a role, but Raeder warned Hitler that such a venture would violate all the rules of naval warfare and would force the commitment of virtually the entire navy.

Until this point in the war, the navy had made no significant contribution, and it was not slated to have a major role in the upcoming campaign against France. Hitler placed operational planning for the first time under his Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (Armed Forces High Command). His stipulation that forces for WESERÜBUNG, the code name for the invasion, be placed under a “special command” threatened the autonomy of both the army and the Luftwaffe.

On 4 April 1940, Hitler decided the operation would begin five days later. On 8 April, the British began their own mining operation in Norwegian waters, which was to be followed by the landing of troops. German naval units were, however, already at sea and successfully stole a march on the British. Strong Norwegian resistance, assisted by Allied forces, led to sharp fighting, particularly at Narvik, where 10 German destroyers were trapped by British naval units and destroyed. At one point, Hitler lost his nerve and ordered the Narvik forces to seek internment in Sweden. Raeder convinced Hitler to change his mind and send reinforcements to Oslo instead of using the more dangerous sea routes to Trondheim and Bergen. The German campaign against France and the Low Countries, begun on 10 May, forced the British and French to withdraw their forces from Norway on 4 June. Two days later, the Norwegian armed forces surrendered.

Raeder ordered his battleships to attack enemy shipping and protect supply shipments for German relief forces linking up with German forces at Narvik (Operation JUNO, 4–9 June). On 8 June, the German battleships *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* encountered the British aircraft carrier *Glorious* and sank her with gunfire. The *Glorious* had, in addition to Hurricane fighters, a half dozen Swordfish torpedo-bombers on board, but for some reason, none of her aircraft were aloft. Both of the two escorting British destroyers were also sunk, but one of them, the *Acosta*, succeeded in torpedoing and damaging the *Scharnhorst*. As a result, Admiral Wilhelm Marschall chose to return to base, perhaps saving several nearby British convoys steaming without battleship escort.

Royal Navy losses in the campaign had been severe: a fleet carrier and 2 cruisers, as well as a number of smaller vessels. In addition, 8 large merchantmen, including 2 troop ships and 2 tankers, were lost, but the destroyers suffered the most. Nine were sunk and another 12 were damaged.

In WESERÜBUNG, the German navy lost its new heavy cruiser *Blücher*, 2 light cruisers, and 10 destroyers. Other ships were damaged. These losses created serious operational problems for the German surface navy. Moreover, WESERÜBUNG had revealed serious command problems, leading to the replacement of the second fleet commander of the war, Admiral Marschall. In addition, a large number of torpedo failures had cost the U-boats

major opportunities to inflict more serious damage on the Royal Navy. Yet for the German navy, WESERÜBUNG was its major “feat of arms” of the war. Hitler considered Norway as Germany’s “zone of destiny,” to be defended at all costs, especially after the invasion of the Soviet Union, but this opened a considerable drain on German resources, as the navy and army were forced to commit major resources to defend Norway.

Keith W. Bird

See also

Altmark Incident; Germany, Navy; Hitler, Adolf; Narvik, Naval Battles of; Norway, German Conquest of; Raeder, Erich

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West Wall, Advance to the (17 August–10 September 1944)

Allied pursuit of German forces from the Seine to the German border. The breakout of the Allied armies from the Normandy beachheads in Operation COBRA on 25 July was followed by a rapid pursuit of the retreating German forces to the Seine River. On 19 August, Supreme Allied Commander General Dwight D. Eisenhower decided to continue the advance east of the Seine River, despite growing logistical difficulties.

Allied plans called for the main effort to be made northeast of the Ardennes Forest by Field Marshal Sir Bernard Montgomery’s 21st Army Group (First Canadian Army and Second British Army), supported by Lieutenant General Omar Bradley’s First U.S. Army of the 12th Army Group. Montgomery’s forces were to move northeast from the lower Seine through Liège to cross the Rhine and seize the Ruhr industrial area. Meanwhile, Lieutenant General George S. Patton Jr.’s Third U.S. Army (also part of 12th Army Group) was to make a secondary effort south of the Ardennes and east from the upper Seine across the Moselle between Metz and Nancy and into the Saarland. Intermediate Allied objectives were to clear the Channel ports; seize the German V-weapons sites in the Pas de Calais area; liberate northwestern France, Belgium, and Holland; and destroy German forces between the Seine and Germany. But the ultimate Allied objectives were a quick crossing of the Rhine and seizure of the Ruhr.

Speed was essential for the Allied forces to reach the Rhine before the Germans could organize an effective defense of the West Wall, a fortified line on Germany's western border running some 300 miles from Cleves on the Dutch-German border to Basel, Switzerland. Known by the Allies as the Siegfried Line, this fortified barrier consisted of mutually supporting pillboxes, concrete antitank obstacles, and extensive barbed-wire entanglements. Constructed between 1936 and 1938, the West Wall had been neglected after the German victories in 1940, and parts of it had been dismantled to construct the Atlantic Wall.

The general German retreat in the west began on 17 August. Leaving behind the garrisons in the Channel ports, Field Marshal Walther Model's Army Group B (elements of 46 divisions of the First, Seventh, Fifth Panzer, and Fifteen Armies) withdrew to the northeast. Closely pursued by the Allies, the retreating German forces conducted an orderly withdrawal but were unable to reestablish a continuous line of defense until they reached the West Wall. By 10 September, Army Group B and Army Group G (7 divisions of Nineteenth Army withdrawing from southern France) had met at the West Wall and formed a continuous front with some 63 understrength divisions spread from the North Sea to Switzerland.

Paris was liberated on 25 August, and the Allied pursuit east of the Seine achieved quick success. General Sir Henry Crerar's First Canadian Army advanced up the Channel coast, overrunning the German V-weapon sites in the Pas de Calais on 6 September and taking Ostend on 9 September. Farther east, General Sir Miles Dempsey's Second British Army rapidly advanced to the Albert Canal between Antwerp and Hasselt, taking Brussels on 3 September, Antwerp on 4 September, and Ghent on 5 September. However, the Germans retained the Scheldt estuary, thus preventing Allied use of the Belgian ports.

On the British right, Courtney Hodges's First Army attacked from Melun on 26 August and captured Laon on 30 August, Tournai on 2 September, and Mons on 3 September, taking some 25,000 German prisoners in the "Mons pocket." First Army then crossed the Meuse on 4–5 September, liberating Liège on 7 September and Luxembourg two days later. By 10 September, First Army was deployed from Hasselt on the Albert Canal through Liège, Verviers, and Malmédy to Luxembourg.

Despite logistical restrictions, Patton's Third Army also made good progress, and by 1 September, it had crossed the Meuse between Verdun and Commercy and was in position to attack toward the Moselle and the West Wall between Metz and Nancy when its advance ground to a halt for lack of gasoline and other supplies. On 2 September, Alexander Patch's Seventh U.S. Army, advancing northward from southern France, linked up with Allied forces near Lyon, thereby completing the Allied line from the Channel to the Swiss border and ending the great pursuit.



Men of the Organization Todt building the West Wall. (Library of Congress)

The Normandy Invasion and breakout and the subsequent pursuit to the West Wall was costly for both sides. From 6 June to 11 September 1944, the Germans lost about 500,000 men. In the same period, the Allies suffered some 224,000 casualties. The continuation of the Allied drive into Germany would be much slower and even more costly.

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See also

Antwerp, Battle of; Bradley, Omar Nelson; COBRA, Operation; Crerar, Henry Duncan Graham; Dempsey, Miles Christopher; Devers, Jacob Loucks; DRAGOON, Operation; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Hodges, Courtney Hicks; Model, Walther; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Patch, Alexander McCarrell, Jr.; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von; Vosges, Advance to; Western European Theater of Operations

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Westerbork

See Concentration Camps, German.

Western European Theater of Operations

In accordance with its military pact with the Poles, France was to invade Germany two weeks after a German attack on Poland occurred, thereby forcing the Germans into a two-front war. However, following the German invasion of 1 September 1939, the best the French could manage was a token drive in the Saar region by nine divisions. French forces advanced a maximum of 5 miles on a narrow front. Casualties were negligible, but the French then halted; and when Poland collapsed, they withdrew to the Maginot Line. A more vigorous French thrust would have driven forward to the Rhine, with untold consequences for the course of the war. German forces manning the West Wall had little ammunition, no tanks, and virtually no air support.

But if the French effort in response to the German invasion of Poland was pathetic, Britain's was worse. The Royal Navy did impose a naval blockade on Germany, but the effects of this were far different from those caused by a similar blockade in World War I. This blockade was nullified by Germany's nonaggression pact with the Soviet Union, the secret terms of which promised Germany strategic natural resources. Germany could also secure necessary supplies from Italy, and both countries acted as purchasing agents for Berlin abroad. Two weeks into the war, the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) had not even completed assembling, and London rejected pleas for the Royal Air Force (RAF) bombing raids against Germany that had been agreed to before the war.

Following the German victory over Poland and the rejection by Britain and France of his terms for peace on a "forgive and forget" basis, Adolf Hitler prepared to move west. In late November 1939, he informed his military chiefs that Germany could deal with the Soviet Union only when it was free in the west. He was determined to attack France and Britain "at the earliest moment."

All was then quiet in the west. This period of the war came to be known as the "Sitzkrieg," the "Phony War," or the "Bore War." France carried out a full mobilization, and its forces manned the Maginot Line, but Britain imposed only a partial conscription, and by mid-October, it had only four divisions in France. Hardly any air action took place, with both sides reluctant to unleash the bombing of cities. Bad weather and the pleas of his generals for additional time caused Hitler to postpone the German invasion of France.

The Allies had no intention to take the offensive themselves. The commander of the French army, General Maurice Gamelin, said, "The first one who comes out his shell will be in peril." Meanwhile, First Lord of the Admiralty Winston L. S. Churchill developed a scheme to mine the coastal waters of neutral Norway in order to deny Germany access to high-grade Swedish iron ore shipped from the port of Narvik. Allied Scandinavian plans, including discussions of sending troops to aid Finland in its war against the Soviet Union, were soon an open secret. Initially, Hitler had no intention of opening a new front in northern Europe, for in mid-December, he set 14 January 1940 as the start date for the western offensive, which was then postponed again. In February, however, Hitler concluded that the British intended to move against Norway and that Germany would have to move first. The German invasion of Norway began on 9 April 1940, catching the Allies by complete surprise.

The Germans took Denmark in only one day, but Norway proved more difficult to subdue. The Allies landed troops in the north and occupied Narvik, but mounting aircraft losses, the unsatisfactory situation elsewhere in Norway, and the German invasion of France brought evacuation in early June. The Norwegian Campaign badly hurt the German surface navy; it lost 3 cruisers and 10 destroyers, half of its total, but Hitler secured additional food production for the Reich and protection for his northern flank on the Baltic. Most important, the Kriegsmarine (German navy) secured locations for naval bases nearer to the Allied Atlantic convoy routes. Thus, it could now launch attacks into the North Atlantic and later strike Allied convoys bound for the Soviet Union. But Hitler also suffered the consequences of strategic overreach; by 1944, he had 365,000 of his best troops in Norway, a serious drain on his badly stretched resources.

Hitler's next stroke was the oft-delayed invasion of France and the Low Countries. On 10 January 1940, a German military aircraft was forced to land in Belgium. Its passenger was carrying the operational plans for the German attack in the west. Compromise of this plan led Hitler to abandon it and caused the German invasion to be delayed until May. The old plan would have seen the Germans encountering the best British and French divisions, but the new plan, *SICHELSCHNITT* (meaning "the cut of the sickle"), shifted the major effort from central Belgium to just north of the Maginot Line. The northern effort would occur first, drawing the Allies into Belgium. Then the major blow would fall to the south, in the hilly and wooded Ardennes. The Germans planned to cross the Meuse River and crack the French lines at Sedan, then swing northwest to the Channel and cut off the best British and French divisions in Belgium.

The campaign for France and the Low Countries began on 10 May 1940. The Allies matched the German invading forces on the ground and outnumbered the Germans in tanks. Their



Crossed rifles in the sand serve as a comrade's tribute to this American soldier who died in the Normandy Invasion. (National Archives)

problem lay in tactical employment. The first three French tank divisions did not assemble for training until January 1940, and the majority of French tanks along the eastern frontier were split into isolated packets as infantry support. The Germans dominated the air, a vital factor in their success, and the Allies were sadly deficient in anti-aircraft weapons. Other important factors in the outcome of the campaign included appallingly inadequate senior French military leadership, catastrophic failures in French military intelligence, and the lack of adequate reserves to deal with the German breakthrough.

German airborne forces in the north secured vital bridges and also the Belgian bastion of Eben Emael. The Allies followed the German script by pouring their forces into Belgium. On 13 May, German forces to the south crossed the Meuse. For all intents and purposes, the struggle for France was over on 15 May when the Germans penetrated the Meuse defenses.

Once the panzer divisions were free, the way was clear to drive to the English Channel and cut off the main Allied

armies in Belgium. By 24 May, the Germans had captured Boulogne and isolated Calais, forcing the BEF to rely on Dunkerque (Dunkirk) for resupply. Allied forces in Belgium were now cut off from the bulk of the French forces to the south. As British forces withdrew northward to the coast, King Leopold III surrendered his armed forces on 28 May, despite promises that his nation would not undertake any such unilateral action. This action opened a gap between the BEF left flank and the sea, into which the Germans now poured, threatening to cut off the BEF entirely. At this point, Hitler, in his first major military blunder of the war, intervened. For five days, he kept the German armored thrust from the south in place, saving the BEF and probably enabling Britain to continue in the war.

During the period between 27 May and 4 June, the British carried out an epic evacuation at Dunkerque. In Operation DYNAMO, they evacuated some 365,000 troops, of whom about 225,000 were British. The BEF was forced to abandon virtually

all its equipment in France, but it did extract almost all its remaining personnel. In Britain, the evacuation swept away the “phoniness” of the war, but many Britons were oblivious to the fact that, in May 1918, there had been 10 times the number of British divisions in France as in May 1940, that they had left the French in the lurch, or that the French First Army had held the Germans from the beaches and allowed the BEF to escape.

On 5 June, after having consolidated, the Germans struck south, cutting through French forces and reaching the Seine River west of Paris four days later. Stunned by these developments and unprepared for improvised action, much of the French army simply disintegrated. On 13 June, the government declared Paris an open city to spare it air attack, and the next day, German troops took peaceful possession of the French capital.

On 12 June, the new French army commander, General Maxime Weygand, had concluded that the situation was hopeless and so informed the cabinet. Two days earlier, Italian dictator Benito Mussolini, convinced that the war was all but won, had brought his country into the conflict on the German side by invading southeastern France. Thirty-two Italian divisions attacked five French divisions along the Italian border but made little headway.

On 16 June, French Premier Paul Reynaud was forced to resign, and a majority of the cabinet voted to ask Hitler for terms. The new premier was 84-year-old Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain, a World War I hero who had been brought into the government as deputy premier in order to bolster French resolve but who now favored an immediate armistice. On 17 June, the Pétain government opened negotiations with the Germans. Fighting ceased on the battlefields of France on 25 June.

France was divided into occupied and unoccupied zones, and its army was reduced to 100,000 officers and men. The navy, almost entirely intact, remained under French control but was to be disarmed in French ports. France also had to pay for the German occupation of three-fifths of its territory.

Paris was included in the German occupation zone, so the new French government established itself at Vichy, in south-central France. The new Vichy France was frankly totalitarian and, to a considerable degree, collaborationist. Pétain and his advisers believed that Germany had won the war and that, at least for the foreseeable future, France would be under German control. It took something akin to clairvoyance in the dark days of June 1940 to foresee a possible Allied victory, but a small number of Frenchmen and Frenchwomen vowed to continue the fight and took the lead in forming resistance groups. In London, on 18 June, young Brigadier General Charles de Gaulle, who had been undersecretary of war only a few days before, announced over the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) the establishment of the Free French. He soon secured British military assistance and, ultimately, recognition of his government.

Winston Churchill, who had become British prime minister on 10 May, feared that the Germans would acquire the French fleet, although the French government had promised London that it would scuttle its ships rather than see them fall into German hands. This pledge was not sufficient for Churchill, who ordered Operation CATAPULT. The British would offer French naval commanders a cruel choice between continuing the fight, disarming in neutral ports, or scuttling their ships. The British rather easily acquired some 130 French vessels of all types, but at Mers-el-Kébir in Algeria, there was fighting in which the British sank a number of French ships and killed nearly 1,300 French seamen. Despite this, the French government honored its pledge more than two years later. In November 1942, the Germans tried to seize the bulk of the French navy—80 ships assembled at Toulon—but the French scuttled 77 of them.

The Germans now dominated the Continent. They were emphatically the senior partner in the German-Italian combination, and they were on good terms with Francisco Franco in Spain, and the Soviet Union was benevolently neutral. History seemed to repeat itself, for the Germans now controlled almost exactly the same geographic area as had Napoleon, and in 1940, as in 1807, only Great Britain remained at war with the would-be conqueror.

Britain now awaited a German attack. In early June, there was only one properly equipped and trained division to defend the British Isles. BEF equipment abandoned in France included 600 tanks, 1,000 field guns, 500 antiaircraft guns, a vast number of small arms, and half a million tons of stores and ammunition. The fleet was far to the north, away from the Luftwaffe. If German forces could have landed in Britain in the weeks following Dunkerque, there would have been little means of stopping them. Hitler and his military chiefs, however, were caught off guard by the speed of the French defeat and had no plans for a follow-up invasion of Britain. Not until late July did they begin planning for a descent on England, code-named SEA LION (SEELÖWE).

Following the defeat of France, Hitler had postponed any decision regarding Britain. He hoped and expected that the British people would recognize that Germany had won and agree to a negotiated peace. Some of his generals urged him to strike Britain before it could reorganize and consolidate its strength, but he refused. In early June, RAF Fighter Command had only about a sixth the number of aircraft that the Germans could send against Britain. Yet when formal orders were issued for SEA LION, German preparations were half-hearted. In any case, command of the air was the necessary prerequisite for any invasion.

Official British dates for the Battle of Britain are 10 July to 31 October 1940. The Germans, however, never achieved their goal of driving the RAF from the skies. Ineffective German leadership, intelligence failures resulting in poor target-

ing decisions, radar and ULTRA in the hands of the British, the lack of a strategic bomber on the German side, superior British pilot and aircraft replacement, and the German concentration on London all contributed to the German defeat.

Finally, on 1 November, with the Luftwaffe sustaining prohibitive losses, the Germans shifted to night bombing—what Londoners called “the Blitz.” Heavy bombing continued into May 1941. Although savage and relentless, night area bombing had no strategic result. The German air offensive had failed, in what was the first serious German military setback of the war. In mid-October 1940, Operation SEA LION was officially shelved until the spring, when it was postponed indefinitely.

Hitler failed to recognize the need to maintain the pressure on Britain. He could have intensified aircraft and submarine attacks against shipping to the British Isles, which might have brought an eventual British collapse, but his attention was increasingly drawn eastward to the Soviet Union. The commander of the German navy, Grand Admiral Erich Raeder, and the commander of the air force, Hermann Göring, both believed that the defeat of Britain would leave Germany in a much stronger position vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. Hitler contended that the Soviet Union was preparing to attack Germany and that Britain was holding out only because its leaders hoped that Germany and the Soviet Union would go to war: if he could eliminate the Soviet Union, then Britain would capitulate. Hitler lacked patience and failed to understand the limitations of the blitzkrieg in terms of distance and resupply. He also did not appreciate interdiction or an indirect approach. Finally, Hitler was driven by ideological and political factors. In June 1941, after shoring up his Balkan flank, he sent his armies against the Soviet Union.

In December 1941, the United States joined the conflict as an active participant. Hitler and Mussolini then declared war on the United States, resolving a possible strategic dilemma for President Franklin D. Roosevelt concerning the Allied policy of concentrating first on Germany. Soviet leader Josef Stalin called for an immediate invasion of western Europe by British and U.S. ground forces, but it would take many months for the vast U.S. industrial base to shift to war production, for armed forces to be raised and trained, and for the Battle of the Atlantic to be won. In 1942, the U.S. contribution to the war in Europe came in the form of strategic bombing, and there was little of that.

The Americans preferred the earliest possible cross-Channel invasion of northern France. Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall was a strong supporter of an invasion of northwestern Europe in the fall of 1942. The British were leery, fearful that such a move would lead to a repeat of the situation in northeastern France in World War I. Proof that the Western Allies were not ready to undertake a cross-Channel invasion was provided in Operation JUBILEE, the raid

on Dieppe on the coast of Normandy on 19 August 1942. The raid buried the myth that a cross-Channel invasion was feasible in 1942, and it cast grave doubts on the Allied plan for a cross-Channel invasion in 1943.

Roosevelt had promised Stalin that the Western Allies would undertake an invasion by the end of 1942, and he was determined to honor that pledge. He met that commitment with Operation TORCH, the Allied invasion of French North Africa in November 1942. With success there, U.S. military leaders, most notably General Marshall, attempted to secure British approval for a cross-Channel invasion in 1943. Churchill demurred and convinced Roosevelt to pursue operations in the Mediterranean against Italy. The British leader wanted an Allied concentration in the Mediterranean, which he termed the “soft underbelly of Europe.” The Americans reluctantly agreed to invasions first of Sicily and then of Italy, but they insisted on the cross-Channel invasion of France for the spring of 1944.

The Allies developed precise and elaborate plans for the invasion in Normandy. Prior to the landing, Allied air forces would conduct a massive bombing campaign to isolate the region. The landing itself would be preceded by a night drop of three divisions of paratroops. The next morning, five infantry divisions would go ashore along the 50-mile stretch of coast. Some 10,000 aircraft would secure the skies, while hundreds of ships provided naval support.

Success was probable if the Allies could establish a bridgehead large enough to build up their strength. Once they broke through the German lines, the Allies would have the whole of France for maneuver because their armies were fully mechanized and the bulk of the defending German forces were not. Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, who had charge of the coastal defenses, well understood that the German defense was doomed unless it could destroy the invaders on the beaches. Hitler did not agree and indeed welcomed the invasion as an opportunity to destroy the British and U.S. forces. In Britain, the Allied armies were immune to attack; in France, they could be destroyed. Let them come, he said: “They will get the thrashing of their lives.”

The only possibility of German success was to introduce panzer reserves rapidly, but this step was fatally delayed by Allied air superiority and Hitler’s failure immediately to commit resources available elsewhere. Operation FORTITUDE, the Allied deception plan, convinced Hitler that the Normandy Invasion was a feint and that the main thrust would come in the Pas de Calais sector.

The Allies put ashore a million men within a month following D day, but a great storm severely damaged one of two artificial harbors that had been towed across the Channel. The Germans then turned the French ports into forts, destroying them when they had to surrender. Supply became a major problem and remained so until near the end of the war. The

Normandy countryside also proved ideal defensive terrain, and not until the end of July were the Allies able to break out in Operation *COBRA* (25–31 July), when Lieutenant General Omar Bradley's U.S. First Army forced the German line west of Saint-Lô, with Major General J. Lawton Collins's VII Corps making the main effort. Lieutenant General George S. Patton Jr. arrived in France on 6 July, and two days after the start of *COBRA*, Bradley ordered him to take command of VIII Corps.

On 1 August, the U.S. command was reorganized. Bradley moved up to command 12th Army Group, Lieutenant General Courtney Hodges assumed command of the First Army, and Patton's Third Army was activated. In the British zone of operations, General Bernard Montgomery's mostly British Commonwealth 21st Army Group comprised Lieutenant General D. G. Crerar's Canadian First Army and Lieutenant General Miles C. Dempsey's Second British Army. Patton's Third Army scored the greatest success, although the general was fortunate to arrive in command when the static warfare of the previous two months had finally passed into the mobile warfare at which he excelled. The weather was also dry, and the flat terrain of northern France was ideal tank country. Patton took full advantage of the circumstances. He was certainly the outstanding general of the campaign for France. Third Army displayed instant efficiency and soon had parlayed the local breakthrough of *COBRA* into a theater-wide breakout. After the breakout, Patton's Third Army turned west to clear out the Brittany peninsula, then turned to the east after taking Brest. In a single month, the Third Army liberated most of France north of the Loire River.

Meanwhile, the Allies launched Operation *DRAGOON* on the Côte d'Azur near Cannes in southern France. The operation had been planned largely to secure the large French Mediterranean ports for a rapid Allied buildup in France. Originally code-named *ANVIL* and planned to coincide with D day, this effort had to be postponed because of a shortage of landing craft as a consequence of *OVERLORD* priorities and the British reluctance to divert assets from Italy. On 15 August, some 86,000 men went ashore on a 30-mile front 20 miles east of the French naval base of Toulon. German ground forces were thinly spread and inadequate in numbers and resources. Lieutenant General Alexander Patch's Seventh Army ultimately consisted of 10 divisions: 7 U.S. and 3 French. The invaders then pushed up the Rhône River valley. By the time of the linkup with Bradley's 12th Army Group near the Swiss border in the fall of 1944, the southern Allied force had grown into the 6th Army Group of 23 divisions under Lieutenant General Jacob Devers. *DRAGOON* provided him two large, intact French ports that could be used to help supply the expanding Allied buildup in France.

The Allies now squandered a golden opportunity. Montgomery was making little progress, while Patton and his Third Army swung wide in an enormous enveloping move-

ment that prevented German forces from consolidating along the Seine. Patton's rapid drive made it possible to trap large numbers of two German field armies, including seven panzer divisions, in the so-called Falaise pocket. The destruction of these German forces was within Allied reach, but Eisenhower and Bradley did not grasp the significance of the situation and refused to authorize Patton to span a 15-mile-wide gap between Argentan and Falaise, the former having been assigned as a British objective.

The pocket was finally closed, and 60,000 Germans were killed or captured in the pocket, with substantial amounts of arms and equipment seized; yet some 100,000 Germans escaped. Without Bradley's imposition of a delay, which gave the Germans from 13 to 18 August to extract their forces, the Allies might have captured them all and brought the war to an end in 1944. German forces in France now fought their way homeward under Allied pursuit. Paris was liberated on 25 August, a task wisely left to the French. By 31 August, Patton's Third Army reached the Meuse at Verdun, and the following day, it gained the Moselle River. In the north, Montgomery drove into Belgium, all the while complaining of shortages of supplies and fuel and pressing for a single thrust under his command into Germany itself.

Between the two Allied spearheads, there was virtually little resistance. Facing Patton's six strong divisions were five weak German divisions with few tanks or antitank guns. Facing the British was the hastily assembled German First Parachute Army, a scratch force of some 18,000 men, boys, and walking wounded. In the sector between Aachen and Metz, the Germans had only eight infantry battalions. On the whole front, the Germans fielded some 100 tanks and 570 aircraft. In tanks and in aircraft, the Allies had a 20-to-1 advantage.

Yet the Allied advance stalled. The supply lines of the Allies were lengthening even as those of the Germans were contracting. The original Allied plan had been to consolidate on the Seine while opening the Brittany ports and establishing a sound logistical base, but that plan had been nullified by their unanticipated rapid advance after the Saint-Lô breakout. Much of the French railroad system had been destroyed by Allied air strikes, and the bulk of the supplies had to move from the Normandy beaches by road to the front. Despite the best efforts of the Allies, supplies were simply insufficient for the broad-front strategy on which Eisenhower insisted. The supply situation was made even worse by the need of essential services for liberated French cities and towns, and there were natural obstacles in the Vosges Mountains, the Ardennes, and the Hürtgen Forest.

By the end of August, the German army had suffered more casualties than at Stalingrad—losing roughly 500,000 soldiers and 1,600 tanks in what was one of the greatest defeats in the history of warfare. One daring thrust through the north, south, or center might have proved decisive. There were two com-

peting schools of Allied operational strategy: the narrow front and the broad front. Montgomery and Patton were the two leading proponents of the narrow front, provided it was for their own forces; Eisenhower wanted the broad front. Eisenhower controlled the flow of supplies and made the ultimate decision. Arguing that there were only sufficient resources for one major thrust, Montgomery pressed Eisenhower to halt Patton's Third Army and concentrate resources behind his troops. He believed he could make a quick end to the war, and he wanted the British to lead the charge and take Berlin. Patton wanted, above all else, to beat Montgomery to that prize.

While this discussion was in progress, Montgomery missed a chance to shorten the war. British tanks took Brussels on 3 September and Antwerp the next day, so rapidly that the Germans were unable to destroy its port facilities. Only the opening of the 45-mile-long Scheldt estuary stood between the Allies and relief of their growing supply difficulties. But Montgomery preferred to concentrate his troops for a thrust across the Rhine into northern Germany and overlooked the enormous logistical implications of Antwerp. The British were well positioned to take the German Fifteenth Army fleeing northeastward up the coast. An advance of less than 10 miles beyond Antwerp would have sealed off the Walcheren and South Beveland peninsula. But Montgomery halted at Antwerp. Consequently, the Fifteenth Army escaped across the Scheldt at night and then went back into Holland.

Eisenhower now had to decide between concentrating on a narrow front or launching a broad-based attack in which the Allies would attack, regroup, and then attack again. Although Allied headquarters had always known that no major thrust could be made into Germany until Antwerp had been secured as a supply base, Eisenhower allowed Montgomery to ignore opening Antwerp in favor of securing a bridgehead across the Rhine and perhaps ending the war in one bold stroke. Also affecting the plan was pressure to use the airborne divisions that had participated in the Normandy Invasion and were now recuperating in Britain. Unfortunately, Montgomery failed to carry out the detailed staff planning of his earlier campaigns to make the plan work.

The operation was code-named MARKET-GARDEN. MARKET, the airborne segment, involved three paratroop divisions; GARDEN, the ground portion, was centered in the British Second Army. The airborne forces were to secure key bridges over the Maas (Meuse), Waal, and Lek (lower Rhine) Rivers, then Second Army would race up a corridor from Belgium along a 60-mile-long narrow causeway, cross the rivers, and secure Arnhem on the lower Rhine. The plan involved a high degree of risk, but the prize of outflanking the Siegfried Line (called the West Wall by the Germans) and gaining entry into northern Germany seemed worth it.

Factors involved in the failure of the operation included the refusal to modify the hastily developed plan, the lack of

coordination with the Dutch underground, and the ignoring of Dutch warnings as well as ULTRA intercepts and late photographic evidence of the presence of two battle-hardened panzer divisions transferred from the Eastern Front and reconstituting around Arnhem. The operation also suffered from insufficient men and logistical support. But the greatest tactical mistake was to drop the British 1st Airborne Division 7 to 8 miles from Arnhem, allowing German panzers to isolate it. MARKET-GARDEN began on 17 September and ended on 26 September. The operation, which Montgomery later termed "90 percent successful," was, in fact, a total failure.

By mid-September, the Allied opportunity had been lost and the Germans had recovered sufficiently to slow the advance almost to a standstill. The task of forcing the Germans from the Scheldt fell chiefly to Lieutenant General Guy Simonds's First Canadian Army. This effort consumed two months of hard fighting. Patton was also held up in a month of bloody fighting before the fortress of Metz. With the onset of bad weather, any chance for the Allies to win the war in 1944 was gone. The Germans not only managed to rebuild their shattered divisions but also transferred new units into the battle, so that they actually enjoyed a manpower advantage over the Allied Expeditionary Forces, although they were numerically inferior in tanks, artillery, and, above all, airpower. Between September and December 1944, the U.S. Army suffered one of its worst defeats in the Battle of the Hürtgen Forest, ideal defensive terrain. The Germans, who were now defending their own homeland, resisted with great tenacity.

Hitler now proposed a final offensive in the west. In September 1944, with the Eastern Front static for several months and the Allied offensive in the west gaining ground, he conceived of a sudden offensive to take the Allies by surprise, break their front, and recapture Antwerp. He hoped at the least to buy three to four months to deal with the advancing Soviets. Western Front commander Field Marshal Karl Gerd von Rundstedt thought the plan was unrealistic, as did other high-ranking officers. But Hitler refused to change his mind, and substantial German forces were transferred from the Eastern Front to the west for what would be the biggest battle fought on the Western Front in World War II and the largest engagement ever fought by the U.S. Army.

On 16 December, the Germans launched their Ardennes Offensive. It caught the Western Allies completely by surprise, and bad weather restricted the use of Allied airpower. The German force of 24 divisions pushing against 3 divisions of Hodges's First Army drove a "bulge" 50 miles deep and 70 miles wide into the American defenses, which gave the Battle of the Bulge its name.

Allied resources diverted to the battle and clearing skies that permitted the intervention of Allied aircraft turned the tide. The battle dragged on to mid-January, but before the Germans could switch resources to the east, the Soviets

launched their last great offensive. In effect, the Ardennes Offensive hastened the end of the war. Both sides suffered heavily, but the Western Allies quickly made up their losses, whereas the Germans could not. Deaf to all reason, Hitler categorically forbade retreat. Everything that could be of use to the enemy had to be destroyed. The fate of his people was irrelevant, for he concluded that if the Germans were unable to win, then they did not deserve to survive.

On 7 March 1945, U.S. forces captured intact a German bridge across the Rhine at Remagen and immediately put forces across. In the west, the Germans now had fewer than 60 understrength and poorly equipped divisions to oppose 85 well-equipped Allied divisions. With both Patton and Hodges making solid progress, Eisenhower ordered Bradley's 12th Army Group to make the main thrust, pushing through central Germany and ignoring Berlin, on which the Soviets were advancing. Ninth Army would encircle the Ruhr while the remainder of Montgomery's 21st Army Group covered Bradley's drive by moving northeast, cutting off German forces in Denmark and Norway. Lieutenant General Jacob Devers's 6th Army Group, meanwhile, provided right-flank security for Bradley, advancing down the Danube to secure the so-called *Alpenfestung*, or National Redoubt. The Ruhr was encircled on 1 April. Seventh Army, in the meantime, took Nuremberg, crossed the Danube, and moved into Austria, joining up in the Brenner Pass with elements of the Fifth Army from Italy. On 11 April, the Ninth Army reached the Elbe near Magdeburg. German resistance now rapidly collapsed. Soviet forces took Berlin, and on 8 May, Admiral Karl Dönitz, Hitler's successor, surrendered German forces unconditionally. The war in Europe was over.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Bradley, Omar Nelson; Britain, Battle of; Casablanca Conference; Chamberlain, Arthur Neville; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; COBRA, Operation; Collins, Joseph Lawton; Crerar, Henry Duncan Graham; de Gaulle, Charles; Dempsey, Miles Christopher; Denmark Campaign; Devers, Jacob Loucks; Dönitz, Karl; DRAGOON, Operation; Dunkerque, Evacuation of; Eben Emael; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Falaise-Argentan Pocket; FORTITUDE, Operation; France, Battle for; France, Battle for (Historical Controversy: Hitler's Stop Order); France, Free France; France, Vichy; France Campaign; Gamelin, Maurice; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Hitler, Adolf; Hodges, Courtney Hicks; Hürtgen Forest Campaign; Leopold III, King of Belgium; Maginot Line; MARKET-GARDEN, Operation; Marshall, George Catlett; Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law; Netherlands Campaign; Normandy Invasion and Campaign; Norway, German Conquest of; OVERLORD, Operation; Patch, Alexander McCarrell, Jr.; Patton, George Smith, Jr.; Pétain, Henri Philippe; Poland Campaign; Raeder, Erich; Remagen Bridge; Reynaud, Paul; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Ruhr Campaign; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von; Saar, French Invasion of the; Scheldt, Battles; SEA LION, Operation; SICHELSCHNITT, Operation; Simonds, Guy Granville; Stalin, Josef; TORCH, Operation; Weygand, Maxime

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Westphal, Siegfried (1902–1982)

German army general who served as chief of staff to Field Marshal Albert Kesselring. Born in Leipzig, Germany, on 28 March 1902, Siegfried Westphal entered the military as an officer candidate in the 12th Grenadier Regiment in November 1918. He remained in the army after World War I, and in December 1922, he was commissioned as a lieutenant in a cavalry regiment. He was assigned to the 13th Cavalry Regiment in 1938.

When World War II began, Westphal was operations officer of the 58th Infantry Division. Promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1941, he became operations officer of General Erwin Rommel's Panzergruppe Afrika that November and was promoted to colonel in August 1942 and then, as one of the youngest generals in the German army, to Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general) in March 1943. In June, Westphal became chief of staff to Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, commander in chief, South, and as such, he played an important role in the Sicily and Italy Campaigns. Westphal was promoted to Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general) in April 1944.

In September 1944, Westphal became chief of staff to the commander in chief, West, Field Marshal Karl Gerd von Rundstedt. He helped plan the German Ardennes Offensive that led to the December 1944–January 1945 Battle of the Bulge. Promoted to General der Kavallerie (U.S. equiv. lieutenant general) in February 1945, Westphal returned to his prior position as chief of staff to Kesselring a month later, a post he retained until the end of the war. He was hard-working and quick with decisions, and his chiefs had only high praise for his abilities. Westphal rejected all involvement with National Socialism and firmly believed in the separation of politics from the military. Westphal died at Celle, Germany, on 2 July 1982.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Ardennes Offensive; Italy Campaign; Kesselring, Albert; Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von; Sicily, Invasion of

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Weygand, Maxime (1867–1965)

French army general who became commander of French forces in 1940. Born on 21 January 1867 at Bruxelles (Brussels), Belgium, Maxime Weygand was probably of distinguished parentage; rumor had it that he was the illegitimate son of Belgian King Leopold II. He arrived in France in mysterious circumstances at age six. He graduated from the French Military Academy of St. Cyr in 1887 and from the Cavalry School at Saumur the following year. Over the next two decades, Weygand worked hard at his chosen career and enjoyed rapid promotion. In 1902, he returned to Saumur as an instructor. In 1912, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and selected to attend the Centre des Hautes Études Militaires, where he performed brilliantly and caught the attention of the French army commander, General Joseph Joffre.

In mid-August 1914, Weygand became chief of staff to General Ferdinand Foch's new Ninth Army. He continued as Foch's chief of staff for the next nine years and was the only officer on the general's staff to have his full confidence; the two men were virtually inseparable. At the end of the war, Weygand was a major general.

In 1920, Foch sent Weygand to Poland to head the French military mission to that country during its war with Russia. Weygand returned to France after the Polish victory and was promoted to lieutenant general. Between 1923 and 1924, he was high commissioner to the Levant. Removed as a "rightist general" after the victory by the Left in the 1924 elections, he next headed the Centre des Hautes Études Militaires. In January 1930, he succeeded Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain as chief of staff of the French army. As commander of the army, he advocated mechanization instead of the construction of the Maginot Line. He managed to push through the motorization of 7 of the 20 peacetime French divisions and in 1933 secured the creation of light mechanized divisions.

Weygand retired from the army in 1935. Recalled to service four years later on the eve of World War II, he received command of French forces in the Middle East. On 19 May 1940, in the midst of the campaign for France, Premier Paul Reynaud ordered the 73-year-old Weygand to return to France and replace General Maurice Gamelin as Supreme Allied Commander in Flanders.

Weygand arrived too late to save France. He failed in his effort to get the British to attack from the north in a joint effort to pinch off the German armored thrust to the sea, the last



Supreme Allied Commander General Maxime Weygand, 1939. (Photo by Pictorial Parade/Getty Images)

hope of an Allied victory at that point. Realizing the hopelessness of the French position, he urged the government to capitulate. Following the French surrender on 22 June, Weygand was briefly defense minister of Vichy France, in which position he worked to transfer military assets from the occupied zone to the unoccupied zone and to North Africa. Removed from his office on suspicion of being anti-Vichy, he was sent to Algeria. His connections with anti-German forces there brought his forced retirement to Cannes, where he was under constant police surveillance.

After the November 1942 Anglo-American landings in North Africa, Weygand urged the Vichy chief of state, Pétain, to break with Germany and join forces with the Allies. In November 1942, he attempted to fly to North Africa to meet with the Americans, but the Gestapo arrested him and imprisoned him in Germany. Released at the end of the war, Weygand was flown to Paris, where General Charles de Gaulle ordered his arrest as a member of the Vichy government. He was, however, let out of prison in 1946 and rehabilitated in 1948. Weygand lived a quiet retirement and wrote many books, including his memoirs and a biography of Foch. He died in Paris on 28 January 1965.

Michael S. Neiberg

See also

France, Army; France, Battle for; France, Vichy; Gamelin, Maurice; Maginot Line; Pétain, Henri Philippe; Reynaud, Paul

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White Rose

German Resistance group. At the center of the group were a brother and sister, Hans and Sophie Scholl (ages 24 and 21 at the time of their deaths). They were both bright and attractive and had been leaders in Nazi youth groups, but they and their friends became disillusioned with the course of events in Germany.

Formed in Munich, the White Rose actually began in the Wehrmacht. Hans was a sergeant in the army, as were others in the conspiratorial group. These young men had served briefly on the Eastern Front and were aware of the full bestiality of the Nazi regime. When they returned to Munich to pursue medical studies at the University of Munich, they decided to act. The Scholls and their friends refused to be indifferent to what was happening in the world around them. Hans had not planned to involve his sister, also a student at the university, but she found out about the group's activities and insisted on being included.

The White Rose organization printed a number of carefully worded leaflets attacking the Third Reich and calling for resistance against it. These were circulated around the universities and mailed to prominent individuals in a half dozen cities. In addition, slogans against the regime were painted on walls in Munich. These activities were all the more courageous because they began as a moral protest: in the fall of 1942, Germany was not yet losing the war.

By early 1943, the Gestapo was closing in on the organization, but Hans Scholl did not seem to notice or care. Most members of the group believed that the end of the war was near. In February, the Gestapo arrested three members of the White Rose. Four days later, they were taken before Roland Friesler, the notorious chief justice of the People's Court for the Reich. There was no trial in any acceptable meaning of the term, and that same day, they were condemned and beheaded. Soon, other members of the group were located, and three of them—including a university professor—were also executed.

The defiant acts of the White Rose hardly disturbed the authority of the Reich. There would eventually be memorials to the Scholls in Germany, but it is doubtful that they would have wanted such recognition nor thought it proper. That their actions were not influential was unimportant; what mattered was that they stood up for what they believed. As Sophie Scholl put it in a letter to a friend, "I think that right and justice are superior to other loyalties."

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Scholl, Hans, and Scholl, Sophie

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Whittle, Sir Frank (1907–1996)

British aviation engineer who invented the jet engine. Born on 1 June 1907 at Coventry, England, Frank Whittle entered the Royal Air Force (RAF) in 1923 as a cadet at the RAF College at Cranwell. He graduated from its Air Apprentices Wing in 1926 and from the RAF College, Cranwell, in 1928. He dreamed of an aircraft able to fly at enormous speed and altitude, and his 1928 senior thesis, "The Future Developments in Aircraft Design," was on jet propulsion. Whittle qualified as a pilot, and in 1928, he joined a fighter squadron. Three years later, he became a test pilot. Whittle attended both RAF engineering school and, from 1934 to 1937, Cambridge University.

Although the Air Ministry challenged the idea of jet propulsion as impractical, Whittle persevered and secured a patent for his turbojet engine in 1930. Obtaining a leave of absence from the RAF, he tested his first jet engine on the ground in April 1937, the year after he and his backers formed Power Jets, Ltd. (nationalized by the British government in 1944). With the beginning of World War II, the British government supported his project. Whittle's first flightworthy engine, the W.1, took to the sky in May 1941 powering an experimental Gloster E.28/39 aircraft. This effort led to the twin-engine Gloster Meteor, which first flew in March 1943. The Gloster Meteor ultimately flew at nearly 600 mph and went into service in July 1944, only weeks after the debut of the German Messerschmitt Me-262. The first Royal Air Force jet aircraft, the Meteor played a major role in



British aeronautical engineer Sir Frank Whittle. (Photo by Central Press/Getty Images)

intercepting and downing German V-1s, and several improved Mk III Meteors performed ground-attack missions in Europe in the last weeks of the war. Subsequently, the U.S. Air Force copied Whittle's centrifugal jet engine in the twin-engine Bell P-59A.

In 1946, Frank Whittle received the Daniel Guggenheim Medal, and in 1948, he was knighted after having retired from the RAF as an air commodore. His book, *Jet: The Story of a Pioneer*, was published in 1953. In 1977, he became a research professor at the U.S. Naval Academy. Sir Frank Whittle died in Baltimore, Maryland, on 8 August 1996.

Kathleen Gaston Hitt

See also

Airborne Forces, Allied; Great Britain, Air Force; Jet and Rocket Aircraft

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Wilhelm Gustloff (German Ship)

German passenger ship, the sinking of which was history's worst maritime disaster. The 25,000-ton *Wilhelm Gustloff* was launched in 1937 as the flagship of Adolf Hitler's "Strength through Joy" movement, which provided low-cost vacations for German workers. The *Wilhelm Gustloff* was employed as a cruise ship until World War II, when she became a floating barracks for German submariners training in the Baltic.

With the advance of the Soviet army, the *Wilhelm Gustloff* was used in evacuating German personnel from the Baltic. On the night of 30 January 1945, it was sunk in the Baltic Sea by the Soviet submarine *S-13* (commanded by Captain Third Class Alexander Marinseko). When she went down, the ship was carrying nearly 1,000 submariners and other military personnel, but just before she sailed, she had taken on a large number of refugees, so there were probably more than 8,000 people on board. The ship sank quickly, and only 964 survivors were picked from the sea. Some of these died of their wounds or exposure, so the total number of people who perished in the tragedy probably exceeds 7,000.

The *Wilhelm Gustloff* was the largest German vessel ever sunk by a Soviet submarine. More people were lost when she went down than in the sinking of either the *Titanic* or the *Lusitania*. The next month, *S-13* sank another German liner—the *General Steuben*—with 3,000 people on board, including 2,000 wounded German troops. Only 300 survived. A third German liner, the *Goya* with 7,000 people on board, went down to another Soviet submarine in April, and only 183 survived.

Many Germans erroneously believed that the *Wilhelm Gustloff* was marked with red crosses and was a noncombatant. In reality, the ship mounted antiaircraft guns and was transporting naval personnel as well as refugees. The submarine command should never have allowed her to sail virtually unescorted. A footnote to her sinking is the speculation that the ship may have been carrying a priceless art treasure—the carved amber panels commissioned by King Frederick I of Prussia in the early eighteenth century.

The *Wilhelm Gustloff*, *General Steuben*, and *Goya* had been taking part in what was the largest seaborne evacuation in history. The sinking of the three liners, with the loss of more than 15,000 people, obscured the fact that only 1 percent of the refugees the Germans evacuated from the Baltic by sea perished. This operation, carried out from January to May 1945, was the greatest German navy success of the war and also a personal triumph for Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz, who directed the operation. Despite shortages of fuel and shipping and threats from mines, air attacks, and submarines, the



The German passenger ship *Wilhelm Gustloff*, April 1938. (Photo by Topical Press Agency/Getty Images)

German navy transported more than 2 million Germans by sea to the west ahead of the advancing Red Army.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Dönitz, Karl; Germany, Navy

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Wilhelmina, Queen of the Netherlands (1880–1962)

Monarch of the Netherlands during both world wars. Born at The Hague on 31 August 1880, Wilhelmina Helena Paulina Maria was the only child of King William III of the Nether-

lands (1817–1890) and his second wife, Queen Emma of Waldeck-Pyrmont. After William's death on 21 November 1890, Wilhelmina became queen, but Queen Emma acted as regent for her until 1898. Wilhelmina was educated by tutors. She often toured the Netherlands with her mother so that her subjects would know her before she reached her majority. Wilhelmina married Heinrich Vladimír, the duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. They had one daughter, Juliana.

Wilhelmina played an important role in keeping her country neutral during World War I, but maintaining neutrality proved to be an unsuccessful strategy. Germany invaded the Netherlands on 10 May 1940, and it was immediately clear that the country would soon be defeated. Wilhelmina arranged the evacuation of Crown Princess Juliana and her husband, Prince Bernard, together with their two infants, Beatrix and Irene, on 13 May; the next day, she herself escaped along with senior members of her government. She established a government-in-exile in London, infuriating Adolf Hitler.

In radio addresses to her people, Wilhelmina justified her flight abroad on the grounds that she needed the freedom to



Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands. (Corbis)

act in the best interests of her country. Her stirring, patriotic radio speeches strengthened the people's resolve over the long period of German occupation. Wilhelmina steadfastly encouraged the Dutch Resistance movement and appointed her son-in-law, Prince Bernhard, as its chief. She personally received Netherlands who reached Britain during the war. In 1942, she visited both Canada and the United States.

Wilhelmina returned to liberated southern Holland on 13 March 1945, where she was welcomed enthusiastically. In September 1948, she abdicated in favor of her daughter, Juliana. Wilhelmina died at Het Loo Palace, Appeldoorn, Holland, on 28 November 1962.

Annette Richardson

See also

Netherlands, The; Netherlands Campaign

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Wilhelmshaven, Raid on (11 June 1943)

The German city of Wilhelmshaven was the first attacked in the coordinated American and British bombing known as the Combined Bomber Offensive (CBO). The port of Wilhelmshaven was also the location of submarine pens, bases, and construction yards. Reflecting the serious situation in the Battle of the Atlantic, the destruction of German submarine construction yards was a top priority of the American Eighth Air Force. The end of the North African Campaign in early 1943 freed resources needed to resume the bomber offensive against Germany.

On 10 June 1943, the Combined Chiefs of Staff issued the Pointblank Directive, which, among other things, called for a united effort to destroy Germany's industrial base. Springing from decisions reached at the January 1943 Casablanca Conference, Pointblank marked the beginning of a coordinated air offensive against major German cities by the U.S. Eighth Air Force, flying precision-bombing missions by day, and the RAF Bomber Command, conducting area bombing missions by night. The first of these missions was a raid by 252 B-17s of the Eighth Air Force against the German naval yards at Bremen and Wilhelmshaven on 11 June 1943, while the RAF attacked Münster and Düsseldorf. As clouds obscured Bremen, 168 B-17s attacked Wilhelmshaven, and 30 struck the port area of Cuxhaven.

The bombers lacked fighter support, since the targets were too distant for the available escorts. Over Wilhelmshaven, they ran into flak, which scattered some of the groups. The German fighters waited until the bombers executed their bombing runs, a period when pilots and bombardiers focused on the ground target and not on evasive maneuvers and defensive nose fire. Employing head-on attacks, notably against 379th Bomb Group in the "high group" position, the German fighters disrupted the lead bombardiers' efforts. None of the 417 tons of bombs that were dropped hit the primary target. Eight bombers were lost and another 62 damaged.

The raid on Wilhelmshaven demonstrated the difficulty of conducting strategic bombing beyond the range of fighter escorts. Nevertheless, the increased coordination by the Allied air forces meant that from that time forward, German cities would be subjected to round-the-clock bombing.

C. J. Horn

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Atlantic, Battle of the; Casablanca Conference; Strategic Bombing

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Wilkinson, Theodore Stark "Ping" (1888–1946)

U.S. Navy admiral who had command of the 3rd Amphibious Force in the Pacific. Born in Annapolis, Maryland, on 22 December 1888, Theodore Wilkinson graduated at the top of his class in 1909 from the U.S. Naval Academy. In 1912, he earned a master of science degree from George Washington University. In 1914, he won the Medal of Honor at Veracruz, Mexico. During World War I, he served in the Bureau of Ordnance, designing mines and antisubmarine depth charges. Between the wars, Wilkinson, a specialist in gunnery, captained a destroyer, was fleet gunnery officer for the Scouting Force, and served in shore assignments as an ordnance officer and secretary to the navy's General Board from 1934 to 1937.

A battleship captain for most of 1941, Wilkinson became director of Naval Intelligence in October of that year. He escaped blame for Pearl Harbor because the evaluation and dissemination of intelligence was another bureau's responsibility, even though his office gathered intelligence information. Promoted to rear admiral in April 1942, Wilkinson took command of Battleship Division 2 that August, and in January 1943, he became deputy commander of the South Pacific Force, under Admiral William F. Halsey. During the Solomon Islands Campaign, he not only solved numerous operational problems but also exercised his considerable diplomatic skills on often contentious Allied colleagues.

From July 1943 to late 1945, Wilkinson commanded the 3rd Amphibious Force, with headquarters at Guadalcanal. He firmly advocated a "leapfrogging" strategy of avoiding heavily fortified Japanese-held islands and concentrating on easier targets. Wilkinson successfully organized landings on Cape Torokina, Green Islands, New Georgia, Vella Lavella, Treasury Island, Bougainville, Palau Island, Leyte, and Lingayen Gulf on Luzon, winning promotion to vice admiral in September 1944. His final wartime assignment was to airlift General Robert Eichelberger's Eighth Army to Tokyo Bay on the day of the Japanese surrender in September 1945.

Returning to Washington, Wilkinson became a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff joint strategic survey committee. He drowned accidentally when his automobile plunged off the car ferry at Norfolk, Virginia, on 21 February 1946.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Bougainville Campaign; Eichelberger, Robert Lawrence; Halsey, William Frederick, Jr.; Leyte, Landings on and Capture of; MacArthur, Douglas; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign

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Willkie, Wendell Lewis (1892–1944)

U.S. industrialist and politician who helped President Franklin D. Roosevelt pursue his foreign policy goals during the war years. Born on 18 February 1892 in Elwood, Indiana, Wendell Willkie earned a law degree from Indiana University in 1916. After serving in the U.S. Army during World War I, he practiced law in Ohio and New York before he became president of the Commonwealth and Southern Utility Company. Willkie left the Democratic Party as a result of the New Deal and joined the Republicans. As his party's nominee in the 1940 presidential race, he polled more than 22 million votes but lost to incumbent President Roosevelt, who garnered 27 million.

A supporter of Roosevelt's foreign policy, Willkie was offered but refused positions in the cabinet and the War Department. He played an active role, however, in pushing for passage of the Lend-Lease Act, even though most of the Republican Party leadership opposed it. In January 1941, Roosevelt sent Willkie to England on a fact-finding mission. The trip received significant press coverage and helped secure the bill's passage. Willkie also backed Roosevelt's efforts to extend the peacetime draft and repeal the Neutrality Act of 1935. In August 1942, Roosevelt sent Willkie as a special envoy on a 50-day trip to more than a dozen countries on three continents to confirm the U.S. commitment to defeat the Axis powers. On 26 October, Willkie addressed the nation over the radio. His "Report to the People" was a great success.

Willkie was in great demand as a speaker throughout 1943 and 1944, and his books, *One World* (1943) and *An American Program* (1944), were highly influential. Although popular, he was not among the leaders of the Republican Party, and he had to withdraw from the 1944 presidential primary. Years of smoking and overeating and a disdain for exercise led to a massive heart attack and his death in New York City on 7 October 1944.

T. Jason Soderstrum

See also

Lend-Lease; Roosevelt, Franklin D.



Wendell L. Willkie during an interview with the press concerning his campaign for the presidency in 1944. (Photo by Ed Clark//Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

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on 5 September 1881, Henry Wilson was educated both at Eton, where he acquired the nickname “Jumbo” for his impressive frame, and at the Royal Military College Sandhurst, where he was commissioned in 1901. He then saw military action in the Boer War. Promoted to captain in April 1908, he was appointed adjutant of the Oxford University Officer Training Corps in October 1911. In October 1914, he was appointed brigade major of the 48th Infantry Brigade. Wilson was posted to France with the brigade in December 1915, serving on the Western Front and winning the Distinguished Service Order.

In January 1919, Wilson was promoted to brevet lieutenant colonel and attended the Staff College, Camberley. Between 1920 and 1923, he was a company commander at Sandhurst. He next commanded a battalion of the Rifle Brigade in India. In 1930, Wilson was promoted to colonel and appointed a senior instructor at the Staff College. He then commanded the

Wilson, Henry Maitland (First Baron of Libya and Stowlangtoft) (1881–1964)

British army field marshal who succeeded General Dwight D. Eisenhower as commander in chief of the Mediterranean Theater in 1944. Born in Stowlangtoft Hall, Suffolk, England,



British Field Marshal Henry Maitland Wilson, 1944. (Corbis)

6th Rifle Brigade. After being promoted to major general in 1935, Wilson went on half pay until August 1937, when he took command of the 2nd Division at Aldershot.

In June 1939, Wilson was promoted to lieutenant general and assigned to command the British Army of the Nile in Egypt. As such, he oversaw the 1940 campaign of Lieutenant General Richard O'Connor against Marshal Rodolfo Graziani's Italian forces in Egypt and Libya. Following the British victories against the Italians in Libya, Wilson became military governor of Cyrenaica in February 1941. The next month, however, he assumed command of the four-division Allied force sent to Greece. His skill in the delaying action and retreat that ensued did much to reduce losses and allowed the Royal Navy to extricate most of the expeditionary force.

In May 1941, General Archibald Wavell, commander in chief of British forces in the Middle East, appointed Wilson to command British troops in Palestine and Transjordan. With a two-division force, Wilson quelled a pro-German coup in Iraq that same month, and in June, he launched a campaign against Vichy French forces in Syria. In July, he concluded the armistice that gave that Allies control of Syria and Lebanon.

Wilson then commanded the Persia-Iraq Theater and the Ninth Army before succeeding General Harold Alexander in as commander in chief, Middle East, in January 1943, con-

ducting an operation against the Dodecanese Islands. In January 1944, Wilson replaced Eisenhower as commander in chief of the Mediterranean Theater and thus had overall responsibility for Allied operations in Italy. He also helped plan the landing at Anzio and Operation DRAGOON, the Allied landing in southern France. After the death of General Sir John Dill in November, Wilson was promoted to field marshal in January and dispatched to Washington as head of the British Joint Staff Mission. In this capacity, he attended the final wartime conferences at Yalta and Potsdam. Elevated to the peerage in 1946 as First Baron Wilson of Libya and Stowlangtoft, Wilson retired from the army in April 1947 and wrote his memoirs. He was constable of the Tower of London between 1955 and 1960. He died in the Chilterns (Aylesbury), England, on 31 December 1964.

Britton W. MacDonald and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Alexander, Sir Harold Rupert Leofric George; Anzio, Battle of; Cunningham, Sir Alan Gordon; Dill, Sir John Greer; Dodecanese Islands; DRAGOON, Operation; Greece Campaign (28 October 1940–March 1941); Greece Campaign (April 1941); Iraq; O'Connor, Richard Nugent; Potsdam Conference; Syria; Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival; Yalta Conference

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Windsor, Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patrick David (Duke of) (1894–1972)

King of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, then duke of Windsor. Born at White Lodge, Richmond Park, England, on 23 June 1894 to the Duke and Duchess of York—later King George V of Great Britain (r. 1910–1936) and Queen Mary—Edward Patrick David of the House of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (changed in 1917 to Windsor) was educated at the Royal Naval College in Osborne, Dartmouth Naval College, and Magdalen College, Oxford. Given the title prince of Wales in 1911, he served in the Grenadier Guards during World War I. He ascended the throne as Edward VIII on 20 January 1936 but was never crowned.

Because of his desire to marry a twice-divorced American, Wallis Warfield Simpson—of whom the royal family and the British government did not approve—the king was forced to issue an instrument of abdication on 10 December 1936 in favor of his brother Albert, who then became king as George VI. Edward formally abdicated on 11 December 1936. Subsequently titled His Royal Highness the Duke of Windsor, he mar-



The Duke of Windsor (center), shown here on 1 November 1937 with the Duchess of Windsor and Adolf Hitler on a visit to the latter's alpine retreat following a tour of German industrial projects. (Bettmann/Corbis)

ried Simpson on 3 June 1937. In October 1937, the Windsors visited Germany, and the duke met with several top Nazis, including Adolf Hitler and Hermann Göring, and was said to have admired improved housing and social conditions under Nazi rule. The Nazis attempted to involve him in many schemes, including promises to restore his crown. During World War II, there were rumors that the Nazis threatened to kidnap the duke.

Until 1940, the Windsors traveled throughout Europe, primarily residing in France, where the duke served as a British liaison officer. Forced to flee France on that nation's defeat in June 1940, the duke then became governor of the Bahamas, serving in that post until 1945.

The duke of Windsor's later years were spent traveling between France, where he lived, and the United States. He published three books, notably his memoirs, *A King's Story*. He died on 28 May 1972 in Paris and is buried in the royal burial ground at Frogmore, near Windsor Castle. The Duchess died on 24 April 1986 and is buried next to him.

Wendy A. Maier

See also

George VI, King of England; Göring, Hermann Wilhelm; Hitler, Adolf

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Wingate, Orde Charles (1903–1944)

British army general who raised an unconventional force known as the Chindits in World War II. Born in India on 26 February 1903, Orde Wingate was educated at Charterhouse School and the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, from which he was commissioned in the Royal Artillery in 1923. In 1927, he was posted to Khartoum, where he served with the Sudan Defence Force until 1933.

In 1936, Wingate was sent to Palestine, then in the throes of the Arab Revolt. Despite his Arabist training and the pro-Arab sentiment of Palestine's British rulers, he became a fanatical Zionist and by 1938 had secured official permission to organize the Special Night Squads, joint Anglo-Jewish units that conducted small-unit operations against Arab terrorist hideouts. However, in 1939, his extreme views led to his transfer back to England.

The following year, Wingate went to the Sudan to help organize the effort to drive the Italians from Ethiopia and restore Haile Selassie to his throne. The troops he raised, the Gideon Force, ultimately played a key role in achieving success in ousting the Italians and restoring Haile Selassie, and he and the emperor entered Addis Ababa on 4 May 1941. But Wingate's outspokenness severely angered his superiors. Exhausted, ill with malaria, and probably suffering from clinical depression, Wingate attempted suicide in June 1941.

In early 1942, Sir Archibald Wavell, who had high regard for Wingate's abilities, requested his transfer to the Far East. In India, Wingate raised the "Chindits," an irregular force designed for operations in the enemy rear in Burma. The first Chindit operation, from February to April 1943, was conducted by a brigade-sized force. It achieved limited success but raised morale in a theater that had seen only Japanese victories to that point. Wingate, now a major general, secured the personal support of Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill for further operations. The second Chindit operation, conducted by three brigades and supported by an American air contingent ran from March to July 1944, but its results were also



British General Orde Wingate. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

mixed, in part because of Wingate's untimely death in a plane crash on 24 March 1944 near Imphal in India.

Despite his extreme opinions, eccentricity, and disdain for the conventional, Wingate was a soldier of great self-confidence, determination, and mental and physical toughness. His innovations in irregular warfare cannot be denied.

George M. Brooke III

See also

Chindits; Slim, Sir William Joseph; Stilwell, Joseph Warren; Wavell, Sir Archibald Percival

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Witzleben, Erwin von (1881–1944)

German field marshal and leading member of the 1944 conspiracy against Adolf Hitler. Born in Breslau, Silesia (now Wrocław, Poland), on 4 December 1881, Erwin von Witzleben joined the German army in 1901 as a lieutenant. He spent much of World War I on the Western Front, where he was decorated for valor. After the war, he rose steadily in rank and responsibility.

When Adolf Hitler rose to power in 1933, Witzleben was named to command the Berlin Military Area. He was promoted to brigadier general in February 1934 and major general that December. In 1935, he took command of III Corps. He was raised to lieutenant general in October 1936.

Witzleben became an opponent of Hitler as early as 1934 and an active conspirator in 1938 as a result of Hitler's purge of senior generals and Hitler's threat of war against Czechoslovakia. Witzleben commanded Army Group C in the September 1939 Polish Campaign. Promoted to Generaloberst (U.S. equiv. full general) that November, he commanded First Army in the 1940 Campaign for France. On 19 July 1940,



German General Erwin von Witzleben, 1939. (Corbis)

Winter War

See Finnish-Soviet War (30 November 1939–12 March 1940).

Hitler named him a field marshal, and until March 1941, Witzleben commanded Army Group D. He then became Oberbefehlshaber West (commander in chief of the Army West) in France, but his attitude toward Hitler became known. In March 1942, Witzleben went on medical leave for an operation, and Hitler used this as an excuse to retire him on 21 March. He was never reemployed.

The bomb plot to assassinate Hitler was to be carried out on 20 July 1944, with Witzleben assuming the position of commander in chief of the armed forces thereafter. Witzleben, however, dallied, and when the plot failed, he was arrested and tried for treason by the Nazi People's Court. As the principal army officer among the accused, he was treated with special ridicule. Condemned to death on 8 August 1944, he was strangled by piano wire that same day.

Robert T. Kaczowka

See also

Germany, Home Front; Hitler, Adolf

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WLA

See United States, Women's Land Army.

Wolf Pack

German submarine tactic involving coordinated attacks against Allied convoys. The Battle for the Atlantic hinged on the Allied ability to produce sufficient ship tonnage to move supplies and matériel to strategic points, whereas the Germans sought to sink as much of that tonnage in as short a time as possible. Early in the war, the U-boats operated mostly as lone raiders, partly due to the small numbers available for operations. To counter the U-boats, the Allies turned to convoys with armed escorts for protection, thereby causing the U-boats to focus on evasive tactics to survive rather than sinking merchant tonnage.

Admiral Karl Dönitz, commander of the German submarine force, recognized that unless the U-boats could overcome the defenses of Allied merchant convoys, the tonnage war would inevitably be lost. His solution was a concept that came to be called *Rudeltaktik*, or wolf pack attack—a method for U-boats to penetrate a convoy's antisubmarine defenses and destroy the merchant ships. Once a U-boat located an Allied convoy, other submarines would be vectored to that

location. Groups of U-boats would then attack on the surface at night at relatively high speeds, maximizing the effect. U-boats would operate in a "hit-and-run" manner, launching their attack and then fleeing on the surface before the convoy's surface escorts could react.

Dönitz's intelligence staff also broke the British convoy codes and supplied specific information concerning departure and arrival schedules, escort strength, and weather reports from all ocean areas. Success in the intelligence war was critical in locating targets for U-boat concentrations.

By late 1942, Dönitz had over 200 operational U-boats with which to implement wolf pack operations. Some Italian submarines also participated. A wolf pack generally consisted of 6 to 9 U-boats, but some utilized as many as 20 to 30. Wolf packs were identified with code names, such as *LOWENHERZ* (LIONHEART) OF *STREITAXT* (BATTLE AXE), giving the submariners a sense of cohesion and collective focus for the operation. Each pack deployed into a concave patrol line with about 10 miles between each pack member. Using darkness, the U-boats would operate on the surface to lessen the effectiveness of Allied asdic, and the compact silhouette of the U-boat helped provide natural protection.

A typical wolf pack consisted of 6 to 9 boats, though some were as large as 20 to 30.

The patrol line combed the Atlantic in an east or west direction, maintaining radio silence while under control by radio from Dönitz's command post at Lorient, France.

When an individual submarine sighted a convoy, it would immediately radio the convoy's position and course to Dönitz's headquarters, which would then relay orders for the pack to concentrate the line inward on the projected course of the convoy. The U-boat that originally established contact would shadow the convoy at a safe distance and keep headquarters advised of any change in the convoy's course.

When at least three U-boats came in contact with the convoy, the attack began, and Dönitz turned immediate control of the battle over to the individual U-boat commanders. The wolf pack, however, had little opportunity to cooperate tactically, as Allied radio detection prohibited communications between individual boats. However, the multiboat attack would confuse and disrupt the escorts, thereby improving each boat's chance of gaining an effective position from which to launch an attack. The U-boats would fire a "fan" or salvo of three or four torpedoes along several paths to increase the chances of a hit. Because the convoy formed a compact target, a single salvo might result in several hits on different ships within the formation. After their attacks, the U-boats submerged to escape counterattack.

Unless the convoy managed to elude the wolf pack by a radical change of course, the merchant ships might be hounded by the pack over several successive nights. The action would be broken off only when the U-boats had exhausted their torpedoes or the convoy reached a point where continuous air cover could be provided. These tactics resulted in the sinking of almost 400,000 tons of Allied shipping a month during late 1942, with a peak occurring in November when 118 ships were sunk for a total of 743,321 tons.

The Achilles heel of the wolf packs, however, was the radio communication between the U-boats and Dönitz's headquarters. The Allies introduced high-frequency direction finding (HF/DF) equipment in faster Allied escort vessels to drive away the shadowing U-boat, thereby forcing it to submerge or destroying it with depth charges or air attack. Allied technical superiority, the use of long-range aircraft, and code breaking culminated in May 1943 when the Allies destroyed over 40 German submarines. "Black May" signaled the defeat of the wolf packs as the ratio of Allied tonnage produced to tonnage sunk by the U-boats tipped against the Germans.

During World War II, over 130 wolf packs operated against Allied shipping, sinking more than 2,759 Allied merchant ships and 138 warships and killing almost 60,000 seamen. Of the 1,170 U-boats Dönitz employed throughout the war, 753 were lost, along with some 29,000 crewmen.

Steven J. Rauch

See also

Antisubmarine Warfare; Atlantic, Battle of the; "Black May"; Convoys, Allied; Dönitz, Karl; Germany, Navy; Naval Warfare; Signals Intelligence; Sonar; Submarines

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Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service

See United States, Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service.

Women in World War II

No field of military history expanded more dramatically late in the twentieth century than the study of women during World War II. Scholars have access to monographs, biographies, and autobiographies detailing the critical role women

played in almost every country involved in the fighting, and even traditionalists now admit that women were more important to the outcome of the war than once imagined. And yet, in spite of this wealth of new scholarship, the contributions and experiences of women between 1937 and 1945 remain understudied and undervalued. Perhaps this reflects the fact that the number of women who enlisted during the war was relatively small in comparison to men; that (predominantly male) military historians tend to focus on combat units; that little attention has been given to the role of women on the home front or in resistance movements; and that the inclination of many writers is to suggest that women who engaged directly in combat were so rare that their experiences can be dismissed as peripheral to the overall conflict. Specialists in the field have argued against each of these trends, of course, and as their work continues, we may yet reach a point when the contributions of women are consistently woven into accounts of every aspect of World War II. Until then, however, we are left primarily with overviews such as this one and with the knowledge that historians have a great deal more work to do before women are accorded a balanced and proper place in accounts of World War II.

The best place to begin a summary of the contributions of women during the war is on the home front, where women served as traditional guardians of the family and culture in every country and in a wide variety of nontraditional roles created in the crucible of total war. In Allied countries, millions of women worked as volunteers for government agencies and distributed ration books, assisted with salvage projects, joined blood and scrap drives, planted victory gardens, served in the Civil Air Patrol, sold war bonds, or worked as air raid wardens and ambulance drivers. In the United States, many of the more than 36 million Americans who joined the Red Cross and the over 5 million who served as volunteers were women. They distributed 29 million food parcels for prisoners of war and refugees, 13 million units of blood, and packaged kit bags for U.S. soldiers deploying overseas. The Red Cross employed 6,500 women by 1945 and thousands more in Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom.

Women also played a key role in the United Service Organizations (USO), which operated over 3,000 clubs worldwide (including 300 for African Americans) that catered to the social and entertainment needs of Allied soldiers. The USO included 1.5 million volunteers, most of whom were women, and more than 7,000 performers who conducted 428,521 performances by 1947. Alice McLean's American Women's Voluntary Services (AWVS) also served a vital support role, training 18,000 women to drive ambulances, give first aid, and set up field kitchens. Between 1940 and 1945, the AWVS carried out relief work at military bases, taught Braille to soldiers blinded in action, and shoveled snow during harsh win-



Woman worker in Canadian small arms factory, June 1942. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

ter months to free soldiers for training. Similar services were performed in Britain by the Navy, Army, and Air Force Institute (NAAFI) and the Entertainment National Service Association (ENSA), both of which included a high percentage of women workers and volunteers, and other organizations such as the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and a wide array of religious groups. In government, women conducted much of the official business and administrative details in the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union. They worked in such agencies as the U.S. Office of War Information, which produced propaganda and translated enemy broadcasts and publications between 1942 and 1945.

The Allies were also adept at recruiting women for industrial work. In Britain, where more than half the population served in the armed forces or in key war industries (5 million in uniform and 21 million in agriculture or manufacturing), women represented 38 percent of the workforce by 1945. More than 6 million women took jobs in war-related industries in the United States, and they proved especially adept at

aircraft construction and welding. They were generally superior to men in repetitive skilled jobs such as riveting or parachute construction, and they were encouraged to work by government advertising campaigns that urged them to support their loved ones at the front by working at home for victory. In the Soviet Union, 1 million women worked in industrial jobs by December 1941, and before the war ended, they constituted 55 percent of the overall civilian workforce. By 1945, women constituted 92 percent of the agricultural workforce.

In most countries, women struggled with housing shortages, sexism, and lower wages than men. Women in the United States suffered from a lack of any national service legislation that might have organized their wartime contributions at home and provided child care. Two-thirds of American men stayed at home during World War II, and millions of women remained homemakers, but few men saw the need to help provide child care for the women the government was encouraging to take war-related jobs. Instead,



Women welders of Ingalls Shipbuilding, Pascagoula, Mississippi, 1943. (National Archives)

many people criticized women who left their children at home while they worked, and they lambasted the decay of the traditional family under the exigencies of war.

In contrast, Great Britain passed a law in December 1941 that required unmarried young women to enlist in war work of some kind. The British proved much more adept at organizing women for their war effort. At least 125,000 women were drafted and given a choice of service (which was denied to drafted men) in auxiliary units, civil defense, or the Women's Land Army (WLA), and eventually, more than 470,000 women served in the armed forces or uniformed auxiliary units; another 80,000 joined the WLA and worked in agriculture to release men for war services between 1939 and 1945.

Efforts to recruit women were much weaker in Germany, Italy, and Japan, where conservative cultures and racial ideology emphasized the importance of women as homemakers and the primary transmitters of race and culture. Still, German, Italian, and Japanese women suffered from shortages of food, water, and medicine, and large numbers went to

work in war-related industries. Young single German girls had to work as nurses, on farms, or as domestics for terms ranging between 6 and 12 months, and by the end of the war, 1.5 million German women had entered the workforce, along with another 1.5 million foreign women brought into Germany to toil in forced-labor camps. Efforts to mobilize women in Japan were delayed until the war was clearly being lost, but more than 1.5 million Japanese women took jobs outside the home by 1945.

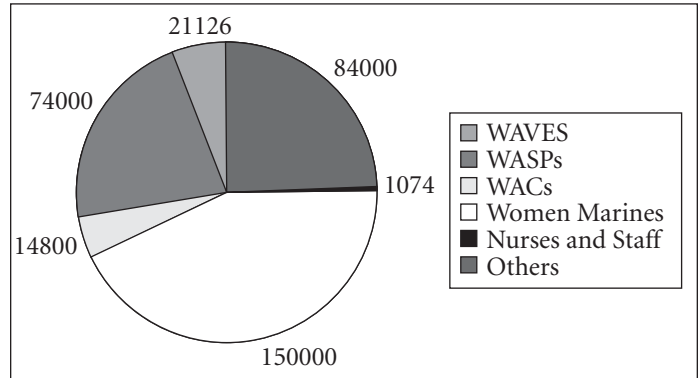
In occupied countries, women were less likely to be involved in industrial labor, but they were vulnerable to detention in labor, concentration, or death camps and exposed to sexual exploitation in addition to the vagaries of food and housing shortages. Millions died during the Holocaust, and many women were raped by soldiers in China, the USSR, Germany, and other countries as the fortunes of war changed. Thousands more were compelled by some occupying armies or by economic need to become prostitutes, and although accurate statistics are difficult to determine, it is

known that the Japanese forced 200,000 *ianfu*, or “comfort women,” from Korea, China, the Philippines, and Malaya to serve as prostitutes for their soldiers. Though women were never systematically forced by the Allies to do similar work, they did sell their bodies in order to feed themselves and their families. Following the Allied invasion of Italy, for example, an estimated 42,000 prostitutes were working the streets of Naples in 1944, and almost all of them catered to soldiers. It will never be known how many millions more were compelled by circumstance (such as the famines that ravaged India, Greece, the Netherlands, Italy, and the Soviet Union) to sell themselves or become virtual concubines for their captors or liberators throughout Europe, Asia, the Middle East, North Africa, Oceania, and the Western Hemisphere, but it is certain that those who lived in countries that changed hands were vulnerable to charges of treason. French women suspected of overfamiliarity with German forces had their heads shaved after their liberation, and the Soviets called women suspected of collaboration “German bed straw” and sent them to the gulags. Women in occupied countries and Great Britain were also subjected to blackouts and bombardment. Of the estimated 1.3 million civilian casualties of strategic bombing in Germany, Japan, and the United Kingdom during the war, more than half were women, a ratio that almost certainly holds true for the 15 to 25 million Soviet and 20 million Chinese civilians who died as well. These data reflected both the higher ratio of women in cities where the male population had been reduced by conscription and the danger faced by civilians generally. Significantly, more civilians died in Britain between 1939 and 1941 (approximately 45,000) than members of the British armed forces, and in countries that suffered under strategic bombing longer than Britain (Germany and Japan, in particular), civilians were killed in staggering numbers as the war progressed.

Beyond the home front, all the major combatants in World War II utilized female nurses, and all save Japan made use of uniformed women’s auxiliaries to help support their war machines and to free men for combat. These units were typically distinguished by military branch and performed virtually all noncombatant roles, and most were patterned after those formed by the British in the early years of the war. Women eventually composed more than 10 percent of the British armed forces, a ratio over five times higher than that in the United States, and at least 700 died in air-defense roles or as firefighters and air raid wardens during German attacks.

By 1943, the British were utilizing 7.75 million women in industry or in the military, in organizations as disparate as the First Aid Yeomanry (affectionately known as the FANYs), the Women’s Transport Service (WTS), the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS), the Air Transport Auxiliary (ATA), the Women’s Royal Naval Service (WRNS), the Women’s Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF), and the Women’s Voluntary Services

U.S. Women in Uniform during World War II



for Civil Defense (WVS). The WVS enlisted more than 1 million women to help clear rubble, organize relief shelters, and fight fires, and more than 470,000 other women served as nurses, 2 million worked in munitions, and 400,000 served full- or part-time in the Home Guard or the Royal Observer Corps. More than 207,000 women in the ATS supported the British army, including 57,000 who served in the Anti-Aircraft Command as spotters, searchlight operators, and radar technicians. In the ATA, women pilots from all over the Commonwealth and the world ferried aircraft between bases and from factories to the front; 15 of them died in the line of duty.

In Canada, 45,000 women served in the Women’s Division of the Royal Canadian Air Force, the Canadian Women’s Army, or the Women’s Royal Canadian Naval Service. Similarly in Australia, 64,833 women served in military auxiliaries such as the Australian Army Nursing Service (AANS), the Australian Army Medical Women’s Service (AAMWS), the Women’s Auxiliary Australian Air Force (WAAAF), and the Women’s Royal Australian Naval Service (WRANS).

Even occupied countries with governments-in-exile followed the British example, as in the case of Poland. The Poles formed the *Pomocnicza Lotnicza Sluzba Kobiet*—Women’s Auxiliary Air Force (PLSK)—in 1942, and as many as 1,653 officers and enlisted women joined up to support Polish air force units in the field by performing noncombatant office, supply, and repair duties, just like women in the British WAAF.

People in the United States responded in similar fashion, forming the Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service (WAVES), the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASPs), the Women’s Army Corps (WAC), the women’s Coast Guard arm known as the SPARS (from the Coast Guard motto “Semper Paratus,” or “always ready”), and the Women Marines. The WAVES organization was formed in 1942 as part of the U.S. Naval Reserve and trained women for a wide array of technical and support specialties. At its height, the WAVES numbered 8,000 officers and 76,000 enlisted women, most of

whom were stationed in the continental United States—equivalent to the manpower of an entire carrier task force. The WASPs were formed in 1943 by combining the Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron (WAFS) and the Women's Flying Training Detachment (WFTS). They served with, but not as a part of, the U.S. Army Air Forces (AAF).

WASP pilots ferried military aircraft from factories to bases and filled aviation support roles stateside, towing targets and training pilots and navigators. The number of WASPs eventually peaked at 1,074, but despite an outstanding record that included 12,650 ferrying missions in 27 different types of aircraft, they were disbanded late in 1944 because of protests from Congress and from male pilots who feared competition with women during and after the war. Thirty-eight WASPs died in the line of duty.

In contrast to the WASPs, the WAC (which began as the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps) lasted from 1942 to 1978 and served during World War II as a separate corps of women that performed all levels of support work for the army, including military intelligence and air-traffic control. WACs were eventually stationed at more than 225 bases worldwide, and 150,000 of them (including 6,500 African Americans) served in every theater of the war by 1945.

More than 800,000 women served in the Soviet army, including antiaircraft batteries, snipers, and pilots.

These were the first American military women formally to serve apart from nurses, and they amassed 3 Air Medals, 16 Purple Hearts, 10 Soldiers' Medals, and 565 Bronze Stars. More than 32,000 WACs served with the AAF in 200 enlisted and 60 officer specialties; 7,530 WACs were deployed to Europe, and 5,500 went to

the southwest Pacific. Their record of success led U.S. Army leaders to ask Congress to make the WAC permanent in 1946. Women's units were rounded out by the SPARs, which enlisted almost 11,000 women to help free men for sea duty with the Coast Guard, and the Women Marines, the last women's reserve unit formed by the U.S. armed forces.

Interestingly, Marine Corps Commandant Thomas Holcomb opposed enlisting women for a long time, but when he relented, he insisted on giving them the title Women Marines and making them a regular part of the Marine Corps. By 1945, 800 officers and 14,000 enlisted Women Marines were in uniform, and their service freed enough men from support duty to form the 5th Marine Division. All told, more than 350,000 U.S. women served in uniform, including over 74,000 army and navy nurses, a handful of whom were captured by the Japanese and became prisoners of war.

Neither Germany nor Japan utilized auxiliaries or military women to the same extent as the Allies, but a number of women and organizations still played an important part in the war. In Germany, Hanna Reitsch flew helicopters, gliders, an experimental version of the V-1 rocket, the Me-163 Komet rocket plane, and bombers as a test pilot for the Luftwaffe; in addition, she landed a light plane in the streets of Berlin during a mission to Adolf Hitler's underground bunker during the final days of the war. Melitta Schiller Stauffenberg also flew as a test pilot and won the Iron Cross Second Class and the Gold Pilot badge before being shot down by a U.S. fighter in April 1945. The largest number of German women (100,000) served in Luftwaffe flak units from 1944 onward, and a handful joined SS units and guarded women at concentration and death camps. A small number of those guards were executed after the war. In Japan, the most important mobilization of women was conducted by the Greater Japan's Women's Association, which trained volunteers for civil defense and military training designed to battle the anticipated American invasion.

Although most countries took steps to limit the participation of women in combat, the Soviet Union broke with broad cultural convention by placing them in or near the front lines. More than 800,000 women served in the Soviet army, including approximately 400,000 in the Air Defense Forces and another 400,000 in ground units. Air Defense women began in traditional support roles, and eventually, a small number served in combat with both single-sex and integrated units by 1945. Women manned thousands of antiaircraft batteries, completely replaced men in barrage balloon units, and manned searchlights throughout the war, most famously during the final Soviet offensive against Berlin. On the ground, women served in tank and artillery crews, as mechanics and cooks, and in medical or headquarters units on all fronts. The most famous women were those who fought as snipers or as fighter and light bomber pilots, including Lidiia V. Litviak, who racked up 11 individual kills, 3 group kills, and 1 balloon kill prior to being shot down in August 1943. The first female ace in history, she fought with integrated units and at Stalingrad. Among snipers, the most famous was Liudmila Mikhailovna Pavlichenko, who is credited with 309 kills; wounded four times, she became the first Soviet citizen to visit the White House. She eventually visited 43 US cities as well as Britain and Canada, then returned home and became a master sniper instructor and trained 80 snipers who were collectively credited with killing more than 2,000 Germans. Her expertise encouraged the Soviets to form the Central Women's School for Sniper Training in 1943, and by the end of the war, 1,885 snipers had graduated and claimed 11,280 German kills. Pavlichenko was ultimately named a Hero of the Soviet Union, an honor shared by 94



Members of the Australian Women's Auxiliary Service. (Bettmann/Corbis)

other Soviet women who fought during World War II. Alongside the Soviets, liberated or exiled Poles formed the Emilia Plater Independent Women's Battalion in 1943, and between 8,000 and 14,000 women fought with Polish armies under Soviet command.

Although the Western powers were unwilling to follow the Soviet example, they did enlist women for espionage operations behind enemy lines. The most important of these missions were conducted by the British Special Operations Executive (SOE) and the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS). At least 50 women were dropped into occupied France to work with Resistance forces, and others worked with intelligence agencies such as the British MI-6. One of the most legendary was the American Amy Thorpe, who worked for both MI-6 and the OSS. Among other activities, she secured both Italian naval and Vichy French ciphers, leading the MI-6 chief of station in Washington to say she had saved at least 100,000 lives. Thorpe survived the war, but a number of OSS and SOE women did not, including Noor Inayat Khan, an SOE operative killed in 1944 at Dachau who was posthumously awarded the Croix de Guerre and became the first female saint of the Sufis in India. Other famous female operatives include Virginia Hall and

Jeanette Guyot, who received Distinguished Service Crosses for their work with the OSS, and Violette Szabo, an SOE operative who was arrested in France and executed by the Germans at the end of the war. She was posthumously awarded the French Croix de Guerre and the British George Cross, the first occasion that award was given to a woman.

Women also fought behind the lines as members of the resistance in occupied countries. Women composed 12 to 20 percent of the French Resistance; many performed support work by decoding messages, serving as couriers, and operating Resistance newspapers. Others fought directly against the Germans, utilizing assassination, bombing, and sabotage to support the Allied war effort. As in most cultures, their ability to fight was limited by men, though Communist cells often gave women more latitude to engage in direct combat. Famed female Resistance fighters include Lucie Samuel, who was awarded the Croix de Guerre; Marie-Madeleine Fourcade, who led a Resistance network of more than 3,000 people; and Georgette "Claude" Gerard, who led more than 5,000 men and women in the Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur (French Forces of the Interior, or FFI), better known as the maquis. The number of women who served in the Resistance is difficult to

determine with any precision, but the French government did recognize more than 200,000 women after the war for their service. Women fought in the Paris uprising of 1944, in the Massif Central and Haute Savoy uprisings, and in hundreds of other places, and their valor earned them a permanent place in the French military after 1945. In Poland, Resistance leaders formed the Armia Krajowa (Polish Home Army), and one-seventh of its members were women. They served as couriers and medics and in some specialized units, including one designed for fighting in the Warsaw sewers during the uprising of 1944. Women also served in the Resistance forces of all other occupied countries, including Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, and Denmark. More than 20 percent of the 150,000 people in Allied intelligence networks in western Europe were women, and they helped rescue 5,000 Allied airmen and 1,600 other soldiers. Women were especially valuable in this role because couples were far less suspicious when traveling than men walking alone. These women also assisted with the Normandy Invasion, and they paid a high price when they were captured. Between 200 and 300 French women are known to have been executed by the Germans, and 8,500 were sent to the infamous female concentration camp at Ravensbrück. Only 400 survived. Other women were executed in countless places, including the Ardeatine catacombs in 1944 and the Czech village of Lidice in 1942. In the Soviet Union, an estimated 200,000 women fought with the partisans, and in Italy, 35,000 women (one-third of the Resistance) fought against the Germans in support roles or in small squads. Some were members of the all female Novella Albertazzi, and by the end of the war, 5,000 women had been imprisoned by the Germans; 3,000 were deported to Germany, and at least 650 died in combat or were executed. Mussolini's Italian Social Republic also recruited women support units. In the Balkans, women fought with the Greek Resistance in large numbers, and about 100,000 served with the Yugoslav National Liberation Army under Josip Broz (Tito). They trained and fought in integrated units, and the death rate for women was 25 percent, twice that of the men.

This litany of sacrifice and service is hardly complete, for it omits the thousands of women who were taken prisoner by the Japanese when Singapore fell or the thousands more who experienced some aspect of the war in Africa, the Middle East, Burma, or Indonesia. It also neglects the handful of women captured when Japanese forces seized or sank civilian ships in the opening days of the war or the women on Soviet and Scandinavian merchant ships who helped fight the Battle of the Atlantic. These and other women remain largely unknown to history, and until their stories are told, our knowledge of World War II will remain incomplete.

What we can determine at this juncture is that virtually all women who served in the war were demobilized in 1945 and encouraged to go home. They had confounded social and military expectations of the prewar years, which made no

allowances for the importance of women to national war efforts, and in many ways, their societies were ungrateful for their service. France (in 1944) and Italy (in 1946) extended suffrage to women as a reward for their sacrifices, but other gains were few and far between. Most men and many women wanted to return to traditional roles, and in the rush toward peace, many valiant women were slighted. They were not eligible for the Victoria Cross, were banned from some Italian Resistance group parades, and were denied admittance into the American Veterans of Foreign Wars. Some women found their wartime experiences such a social liability that they hid them for the rest of their lives, much to the dismay of historians.

We are left today with the discomfiting knowledge that male-dominated political systems created World War II and that the vital contributions of women during the war were forgotten by most men afterward. Although much has improved over recent decades in terms of our knowledge and our appreciation, much work remains to be done. After all, no insight into the nature of World War II can be complete without coming to terms with this fact: the victors of the war were those countries that most successfully mobilized their women.

Lance Janda

See also

Ardeatine Massacre; Cochran, Jacqueline; Emilia Plater Independent Women's Battalion; Fourcade, Marie-Madeleine Bridou; Germany, Home Front; Great Britain, Women's Auxiliary Air Force; Great Britain, Women's Land Army; Great Britain, Women's Royal Navy Service; Greece, Home Front; Grizodubova, Valentina Stepanovna; Hobby, Oveta Culp; Holcomb, Thomas; Italy, Home Front; Japan, Home Front; Lidice Massacre; Litviak, Lidiia; Office of Strategic Services; Partisans/Guerillas; Raskova, Marina Mikhailovna; Reitsch, Hanna; Resistance; Signals Intelligence; Soviet Union, Home Front; Soviet Women's Combat Wings; Special Operations Executive; Stalingrad, Battle of; Szabo, Violette Busnell; Tito; United States, Home Front; United States, Women Accepted for Volunteer Service; United States, Women's Auxiliary Army Corps; United States, Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron; United States, Women's Land Army

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Women's Army Corps (WAC)

See United States, Women's Army Corps.

Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF)

See Great Britain, Women's Auxiliary Air Force.

Women's Auxiliary Army Corps (WAAC)

See United States, Women's Army Corps.

Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron

See United States, Women's Auxiliary Ferry Squadron.

Women's Land Army

See Great Britain, Women's Land Army.

Women's Royal Naval Service

See Great Britain, Women's Royal Naval Service.

Wood, Edward Frederick Lindley (First Earl of Halifax) (1881–1959)

British statesman who served in various capacities before, during, and after World War II. Born at Powderham Castle, Devonshire, England, on 16 April 1881, Edward Wood earned honors in history at Oxford in 1903 and entered Parliament in 1910. His career was undistinguished until 1925, when he was appointed viceroy of India and given the title of Baron Irwin. Convinced that India must eventually have Dominion status, Irwin was also determined to maintain civil order. His conversations with Indian nationalists offended much of British opinion, and his forceful administration alienated most Indians. In 1931, he returned to England.

Irwin became Viscount Halifax in 1934, and for five months in 1935, he served as British secretary for war. On Anthony Eden's resignation in February 1938, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain appointed Halifax foreign secretary. By then,



First Earl of Halifax, Edward Frederick Lindley Wood, 1938. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Halifax had had ample opportunity to observe Britain's military weakness, and a semiofficial visit to Germany in late 1937 exposed him to that country's military and territorial aspirations. He believed, however, that Adolf Hitler's regime would negotiate sincerely, if aggressively, and that, in any event, British and French obstruction of German aims in central Europe was impracticable.

Halifax's willingness to appease German demands weakened after Germany occupied the Czechoslovak rump state in March 1939. His readiness to guarantee Polish sovereignty and support British rearmament exempted him from much of the condemnation that later fell on Chamberlain. Some, including King George VI, preferred him above Winston L. S. Churchill to succeed Chamberlain as prime minister in May 1940, a prospect that horrified Halifax himself. He remained foreign secretary until December 1940, when Churchill persuaded him to become the British ambassador to the United States.

In Washington, strong isolationism confronted Halifax until December 1941 and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Despite Halifax's friendships with President Franklin D. Roosevelt and members of Roosevelt's circle, his ambassadorial

role was eclipsed by the far more powerful relationship between Roosevelt and Churchill. Serving until May 1946, Halifax participated in the conferences that established the United Nations, and he worked alongside John Maynard Keynes to negotiate a U.S. loan to Britain after the Lend-Lease program ceased in 1945.

In retirement, Halifax, a devout Anglo-Catholic, dedicated himself to his lifelong avocations of church work, scholarship, hunting, and estate management. He died at Garrowby, Yorkshire, England, on 23 December 1959.

John A. Hutcheson Jr.

See also

Chamberlain, Arthur Neville; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Eden, Sir Robert Anthony; Hitler, Adolf; Munich Conference and Preliminaries

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WRNS

See Great Britain, Women's Royal Naval Service.

Y

Yalta Conference (4–11 February 1945)

In January 1944, the Allied Powers' European Advisory Commission on Germany began meeting in London. It was decided that Germany's postwar government would be an Allied control council in Berlin, composed of commanders of the occupying forces of the various powers. But the commission members needed clarification from the Allied leaders on other matters. Between August and October 1944, delegates at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in Washington worked to draft proposals for a postwar United Nations international organization. They, too, needed to decide several issues. To resolve these and other matters, a second and last meeting of the Big Three—British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Soviet leader Josef Stalin—and their staffs (some 700 people in all) occurred from 4 to 11 February 1945 in the Soviet Union, at Yalta in the Crimea.

The meeting at Yalta (code-named ARGONAUT) was less significant than either its detractors or supporters alleged. Many of the decisions confirmed there had already been taken during the earlier 1943 Tehran Conference and other meetings. At the time, its outcome generated considerable satisfaction. Only with the developing Cold War and the realization that Soviet help had not been necessary in the Pacific war did Yalta become such a fractious issue in U.S. politics, with Republican Party leaders charging that there had been a Democratic Party “giveaway” to the Communists.

The bargaining position of the Western leaders had not appreciably improved since the Tehran Conference. Indeed, they had just suffered the humiliation of the initial German successes in the Ardennes Offensive (Battle of the Bulge). The

Red Army, by contrast, had smashed German Army Group Center and was then only 50 miles from Berlin.

Another factor at Yalta was Roosevelt's determination to draw Stalin “out of his shell” and bring the Soviet Union into postwar cooperation with the Western powers. As a result, he continued the conciliatory tactical approach he had employed at the Tehran Conference by making every effort to accommodate the Soviet leader. It did not enhance the Western bargaining position when Roosevelt announced that U.S. troops were unlikely to remain long in Europe. He also continued his practice of distancing himself from Churchill, most notably on colonial issues. Another factor at work was that Roosevelt and the United States had chosen to seek the speediest possible conclusion to the war with the least expenditure of American lives, rather than wage the war for certain geopolitical objectives, as Churchill had preferred.

Stalin, however, knew exactly what he wanted. After World War I, the Western Allies had sought to construct a *cordon sanitaire* (protective barrier) to contain Bolshevism. Stalin's goal was now the reverse—he wanted a belt of east European satellite states to exclude the West. This arrangement was to provide security against another German invasion and to protect a severely wounded Soviet Union, which had suffered the deaths of as many as 27 million citizens and terrible material losses against the West and its influences.

Roosevelt secured Soviet agreement to the Declaration on Liberated Europe. The leaders pledged that the provisional governments of liberated areas would be “representative of all democratic elements” and that there would be “free elections . . . responsive to the will of the people.” But events

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONTROVERSY

Yalta—A Giveaway to the Soviets?

In February 1945, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill, Soviet dictator Josef Stalin, and their staffs gathered at Yalta in the Crimea. Some have contended that the Yalta Conference yielded too much to Moscow. Others have suggested that the British and American leaders made a last-ditch but largely ineffective effort to fashion some provisions to ensure a modicum of liberty for the peoples of central and eastern Europe, who were guaranteed “free and unfettered elections.” In an untempered view, it could be said that at Yalta, the West simply acquiesced in the division of Europe.

The Western bargaining position at the conference was weak. The Allies had suffered an embarrassment in—and only recently recovered from—the German Ardennes Offensive, and the Red Army, which had borne the brunt of the Wehrmacht’s fury, already controlled Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, and East Prussia. Roosevelt did not yet know whether an atomic weapon might be successfully produced or if it would be ready in time to precipitate Japan’s surrender without an enormously costly U.S. invasion of the Japanese home islands. The Americans desperately wanted Soviet assistance in the conflict against Japan after Germany’s surrender, and though Stalin might well have been willing to provide it, the timing of any such decision rested with him. Securing early Soviet participation in the war against Japan was paramount to Roosevelt.

Historian John Keegan argued that the most important decisions made at Yalta

concerned the conduct of the war in the Pacific and led Roosevelt to barter the future of Poland and agree to a tacit division of Germany. Zbigniew Brzezinski contended that at Yalta, the West failed to confront the ruthlessness of emerging postwar Soviet power and to give adequate thought to the clash between Stalinism and democratic principles that was bound to ensue.

As Vojtech Mastny and others pointed out, Churchill could do little to reconcile the respective positions of an idealistic Roosevelt and a resolute, pragmatic Stalin. In the minds of many, Roosevelt was an idealist who failed to understand the hard realities of international politics. British Foreign Minister Anthony Eden quipped that he demonstrated a discernible lack of consideration when dealing with the fate of nations. But Roosevelt believed that any problems with the peace settlement would be addressed by the soon-to-be-established United Nations, guided by the victorious wartime Allies. He thought that he could charm Stalin and win his trust. But in the spring of 1945, Stalin remarked that World War II would prove to be unlike previous conflicts, since whoever occupied a territory would impose his own social system there. As Joseph Noguee and Robert Donaldson suggested, Stalin exploited divisions with the Western alliance and extracted political concessions of high priority to Moscow.

Roosevelt’s defenders, such as Edward Stettinius Jr., have endeavored to demon-

strate that Stalin made at least as many concessions at Yalta as did the West. These concessions included the final arrangements for the United Nations, French participation in the occupation of Germany, and better coordination of current military operations. Ultimately, Yalta’s lingering legacy lay in its symbolism of the enduring struggle for the future of Europe.

David M. Keithly

See also

Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stalin, Josef; Yalta Conference

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would prove that such lofty phrases were subject to completely different interpretations.

In discussions on Germany, the Big Three agreed to government by an Allied control council. German occupation zones were also set, and at the suggestion of the Western leaders, France was allowed a zone, although Stalin insisted it be carved from territory already assigned to Britain and the United States. The three leaders also agreed on steps to demil-

itarize Germany, dissolve the National Socialist Party, and punish war criminals. Further, in what would later be regarded as a controversial decision, they agreed that all nationals accused of being “deserters or traitors” were to be returned to their countries of origin.

The Soviets insisted on exacting heavy reparations from Germany for damages inflicted by that nation on the Soviet Union. The Western Allies, remembering the trouble caused



British Prime Minister Winston L. S. Churchill (left), U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt (center), and Soviet Premier Josef Stalin (right) at Yalta, February 1945. (National Archives)

by reparations after World War I and fearful they would be subsidizing Soviet exactions, refused to set a specific amount but tentatively agreed to discuss the sum of \$20 billion. The Soviet Union was to receive half of any reparations.

Particularly important to Roosevelt was the establishment of a postwar United Nations organization. Well aware of this and not greatly interested in the organization himself, Stalin used it to secure concessions on other matters. The Big Three adopted recommendations from the Dumbarton Oaks Conference that the United Nations be organized on the lines of the old League of Nations, complete with the General Assembly, Security Council, and Secretariat. It also set the composition of the Security Council. Roosevelt agreed that the Soviet Union might have three votes in the General Assembly. The most difficult matter to resolve was that of the veto in the

Security Council, although this only became an issue in U.S. politics later, when the Soviet Union exercised that privilege so liberally. The U.S. Senate would not have approved American participation without the veto provision.

Poland was a particularly vexing matter for the two Western leaders, but the Red Army already occupied the country. Regarding boundaries, Stalin demanded and succeeded in establishing the Curzon Line, with slight modifications, as Poland's eastern border. The Allies were more strenuous in objecting to the Oder-Neisse Line as its western boundary, and there was no agreement on this matter at Yalta. Regarding the Polish government, Moscow had, only a month before Yalta, recognized the Lublin Poles as the official government of Poland. Stalin agreed to broaden this puppet government on a "democratic basis," and he pledged to hold "free and

unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot.” The Western Allies secured the same concessions for Yugoslavia, Romania, and Bulgaria.

The most controversial decisions taken at Yalta concerned the Far East. These decisions were kept secret from China. Stalin had already made it clear that the Soviet Union would enter the war against Japan sometime after the defeat of Germany. This matter was, in fact, never in doubt. The problem lay in the timing. Here, Stalin was in the same position enjoyed by the Allies before the invasion of northern France. Tardy Soviet entry into the Pacific war might mean heavy U.S. casualties in an invasion of the Japanese home islands. No one knew whether the atomic bomb would work and, even if it did, whether it would be decisive in bringing about Japan’s defeat.

Stalin pledged to enter the war against Japan “two or three months” after the defeat of Germany. In return, the Soviet Union would receive South Sakhalin Island, concessions in the port of Dairen, the return of Port Arthur as a naval base, control over railroads leading to these ports, and the Kurile Islands (which had never been Russian territory). Outer Mongolia would continue to be independent of China, but China would regain sovereignty over Manchuria. In effect, these concessions would replace Japanese imperialism with that of the Soviet Union, but the Western leaders believed they were necessary to secure the timing of the Soviet entry into the Pacific war. In future years, what Americans disliked most about Yalta was that these concessions turned out to be unnecessary.

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See also

Ardennes Offensive; Churchill, Sir Winston L. S.; Dumbarton Oaks Conference; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stalin, Josef; Tehran Conference

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Yamada Otozō (1881–1965)

Japanese army general who took command of the Guandong (Kwantung) Army in 1944. Born in Nagano Prefecture, Japan, on 6 November 1881, Yamada Otozō graduated from the Military Academy as a cavalry officer in 1902. Between April and November 1904, he participated in the Russo-Japanese War. He graduated from the Military Staff College in 1912 and then served on the Army General Staff. From 1914 to 1922, he was an instructor at the Cavalry Command. Between 1922 and 1926, Yamada commanded a cavalry regiment, and he was promoted to colonel in 1925. From 1926 to 1927, he was chief of staff of the Japanese forces in Korea.

Yamada commanded the 4th Cavalry Brigade between 1931 and 1935. He was promoted to major general in 1934. He was then chief of the Third Department (transportation and communication) and chief of the General Affairs of the Army General Staff. In 1935, Yamada also became a director of the Military Staff College. In 1937, he took command of the 12th Division in Manchuria. A year later, he was appointed to command Third Army, then the Central China Area Army during the 1937–1945 Sino-Japanese War. In 1939, he became director of the Education Department of the War Ministry. He was promoted to full general in the following year.

In July 1944, Yamada assumed command of the Guandong Army in Manchuria. As the American offensive in the Pacific placed Japan under increasing military pressure, the Guandong Army lost 20 ground divisions and 2 air divisions, all transferred to the Pacific Theater and the Japanese home islands between February 1944 and March 1945. Yamada recruited 75,000 Japanese civilians living in Manchuria to supplement his military forces, but their training and equipment were both deficient, and the Guandong Army became a hollow force.

Following the Soviet invasion of Manchuria on 9 August 1945, Yamada surrendered his forces to the Soviet army on the order of the Japanese government. Despite this, the Red Army continued its offensive against Japanese troops until the end of August. The Soviets did not accept a cease-fire until 5 September, after they had occupied the Kurile Islands. Before the Soviet cease-fire, about 60,000 Japanese had been killed in combat, and 185,000 Japanese were killed or died in Manchuria after the cease-fire. Between 1947 and 1950, approximately 600,000 soldiers from Manchuria, North Korea, Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands were sent to Soviet labor camps. The last group of detainees was released in 1956. More than 55,000 did not return. Yamada himself was

arrested by the Soviets after his surrender and was sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment at hard labor. He was released in 1956 with the last of the detainees on the normalization of relations between Japan and the Soviet Union. Yamada died in Tokyo on 18 July 1965.

Asakawa Michio

See also

Guandong Army; Manchuria Campaign

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Yamaguchi Tamon (1892–1942)

Japanese admiral and commander of Carrier Division 2. Born in Shimane Prefecture, Japan, on 17 August 1892, Yamaguchi Tamon graduated from the Japanese Naval Academy in 1912. Trained as a torpedo officer, he was promoted to senior lieutenant in 1918. He was then assigned to assist in the effort to return to Japan the submarines that formed part of the German reparations in 1919.

Yamaguchi attended Princeton University in the United States between 1921 and 1923 and then graduated from the Naval Staff College in 1924. He next served on the Naval General Staff. Promoted to commander in 1928, he was a member of the Japanese delegation to the 1929–1930 London Naval Disarmament Conference. Yamaguchi was promoted to captain in 1932 and then served as naval attaché in the United States between 1934 and 1937. Thereafter, he commanded the battleship *Ise* and the First Combined Air Fleet in China, engaged in air operations over China. Promoted to rear admiral in 1940, Yamaguchi assumed command of Carrier Division 2, composed of the aircraft carriers *Hiryu* and *Soryu*. A close confidant of Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku, he was an outspoken supporter of Yamamoto's Pearl Harbor plan and, later, his Midway plan.

Yamaguchi and the cautious Vice Admiral Nagumo Chūichi were often at odds. During the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Yamaguchi urged Nagumo to make follow-up strikes on Pearl Harbor facilities and to destroy the U.S. carriers absent on 7 December 1941, but Nagumo refused. In early 1942, Yamaguchi took part in actions against the British in the Indian Ocean.

Yamaguchi and his carriers next participated in the Battle of Midway. Again, he and Nagumo disagreed on tactics. On 4 June 1942, Yamaguchi stressed the necessity for the Japanese to strike first, and on the sighting of the American carriers,

he urged that the Japanese launch an immediate dive-bomber attack without the torpedo-bombers, but Nagumo refused. Nagumo's decisions left his carriers vulnerable, and three of the four were sunk by U.S. Navy dive-bombers. With his own carrier *Akagi* sinking, Nagumo transferred command of air operations to Yamaguchi.

Twice Yamaguchi launched attacks against what he thought were two different U.S. carriers; actually, there was only one, the *Yorktown*. Although Yamaguchi lost 24 aircraft, his attacking planes badly damaged the *Yorktown*, and she was later sunk by a Japanese submarine. As Yamaguchi prepared a third strike that evening, U.S. dive-bombers from the carriers *Enterprise* and *Yorktown* mortally damaged the *Hiryu*. He assumed blame for the loss of his ship and refused to leave it. His staff tried to dissuade him, as they believed that he was invaluable to the Japanese navy, but Yamaguchi rejected their appeals. The 800 survivors then abandoned ship, and *Hiryu* was scuttled, sinking on 5 June. Yamaguchi was last seen reciting poetry and sipping tea.

William Head and Spencer C. Tucker

Between 1947 and 1950, approximately 600,000 Japanese soldiers were sent to Soviet labor camps.

See also

Midway, Battle of; Nagumo Chūichi; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Yamamoto Isoroku

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Yamamoto, U.S. Ambush of (18 April 1943)

Aerial ambush and killing of Fleet Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku over Bougainville in the South Pacific. On 14 April 1943, U.S. intelligence intercepted and decoded the inspection trip travel schedule for Admiral Yamamoto, revealing an opportunity to intercept his flight over Bougainville four days later. Yamamoto had been the architect of the attack on Pearl Harbor and was commander in chief of the Combined Fleet.

There was some hesitation about an effort to intercept and shoot down Yamamoto's aircraft, stemming from concerns that the move might compromise U.S. code-breaking operations. Also, Yamamoto, though a superb officer, had proved to be a disaster as a strategist, which had worked to the advantage of the U.S. force. The order for the attack came from Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox through Admiral Chester Nimitz to Admiral Marc A. Mitscher, air commander in the Solomons area.

Mitscher assigned the mission to the Army Air Forces' 339th Fighter Squadron of the Thirteenth Air Force on Guadalcanal because of the long-range capability of its Lockheed P-38 Lightning fighters. The operation, code-named *Y-MISSION*, was carefully planned and carried out at low altitude under radio silence to ensure surprise. Major John W. Mitchell, the squadron commander, led the 400-mile mission. The 16 aircraft that performed the mission conducted a successful flight and interception, arriving over Bougainville just as two Japanese G4M Betty medium bombers and six Mitsubishi A6M Reisen Zero fighter escorts approached to land at Kahili Field at Buin in southern Bougainville. Both Japanese bombers were shot down, along with three of the Zeros, and Yamamoto was killed. Captain Thomas G. Lanphier and Lieutenant Rex Barber shared the credit for downing Yamamoto's aircraft, although a debate over the actual pilot responsible for shooting down the plane continued after the war.

Jerome V. Martin

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Japan, Navy; Knox, William Franklin; Mitscher, Marc Andrew; Nimitz, Chester William; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Signals Intelligence; Yamamoto Isoroku

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Yamamoto Isoroku (1884–1943)

Japanese navy admiral who devised the December 1941 attack against U.S. forces at Pearl Harbor. Born in Nagaoka, Honshu, Japan, on 4 April 1884, Yamamoto Isoroku was the biological son of the former samurai Takano Sadayoshi and the adoptive son of Yamamoto Tatewaki. Educated at the Naval Academy (1901–1904), he fought in the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War and took part in the great Japanese naval victory in the Battle of Tsushima. He attended the Naval Staff College in 1915 and 1916.

Initially trained in gunnery, Yamamoto became a leading advocate of naval airpower during the 1920s and 1930s, in part because of his experiences as chief executive officer at Kasumigaura Naval Flight School between 1924 and 1926, when he became a pilot as well. Also significant in forming Yamamoto's perceptions were his two periods as a resident officer in the United States. Between 1919 and 1921, he studied English at Harvard University. Promoted to captain in 1923, he served as naval attaché in Washington, D.C., from 1926 to 1928. Yamamoto's time in the United States persuaded him of that country's unlimited economic potential and the relatively low quality of the U.S. Navy.

On returning to Japan from the United States, Yamamoto took command of the aircraft carrier *Akagi* and used her as a platform to test out new concepts in naval aviation. He was a delegate to the 1929–1930 London Naval Conference. He became chief of the navy's technical service in 1930 and was promoted to rear admiral the next year. In this position, he pushed the development of modern aircraft for the navy. In 1933, he took command of the 1st Naval Air Division. Yamamoto headed the Japanese delegation to the 1935–1936 London Naval Conference, where he presented Tokyo's position that it would no longer abide by the 5-to-5-to-3 naval ratio with the United States and Britain. He returned home a hero. Appointed vice minister of the navy in 1936, Yamamoto opposed his government's decision to proceed with construction of the giant Yamato-class battleships, believing they were a waste of precious resources. Unable to overcome the reliance on traditional battleships, Yamamoto nonetheless pushed the construction of aircraft carriers, long-range bombers and flying boats, and the new Zero fighter. His opposition to the increasingly belligerent official position led to his removal from his government post.

Appointed commander in chief of the Combined Fleet in August 1939 and promoted to full admiral in November 1940, Yamamoto opposed Japan's adherence to the Tripartite Pact and the movement toward war with the United States. Although he allegedly remarked privately that he would "run wild" for six months to a year, he had "utterly no confidence" after that. Nonetheless, he rejected the navy's original plan to lie in wait for the U.S. Pacific Fleet in the Far East, after the American ships had been savaged by submarine and torpedo attacks. Instead, Yamamoto devised a preemptive strike against the Pacific Fleet anchorage at Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands. He hoped that by crippling U.S. naval power at the war's outset, Japan might use the breathing spell that would ensue to conquer the Southern Resource Area and erect an impregnable defensive barrier.

Yamamoto did what he could to prepare his fleet for war, purging ineffective officers and insisting on realistic, rigorous—even dangerous—training, both day and night, so that when war came, the fleet was the best trained in the world, certainly at night fighting. However, he ignored technologi-



Japanese Fleet Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku. (Corbis)

cal advances, such as radar, which Japanese ships did not receive until 1943.

The success of the Pearl Harbor attack on 7 December 1941 enhanced Yamamoto's prestige, which he used to persuade the Naval General Staff to accept his overly complex Midway plan in April 1942. Designed to draw out the remnants of the U.S. Fleet, specifically the carriers absent from Pearl Harbor on 7 December, Yamamoto's Midway campaign ended in disaster on 4–6 June with the Combined Fleet's loss of four fleet carriers, a blow from which the Japanese navy never recovered.

Although the tide of the Pacific war clearly shifted in favor of the Allies after Midway, U.S. leaders remained wary of Yamamoto's leadership. Accordingly, when U.S. intelligence learned that Yamamoto intended a one-day inspection trip to the northern Solomons in April 1943, the Pacific Fleet commander, Admiral Chester Nimitz, with the approval of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, dispatched aircraft to intercept his plane. On 18 April, P-38 fighters shot down Yamamoto's aircraft near Buin in southern Bougainville Island, killing the admiral. His remains were recovered and returned to Tokyo, where he was honored with a state funeral.

Bruce J. DeHart and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Japan, Navy; Midway, Battle of; Nimitz, Chester William; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Yamamoto, U.S. Ambush of

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Yamashita Tomoyuki (1885–1946)

Japanese army general in command of the Twenty-Fifth Army that conquered Malaya and Singapore. Born in Osugi Nara, Kochi Province, Shikoku, Japan, on 8 November 1885, Yamashita Tomoyuki may have been Japan's greatest general of World War II. He graduated from the Military Academy in 1908 and the War College in 1916. Trained as an infantry officer, he distinguished himself early on in a variety of assignments.

Yamashita served on the General Staff in 1918 and then was resident officer in Germany, from 1919 to 1921. Promoted to major in 1922 and to lieutenant colonel in 1923, he served concurrently as military attaché to Austria and Hungary (1927–1929). Promoted to colonel in 1929, he then commanded a regiment before serving in the Army Ministry (1932–1936). He next commanded a brigade in the Korea Army (1936–1937) and was promoted to lieutenant general in 1937. He was chief of staff of the North China Area Army between 1937 and 1939 in the Sino-Japanese War before commanding the 4th Division (1939–1940).

Recalled to Tokyo in July 1940, Yamashita became inspector general of army aviation. In November of that year, Minister of War General Tōjō Hideki, who saw Yamashita as a rival, sent him on a six-month military mission to Germany and Italy. On his return to Japan in June 1941, Yamashita warned against going to war with Great Britain and the United States until Japanese forces could be modernized—unwelcome advice that produced his exile to command the Guangdong (Kwantung) Army in Manzhoukiuo (Manchoutikuo).

In November 1941, just weeks before Tokyo launched the Pacific war, Yamashita received command of Twenty-Fifth



Lieutenant General Yamashita Tomoyuki (*left*) arraigned before the War Crimes Commission in Manila with a U.S. MP, 1945. (National Archives)

Army, which he proceeded to lead to the greatest land victory in Japanese history. In a campaign lasting 70 days (from 7 December 1941 to 15 February 1942) and outnumbered by the British, Yamashita conquered Malaya and Singapore and earned the nickname “Tiger of Malaya.”

Shortly thereafter, Prime Minister Tōjō engineered Yamashita’s transfer back to Manchuria. After languishing there for two years, Yamashita received command of Fourteenth Area Army in September 1944, and from 20 October 1944 to 2 September 1945, he directed an effective defense of the Philippines. Surrendering to U.S. forces at the end of the war, he was arrested and tried as a war criminal for failing to control Rear Admiral Iwabuchi Sanji’s Naval Defense Force, which committed atrocities in Manila in February 1945. Yamashita had ordered that Manila not be held and certainly had not ordered the atrocities committed there, but the court ruled him responsible for the actions of his subordinate. Sentenced to death, he was hanged on 23 February 1946.

Bruce J. DeHart

See also

Guandong Army; Iwabuchi Sanji; Malaya Campaign; Philippines, U.S. Recapture of; Singapore, Battle of; Tōjō Hideki

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Yamato (Japanese Battleship)

Lead ship of the Japanese Yamato-class battleships. Conceived in 1934, *Yamato* was the largest battleship ever built. Of five of her class originally planned, only *Yamato* and her



Japanese battleship *Yamato* under attack by U.S. aircraft, 25 October 1944. (Corbis)

sister *Musashi* were finished as battleships. A third ship, *Shinano*, was completed as an aircraft carrier.

Yamato's keel was laid at the Kure Naval Yard in November 1937; she was launched in August 1940 and commissioned on 16 December 1941. *Yamato* measured 826.6' in length, 127.6' in beam, and 34.1' in draft (263 m × 38.9 m × 10.4 m). She displaced 72,809 tons fully loaded and carried a crew of 2,500 sailors. Her armament consisted of 9 × 18.1-inch main guns in three triple turrets, 12 × 6.1-inch guns, 12 × 5-inch antiaircraft (AA) guns, 24 × 25-mm AA guns, and 4 × 13-mm machine guns. She also carried seven floatplanes, launched from two catapults. She had an armor belt of 16.1" and turret armor of 25.6". *Yamato* was capable of speeds up to 27.7 knots, made possible by 12 Kampon boilers and four-shaft Kampon geared turbines. She had a fuel capacity of 6,300 tons, giving her a cruising radius of 7,200 nautical miles at 16 knots.

Yamato had a rather uneventful career. Assigned as Fleet Commander Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku's flagship in February 1942, she was part of the Japanese Midway operation but saw no action in that battle. The *Yamato* might have played an important role in the fighting for control of the

Solomons, but the Japanese were reluctant to risk such a national symbol. With her subsequent activities curtailed by the shortage of oil, her actions were severely limited, and she saw little combat.

On 24 December 1943, the U.S. submarine *Skate* attacked the *Yamato* near Truk, damaging her on her starboard side near turret 3, which resulted in the flooding of the magazine. She returned to Japan for repairs, which were completed at Kure by April 1944. During the Battle of Leyte Gulf, *Yamato* and *Musashi* formed the core of Vice Admiral Kurita Takeo's Force A. Departing Lingga, *Yamato* sustained two bomb hits in the Sibuyan Sea while under way to San Bernardino Strait, where she encountered six escort carriers, three destroyers, and four destroyer escorts of escort carrier group Taffy 3, at the Battle of Samar. Although she escaped intact from this encounter, she also did not inflict any damage.

Yamato's next and final mission was to disrupt the U.S. landing on Okinawa, where she was to beach herself and use her guns to provide artillery support. Loaded with only enough fuel to make a one-way trip, *Yamato* set out from Japan and was spotted by U.S. submarines and tracked. Aircraft from Task Force 58 attacked the Japanese battleship on

7 April 1945. It took a force of hundreds of aircraft, a dozen aerial torpedoes, and half a dozen bombs to sink *Yamato*.

John A. Komaromy

See also

Japan, Navy; Kamikaze; Kurita Takeo; Leyte Gulf, Battle of; Midway, Battle of; Okinawa, Invasion of; Solomon Islands, Naval Campaign; Yamamoto Isoroku; *Yamato*, Suicide Sortie of

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Yamato, Suicide Sortie of (6–7 April 1945)

The sinking of the Japanese battleship *Yamato* is a classic case of a surface warship, unsupported by air cover, succumbing to devastating air attack. Built at the Kure Naval Yard and launched in 1941, the 863-ft-long battleship *Yamato* displaced 72,000 tons and was armed with a main battery of 9 × 18.1-inch guns. Other armament by 1945 included 150 anti-aircraft and machine guns. Her maximum speed was 27.5 knots.

In response to the U.S. invasion of Okinawa, the Japanese navy prepared a desperate surface ship sortie and air attack against American naval forces investing the island. The plan called for the *Yamato*, supported by the light cruiser *Yahagi* and eight destroyers, to steam to Okinawa and attack Allied shipping there. The *Yamato* would then be run aground off Okinawa, where, as a stationary battery, she would provide gunfire support to the Japanese defenders of the island. *Yamato* was only provisioned with sufficient fuel for a one-way mission. The Second Fleet commander, Vice Admiral Itō Seiichi, had overall charge of the operation and was aboard the *Yamato*, which was commanded by Rear Admiral Aruga Kosaku.

U.S. Navy forces off Okinawa had been alerted to a coming sortie by signals intelligence, and the Japanese task force was quickly detected by U.S. submarines as it emerged from the southernmost exit of Japan's Inland Sea on 6 April. Since all available Japanese aircraft were targeted at naval forces around Okinawa, the *Yamato* was left exposed and vulnerable to air attack. American aircraft carrier-based planes began striking the Japanese task force on 7 April at 12:32 P.M.

The Japanese warships were subjected to repeated air attacks, but they only shot down 10 of 386 attacking aircraft. The *Yamato*'s guns were eventually knocked out. The Ameri-

can report on the ship's sinking claimed hits by at least 11 torpedoes and 8 bombs; Japanese survivors put the total at nearer to 16 torpedoes and 18 bombs. In any case, amid massive explosions, she sank at 2:23 P.M., less than two hours after the air attacks began. Only 269 of the *Yamato*'s 2,767 crew members survived. The light cruiser *Yahagi* and four of the destroyers were also sunk, and four damaged destroyers escaped to Japan.

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See also

Battleships; Itō Seiichi; Japan, Air Forces; Japan, Navy; Okinawa, Invasion of; Signals Intelligence; *Yamato*

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Yenangyaung, Battle of (10–19 April 1942)

Important battle in Burma. With the capture of Rangoon (Yangon) in March 1942, the Japanese were able to establish effective supply lines and bring reinforcements into Burma (Myanmar). Although the Royal Air Force (RAF) and the American Volunteer Group (the AVG, or Flying Tigers) were still inflicting losses, the Japanese held air superiority.

The Japanese Fifteenth Army commander, General Iida Shōjirō, now turned his 33rd and 55th Divisions north. His objective was to seize the oil fields and refinery at Yenangyaung on the Irrawaddy, north of Prome. Supported by Burmese dissidents in a growing unconventional warfare capability, the Japanese employed frontal assaults, small-unit infiltrations, guerrilla operations, and sabotage to keep Allied forces on the defensive. Lieutenant William Slim's I Burma Corps held a defensive line with the 17th Indian Division forward of Prome on the Irrawaddy River and the 1st Burma Division near Toungoo and the Sittang River. Three Chinese armies—the Fifth, Sixth, and Sixty-Sixth—were moving south to reinforce. U.S. Lieutenant General Joseph Stilwell, who arrived in China in March to lead the U.S. effort to train the Nationalist Chinese Army, planned to reopen the land supply routes to China.

The Japanese captured Prome and Toungoo in early April. The British then concentrated their resources near Allanmyo, on the Irrawaddy, redeploying the 17th and 1st Divisions from Toungoo. Slim's mission was to prevent the Japanese from taking the oil fields and to defend northern Burma. Critical to this effort was the ability of the Chinese to hold in the



The forest of derricks that marked the great oil fields of Yenangyaung, Burma, the immediate objective of the Japanese invasion up the Irrawaddy Valley, 16 April 1942. (Bettmann/Corbis)

east in the Sittang Valley and the speed with which they could bring in reinforcements to allow the British to redeploy and form a reserve force large enough to conduct large-scale offensive operations to stop the Japanese advance up the Irrawaddy. On 8 April, Slim moved the I Burma Corps headquarters from Taunggyi to Magwe, just south of Yenangyaung. The oil fields were still producing fuel for the Allied forces, but as a precaution, they were to be destroyed rather than having them seized.

The main Japanese effort against Yenangyaung began in earnest on 10 April with direct assaults against forward British brigades and attempts to infiltrate small elements and units disguised as Burmese forces and Chinese. By 14 April, the Japanese had split the defending British forces. The next day, Slim ordered the destruction of the oil fields and refinery as heavy fighting continued in the Yenangyaung area.

British forces, now supported by the 38th Chinese Division, continued to engage the Japanese 33rd Division. Slim prepared an offensive thrust in which the 38th Division would reduce pressure on the 1st Burma Division, allowing elements

of the 17th Indian Division to counterattack the Japanese. As the Battle of Yenangyaung continued, however, the collapse of Chinese forces in the Sittang area put the entire British effort in the west at risk. At the same time, the Japanese cut off the 1st Burma Division, but British counterattacks, coupled with attacks by the Chinese 38th Division, allowed Slim to extract the 1st Burma Division. By 25 April, however, Allied forces had begun a general withdrawal. The complete loss of Burma and the retreat of all British forces to India was now only a matter of time.

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See also

Burma Theater; Flying Tigers; Iida Shōjirō; Slim, Sir William Joseph; Stilwell, Joseph Warren

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- Slim, William J. *Defeat into Victory*. London: Macmillan, 1986.

Yeremenko, Andrei Ivanovich (1892–1970)

Soviet army marshal who was in command of the 4th Ukrainian Front at the end of World War II. Born in Markovka, Russia, on 14 October 1892, Andrei Yeremenko was drafted into the Russian army in 1913. He fought in World War I as a junior officer. He joined the Red Guards in October 1917 and the Red Army and Communist Party in 1918. Yeremenko fought as a cavalry officer in the Russian Civil War, ending that conflict as deputy commander of a regiment. He then commanded a regiment and attended the Military Political Academy and the Frunze Military Academy in 1935. Yeremenko commanded a cavalry division between 1935 and 1938, then the VI Cossack Cavalry Corps, which he led in the Soviet invasion of eastern Poland in September 1939.

In June 1940, Yeremenko took command of a mechanized corps and was promoted to lieutenant general. When the German army invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, he was commanding the First Red Banner Far Eastern Army. Recalled to the west, he replaced General Dimitri Pavlov as Western Front commander, helping to restore a degree of stability. An outstanding tactician, he understood the importance of airpower and the need to mass armor.

In August 1941, Yeremenko assumed command of the new Bryansk Front, where he was seriously wounded in October. After his recovery, he was promoted to colonel general and put in command of Fourth Shock Army in the defense of Moscow. Again seriously wounded in February 1942, Yeremenko took command of the Southeast Front, defending Stalingrad, in August. In January 1943, he assumed command of the Southern Front, pushing the Germans out of the Caucasus. Transferred to command the Kalinin Front in April 1943, he was made General of the Army in August.

Yeremenko commanded the 1st Baltic Front in October and November 1943 for the advance on Smolensk. He then led the Independent (Black Sea) Maritime Front in the eastern Crimea, before heading the 4th Ukrainian Front from March to July 1945.

Following the end of the war, Yeremenko commanded, in turn, the Carpathian, West Siberian, and North Caucasus Military Districts until 1958. He next served as inspector general of the Ministry of Defense, until his death in Moscow on 19 November 1970.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Pavlov, Dimitri Grigorevich; Stalingrad, Battle of

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Marshal of the Soviet Union Andre Yeremenko. (Photo by Lisa Larsen/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Yokoyama Shizuo (1890–1961)

Japanese army general who commanded the Shinbu Group on Luzon in 1944. Born in Fukuoka Prefecture, Japan, on 1 December 1890, Yokoyama Shizuo graduated from the Military Academy in 1912 and was commissioned into the infantry. He graduated from the Army War College in 1925. After assignment to the General Staff, he was transferred to the Korea Army Headquarters in 1929. In 1932, he was doubly assigned as chief of the Railway Division of the Railway and Shipping Section of the General Staff and on the Naval General Staff. Yokoyama became commander of the Guandong (Kwantung) Army Railway District in 1935. Promoted to colonel in 1936, he served in the Guandong Army Headquarters in 1937.

During the 1937–1945 Sino-Japanese War, Yokoyama commanded the 2nd Infantry Regiment in offensive operations in northern China. Promoted to major general in 1939, he next took charge of the 2nd Field Railway Headquarters and then the 1st Field Railway Headquarters in 1940. Having

been made a lieutenant general in 1941, Yokoyama assumed command of the 8th Division in eastern Manchuria and from 1942 to 1944, he prepared for possible fighting with the Soviet Far East Command.

Yokoyama and his division were sent to Luzon in the Philippines in October 1944, where he commanded the Shinbu Group, later known as the Forty-First Army. Its mission was to defend central and southern Luzon under the overall authority of General Yamashita Tomoyuki, commander of Fourteenth Area Army. Yokoyama prepared to hold the mountainous region east of Manila City.

The issue of the defense of Manila was never resolved, as orders from the Fourteenth Area Army were unclear and the chain of command was complicated. Rear Admiral Iwabuchi Sanji's Manila Naval Defense Force, nominally under Yokoyama, had authority in the Manila area. General Yamashita did not want to fight for Manila, but Iwabuchi defied his orders and staged a bitter contest for the city that claimed an estimated 100,000 civilian lives. Yokoyama surrendered his surviving forces to U.S. authorities in September 1945. Arrested as a war criminal for atrocities committed by Japanese troops in Manila, he was sentenced to death by a Philippine military tribunal in 1948. His sentence was later reduced to life imprisonment. He was removed to Tokyo's Sugamo Prison and was released on amnesty in December 1953. Yokoyama died in Tokyo on 6 January 1961.

Nakayama Takashi

See also

Iwabuchi Sanji; Yamashita Tomoyuki

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Yoshida Shigeru (1878–1967)

Japanese diplomat and prime minister. Born in Tokyo on 22 September 1878—the fifth son of Takeuchi Tsuna, leader of the Jiyū-tō (Liberal Party)—Yoshida was adopted by his father's wealthy friend Yoshida Kenzō. He graduated from Tokyo Imperial University and became a diplomat in 1906.

Yoshida served as the Japanese consul general in Mukden (Shenyang) (1925–1928), deputy minister of foreign affairs (1928–1930), and ambassador to Great Britain (1936–1939). While in Mukden, he believed that Japan should colonize China, and he supported the army's aggressive policies there.



Yoshida Shigeru in 1945. (Library of Congress)

In the 1930s, however, Yoshida criticized the army for its anti-Western attitude. A candidate for minister of foreign affairs in 1936, he was not appointed because army leaders objected. He retired in 1939.

Yoshida worked with his father-in-law, Count Makino Nobuaki, and Prince Konoe Fumimaro in an effort to try to end the Pacific war, activities that brought his arrest in April 1945 by military police and his imprisonment for 40 days. After the war, Yoshida became minister of foreign affairs in the cabinets of both Prince Higashikuni Naruhiko and Shidehara Kijyūrō. He himself served as prime minister from May 1946 to May 1947 and from October 1948 to December 1954.

Yoshida played a key role in the reconstruction of the Japanese economy after the war in cooperation with the United States, but in 1950, when negotiating the peace treaty he signed in San Francisco on 8 September 1951, together with the U.S.-Japan Security Pact, he rejected the demand of U.S. Special Emissary John Foster Dulles for Japanese rearmament. His administration fixed the basic pro-Western Japanese orientation in the Cold War era. Yoshida retained considerable political influence after his retirement. He died in Ōiso, Kanagawa, Japan, on 20 October 1967.

Sakai Kazuomi

See also

Japan, Role in War; Konoe Fumimaro, Prince of Japan

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Yugoslavia

During War II, Yugoslavia was the setting for Europe's greatest resistance struggle but also a bloody civil war. A country of some 16 million people in 1941, Yugoslavia was one of the new states formed at the end of World War I. Serbia, which had been on the winning Allied side in the war, was its nucleus, with the addition of territories from the defunct Austro-Hungarian Empire. Unfortunately, the new state consisted of nationalities that had been on opposing sides in the war and had strong religious, linguistic, and cultural differences. The nation began as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, but in 1929, it was renamed Yugoslavia, the "land of the South Slavs." The country was held together not so much by common ties as by outside pressures and by the fact that its peoples believed they had a better chance of surviving together rather than separately.

The Serbs were the largest single nationality in Yugoslavia, and their king, Alexander, became head of the new state. Many non-Serbs complained of being second-class citizens, and in 1934, King Alexander was assassinated by Croatian terrorists while on a state visit to France. In September 1939, World War II began, and Yugoslavian leaders declared the country neutral. They hoped to keep their state out of the war, although Serb sentiment at least was heavily pro-Allied. Serbs also dominated the army officer corps. In late 1940, to counter Russian moves and to solidify his flanks before attacking the Soviet Union in Operation BARBAROSSA, German leader Adolf Hitler forced the Balkan states to join the Axis alliance.

Prince Paul, regent for the young King Peter II, tried to stall for time, but in March 1941, following a meeting with Hitler at Berchtesgaden, he concluded that resistance was futile and might lead to the extermination of the Yugoslav state. On 25 March, Yugoslav leaders traveled to Berlin to sign the Tripartite Pact. In taking this step, they hoped they were preserving their country's independence; however, Yugoslav public opinion was sharply opposed to the Axis alliance, and this opposition found expression in nationwide demonstrations that prompted a coup on 27 March by Yugoslav air force officers, headed by General Dušan Simović. He formed a new

government under Peter II. Although the new government assured the Germans that there would be no immediate change of course in Yugoslav foreign policy, Hitler interpreted the coup as a personal affront and planned a military reprisal. Code-named Operation RETRIBUTION, the reprisal began on 6 April and included heavy air strikes against the Yugoslav capital of Belgrade.

This Axis operation also involved troops from Italy, Hungary (Hungarian Premier Pál Teleki committed suicide rather than dishonor himself by participating in such an act), and Bulgaria, for a total of 52 Axis divisions. These units easily defeated Yugoslavian regular forces, overrunning the country in only 11 days. The Yugoslav government leaders and King Peter fled to London, arriving there in mid-June. Despite the poor performance of their armed forces, Yugoslav leaders found themselves acclaimed as heroes for having resisted Hitler. Soon, they had established a government-in-exile.

Defeated Yugoslavia was now partitioned among the Axis states. Slovenia was divided between Germany and Italy; Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina were combined into the independent state of Croatia under the direction of the Fascist Ustaše government of Ante Pavelić; Italian forces occupied the Dalmatian coast and Montenegro; Albania annexed the Kosovo region and Macedonia; Bulgaria received Macedonia east of the Vardar River; Hungary took the Bachka and Baranya regions; and Serbia and the Banat fell under German military control.

All ethnic Croatians among the 300,000 Yugoslav prisoners of war taken in the invasion were freed, and by August 1941, the Germans had established a Serb collaborationist government under General Milan Nedich. In Croatia, meanwhile, the fascist Ustaše began the mass murder of minorities and forced Serbs to convert to Catholicism from Orthodox Christianity. In 1941, these Croatian fascists killed at least 200,000 Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies, most of them at the Jasenovac concentration camp.

Yugoslavian resistance to the Germans began immediately. Centered in the Serbs, it was divided in two factions. Colonel Dragoljub "Draza" Mihajlović retreated with a small force to the mountains and set up the Četniks (named for Serb guerrillas who had fought the Turks). The Četniks began receiving assistance from the British Special Operations Executive (SOE) in June 1941. Mihajlović hoped to build up his strength, avoiding reprisals by the Germans against the civilian population, and at the opportune time lead an uprising against the Germans. He strongly supported restoration of the monarchy.

Josip Broz (Tito), leader of the Yugoslav Communist Party since 1937, headed the second major resistance group. Known as the Partisans, the group favored immediate attacks on the Germans regardless of the cost to the civilian population in German reprisals. Following the German invasion of



Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring and Crown Prince Paul of Yugoslavia inspecting anti-aircraft guns at Doberitz airfield, 1939. (Library of Congress)

the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, the Wehrmacht redeployed all but four of its divisions from Yugoslavia. Tito capitalized on this situation, and the Partisans were particularly active in Montenegro, Serbia, and Bosnia. By autumn 1941, Tito's Partisans numbered 50,000 people and contested the Germans for control of much of the countryside. In contrast to Mihajlović, Tito stressed a pan-Yugoslav platform after the war, stressing participation of all ethnic groups and establishment of a federated Yugoslav state.

Tito and Mihajlović met on two separate occasions in September and October but failed to develop a cooperative approach against the Germans. Hostilities between these two groups began in November 1941 when Četniks attacked the Partisan base at Uzice. Moreover, the Četniks often collaborated with Italian troops and the Nedich government in attempts to rid Serb and Montenegrin areas of Partisan influence. An agreement with German forces concluded on 11 November allowed the Četniks freedom of movement in return for taking action against the Partisans.

The Partisans' strength continued to grow. During 1942, their numbers reached 100,000 people, and by 1943, they had swelled to 250,000. By the end of the war, Tito claimed nearly 800,000 followers. So effective were their activities that the Germans recalled their 113th Division from the Eastern Front and the 342nd Division from France to help contain the Partisans. The Yugoslav resistance is thus credited with tying down a large number of Axis troops who would otherwise have been available for deployment elsewhere.

German forces mounted a half dozen major anti-Partisan operations between 1941 and 1944, yet the chief consequence of these sweeps was to force Tito to abandon any fixed base of operations. German reprisals against civilians, sometimes at the rate of 20 civilians killed for every dead German, usually generated still greater Partisan support. By 1943, both the Nedich government in Serbia and the Ustaše government in Croatia were unstable, and Tito's strength had grown to the point where he transformed the Partisans into the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia. Also in 1943, Tito created a

shadow Yugoslav provisional government known as the Anti-Fascist Council for the Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ). Located in Bosnia, the AVNOJ established a network of district committees in Partisan-controlled areas of Croatia, Montenegro, and Serbia.

The British continued to support Mihajlović and his Četniks until December 1943, when, falsely convinced by a Communist agent that the Serb-dominated Četnik (Chetnik) resistance group was not fighting the Germans, Winston L. S. Churchill's government decided to channel all its aid to the Partisans. On 29 November 1943, the AVNOJ created the Yugoslav National Liberation Committee as a shadow government. It banned King Peter from returning to Yugoslavia and announced its intent to create a postwar federated state.

When Italian troops withdrew from Yugoslavia at the end of 1943, Tito's force seized the Italian arms depots. Faced with surprisingly successful resistance movements in the hills of Serbia and Bosnia, the Germans launched a number of operations, two of the largest coming in 1943, in an increasingly frustrated and futile attempt to crush the Partisan movement. Accounts of Partisan survival and heroism in the midst of these assaults assumed mythic dimensions in postwar Yugoslavia.

When the Germans pulled out many of their troops, the Partisans, largely recruited from the peasantry, already held most of the countryside and the main lines of communication. In a coordinated effort on 20 October 1944, the Soviet army and Partisan forces moved into Belgrade. On 7 March 1945, Tito's provisional government formally declared itself the legitimate leadership of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. For Yugoslavia, the toll of World War II had been heavy. By its end, an estimated 1.7 million Yugoslavs had been killed, both in combat and in atrocities committed by and against civilians.

At the end of the war, Yugoslavia attempted to annex Italian Istria and Trieste and the southern provinces of Austria. Tito's forces moved into Carinthia and tried to take it by coup de main. The speedy advance of the British V Corps prevented this, but there was a tense standoff. In mid-May 1945, the threat of force finally convinced the Yugoslavs to leave Austria. Clearly, Tito had hoped to seize any area where there was a blood tie to any ethnic group in Yugoslavia, including Carinthia, Istria, and Slovenia.

Tito did exact vengeance on the Croats, many of whom had been loyal to the Germans, as had many Slovenes. Within weeks of the war's end, the Partisans executed without trial up to a quarter of a million people who had sided with the Germans, most of them Croats. In addition, the majority of German prisoners taken in the war perished in a long "march of hate" across Yugoslavia. German soldiers captured in Yugoslavia worked as slave laborers; 60 percent of them were dead within a year. Also, despite protests by Western gov-

ernments, the new Yugoslav government tried and executed General Mihajlović.

The fact that the Yugoslav resistance had fought so well against the Germans and that it had liberated most of the country placed Tito in a strong position to demand and secure a Red Army withdrawal from those parts of Yugoslavia it occupied. In 1948, however, Yugoslavia was expelled from the international Communist movement.

Neville Panthaki and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Collaboration; Hitler, Adolf; Mihajlović, Dragoljub; Partisans/Guerrillas; Paul, Prince Regent of Yugoslavia; Resistance; Special Operations Executive; Tito; Yugoslavia Campaign (1941); Yugoslavia Campaign (1944–1945)

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Yugoslavia Campaign (1941)

German-led Axis conquest of Yugoslavia in April 1941. On 13 December 1940, Adolf Hitler issued orders for the conquest of Greece (Operation MARITA) to succor the Italians in Albania and protect Germany's southern flank during the planned invasion of the Soviet Union. Use of the Belgrade-Nis-Salonika railroad line was essential for German operations in Greece, and thus, the cooperation of Yugoslavia was needed. Accordingly, Hitler pressured Yugoslavia to join the Tripartite Pact on 25 March 1941. This move precipitated a bloodless military coup in Belgrade on 26–27 March. Prince Regent Paul fled to Greece, 17-year-old King Peter II took the throne, and the Yugoslav air force's General Dušan Simović formed a new government. Although Simović assured Hitler that Yugoslavia would remain friendly, the Führer was enraged by the coup, and on 27 March, he issued Directive No. 25 ordering the German conquest of Yugoslavia, which assigned supporting roles in the operation to both Italy and Hungary.

The German High Command quickly prepared plans for the operation and began to assemble the necessary forces. The latter included General Maximilian von Weich's Second Army, then in Austria and southwest Hungary (11 divisions in 4 corps); Lieutenant General Georg-Hans Reinhardt's XLI



German infantrymen engaged in mopping up operations in a small town on the Drau River in Yugoslavia, 9 May 1941. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Panzer Corps, near Timisoara, Romania (1 Schutzstaffel [SS] motorized infantry division, plus 1 infantry and 1 panzer regiment); and General Paul Ludwig Ewald von Kleist's 1st Panzer Group (5 divisions in 2 corps), assembling in Bulgaria for the planned invasion of Greece. Luftwaffe assets assigned to the operation included some 1,148 aircraft of the Fourth Air Fleet in Austria, the VIII Air Corps in Bulgaria, and the X Air Corps on Sicily.

The weak Yugoslav army was no match for the Germans. Mobilized on 29 March, it totaled fewer than 1 million men in 35 divisions, other troops under 3 army groups, 1 independent field army headquarters, and the Coastal Defense Command. The Yugoslavs had few modern tanks and little artillery and relied on animal transport. Most Yugoslav war matériel had been obtained from Germany, and there were few reserves of ammunition or other supplies. The Yugoslav air force had some 459 military aircraft, its airfields were vulnerable, and it lacked spares and other equipment. The Yugoslav navy consisted of 1 old training cruiser, 4 modern destroyers, 4 submarines, 2 river monitors, and 16 old motor torpedo boats. Its

ships were manned largely by Croats. Politically unreliable, the navy would play no role in the coming campaign.

After only 10 days for planning and preparations, the Germans began their assault on 6 April 1941 with a massive air attack on Belgrade that killed some 17,000 civilians, destroyed much of the Yugoslav air force, and cut communications between the Yugoslav Supreme Command and its units in the field. The same day, Field Marshal Siegmund Wilhelm List's Twelfth Army launched Operation *MARITA*. The German XL Panzer Corps took Skopje on 7 April, thereby cutting off the Yugoslav line of retreat toward Salonika, and Twelfth Army continued into Greece.

Plans for Operation No. 25 called for a three-pronged attack aimed at Belgrade. The 1st Panzer Group attacked from Bulgaria on 8 April on the Nis-Kragujevac-Belgrade axis, overcame stiff resistance by the Yugoslav Fifth Army, and took Nis on 9 April. At the same time, XLI Panzer Corps attacked from Romania and plowed through the Yugoslav Sixth Army. Using bridges over the Danube, Drava, and Sava Rivers seized by Second Army between 1 and 7 April, XLVI Panzer Corps attacked toward Belgrade on 10 April, routing the Yugoslav Fourth and Second Armies and reaching Novi Sad on 11 April. That same day, Zagreb fell to LI Infantry Corps, aided by 14th Panzer Division detached from XLVI Panzer Corps. Meanwhile, XLIX Mountain Corps forced the surrender of Yugoslav forces in Slovenia, and the Italian Second Army attacked from Trieste down the Yugoslav coast, meeting little resistance.

On the evening of 12 April, the three converging German corps surrounded Belgrade, and the next morning, German forces entered Belgrade unopposed. Second Army then assumed responsibility for all operations in Yugoslavia and acted to prevent the withdrawal of Yugoslav forces into the Serbian mountains. General von Weich's two pursuit groups moved toward Sarajevo from Zagreb and from Belgrade via Uzice. On 14 April, the Yugoslav government was evacuated to Greece, and negotiations for an armistice began. Sarajevo fell the next day, and on 17 April, Yugoslavia surrendered unconditionally at Belgrade. The armistice went into effect on 18 April, ending a 12-day campaign in which the Germans had only 558 casualties, including 151 killed. Yugoslavia was then annexed or occupied by the victorious Axis powers, except for Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, which formed the pro-Axis Independent State of Croatia.

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See also

Balkans Theater; Greece (April 1941); Kleist, Paul Ludwig Ewald von; Richtofen, Wolfram von; Tripartite Pact; Weichs zur Glon, Maximilian Maria Joseph von; Yugoslavia; Yugoslavia Campaign (1944–1945)

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Yugoslavia Campaign (1944–1945)

Campaign to drive German forces from Yugoslavia, by Communist-led Partisans. By mid-1944, the Partisans led by Josip Broz (Tito) were poised to achieve both of their principal objectives: the annihilation of the royalist Četniks led by “Draza” Mihajlović and the expulsion of Axis occupation forces from Yugoslavia. The Italian capitulation in September 1943 provided the Partisans with enormous quantities of arms and other equipment, and in December 1943, the Allies cut off all aid to the Četniks and increased their support for the Partisans. Having survived several German assaults on his headquarters in early 1944, Tito saw his prestige enhanced when he was named minister of war in the new government-in-exile formed by King Peter II on 17 May 1944. In June 1944, Tito launched the Partisans against the Četnik stronghold in Serbia, aiming to destroy his rival and deliver a significant blow against the Axis occupation forces.

The Germans managed to hold the Partisans in eastern Serbia, and in July 1944, Tito asked Soviet leader Josef Stalin to divert the Soviet Red Army toward Belgrade to hasten the defeat of the 60,000 to 70,000 remaining Četniks and the Axis occupation forces. On 2 August, the Partisans advanced into Macedonia, and on 20 August, the Red Army launched a drive deep into Romania, which surrendered on 24 August. The Soviets declared war on Bulgaria on 5 September, and three days later, the Bulgarians asked for an armistice, declared war on Germany, and moved forces from Sofia toward the Yugoslav border.

The German commander in chief, Southeast, Field Marshal Maximilian von Weichs, controlled German forces in both Greece and Yugoslavia. Principal forces available to Weichs in Yugoslavia were the Second Panzer Army (9 divisions in 4 corps; no panzer units), with headquarters at Kragujevac, and Military Command Southeast (3 divisions under 2 corps headquarters), with headquarters in Belgrade. The situation at the end of August 1944 made it necessary for

German Army Group E (11 divisions under 6 corps-level headquarters) to begin the withdrawal of all troops from Greece (save for garrisons on Crete and Rhodes) to Macedonia. With the Bulgarian declaration of war on 8 September, the German 1st Mountain Division moved north, occupied Skopje, and secured the critical Belgrade-Nis-Salonika railroad line. On 14 October, Army Group E headquarters assumed responsibility for a 375-mile defense line in southeastern Yugoslavia facing 13 and a half Soviet and Bulgarian divisions of the Soviet Third Ukrainian Front (Thirty-Seventh and Fifty-Seventh Armies) and the Bulgarian First, Second, and Fourth Armies. On 8–9 September, a general uprising in Greece hastened the German withdrawal, and by 2 November, the last organized German units had left Greece.

By late September, Soviet forces advancing from Romania were fighting north of Belgrade, and on 29 September, the Red Army entered Serbia. On 20 October, Belgrade was “liberated” by the Red Army and Tito’s I Partisan Corps. The Red Army subsequently moved on toward Hungary, leaving the Partisans to mop up the remaining Četnik forces and hasten the withdrawal of German occupation forces. At this point, the guerrilla war fought by the Partisans against the Axis occupation forces became a conventional campaign. The combined onslaught of the Partisans and the Red Army brought about the collapse of the Četniks. In September, Mihajlović had called for a general mobilization to rid Serbia of Partisans and Axis occupation forces, but, attacked on three sides, the Četniks were forced to retreat and regroup in Bosnia. They subsequently ceased to be a major factor in the Yugoslav equation. Mihajlović returned to Serbia in April 1945 hoping to organize resistance to the Communists, but he was captured by the Partisans and executed in July 1946.

After the fall of Belgrade, German forces withdrew from Macedonia, Albania, and Montenegro, moving in good order to the northwest. Unable to mount a major counterattack, they also abandoned Serbia to form a defensive line in Bosnia and western Croatia. In March 1945, a new Communist-dominated coalition government was formed with Tito as premier, and on 20 March, the Partisan forces were redesignated as the Yugoslav National Army and began a general offensive against the Germans. The Germans held in central Bosnia and eastern Croatia until 10 April, when they began a headlong retreat toward Austria, where the bulk of the German units surrendered to the British. On 9 May, the Partisans took Zagreb, having smashed the Ustaše and the Independent State of Croatia. By 15 May, all of Yugoslavia had been retaken, and the Partisans exacted a terrible revenge on the remaining Axis troops and their Yugoslav collaborators. Those Germans taken prisoner by the Partisans were severely mistreated, and some 50,000 of them died in captivity.

Charles R. Shrader



Yugoslavian leader Marshal Tito (right) and his staff pose at his secret mountain retreat, conducting their campaign against German forces in Yugoslavia, 1944. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

See also

Balkans Theater; Mihajlović, Dragoljub; Stalin, Josef; Tito; Weichs zur Glon, Maximilian Maria Joseph von; Yugoslavia; Yugoslavia Campaign (1941)

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Z

Z Plan

German naval construction program initiated prior to World War II. The Z Plan had its origins in the early 1930s and was based on Adolf Hitler's assertion that no major military undertakings would be initiated until 1944 or 1945. Under restrictions imposed by the Versailles Treaty following World War I, Germany was limited to having 6 pre-dreadnought battleships, 6 cruisers, 12 destroyers, 12 torpedo boats, and no submarines. The Z Plan, which clearly violated the Versailles Treaty, called for a powerful balanced fleet, and it was eagerly supported by the commander of the German navy, Grand Admiral Erich Raeder, and his fellow admirals, who were in competition with the army and air force for scarce strategic resources.

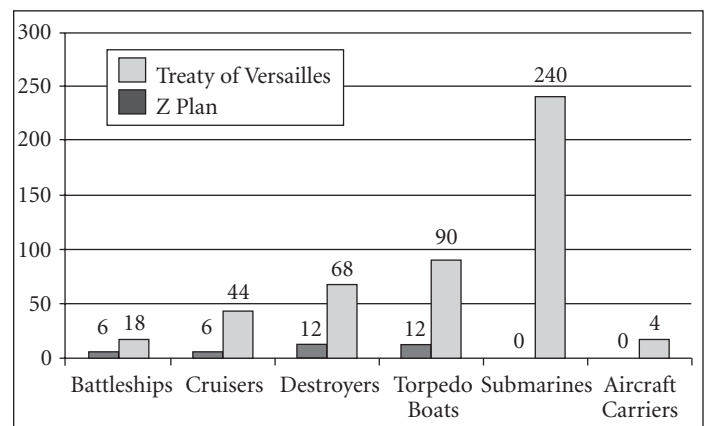
Hitler approved the Z Plan on 27 January 1939, three months before he revoked the British-German Naval Agreement of 1935 that had limited his navy to a maximum of 35 percent of its British counterpart; that move itself was a violation of the Versailles Treaty. The Z Plan received supreme priority and called for a powerful fleet of surface ships and submarines, centered on 6 superbattleships of 56,000 tons (H-class), 12 small battleships of 20,000 tons, 4 aircraft carriers, 44 light cruisers, 68 destroyers, 90 torpedo boats, and 240 U-boats. Four battleships of the Bismarck and Scharnhorst classes and 5 heavy cruisers, as well as the 3 Deutschland-class pocket battleships already completed or under construction, would join this planned fleet. The total program would include 800 vessels of all types and was scheduled to be completed in 1948. Later, the completion date was advanced to 1944.

At the beginning of World War II, the program was canceled, but it was revived again in July 1940 after the defeat of

France. The plan was even expanded with schemes for a post-war German navy of some 1,200 ships, including 25 battleships, 8 aircraft carriers, 100 cruisers, and 400 U-boats. At that time, the program also foresaw a massive buildup of harbors in many of the newly occupied territories, among them the French Atlantic coast and Norway. Trondheim was to become the largest German naval base in Europe. Colonies overseas would provide additional bases, with control of the Atlantic to follow in a second phase.

Contrary to this unrealistic plan, little construction was actually undertaken because of the lack of human and industrial resources. After the German defeat at Stalingrad in January 1943, the Kriegsmarine (German navy) suspended all

German Naval Construction; Z Plan versus Treaty of Versailles





German Navy warships at Hamburg, February 1939. (Bettmann/Corbis)

construction of heavy surface warships in favor of submarines. Since September 1939, industrial facilities had been geared to the rapid completion of the battleships *Bismarck* and *Tirpitz*, the cruisers *Prinz Eugen* and *Seydlitz*, the aircraft carrier *Graf Zeppelin*, as well as the buildup of submarines. The *Seydlitz* and *Graf Zeppelin* were never completed.

Hitler saw the Z Plan as a means whereby Germany would be able to challenge Britain and the United States for world naval mastery. The plan remains one of the most striking examples of the lack of realism in German military planning. From its inception, the program wasted enormous resources, and up to 1943, it worked against a buildup of submarines, the major threat to British and U.S. mastery of the Atlantic.

Martin Moll

See also

Dönitz, Karl; Germany, Navy; Hitler, Adolf; Raeder, Erich

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See Snipers.

Zeitzler, Kurt von (1895–1963)

German army general who was appointed chief of the Army High Command (OKH) in 1942. Born in Cossmar-Luckau, Germany, on 9 June 1895, Kurt von Zeitzler joined the German army and rose to command the 72nd Infantry Regiment in World War I. He continued in the army after the war and underwent staff training.

Zeitzler was an early supporter of Adolf Hitler in the officer corps, and in 1934, he was one of the first to join the panzer forces. He was a lieutenant colonel in the army staff under Colonel Walter Warlimont and helped plan the German movement into Czechoslovakia in March 1939. Promoted to colonel, Zeitzler briefly commanded a regiment before becoming chief of staff of General Ewald von Kleist's XII Corps in the September 1939 invasion of Poland and of Army Group Kleist (later First Panzer Army) in the invasion of France and the Low Countries in 1940. He continued as chief of staff of First Panzer Army for Operation BARBAROSSA, the invasion of the Soviet Union, in June 1941. Regarded as a competent staff officer, Zeitzler played important roles in organizing the German drive through the Ardennes in 1940 and in Kleist's panzer operations in Greece and the Ukraine in 1941. He proved especially adept at logistical matters, ensuring that supplies kept up with the fast-moving tanks.

In April 1942, Zeitzler was assigned as chief of staff to the commander in chief, West, Field Marshal Karl Gerd von

Rundstedt and promoted to Generalmajor (U.S. equiv. brigadier general). He played a major role in bringing about the Allied disaster at Dieppe that August. In September, Hitler named Zeitzler to replace General Franz Halder as chief of the Army High Command and promoted him to Generalleutnant (U.S. equiv. major general). An aggressive officer with the nickname “*Kugelblitz*” (Thunderball), Zeitzler seemed to be the type of officer who would fit in well with Hitler.

As the senior staff officer of the German army, Zeitzler made a number of changes to improve procedures. Effecting change in Hitler’s strategic thinking proved more difficult, although he did stand up to the Führer on a number of occasions. The Battle of Stalingrad drove a wedge between the two men. Once Sixth Army was cut off, Zeitzler urged that it be allowed to break out, whereas Hitler demanded it remain in place. Zeitzler went so far as to predict that an airlift of supplies to the beleaguered army would not be successful, angering Hitler further. Zeitzler also proposed a major restructure of the High Command, suggesting the OKW (Armed Forces High Command) and OKH (High Command of the Army) be fused and that Generals Wilhelm Keitel and Alfred Jodl be replaced. He also argued that the Schutzstaffel (SS) should be placed under OKH control. Hitler rejected these suggestions.

Following the collapse of Operation CITADEL, the Battle of Kursk, which he had largely planned, Zeitzler fell out completely with Hitler. He had offered his resignation four times, but each time, Hitler had refused to accept it. Having gained the enmity of Keitel and Jodl, dumbfounded by Hitler’s prosecution of the war, and frustrated at his own inability to affect decisions, Zeitzler simply walked off the job on 30 June 1944 for “reasons of health.”

In January 1945, an angry Hitler took the extraordinary step of dismissing him from the army and forbidding him to wear his uniform. Imprisoned after the war, Zeitzler was released in 1947. He died at Hohenassachau in Upper Bavaria, Germany, on 25 September 1963.

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See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Dieppe Raid; Halder, Franz; Hitler, Adolf; Jodl, Alfred; Keitel, Wilhelm; Kleist, Paul Ludwig Ewald von; Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd von

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Zhanggufeng (Chang-ku-feng)/Khasan, Battle of (29 July–11 August 1938)

Armed clash along the border between the Soviet Maritime Province and Japanese colonial Korea. The border dispute between the two sides led to fighting, beginning on 29 July 1938, on a small hill known as Zhanggufeng (Chang-ku-feng) and the adjacent Lake Khasan.

On 6 August, Lieutenant General V. N. Sergeev’s Soviet Thirty-Ninth Army of 23,000 infantry troops, with tanks and armored vehicles and supported by heavy artillery and air cover, attacked units of Lieutenant General Suetaka Kamezō’s 14th Division of 7,000 infantry troops defending Zhanggufeng. By 9 August, lacking heavy artillery and armor, the Japanese were driven from the hill. The Soviet forces then broke off contact save for reconnaissance. The Japanese refrained from a counterattack on the eve of their Wuhan operation in China. A truce was arranged between the two sides on 11 August 1938. The Japanese sustained 1,440 casualties (526 killed). The victorious Soviets paid a higher price, with 792 killed or missing and 3,279 wounded.

As a consequence of the battle, the Soviets gained confidence in their combat effectiveness. The battle revealed glaring Japanese weaknesses in firepower and tanks, but the army did nothing to rectify these shortcomings, continuing to believe in the superiority of fighting spirit over firepower. This mistaken doctrine eventually led to an overwhelming victory for the Soviets and defeat for the Japanese in their border dispute in the renewed fighting at Nomonhan/ Khalhin-Gol the following year.

Tohmatsu Haruo

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Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) (1898–1976)

Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leader who was later prime minister of the People’s Republic of China (PRC). Born into a wealthy family in Shaoxing (Shaohsing), Zhejiang (Chekiang) Province, on 5 March 1898, Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) studied at Waseda University and, from 1917 to 1919, at Japan University in Tokyo. He returned to China to continue his studies at Nankai University in Tianjin (Tientsin), Hebei (Hupeh) Province, and joined the May Fourth Movement demonstrations in Beijing (Peking) in 1919 that called for



Chinese foreign minister Zhou Enlai, ca. 1950s. (Bettmann/Corbis)

modernization and democracy in China. Imprisoned briefly for this activity, Zhou left China in late 1920 for France on a work-study plan. There, he helped organize a branch of the Chinese Communist Party.

Returning to China in 1924, Zhou embarked on his revolutionary career. He directed the Guangdong (Kwangtung) Province CCP Military Affairs Department. He then served as director of the Political Department of the Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy under Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), leader of the Nationalist Party—the Guomindang, or GMD (Kuomintang, or KMT). Zhou secretly helped plan the Shanghai uprisings of 1925, 1926, and 1927 in Jiangsu (Kiangsu) Province, narrowly escaping arrest by the GMD.

From April 1927, Zhou directed the CCP Central Committee's Military Affairs Department. He assisted with in the planning for the Nanchang Uprising of August 1927 in Jiangxi (Kiangsi) and was an important figure in the formation of the Red Army. He participated in the Long March but was removed from the Central Military Commission at the 1935 Zunyi (Tsunyi) Conference in Guizhou (Kweichow) Province. Zhou supported the idea of a conventional army to oppose Jiang's GMD and disagreed with Mao Zedong's (Mao Tse-tung's) concept of guerrilla warfare. Zhou initially out-ranked Mao in the party leadership but later assumed a sub-

ordinate role. During the next four decades, the two men worked closely together, despite their great differences in approach and outlook. Zhou proved an indefatigable and gifted administrator, a master diplomat, and an adroit politician. He was also the ultimate survivor.

Zhou was the chief CCP negotiator with Jiang following the Xi'an Incident in 1936, and he helped form the united front with the GMD against the Japanese. Following World War II, he tried without success to negotiate a coalition government with the GMD.

Named China's prime minister on 1 October 1949, Zhou remained in that post for more than 26 years until his death. For the first 8 years, he served concurrently as foreign minister. Zhou played a key role during the Korean War, paving the way for China's entry into the conflict and warning the United States not to cross into North Korea. Zhou headed China's delegation to the 1954 Geneva Conference to end the Indochina War and deal with other Asian problems. He worked to stabilize the mercurial Mao and to keep China's government functioning through the constant upheavals of Mao's Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. The urbane and sophisticated Zhou served as China's chief emissary to the outside world. He died in Beijing on 9 January 1976.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

China, Role in War; Jiang Jieshi; Mao Zedong; Xi'an Incident

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Zhu De (Chu Teh) (1886–1976)

Chinese Communist marshal who was commander of the Chinese Communist Eighth Route Army from 1937 to 1945 and then commander of the Chinese People's Liberation Army between 1945 and 1954. Born in Yilong (Yi-lung), Sichuan (Szechwan) Province, on 18 December 1886 to extremely poor peasant parents, Zhu De (Chu Teh) possessed the ability to pass the civil service entrance examination. By 1906, he had transferred to the Yunnan Military Academy, graduating in 1911, whereon he participated in the Chinese Revolution. Until the end of World War I, Zhu served in warlord armies in Yunnan and Sichuan (Szechwan) Provinces, apparently acquiring both wealth and an addiction to opium that he ultimately defeated, before traveling to Germany to study in



Chinese Communist Marshal Zhu De (Chu Teh). (Bettmann/Corbis)

Berlin and Göttingen. An encounter with the young Chinese revolutionary Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) converted him to communism, which brought Zhu's expulsion from Germany.

Returning to China in 1926, Zhu concealed his new sympathies and joined the army of the Nationalist Party—the Guomindang, or GMD (Kuomintang, or KMT). In August 1927, he joined the unsuccessful Communist uprising in Nanchang, Jiangxi (Kiangsi) Province, later considered the birth of the Communist Red Army. Subsequently, he took his troops to join the Communist guerrilla forces of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) in Hunan Province. Zhu became commander and Mao political commissar of their combined force, the Fourth Red Army, which moved to Jiangxi in 1929, expanding to 200,000 men by 1933. The two men developed strategies for modern, large-scale Chinese guerrilla warfare, focusing on control of the country.

In 1934, after repeated Nationalist attacks, Zhu's forces escaped encirclement in what became the epic, 6,000-mile Long March to a new base at Yan'an (Yenan) in northwestern Shaanxi (Shensi) Province, during which Mao, with Zhu's support, won control of the Chinese Communist movement. When Communist forces allied with Nationalist troops after the 1937 Japanese invasion of China, Zhu commanded all Chinese Communist troops in what had become the Eighth Route Army. After directing the disastrous Hundred Regiments campaign against Japanese troops in late 1940, Zhu returned to guerrilla operations in Japanese-controlled areas. By 1945, he had built the Red Army into a force of 800,000, controlling much of northern China's countryside. During the 1945–1949 Chinese Civil War, Zhu directed Communist

military strategy. From 1949 to 1954, he served as China's defense minister, and in 1955, he became one of ten marshals of the People's Republic of China. Persecuted for several years during the Cultural Revolution, he was subsequently rehabilitated. When he died in Beijing (Peking) on 6 July 1976, Zhu was head of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

China, Civil War in; China, Role in War; Mao Zedong; Zhou Enlai

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Zhukov, Georgii Konstantinovich (1896–1974)

Marshal of the Soviet Union and perhaps better known in the West than any other Soviet military leader of World War II. Born in Strelkovka, Kaluga Province, Russia, on 19 November 1896, Georgii Zhukov was the son of peasants, his father a cobbler and his mother a carter. He was apprenticed as a furrier at age 12. Conscripted into the Russian army in 1915, Zhukov served in the cavalry during World War I, rising to noncommissioned officer (NCO) rank. After recovering from wounds received from an enemy mine, he joined the Red Army in 1918.

Zhukov commanded from platoon through squadron in the Russian Civil War, joining the Communist Party in 1919. He took charge of a cavalry regiment in 1922 and a brigade in 1930. In 1932, he received command of a cavalry division; four years later, he led a corps. Zhukov was one of the few senior officers to survive the military purges of 1937. Serving as deputy commander of the Belorussian Military District, he was sent to the Far East in June 1939 to deal with Japan's attempted invasion of Mongolia. By the end of August, he had decisively repulsed the Japanese in the Battle of Khalkin Gol. In 1940, he was promoted to full general, and near the end of the Russo-Finnish War, he was appointed chief of the General Staff. After the Germans invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, Zhukov asked to be relieved from that post when Josef Stalin rejected his suggestion that Kiev be abandoned before it was lost to the Germans. Stalin's decision cost the Soviets some 665,000 soldiers captured by the Germans.

During the course of World War II, Zhukov was involved in the planning and execution of nearly every major campaign of the Eastern Front. In October 1941, he replaced



Soviet Marshal Georgii Zhukov, 1945. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Marshal Kliment Voroshilov at Leningrad and galvanized the defense there. Then, as commander of the West Front that same month, he organized the defense of Moscow; in November and December, he launched the counteroffensive that forced the Germans back from Moscow. In the fall of 1942, Zhukov and General Aleksandr Vasilievsky planned the counteroffensive at Stalingrad that trapped German General Friedrich Paulus's Sixth Army. Promoted to marshal of the Soviet Union and appointed deputy supreme commander of

the Red Army, he returned to Leningrad in 1943 and lifted the siege there. Then, in July, as special representative for Stavka (the Soviet High Command), again along with Vasilievsky, Zhukov supervised the defense of the Kursk salient and the subsequent offensive that swept across the Ukraine.

In the summer and autumn of 1944, Zhukov commanded the Belorussian Campaign, which destroyed German Army Group Center and ended the German occupation of Poland and Czechoslovakia. In April 1945, he personally commanded the final assault on Berlin, and he took the official German surrender for the Soviet Union on 8 May 1945, then remained to command Soviet occupation forces in Germany.

In 1946, Zhukov assumed command of all Soviet ground forces, but one year later, he fell victim to Stalin's paranoia and desire to diminish the reputation of potential rivals and was demoted to command the Odessa Military District. After Stalin's death in 1953, Zhukov became deputy minister of defense and then, in 1955, defense minister. During the Nikita Khrushchev years, his fortunes rose and fell but rose again when Khrushchev was deposed in 1964. Zhukov died in Moscow on 18 June 1974.

Arthur T. Frame

See also

BARBAROSSA, Operation; Belorussia Offensive; Eastern Front; Finnish-Soviet War (Continuation War, 25 June 1941–4 September 1944); Germany, Surrender of; Karkhov, Battle of; Kursk, Battle of; Leningrad, Siege of; Moscow, Battle of; Paulus, Friedrich; Poland-East Prussia Campaign; Stalingrad, Battle of; Warsaw Rising

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Chronology, Glossary, Bibliography, and Contributors

Chronology

Annette Richardson and Lawton Way

September 1939

- 1 Germany invades Poland
- 3 Great Britain and France declare war on Germany
- 7 French forces cross German border near Saarbrücken
- 17 Soviet Union invades eastern Poland

October 1939

- 5 Polish organized resistance ends at Kock
- 14 German submarine *U-57* sinks British battleship *Royal Oak* at Scapa Flow, Orkney Islands

November 1939

- 30 Soviet Union invades Finland

December 1939

- 13 Battle of the River Plate
- 17 German pocket battleship *Graf Spee* scuttled off Montevideo, Uruguay

February 1940

- 13 Soviets are able to breach Mannerheim Line

March 1940

- 12 Soviets and Finns sign peace treaty, ending the Finnish-Soviet War (Winter War)

April 1940

Katyn Forest Massacre takes place throughout April and into early May

- 9 Germany invades Norway and Denmark

May 1940

- 3 Vidkun Quisling becomes leader of Norway; King Haakon departs
- 10 Germany invades the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France
- Winston L. S. Churchill becomes British prime minister
- 13 Queen Wilhelmina leaves the Netherlands for exile in London
- 14 German air force bombs Rotterdam
- 15 Netherlands army surrenders to Germany
- 19 German ports of Hamburg and Bremen bombed by British
- 26 Operation DYNAMO, the evacuation of British and French forces at Dunkerque (Dunkirk), commences
- 28 Belgium capitulates to Germany

June 1940

- 4 Operation DYNAMO ends
- 8 Allied forces complete evacuation from Norway
- 9 Norway signs armistice with Germany
- 10 Italy declares war on France and Great Britain
- Norway surrenders to the Germans
- 11 Italian forces invade southeastern France
- 14 Paris falls to the Germans
- 15 Soviet forces invade Estonia

June 1940 (*cont.*)

- 16 Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain becomes French premier
- 17 Soviet forces invade Latvia and Estonia
- 18 Neutral Sweden accedes to a transit agreement with Germany
- 22 France signs armistice with Germany
- 27 Soviet forces invade Romania
- 28 British government recognizes Charles de Gaulle as leader of the Free French
German forces bomb two British Channel Islands, Guernsey and Jersey

July 1940

- 1 German submarines attack merchant ships in the Atlantic Ocean
- 3 In Operation CATAPULT, British navy units secure portions of the French fleet but engage and sink a number of French warships at Mers-el-Kébir, Algeria
- 9 Vichy becomes temporary capital of France
British government rejects Adolf Hitler's peace offer
- 10 Battle of Britain commences
- 16 Hitler plans Operation SEA LION, the invasion of Great Britain
- 25 United States announces embargo of strategic materials to Japan

August 1940

- 5 Italian forces invade British Somaliland
Latvia is formally admitted into the USSR
Lithuania is formally admitted into the USSR
- 6 Estonia is formally admitted into the USSR
- 17 Hitler declares a blockade of Great Britain

September 1940

- 3 Destroyer-for-Bases deal between the United States and Britain announced by U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt as an executive order
Britain receives 50 World War I-vintage U.S. destroyers in return for leases on base territory in North America
- 13 Italian forces invade Egypt
- 15 Major German air attack made on London

- 16 Conscription introduced in the United States
- 22 Vichy France allows Japanese air bases and troops in French Indochina
- 23 British and Free French Forces attack Dakar
Hitler and Spanish dictator Francisco Franco meet at Hendaye, France, on the border with Spain
- 27 Axis Tripartite Pact signed between Germany, Italy, and Japan

October 1940

- 7 German forces enter Romania
- 10 Operation SEA LION is shelved
- 28 Italian forces invade Greece from Italian-occupied Albania
- 31 Battle of Britain ends; Germans switch to night bombing (the Blitz)

November 1940

- 5 Roosevelt wins election to third four-year term as U.S. president
- 11 British forces stage air attack on the Italian fleet at Taranto, Italy
- 14–15 Germans stage air attack on Coventry, England, destroying much of the city
- 19–20 Germans stage air attack on Birmingham, England
- 20 Hungary joins the Axis alliance
- 22 The Greeks defeat the Italians, capturing Koritsa, Albania
- 23 Romania joins the Axis alliance

December 1940

- 9 British forces begin to drive the Italians from Egypt in Wavell's offensive

January 1941

- 19 British forces invade Italian Eritrea
- 22 Tobruk falls to Australian/British forces

February 1941

- 5–7 Battle of Bada Fomm takes place; British defeat Italian forces in Libya
- 8 British forces take Benghazi, Libya
Bulgaria and Germany sign military pact
- 12 German General Erwin Rommel arrives in North Africa

March 1941

- 1 Bulgaria joins Tripartite Pact
- 11 Roosevelt signs Lend-Lease Bill
- 16 British mount counteroffensive in Somaliland and Ethiopia
- 24 Rommel commences offensive in Libya
- 25 Yugoslavian government agrees to join the Axis alliance
- 26 Pro-Axis Yugoslav government is overthrown
- 28 Britain inflicts losses on the Italian fleet in the Battle of Cape Matapan

April 1941

- 3 Pro-Axis regime established in Iraq
- 6 Germany invades Greece and Yugoslavia
British occupy Addis Abba, capital of Ethiopia
- 11 Axis siege of Tobruk commences
- 13 Five-year nonaggression pact signed between Japan and the Soviet Union
- 17 Yugoslavian army surrenders to the Germans
- 23 Greece signs armistice with Germany

May 1941

- 1 British repulse German attack on Tobruk
- 2 British invade Iraq
- 5 Emperor Haile Selassie returns to Addis Ababa
- 10 German Deputy Führer Rudolf Hess flies to Scotland
- 20 Germans mount airborne assault against Crete
- 24 Germany battleship *Bismarck* sinks Britain's battle cruiser *Hood*
- 27 British sink German battleship *Bismarck*
- 31 Crete falls to the Germans

June 1941

- 4 Pro-Allied government installed in Iraq
- 8 British and Free French troops attack Syria and Lebanon
- 14 Vichy French forces in Syria are defeated by the British
- 15 British counteroffensive in Libya is defeated
- 22 Germany, Italy, and Romania declare war on the Soviet Union

Germany commences Operation BARBAROSSA, the invasion of the Soviet Union

- 26 Finland declares war on the Soviet Union (the Continuation War)
- 27 Hungary declares war on the Soviet Union

July 1941

- 9 Germans capture 300,000 Soviet troops near Minsk in the USSR
- 12 Anglo-Soviet Treaty of Mutual Assistance is signed
- 14 British forces occupy Syria and Lebanon
- 24 Southern French Indochina is occupied by Japanese forces
- 26 United States suspends trade with Japan
- 31 German preparations commence for the "final solution"

August 1941

- 12 Atlantic Charter drawn up by Churchill and Roosevelt
- 25 Soviet and British troops occupy Iran

September 1941

- 3 Gas chambers used experimentally at Auschwitz concentration camp
- 8 German forces lay siege to Leningrad
- 19 German forces capture Kiev
- 29 Germans murder nearly 34,000 Jews in Kiev

October 1941

- 2 Germans commence Operation TYPHOON, the planned capture of Moscow
- 16 German and Romanian forces capture Odessa in the USSR
- 17 General Tōjō Hideki becomes Japanese premier
- 24 German forces take Kharkov in the USSR

November 1941

- 8 Germans move into the Crimean Peninsula
- 13 British carrier *Ark Royal* is sunk by German submarine
- 18 British forces launch counteroffensive in Libya
- 20 Germans take Rostov in the USSR
- 27 Soviet forces retake Rostov

December 1941

- 5 German forces suspend attack on Moscow
- 7 Japanese forces bomb Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands
- 8 The United States, Great Britain, and other Allied powers declare war on Japan
Japanese forces attack Guam, Wake Island, and the Philippine Islands
Japan invades Hong Kong, Malaya, and Thailand
- 9 Japan invades the Gilbert Islands
China declares war on Germany and Japan
Hitler issues “Night and Fog” decree
- 10 British forces relieve Tobruk garrison
Japanese aircraft sink British battleship *Prince of Wales* and battle cruiser *Repulse* off Malaya
Japanese forces take Guam
- 11 Italy declares war on the United States
Germany declares war on the United States
Japanese forces invade Burma
- 16 Japanese forces invade Borneo
Axis forces in North Africa retreat to El Agheila in Libya
- 19 Hitler assumes command of the German army
- 23 Japanese offensive in the Philippines commences
- 24 British forces recapture Benghazi
- 25 Japanese forces take Hong Kong
- 31 Japanese forces occupy Manila in the Philippines

January 1942

- 1 UN declaration is signed by 26 nations
Soviets begin offensive in Finland
- 2 Japanese capture Manila
- 11 Japanese invade Netherlands East Indies
Japanese forces capture Kuala Lumpur
- 13 Germany begins U-boat offensive along eastern U.S. coast
Soviet forces recapture Kiev
- 20 Japan commences Burma offensive
Wannsee Conference is held in Berlin to discuss procedures of the “final solution”
- 21 Axis offensive against British forces in Libya commences

- 25 Japanese forces land at Lae, New Guinea
- 26 First U.S. troops committed to the war effort arrive in North Ireland
- 28 German forces recapture Benghazi

February 1942

- 1 U.S. planes bomb the Marshall and Gilbert Islands
- 8 Japanese forces take Rangoon, Burma
- 15 Singapore surrenders to Japanese forces
- 19 Japanese forces capture Bali
- 27–29 Naval Battle of the Java Sea is waged
- 29 Japanese forces capture Timor

March 1942

- 2 Japanese forces land in Mindanao in the Philippines; Batavia in the Netherlands East Indies is evacuated, and the Dutch government is moved to Bandung on Java
- 7 Japanese troops enter Rangoon, Burma
- 9 Island of Java surrenders to the Japanese
- 13 Japanese forces land in the Solomon Islands
- 17 U.S. General Douglas MacArthur reaches Australia from the Philippines
- 19 Gas chamber first used on human victims at Auschwitz-Birkenau

April 1942

- 5 Japanese naval forces raid Ceylon
- 9 U.S. forces surrender to the Japanese on Bataan Peninsula, on Luzon in the Philippines
- 18 U.S. B-25 bombers raid Tokyo (the Doolittle raid)

May 1942

- 1 Mandalay surrenders to Japanese forces
- 6 Corregidor falls to the Japanese
U.S. forces surrender in the Philippines
- 7–8 Naval and air Battle of the Coral Sea is waged
- 20 Japanese forces complete the conquest of Burma
- 22 Mexico declares war on the Axis powers
- 26 Axis forces begin offensive in Libya
- 27 Reichsprotektor of Bohemia and Moravia Reinhard Heydrich is attacked and wounded in Prague
- 30 Royal Air Force (RAF) bombs Köln (Cologne), Germany

June 1942

- 4 Japanese forces attack Aleutian Islands
- 4–6 Naval and air Battle of Midway Island is waged
- 5 German forces besiege Sevastopol in the Crimea
- 6 Heydrich dies in Prague
- 7 Village of Lidice in Bohemia is liquidated in retaliation for Heydrich's death
- 21 Axis forces in North Africa capture Tobruk
- 24 General Dwight D. Eisenhower is named to command U.S. forces in Europe
- 25 Germans are victorious at Kharkov

July 1942

- 1–3 Germans secure Sevastopol
- 1–4 First Battle of El Alamein, in Egypt, is waged
- 3 Japanese forces land on Guadalcanal, in the Solomon Islands
- 22 First Warsaw ghetto deportations to death camps occur
- 23 German forces capture Rostov-on-Don, in the USSR

August 1942

- 7 U.S. Marines land on Guadalcanal
- 9 German forces capture Caucasus oil fields
Civil disobedience campaign begins in India
- 12 Churchill and Averell Harriman accept Josef Stalin's invitation and meet with him in Moscow
- 13 General Bernard L. Montgomery becomes commander of the Eighth Army in Egypt
- 19 British and Canadian forces raid Dieppe, France
Brazil declares war on Germany and Italy
- 23 Battle for Stalingrad begins
- 31 Battle of Alam Halfa halts Axis advance in North Africa

September 1942

- 2 Axis forces retreat following the Battle of Alam Halfa
- 22 German forces reach Stalingrad
- 26 Australian ground forces stop Japanese land forces working overland toward Port Moresby, New Guinea

October 1942

- 18 Hitler issues Commando Order
- 23 British Eighth Army attacks Axis forces at El Alamein, Egypt

November 1942

- 1 British forces break through at El Alamein
- 4 Axis forces retreat from El Alamein
- 8 In Operation TORCH, Allied forces land in Algeria and Morocco
- 11 Axis forces occupy Vichy-administered France
- 13 British forces retake Tobruk
- 16 Australian/U.S. forces attack Buna-Gona, New Guinea
- 19 Soviet counteroffensive begins at Stalingrad
- 27 French scuttle 77 warships at Toulon, France
- 28 Allies are repulsed by Germans 20 miles outside Tunisia

December 1942

- 13 Axis forces withdraw from El Agheila
- 16 German forces try but fail to relieve Stalingrad
- 24 Admiral Jean Darlan is assassinated in Algiers
- 31 Naval Battle of the Barents Sea is waged

January 1943

- 2 Australian/U.S. forces take Buna, New Guinea
- 14–24 Casablanca Conference, involving Churchill and Roosevelt, takes place
- 23 Tripoli, Libya, is taken by the British Eighth Army
- 27 Wilhelmshaven, Germany, is bombed by U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF)
- 30 Admiral Karl Dönitz succeeds Admiral Erich Raeder as commander of the German navy
- 31 German Field Marshal Friedrich Paulus surrenders at Stalingrad

February 1943

- 8 Red Army recaptures Kursk
- 9 U.S. forces secure Guadalcanal
- 16 Soviet forces retake Kharkov
- 22 German Field Marshal Rommel exits by the Kasserine Pass in Tunisia

25 Rommel is replaced by General Jürgen von Arnim as commander of German forces in North Africa

March 1943

2–4 Naval Battle of the Bismarck Sea is fought

5 Allied aircraft bomb industrial targets in Germany's Ruhr Valley

14–15 German forces recapture Kharkov

20–28 Eighth Army breaks Axis Mareth Line, in Tunisia

April 1943

1–22 Axis forces withdraw from Tunisia

18 Japanese Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku's plane is shot down in U.S. aerial ambush

19 German army begins effort to liquidate the Warsaw ghetto

22 U.S. and Great Britain start the Allied offensive in North Africa

May 1943

11 Japanese-held Attu Island in the Aleutians is attacked by U.S. troops

13 Allies capture Tunis and secure the surrender of 275,000 German and Italian troops in North Africa

16 Warsaw ghetto uprising ends

16–17 RAF makes Ruhr Valley dams a priority target

21 French Resistance leader Jean Moulin is arrested by the Germans

22 Dönitz suspends U-boat operations in the North Atlantic

June 1943

11 Italian island of Pantellaria surrenders

13 Tunisia Campaign ends in defeat for the Axis powers

30 U.S. forces retake Attu Island

July 1943

5–17 Battle of Kursk is waged

9 In Operation HUSKY, U.S. and British forces invade Sicily

19 U.S. aircraft bomb Rome

22 U.S. forces capture Palermo, Sicily

24 Allied aircraft bomb Norway

RAF bombings reduce Hamburg, Germany, to rubble

25 King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy dismisses Benito Mussolini; Pietro Badoglio succeeds Mussolini as Italian leader

August 1943

1 Japanese establish puppet regime in Burma

5 Soviet forces recapture Belgorod and Orel

6 Naval Battle of Vella Gulf, in the Solomon Islands, is fought

14–24 Allied QUADRANT Conference is held in Quebec, Canada

17 British and U.S. forces conclude the conquest of Sicily

USAAF conducts daylight raids on Regensburg and Schweinfurt, Germany

23 Soviet forces retake Kharkov

September 1943

3 British forces land at Calabria, Italy

8 Italian government signs armistice with the Allies

9 Allied forces land at Taranto and Salerno, Italy, during Operation AVALANCHE

10–11 German forces occupy Rome

12 Mussolini rescued by German commandos led by Otto Skorzeny

18 Allied forces capture Sardinia

22 Soviet forces secure bridgehead on Dnieper River

23 Mussolini establishes new Fascist government in northern Italy

24 German forces retreat from Smolensk, USSR

25 Soviet forces retake Smolensk and Novorossisk, USSR

October 1943

1 Allies capture Naples

4 German forces capture the Greek island of Kos

5 Allied forces capture Corsica

13 Italy declares war on Germany

USAAF conducts second raid on Schweinfurt

- 14 Canadian forces take Campobasso, Italy
Soviet forces capture Zaporozhye, Ukraine
- 18 British, Soviet, and U.S. foreign ministers meet in Moscow
- 25 Soviets take Dnepropetrovsk, Ukraine

November 1943

- 1 U.S. forces invade Bougainville, in the Solomon Islands
- 5 Greater East Asia Conference is held in Tokyo
- 7 Soviet forces liberate Kiev
- 20 Allies attack the Sangro River in Italy
Eduard Beneš and Stalin sign Soviet-Czech peace treaty
- 22–26 Allies hold Cairo Conference
- 28 Tehran Conference between Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin begins (runs until 1 December)

December 1943

- 3–7 Cairo meetings resume
- 24 Eisenhower receives command of the Allied European invasion
- 26 U.S. forces reach Cape Gloucester, in the Solomon Islands

January 1944

- 16 Eisenhower is appointed supreme commander of Allied forces in western Europe
- 22 Allied beachhead is established at Anzio, Italy
- 25 Allies begin counteroffensive in Burma
- 27 Soviet forces break 900-day siege of Leningrad

February 1944

- 3 Allied offensive stalls at Cassino, Italy
- 7 U.S. forces take Kwajalein, in the Marshall Islands
- 15 Allied aircraft bomb Monte Cassino, Italy
Soviet forces secure Estonia
- 18 U.S. naval forces attack the Japanese on Truk, in the Caroline Islands
- 20–26 Allied forces coordinate “Big Week” air strikes against German factories
- 26 Soviets bomb Helsinki, Finland

March 1944

- 8 Japanese forces begin offensive in Burma
- 15 Japanese forces invade India
- 18 RAF conducts great raid on Hamburg
- 30 RAF raids Nuremberg, Germany

April 1944

- 2 Soviet troops enter Romania
- 10 Soviet forces retake Odessa
- 15 Soviets troops take Tarnopol, Ukraine
- 19 Japanese forces capture Zhengzhou, China

May 1944

- 1 Japanese forces take Xuchang, China
- 9 Soviets recapture Sevastopol
- 11 Allied forces attack the Gustav Line near Rome
- 12 German forces surrender in Crimea
- 17–18 German troops withdraw from Monte Cassino
- 23 Allies break out from Anzio beachhead
- 25 German forces withdraw from Anzio
Japanese forces take Luoyang, China

June 1944

- 4–5 Allied troops enter Rome
- 6 Allied troops land in Normandy, France (D Day)
- 9 Soviet forces attack Finland
- 10 Germans liquidate town of Oradour-sur-Glane, France
- 12–13 German V-1 buzz bombs hit London
- 15 USAAF bombs Tokyo
U.S. forces invade Saipan
- 19–21 Naval Battle of the Philippine Sea is fought
- 22 Soviet forces commence offensive in Belorussia
Japanese forces withdraw from Kohima, India
- 27 Cherbourg, France, is liberated by the Allies

July 1944

- 3 Soviets recover Belorussia
- 4 Allies defeat Japanese forces at Imphal, India
- 9 British and Canadian forces capture Caen, France
U.S. forces declare Saipan secured

July 1944 (*cont.*)

- 18 U.S. forces liberate Saint-Lô, France
Tōjō Hideki resigns as Japanese premier; he is succeeded by Koiso Kuniaki
- 20 Assassination attempt on Hitler is unsuccessful, and the effort by the German Resistance to seize power fails
- 21 U.S. forces invade Guam in the Mariana Islands
- 23 Soviet forces take Lublin, Poland
- 25 Soviet forces liberate Majdanek concentration camp
In Operation **COBRA**, Allied forces break out from Normandy
- 28 Soviets retake Brest-Litovsk, Belorussia
U.S. forces take Coutances, France

August 1944

- 1 Warsaw rising against Germans begins
U.S. troops reach Avranches, France
- 4 Last Jews leave the Netherlands, Anne Frank included
Allied forces capture Florence, Italy
- 8 Japanese forces capture Hengyang, China
- 10 U.S. forces declare Guam secure
- 11 German forces withdraw from Florence
- 15 In Operation **DRAGOON**, Allied forces land in southern France
- 16 Falaise, France, is liberated by the Allies
French Resistance stages uprising in Paris
- 21 Allied forces trap 60,000 Germans in Argentan-Falaise pocket
- 22 Final Japanese withdrawal from Indian territory occurs
- 23 Romania surrenders
- 24 Romania declares war on Germany
Allies liberate Bordeaux, France
- 25 Free French Forces liberate Paris
Allies begin attack on the Gothic Line in Italy
- 28 Allies secure Toulon and Marseille, France
- 30 German forces withdraw from Bulgaria
- 31 Soviet forces take Bucharest

September 1944

- 1 Dieppe is liberated by British forces

- 2 Allied forces take Pisa, Italy
- 3 German forces withdraw from Finland
Brussels is liberated
- 4 Soviets and Finns agree to a cease-fire
Antwerp is liberated
- 5 Soviets declare war on Bulgaria
- 6 Allies liberate southern Netherlands
- 8 Soviet and Bulgarian forces conclude armistice
Bulgaria declares war on Germany
German V-2 rockets hit London
- 17–26 Operation **MARKET-GARDEN**, the effort of the Western Allies to secure a crossing over the Rhine River at Arnhem, fails
- 19 Armistice is concluded between the Allies and Finland
- 22 Allied forces capture Boulogne, France
- 25 Allied forces break through the Gothic Line in Italy
Hitler calls up remaining 16- to 60-year-old males for military service
- 26 Soviet forces occupy Estonia
Remaining Allied forces surrender at Arnhem
- 28 Canadian forces liberate Calais, France

October 1944

- 2 Germans end the Warsaw rising
Polish Home Army surrenders to the Germans
Allies enter western Germany
- 10–29 Soviets capture Riga in Latvia
- 14 British forces liberate Athens, Greece
Rommel is forced to commit suicide
- 18 Soviet forces enter Czechoslovakia
- 20 Yugoslav Partisans and Soviet forces enter Belgrade
U.S. troops land at Leyte, in the Philippines
- 21 German forces surrender at Aachen, Germany
- 23 Charles de Gaulle recognized by the United States as head of the French provisional government
- 23–26 Naval Battle of Leyte Gulf is fought
- 23 Soviet forces enter East Prussia
- 24 Japanese employ kamikaze suicide aircraft for the first time, in the Battle of Leyte Gulf
- 25 Soviet forces capture Kirkenes, Norway

30 Gas is used for the last time in executions at Auschwitz

November 1944

4 Axis troops surrender in Greece
 10 Japanese forces take Guilin, China
 Japanese forces capture Liuzhou, China
 20 French forces reach the Rhine through the Belfort Gap
 24 French forces liberate Strasbourg, France
 USAAF begins systematic bombing of Japan
 28 Antwerp is opened to Allied supply ships
 29 Allies occupy Albania

December 1944

3–4 Civil war in Greece commences, and martial law is proclaimed in Athens
 Japanese forces retreat in Burma
 16 Battle of the Bulge (Ardennes) commences
 17 Waffen-SS troops murder U.S. POWs at Malmèdy, Belgium
 26 U.S. forces relieve Bastogne, France
 27 Soviet forces besiege Budapest

January 1945

1–17 Germans begin to leave the Ardennes
 9 U.S. forces invade Luzon
 16 Battle of the Bulge ends
 17 Soviet troops occupy Warsaw
 19 German forces retreat in large numbers across the Baltic Sea
 20 Hungarian government concludes armistice with Soviet forces
 26 Soviet troops liberate Auschwitz
 27 Soviet forces occupy Lithuania
 30 Soviet submarine sinks passenger ship *Wilhelm Gustloff*, killing 5,100 people

February 1945

4–11 Conference involving Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin takes place at Yalta in the Crimea
 8 Allied offensive to Rhine River begins
 13 Remaining German forces in Budapest surrender to Soviet forces

13–14 RAF and USAAF conduct firebombing of Dresden, Germany

19 U.S. forces land on Iwo Jima, in the Bonin Islands
 20 Soviet forces take Danzig in East Prussia (today's Gdansk, Poland)

March 1945

3 Finland declares war on Germany
 4 U.S. forces secure Manila
 7 Allied forces take Köln
 U.S. forces seize the Remagen Bridge over the Rhine River
 9 USAAF firebombs Tokyo
 16 U.S. forces secure Iwo Jima
 20–21 Allied forces capture Mandalay, Burma

April 1945

1 U.S. forces land on Okinawa
 5 Admiral Suzuki Kantaro becomes Japanese premier
 7 Soviet forces enter Vienna
 10 Allied forces take Hanover, Germany
 12 Roosevelt dies in Warm Springs, Georgia
 Vice President Harry S Truman becomes U.S. president
 13 Soviet forces secure Vienna
 Allies take Arnhem
 15 British forces liberate Bergen-Belsen concentration camp
 16 Soviet ground forces attack Berlin
 U.S. forces enter Nuremberg
 18 Germans in the Ruhr Valley surrender
 23 Soviet forces reach Berlin
 Allied forces reach the Po River in Italy
 23–24 Heinrich Himmler offers surrender to the United States and Britain
 25 U.S. and Soviet forces meet at the Elbe River in Germany
 UN San Francisco Conference begins
 26 British forces capture Bremen
 28 Italian partisans execute Mussolini at Lake Como, Italy
 Allied forces take Venice

April 1945 (cont.)

- 29 German forces in Italy surrender
American forces liberate Dachau concentration camp
Soviet forces liberate Ravensbrück concentration camp
- 30 Hitler commits suicide in Berlin

May 1945

- 1 Allies take Moulmein, Burma
Queen Wilhelmina returns to the Netherlands
- 2 German forces in Italy surrender
Soviets capture Berlin
- 3 Rangoon, Burma, is liberated
- 5 Uprising against German occupation occurs in Prague, Czechoslovakia
Allies liberate Denmark
Truce is established on the Western Front
- 7 Naval Battle of the Atlantic ends
Germans surrender unconditionally at Rheims, France
- 8 V-E Day is celebrated
The Netherlands are liberated
Soviet forces enter Prague
- 9 Allied forces return to the Channel Islands
- 14 Australian troops capture Wewak, New Guinea
Members of the German High Command/provisional government are imprisoned

June 1945

- 5 Allied powers divide Germany into four occupation zones
- 10 Australian forces invade Borneo
- 28 U.S. Senate approves United Nations Charter in a an 89-to-2 vote
- 30 U.S. forces liberate Luzon, the Philippines

July 1945

- 1 Allied troops move into Berlin
- 16 Atomic bomb is successfully tested at Alamogordo, New Mexico
- 17 Potsdam Conference between Churchill, Truman, and Stalin opens (ends 2 August)
- 21–22 U.S. forces secure Okinawa
- 26 Clement Attlee becomes British prime minister
- 27 Chinese forces retake Guilin

August 1945

- 6 USAAF B-29 drops atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan
- 8 Soviet Union declares war on Japan
- 9 Soviet forces invade Manchuria
U.S. drops atomic bomb on Nagasaki, Japan
- 14 Japan capitulates unconditionally

September 1945

- 2 Formal Japanese surrender takes place aboard the U.S. battleship *Missouri* in Tokyo harbor
V-J Day is celebrated
- 5 British forces reach Singapore
- 7 Japanese forces in Shanghai surrender
- 9 Japanese forces in China surrender
- 13 Japanese forces in Burma surrender
Japanese forces in New Guinea surrender
- 16 Japanese forces in Hong Kong surrender

October 1945

- 24 United Nations Charter comes into force (initially with 29 members)

November 1945

- 20 International Military Tribunal (the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials) commences

Selected Glossary

Peter Brainerd Dreisbach Jr., Spencer C. Tucker, and David T. Zabecki

AA	antiaircraft	AMG	Allied Military Government
AAA	antiaircraft artillery	AMGOT	Allied Military Government of Occupied Territories
abn	airborne	<i>Amt</i>	office (German)
<i>Abt</i>	<i>Abteilung</i> (branch) (German)	ANC	Army Nurse Corps (U.S.)
<i>Abwehr</i>	military intelligence (German); Germany's military intelligence branch was the <i>Abwehrabteilung</i> , commonly known as the <i>Abwehr</i>	ANZAC	Australian and New Zealand Army Corps
ACC	Allied Control Council	AOA	American Ordnance Association
ace	airman who has shot down at least five enemy aircraft; the Germans used the term <i>expert</i>	AOC	air officer commanding (British)
ACV	U.S. Navy designation for an auxiliary aircraft carrier	AOK	<i>Armee-Oberkommando</i> (staff of a numbered army) (German)
AD	armored division	APC	armored personnel carrier
AEAF	Allied Expeditionary Air Forces	APDS	armor-piercing discarding sabot
AEF	Allied Expeditionary Forces	<i>Arfu</i>	<i>Artillerieführer</i> (artillery leader) (German)
AF	air force	<i>Arko</i>	<i>Artillerie-Kommandeur</i> (artillery commander) (German)
AFHQ	Allied Forces Headquarters	armd	armored
AFV	armored fighting vehicle	<i>Armeegruppe</i>	army group (German)
AGF	Allied Ground Forces	arty	artillery
AGRA	Army Group Royal Artillery	ARV	armored recovery vehicle
AIF	Australian Imperial Force	ASDIC	Antisubmarine Detection Investigation Committee (British acronym for sonar)
AK	<i>Armeekorps</i> (army corps) (German)	ASF	Army Service Forces (U.S.)
AK	Armia Krajowa (Home Army) (Polish)	ASW	antisubmarine warfare
AMC	armed merchant cruiser, a merchant vessel fitted out as a warship for cruising operations	AT	antitank
AMF	Australian Military Forces	ATA	Air Transport Auxiliary (British)
		ATC	Air Transport Command (U.S.)
		ATS	Auxiliary Territorial Service (British)

<i>Ausf</i>	<i>Ausführung</i> (model) (German)	BP	Bletchley Park, site of the British code-breaking operation (located outside London in Buckinghamshire)
AVG	American Volunteer Group (the Flying Tigers)	Br	British
AVG	U.S. Navy designation for an auxiliary aircraft vessel	brig	brigadier (British)
AVRE	armored vehicle Royal Engineers	BSC	British Security Coordination
B	U.S. Army Air Forces designation for bomber model aircraft	C	U.S. symbol to designate a cargo aircraft model
BAR	Browning automatic rifle (U.S.)	CA	U.S. Navy designation for a heavy cruiser
BARV	beach armored recovery vehicle	CAM	catapult merchant ship
bazooka	handheld rocket launcher, an antitank weapon (U.S.)	CAP	Civil Air Patrol (U.S.)
BB	U.S. Navy designation for a battleship	CAPF	Canadian Army Pacific Force
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation	CAS	chief of air staff (British)
BCATP	British Commonwealth Air Training Plan	CATF	China Air Task Force
BCRA	Bureau Central de Renseignements et d'Action (Central Intelligence and Operations Bureau) (French)	cav	cavalry
bde	brigade	CB	Companion of the Order of the Bath (British award)
B-Dienst	Beobachtungs-Dienst, the cryptanalysis section of German naval intelligence (properly xB-Dienst)	CB	counterbattery fire of artillery
BDJ	Bund Deutsches Jungvolk (German Youth Association)	CB	U.S. Navy designation for a large cruiser
BDM	Bund Deutscher Mädel (Association of German Maidens)	CB ("Seabee")	U.S. Navy Construction Battalion or its personnel
BEF	British Expeditionary Force	CBE	Commander Order of the British Empire (British award)
BEW	Board of Economic Warfare (U.S.)	CBI	China-Burma-India (Theater of War)
Bf	German designation for Messerschmitt fighter plane designs up to 1938, produced by Bayerische Flugzeugwerke, a German aircraft-manufacturing firm	CBO	combined bomber offensive
bhp	brake horsepower	CCA	Combat Command A (armored division) (U.S.)
Big Four	Soviet Union, United States, Great Britain, and China	CCB	Combat Command B (armored division) (U.S.)
Big Three	Soviet Union, United States, and Great Britain	CCR	Combat Command Reserve (armored division) (U.S.)
Blitz	Germany's aerial campaign against Britain, from the German word for lightning	CCS	Combined Chiefs of Staff (British and U.S.)
blitzkrieg	lightning war, the German method of mobile attack using both aerial and land forces	CDL	canal defense light
bn	battalion	CG	commanding general
BOAC	British Overseas Airways Corporation	CGS	chief of the General Staff (British)
		CI	counterintelligence
		CIC	Counterintelligence Corps (U.S.)
		CIGS	chief of the Imperial General Staff (British)
		CinC	commander in chief
		CINCAF	commander in chief of the Allied Forces

CINCMED	commander in chief of the Mediterranean	CW	continuous-wave
cl	class of ship		
CL	U.S. Navy designation for a light cruiser	D day	day on which an operation commences
CLAA	U.S. Navy designation for an antiaircraft cruiser	D+#	notation indicating the specific number of days that have passed since a given D day
CLN	Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale (National Liberation Committee) (Italian)	DAF	Desert Air Force (British)
cm	centimeter	DAK	Deutsches Afrika Korps (German Africa Corps)
CMHQ	Canadian military headquarters	DD	duplex-drive amphibious tank
CNF	Comité National Français (French National Committee)	DD	U.S. Navy designation for a destroyer
CNL	National Liberation Committee (Polish)	DE	U.S. Navy designation for a destroyer escort
CNO	chief of naval operations (U.S.)	DEMS	defensively equipped merchant ship
CNR	Conseil National de la Résistance (National Resistance Council) (French)	DF	direction finder or direction-finding
CO	commanding officer	DFC	Distinguished Flying Cross (British, U.S. military decoration)
CO	conscientious objector	div	division
CofS	chief of staff	DLM	<i>division légère mécanique</i> (light mechanized division) (French)
COHQ	Combined Operations Headquarters (British)	DMS	U.S. Navy designation for a destroyer minesweeper
COI	coordinator of information	DNI	director of naval intelligence, U.S. Navy
Comando Supremo	Italian Armed Forces High Command	dogface	slang term for an American infantryman
COMINCH	U.S. Navy commander in chief	DP	displaced person
COMINT	communications intelligence	DP	dual-purpose
commo	communications	<i>drôle de guerre</i>	French term for the so-called Phony War (see Sitzkrieg)
COMMZ	areas behind the fighting forces (acronym for communications zone)	DSC	Distinguished Service Cross (British, U.S. military decoration)
COMNAVEU	Commander of U.S. Naval Forces in Europe	DSO	Distinguished Service Order (British military decoration)
COSSAC	chief of staff to the supreme Allied commander	DUKW	“duck” amphibious truck (U.S.)
counterbattery	artillery fire directed against enemy heavy weapons and artillery	EAC	European Advisory Commission
CP	command post	EAM	Ethnikon Apeletherotikon Metopon (National Liberation Front), Greek unit that fought the Germans
CV	U.S. Navy designation for an aircraft carrier	E-boat	<i>Eilboot</i> (fast boat) (German), describing a small, torpedo-carrying boat
CVE	U.S. Navy designation for an escort aircraft carrier, also known as a “jeep carrier” (crews said the acronym stood for “combustible, vulnerable, and expendable”)	ECM	electronic countermeasures
CVO	Commander of the Royal Victorian Order (British award)	EDES	Ethnikos Dimokratikos Ellinikos Syndesmos (National Republican Greek League)
CW	chemical warfare	E&E	escape and evasion

Einsatzgruppen	German Schutzstaffel (SS) operational troops within the occupied territories, involved in exterminating Jews	Front	a Soviet army group
EK	<i>Eisernes Kreuz</i> (Iron Cross) (German military decoration)	FUSAG	1st U.S. Army Group, used as a ghost unit in the Allied deception operation (code-named FORTITUDE) prior to the Normandy Invasion
ELAS	Ethnikos Laikos Apeleftherotikos Stratos (Greek National Popular Liberation Army)	FW	German designation for the Focke-Wulf aircraft-manufacturing firm
ELINT	electronic intelligence	FWD	forward headquarters
enr	engineer	G	U.S. designation for divisional (or higher-level) staff sections, as follows:
EOD	explosive-ordnance disposal	G-1	administration
Ersatzheer	German Replacement Army	G-2	intelligence
ETO	European Theater of Operations	G-3	operations and training
EW	electronic warfare	G-4	logistics
		G-5	civil affairs
FA	U.S. acronym for field artillery	GAU	Glavnoye Artilleriyskoye Upravleniye (Main Soviet Artillery Directorate)
<i>Fallschirmjäger</i>	paratrooper (German)	<i>Gauleiter</i>	regional leader of the Nazi Party
FANY	Field Auxiliary Nursing Yeomanry (British)	GC	George Cross (British military decoration)
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation (U.S.)	GCI	ground-controlled intercept
FCA HQ	First Canadian Army, Headquarters	Gd	Guards
FDR	Franklin D. Roosevelt, U.S. president	geh	<i>geheim</i> (secret) (German)
<i>Feldheer</i>	field army (German)	GenStdH	Generalstab des Heeres (Army General Staff) (German)
FFI	Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur (French Forces of the Interior)	<i>Geschwader</i>	air force wing (German)
FHO	Fremde Heere Ost (Foreign Armies East), German organization specializing in gathering intelligence on the Soviet Union	Gestapo	Geheimstaatspolizei (Secret State Police) (German)
FHQ	<i>Führerhauptquartier</i> (leader's [Adolf Hitler's] principal headquarters) (German)	GHQ	general headquarters
flak	<i>Flugzeugabwehrkanone</i> (antiaircraft guns) (German); Allied aircrews appropriated the term for German antiaircraft fire	GI	slang term for an American soldier (acronym for <i>government issue</i>)
FM	field manual (U.S.)	GKdo	<i>Generalkommando</i> (corps headquarters) (German)
FM	frequency-modulation radio	GKO	Soviet State Defense Committee
FNFL	Forces Navales Françaises Libres (Free French Naval Forces)	GMC	gun motor carriage
fps	feet per second	GNP	gross national product
FR	fortified region	GO	general order
Freikorps	Free Corps (German), the private militia groups of the early Weimar Republic period that continued to fight the Soviets in the east and contested with leftists in the German cities	GOC	general officer commanding (British)
		grt	gross register tons
		GRU	Glavnoe Razvedyvatel'noe Upravlenie (Main Intelligence Directorate of the Soviet General Staff)
		GS	General Staff
		H hour	commencement time on D day

H-Dienst	Haffen-Dienst, the German Harbor Service	intsum	intelligence summary
He	German designation for the Heinkel aircraft-manufacturing firm	It	Italian
HE	high-explosive	IWM	Imperial War Museum (in London)
HEAT	high-explosive antitank (shell)	Jabo	<i>Jagdbomber</i> (fighter-bomber) (German)
Hedgehog	Allied naval antisubmarine weapon; also, three crossed angle irons used as an anti-tank obstacle	<i>Jäger</i>	light infantry (German)
<i>Heeresgruppe</i>	army group (German)	JCS	Joint Chiefs of Staff (U.S.)
HF	high-frequency	jeep	quarter-ton truck (slang term for a general-purpose truck, or GP)
HF/DF	high-frequency direction finding	JG	<i>Jagdgeschwader</i> (Luftwaffe fighter wing) (German)
<i>Hiwi Hilfswillige</i>	German term for Polish and Soviet volunteer military auxiliaries	JIC	Joint Intelligence Committee (British and American)
HJ	Hitlerjugend (Hitler Youth) (German)	JS	<i>Jagdstaffel</i> (fighter squadron) (German)
HMAS	His Majesty's Australian Ship	JSM	Joint Staff Mission (British)
HMCS	His Majesty's Canadian Ship	Ju	German designation for the Junkers aircraft-manufacturing firm
HMNS	His Majesty's Netherlands Ship	JV	<i>Jagdverband</i> (fighter formation) (German)
HMNZS	His Majesty's New Zealand Ship		
HMS	His Majesty's Ship		
hp	horsepower	K rations	U.S. Army field rations
HQ	headquarters	<i>Kampfgruppe</i>	task force or battle group (German)
HSSPF	<i>Höhere SS und Polizeiführer</i> (senior commanders of the Schutzstaffel [SS] and the police) (German)	KBE	Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire (British award)
HUMINT	human intelligence	KCB	Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath (British award)
HVAR	high-velocity aircraft rocket	KG	<i>Kampfgeschwader</i> (aircraft squadron) (German)
Hvy	heavy	KGB	Komitet Gossudarstvennoi Bezopastnosti (Committee for State Security) (Soviet), the secret police
HWE	Home War Establishment (Canadian)	kHz	kilohertz, or 1,000 cycles per second
ICC	Inter-Allied Control Council	KIA	killed in action
ID	infantry division	KKV	<i>Kleinkampfverbände</i> (small fighting units or special forces) (German)
i.G.	<i>im Generalstab</i> (designation for General Staff officers) (German)	km	kilometer
IG	inspector general	KM	Kriegsmarine (German navy)
IJN	Imperial Japanese Navy	KONR	Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia (Soviet)
Il	Soviet designation for aircraft designed by Sergei Ilyushin	<i>Kreisleiter</i>	district leader of the Nazi Party (German)
ILR	<i>Infanterie Lehrregiment</i> (Infantry School training regiment) (German)	Kripo	<i>Kriminalpolizei</i> (criminal police) (German)
IMT	international military tribunal	kt	knot, or 1 nautical mile per hour
Ind	Indian	KTB	<i>Kriegstagebuch</i> (war diary) (German)
inf	infantry		
intel	intelligence		

KZ	<i>Konzentrationslager</i> (concentration camp) (German)	MAD	magnetic anomaly detection
LAF	Lithuanian Activist Force	MAP	Ministry of Air Production (British)
LAH	Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler (Adolf Hitler's bodyguard unit); later, the 1st Waffen-SS Panzer Division	<i>maquisards</i>	French term for troops of the French Resistance, the maquis
<i>Landsers</i>	German slang term for the common soldier	MBE	Member of the Order of the British Empire (British award)
LC	designation for various types of landing craft, as follows:	MC	Military Cross (British military decoration)
LCA	landing craft, assault	MCWR	Marine Corps Women's Reserve (U.S.)
LCI	landing craft, infantry	Me	German designation for the Messerschmitt aircraft-manufacturing firm
LCI(L)	landing craft, infantry (large)	MEK	Marine-Einsatz-Kommando (Naval Replacement Command) (German)
LCM	landing craft, mechanized	MG	<i>Maschinengewehr</i> (machine gun) (German)
LCS	landing craft, support	MGB	motor gunboat
LCS(L)	landing craft, support (large)	MHz	megahertz, or 1 million cycles per second
LCT	landing craft, tank	MI	designation for British intelligence branches, as follows:
LCVP	landing craft, vehicle and personnel	MI-1	intelligence administration
LCS	London Controlling Station	MI-2	intelligence for eastern Europe and Asia
LF	low-frequency	MI-3	intelligence for western Europe and the Americas
LOCs	lines of communication	MI-4	intelligence map support
LOCUS	landing craft obstacle clearance units (British)	MI-5	Security Service
LRDG	Long-Range Desert Group (British)	MI-6	Secret Intelligence Service (operating under the British Foreign Office, this unit had responsibility for gathering foreign intelligence relating to Britain's national security; its chief had responsibility for the Code and Cypher School at Bletchley Park)
LS	designation for various types of landing ships, as follows:	MI-7	press intelligence
LSD	landing ship, dock	MI-8	signals intelligence
LSH	landing ship, headquarters	MI-9	escape service, providing support for Allied escape and evasion
LSI	landing ship, infantry	MI-10	intelligence technical support
LSM	landing ship, medium	MI-11	field security police
LST	landing ship, tank	MI-12	postal security
LSV	landing ship, vehicle	MI-14	intelligence for Germany
lt	light	MI-15	photo reconnaissance
Luftflotte	German air fleet	MI-16	intelligence for science
Luftflotte-Reich	German Home Air Command	MI-17	intelligence coordination
Luftwaffe	German air force	MI-19	intelligence for enemy prisoners of war and refugees from Europe
LVF	Légion des Volontaires Français (Waffen-SS, or armed SS, French volunteer force)	MI	military intelligence
LVT	landing vehicle, tracked	MIA	missing in action
Lw	Luftwaffe (German air force)		
M	U.S. designation for a particular model number		
MAAF	Mediterranean Allied Air Force		
MAC	merchant aircraft carrier		

MiG	Soviet designation for the Mikoyan and Gurevich aircraft-manufacturing firm	oa	overall, as a descriptor of the length of a vessel; thus, a ship that is 300' in length (oa) measures 300' from the front of the bow to the end of the stern
MILORG	Military Organization (Norwegian armed resistance group)	OB	<i>Oberfehlshaber</i> (commander in chief) (German)
Mk	British designation for a "Mark" model number	OB	order of battle (U.S., British)
mm	millimeter	OBE	Officer of the Order of the British Empire (British award)
Molotov cocktail	inflammatory device, usually a bottle that is filled with gasoline and has a rag fuse. After the fuse is lit, the device is thrown, exploding on impact and setting fire to the area around it. Named for Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs Vyacheslav Molotov, the device was chiefly used on the Eastern Front during the war by Soviet troops and partisans attacking tanks and vehicles.	OC	Office of Censorship (U.S.)
MP	<i>Mashinenpistole</i> (submachine gun) (German)	OCS	officer candidate school (U.S.)
MP	member of Parliament	ODESSA	Organisation der Ehemaligen SS-Angehörigen (Organization of Former SS [Schutzstaffel] Members) (German)
MP	military police	OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
mph	miles per hour	OEEC	Organization for European Economic Cooperation
MT	motor transport	OFEC	Office for Economic Coordination
MTB	motor torpedo boat	Oflag	<i>Offizierslager</i> (prisoner-of-war camp for officers) (German)
MTO	Mediterranean Theater of Operations	OG	operational group
MUR	Mouvements Unis de la Résistance (United Resistance Movements) (French)	OGBM	Otdelny Gvardeskiy Batal'on Miverov (Separate Guard Battalion) (Soviet)
NAAF	North African Air Force	OK	German designation for the high command of various departments of the armed forces, as follows:
NBS	Norden bombsight	OKH	Oberkommando des Heeres (Army High Command)
NCO	noncommissioned officer	OKL	Oberkommando der Luftwaffe (Air Force High Command)
<i>Nebelwerfer</i>	mobile electronically fired multiple-barrel rocket launcher (German)	OKM	Oberkommando der Kriegsmarine (Navy High Command)
NKVD	Narodnyy Kommissariat Vnutrenniakh Del (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) (Soviet)	OKW	Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (Armed Forces High Command)
nm	nautical mile	OP	observation post
NRMA	National Resources Mobilization Act (Canadian)	op	operation
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Workers' [Nazi] Party)	opord	operations order
<i>Null-Tag</i>	Zero Day (German), equivalent to the Allied D day; also known as <i>O-tag</i>	Orpo	Ordnungspolizei (Order Police) (German)
NZ	New Zealand	OSS	Office of Strategic Services (U.S.)
		OT	Organisation Todt, German construction group
		OWI	Office of War Information (U.S.)
		OWM	Office of War Mobilization (U.S.)
		P	U.S. Army Air Forces designation for a fighter (pursuit) aircraft model

PAF	Polish air force	RAC	Royal Armoured Corps
Pak	<i>Panzerabwehrkanone</i> (antitank gun) (German)	RAD	Reichsarbeitsdienst (German Labor Service)
<i>Panzerfaust</i>	panzer fist (German), designation for a shaped-charge antitank weapon	RAF	Royal Air Force
panzergrenadier	German mechanized infantry	RAN	Royal Australian Navy
<i>Panzerschreck</i>	Panzer Terror, name for a German anti-tank rocket that was the counterpart to the U.S. bazooka	RCAF	Royal Canadian Air Force
pdr	pounder, a gun-size designation related to projectile weight measurement; thus, a 6 pdr gun fires a 6 lb projectile	RCM	radar countermeasure
Pfc	private first class (U.S. Army enlisted rank)	RCN	Royal Canadian Navy
PPF	Pathfinder Force (U.S. and British term for advance unit guiding main body to destination)	RCT	regimental combat team
PHOTINT	photographic intelligence	RDF	radio direction finding
PIAT	British antitank weapon (acronym for <i>projector, infantry, antitank</i>)	RE	Royal Engineers
PLUTO	Pipeline under the Ocean, referring to the Allied pipeline to France under the English Channel that was put in place after the June 1944 Normandy Invasion	recce	reconnaissance
PM	prime minister	regt	regiment
PNF	Partito Nazionale Fascista (Fascist National Party) (Italian)	REI	Régiment Étranger d'Infanterie (Foreign Legion Infantry Regiment) (French)
POL	petroleum, oil, lubricants	Reichsheer	army of Germany's Third Reich
Pol	Polish	<i>Reichsleiter</i>	national-level leader of the Nazi Party (German)
POW	prisoner of war	Reichswehr	armed forces of Germany's Weimar Republic
PPA	Polish People's Army	RFSS	<i>Reichsführer-SS</i> (SS leader for the Reich) (German)
PUC	Presidential Unit Citation (U.S.)	RKFDV	<i>Reichskommissar für die Festigung des deutschen Volkstums</i> (Reich commissioner for the strengthening of Germanism) (German)
PWE	Political Warfare Executive (British)	RM	Regia Marina (Italian navy)
Pz	<i>Panzer</i> (armor) (German)	RM	Royal Marines
PzDv	panzer division	RN	Royal Navy
PzGr	<i>Panzergrenadier</i> (mechanized infantry) (German)	RNVR	Royal Navy Volunteer Reserve
PzKpfw	<i>Panzerkampfwagen</i> (armored fighting vehicle) (German)	RNZAF	Royal New Zealand Air Force
QM	quartermaster	ROA	Russkaia Osvoboditel'naia Armiia (Russian Liberation Army)
RA	Regia Aeronautica (Italian air force)	RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Main Security Office)
RA	Royal Artillery	RSI	Repubblica Sociale Italiana (Italian Social Republic)
RAAF	Royal Australian Air Force	RTR	Royal Tank Regiment
		RTTY	radio teletype
		RuSHA	Rasse und Siedlungshauptamt (Race and Resettlement Office) (German)
		S	U.S. designation for various regimental or lower-level staff sections, as follows:
		S-1	personnel

S-2	intelligence	SOP	standing operating procedure (order to be followed automatically in specified circumstances)
S-3	operations	SOS	Service of Supply (U.S.)
S-4	supply	SP	self-propelled
SA	Sturmabteilungen (storm battalions or troops), Nazi armed groups that helped bring Adolf Hitler to power	SPARS	U.S. Coast Guard women's auxiliary (derived from the Coast Guard motto, <i>Semper Paratus</i>)
SACEUR	supreme Allied commander in Europe	Spetsnaz	Spetsialnoye Nazhacheniya (Special Forces) (Soviet)
SACMED	supreme Allied commander in the Mediterranean	SPF	special-purpose force
SAM	surface-to-air missile	SPOC	special operations center
SAS	Special Air Service (British)	sq	squadron
SBG	small box girder bridge	SS	Schutzstaffel (Protective Bodies, or bodyguard) (German); originally the bodyguard for Adolf Hitler, the SS grew into a large and elite party force
SBS	Special Boats Section (British)	SS	U.S. Navy designation for a submarine
SCAEF	supreme commander, Allied Expeditionary Forces	SSS	Selective Service System (U.S.)
SCAP	supreme commander, Allied powers (title given to General Douglas MacArthur as head of the occupation forces in Japan)	SSTV	SS-Totenkopfverbände (SS Death's Head formations) (German), the guard units for concentration camps
SD	Sicherheitsdienst (Security Service) (German)	SSVT	SS-Verfügungstruppe (SS Reserves) (German)
SdKfz	<i>Sonderkraftfahrzeug</i> (special motor vehicle, such as a half-track or armored car) (German)	<i>Stabschef</i>	chief of staff (German)
SFHQ	Special Forces Headquarters	<i>Stalag</i>	<i>Mannschafts-Stammlager</i> (prisoner-of-war camp for enlisted men) (German)
SHAEF	Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces	Stavka	Soviet High Command
SIGINT	signals intelligence	STO	Service du Travail Obligatoire (Mandatory Labor Service) (French)
Sipo	Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police) (German)	STOL	short takeoff and landing
SIS	Secret Intelligence Service (British), classified as MI-6	StuG	<i>Sturmgeschütz</i> (assault gun) (German)
sitrep	situation report	Stuka	<i>Sturzkampfflugzeug</i> (designation for a dive-bomber, specifically the Ju-87) (German)
Sitzkrieg	British parody of the term <i>blitzkrieg</i> (<i>sitz</i> is the German word for sit); referred to the period from October 1939 to May 1940 when little military action took place on the Western Front, a period also known as the Phony War and the Bore War	TA	Territorial Army (British)
Smersh	Smert Shpionam (Death to Spies), a Soviet counterintelligence organization	TA	traffic analysis
SMLE	short-magazine Lee-Enfield, the standard British-issue rifle of World War II	tac	tactical
SOE	Special Operations Executive (British)	TAF	tactical air force
<i>Sonderkommando</i>	special unit (German)	TBS	talk between ships
		TD	tank destroyer
		Teller mine	German antitank mine
		TF	task force
		TG	task group

TM	technical manual (U.S.)	<i>Vokssturm</i>	people's militia (German)
T/O&E	table of organization and equipment (U.S.)	VT	variable time artillery proximity fuze
Tommy	slang term for a British soldier	VVS	Voенно-Vozhdusnis Sili (Soviet air force)
TOT	time on target (artillery term)	WAAC	Women's Auxiliary Army Corps (U.S.)
U-boat	<i>Unterwasserboot</i> (submarine) (German)	WAAF	Women's Auxiliary Air Force (British)
UDT	underwater demolition team (U.S.)	WAC	Women's Army Corps (U.S.)
UHF	ultrahigh frequency	Waffen-SS	armed Schutzstaffel (SS), the German SS fighting units during the war
UK	United Kingdom	WAFS	Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron (U.S.)
UN	United Nations	WASP	Women Airforce Service Pilots (U.S.)
UPA	Ukrainska Povstanska Armiya (Ukrainian Insurgent Army)	WAVES	Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service (U.S.)
USA	U.S. Army	Wehrmacht	German armed forces from 1935 to 1945, succeeding the Weimar Republic's Reichswehr
USAAF	U.S. Army Air Forces	<i>WFst</i>	Wehrmachtführungsstab (Operations Staff of the Armed Forces) (German)
USAR	U.S. Army Reserve	WIA	wounded in action
USCG	U.S. Coast Guard	WLA	Women's Land Army (British)
USCGC	U.S. Coast Guard Cutter	WMC	War Manpower Commission (U.S.)
USMC	U.S. Marine Corps	WP	white phosphorous
USMCR	U.S. Marine Corps Reserve	WPB	War Production Board (U.S.)
USN	U.S. Navy	WPD	War Plans Division (U.S.)
USNR	U.S. Naval Reserve	WRNS	Women's Royal Navy Service (British)
USNS	U.S. Naval Ship	WSA	War Shipping Administration (U.S.)
USO	United Service Organizations (U.S.)	WVS	Women's Volunteer Service (British)
USS	U.S. Ship		
USSTAF	U.S. Strategic Air Forces	XO	executive officer
UXB	unexploded bomb	Yak	Soviet designation for the Yakovlev aircraft-manufacturing firm
V	<i>Vergeltungswaffen</i> , a designation for missile reprisal weapons (German)	ŻOB	Żobyska Organizacja Bojowa, the Russian name for the Jewish Fighting Organization of the Warsaw ghetto
VC	Victoria Cross (British military decoration)		
V-E	Victory in Europe (conclusion of the war in Europe)		
VHF	very high frequency		
V-J	Victory over Japan (conclusion of the war in the Pacific)		
<i>Volksdeutsche</i>	German word referring to the residents of border areas in adjacent countries who were ethnically German		

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Introduction

Documents are the raw materials of history. The historian must recognize their unique properties and exercise great caution in handling them. The story the documents tell may or may not be true, and each type of document has its own advantages and disadvantages. One distinguished World War II historian, Sir John Wheeler-Bennett, edited collections of German documents on interwar foreign policy and termed documents “the bare bones of history.” He recalled, as “a young and budding historian I had a thing about documents. I believed that in documents lay the real truth of history.” He nonetheless confessed that, though never losing his basic interest in documents, he later discovered “. . . that historical truth—in that it exists at all—lies not in documents alone, nor in memoirs, diaries, biographies or oral history. All these are essential and invaluable factors in the historian’s armoury but, when the chips are down, the final result depends on the historian himself alone, on his ability to weigh, assay and analyse the accumulated material at his disposal and to come up with his own honest opinions and conclusions. There are no answers at the back of the book.” (Wheeler-Bennett 1976, 58)

The further back we go in the historical record, the fewer documents we normally have at our disposal. This is due in part to the loss or destruction of many documents over time and to the fact that mass literacy has been largely a phenomenon of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. When fewer people were able to read or write, the written record was less extensive. Those who lacked the ability to leave any written record of their own were underrepresented in historical accounts, which relied heavily on written sources.

The documents in this volume are only a tiny fraction of the millions of documents World War II generated. In a few

cases, tracking down these documents presented a challenge demanding persistence and ingenuity. In assembling this collection, the editor was fortunate in having at her disposal the outstanding resources of the libraries of the University of Hong Kong, George Washington University and its associated consortium, and the Library of Congress. Perhaps the hardest task, however, was not simply locating these documents but making the final selection.

Quite a number of documents chose themselves. One important priority was to provide reasonably full coverage of both the diplomatic and the military courses of the war. Another was to give some sense of its geographical extent and implications. Whether actual fighting took place on its soil, for every country involved in World War II, the political, social, and economic impact was profound. The documents included here were chosen to convey some sense of the wider domestic consequences of the experience of total war.

World War II did not have tidy temporal limits. Powers entered the war at different times: Great Britain, Germany, and France in 1939, Italy in 1940, the Soviet Union in mid-1941, and the United States at the end of 1941. In a broader perspective, the causes of World War II can be traced back at least to World War I, which fragmented and weakened the existing international system, creating a set of problems it would take another war to resolve. Nor did the consequences of World War II end when the fighting ended in 1945. The power vacuum it created in large parts of the world was effectively filled by the Cold War, which evolved out of the balance of forces that existed when the war ended and from ideological and geopolitical conflicts, the ancestry of which was far more venerable. The documents in this volume therefore cover the rise of Benito Mussolini and

Adolf Hitler, the development of the Sino-Japanese conflict, the Italo-Ethiopian War, the Spanish Civil War, and the reaction of the large Western democracies, including the United States, to these events.

Although the formal time-frame for this volume ends in 1945, one can already discern in the documents the burgeoning Cold War, as tensions mounted between the Soviet Union and the Western Allies over control of Eastern Europe and the treatment of Germany. From early in the war, liberal Europeans demonstrated a real wish to integrate their continent so as to prevent future wars resembling the two of the previous thirty years. The rise of nationalist and communist political forces in Asia was also clearly apparent even before World War II began, but the war enormously enhanced the position of both and ultimately ended formal Western colonialism there. Significantly, by 1945, top American political and military leaders were urging that their country indefinitely maintain a strong and modern military capable of responding immediately to international challenges, and also an overseas intelligence capability.

Politicians, diplomats, and generals made—or tried to make—the war’s biggest decisions, but their ultimate success in implementing these decisions depended on their ability to win support or at least acquiescence from their populations. Tens of millions of ordinary people fought in the war, as soldiers or irregular partisans. At least as many worked in the war industries and hundreds of millions lived in territories that were fought over, bombed, or occupied. Tens of millions of soldiers and civilians died, in combat, as prisoners of war or as the victims of bombing, atrocities, concentration camps, exposure, starvation, and disease. From small children to the elderly, even among those fortunate enough to escape the war’s worst ravages, its effects were still felt long after the actual fighting ceased. For many, the war was a period of brutal hardship; of battles and experiences they would rather forget. For others more fortunate, the war was a period of camaraderie and excitement, of using their skills and living their lives with an intensity they would never again attain, and of shared effort in a common and uplifting cause. And for many, maybe even the majority, the war and its effects were simply to be endured. Some, of course, left no records behind.

For many years, newspapers reported the war in detail, from the level of high policy down to human interest stories of its impact on individuals who might or might not be typical. Official government broadcasting operations and private broadcasting stations also kept extensive collections of transcripts and recordings of radio broadcasts. Official government records in the political, military, diplomatic, economic, and domestic spheres record the information that the government wanted to share with its citizens.

Less official materials were also abundant, their survival in many cases dependent upon the vagaries of chance. Private organizations, business or philanthropic, often maintained what were effectively their own archives, and some individuals saved large collections of personal papers. Many of those involved in the war kept diaries—those in prominent or interesting positions perhaps in the hope of enshrining their claims to historical recognition, many ordinary people in the expectation that their wartime experiences would be among the high points of their lives. After the war ended, new technology, especially light and easily operable recording machines, contributed to the development of the new field of oral history, whose practitioners made dedicated efforts to collect, transcribe, and make available the recollections of all levels of wartime participants, from those who were children at the time to high-ranking officials. The growing interest in family history likewise impelled individuals to set down their recollections for future generations.

One must always, however, approach every source with what will often prove to be well-warranted skepticism. Documents are never simply neutral records of events. Every document is written for a purpose, even if it is simply to record one’s own private experiences and feelings. In no circumstances can one treat a document in a vacuum; the more one knows about its context, the better one can appreciate it.

What, then, is the value of documents to historians? Should we conclude that, since every document is inherently problematic, it is impossible to make any credible use of them? To that, the dedicated historian would undoubtedly answer: Certainly not. Historians regard documents as treasures and devote much effort and ingenuity to tracking down new and previously overlooked sources. The interpretation of written sources, while overwhelming at times, is not a task requiring superhuman talents. It merely demands the fundamental qualifications of any good historian: knowledge, skill, discernment, and critical abilities.

No single collection of documents could ever hope to encapsulate the vast range of individual experiences in and responses to World War II. Even though several were chosen at least in part because each seemed broadly representative of a particular type of wartime experience, the small selection of personal letters and memoirs included here perhaps suggests how very differently the same war could be felt by each man, woman, or child involved.

— Priscilla Mary Roberts

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Section I

The Coming of War

Throughout the 1930s, as economic depression took hold and politics became more extreme, in both Asia and Europe the threat of war loomed ever closer. In Germany, Adolf Hitler, leader of the National Socialist Party, became chancellor in 1933, whereupon he quickly moved to implement the program expounded in his notorious *Mein Kampf* [My Struggle], ending democracy and establishing a right-wing police state, persecuting German Jews, rearming his country, and embarking on a program of territorial expansion. In 1935 Italy's Benito Mussolini, Europe's first Fascist dictator, who had seized power in 1922, openly defied the League of Nations and invaded Abyssinia. The Spanish Civil War that began in 1936 served as an arena where left- and right-wing forces from around Europe confronted each other with a savagery that foreshadowed the larger battles to come. In 1937 the Japanese military launched an unofficial war in China, a conflict marked by extreme brutality against civilians, most notably in the December 1937 Nanjing massacre. Haunted by memories of the enormous loss of life during World War I, many in the European democracies embraced pacifism. In the hope of avoiding war, for several years British leaders acquiesced in German and Italian expansion, a course that would later be condemned as "appeasement." In August 1939 an unexpected rapprochement between two purportedly sworn ideological enemies, Germany, Europe's strongest Fascist power, and the Soviet Union, the continent's leading Communist state, whereby the Soviet Union pledged itself to remain neutral in the forthcoming conflict, paved the way for World War II to begin in Europe.

1.1. The Impact of World War I

British Pacifism between the World Wars

One immediate legacy of World War I (a war in which, from a 1914 population of 37 million, 947,000 British soldiers died and 2,122,000 were wounded; with comparable figures for France of 1,385,000 dead and 3,044,000 wounded from a population of 40 million) was a steadfast determination to avoid war in the future at almost any cost. Initially, the hope was that the international organization the League of Nations, created by the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, a body in which both Britain and France were key members, would serve this purpose. In Great Britain, the League of Nations Union, founded in 1918, was the key organization for those who shared this faith. By the late 1920s, its membership approached 1 million.

Various developments caused antiwar sentiment to intensify in the late 1920s and early 1930s. A flood of personal

World War I memoirs appeared at that time, most of them highly skeptical as to the value of the war itself. The year 1928 saw *Undertones of War* by Edmund Blunden and *Journey's End* by R. C. Sherriff; 1929 *Death of a Hero* by Richard Aldington and *All Quiet on the Western Front* by the German Erich Maria Remarque; 1930 *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* by Siegfried Sassoon, *Good-Bye to All That* by Robert Graves, and *Her Privates We* by Frederick Manning. Women's experience of war and loss was graphically described in *Testament of Youth* (1933) by Vera Brittain, a professional writer, former Oxford University student, and wartime nurse who lost her fiancé, brother, and closest friends in the war, and in consequence, became a lifelong pacifist. All these works suggested that, even for the victorious powers, winning the war had not been worth the sacrifices of lives it entailed. Most suggested that on all sides, incompetence and wasteful disregard of the consequences in terms of dead and wounded characterized the military prosecution of the war. They also argued that, far from creating a world in which war would be less

rather than more likely, World War I had proved futile in terms even of resolving the immediate issues involved.

By the end of the 1920s, disillusionment with the fruits of World War I was widespread. Scholarly works of the 1920s generally suggested that the outbreak of war had stemmed from mistaken policies and actions on all sides, the prewar armaments race, or the demands of international capitalism. Moreover, from 1929 onward, in almost every country around the world, economic depression superseded the relative prosperity of the 1920s, a development that greatly exacerbated existing international tensions, with the result that the outbreak of new conflicts soon appeared only too likely. In 1931, Japan ignored its pledges under the Washington Conference Treaties of 1921–1922 and invaded the northeastern Chinese region of Manchuria, soon establishing there the puppet government of Manzhouguo (Manchukuo), nominally headed by the last emperor of China, who had been deposed in 1911. The Japanese government responded to formal protests by the League of Nations by leaving that organization, a course subsequently imitated in 1935 by both Germany and Italy, when the former abrogated the military restrictions imposed on Germany under the Treaty of Versailles and resumed control of the Rhineland and the latter invaded Abyssinia. In Italy, from the early 1930s, the one-party Fascist government of Benito Mussolini, in power since 1922, became increasingly aggressive, demanding that Italy should be permitted to acquire colonial territories in nearby North Africa. In Germany, another Fascist leader, the National Socialist Adolf Hitler, came to power as chancellor in January 1933. He soon eliminated all rival political parties and began to implement a major German rearmament program. Hitler demanded the rectification of the wrongs he claimed the Treaty of Versailles had inflicted upon Germany, depriving it of territory, colonies, and natural resources, and assertively claimed that Germany's growing population entitled it to *lebensraum* at the expense of neighboring countries, especially those whose populations included substantial numbers of ethnic Germans. It seemed increasingly probable that he would use his country's revitalized military strength to enforce these demands.

In response, British pacifist sentiment burgeoned. Both the Liberal and Labour Parties supported disarmament and attacked the predominantly Conservative National government then in power when a major international disarmament conference, which opened in 1932, broke down the following year over Hitler's demand for immediate military parity with France, Germany's great continental rival. The economic depression that took hold from 1929 onward made military spending more difficult to justify domestically, as welfare benefits were cut and any new defense programs implied higher taxation in some form or other. Until 1937, the Labour

Party, although ideologically strongly anti-Fascist, placed its faith in the League of Nations and declined to vote for even the modest rearmament policies the British National government embraced in the mid-1930s. Even in 1939, the Labour Party refused to endorse the introduction of military conscription. Although there were some exceptions, among them future prime ministers Winston Churchill and Harold Macmillan, with bitter memories of the slaughter World War I inflicted upon a generation of their country's potential leaders, most prominent British politicians, notably Neville Chamberlain, who became prime minister in 1937, were deeply reluctant to contemplate another major war.

For much of the 1930s, popular sentiment was equally antiwar. In several parliamentary by-elections in 1933 and 1934, antiwar Labour candidates succeeded in overturning Conservative majorities, most spectacularly at East Fulham in October 1933, where a safe Conservative seat with a majority of 14,000 fell to Labour by 5,000 votes. In 1934, the charismatic priest Canon Dick Sheppard founded the Peace Pledge Union, calling upon British men—but not women, whom he thought were already over-represented in the peace movement—to send him cards indicating that they would be ready to renounce war in all circumstances. That same year, Lord Robert Cecil, an architect and long-time supporter of the League of Nations, devised what he termed a Peace Ballot, a voluntary questionnaire that a total of 11,640,600 British people completed. When its results were tabulated in June 1935, they indicated that a majority supported the imposition of economic but not military sanctions on aggressor nations.

It was against this context that, 10 days after Hitler became German chancellor, the Oxford Union, a debating society of students at the prestigious University of Oxford, passed by 275 votes to 153 a resolution to the effect “that this House will in no circumstances fight for King and country.” One of Britain's two elite universities, Oxford was the pre-eminent nursery of future political leaders and statesmen and had educated many of the contemporary members of the British cabinet and other leading figures in the governing elite. In consequence, rather than being ignored or treated as high-spirited undergraduate hyperbole, the passage of this motion quickly provoked a national and even international furor. A few days later, in a letter to the conservative *Daily Telegraph*, 64 Oxford graduates expressed their dismay over the resolution and suggested that it be expunged from the Union's records. On 2 March 1933, Randolph Churchill, a former Oxford man and son of the leading anti-Hitler future Conservative Prime Minister Winston Churchill, submitted a motion to this effect, which was subsequently defeated by 750 votes to 138, largely because Union members resented such interference by past undergraduates.

In practice, the great majority of those Union members who stated that they opposed war in February 1933 would later support the war against Germany, either fighting in it or playing some other role. It was once alleged that the passage of this resolution emboldened Hitler in dealing with Britain, though this has since been disproved. The Oxford Union motion was nonetheless significant, in that it indicated the strength of the prevailing disillusionment with war, precipitated by the experience and outcome of the last major conflict in which Great Britain had been involved, World War I. For much of the 1930s, this perspective would remain a pronounced feature of the British political scene.

About the Document

The *Times* report of the Oxford Union debate was extremely brief, perhaps an inch of text in all, tucked away on an inside page. This did not, however, make it unimportant. Since the mid-nineteenth century, the *Times* newspaper had effectively functioned as the notice board of the British establishment or governing elite. A great many members of the 1930s British ruling class had themselves studied at Oxford University, where membership in the Union and, even more, the attainment of high office in that society were passports to a successful political or administrative career. Such individuals could easily perceive the seeming refusal of their putative successors to fight for their country in any future war as a betrayal of the values of their own class: hence, the apparently disproportionate attention and emotions stirred up by this undergraduate prank.

This was also the reason why, for several weeks, the august *Times* proceeded to cover the controversy in some detail. On 13 February, an editorial devoted specifically to this incident pointed out that “the Union is in no sense representative of the University” and, although undoubtedly “a training-ground for Parliament . . . has always been liable to fall into the hands of cranks.” Three days later, the *Times* reported that a package of 275 white feathers (a symbol of cowardice) had arrived at the Union, one for each of the resolution’s supporters, and that a motion to expunge it from the record book had been submitted. The day after, a group of dissident undergraduates raided the Union and solemnly tore the offending page out of the record book, and a second package of white feathers arrived. Meanwhile, the City of London School Old Boys Association and Winston Churchill both stated that the Oxford Union’s action was unrepresentative of general British attitudes. Churchill forthrightly condemned it as “very disquieting and disgusting,” adding, “One could almost feel the curl of contempt upon the lips of the manhood of Germany, Italy, and France when they read the message sent out by Oxford University in the name of Young England.” At a crowded Union meeting on 2 March, however, with more than 1,000 attending, the largest turnout in years, Churchill’s son Randolph was

booed and stink bombs exploded during his speech in favor of expunging the earlier motion. By 750 to 138, the Union voted in favor of allowing it to stand. For the rest of March, the *Times* traced the fate of similarly worded antiwar motions in various student meetings at Belfast University and Armstrong College, Newcastle, both of which rejected it, and the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire at Cardiff, whose students concurred with the Oxford position.

The initial *Times* report on the Oxford Union motion was brief and dry, though subsequent articles on the continuing controversy included considerably more detail and local color. The fact that this report on an undergraduate society appeared at all, however, in this forum, was symptomatic of the degree to which Oxford University and the Union society were considered part of the elite apparatus of government. The same factors accounted for the attention the motion attracted from both prominent politicians and the general public, the unsuccessful attempt to overturn it, and the manner in which other British universities took up the same debate. They were also the reason why, even today, historians of interwar Britain still ascribe some significance to the February 1933 Oxford Union motion.

Primary Source

Report of Oxford Union Debate, 9 February 1933 The London *Times*, 11 February 1933

After a debate the Oxford Union Society on Thursday night, a motion “that this House will in no circumstances fight for its King and country” was carried by 275 votes to 153.

In addition to the five principal speakers, one of whom was Mr. C. F. M. Joad, notice had been received from 57 members, the largest number on record, that they intended to take part in the debate.

Source: *Times* (London), 11 February 1933, p. 8.

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1.2 Benito Mussolini

About the Author

From 1922 until his overthrow in 1943, Benito Mussolini, a former schoolmaster and journalist, was the Fascist dictator of Italy, heading a one-party state in which he exercised supreme power. Born in 1883, the son of an Italian blacksmith who was a fervent socialist, Mussolini trained as a schoolteacher, did his national service in the Italian army, and in 1908, became the editor of a socialist newspaper, *La Lotta di Classe* (*The Class Struggle*). Working in the town of Forlì, he became the secretary of its Socialist Party in 1910. In 1911, he was jailed for his outspoken opposition to Italy's declaration of war on Turkey, emerging from prison a popular hero and celebrated public figure. In 1912, he moved to Milan to become editor of the prominent socialist journal *Avanti* and quickly became one of his party's most prominent and forceful Italian leaders, urging that the proletariat should unite and seize power.

When World War I began, Mussolini initially opposed Italian intervention, which did not occur until summer 1915, when Italy joined Britain and France against Germany and Austria, but in November 1914, he reversed his position, founded a new journal, *Il Popolo d'Italia* (*The People of Italy*), and adopted a strongly prowar stance. He also founded a prowar group, *Fasci d'Azione Rivoluzionaria* (Fascists for Revolutionary Action), the members of which formed themselves into militia units and terrorized their opponents. The term *fascists* drew on imagery of the Roman Empire, referring to the “bundles” of rods carried by the disciplinary officers of Imperial Rome. Fascists were supposed to be united as closely as those rods and to perform similar authoritarian functions. At that time, Mussolini probably hoped that war would precipitate a general collapse of the existing Italian political system, facilitating his own seizure of power. Although he was called up for military service and saw combat fighting in the Alpine trenches where Italy's frontier met that of Austria, he was seriously wounded in grenade practice in 1917 and subsequently mustered out.

Mussolini's war service convinced him of the need for national unity in prosecuting the war effort. In late 1917, after the military disaster of Caporetto, he turned against the Socialist Party, urging that, since their antiwar attitudes were

weakening the Italian military to a treasonous degree, socialist newspapers should be suppressed. By the time the war ended in Allied victory in November 1918, Mussolini had moved well over to the political Right. Italy ended the war polarized between Left and Right, gaining far less territory—mostly at Austrian expense—in the subsequent peace settlement than the Italian leaders and people believed they deserved. Mussolini attacked the government for not simply seizing the lands it coveted, notably the city of Fiume near Trieste, on the Yugoslav border. Effectively revitalizing his old militia units, he also founded a new political group, the *Fasci de Combattimento* (Fighting Fascists), which attracted many discontented and nationalistic returning soldiers. The party platform embraced an interventionist social welfare state, providing substantial benefits to all workers, national direction of the economy, and an assertive foreign policy. Mussolini also vehemently attacked the “rich nations,” especially Italy's former allies, Great Britain and France, for ignoring Italy's needs.

From 1919 onward, serious social disorder, riots, strikes, and bitter battles between Right and Left characterized Italian politics. Elected to parliament in 1921, as head of the Fascist Party, Mussolini was formally established that year as *Il Duce* (The Leader). Mussolini used his paramilitary supporters, who wore black shirted uniforms, to terrorize opponents on the Left. In summer 1922, disorder continued. Socialists called a general strike, many workers in frustration joined the Fascist Party, and no politician was willing to head the government. Mussolini's followers threatened to march on Rome, the Italian capital, to restore political and social stability. In October 1922, they began to do so, and in response, King Vittorio Emanuele III named Mussolini prime minister.

Once in office, Mussolini initially ruled with assistance from the Liberal Democratic Party, introducing strict censorship. Socialist opponents were subject to harassment and even murder. Fascist ideology glorified the role of the strong charismatic leader, a figure who virtually embodied the state and was effectively above the law. In 1925 and 1926, he restructured the electoral system so as to permit him to assume dictatorial powers, dissolving all other political parties by 1929. Mussolini centralized power in his own person, at various times augmenting his premiership with the posts of Minister of the Interior, Foreign Affairs, Corporations, the Armed Forces, and Public Works, while also heading the all-powerful Fascist Party and militia. All workers and public officials were expected to pledge allegiance to the party, and no independent organizations were permitted to exist. Mussolini prided himself on restoring efficiency to Italian public life, eliminating unemployment through large public works programs, and making Italy self-sufficient. In addition, the Fascist Party used mass rallies and grandiloquent appeals to

a glorified Imperial Roman past that it claimed to have restored to win popular support. Business support for the regime was ensured by the restoration of order, especially the government's suppression of the Communist and Socialist Parties and independent trade unions.

Mussolini also followed an aggressive foreign policy, its overall objective to restore Italian national glory and make the neighboring Mediterranean Sea an Italian lake. In 1923, he bombarded the Greek island of Corfu and later that decade, established a puppet regime in Albania and reconquered the North African territory of Libya, making it once more an Italian colony. Eager for additional territorial acquisitions, in 1935, he declared war upon the African state of Ethiopia (Abyssinia), intending to incorporate it into Italy's colonial empire.

The Italo-Ethiopian War, 1935–1936

On 3 October 1935, Italian troops invaded Ethiopia, a Christian African state ruled by Emperor Haile Selassie, supposedly a descendant of the biblical King Solomon of Israel and the Queen of Sheba. The war, the first major occasion on which a European Fascist power used military force to annex part or all of another country, quickly became an international cause of contention and an embarrassment to the League of Nations, one of the functions of which was purportedly the prevention of such conflicts. Although Great Britain and France formally deplored Italy's action, at the end of the year, they tried to broker a deal whereby Ethiopia would have ceded approximately half its territory to Italy, an arrangement Emperor Haile Selassie forthrightly rejected as a betrayal of his country. The League of Nations called on its members to impose economic sanctions upon Italy, but these efforts proved largely ineffective, especially since Italy could count on supplies from Germany, a fellow European Fascist state.

In May 1936, Italy formally annexed Ethiopia, and Haile Selassie and his family went into exile. Most member states of the League of Nations followed that organization in refusing to recognize the Italian annexation, as did the United States. In the short run, the Italo-Ethiopian War represented a triumph for the Fascist states' tactics of ignoring international agreements and relying upon military force to attain their objectives. It also drove Italy closer to Germany and Japan, two other "have-not" authoritarian nations determined to fulfill their territorial ambitions regardless of international disapproval. The war therefore contributed to the growing ideological polarization of the international system into fascist and nonfascist camps.

About the Documents

The two documents included here were written for rather different purposes. The first was a brief exposition, written 10 years after Mussolini came to power in Italy, of the meaning

of fascism as he understood it. Designed for inclusion in an official encyclopedia, it was intended to provide a short and comprehensible primer of the movement's basic principles. The second document was a speech designed for a particular occasion, exhorting the Italian people to support war against Ethiopia. Both pieces, however, made much use of the rather overblown, grandiloquently heroic rhetoric that characterized Fascist public pronouncements in both Italy and Germany. Both, too, glorified war and territorial expansion as the highest purpose of the state and the most glorious endeavor in which men could hope to engage. Drawing on Social Darwinist ideas popular from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries, he portrayed an international system characterized by constant struggle between nations, in which the strongest and best disciplined would win, whereas weak and "decadent" states would be pushed aside or even annexed by the stronger.

Although Mussolini's own political roots originally lay in the Socialist Party, "What is Fascism" made it clear that, on the ideological level, although all three were supposedly collectivist in outlook, fascism was diametrically opposed to both socialism and communism. At least theoretically, the ultimate purpose of the latter two ideologies was to make the state the servant of the people, improving the lives and status of the masses. Fascism, by contrast, subordinated the interests of individuals to the state. In addition, it repudiated the belief in majority rule common to most democracies, relying instead upon the direction of affairs by a supposedly benevolent elite. Like other fascist leaders, Mussolini claimed that in the twentieth century, collectivism would supersede liberalism and individualism and that the state itself would effectively direct economic, political, and social affairs.

Mussolini's 1932 article argued that the pursuit of outside empire was one means of combating national decadence and imposing internal discipline and authority. There could, he claimed, be no substitute for war, which "brings up to its highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have courage to meet it." Three years later, by contrast, appealing to Italians to support war to annex Ethiopia, in a speech blending practical caution with sweeping rhetoric, he used more concrete and specific arguments. To begin with, he referred to Italy's longstanding grievances stemming from World War I, which his country had entered in 1915 on the understanding that it would obtain a "place in the sun," major territorial gains at the expense of Austria and perhaps other countries. In Mussolini's view, the failure of the Allies to give Italy all it sought in the postwar peace settlement justified Italy in seeking new colonial territories. So, too, did Ethiopia's 40-year history of resisting Italian incursions, which by intellectual sleight of hand he translated into evidence of Ethiopian misbehavior toward Italy, rather than the reverse.

Mussolini also minimized the probable detrimental consequences to Italy itself. He suggested that even if the League of Nations should impose economic or military sanctions on Italy, something it had threatened to do should Italy invade Ethiopia, neither France nor Britain would be likely to regard this as an adequate reason for declaring war on Italy. Seeking to allay popular apprehensions that this conflict, like Austria's invasion of Serbia in 1914, might expand into a general European war, he pledged to do all he could to avoid such an outcome. Even so, Mussolini boasted that if necessary, Italy could cope with any military or economic sanctions it might encounter. Finally, Mussolini wound up his speech by appealing to his listeners' nationalist and patriotic spirit.

Primary Sources

A) Benito Mussolini (and Giovanni Gentile): "What Is Fascism," Article for *Enciclopedia Italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 1932

. . . [A]s regards the future development of mankind,—and quite apart from all present political considerations—Fascism does not, generally speaking, believe in the possibility of utility of perpetual peace. It therefore discards pacifism as a cloak for cowardly supine renunciation in contra-distinction to self-sacrifice. War alone keys up all human energies to their maximum tension and sets the seal of nobility on those people who have the courage to face it. All other tests are substitutes which never place a man face to face with himself before the alternative of life or death. . . . The Fascist accepts and loves life; he rejects and despises suicide as cowardly. Life as he understands it means duty, elevation, conquest; life must be lofty and full, it must be lived for oneself but above all for others, both near by and far off, present and future. . . .

Such a conception of life makes Fascism the resolute negation of the doctrine underlying so-called scientific and Marxian socialism, the doctrine of historic materialism which would explain the history of mankind in terms of the class-struggle and by changes in the processes and instruments of production, to the exclusion of all else.

. . . . Fascism believes now and always in sanctity and heroism, that is to say in acts in which no economic motive—remote or immediate—is at work. Having denied historic materialism, which sees in men mere puppets on the surface of history, appearing and disappearing on the crest of the waves while in the depths the real directing forces move and work, Fascism also denies the immutable and irreparable character of the class struggle which is the natural outcome of this economic conception of history; above all it denies that the class struggle is the preponderating agent in social transformations. . . .

After socialism, Fascism trains its guns on the whole block of democratic ideologies, and rejects both their premises and their practical applications and implements. Fascism denies that numbers, as such, can be the determining factor in human society; it denies the right of numbers to govern by means of periodical consultations; it asserts the irremediable and fertile and beneficent inequality of men who cannot be leveled by any such mechanical and extrinsic device as universal suffrage. . . .

. . . . In rejecting democracy Fascism rejects the absurd conventional life of political equalitarianism, the habit of collective irresponsibility, the myth of felicity and indefinite progress. . . .

. . . . Granted that the XIXth century was the century of socialism, liberalism, democracy, this does not mean that the XXth century must also be the century of socialism, liberalism, democracy. Political doctrines pass; nations remain. We are free to believe that this is the century of authority, a century tending to the "right", a Fascist century. If the XIXth century was the century of the individual (liberalism implies individualism) we are free to believe that this is the "collective" century, and therefore the century of the State. . . .

The key-stone of the Fascist doctrine is its conception of the State, of its essence, its functions, and its aims. For Fascism the State is absolute, individuals and groups relative. Individuals and groups are admissible in so far as they come within the State. Instead of directing the game and guiding the material and moral progress of the community, the liberal State restricts its activities to recording results. The Fascist State is wide awake and has a will of its own. For this reason it can be described as "ethical". . . .

The Fascist State organises the nation, but it leaves the individual adequate elbow room. It has curtailed useless or harmful liberties while preserving those which are essential. In such matters the individual cannot be the judge, but the State only.

. . . . Fascism sees in the imperialistic spirit—i.e. in the tendency of nations to expand—a manifestation of their vitality. In the opposite tendency, which would limit their interests to the home country, it sees a sign of decadence. Peoples who rise or rearise are imperialistic; renunciation is characteristic of dying peoples. The Fascist doctrine is that best suited to the tendencies and feelings of a people which, like the Italian, after lying fallow during centuries of foreign servitude, is now reasserting itself in the world.

But imperialism implies discipline, the coordination of efforts, a deep sense of duty and a spirit of self-sacrifice. This explains many aspects of the practical activity of the State, as also the severity which has to be exercised towards those who would oppose this spontaneous and inevitable movement of XXth century Italy by agitating outgrown ideologies of the

XIXth century, ideologies rejected wherever great experiments in political and social transformations are being dared.

Never before have the peoples thirsted for authority, direction, order, as they do now. If each age has its doctrine, then innumerable symptoms indicate that the doctrine of our age is the Fascist. That it is vital is shown by the fact that it has aroused a faith; that this faith has conquered souls is shown by the fact that Fascism can point to its fallen heroes and its martyrs.

Fascism has now acquired throughout the world that universality which belongs to all doctrines which by achieving self-expression represent a moment in the history of human thought.

Source: Benito Mussolini (and Giovanni Gentile), “What Is Fascism?” *Enciclopedia Italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti*. 36 vols. Rome, Italy: Istituto Giovanni Treccani, 1929–1939. Vol. 14 (1932), pp. 847–851. Reprinted in Benito Mussolini, *Fascism: Doctrine and Institutions* (Rome: Ardita Publishers, 1935), pp. 7–42; this excerpt is pp. 18–31.

Primary Source

B) “A Call to Arms,” Mussolini’s Speech to His Followers, 2 October 1935

Black Shirts, of revolution, men and women of all Italy, Italians all over the world, beyond the mountains, beyond the sea, listen. A solemn hour is about to strike in the history of the country. Twenty million Italians are at this moment gathered in the squares of all Italy. It is the greatest demonstration that human history records. Twenty millions, one heart alone, one will alone, one decision.

This manifestation signifies that the tie between Italy and Fascism is perfect, absolute, and unalterable. Only brains softened by puerile illusions, by sheer ignorance, can think differently, because they do not know what exactly is the Fascist Italy of 1935.

For many months the wheel of destiny and of the impulse of our calm determination moves toward the goal. In these last hours the rhythm has increased and nothing can stop it now.

It is not only an army marching towards its goals, but as if forty-four million Italians were marching in unity behind this army. Because the blackest of injustices is being attempted against them, that of taking from them their place in the sun. When in 1915 Italy threw in her fate with that of the Allies, how many cries of admiration, how many promises were heard? But after the common victory, which cost Italy six hundred thousand dead, four hundred thousand lost, one million wounded, when peace was being discussed around the table only the crumbs of a rich colonial booty were left for us to pick up. For thirteen years we have been patient while

the circle tightened around us at the hands of those who wish to suffocate us. We have been patient with Ethiopia for forty years, it is enough now.

The League of Nations instead of recognizing the rights of Italy dares talk of sanctions, but until there is proof to the contrary I refuse to believe that the authentic people of France will join in supporting sanctions against Italy. Six hundred thousand dead whose devotion was so heroic that the enemy commander justly admired them—those fallen would now turn in their graves.

And until there is proof to the contrary, I refuse to believe that the authentic people of Britain will want to spill blood and send Europe into a catastrophe for the sake of a barbarian country, unworthy of ranking among civilized nations. Nevertheless, we cannot afford to overlook the possible developments of tomorrow.

To economic sanctions, we shall answer with our discipline, our spirit of sacrifice, our obedience. To military sanctions, we shall answer with military measures. To acts of war, we shall answer with acts of war.

A people worthy of their past and their name cannot and never will take a different stand. Let me repeat, in the most categorical manner, that the sacred pledge which I make at this moment before all the Italians gathered together today, is that I shall do everything in my power to prevent a colonial conflict from taking on the aspect and weight of a European war. This conflict may be attractive to certain minds, which hope to avenge their disintegrated temples through this new catastrophe. Never, as at this historical hour, have the people of Italy revealed such force of character, and it is against this people to which mankind owes its greatest conquest, this people of heroes, of poets and saints, of navigators, of colonizers, that the world dares threaten sanctions.

Italy! Italy! Entirely and universally Fascist! The Italy of the black shirt revolution, rise to your feet, let the cry of your determination rise to the skies and reach our soldiers in East Africa. Let it be a comfort to those who are about to fight. Let it be an encouragement to our friends and a warning to our enemies. It is the cry of Italy, which goes beyond the mountains and the seas out into the great world. It is the cry of justice and of victory.

Source: “Text of Premier Mussolini’s Address to the Italian People on the War,” United Press Dispatch to the *New York Times*, datelined 2 October 1935, official Italian government translation, published in the *New York Times*, 3 October 1935. Available to the public on *ibiblio* Web site at <http://www.ibiblio.org/pha/policy/1941/410223a.html>.

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1.3. Adolf Hitler

About the Author

In 1933, the National Socialist (Nazi) politician Adolf Hitler became chancellor of Germany, the head of that country's government, a position he retained until his death in April 1945. Hitler was born in 1889 in Braunau, Austria, a small town close to the German frontier, the son of Alois Hitler and his third wife, Klara. Alois Hitler was the illegitimate son of a servant girl and was a minor customs official of 51 when his son was born. Adolf Hitler's demanding father expected him to excel academically and follow him into the Austrian civil service, but after performing well at primary school, Hitler fell behind in high school, where he was a mediocre student, and left school in 1904 with no qualifications. The only subjects he enjoyed were art and history. Hitler was greatly influenced by his inspiring history master, Leopold Pötsch, a German Nationalist who believed that Austria should have allied itself more closely with the increasingly powerful German Empire and attacked France during the 1870–1871 Franco-Prussian War. From an early age, Hitler also loved games involving fighting and frequently staged mock battles. Hitler's father died in 1903 and his mother died four years later, leaving Hitler a modest pension and inheritance sufficient to support him. He moved to the Austrian capital, Vienna, but failed to win admission to the art and architecture academies to which he applied. For several years, Hitler sketched and studied art independently.

Feeling little but contempt for his own country, Hitler refused in 1909 to register for compulsory military service in the Austrian military, but when the authorities eventually forced him to do so four years later, they classified him as medically unfit. A few months later, when World War I began in August 1914, Hitler enthusiastically volunteered for the German army, which accepted him. The rigors of trench warfare notwithstanding, the following four years were the hap-

piest period of his adult life to that date. Hitler enjoyed belonging to a group united in fighting for a common purpose and was willing to undertake hazardous missions. He served as a dispatch-runner, carrying messages from regimental headquarters to the front, a dangerous job that won him five medals, including the coveted Iron Cross. Although highly decorated, Hitler never rose above corporal. His failure to win further promotion may have been due to his extreme views on socialists, communists, and Jews, all of whom he alleged were deliberately undermining the war effort, and also to his somewhat eccentric and aloof behavior.

When the war ended in November 1918 with Germany's defeat and the establishment of a republic, Hitler blamed this outcome upon the baleful influences of Jewish Socialists within Germany itself and in Bolshevik Russia. Socialism and communism were, he argued, all part of a greater Jewish conspiracy to overthrow the existing order. His suspicions were confirmed in early 1919 when the Bavarian city of Munich, where his military unit was stationed, experienced a Socialist uprising, suppressed by the German army several months later in May 1919. Hitler helped to identify dissident left-wing soldiers who had supported the rebellion, an effort that led the military authorities to make him a political officer. German resentment of the harsh terms of the June 1919 Treaty of Versailles—which deprived Germany of 13 percent of its territory, 6 million people, all its colonies, and much of its raw materials—gave Hitler's once extremist views new credibility. In September 1919, he joined the newly formed German Worker's Party (GWP), the outlook of which resembled his own, and persuaded his army superiors to finance this organization. The GWP, which was—at Hitler's insistence—renamed the National Socialist German Worker's Party (NSDAP or Nazi Party) in February 1920, recognized and quickly made full use of Hitler's remarkable oratorical skills, which soon attracted thousands of new members. In fall 1921, Hitler became the Nazi Party's leader. After a one-month stint in prison for breach of the peace in late 1921, he also established a paramilitary branch, the Sturm Abteilung (SA, or Storm Section), composed mainly of former German military men, who terrorized political opponents, disrupted rival meetings, and indulged in violence against Jews and left-wing Germans.

The local Bavarian government sympathized with the Nazi Party's activities, but the more liberal national government responded in 1922 by passing a "Law for the Protection of the Republic." In return, Hitler organized a rally of 40,000 supporters, during which he demanded the overthrow of the existing government. Runaway inflation and the eventual decision by German Chancellor Gustav Stresemann to pay reparations to the Allied powers for their wartime losses intensified Hitler's commitment to this course. On 8 November 1923, storm troopers under his command, backed by

General Eric von Ludendorff, who had been wartime quartermaster general and a guiding spirit of the German army, took over the Bavarian government and planned to march on Berlin. The national government, however, still controlled the radio and telegraph facilities and ordered its supporters to oppose the coup. Stiff resistance by local Munich police who remained loyal to the government led Hitler and most of his supporters to panic and flee.

Arrested after several days in hiding, Hitler stood trial with other Nazi Party members. Although he theoretically faced the death sentence for treason, he succeeded in making the court proceedings a platform to publicize his political views. Hitler received the minimum sentence of five years but was released in December 1924 after serving slightly more than one year. His imprisonment in Landberg Castle, near Munich, was far from onerous. He was permitted unlimited visitors, gifts, and reading materials, wore his own clothes, and took agreeable strolls in the castle grounds. At the urging of his supporters, Hitler also used his enforced leisure to produce his autobiography, *Four Years of Struggle against Lies, Stupidity, and Cowardice*, later retitled *My Struggle* (*Mein Kampf*), which he dictated to his chauffeur, Emil Maurice, and Rudolf Hess, then a student at Munich University. For the next 20 years, *Mein Kampf* served as the Nazi Party's intellectual underpinning.

On his release from prison, Hitler resumed his Nazi Party activities but played down the more violent aspects of its work. The party won only a few seats in the 1924 and 1928 national elections, but its membership continued to grow, reaching 108,000 in 1928. The Wall Street Crash of October 1929 and the subsequent four years of depression—during which international bankers refused further financing to Germany, the system of German reparation payments collapsed, and unemployment soared—gave Hitler's message new salience. In the September 1930 elections, the Nazi Party increased its seats in the Reichstag from 14 to 107, making it the second largest party, a position Hitler skillfully exploited to enhance his position and influence within the governing coalition. Fearing a military coup, German Chancellor Ernest Bruening in 1931 banned the Nazi Party's SA forces, which at 400,000 outnumbered the small German army of 100,000, but in 1932, President Paul von Hindenburg replaced Bruening with Franz von Papen, who removed the proscription. In the July 1932 elections, the Nazi Party won 230 seats and 37.3 percent of the vote, making it the largest party even though it did not hold an overall parliamentary majority. SA forces employed brutal violence against all their political opponents, especially socialists and communists, which provoked a political reaction, and in the November 1932 elections, the German Communist Party increased its representation to 100. In January 1933, Hitler was appointed chancellor. The following month, a fire, almost certainly set by Nazi support-

ers, destroyed the Reichstag, giving Hitler the opportunity to suppress the Social Democratic and Communist Parties and assume dictatorial powers. Even though the Nazis only obtained 44 percent of the vote in the March 1933 elections, Hitler quickly moved to make Germany a one-party state and, in 1934, combined the positions of president and chancellor in his own person. He now had the opportunity to put into practice the program described in *Mein Kampf*, under the direction of a charismatic leader who, as fascist ideology prescribed, was effectively above the law.

About the Document

Although a spellbinding orator, Adolf Hitler was not a natural writer. While in prison in 1924, he dictated *Mein Kampf* to two amanuenses, his chauffeur, Emil Maurice, and Rudolf Hess, a Munich University student who would eventually become deputy leader (*Führer*) of the Nazi Party. The resulting book was turgidly written, its style less than inspired. Even so, Hitler's supporters eventually bought millions of copies, and its historical interest is such that it still remains in print today.

Mein Kampf was considerably more than just the autobiography it purported to be. It also represented the most coherent statement of Hitler's political philosophy and long-term objectives, which over the next two decades, remained virtually unchanged until his death. The autobiographical passages are extremely revealing in terms of how Hitler himself perceived his own life up to that time, especially his enjoyment of his wartime service and his belief that in late 1918 Jews and socialists betrayed a victorious German army. The book also served as a political manifesto, designed to attract new adherents to the National Socialist Party. Today's politicians, driven by focus groups and opinion polls, tend to moderate their more extreme views to conciliate their potential audience. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler, by contrast, was extremely frank in setting forth his racial views that Germans of pure stock—or “Aryans,” as he ahistorically termed them—were inherently superior to Jews and other racial groups, including gypsies and those of Slav, Asian, or African stock. He made it clear that in any Nazi-run state, Jews would suffer discrimination and persecution, whereas the true German *volk* (folk, or people) would enjoy special privileges. Hitler was also quite frank as to his anti-Semitic conviction that there existed a shadowy international Jewish conspiracy of businessmen, bankers, politicians, and others, whose members had enormous political influence and who were closely linked to the international Socialist movement.

The particular extract selected here deals primarily with Hitler's plans to expand German territory, his belief that his country's increasing population and the inherent superiority of its people entitled Germany to *lebensraum* (living space),

at the expense of other nations if necessary. As with all his writings and speeches, Hitler's racial views permeate this passage. He was obviously determined to restore Germany to its prewar status as a great power, a theme likely to resonate with the millions of Germans who resented the peace terms imposed upon their country by the 1919 Treaty of Versailles. He truthfully stated that his objective was not only to regain the territories Germany had lost in 1918 but also to improve upon them by incorporating all areas of Europe with a majority German population into the German state. Hitler specified that his major target was Communist "Russia and her vassal border states" and that he believed the prominence of Jewish individuals within these governments would cause them to collapse quickly under German assault. He also made it clear that he believed Germany should not tolerate a military rival, or even a potential one, in Europe.

Once they have attained power, as Hitler did in January 1933, politicians often yield to expediency and circumstances and tone down their earlier objectives. It was both Hitler's strength and his weakness that he never modified the essentials of the ideology that from 1919 onward became his driving force. He rebuilt the German army; reoccupied the Rhineland in 1936; and annexed Austria and much of Czechoslovakia in 1938, and the remainder of Czechoslovakia in spring 1939, before demanding Danzig from Poland. Germany and the Soviet Union signed a nonaggression pact in 1939 that enabled Germany to conquer much of Poland, followed in 1940 by Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France. Nevertheless, in June 1941, Hitler finally invaded the Soviet Union, a decision that was one of the major reasons for Germany's eventual defeat and Hitler's own suicide in April 1945. Many who read *Mein Kampf* considered its recommendations to be largely rhetorical, too extremist to be taken seriously. In reality, Hitler gave an honest if frightening description of his program should he attain power.

Primary Source

Extract from Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (1924)

If under foreign policy we must understand the regulation of a nation's relations with the rest of the world, the manner of this regulation will be determined by certain definite facts. As National Socialists we can, furthermore, establish the following principle concerning the nature of the foreign policy of a folkish state:

The foreign policy of the folkish state must safeguard the existence on this planet of the race embodied in the state, by creating a healthy, viable natural relation between the nation's population and growth on the one hand and the quantity and quality of its soil on the other hand.

As a healthy relation we may regard only that condition which assures the sustenance of a people on its own soil. Every other condition, even if it endures for hundreds, nay, thousands of years, is nevertheless unhealthy and will sooner or later lead to the injury if not annihilation of the people in question.

Only an adequately large space on this earth assures a nation freedom of existence.

Moreover, the necessary size of the territory to be settled cannot be judged exclusively on the basis of present requirements, not even in fact on the basis of the yield of the soil compared to the population. . . . If a nation's sustenance as such is assured by the amount of its soil, the safeguarding of the existing soil itself must also be borne in mind. This lies in the general power-political strength of the state, which in turn to no small extent is determined by geo-military considerations.

Hence, the German nation can defend its future only as a world power. . . .

Germany today is no world power. Even if our momentary military impotence were overcome, we should no longer have any claim to this title. What can a formation, as miserable in its relation of population to area as the German Reich today, mean on this planet? In an era when the earth is gradually being divided up among states, some of which embrace almost entire continents, we cannot speak of a world power in connection with a formation whose political mother country is limited to the absurd area of five hundred thousand square kilometers.

From the purely territorial point of view, the area of the German Reich vanishes completely as compared with that of the so-called world powers. . . .

Thus, in the world today we see a number of power states, some of which not only far surpass the strength of our German nation in population, but whose area above all is the chief support of their political power. Never has the relation of the German Reich to other existing world states been as unfavorable as at the beginning of our history two thousand years ago and again today. Then we were a young people, rushing headlong into a world of great crumbling state formations, whose last giant, Rome, we ourselves helped to fell. Today we find ourselves in a world of great power states in process of formation, with our own Reich sinking more and more into insignificance.

We must bear this bitter truth coolly and soberly in mind. We must follow and compare the German Reich through the centuries in its relation to other states with regard to population and area. I know that everyone will then come to the dismayed conclusion which I have stated at the beginning of this discussion: *Germany is no longer a world power, regardless whether she is strong or weak from the military point of view.*

We have lost all proportion to the other great states of the earth, and this thanks only to the positively catastrophic leadership of our nation in the field of foreign affairs, thanks to our total failure to be guided by what I should almost call a testamentary aim in foreign policy, and thanks to the loss of any healthy instinct and impulse of self-preservation.

If the National Socialist movement really wants to be consecrated by history with a great mission for our nation, it must be permeated by knowledge and filled with pain at our true situation in this world; boldly and conscious of its goal, it must take up the struggle against the aimlessness and incompetence which have hitherto guided our German nation in the line of foreign affairs. Then, without consideration of 'traditions' and prejudices, it must find the courage to gather our people and their strength for an advance along the road that will lead this people from its present restricted living space to new land and soil, and hence also free it from the danger of vanishing from the earth or of serving others as a slave nation.

The National Socialist movement must strive to eliminate the disproportion between our population and our area—viewing this latter as a source of food as well as a basis for power politics—between our historical past and the hopelessness of our present impotence. And in this it must remain aware that we, as guardians of the highest humanity on this earth, are bound by the highest obligation, and the more it strives to bring the German people to racial awareness so that, in addition to breeding dogs, horses, and cats, they will have mercy on their own blood, the more it will be able to meet this obligation. . . .

I still wish briefly to take a position on the question as to what extent the demand for soil and territory seems ethically and morally justified. This is necessary, since unfortunately, even in so-called folkish circles, all sorts of unctuous big-mouths step forward, endeavoring to set the rectification of the injustice of 1918 as the aim of the German nation's endeavors in the field of foreign affairs, but at the same time find it necessary to assure the whole world of folkish brotherhood and sympathy.

I should like to make the following preliminary remarks: The demand for restoration of the frontiers of 1914 is a political absurdity of such proportions and consequences as to make it seem a crime. Quite aside from the fact that the Reich's frontiers in 1914 were anything but logical. For in reality they were neither complete in the sense of embracing the people of German nationality, nor sensible with regard to geomilitary expediency. They were not the result of a considered political action, but momentary frontiers in a political struggle that was by no means concluded; partly, in fact, they were the results of chance. With equal right and in many cases with more right, some other sample year of German history could be picked out, and the restoration of the conditions at

that time declared to be the aim of an activity in foreign affairs. . . .

The boundaries of the year 1914 mean nothing at all for the German future. Neither did they provide a defense of the past, nor would they contain any strength for the future.

Through them the German nation will neither achieve its inner integrity, nor will its sustenance be safeguarded by them, nor do these boundaries, viewed from the military standpoint, seem expedient or even satisfactory, nor finally can they improve the relation in which we at present find ourselves toward the other world powers, or, better expressed, the real world powers. The lag behind England will not be caught up, the magnitude of the Union will not be achieved; not even France would experience a material diminution of her world-political importance. . . .

And so we National Socialists consciously draw a line beneath the foreign policy tendency of our pre-War period. We take up where we broke off six hundred years ago. We stop the endless German movement to the south and west, and turn our gaze toward the land in the east. At long last we break off the colonial and commercial policy of the pre-War period and shift to the soil policy of the future.

If we speak of soil in Europe today, we can primarily have in mind only Russia and her vassal border states.

Here Fate itself seems desirous of giving us a sign. By handing Russia to Bolshevism, it robbed the Russian nation of that intelligentsia which previously brought about and guaranteed its existence as a state. For the organization of a Russian state formation was not the result of the political abilities of the Slavs in Russia, but only a wonderful example of the state-forming efficacy of the German element in an inferior race. Numerous mighty empires on earth have been created in this way. Lower nations led by Germanic organizers and overlords have more than once grown to be mighty state formations and have endured as long as the racial nucleus of the creative state race maintained itself. For centuries Russia drew nourishment from this Germanic nucleus of its upper leading strata. Today it can be regarded as almost totally exterminated and extinguished. It has been replaced by the Jew. Impossible as it is for the Russian by himself to shake off the yoke of the Jew by his own resources, it is equally impossible for the Jew to maintain the mighty empire forever. He himself is no element of organization, but a ferment of decomposition. The Persian empire in the east is ripe for collapse. And the end of Jewish rule in Russia will also be the end of Russia as a state. We have been chosen by Fate as witnesses of a catastrophe which will be the mightiest confirmation of the soundness of the folkish theory.

Our task, the mission of the National Socialist movement, is to bring our own people to such political insight that they will not see their goal for the future in the breath-taking sen-

sation of a new Alexander's conquest, but in the industrious work of the German plow, to which the sword need only give soil. . . .

If the National Socialist movement frees itself from all illusions with regard to this great and all-important task, and accepts reason as its sole guide, the catastrophe of 1918 can some day become an infinite blessing for the future of our nation. Out of this collapse our nation will arrive at a complete reorientation of its activity in foreign relations, and, furthermore, reinforced within by its new philosophy of life, will also achieve outwardly a final stabilization of its foreign policy. Then at last it will acquire what England possesses and even Russia possessed, and what again and again induced France to make the same decisions, essentially correct from the viewpoint of her own interests, to wit: A political testament.

The political testament of the German nation to govern its outward activity for all time should and must be:

Never suffer the rise of two continental powers in Europe. Regard any attempt to organize a second military power on the German frontiers, even if only in the form of creating a state capable of military strength, as an attack on Germany, and in it see not only the right, but also the duty, to employ all means up to armed force to prevent the rise of such a state, or, if one has already arisen, to smash it again.—See to it that the strength of our nation is founded, not on colonies, but on the soil of our European homeland. Never regard the Reich as secure unless for centuries to come it can give every scion of our people his own parcel of soil. Never forget that the most sacred right on this earth is a man's right to have earth to till with his own hands, and the most sacred sacrifice the blood that a man sheds for this earth.

Source: Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943), pp. 642–664. Translated by Ralph Manheim. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company and also The Random House Group, Ltd. All rights reserved.

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1.4. The Attraction of Hitler

About the Author

In the twentieth century, prominent journalists often exercised substantial influence upon public opinion. One such was William L. Shirer, one of a small group of Americans reporting regularly from Europe during the 1930s. The son of a lawyer, Shirer was born in Chicago in 1904. After his father's death in 1913, his mother moved the family to Cedar Rapids, Iowa. In 1925, after earning his bachelor of arts degree from Coe College, Cedar Rapids, while simultaneously working on the sports page of the local newspaper, Shirer worked his way to Europe on a cattle boat. In Paris, he obtained a job on the *Chicago Tribune*, remaining with that newspaper until the economic fallout from the Great Depression lost him his job in 1933. Two years earlier, Shirer, by then fluent in French and German, had married Theresa Stiberitz, an Austrian photographer who worked as his assistant. In 1932, he lost one eye in a skiing accident.

Hired by the *New York Herald* for its Paris office in 1934, Shirer moved in August to Berlin as a correspondent for the Universal News Service, where he remained until 1937, when its proprietor, William Randolph Hearst, closed it down. During this period, Shirer became familiar with all the leading officials in the Nazi government. He was then hired by Edward R. Murrow of Columbia Broadcasting Service to broadcast from Vienna, the Austrian capital. After the March 1938 Anschluss, the German annexation of Austria, Shirer based himself in Geneva. When war began in Europe in September 1939, Shirer returned to Berlin. In June 1940, the German army allowed him to visit Paris, where he was one of very few foreign correspondents permitted to observe firsthand the triumph of the lightning German campaign against France. Overhearing an internal German transmission that France was about to sign an armistice, Shirer scooped even the German Foreign Office in announcing this event in the United States. By mid-1940, he was increasingly at odds with the Nazi regime, which heavily censored his broadcasts to the United States, though Shirer occasionally foiled such efforts by adroitly using American slang. On the advice of friends, Shirer finally left Germany in December 1940. Despite the historical interest of his Berlin vantage point, Shirer was glad to depart, finding the constant Nazi repression and oppressive surveillance increasingly claustrophobic and fearing that despite his neutral status, he himself might easily fall victim to arbitrary arrest and imprisonment on charges of espionage.

On returning to the United States, Shirer began a sustained campaign to awaken Americans to the evils of Nazism in Germany. He lectured around the country. He also edited for

publication the journal he had kept from 1934 to 1940, which, at some personal risk, he successfully smuggled out of Germany. The book, *Berlin Diary*, became an immediate best-seller. In one of its final entries, Shirer asked himself: “[D]oes Hitler contemplate war with the United States?” He answered: “I am firmly convinced that he does contemplate it and that if he wins in Europe and Africa he will in the end launch it unless we are prepared to give up our way of life and adapt ourselves to a subservient place in his totalitarian scheme of things.” Taking issue with such American opponents of war as the celebrated aviator Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, he suggested potential scenarios whereby Germany might attack the United States, either by moving across the North Atlantic by way of Greenland, Iceland, Labrador, and Newfoundland, or by basing German forces in South America.

For most of the 1940s, Shirer continued to write for the *New York Herald Tribune* and also as a CBS commentator, though he switched to the Mutual Broadcasting System in 1947. He returned to Germany in 1945 and reported on the Nuremberg trials, in which a wide range of Nazi leaders were held to account for the crimes they had committed during the war. From 1950 onward, Shirer, always a liberal, fell foul of the domestic American anticommunist movement headed by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, which he and his former colleague Murrow both publicly opposed. Black-listed for much of the 1950s, Shirer could not find a steady job. He had already published several novels, a diary of his return to Germany in 1945–1946, and volumes on postwar European politics. In the 1950s, he wrote his best-known book, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, a 1,200-page blockbuster account of the years of Nazi rule in Germany. After several rejections by publishers, the volume appeared in 1960, quickly heading the bestseller lists and winning a National Book Award. Shirer followed up its success with an account of the fall of France in 1940. He also wrote three well-received volumes of autobiography and a memoir of the Indian independence leader Mohandas Gandhi, whom Shirer first met in the 1930s and considered the most impressive personality he ever encountered. Shirer remained active well into his eighties, finishing the proofs of his book recounting the stormy marriage of the Russian writer Leo Tolstoy and his wife, Sofya, just before his own death in 1993.

Shirer represented a breed of twentieth-century American journalist—similar cosmopolitan figures included Dorothy Thompson, Harrison Salisbury, William Sheean, and David Halberstam—who were deeply familiar with countries other than their own and could influence public opinion and events not just through their reporting but also through well-received if sometimes controversial books. Often exposed to danger, sometimes arrested, and occasionally expelled from their host countries, they helped in their reports and broad-

casts to bring the outside world closer to Americans who had previously found it remote. The immediacy of such contact was particularly pronounced in the radio broadcasts that, albeit under less than ideal conditions, Shirer made from Nazi Germany and Nazi-occupied France. It would be even more the case with Edward R. Murrow’s broadcasts from Britain during the London Blitz, made in conditions of considerable danger that brought the reality of war home to the American public. Despite their personal reservations on such issues as British colonialism and social inequities or French military irresolution, during World War II, such American journalists were almost invariably pro-Allied in sympathy. Their writings and broadcasts helped to convince many Americans that, however risky such policies might be, assisting the Allies and opposing the Nazis in Europe was morally justifiable. The activities of such journalists therefore helped to bolster the pro-Allied course steered by the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

About the Document

These entries from Shirer’s diary are a small part of a volume of more than 600 pages, based on the journal he kept during his time in Europe, which he published in 1941, after his return from Germany and shortly before the United States formally entered World War II. In his memoirs—though not in the published diary—Shirer dramatically described how he managed, at considerable personal risk, to smuggle his original journal out of Germany, packing it in two suitcases, well hidden under stamped copies of his government-censored radio broadcasts, which he then persuaded the Gestapo (the Nazi secret police) to approve and seal up the day before he took them to the airport. The reason he omitted this information even from the preface of the published diaries may well have been that he did not wish, by alerting German officials to his tactics, to close that route for other individuals.

Published diaries often differ from the original version in omitting certain material, sometimes because it is personally sensitive or embarrassing, in other cases because the information seems, upon reflection, to be irrelevant or trivial. When material is overly lengthy, cutting is also common. According to Shirer, in publishing his diary he drew when necessary upon his professional reports and broadcasts and occasionally had to rely upon his memory to reconstruct particular episodes he had considered too dangerous to trust to paper. In the published version, he deliberately changed names and identifying information for individuals whose safety might otherwise be jeopardized. In his memoirs of the period, published in 1984, Shirer could be far more frank than he could in 1941 about his informants and other contacts within the Nazi regime. To resolve some of these questions, a dedicated researcher, determined to check the accuracy and completeness of Shirer’s diary, would find it necessary to

consult his personal papers, now in the library of Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, including the original manuscripts of his diary and the several books he wrote on the period. Writing a diary or journal is, moreover, inevitably a selective process in which the diarist records those events or matters that seem most significant in the moment. With hindsight, other and different issues or occurrences may appear far more important than they did at the time of the entry.

It is also necessary to remember that Shirer himself had certain objectives in publishing his diary at the particular time he did. Almost certainly, one reason he did so was one shared by numerous authors: to profit financially by publishing a popular book. More broadly, however, his purpose in recounting his experiences in Germany was to heighten the consciousness of the American public to the evil, oppressive, and aggressive nature of the Nazi regime and to convince his countrymen that it constituted a genuine threat not just to other European nations but also to the United States.

The particular extract selected here is among the earliest entries in Shirer's diary. When he moved to Berlin in 1934, his first major assignment was to attend that year's rally of the Nazi Party at Nuremberg in Bavaria, the regime's earliest home. This was the first occasion on which he saw Hitler in person, and the experience had a significant impact on him. A major preoccupation for Shirer was to understand for himself and explain to others why and how the Nazi Party, with its rather crude and brutal ideology and often less than appealing personnel, had been able to win the loyalties of the German working and middle class, so that, even if they had not originally supported the party, they were prepared to tolerate and acquiesce in the regime. Much as he detested Hitler, Shirer recognized the power of his almost mesmerizing rhetorical talents. His week at Nuremberg also forced him to acknowledge the skillful manner in which the Nazi Party deployed pageantry and organization to maximize the impact of its message upon the military, the general public, and "the little men of Germany who have made Nazism possible." European Fascist regimes of the interwar years followed the time-honored formula of keeping the masses happy with "bread and circuses." Personally deeply unsympathetic to Hitler's regime, Shirer himself nonetheless clearly felt the emotional impact and exhilarating appeal of this weeklong mass rally.

During all the time he kept his diary, explaining German support for the Nazi government and acquiescence in its destruction of civil liberties, elimination of all political rivals, and persecution of dissidents and Jews remained one of Shirer's major themes. He reported how many of his middle-class friends—formerly liberals, socialists, or even communists, often artists and students—praised National Socialism for restoring national pride and dignity to the German Fatherland; reversing the humiliations the Treaty of Ver-

sailles had inflicted on Germany in 1919; and providing order, authority, stability, and firm rule. In return for such reinvigoration, they were prepared to compromise individual and collective rights and liberties. The working class made a similar bargain, acquiescing in Hitler's eradication of the trade union movement in return for well-paid steady jobs, good benefits, and the psychological boost participation in national regeneration bestowed. Even some of Shirer's seemingly most helpful German informants were eventually revealed to be government spies. Shirer left his readers with no illusions as to the level of general German support for the Nazi regime, though he sometimes attributed this enthusiasm to the pervasive egotism of the national character, a belief that whatever was beneficial to Germany was right, and a corresponding popular inability to comprehend general concepts of international rights, as opposed to what was in the German national interest. This perspective, implicitly suggesting that German support for Hitler was so entrenched that only military defeat and conquest would cause the regime's overthrow, was a theme Shirer repeated over several decades in his various works on Nazi rule. It was also an outlook well crafted to persuade Americans to enter the war as the only means of effecting the eventual destruction of Nazi government in Germany.

Primary Source

Excerpts from William Shirer's *Berlin Diary*

Entry, 5 September 1934

I'm beginning to comprehend, I think, some of the reasons for Hitler's astounding success. Borrowing a chapter from the Roman [Catholic] Church, he is restoring pageantry and colour and mysticism to the drab lives of twentieth-century Germans. This morning's opening meeting in the Luitpold Hall on the outskirts of Nuremberg was more than a gorgeous show; it also had something of the mysticism and religious fervour of an Easter or Christmas Mass in a great Gothic cathedral. The hall was a sea of brightly coloured flags. Even Hitler's arrival was made dramatic. The band stopped playing. There was a hush over the thirty thousand people packed in the hall. Then the band struck up the *Badenweiler March*, a very catchy tune, and used only, I'm told, when Hitler makes his big entries. Hitler appeared in the back of the auditorium, and followed by his aides, Göring, Goebbels, Hess, Himmler, and the others, he strode slowly down the long centre aisle while thirty thousand hands were raised in salute. It is a ritual, the old-timers say, which is always followed. Then an immense symphony orchestra played Beethoven's *Egmont* Overture. Great Klieg lights played on the stage, where Hitler sat surrounded by a hundred party officials and officers of the army and navy. Behind them the "blood flag," the one carried down the streets of Munich in the ill-fated putsch. Behind

this, four or five hundred S.A. standards. When the music was over, Rudolf Hess, Hitler's closest confidant, rose and slowly read the names of the Nazi "martyrs"—brown-shirts who had been killed in the struggle for power—a roll-call of the dead, and the thirty thousand seemed very moved.

In such an atmosphere no wonder, then, that every word dropped by Hitler seemed like an inspired Word from on high. . . .

Entry, 6 September 1934

Hitler sprang his *Arbeitsdienst*, his Labour Service Corps, on the public for the first time today and it turned out to be a highly trained, semi-military group of fanatical Nazi youths. Standing there in the early morning sunlight which sparkled on their shiny spades, fifty thousand of them, with the first thousand bared above the waist, suddenly made the German spectators go mad with joy when, without warning, they broke into a perfect goose-step. Now, the goose-step has always seemed to me to be an outlandish exhibition of the human being in his most undignified and stupid state, but I felt for the first time this morning what an inner chord it strikes in the strange soul of the German people. Spontaneously they jumped up and shouted their applause. There was a ritual even for the Labour Service boys. They formed an immense *Sprechchor*—a chanting chorus—and with one voice intoned such words as these: "We want one Leader! Nothing for us! Everything for Germany! *Heil Hitler!*" . . .

Entry, 7 September 1934

Another great pageant tonight. Two hundred thousand party officials packed in the Zeppelin Wiese with their twenty-one thousand flags unfurled in the searchlights like a forest of weird trees. "We are strong and will get stronger," Hitler shouted at them through the microphone, his words echoing across the hushed field from the loud-speakers. And there, in the flood-lit night, jammed together like sardines, in one mass formation, the little men of Germany who have made Nazism possible achieved the highest state of being the Germanic man knows: the shedding of their individual souls and minds—with the personal responsibilities and doubts and problems—until under the mystic lights and at the sound of the magic words of the Austrian they were merged completely in the Germanic herd. Later they recovered enough—fifteen thousand of them—to stage a torchlight parade through Nuremberg's ancient streets, Hitler taking the salute in front of the station across from our hotel. . . .

Entry, 10 September 1934

Today the army had its day, fighting a very realistic sham battle in the Zeppelin Meadow. It is difficult to exaggerate the frenzy of the three hundred thousand German spectators when they saw their soldiers go into action, heard the thunder of the guns, and smelt the powder. I feel that all those Americans and English (among others) who thought that German militarism was merely a product of the Hohen-

zollerns—from Frederick the Great to Kaiser Wilhelm II—made a mistake. It is rather something deeply ingrained in all Germans. They acted today like children playing with tin soldiers. The Reichswehr [German army] "fought" today only with the "defensive" weapons allowed them by Versailles, but everybody knows they've got the rest—tanks, heavy artillery, and probably airplanes.

LATER.—After seven days of almost ceaseless goose-stepping, speech-making, and pageantry, the party rally came to an end tonight. And though dead tired and rapidly developing a bad case of crowd-phobia, I'm glad I came. You have to go through one of these to understand Hitler's hold on the people, to feel the dynamic in the movement he's unleashed and the sheer, disciplined strength the Germans possess. And now—as Hitler told the correspondents yesterday in explaining his technique—the half-million men who've been here during the week will go back to their towns and villages and preach the new gospel with new fanaticism.

Source: William L. Shirer, *Berlin Diary: The Journal of a Foreign Correspondent, 1934–1941* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941), pp. 18–23. Reprinted with permission of Alfred A. Knopf.

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1.5. Arthur Koestler on the Spanish Civil War

The Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939

In summer 1936, a civil war began in Spain, when discontented Fascist army officers led by General Francisco Franco launched a Nationalist rebellion from the Spanish colony of Morocco against the newly elected leftist Republican govern-

ment. The uprising spread rapidly throughout Spain, and by the end of 1936, Nationalist troops controlled much though not all of the country. Franco and his supporters, who appealed to national pride and honor, were determined to thwart the Left and impose a Fascist government on Spain. They soon won recognition, together with encouragement and support in men and weaponry, from the sympathetic Fascist governments of Germany and Italy. Italy sent more than 200 aircraft, 2,500 tons of bombs, 50 tanks, almost 4,000 motor vehicles, and 12,000 machine guns. Germany contributed almost 12,000 men, organized in the autonomous Condor Legion under Franco's control, whose forces included more than a dozen well-equipped fighter and bomber airplane squadrons. These developments occurred despite the establishment at the beginning of the war of an international Non-intervention Committee on which all major nations were represented, its purported mission to localize and contain the civil war to Spain itself and to preclude foreign involvement. At the end of the year, the indignant Spanish government appealed to the League of Nations to force Italy and Germany to cease their assistance to the Nationalist rebels. In response to appeals from the Spanish government, in December 1936 the League of Nations Council passed a resolution urging all nations to refrain from intervention in the civil conflict in that state. All parties to the war effectively ignored this and several successive resolutions along the same lines passed by the League between 1937 and 1939.

In practice, the Republican government received assistance not only from the Spanish Communist Party but also from the Soviet Union, which like the Fascist states sent "volunteers" to fight in Spain. By 1936, fear of attack from both Japan and Nazi Germany persuaded Soviet leaders to embrace the "Popular Front" strategy of cooperating with all anti-Fascist forces, Communist and non-Communist alike. From 1937, Soviet leader Josef Stalin encouraged communists from all countries to enroll in the Republican forces. He sent Soviet advisers to assist the Spanish government and train guerrilla forces, together with 1,000 aircraft, 900 tanks, 300 armored cars, 1,500 heavy guns, 15,000 machine guns, and large quantities of small-arms weapons and munitions. Communists were represented in the Spanish government but did not dominate it, and they supported its suppression of the May 1937 Anarchist uprising in Barcelona. Such policies of setting aside leftist ideological differences, characteristic of the Popular Front era, continued until Franco's forces finally prevailed in March 1939. Popular Front collaboration was not popular with all communists, and the Trotskyist Workers' Party of Marxist Unity (POUM) opposed it, leading to bitter feuding and violence among Spanish communists and those who came from elsewhere to join in the fighting.

For many on the Left, the Spanish Civil War, the first occasion on which Communist and Fascist forces fought each other in Europe, evoked a profound emotional response. Great Britain and France refused to assist or sell munitions of war to either side in the war, including the legitimate government, claiming that they were merely observing the anti-intervention resolutions of the League of Nations. The United States likewise imposed an embargo on arms sales to each side. Left-wing critics argued that, far from being neutral, these policies effectively assisted the Fascist rebels. Many liberals from Europe and the United States went to Spain to fight or provide medical assistance to the Republican forces, often joining the International Brigade of left-wing soldiers fighting for the government. Among the better known were the American novelist and journalist Ernest Hemingway, the British writer George Orwell, the German-Hungarian journalist Arthur Koestler, and such young Cambridge intellectuals as John Cornford and Julian Bell, both of whom were killed in action during the war.

The fighting forces on all sides treated enemy forces, civilians, and political rivals with great brutality, aspects of combat and warfare that a few years later would also characterize World War II, especially in partisan and guerrilla situations. Total war regarded both soldiers and noncombatants as legitimate targets, as demonstrated in the brutal bombing of the town of Guernica in April 1937, an episode that generated international protests and one of the most famous antiwar paintings of the renowned Spanish artist, Pablo Picasso. Atrocities against troops and civilians were common, exploited by both sides for propaganda purposes. Total deaths during and immediately after the war were estimated at 500,000, including approximately 10 percent of the fighting forces in each camp and 10,000 civilians killed in bombing raids. Approximately 120,000 were executed during the war by both sides and a further 100,000 by the Nationalists when the war ended. Internecine fighting was common among government supporters, as Popular Front and Communist forces, encouraged by their Soviet advisers, routinely assassinated dissident Anarchists and other political rivals. The brutal Communist intolerance of any dissent from the party line was one major reason why such leftists as George Orwell and Arthur Koestler subsequently became disillusioned with communism and publicly turned against their former faith. On 1 April 1939, the war finally ended in a Nationalist victory. Unlike his fellow Fascist dictators in Germany and Italy, Franco remained neutral during World War II and stayed in power until his death in 1975.

About the Author

Arthur Koestler was born in Hungary to well-to-do Jewish parents. In 1922, he entered the University of Vienna, where

he joined the militant Zionist movement that demanded the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, where Koestler moved in 1926. He soon became a journalist, assigned to Paris in 1929 and Berlin the following year. Based in France from 1932 to 1936, for six years, until 1938, he belonged to the German Communist Party. When the Spanish Civil War began in 1936, the Comintern dispatched Koestler to Spain. Posing as a right-wing journalist but accredited to the liberal, anti-Franco *British News Chronicle*, he was expected to spy on the Nationalist forces. His cover was unconvincing, and in February 1937, he was arrested and imprisoned in Seville, where he was sentenced to death. Koestler was luckier than most such prisoners in that he escaped execution, primarily due to the extensive publicity and lobbying campaign for his release that his influential friends in Britain and France promptly launched on his behalf. In an exchange of prisoners, he was freed on 15 May 1937.

Koestler promptly published a book describing his experiences in Spain. In 1938, he left the Communist Party, disillusioned not only by his exposure to its unscrupulous tactics in the Spanish Civil War but also by Stalin's purges and show trials of rivals in Moscow. In 1940, Koestler published the strongly anticommunist novel *Darkness at Noon*, an account of the Soviet persecution of an idealistic "old Bolshevik" and his loss of faith, which won him new prominence as a leading anticommunist European intellectual. In subsequent works, including *The Yogi and the Commissar* (1945) and *The God That Failed* (1949) and his memoirs, *Arrow in the Blue* (1951) and *The Invisible Writing* (1954), Koestler enlarged on his idealistic search for a political creed and his eventual personal disillusionment with communism. From the mid-1950s onward, his predominant interest was the paranormal. Suffering from terminal illness, he committed suicide in 1983, as did his third wife. Allegations that he had sexually assaulted numerous women diminished posthumously Koestler's liberal reputation.

About the Document

Arthur Koestler wrote and published the book from which this account is taken shortly after his escape from imprisonment in Spain. Its British publisher was the strongly pro-Republican Left Book Club, which used the book as propaganda to vindicate the Republican government's position and discredit the Right in Spain by exposing the extent of German and Italian military intervention in the conflict and the brutality and atrocities committed by the Nationalist camp. Though Koestler's account may well have been truthful, he was also decidedly selective in what he chose to include. At that point, Koestler himself disingenuously failed to reveal his own membership in the Communist Party, let alone the espionage mission with which the party had

entrusted him, preferring to present himself "as a journalist of liberal convictions and author of fragments of pacifist novels" and "an incorrigible Left-wing liberal." He described his own interest in "tracking down the German airmen" and assessing the degree of Adolf Hitler's involvement in Spain as a "private hobby."

Koestler's description of his encounters with German aviators in a Seville hotel was designed to illustrate that, despite professions of nonintervention, Germany was providing extensive military assistance to the Nationalist rebels. He indicated, moreover, that German officers were not only present in Spain but that they were prepared to use violent methods to eliminate any dissenters on the Left. The book also gave graphic descriptions of fighting, including the bombing of civilians, incidents in which German and Italian airplanes were usually prominent, and of massacres of noncombatant government supporters by Nationalist forces. It minimized the degree of communist influence within the Republican government and also the extent of international communist involvement in the war. In addition, its accounts of prison life emphasized the harsh and arbitrary nature of Nationalist justice, with Koestler's own survival due largely to his foreign connections and Nationalist reluctance to provoke an international incident. Interestingly, after leaving the Communist Party and publicly condemning that ideology, Koestler published in 1942 a revised and more honest version, *Dialogue with Death*, which played down the heroism and ideological fervor of communists inside and outside jail and revealed his own covert espionage assignment for the party.

Primary Source

Excerpt from *Spanish Testament* (1937)

My stay in Seville was very instructive and very brief.

My private hobby was tracking down the German airmen; that is to say, the secret imports of 'planes and pilots, which at that time was in full swing, but was not so generally known as it is today. It was the time when European diplomacy was just celebrating its honeymoon with the Non-Intervention Pact. Hitler was denying having despatched aircraft to Spain, and Franco was denying having received them, while there before my very eyes fat, blond German pilots, living proof to the contrary, were consuming vast quantities of Spanish fish, and, monocles clamped into their eyes, reading the *Volkischer Beobachter*.

There were four of these gentlemen in the Hotel Cristina in Seville at about lunch time on 28 August 1936. The Cristina is the hotel of which the porter had told me that it was full of German officers and that it was not advisable to go there, because every foreigner was liable to be taken for a spy.

I went there, nevertheless. It was, as I have said, about two o'clock in the afternoon. As I entered the lounge, the four

pilots were sitting at a table, drinking sherry. The fish came later.

Their uniforms consisted of the white overall worn by Spanish airmen; on their breasts were two embroidered wings with a small swastika in a circle (a swastika in a circle with wings is the so-called “Emblem of Distinction” of the German National-Socialist Party).

In addition to the four men in uniform one other gentleman was sitting at the table. He was sitting with his back to me; I could not see his face.

I took my place some tables further on. A new face in the lounge of a hotel occupied by officers always creates a stir in times of civil war. I could tell that the five men were discussing me. After some time the fifth man, the one with his back to me, got up and strolled past my table with an air of affected indifference. He had obviously been sent out to reconnoitre.

As he passed my table, I looked up quickly from my paper and hid my face even more quickly behind it again. But it was of no use; the man had recognized me, just as I had recognized him. It was Herr Strindberg, the undistinguished son of the great August Strindberg; he was a Nazi journalist, and war correspondent in Spain for the Ullstein group. This was the most disagreeable surprise imaginable. I had known the man years previously in Germany at a time when Hitler had been still knocking at the door, and he himself had been a passionate democrat. At that time I had been on the editorial staff of the Ullstein group, and his room had been only three doors from mine. Then Hitler came to power and Strindberg became a Nazi.

We had no further truck with one another but he was perfectly aware of my views and political convictions. He knew me to be an incorrigible Left-wing liberal, and this was quite enough to incriminate me. My appearance in this haunt of Nazi airmen must have appeared all the more suspect inasmuch as he could not have known that I was in Seville for a newspaper.

He behaved as though he had not recognized me, and I did the same. He returned to his table.

He began to report to his friends in an excited whisper. The five gentlemen put their heads together.

Then followed a strategic manoeuvre: two of the airmen strolled towards the door—obviously to cut off my retreat; the third went to the porter’s lodge and telephoned—obviously to the police; the fourth pilot and Strindberg paced up and down the room.

I felt more and more uncomfortable and every moment expected the Guardia Civil to turn up and arrest me. I thought the most sensible thing would be to put an innocent face on the whole thing, and getting up, I shouted across the two intervening tables with (badly) simulated astonishment:

“Hallo, aren’t you Strindberg?”

He turned pale and became very embarrassed, for he had not expected such a piece of impudence.

“I beg your pardon, I am talking to these gentlemen,” he said.

Had I still had any doubts, this behaviour on his part would in itself have made it patent to me that the fellow had denounced me. Well I thought, the only thing that’s going to get me out of this is a little more impudence. I asked him in a very loud voice, and as arrogantly as possible, what reason he had for not shaking hands with me.

He was completely bowled over at this, and literally gasped. At this point his friend, airman number four, joined in the fray. With a stiff little bow he told me his name, von Bernhardt, and demanded to see my papers.

The little scene was carried on entirely in German.

I asked by what right Herr von Bernhardt, as a foreigner, demanded to see my papers.

Herr von Bernhardt said that as an officer in the Spanish Army he had a right to ask “every suspicious character” for his papers.

Had I not been so agitated, I should have pounced upon this statement as a toothsome morsel. That a man with a swastika on his breast should acknowledge himself in German to be an officer in Franco’s army, would have been a positive tit-bit for the Non-Intervention Committee.

I merely said, however, that I was not a “suspicious character,” but an accredited correspondent of the London “News Chronicle,” that Captain Bolín [the rebel press chief in Seville] would confirm this, and that I refused to show my papers.

When Strindberg heard me mention the “News Chronicle” he did something that was quite out of place: he began to scratch his head Herr von Bernhardt too grew uncomfortable at the turn of events and sounded a retreat. We went on arguing for a while, until Captain Bolín entered the hotel. I hastened up to him and demanded that the others should apologise to me, thinking to myself that attack was the best defence and that I must manage at all costs to prevent Strindberg from having his say. Bolín was astonished at the scene and indignantly declared that he refused to have anything to do with the whole stupid business, and that in time of civil war he didn’t give a damn whether two people shook hands or not.

In the meantime the Civil Guards had actually arrived on the scene, with fixed bayonets and pugnacious expressions, to arrest the “suspicious character.” Bolín angrily told them to go to the devil. And to the devil they went.

I decamped there and then from the confounded Cristina. Arrived at my hotel, I began hurriedly to pack. I had hardly finished when a French colleague of mine came up to my room and privately advised me to leave for [British-controlled] Gibraltar as quickly as possible. He was obviously acting as the mouthpiece of some higher authority; but he refused to say

whom. He merely said that he had heard of the shindy and that the whole affair might turn out very seriously for me.

Eight hours later I was in Gibraltar.

Twenty-four hours later I learned from private sources that a warrant for my arrest had been issued in Seville.

So Strindberg junior had had his say after all.

Source: Arthur Koestler, *Spanish Testament* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1937), pp. 37–40. Reprinted by permission of PFD on behalf of the Estate of Arthur Koestler.

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1.6. The Sino-Japanese War Begins

The Outbreak of War in China

From at least 1931, when Japan seized China's northeastern Manchurian region, establishing the puppet state of Manchoukuo (Manchukuo) there the following year, Japan and China enjoyed poor relations. Japan sought to increase its influence in north China, holding Hebei province and administering much of the Shandong peninsula as a virtual protectorate, and claiming special rights over various strategic railway lines.

During the mid-1930s, Chinese resentment of Japanese incursions grew dramatically. In 1935, troops commanded by Marshal Zhang Xueliang, a leading Manchurian warlord who had sworn allegiance to Jiang Jieshi [Chiang Kai-shek], the Nationalist or Guomindang [Kuomintang] president of China, defied the latter's orders to launch another campaign against Chinese Communists. They contended that all Chinese political factions should unite against the Japanese invaders, not fight each other. In December 1936, Zhang kidnapped Jiang at a spa in Xi'an in China's far west, not releasing him until he agreed to an anti-Japanese rapprochement

with Communist leaders. In all probability, Jiang also agreed to take a harsher line toward future Japanese incursions.

On 7 July 1937, a skirmish took place between Chinese and Japanese troops stationed near the historic Marco Polo Bridge 10 miles outside Beijing, a landmark that stood next to a strategically significant railroad bridge. Japanese forces on night maneuvers fired blank cartridges, prompting nearby Chinese soldiers to retaliate with live fire, though without injuring anyone. At next day's roll call, one Japanese soldier was missing, and his commander assumed he had been taken captive by Chinese units based in nearby Wanping. On 8 July, the Chinese commander refused entry to Japanese forces seeking the missing soldier, whereupon they unsuccessfully attacked the town. The missing soldier, who apparently had never been in Chinese custody, reappeared the following day, and both sides began negotiations intended to resolve the dispute, which at this time involved only 135 Japanese troops.

Although Japanese officials of that time undoubtedly sought to increase their influence in Wanping and the neighboring Lu-kou-ch'iao area, in all probability the initial incident was a spontaneous accident, not a premeditated effort to provoke a broader crisis. Such minor clashes were not uncommon. In this case, however, officials in both governments seized upon it as a pretext to demand a broader comprehensive settlement of outstanding issues dividing Japan and China. Japanese military commanders in Manchoukuo (Manchukuo) and north China sought extensive concessions from China, and Jiang Jieshi feared that further acquiescence to Japanese demands would irretrievably damage his political standing. On 20 July, Jiang sent several Chinese divisions to reinforce North China, while Japanese forces quickly seized control of the entire Beijing-Tianjin area, transferring 15 additional divisions there and killing several thousand Chinese. Japan sought outright control of North China, whereas Jiang insisted on maintaining full Chinese sovereignty there. Both Chinese and Japanese policies hardened until no compromise was possible, though neither side formally declared war. On 7 August, however, Jiang and his advisers decided to wage a full-scale war of resistance against Japan, the beginning of eight years of bitter and brutal fighting between the two countries, ended only when Japan surrendered unconditionally to the Allies in August 1945. Japan never formally declared war on China, and China left its formal declaration of war on Japan until December 1941, after Pearl Harbor, when it could join hostilities as a full ally of the powerful United States.

The Nanjing Massacre (13 December 1937–22 January 1938)

In its early stages, China's war with Japan was one of rapid movement and military disaster. In late July 1937, Japanese

troops took over the entire Beijing-Tianjin area of north China. They inflicted a series of major defeats upon Jiang's military, wiping out most of his modernized units and, over the following 18 months, successively taking Shanghai, Nanjing, Guangzhou, and Wuhan, China's provisional capital after Nanjing fell. Chinese Nationalist forces under Guomindang [Kuomintang] President Jiang Jieshi [Chiang Kai-shek] initially offered strong resistance to the Japanese invasion, holding out at Shanghai, the country's greatest port city and the site of a major international settlement, from 13 August to 9 November 1937. They then fell back, moving inland in a near-rout upon the Nationalist capital of Nanjing, a symbolic location housing more than 1 million Chinese that Jiang was not prepared to abandon without a fight but for whose defense or evacuation no plans had been made. Another of Jiang's objectives in defending both the treaty port of Shanghai and Nanjing, home to numerous foreign embassies, was to attract worldwide attention and win foreign support for China's anti-Japanese war.

In early December, Japanese troops converged upon Nanjing, opening a massive assault on 9 December after Chinese troops rejected their demands to surrender. Three days later, the Chinese defenders fell back across the Yangzi River, and the following day the 6th, 9th, and 116th Divisions of the Japanese army entered the city as two Japanese navy fleets arrived up the Yangzi. Over the following six weeks, the Japanese occupiers deliberately instituted a reign of terror, apparently designed to cow China's population into ready submission to Japanese invasion. Frustration over Jiang's refusal to surrender, which Japanese leaders had expected him to do before the end of 1937, may have been another contributing factor. Entering the city on 13 December, Japanese forces fired on streets crowded with refugees, wounded soldiers, and civilians and also on many thousands of refugees attempting to escape by swimming the river. The occupying forces used machine guns, bayonets, fire, burial alive, and poison gas to massacre captured Chinese soldiers and any young men suspected of being such. Scattered atrocities and murders, often marked by great brutality, continued throughout the city for six weeks, as did heavy looting. Counts of how many soldiers and civilians died in the Nanjing massacre range from 42,000 to 300,000. During this period Japanese soldiers raped an estimated 20,000 women, most of whom were then killed.

The Nanjing massacre shocked many in the West and generated extensive international sympathy for China, though this did not necessarily translate into tangible support and assistance. It was an early example of the use of organized brutality to cow and terrorize civilian populations characteristic of many World War II military occupations. As the twenty-first century began, memories of the Nanjing massacre remained bitter in China, with a major museum com-

memorating the event in Nanjing. For many decades, Japanese officials, by contrast, sought to deny the episode ever took place, or at least to minimize its scale, and omitted it from official accounts of the war. In the late 1990s, however, several Japanese journalists and academics who investigated the subject mounted dedicated efforts to bring the event to the attention of their countrymen.

About the Documents

Official diplomatic correspondence between governments is normally drafted by civil servants and rarely emotional or personal. The letter and press release here are quite typical. In its official account of the incident, delivered five days later to the U.S. Secretary of State, the Japanese government sought to justify the actions of its own forces during the Marco Polo Bridge incident, to prove that Japanese troops had been in the right and their Chinese counterparts in the wrong. Japanese government officials stipulated that these troops' presence in North China was justified under long-standing international agreements signed between China and Japan. They cited Chinese unwillingness to reach a settlement of this episode to justify their own decision, reached within five days of the initial incident, to send additional Japanese military forces to North China. The Japanese government also stated that it still hoped to resolve the previous two clashes in a peaceable manner that would prevent their recurrence. In all probability, at this stage, Japanese leaders had not yet definitely decided to make these skirmishes a pretext for demanding broader concessions from China and a settlement of various outstanding issues dividing the two countries that would be acceptable to Japan.

For many years, at least since the dispatch of the Open Door notes of 1899–1900, the United States had presented itself as the guardian of China's international position. Both the United States and Japan were also signatories of the 1921–1922 Washington Conference Treaties, which were designed to safeguard the status quo in the Asia-Pacific region. The Japanese government delivered similar messages to all the signatory powers, hoping that by taking this action, it would allay any apprehensions on their part that Japan nurtured broader territorial designs upon China.

The initial U.S. reaction was noncommittal. The State Department issued a brief announcement that both the Chinese and Japanese ambassadors had called, to deliver their versions of the episode. This statement emphasized that U.S. diplomats had told both sides of their hopes that peace would be maintained. Despite their country's traditional rhetorical friendship for China, for several decades, U.S. officials had rarely been willing to provide much in the way of concrete military or economic backing for their verbal pledges to China. For most of the 1930s, for example, the U.S. govern-

ment protested against Japan's actions in Manchuria and refused to recognize the puppet state of Manchukuo (Manchukuo) but continued to permit Japan to purchase from U.S. suppliers the iron, steel, and gasoline that underpinned Japanese military activities in East Asia. In 1937, the United States was still suffering from the economic impact of the Great Depression that took hold from 1929 onward, and domestic recovery remained a major priority. President Franklin D. Roosevelt was, moreover, increasingly preoccupied with the deteriorating situation in Europe, where Italy had annexed Ethiopia, the Spanish Civil War was in progress, and German plans to take over Austria, Czechoslovakia, and other territories were becoming ever more apparent. As this document demonstrates, the prospect of an additional international crisis in Asia alarmed the U.S. government, which therefore sought to prevent this outcome to the Sino-Japanese clashes.

This newspaper account of the early stages of the Nanjing Massacre was written and published four or five days after the massacre began. The writer, Frank Tillman Durdin, a correspondent for the *New York Times*, was one of only five non-Chinese journalists present in Nanjing from 11 December until 15 December, when the few remaining foreign newsmen were finally evacuated to the relative safety of a U.S. naval vessel moored in Shanghai harbor. He was therefore in a position to view many of the atrocities and to obtain first-hand testimony from other witnesses. Durdin later had a long and distinguished career as a foreign correspondent in Asia, and during World War II he won a reputation for courage in physically dangerous situations. His second paragraph suggests that he may have relied heavily on accounts from other Westerners in the city, whom Japanese soldiers were less likely to attack than they would Chinese or other Asians.

Durdin's account conveyed rather well the sense of shock that the atrocities in Nanjing generated throughout the Western world. His description of the killing of numerous Chinese individuals and the obvious enjoyment and relish many Japanese troops found in casual slaughter and in murdering and tormenting Nanjing's inhabitants, soldiers and civilians alike, was gruesome and graphic, though rather general. He rightly suggested that, by employing wholesale terror, Japanese officials sought to cow the Chinese population into submission.

Interestingly, even though other writers at the time and since did so, Durdin did not mention the mass rapes—often a prelude to murder—of Chinese women, which were very common during the Nanjing massacre. It may be that, since he only witnessed the first few days of almost six weeks of frenzied atrocities, he was not aware of these occurrences. It is equally possible, however, that an element of self-censorship by either Durdin himself or his editor was involved. The *New York Times*, where his report was published, famously

boasted that it provided “all the news that's fit to print.” In deference to the sensibilities of readers, the acts of violence recounted in this article, though clearly horrific, are often left slightly vague in detail. In the 1930s, this respectable newspaper of record might well have refrained from publishing even well-attested accounts of mass rapes on the grounds that decent readers would not wish to be confronted with descriptions of such sensational and unpleasant events. It would take another world war and several lesser conflicts, plus the Holocaust and a revolution in Western sexual mores, to remove such inhibitions upon the fare the editors of well-regarded journals saw fit to offer their readers.

Primary Source

A) The Japanese Embassy to the Department of State, 12 July 1937

1. In the evening of July 7, 1937 a detachment of the Japanese troops stationed at Fengtai, near Peiping, was engaged in a night maneuver in the vicinity of Lukow Kiao. At 11:40 p.m. Chinese troops under the command of Feng Chih-an (29th Army) made an attack upon the Japanese soldiers for no cause at all.

Thereupon the detachment stopped the maneuver and asked the command at Fengtai to send out reinforcements.

2. At such maneuvers, the Japanese troops immediately carry a very small quantity of loaded shells for use in case of emergency. In point of fact the commanding officer of the said detachment had with him one box of loaded shells for the machine guns. In view of these facts, it is absolutely impossible for the Japanese soldiers to have challenged the Chinese.

3. The right of maneuver of the Japanese troops stationed in North China is clearly stipulated in the China-Japanese Protocol of 1902 concerning the restoration of Tientsin to China. Moreover, the Japanese authorities had informed the Chinese in advance of the holding of the maneuver in question. It is entirely groundless to say that the recent maneuver of the Japanese troops is an unlawful act committed outside the region stipulated in the said Protocol as reported in the newspapers.

4. Since the night of July 7, the Japanese authorities have made an earnest endeavor to localize the incident and once succeeded in bringing the Chinese authorities to agree to a peaceful settlement. On the night of July 10, however, the 29th Army, in violation of the agreement, suddenly fired on the Japanese troops, causing considerable casualties. In addition, it is reported, China has been increasing the forces of the first line by ordering Suiyan troops to march south and by sending central forces and air corps to the front.

Since the night of July 10, China not only has failed to manifest any sincerity toward a peaceful settlement but has flatly rejected the local negotiation at Peiping.

5. The presence of disorderly Chinese troops in the Peiping and Tientsin area not only disturbs peace and order in North China which is of vital importance to Japan, but also endangers the lives and property of the Japanese nationals there.

In the circumstances, the Japanese Government has decided to take precautionary steps to meet all situations, including the dispatch of additional military forces to North China.

6. The Japanese Government, desirous as ever to preserve peace in East Asia, has not abandoned hope that through peaceful negotiations the aggravation of the situation may yet be prevented.

An amicable solution can yet be attained if China agrees to offer apologies for the recent lawless action and to give adequate guarantees against such outrages in future.

In any case the Japanese Government is prepared to give full consideration to the rights and interests of the Powers in China.

Source: U.S., Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: Japan: 1931–1941*, 2 vols. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), 1: 318–319.

Initially, the State Department only responded with a brief press release.

Primary Source

B) Press Release Issued by the Department of State on 12 July 1937

The Japanese Ambassador and the Counselor of the Chinese Embassy each called at the Department this morning, and communicated information in regard to events in North China. In the course of the conversations which ensued both were given expression of the view that an armed conflict between Japan and China would be a great blow to the cause of peace and world progress.

Source: U.S., Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: Japan: 1931–1941*, 2 vols. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), 1: 319.

Primary Source

C) The Nanjing Massacre: F. S. Tillman Durdin, “All Captives Slain,” *New York Times*, 18 December 1937.

Aboard the U.S.S. Oahu at Shanghai, Dec. 17 [1937].

Through wholesale atrocities and vandalism at Nanking the Japanese Army has thrown away a rare opportunity to gain the respect and confidence of the Chinese inhabitants and of foreign opinion there. . . .

The killing of civilians was widespread. Foreigners who traveled widely through the city Wednesday found civilians dead on every street. Some of the victims were aged men, women and children.

Policemen and firemen were special objects of attack. Many victims were bayoneted and some of the wounds were barbarously cruel.

Any person who ran because of fear or excitement was likely to be killed on the spot as was any one caught by roving patrols in streets or alleys after dark. Many slayings were witnessed by foreigners.

The Japanese looting amounted almost to plundering of the entire city. Nearly every building was entered by Japanese soldiers, often under the eyes of their officers, and the men took whatever they wanted. The Japanese soldiers often impressed Chinese to carry their loot. . . .

The mass executions of war prisoners added to the horrors the Japanese brought to Nanking. After killing the Chinese soldiers who threw down their arms and surrendered, the Japanese combed the city for men in civilian garb who were suspected of being former soldiers.

In one building in the refugee zone 400 men were seized. They were marched off, tied in batches of fifty, between lines of riflemen and machine gunners, to the execution ground.

Just before boarding the ship for Shanghai the writer watched the execution of 200 men on the Bund [dike]. The killings took ten minutes. The men were lined against a wall and shot. Then a number of Japanese, armed with pistols, trod nonchalantly around the crumpled bodies, pumping bullets into any that were still kicking.

The army men performing the gruesome job had invited navy men from the warships anchored off the Bund to view the scene. A large group of military spectators apparently greatly enjoyed the spectacle.

When the first column of Japanese troops marched from the South Gate up Chungshan Road toward the city’s Big Circle, small knots of Chinese civilians broke into scattering cheers, so great was their relief that the siege was over and so high were their hopes that the Japanese would restore peace and order. There are no cheers in Nanking now for the Japanese.

By despoiling the city and population the Japanese have driven deeper into the Chinese a repressed hatred that will smolder through tears as forms of the anti-Japanism that Tokyo professes to be fighting to eradicate from China.

The capture of Nanking was the most overwhelming defeat suffered by the Chinese and one of the most tragic military debacles in the history of modern warfare. In attempting to defend Nanking the Chinese allowed themselves to be surrounded and then systematically slaughtered. . . .

The flight of the many Chinese soldiers was possible by only a few exits. Instead of sticking by their men to hold the

invaders at bay with a few strategically placed units while the others withdrew, many army leaders deserted, causing panic among the rank and file.

Those who failed to escape through the gate leading to Hsiakwan and from there across the Yangtze were caught and executed. . . .

When the Japanese captured Hsiakwan gate they cut off all exit from the city while at least a third of the Chinese Army still was within the walls.

Because of the disorganization of the Chinese a number of units continued fighting Tuesday noon, many of these not realizing the Japanese had surrounded them and that their cause was hopeless. Japanese tank patrols systematically eliminated these.

Tuesday morning, while attempting to motor to Hsiakwan, I encountered a desperate group of about twenty-five Chinese soldiers who were still holding the Ningpo Guild Building on Chungshan Road. They later surrendered.

Thousands of prisoners were executed by the Japanese. Most of the Chinese soldiers who had been interned in the safety zone were shot in masses. The city was combed in a systematic house-to-house search for men having knapsack marks on their shoulders or other signs of having been soldiers. They were herded together and executed.

Many were killed where they were found, including men innocent of any army connection and many wounded soldiers and civilians. I witnessed three mass executions of prisoners within a few hours Wednesday. In one slaughter a tank gun was turned on a group of more than 100 soldiers at a bomb shelter near the Ministry of Communications.

A favorite method of execution was to herd groups of a dozen men at entrances of dugouts and to shoot them so the bodies toppled inside. Dirt then was shoveled in and the men buried.

Since the beginning of the Japanese assault on Nanking the city presented a frightful appearance. The Chinese facilities for the care of army wounded were tragically inadequate, so as early as a week ago injured men were seen often on the streets, some hobbling, others crawling along seeking treatment.

Civilian casualties also were heavy, amounting to thousands. The only hospital open was the American managed University Hospital and its facilities were inadequate for even a fraction of those hurt.

Nanking's streets were littered with dead. Sometimes bodies had to be moved before automobiles could pass.

The capture of Hsiakwan Gate by the Japanese was accompanied by the mass killing of the defenders, who were piled up among the sandbags, forming a mound six feet high. Late Wednesday the Japanese had not removed the dead, and two days of heavy military traffic had been passing through, grinding over the remains of men, dogs and horses.

The Japanese appear to want the horrors to remain as long as possible, to impress on the Chinese the terrible results of resisting Japan.

Chungshan Road was a long avenue of filth and discarded uniforms, rifles, pistols, machine guns, fieldpieces, knives and knapsacks. In some places the Japanese had to hitch tanks to debris to clear the road.

Source: F. S. Tillman Durdin, "All Captives Slain," dateline aboard U.S.S. *Oahu* at Shanghai, 17 December 1937, published in *New York Times*, 18 December 1937, pp. 1, 10.

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1.7. Appeasement: For and Against

The Munich Agreement and Appeasement

The Munich crisis of August—September 1938; the agreement between Great Britain, France, Germany, and Czechoslovakia that ended it; and the broader policies of appeasement that the agreement epitomized are among the most controversial and emotive issues of the years leading to World War II. Ever since the Munich Agreement was concluded, debate has raged over whether British (and French) policy at that time toward Adolf Hitler's Germany was either pragmatically or morally justifiable. Philip Caputi's recent survey of the scholarly literature on British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain and Munich reveals that, after two-thirds of a century, the jury is still out.

One of the centerpieces of Nazi Germany's foreign policy under Hitler was the demand that portions of neighboring

countries where the population was predominantly German should be incorporated into Germany proper. In spring 1938, Hitler annexed the largely ethnic German state of Austria, which enhanced his ability to threaten Czechoslovakia. The Czech state, which had only existed since 1919, included a substantial number of ethnic Germans, who were concentrated in the Sudetenland, which bordered on Germany. With tacit German encouragement, in the 1930s, a strong German separatist movement developed in that area, whose members alleged that they suffered political and social discrimination in Czechoslovakia and campaigned for unification with Germany. In summer 1938, Hitler aggressively demanded that Czechoslovakia cede the Sudetenland to Germany, threatening war should the Czech government, headed by Edvard Beneš, decline.

France was allied to Czechoslovakia by a mutual assistance pact, and Great Britain, as one of the signatories of the Treaty of Versailles, also had an interest in the future relationship of Czechoslovakia and Germany. British ties to France were also likely to involve Britain in any European war. The Communist Soviet Union, which Hitler had long depicted as Germany's ultimate opponent, made no definite pledges but encouraged Czechoslovakia to resist German demands. The French and British governments were each reluctant to risk war on behalf of Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union made its assistance conditional on France coming to the assistance of Czechoslovakia. Even as the well-armed Czechs declared their readiness to fight and mobilized their army, Britain, France, Italy, and Germany negotiated with each other over Czechoslovakia's fate. When talks appeared stalemated in late September, Chamberlain made the dramatic gesture of flying to Germany to meet Hitler at his mountain retreat of Berchtesgaden. Hitler promised to drop all further demands on Czechoslovakia in exchange for British and French acquiescence in his seizure of the Sudetenland. Hungary, Germany's ally, would also receive portions of Slovakia. When the Czech government protested its readiness to fight Germany, the British government made it clear that it would do so alone, without British or French assistance. After the Czechs yielded, the Soviet Union professed its readiness to help, an offer that was almost certainly deliberately made too late to affect events. Six months later, in March 1939, Hitler's troops marched into what was left of Czechoslovakia, which remained under German control until liberated by Soviet forces in 1944.

At the time and since, Chamberlain's conduct in particular attracted much opprobrium. Even since World War II, Western politicians have cited the Munich Agreement as a symbol of the folly of believing that any compromise is possible with dictators. Concessions and appeasement, it is argued, simply whet their appetite for more gains. The Munich analogy, used most recently during the Second Gulf

War of 2003, has been invoked to justify Western intervention in many other international crises: the early Cold War, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the 1979–1989 Afghan War, and the first Gulf War of 1990–1991, among others. Condemnation of the Munich Agreement intensified in 1939, when Hitler took the rest of Czechoslovakia and began to demand the Danzig corridor from Poland. German documents captured after World War II revealed that most of the German military leadership opposed Hitler's 1938 threat of war against Britain and France over Czechoslovakia, believing that Germany was unprepared for such a campaign. Some German officers even planned a coup should such a conflict begin. These revelations further tarnished the reputation of Chamberlain and his supporters. (The rather unimpressive record of German military conspiracies against Hitler during World War II itself demonstrated that, even when such opposition existed, it did not guarantee that in reality any such coup would have taken place or that it would then have succeeded.)

Though debate still rages over the wisdom of Chamberlain's policies, many subsequent historians have been less harshly critical of his policies during the 1930s. In the first half of the decade, the quest to recover from economic depression preoccupied the British government, and military spending was cut. The British peace movement was also at its peak, and many of its members opposed large defense budgets on the grounds that armaments themselves contributed to war. British political leaders had perennial bitter memories of the heavy casualties World War I inflicted upon their population, when the trenches swallowed up a generation of bright young men from the ruling elite. In 1935, the British government embarked on moderate rearmament policies, with endorsement from the British Labour Party, whose leader, Clement Attlee, bested the pacifists among his own supporters. Even so, in 1938, British production of modern fighter aircraft, tanks, and other military hardware still lagged well behind that of Germany, and British land forces were relatively small. With a large overseas empire, Britain faced serious threats in Asia from Japan and was suffering from imperial overstretch, as its defense obligations outran its ability to meet its commitments. Although the Foreign Office was divided, British military planners virtually unanimously opposed British intervention in 1938, arguing that a further two or better still three years were needed for full-scale rearmament. Military planners also generally overestimated the likely damage that large-scale bombing raids would inflict on Britain's almost unprotected cities.

On purely practical grounds, it would have been difficult in 1938 for either Britain or France to assist Czechoslovakia militarily. A landlocked nation surrounded by Germany, Austria, Hungary, Romania, and Poland, Czechoslovakia was at the mercy of its neighbors. Given France's military per-

formance two years later, it is difficult to suppose that a Franco-British war against Germany's western frontier would have enjoyed great chances of success. The banker Lord Brand, a strong critic of British appeasement policies, ascribed most of the blame for the Munich Agreement to the failure of the government of Stanley Baldwin, Chamberlain's predecessor as prime minister, to adopt strong rearmament policies in the early 1930s.

At the time that Chamberlain signed the Munich Agreement, from the royal family downward, the British public demonstrated considerable relief and support for his position. The white British dominions (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, who had attained virtual independence during the 1920s) were not prepared to fight over Czechoslovakia, so Britain would have gone to war without their backing. It also seemed unlikely that Britain could have expected any substantial support from the United States, where Congress passed a series of neutrality acts in the later 1930s, designed to keep the country aloof from any international conflict. When the Munich Agreement was signed, a thankful President Franklin D. Roosevelt cabled Chamberlain: "Good man" (Dallek 1995, 166). The Soviet Union made skilful propaganda out of the Munich Agreement, charging that Western powers had deserted Czechoslovakia when the Soviets were prepared to offer assistance. In practice, though, the Soviets carefully left loopholes in their pledges and seem to have treated the Munich crisis primarily as an exercise in international public relations. Even if the Soviet offer of military assistance was genuine, the Russian military was still recovering from the purges earlier that decade, and the Soviet Union shared no common border with either Czechoslovakia or Germany.

Chamberlain's admirers have claimed that his policies bought the time Britain needed for rearmament, so that when Britain finally did declare war on Germany one year later, its military position had become far less disadvantageous. Although some detractors have claimed that this delay was more beneficial to the German than the British rearmament effort, overall it seems that British gains in the intervening year were substantial. In truth, however, accelerated post-Munich British rearmament was apparently primarily due to Chamberlain's cabinet rather than himself, and until Hitler took the rest of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, Chamberlain seemingly genuinely believed that he had reached an understanding with Hitler that would permanently avert any European war. Several highly controversial books by John Charmley have argued that Chamberlain's real mistake was his eventual pledge to Poland in 1939 and the subsequent British declaration of war against Germany. Charmley further faults Winston Churchill, Chamberlain's successor as prime minister, for deciding to fight on in 1940 rather than make a compromise peace with Germany, on the grounds that these

policies effectively brought British dependence upon the United States, the dissolution of the British Empire, and the end of Britain's great power status. Although Charmley is perceptive regarding the weakness of Britain's broad international position in 1938, one has to wonder whether his alternative solution, of British acquiescence in a German-dominated Europe, was a more feasible or palatable long-run position.

Except for Czechoslovakia, none of the powers involved in the Munich crisis came out of it with any great credit. The history of wars and diplomacy in the twentieth and other centuries alike is, however, crammed with instances when nations have been forced to rely primarily upon their own efforts to defend themselves or else go under. Given the history of the previous five years, it was perhaps unrealistic of the Czechs to expect more effective assistance from their allies (or from the League of Nations). Counterfactual history being inherently indemonstrable, it is impossible to prove that firm action by Britain and France in September 1938 would not have checked Hitler. Clearly, though, one year later, the much more definite prospect that an attack on Poland would involve Germany in war with both nations failed to deter him. The failure of Britain and France at Munich was, however, a humiliating revelation of the degree to which, even before World War II effectively precipitated the breakup of their overseas empires, those two countries, in the absence of assistance from the United States, were increasingly incapable of bearing the burdens their international status as great powers imposed upon them.

About the Authors

Neville Chamberlain, a leading British Conservative politician from a prominent Birmingham political family with a strong commitment to strengthening the British Empire, was the dominant figure in successive British governments of the 1930s. He served in the National Government as chancellor of the exchequer from 1931 until 1937 when he replaced Stanley Baldwin as prime minister. Chamberlain believed that at least some of Germany's grievances regarding the post-World War I peace settlement were justified and that, if concessions were offered to Germany and also to Italy, a general European war might be avoided. He therefore supported the broadly conciliatory foreign policies Britain followed for much of the 1930s, effectively acquiescing in Italy's forcible annexation of Ethiopia, German rearmament, Hitler's 1936 remilitarization of the Rhineland, and the 1938 Anschluss in Austria. Chamberlain did so with the broad approval of most of the Conservative Party and, until the mid-1930s, of many Labour supporters. At the time, the Munich Agreement won him considerable public acclaim, but within six months, Hitler's blatant disregard for the accord left it discredited, a blow from which Chamberlain's popular reputation never

recovered. In September 1939, Chamberlain declared war on Germany, remaining prime minister until May 1940, when the rapid German campaign against Norway brought about his replacement by the fiercely antiappeasement Winston Churchill, a Conservative dissident for most of the 1930s. Later that year Chamberlain died of cancer.

Clement Attlee, a barrister and university academic, was leader of the British parliamentary Labour Party in 1938. In World War I, he fought at Gallipoli in Mesopotamia, where he was badly wounded, and on the Western front, winning promotion to major. Unlike many in his party, Attlee believed in strong defense policies. Alarmed by the growing demands of Hitler and of Italy's dictator, Benito Mussolini, in 1935, Attlee successfully challenged the much-loved pacifist George Lansbury, head of the Labour Party since 1931, for the leadership. Under Attlee, Labour endorsed strong rearmament policies. During World War II, Attlee, head of the second largest parliamentary grouping, effectively served as deputy to Prime Minister Winston Churchill. In 1945, Attlee led the Labour Party to a landslide victory over the Conservatives. In his six years as prime minister, he put in place the British welfare state reforms, while staunchly backing major U.S. Cold War policies, including the establishment of the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and supporting the United States in the Korean War. Attlee lost office in the 1951 general election, retired as leader of his party in 1955, and died in 1967.

About the Documents

The documents given here are all official statements, in which two leading British politicians attempted to defend or attack the government's policy and to win others to their perspective. Chamberlain, ironically as it transpired, publicly claimed that he had brought back from Germany "peace in our time," a phrase taken from the sixteenth-century Anglican prayer book of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer.

In the more adversarial setting of the House of Commons, where he had to defend his policies against harsh criticism, Chamberlain again stated his belief that Britain could maintain peaceful relations with even totalitarian states, such as Germany and Italy. However distasteful members of the British government might find the "personal contact with dictators," Chamberlain argued, war would be far worse. He drew particularly heavily upon the still fresh memory of World War I (then termed the Great War). Chamberlain also called for a strong rearmament program to back up Britain's diplomatic efforts.

Attlee bluntly challenged Chamberlain's claim that he had ensured peace and expressed his personal disgust and shame over British policies toward Czechoslovakia. He also warned that the Munich Agreement represented a bloodless victory

for Hitler, who by simple intimidation had accomplished more than German military forces had attained in the four years of World War I and now dominated the European continent. Attlee condemned the Chamberlain government for refusing to back the collective security policies of the League of Nations and for allowing the Czechs to believe until the last moment that they could rely upon the protection afforded them by their mutual security pact with France. Like many on the Left, Attlee deplored the Franco-British failure to consult or cooperate with the Soviet Union. He finished by stating that Chamberlain had become "the dupe of the dictators" and that his policies at Munich had eroded rather than enhanced British national security.

A parliamentary debate in the British House of Commons is by its nature an adversarial situation, especially when the prime minister and the leader of the opposition disagree strongly on specific policies. In this case, the normal disagreements were dramatically intensified by the fact that Attlee and Chamberlain undoubtedly had very different concepts of what policies Britain should follow. Although both men rhetorically supported rearmament, Chamberlain clearly thought that compromise and agreement with Hitler and other dictators were attainable objectives, whereas Attlee had grave doubts that this was the case and believed that a strong military posture must serve as the essential foundation of British foreign policy. Chamberlain obviously felt he deserved congratulations for his efforts at Munich, but Attlee believed the entire episode represented a shameful national humiliation. Lastly, in criticizing Chamberlain's policies, Attlee could count upon support from prominent and vocal dissident Conservatives, including Winston Churchill, a former chancellor of the exchequer, and Alfred Duff Cooper, who resigned his position as first lord of the Admiralty to protest the Munich Pact. Attlee's criticisms eloquently expressed the fact that, however practically expedient the Munich Agreement might have been for Britain and France, from any honest perspective, it could at best only be described as a regrettable but unavoidable evil. Chamberlain's somewhat misplaced pride in the Munich accord was one major reason its negotiation would inflict such lasting damage upon his popular reputation.

Primary Source

A) Neville Chamberlain, "Peace for Our Time," 30 September 1938

[Neville Chamberlain read out this statement to a cheering crowd assembled outside 10 Downing Street, the British Prime Minister's official residence, on the evening of his return from Germany, where Britain, France, and Germany had signed the Munich Agreement.]

We, the German Führer and Chancellor, and the British Prime Minister, have had a further meeting today and are agreed in recognizing that the question of Anglo-German relations is of the first importance for two countries and for Europe.

We regard the agreement signed last night and the Anglo-German Naval Agreement as symbolic of the desire of our two peoples never to go to war with one another again.

We are resolved that the method of consultation shall be the method adopted to deal with any other questions that may concern our two countries, and we are determined to continue our efforts to remove possible sources of difference, and thus to contribute to assure the peace of Europe.

[He then added:]

My good friends this is the second time in our history that there has come back from Germany to Downing Street peace with honor. I believe it is peace for our time. And now I recommend you go home and sleep quietly in your beds.

Source: History of the United Kingdom Web Site, Primary Documents. Available at <http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/eurodocs/uk/peace.html>.

Primary Source

B) Parliamentary debate in the British House of Commons Speech by Neville Chamberlain, 3 October 1938

[Three days later, Chamberlain defended his policy in Parliament. In a formal debate, he made his case for the Munich agreement.]

In my view the strongest force of all, one which grew and took fresh shapes and forms every day was the force not of any one individual, but was that unmistakable sense of unanimity among the peoples of the world that war somehow must be averted. The peoples of the British Empire were at one with those of Germany, of France and of Italy, and their anxiety, their intense desire for peace, pervaded the whole atmosphere of the conference, and I believe that that, and not threats, made possible the Concessions that were made. . . .

Ever since I assumed my present office my main purpose has been to work for the pacification of Europe, for the removal of those suspicions and those animosities which have so long poisoned the air. The path which leads to appeasement is long and bristles with obstacles. The question of Czechoslovakia is the latest and perhaps the most dangerous. Now that we have got past it, I feel that it may be possible to make further progress along the road to sanity. . . .

As regards future policy, it seems to me that there are really only two possible alternatives. One of them is to base

yourself upon the view that any sort of friendly relations, or possible relations, shall I say, with totalitarian States are impossible, that the assurances which have been given to me personally are worthless, that they have sinister designs and that they are bent upon the domination of Europe and the gradual destruction of democracies. Of course, on that hypothesis, war has got to come, and that is the view—a perfectly intelligible view—of a certain number of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen in this House. . . .

If that is hon. Members' conviction, there is no future hope for civilisation or for any of the things that make life worth living. Does the experience of the Great War and of the years that followed it give us reasonable hope that if some new war started that would end war any more than the last one did? No. I do not believe that war is inevitable. . . .

What is the alternative to this bleak and barren policy of the inevitability of war? In my view it is that we should seek by all means in our power to avoid war, by analysing possible causes, by trying to remove them, by discussion in a spirit of collaboration and good will. I cannot believe that such a programme would be rejected by the people of this country, even if it does mean the establishment of personal contact with dictators, and of talks man to man on the basis that each, while maintaining his own ideas of the internal government of his country, is willing to allow that other systems may suit better other peoples. . . .

I am told that the policy which I have tried to describe is inconsistent with the continuance, and much more inconsistent with the acceleration of our present programme of arms. I am asked how I can reconcile an appeal to the country to support the continuance of this programme with the words which I used when I came back from Munich the other day and spoke of my belief that we might have peace in our time. I hope hon. Members will not be disposed to read into words used in a moment of some emotion, after a long and exhausting day, after I had driven through miles of excited, enthusiastic, cheering people—I hope they will not read into those words more than they were intended to convey.

I do indeed believe that we may yet secure peace for our time, but I never meant to suggest that we should do that by disarmament, until we can induce others to disarm too. Our past experience has shown us only too clearly that weakness in armed strength means weakness in diplomacy, and if we want to secure a lasting peace, I realise that diplomacy cannot be effective unless the Consciousness exists, not here alone, but elsewhere, that behind the diplomacy is the strength to give effect. . . .

Source: British Parliament, House of Commons. *Parliamentary Debates*. (London: Hansard), 5th series, Vol. 339 (1938), cols. 548–553.

Primary Source

C) Parliamentary debate in the British House of Commons Speech by Clement Attlee, 3 October 1938

[In the same debate Clement Attlee, the leader of the opposition Labour Party and a future British Prime Minister, together with Alfred Duff Cooper, who resigned as First Lord of the Admiralty in protest over Munich, and Winston Churchill, harshly condemned the Munich Agreement. Attlee spoke in the following terms.]

We all feel relief that war has not come this time. Every one of us has been passing through days of anxiety; we cannot, however, feel that peace has been established, but that we have nothing but an armistice in a state of war. We have been unable to go in for carefree rejoicing. We have felt that we are in the midst of a tragedy. We have felt humiliation. This has not been a victory for reason and humanity. It has been a victory for brute force. At every stage of the proceedings there have been time limits laid down by the owner and ruler of armed force. The terms have not been terms negotiated; they have been terms laid down as ultimata. We have seen today a gallant, civilised and democratic people betrayed and handed over to a ruthless despotism. We have seen something more. We have seen the cause of democracy, which is, in our view, the cause of civilisation and humanity, receive a terrible defeat.

I think that in the mind of every thoughtful person in this Country when he heard that this settlement had been arrived at Munich, there was a conflict. On the one hand there was enormous relief that war had been averted, at all events for the time; on the other, there was a sense of humiliation and foreboding for the future. . . .

The events of these last few days constitute one of the greatest diplomatic defeats that this country and France have ever sustained. There can be no doubt that it is a tremendous victory for Herr Hitler. Without firing a shot, by the mere display of military force, he has achieved a dominating position in Europe which Germany failed to win after four years of war. He has overturned the balance of power in Europe. He has destroyed the last fortress of democracy in Eastern Europe which stood in the way of his ambition. He has opened his way to the food, the oil and the resources which he requires in order to consolidate his military power, and he has successfully defeated and reduced to impotence the forces that might have stood against the rule of violence.

The Prime Minister has given us an account of his actions. Everybody recognises the great exertions he has made in the cause of peace. . . . [Yet] Parliament is the grand inquest of the British nation, and it is our duty to inquire not alone into the actions of the Prime Minister during the last few days or the last few weeks, but into the whole course of policy which has brought this country into such great danger and such great anxiety. . . .

I want to turn now to the cause of the crisis which we have undergone. The cause was not the existence of minorities in Czechoslovakia; it was not that the position of the Sudeten Germans had become intolerable. It was not the wonderful principle of self-determination. It was because Herr Hitler had decided that the time was ripe for another step forward in his design to dominate Europe. . . .

The history of the last seven years is the background of this crisis, and the first point I must make to the Government is this. This crisis did not come unexpectedly. It was obvious to any intelligent student of foreign affairs that this attack would come. The immediate signal was given by the Prime Minister himself on 7th March of this year when he said: "What country in Europe today if threatened by a larger Power can rely upon the League for protection? None." It was at once an invitation to Herr Hitler and a confession of the failure of the Government. The invitation was accepted a few days later by the Anschluss in Austria. Then our Government and the French Government could have faced the consequences. They could have told Czechoslovakia "We cannot any longer defend you. You had better now make the best terms you can with Germany, enter her political orbit and give her anything to escape before the wrath comes upon you." But they did nothing of the sort. Czechoslovakia continued under the supposed shelter of these treaties. True, it was urged that something should be done for the Sudeten Germans but there was no attempt made to take early steps to prevent this aggression. . . .

I heard a suggestion from the benches opposite. "What about the U.S.S.R.?" Throughout the whole of these proceedings the U.S.S.R. has stood by its pledges and its declarations and there has been some pretty hard lying about it, too. There have been lies told, and people knew they were lies, about alleged conversations between M. Litvinoff and the French Foreign Minister. At no time has there been any difficulty in knowing where the U.S.S.R. stood. At no time has there been any consultation. I am aware that the Prime Minister may say that we were not the prime factor in this problem and that we were only concerned after France had been brought into it. But we have had very close collaboration with France, and in the order of commitment the U.S.S.R. comes before this country, and it has been a very great weakness that throughout there has been this cold-shouldering of the U.S.S.R. . . .

When the National Government overthrew the whole policy of collective security and abandoned it and the League, we told this House over and over again that we were entering on a very dangerous course. We realised that we were back in 1914 with all its dangers, and we knew that sooner or later a challenge would come to this country; and that is what has happened. The real pith of it is that, having decided to leave the League system which we practised and in which we believed, and to embark on a policy of alliances and power politics, instead of strengthening the people whose natural

interests were with ours, we have had nothing but constant flirtations with this and that dictator. The Prime Minister has been the dupe of the dictators, and I say that to-day we are in a dangerous position.

Source: British Parliament, House of Commons. *Parliamentary Debates* (London: Hansard), 5th series, Vol. 339 (1938), cols. 47–52.

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1.8. The German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact and Protocols, 23 August 1939

The German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact

On 23 August 1939, Count Joachim von Ribbentrop, the German Foreign Minister, and Vyacheslav M. Molotov, his Soviet counterpart, signed a nonaggression pact between their two countries, together with several secret protocols delineating the Soviet and German spheres of influence in Eastern Europe and the Baltic republics. For both parties involved, the pact represented a massive reversal of their past ideological orientation, since Nazi Germany, the strongest European Fascist state, and the Soviet Union, the world's largest Communist nation, had each previously characterized the other as its foremost enemy. Expediency and realpolitik drove each signatory to conclude this agreement. For German leader Adolf Hitler, it removed the danger that, should Germany attack Poland, the Soviet Union would come to that country's assistance, at the same time that Great Britain and

France honored their own guarantees of Poland's territorial integrity. He thereby deftly stymied the proposals advanced ever since the mid-1930s that Britain, France, and the Soviet Union should form a united anti-German and anti-Italian front, something many on the British and French Left favored, as did even some staunch anti-Hitler Conservatives, including the strongly antiappeasement Winston Churchill. Soviet President Josef Stalin, meanwhile, safeguarded his country against the military attack upon communism that Hitler had stated since the mid-1920s should be Germany's ultimate objective. Interestingly, the agreement's preamble referred back to the earlier Treaty of Rapallo that Germany and the Soviet Union signed in 1926, when both countries were still largely pariah states within the post-World War I international system.

The German-Soviet Pact bestowed more tangible benefits than those of simple mutual nonaggression. In protocols kept secret at the time, the Soviet Union and Germany effectively agreed to divide the territory of Poland between themselves. When Hitler's forces invaded Poland from the west just over one week later, Soviet troops moved in from the east to take control of their designated sphere. The Soviet Union was also granted a largely free hand to attack Finland and to occupy the Baltic republics of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, which were incorporated in the Soviet Union in 1940, only regaining independence when the Soviet state collapsed in 1989. Between September 1939 and 1941, additional protocols clarified some of the details of these agreements. Germany recognized Soviet claims to the Rumanian province of Bessarabia. In the case of Lithuania, in return for substantial payments, Germany renounced its own alleged rights there in favor of the Soviet Union. Each power also agreed to suppress agitation against the other in those portions of Poland under its own control. In addition, the Soviet Union signed agreements whereby it provided Germany with appreciable quantities of useful war supplies, enhancing Hitler's ability to wage war in Western Europe.

Defenders of the Soviet Union have justified Stalin's dramatic switch in foreign policy on the grounds that by August 1939, Soviet diplomats had for several years unavailingly sought to form a united anti-Soviet front with the British and French governments, only to have their overtures rejected or at least treated suspiciously. In May 1939, Stalin appointed Vyacheslav Molotov to replace foreign minister Maxim Litvinov, the prime architect of the united front policy and of Soviet support in the 1930s for collective security efforts orchestrated by the international organization the League of Nations. Stalin undoubtedly feared that the Western European powers sought to divert Hitler's military might from their own countries toward Russia. In his defense, one must admit that neither the British nor French government had welcomed Soviet overtures with any great enthusiasm, in part

because they doubted the sincerity of these proposals and disliked the Soviets ideologically and also because they feared that Stalin's sweeping 1930s purges of the Soviet military had greatly reduced his country's effectiveness as a potential ally.

To most Western leaders, the conclusion of the Non-aggression Pact, Soviet moves against Poland and the Baltic states and the Soviet declaration of war against Finland in autumn 1939, and Stalin's orders to Communist parties in West European countries to discourage and even sabotage anti-German war measures all confirmed that their earlier anti-Soviet views had been well founded. Admirers of Stalin have argued that even when he concluded the Non-Aggression Pact, he recognized that a German-Soviet war would ultimately be inevitable but hoped to defer it as long as possible. If so, Stalin was no match in brutal cynicism for Hitler, who broke the pact in June 1941, when his troops launched a German invasion of the Soviet Union. Stalin ignored repeated warnings from outside sources, including well-founded Western intelligence information, that Hitler planned such a move, and the early months of war with Germany were near-disastrous for the Soviet Union, reducing Stalin for some time to a state of nervous collapse.

The history of the two years after the German-Soviet Pact was concluded helped to ensure that the Soviet alliance with the Western Allies, primarily Great Britain and the United States, was essentially one of mutual convenience between largely incompatible and often suspicious coalition partners. The memory of the two preceding years would not be easily forgotten and contributed substantially to the Cold War that developed immediately after World War II ended.

About the Documents

Like most international agreements, the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact was primarily a carefully drafted legal document, designed to bind its signatories and to describe very precisely the specific obligations each party had undertaken to fulfill. Perhaps the most interesting feature of this particular accord was that (as was not uncommon with such treaties, particularly those with controversial aspects) both parties were to keep secret the protocols containing many of the most important clauses. This applied particularly to the arrangements for Poland, the Baltic states, and Finland, which converted an otherwise relatively innocuous neutrality and nonaggression pact into a cold-blooded agreement—in total contravention of existing international law—to assign and partition those countries between the Soviet and German spheres of influence. The fact that these protocols were to remain secret perhaps demonstrated that both Germany and the Soviet Union retained some vestigial concern for international public opinion, which the revelation of these

territorial bargains would undoubtedly have outraged. As it was, in late 1939, the invasion of Finland led to the formal expulsion of the Soviet Union from the League of Nations.

Primary Source

A) Non-Aggression Pact between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 23 August 1939

The Government of the German Reich and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, guided by the desire to strengthen the cause of peace between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and taking as a basis the fundamental regulations of the Neutrality Agreement concluded in April 1926 between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, have reached the following agreement:-

Article I. The two Contracting Parties bind themselves to refrain from any act of force, any aggressive action and any attack on one another, both singly and also jointly with other Powers.

Article 2. In the event of one of the Contracting Parties becoming the object of warlike action on the part of a third Power, the other Contracting Party shall in no manner support this third Power.

Article 3. The Governments of the two Contracting Parties shall in future remain continuously in touch with one another, by way of consultation, in order to inform one another on questions touching their joint interests.

Article 4. Neither of the two Contracting Parties shall participate in any grouping of Powers which is directed directly or indirectly against the other Party.

Article 5. In the event of disputes or disagreements arising between the Contracting Parties on questions of this or that kind, both Parties would clarify these disputes or disagreements exclusively by means of friendly exchange of opinion or, if necessary, by arbitration committees.

Article 6. The present Agreement shall be concluded for a period of ten years on the understanding that, in so far as one of the Contracting Parties does not give notice of termination one year before the end of this period, the period of validity of this Agreement shall automatically be regarded as prolonged for a further period of five years.

Article 7. The present Agreement shall be ratified within the shortest possible time. The instruments of ratification shall be exchanged in Berlin. The Agreement takes effect immediately after it has been signed.

Source: U.S., Department of State, *Nazi-Soviet Relations 1939–1941: Documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Office*, eds. Raymond James Sontag and James Stuart Beddie (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1948), pp. 76–78, 105–107.

Primary Source

B) Secret Supplementary Protocol on the Border of the Spheres of Interest of Germany and the USSR, Signed by V. M. Molotov and Joachim von Ribbentrop, 23 August 1939

In signing the nonaggression pact between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the undersigned plenipotentiaries of the two sides discussed in strict confidentiality the issue of delimiting the spheres of mutual interest in Eastern Europe. This discussion led to the following result:

1. In the event of territorial-political reorganization of the districts making up the Baltic states (Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), the northern border of Lithuania is simultaneously the border of the spheres of interest of Germany and the USSR. The interests of Lithuania with respect to the Vilnius district are recognized by both sides.

2. In the event of territorial-political reorganization of the districts making up the Polish Republic, the border of the spheres of interest of Germany and the USSR will run approximately along the Pisa, Narew, Vistula, and San rivers.

The question of whether it is in the signatories' mutual interest to preserve the independent Polish State and what the borders of that state will be can be ascertained conclusively only in the course of future political development.

In any event, both governments will resolve this matter through friendly mutual agreement.

3. Concerning southeastern Europe, the Soviet side emphasizes the interest of the USSR in Bessarabia. The German side declares its complete political disinterest in these areas.

4. This protocol will be held in strict secrecy by both sides. [These agreements were the subject of further clarifications on 28 August 1939, 28 September 1939 and, in one case, also on 10 January 1941.]

Source: U.S., Department of State, *Nazi-Soviet Relations 1939–1941: Documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Office*, eds. Raymond James Sontag and James Stuart Beddie (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1948), pp. 76–78, 105–107.

Primary Source

C) Clarification of the Secret Supplementary Protocol of 23 August 1939, Signed in Moscow by V. M. Molotov and Count F. W. Schulenburg, 28 August 1939

In order to clarify the first paragraph of point 2 of the “Secret Supplementary Protocol” of 23 August 1939, this is to explain that said paragraph is to be read in the following final version, namely:

“2. In the event of the territorial-political reorganization of the districts making up the Polish State, the border of the spheres of interest of Germany and the USSR will run approximately along the Pisa, Narew, Vistula, and San rivers.”

Source: U.S., Department of State, *Nazi-Soviet Relations 1939–1941: Documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Office*, eds. Raymond James Sontag and James Stuart Beddie (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1948), pp. 76–78, 105–107.

Primary Source

D) Confidential Protocol Concerning the Possibility of Resettling the Population Residing within the Spheres of Interest of the Governments of the USSR and Germany, Signed by V. M. Molotov and Joachim von Ribbentrop, 28 September 1939

The Government of the USSR will not impede German citizens or other persons of German ancestry residing within its spheres of interest should they desire to move to Germany or to German spheres of interest. It agrees that this resettlement will be conducted by persons authorized by the German Government in accordance with responsible local authorities and that in the process the property rights of the resettled persons will not be infringed.

The German Government assumes the same obligation with respect to persons of Ukrainian or Belorussian ancestry residing within its spheres of interest.

Source: U.S., Department of State, *Nazi-Soviet Relations 1939–1941: Documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Office*, eds. Raymond James Sontag and James Stuart Beddie (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1948), pp. 76–78, 105–107.

Primary Source

E) Secret Supplementary Protocol on Changing the Soviet-German Agreement of 23 August Concerning the Spheres of Interest of Germany and the USSR, Signed by V. M. Molotov and Joachim von Ribbentrop on 28 September 1939

The undersigned plenipotentiaries state the concurrence of the German Government and the Government of the USSR in the following:

Point 1 of the secret supplementary protocol signed on 23 August 1939, is changed so that the territory of the Lithuanian state is included in the sphere of interest of the USSR because, on the other side, Lublin voivodeship and parts of Warsaw voivodeship are included in the sphere of interest of Germany (see map accompanying the Treaty on Friendship

and the Border between the USSR and Germany, signed today). As soon as the Government of the USSR takes special measures on Lithuanian territory to protect its interests, the present German-Lithuanian border, with the objective of making it a natural and simple border, will be adjusted so that the Lithuanian territory that lies southwest of the line shown on the map goes to Germany.

It is further stated that economic agreements between Germany and Lithuania now in force must not be broken by the aforementioned measures by the Soviet Union.

Source: U.S., Department of State, *Nazi-Soviet Relations 1939–1941: Documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Office*, eds. Raymond James Sontag and James Stuart Beddie (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1948), pp. 76–78, 105–107.

Primary Source

F) Secret Supplementary Protocol on Preventing Polish Agitation on the Territory of the Other Treaty Signatory. Signed by V. M. Molotov and Joachim von Ribbentrop on 28 September 1939

The undersigned plenipotentiaries, in concluding the Soviet-German treaty on the border and friendship, have stated their concurrence in the following:

Neither side will permit on their territories any sort of Polish agitation affecting the territory of the other country. They will abort such agitation on their own territories and will inform each other as to effective measures to accomplish this.

Source: U.S., Department of State, *Nazi-Soviet Relations 1939–1941: Documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Office*, eds. Raymond James Sontag and James Stuart Beddie (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1948), pp. 76–78, 105–107.

Primary Source

G) Secret Protocol of 10 January 1941, Clarifying the Agreements of August 1939

The Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR V. M. Molotov, with the authorization of the Government of the USSR on one side, and German Ambassador Count von der Schulenburg, with the authorization of the Government of Germany on the other side, have concurred on the following:

1. The government of Germany renounces its claims to the part of the territory of Lithuania indicated in the Secret Sup-

plementary Protocol of September 28, 1939, and shown on the map that is attached to this Protocol;

2. The Government of the USSR agrees to compensate the Government of Germany for the territory indicated in point 1 of the present Protocol with a payment to Germany in the amount of 7,500,000 gold dollars, the equivalent of 31,500,000 German marks.

Payment of the sum of 31.5 million German marks will be made as follows: one-eighth, i.e., 3,937,500 German marks, in deliveries of nonferrous metals over a three-month period beginning from the day of signing of the present Protocol, and the remaining seven-eighths, i.e., 27,562,500 German marks, in gold through deductions from German payments of gold that the German side has to make before February 11, 1941, based on an exchange of letters between the People's Commissar of Foreign Trade of the USSR A. I. Mikoyan and the Chairman of the German Economic Delegation Mr. Schnurre that took place in conjunction with the signing of the "Agreement of January 10, 1941, on Mutual Deliveries of Commodities for the Second Treaty Period according to the Economic Agreement of February 11, 1940, between the USSR and Germany."

3. The present Protocol . . . comes into force immediately upon signing.

Source: U.S., Department of State, *Nazi-Soviet Relations 1939–1941: Documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Office*, eds. Raymond James Sontag and James Stuart Beddie (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1948), pp. 76–78, 105–107.

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Section II

Poland to Pearl Harbor

World War II began in September 1939 with an unannounced German onslaught on Poland, selected as Hitler's next target after Germany had taken over Austria and Czechoslovakia. By the end of October, German forces had conquered much of Poland, and in accordance with the August 1939 Nazi-Soviet pact, in mid-September Soviet forces likewise invaded and took over eastern Poland. After several months of inactivity and "phony war," during which the Soviet Union took the opportunity to attack neutral Finland and annex strategically valuable territory, in May 1940 swift-moving German forces launched a lightning "blitzkrieg" in northern and western Europe, quickly defeating Denmark, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, and France, each of which suffered several years of humiliating German domination or occupation. British troops fled France in disarray, as the maverick aristocrat and politician Winston Churchill became prime minister and defiantly pledged that Britain would continue the fight against Hitler, alone if necessary. In reality, he looked for assistance to the United States, where, despite a fierce national debate on the issue and bitter opposition from American isolationists who hoped to remain aloof from the European conflict, Democratic President Franklin D. Roosevelt moved his country ever closer to war, building up American armed forces and providing massive economic and military assistance to Britain. Once Hitler broke his pact with Soviet leader Josef Stalin and invaded Russia in June 1941, United States aid also embraced the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, efforts by Japan, now linked with Italy and Germany in the Tripartite Pact, to expand into Southeast Asia encountered growing U.S. opposition and economic sanctions. Once Japan's efforts to win United States endorsement for its territorial ambitions proved futile, in December 1941 its warplanes launched an attack on the U.S. Pacific fleet, then based at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, initiating fullscale war between the two countries. Within a few days, Germany and Italy followed suit and formally declared war on the United States.

2.1. Clare Hollingworth on the German Invasion of Poland, 1940 and 1990

The Opening of World War II in Europe: Germany Invades Poland

After annexing the remainder of Czechoslovakia in spring 1939, Adolf Hitler almost immediately embarked on his next move, denouncing the existing Non-Aggression Pact between Germany and Poland and making emotional speeches demanding the return of Danzig (Gdansk) and condemning the treatment of ethnic Germans in Poland. As reconstituted in 1919, after more than a century in which its lands had been divided among Prussia, Austria, and Russia, Poland included

substantial territory that had previously been part of Germany. Hitler's tactics closely resembled those he had utilized against Czechoslovakia in 1938–1939, and he clearly coveted not just Danzig but additional portions of Poland itself. At this stage, British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain finally resolved to change the policy of effective British acquiescence in German expansion. Addressing the House of Commons at the end of March 1939, Chamberlain pledged that, should Germany attack Poland, Britain would go to war on Poland's behalf. Such promises were insufficient to deter Hitler. His rhetorical demands on Poland continued, and in April, he directed the German army General Staff to prepare plans for Operation WHITE, a potential war against Poland and, if necessary, against Britain and France too. Hitler nonetheless seems to have believed that when it came to the crunch, Britain and France would draw back from war, just as they

had done in September 1938. He refused all Polish offers to compromise and anticipated that war, should it come, would begin in September 1939.

In May 1939, Soviet dictator Josef Stalin jettisoned his foreign minister, Maxim Litvinov, who had attempted to cooperate with the League of Nations and the major Western powers in opposing Hitler's expansionist policies, and replaced him with Vyacheslav Molotov. In lengthy and inconclusive negotiations, the new Soviet foreign minister continued to explore the possibility of collaborating with Hitler's opponents. Fearing that an Anglo-German rapprochement directed against Russia might well be in the cards, he also responded to overtures from the German foreign minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, that led to the conclusion in August 1939 of the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact. Secret protocols to this agreement envisaged the future division of Poland between Germany and the Soviet Union. Immediately after it was signed, Hitler, charging once again that Germans in Poland were enduring brutal persecution, demanded that Poland accede to his demands or face immediate war.

In the final days of August, the governments of Great Britain and France issued formal guarantees of Poland's territorial integrity, but these pledges had no deterrent effect. German military forces massed on the frontier with Poland. On 31 August 1939, German officials staged incidents in which, they claimed, ethnic Poles living in the German border town of Gleiwitz unsuccessfully attacked a German radio station and customs house, scattering the corpses of Poles from their own concentration camps around the scenes of these alleged atrocities to add verisimilitude. These episodes were cited as the immediate pretext for the German invasion of Poland, which began when German airplanes attacked Danzig at 4:45 a.m. on 1 September 1939, while German troops moved into Poland. Later that day, Great Britain and France demanded that Germany withdraw its forces within 24 hours, an ultimatum Hitler completely ignored. On 3 September, both countries declared war on Germany but were unable to aid Poland directly and ill-prepared militarily to open hostilities with Germany on its western border. Although Polish forces resisted bravely, within three weeks, overwhelming German military and air superiority and a blitzkrieg campaign forced the Polish government to surrender. Meanwhile, as agreed under the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact, Soviet troops had occupied the eastern portion of Poland, territory that remained part of the Soviet Union when World War II ended six years later.

About the Author

The British war correspondent Clare Hollingworth was one of the most distinguished journalists of World War II. She was one of a small number of remarkable women reporters of the twentieth century—others included the Americans

Martha Gellhorn, Marguerite Higgins, and Agnes Smedley—who specialized in covering war and foreign affairs, in the process enduring physical danger and often harsh working conditions. In summer 1939, Hollingworth, a well-brought-up young English woman, was still a novice at her trade. She had previously studied at the Institute of Slavonic Studies of London University, worked for the League of Nations Association, and assisted refugees from Eastern Europe. Hired by the *Daily Telegraph* newspaper in August 1939, she went out to cover the developing crisis between Germany and Poland, first going to Berlin, then, after British citizens were no longer welcome there, staying with the British consul in the Polish border town of Katowice. Crossing over into Germany on 30 August, she observed large numbers of German tanks and armored cars, hidden rather ineffectively behind canvas shields, massed for the coming invasion. Returning to Poland, in what would be the greatest coup of her long and notable career, on the morning of 1 September 1939, she broke the news of the invasion not only to her own newspaper but even to the British embassy in Warsaw.

A woman who found physical danger and fighting exhilarating, Hollingworth reported for the next three weeks on the course of the war, before escaping to Britain through the Balkans. In 1940, she returned to southern Europe, first reporting from inside still neutral Rumania, then covering the Greek campaign, and finally basing herself in Cairo, Egypt, attached to British forces as a military correspondent during the North African campaigns. After the war ended, Hollingworth spent many years in the Middle East, winning numerous awards for her reporting on Algeria, before covering the Vietnam War, as well as the 1971 Indo-Pakistan War. In the 1950s, she broke the sensational story that the British espionage operative and Soviet secret agent Kim Philby, long suspected of being the "third man" who had earlier warned two other Russian secret agents, Donald Maclean and Guy Burgess, that they were under suspicion, had himself followed them to the Soviet Union. Hollingworth ended her career in Asia, moving to Beijing in 1973 to open the *Daily Telegraph's* first bureau in Communist China.

About the Documents

Hollingworth filed an immediate report to the *Daily Telegraph* that Germany had invaded Poland, thus breaking the news that actual war had begun. In two books published fifty years apart, she also gave more comprehensive accounts of the background to this news story. These are particularly interesting because they demonstrate the manner in which participants in historic events often refine and adapt their recollections over time.

In her first book, published in 1940, Hollingworth gave an overview of the war in Poland, including the days immedi-

ately before it began and published within a year of Poland's defeat. The centerpieces of both accounts are her drive of 30 August across the German border, where she stumbled across Hitler's military preparations, and the German attack on Poland two days later. She vividly recalls conversations with both Germans and Poles. Awakened by the sound of German planes and bombs, Hollingworth and her hosts phone the wife of the chief of police, who confirms that war has begun. We are conscious that this is an ambitious young journalist just starting her career, as Hollingworth confesses both her hope that "the *Telegraph* would produce a Special Edition for my news," and her sudden fear that, having phoned her newspaper, she may have mistaken an air-raid practice for a genuine war.

By the time Hollingworth wrote her memoirs, she was an eminent correspondent who had retold this story to admiring audiences countless times over the previous half century. As often happens with such "party pieces," during that time, it settled into a near-formulaic tale, with certain details once included being omitted and others added. We learn, to begin with, that she was actually staying with the British Consul in Katowice and that it was his official car that, to the baffled consternation of the German authorities, she drove across the border. Although in both books, the wording of her account of German military preparations is very similar, in 1990, other portions of the previous account are less vivid or absent altogether. Hollingworth's second account places her more at the center of the story; she is also more omniscient. She now makes much of her host's disbelief and astonishment that she should have been able to cross into Germany and return, of the fact that he promptly informed the British Foreign Office of what she had seen, and of her efforts the following day on the consul's behalf to warn British citizens to leave Poland. When the German attack begins, she herself rouses the British consul and then immediately personally passes on the news of the German attack to a diplomat friend at the British embassy in Warsaw, holding the telephone receiver out her bedroom window to allow him to hear the advancing tanks and aircraft. No longer does she wait while the British consul phones the home of the local police chief to learn whether the disturbance was genuinely war or merely a false alarm; she knows at once that it is war. Finally, deceptive German propaganda announcements give her greater excuse for fearing she might have mistaken an air-raid practice for a real war.

Over fifty years, then, significant changes crept in. It is quite possible that most of the details given in both accounts were true, even if that being the case would make the time frame on 1 September rather tight. Discretion perhaps dictated the omission of some facts from Hollingworth's first account; maybe in 1940, the British government would not have appreciated a journalist revealing just how close she was to their diplomats in Poland. Yet, all such caveats notwith-

standing, whereas the first version depicts a young woman fortunate and enterprising enough to be in the right place at the right time to report a major story, the second portrays a more self-assured, even intrepid, journalist-observer who remains throughout better informed and more *au fait* (to the point) with events than any British diplomat in Poland. By immediately contacting a friend at the embassy in Warsaw, she even seems to be preempting the duties of the consul in Katowice, not to mention commandeering his telephone at a rather crucial juncture. And why, if she phoned the embassy first and her newspaper second, was it the *Daily Telegraph* rather than the British embassy that informed the Polish government of the German invasion? One cannot but wonder as to the precise sequence of all the various telephone calls made from the consul's house in the early hours of 1 September.

A comparison of these two accounts is an illuminating exercise, demonstrating the reasons why historians feel obliged to treat even firsthand testimony with considerable skepticism. Other things being equal, historians usually give greater credence to personal recollections recorded shortly after an individual participated in a given event, when the impressions were still fresh in the author's mind, than to memories recounted many years later. (In some cases, however, especially where confidential information is involved, officials may well be more frank when their careers are over and they have nothing to lose, or when individuals who might earlier have been embarrassed by certain revelations are safely dead.) More than sixty years on, with Hollingworth almost certainly the only surviving protagonist of the story, we may never be certain which of the versions—if either—was a more accurate representation of her role as Germany invaded Poland or exactly which details of each are credible. Eyewitness accounts of events are notoriously slippery, even more so when they harden into an authorized version that has been told repeatedly to admiring audiences. By 1990, the past Hollingworth chose to remember had long since settled into a much-loved story almost as formulaic as an episode from a Scandinavian saga or one of Homer's epics. Much, even most, of it was undoubtedly true, but over the years, numerous details had subtly shifted and adapted to conform to the image of herself she wished to present and the past she preferred to remember. This is not to suggest that Hollingworth ever consciously decided to rework the story of what was indisputably the greatest and most spectacular triumph of her career. Human memory is malleable, and personal acquaintance with her suggests that over time some aspects of this episode simply became more prominent in her mind while others faded, a process that almost certainly occurred unconsciously. By 1990, the second version had probably effectively supplanted the first in her own memory, and she was cheerfully recounting it in all good faith. The very fact that individual memories even of episodes of deep personal

and historical moment can evolve significantly over time is the reason why, no matter how honest and straightforward any eyewitness may appear, historians must not automatically regard such testimony as more authoritative than any other source.

Primary Source

A) Excerpts from *The Three Weeks' War in Poland*

[On 30 August 1939, Clare Hollingworth, who had begun working for the British newspaper the Daily Telegraph, beginning what would become a renowned career as a war correspondent, was staying with friends in Katowice, Poland, on the border with Germany. War was generally considered imminent. She decided to cross the frontier into Germany, borrowing the British Consul's official car for the purpose, a trip of which, a few months later, she gave the following account in a book describing the early days of the war.]

Since all British correspondents had been expelled from Berlin some days before, I decided to have a look round in German Silesia. Katowice was too quiet for news. I crossed the frontier at Beuthen without trouble. (Though news of my crossing so upset the Polish Foreign Office that the British Embassy were required to vouch for me.) The German frontier town was nearly deserted. It was open to enfilading fire from Polish batteries, and the Germans evidently thought it prudent to evacuate civilians. Those who remained looked depressed and unhappy. I spoke to old acquaintances and found increased trust in Hitler, even among those who had been critical—but, linked with this, a refusal to believe in war.

'It won't come to that, *liebes Fraülein*, don't you worry. The Führer will get Germany her rights without war this time, just as he did before.'

They told me stories of the 'atrocities' committed by Poland against her German minority, and asked me if I had seen such things. I had not.

'Ah, you don't see them, but they happen every day. Why do you suppose our people come across the frontier to escape the Poles?' Then I learned an interesting thing. German 'refugees' from Poland were not being allowed into the Reich. They were being kept for use on the frontier. We were to hear much of them before the end of the war.

I found a noticeable shortage of supplies in Beuthen. There was no soap for foreigners, while even for Germans it was strictly rationed. Aspirin itself, the German product par excellence, was unobtainable. A friendly butcher showed the meat ration, the weekly allowance for a family with two children; it was enough for three meals, I reckoned, and your German is no vegetarian. The family's tea ration would have made a good 'mash' (as they say in the Midlands) for six English tea-drinkers; and the coffee, which tasted like burnt toast, and *was* burnt maize, could perhaps serve twelve. Oils and

fats could be bought with a special permit only. Butter, cream and milk had been unobtainable for five weeks. I found it impossible to get meals in restaurants, and should have gone hungry, had not a waiter, well tipped in the past, produced a partridge from nowhere. What kind of victualling is this, I wondered, on which to begin a major war?

I drove along the fortified frontier road via Hindenburg, (which in the nineteen-twenties the townsfolk voted to call 'Leninburg') to Gleiwitz, which had become a military town. On the road were parties of motor-cycle despatch-riders, bunched together and riding hard. As we came over the little ridge into the town, sixty-five of them burst past us, each about ten yards behind the other. From the road I could see bodies of troops, and at the roadside hundreds of tanks, armoured cars and field guns stood or moved off toward the frontier. Here and there were screens of canvas or planking, concealing the big guns; they seemed not to be camouflaged against air-attack. I guessed that the German Command was preparing to strike to the north of Katowice and its fortified lines: the advance which was to reach Czestochowa in two days of war.

In the middle of all this I bought odd things—wine, electric torches—and drove back peacefully. Now and then a trooper would spot the Union Jack on my car and give a sudden, astonished gape. As we reached a length of road which lies parallel with the frontier, I looked across a hollow, some wire and tank-barricades, and watched the peasant-women moving about the Polish fields, a few hundred yards away. In the evening I returned to Poland, without trouble, the feverish preparations of the German military uppermost in my mind.

[The next day, Hollingworth learned that in her absence the Polish authorities had uncovered and, so they believed, squelched various plots by German-Polish nationals, activities in which the German Consul was openly implicated, a fact which "showed me again that we stood on the edge of war." She nonetheless retired to bed, but was awoken in the early hours of 1st September, 1939.]

Slam! Slam! . . . a noise like doors banging. I woke up. It could not be later than five in the morning. Next, the roar of airplanes and more doors banging. Running to the window I could pick out the 'planes, riding high, with the guns blowing smoke-rings below them. There was a long flash into the town park, another, another. Incendiary bombs? I wondered. As I opened my door I ran against the friends with whom I was staying, in their dressing-gowns.

'What is all this about?'

'We aren't sure. A big air-raid practice was announced for to-day. Or it may be something more. We are trying to reach Zoltaszek' (my old friend the Chief of Police). Just then the Polish maid appeared.

'Only Mrs. Zoltaszek is at home.'

‘Then ask her what’s going on. Is this an air-raid practice? What does she know?’ they pressed the girl. She spoke into the telephone for a moment and then turned, her eyes wide open.

‘She . . . she says it’s the beginning of war! . . .’

I grabbed the telephone, reached the *Telegraph* correspondent in Warsaw and told him my news. I heard later that he rang straight through to the Polish Foreign Office, who had had no word of the attack. The *Telegraph* was not only the first paper to hear that Poland was at war—it had, too, the odd privilege of informing the Polish Government itself.

I had arranged for a car to come on the first hint of alarm, but it did not arrive. We stood, drank coffee, walked about the rooms and waited; I was alternately cursing my driver and wondering whether the *Telegraph* would produce a Special Edition for my news. The war, as a tragic disaster, was not yet a reality. When my driver came at last, he met my fury with a pitying smile.

‘It’s only an air-raid practice,’ he said.

We ran down to the British Consulate, which I knew well. On our way I noticed smiles on the faces turned up to the sky. ‘Well,’ they seemed to be saying, ‘so this is the air-raid practice.’

‘But of course it’s an air-raid practice, Herr Konsul,’ the Secretary of the Consulate was saying as I arrived. My own reaction, for the moment, was actual fear: fear that I had made the *gaffe* of my life by reporting a non-existent war.

However, official confirmation of the war came soon enough. At once the Secretary—one of the German minority, who had worked at the Consulate since its opening in 1920—burst into tears.

‘This is the end of poor Germany,’ she wept.

Just then my sympathy with ‘poor Germany’ was not all that it might have been.

Everyone at the Consulate was working furiously. Papers were being stuffed into the big, old-fashioned stoves until ashes fluffed under one’s feet. The Consul was whipping round by telephone to ensure the departure of those British subjects who remained.

Source: Clare Hollingworth, *The Three Weeks’ War in Poland* (London: Duckworth, 1940), pp. 11–17. Courtesy Clare Hollingworth.

Primary Source

B) Excerpts from *Front Line*

[Fifty years later, Hollingworth again recounted these events, in her autobiography]

In Katowice I notified the British Consul General, still John Anthony Thwaites, that I had arrived to report developments for the *Daily Telegraph*. As Polish officers had taken all the hotel rooms, Thwaites offered to put me up in his flat: his wife

and family had been evacuated to Britain. I accepted his kind offer and the next day I set off on my first story for the *Daily Telegraph*.

I found officials genuinely cheerful and confident that in the approaching war, which most of them expected to break out in a few weeks or months at most, the Poles would give the hated Germans a good hiding. Indeed, optimism was everywhere. Even so, the wives of wealthy citizens had left for Warsaw or towns in the interior.

The border with Germany, of course, was closed except for flagged cars that enabled German consular officials or staff officers in civilian clothes to travel across the frontier as they pleased. This gave me an idea and I asked Thwaites if I might borrow his car.

‘Where do you want to go?’ he asked.

‘Into Germany,’ I replied.

He roared with laughter and disbelief. However, he did allow me to take his car and so off I went into Germany with the Union Jack fluttering from the bonnet. Nazi officers seemed somewhat surprised when they realised that they had been saluting the British flag but, in fact, no one tried to stop me and I crossed the frontier at Beuthen without trouble. It was almost deserted now that all civilians had been evacuated apart from a few traders. Soap was strictly rationed, there was [no] aspirin—that excellent German product—and oil and fats were obtainable only with special permits. Tea, coffee made from burnt maize, and meat were also rationed. Yet amid all this shortage, a waiter I had tipped well in the past produced from a restaurant kitchen—a partridge!

I thoroughly enjoyed that meal and then went off to buy all the films I could find along with bottles of wine, electric torches and other oddments in short supply in Poland.

I drove along the fortified frontier road through Mindenburg [sic] to Gleiwitz, which had been transformed into a military base. Just as I was leaving the town sixty-five motorcycle despatch riders, bunched together and riding hard, overtook me. By the roadside there were large numbers of troops, literally hundreds of tanks, armoured cars and field guns. Screens of hessian beside the road, constructed to hide the military vehicles, blew in the wind, thus I saw the battle deployment. I guessed that the German Command was preparing to strike to the north of Katowice and its fortified lines and this, in fact, was exactly how they launched their invasion in the south.

Back in Katowice, I described what I had seen to Thwaites, who listened with obvious disbelief; he did not consider it possible even to cross the border into Germany. ‘Then see for yourself,’ I said, and opened ‘his’ car door to reveal my purchases—things that were just not available in Poland. Finally convinced, Thwaites locked himself in his office and enciphered a top secret message to the Foreign Office via the British Embassy in Warsaw.

I telephoned [the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent, Hugh Carleton] Greene in the Polish capital and dictated my story. He relayed it within minutes to the *Daily Telegraph*. In those days there were no bylines in quality newspapers in Britain, which was a good thing because my family would have been worried.

The following day I drove to nearby towns in Silesia to try to contact British subjects working there and warn them on behalf of the British Consul General to leave. More and more Polish soldiers appeared in the streets to be cheered by schoolchildren and townsfolk. In Katowice itself anyone owning a car packed their belongings and headed out of town. Everyone was tuned in to the BBC as well as German and Polish radio stations. The count-down to war was nearing zero hour.

As the first light of dawn pierced the sky over Katowice on 1 September, I was awakened by explosions. Distant gunfire created a noise like banging doors. Aircraft roared over the city.

More heavy explosions. From my window—it was not even 5 A.M.—I saw the bombers riding high in the sky, and looking towards the German border less than twenty miles away I saw the flash of artillery fire. There was a lightning burst in the park, then another . . . then another. So the invasion was on and Britain and France were on the brink of war through their promise to defend Poland if Hitler attacked.

I woke up Thwaites and then dashed off to telephone Robin Hankey, second secretary at the British Embassy in Warsaw. ‘Robin!’ I shouted. ‘The war has begun.’

‘Are you sure, old girl?’ he asked.

‘Listen!’ I held the telephone out of my bedroom window. The growing roar of tanks encircling Katowice was clearly audible. ‘Can’t you hear it?’ I cried.

He seemed convinced and wisely advised that I got out of Katowice as soon as possible. I rang off, then telephoned Greene and broke the news to him. It was 5.30 a.m. Greene contacted the Foreign Ministry in Warsaw. ‘I hear from our correspondent in Katowice that the Germans have crossed the border and are advancing,’ said Greene.

‘Absolute nonsense,’ came the reply. ‘We are still negotiating.’

But as they talked the air-raid sirens wailed in Warsaw. For the first time Nazi bombers flew over the capital and the bombs fell.

Greene telephoned my story to London and suggested that I remain as near as possible to the action. In Katowice, Thwaites stowed his valuable pictures in the cellar of his home while we waited for his car and driver to take us to the consulate. There the senior and most trusted member of his local staff, a German-Silesian, was in floods of tears. ‘This will be the end of poor Germany,’ she kept moaning. While she wept, I emptied file after file into the heating furnaces until

ashes danced around my feet. Thwaites burnt all his ciphers and telephoned the British subjects who were still in the town.

The telephone rang repeatedly. The city police chief advised that it seemed that the Germans were slowing down after they crossed the border; he thought there was no immediate threat to Katowice. A Polish army contact predicted that the invaders would mount a pincer movement without inflicting any damage.

From the street outside the consulate came a shrill voice urging children to go to school and adults to their offices. The loudspeaker insisted that the report of a German invasion was rubbish. This was one of the first examples of German psychological warfare and their agents were doing their job well. For a moment I thought that I had started a phoney war. But the guns were still firing and they grew louder . . .

Source: Clare Hollingworth, *Front Line* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1990), pp. 13–16. Courtesy Clare Hollingworth.

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2.2. Diary of Lord Alanbrooke

The Aftermath of the Battle and Evacuation of Dunkerque, 27 May–4 June 1940

On 10 May 1940, Adolf Hitler’s forces launched an offensive in Western Europe, invading Belgium and the Netherlands; two days later, the German military entered the territory of France, its most powerful continental opponent in Western Europe. A British Expeditionary Force (BEF) headed by General Sir John Gort was already in France, but British and French forces only assumed their intended defensive posi-

tions in still neutral Belgium after German forces had already invaded that country. Employing blitzkrieg (lightning war) tactics, German forces swept through the heavily wooded Ardennes Mountains in northern France, reaching the Channel by 21 May, thereby trapping the BEF in the north and separating it from the bulk of the French forces. Together with the French First Army, on 24 May, Gort began to retreat to the channel port of Dunkerque, which offered the British troops an escape hatch to Britain. In the nine days, from 27 May to 4 June, British naval forces, together with every civilian vessel that was prepared to assist, evacuated 365,000 men from France, together with 140,000 French troops.

Heroic though the Dunkerque evacuation was, as small British boats manned by nonprofessionals converged on the port to rescue their soldiers, an aspect that legend and British propaganda—including a book by the British poet laureate Sir John Masefield—quickly emphasized, in reality it represented a stunning defeat. Thirty thousand British troops were taken prisoner, and the British were forced to jettison virtually all their scarce military equipment, tanks, armored cars, heavy guns, and even small arms and helmets. Replacing these would be slow, expensive, and difficult. The British also faced accusations that they had abandoned their French ally when the bulk of French forces elsewhere in France were still doggedly fighting the German invasion. On 4 June, Churchill relieved Gort of his command and ordered Lieutenant General Sir Alan Brooke to “[r]eturn to France to form a new BEF.” Well over 100,000 additional British and Empire troops were still in France, south of the German-controlled area in the north. On 11 June, a gloomy Brooke, who did not share Churchill’s hopes that the remaining French armies would fight on for any considerable time, embarked for France on a mission he thought futile. Meeting with French Commander in Chief General Maxime Weygand on 14 June, Brooke learned that his allies intended to open surrender negotiations with the Germans, whose military had effectively routed their French opponents. He withdrew British forces from French control, advised London that it was pointless to send any additional troops to France, and prepared to evacuate those under his command. Over the next three days, Brooke did so, departing himself on a trawler late on 17 June. The day before, Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain, hero of World War I and the new French president, had called upon French troops to cease fighting while he conducted ceasefire negotiations. Five days later, France concluded an armistice agreement with Germany, and military operations ended once Italy signed an armistice with France on 25 June.

About the Author

Sir Alan Brooke, as he was throughout the war, was a specialist in artillery and one of the strongest military intellectuals in the British army. He came from a prominent Ulster fam-

ily, several of whose members won military or political distinction. When Brooke returned to Britain in June 1940, Churchill appointed him commander of Home Forces, entrusted with the vital task of defending Britain against the expected German invasion. In December 1941, Brooke became chairman of the Imperial General Staff, the highest military staff position in the British Empire, where he remained throughout the war. Brooke, a forbidding, aloof, austere, and apparently unemotional figure, coordinated broad British military and strategic planning, directed the war effort, and attended all the wartime conferences as an adviser to Churchill. Created a field marshal in 1944, Brooke went off the active military list in September 1945, when he was created First Viscount Alanbrooke of Brookeborough.

About the Document

Throughout World War II, Brooke kept a diary, supposedly addressed to his much-loved second wife, Benita, from whom official duties kept him apart much of the time. In early life, he had developed a habit of writing regular letters to his equally adored mother, and he clearly needed the sense that he was writing for an audience. In his mind, did that audience include posterity? Quite possibly so. Brooke must have been aware that he was living in historically significant times, for which his diary would serve as an important source. It also had other functions. Brooke’s formidable outward façade hid a man who was often frustrated, who found much to deplore—though, it should also be remembered, often much to admire—in the behavior and actions of his superiors, especially Prime Minister Winston Churchill, colleagues, and associates, both American and British. Some of these criticisms were probably exaggerated. His nightly handwritten outpourings undoubtedly served as a safety valve, permitting him to release some of the tensions that might otherwise have impeded his performance in a difficult, demanding, stressful, and wearing job. Brooke himself commented how tired he and most of his colleagues were by the end of the war.

Brooke’s diaries had a controversial subsequent history. Brooke made his own handwritten copies after the war, adding additional notes and reflections of his own as he did so, and the Royal Regiment of Artillery that commissioned his biography arranged for a typed transcription. Brooke made his own notes available to the historian Sir Arthur Bryant, who published a best-selling two-volume history of the war that drew very heavily upon this source. Although Bryant toned down some of Brooke’s harshest criticism of Churchill in particular and other leading British and U.S. military and political figures, enough survived to infuriate many of Brooke’s former associates. Bryant also quietly softened or omitted information on episodes that might have reflected on British conduct of the war, including Brooke’s unflattering

1940 reflections on his Belgian and French allies and material on Brooke's decision to withdraw British troops from France. With Brooke's encouragement, moreover, Bryant's selections from the diaries exaggerated Brooke's strategic ability and percipience at the expense of other participants in major wartime military decisions. The fact that the financially straitened Brooke received substantial payments for making these materials available to Bryant won him additional opprobrium. In 2001, two respected historians published a complete version of Brooke's wartime diaries, correcting his numerous errors of spelling and punctuation but including all the available material, regardless of the light it shed upon both the author and those mentioned in his diaries. Although more than half a century had elapsed since the war ended, this book, from which the excerpts given here are taken, generated much public interest and extensive media attention, a tribute to the fascination that World War II and its leading protagonists still exert upon the popular imagination.

The diary entries of 15–18 June are interesting for several reasons. First, they present a vivid picture of the desperate military situation facing both French and British forces at the time. Fearing that British troops might find themselves interned in France, Brooke decided they must cut their losses and leave, even if this meant abandoning and sometimes deceiving his French allies. It is worth noting that on 17 June, when he left himself, there was no available British destroyer, and Brooke and his staff were forced to take a slow trawler that had been pressed into military service, hoping that they might “look sufficiently small and insignificant as not to be worth bombing!” It was not the most luxurious accommodation for a commander in chief and a telling indication of the military humiliation Germany had inflicted on Britain and France. Brooke wrote scathingly about the manner in which, in his view, throughout this episode, the British government subordinated military commonsense to the political need to be seen to be supportive of even a doomed French defense against Germany. If published earlier, these comments, and Brooke's unwavering determination to withdraw his forces from France and salvage what he could before Britain's ally surrendered, would have fueled bitter French accusations that the British army deliberately deserted them in 1940. As late as the sixtieth anniversary of D-Day in 2004, many Frenchmen still remembered with rancor the British evacuation of Dunkerque and deeply resented what they perceived as their ally's decision to abandon their country to its fate in 1940.

The saga of the publication of successive versions of Brooke's diaries is an interesting illustration of the way in which political, diplomatic, and other constraints and the wish to avoid embarrassment to oneself, others, and one's own or other governments, often mean that, for many years after particular events, even primary documents that are not

strictly speaking official government records often appear in print only in a heavily sanitized form. Inevitably, the history of the recent past, especially of such bitterly debated events as those of World War II, almost every aspect of which has generated often fierce controversy, has implications for the present. The conscientious historian who seeks to provide an accurate and quite possibly less bland account of that past must be prepared to go back to the original sources and cannot rely simply on the published versions that may well have been heavily edited. He should also realize that, in doing so, he may be depicting aspects of the past that some of his readers will find upsetting and offensive and that are liable to be used as ammunition in debates, some of them highly politicized and emotional, that remain controversial at the time of writing.

Primary Source

Diary of Lord Alanbrooke, 15–18 June 1940

15 June, Vitre (West of Laval)

Woken at 3 am by arrival of [British General] Jimmy Cornwall. Told him that I wanted him to take command of the forces under French X [Tenth] Army as soon as they could be detached by him, and to then retire on Cherbourg. Gave him a written order to the effect that he was to take command of these troops, and whilst rendering all possible assistance to X French Army to direct his axis of retirement on [the French port of] Cherbourg. . . . Got up at 6.30 am after poor night's sleep and after early breakfast moved my HQ [headquarters] and that of L of C [Lines of Communication] from Le Mans to Vitre. I considered the former too exposed owing to the absence of any French troops between this place and the Germans when the gap exists in which the German 4th Army is advancing with its left on Chartres.

We are still very exposed here to raids from armoured cars or tanks and have practically no protection. We may consequently have to move further back before long. It is a desperate job being faced with over 150,000 men and masses of material, ammunition, petrol, supplies etc, to try and evacuate or dispose of, with nothing to cover this operation except the crumbling French army.

Just before lunch the CIGS [Sir John Dill, Chief of the British Imperial General Staff] called up on a very bad telephone line to say that the 2 Brigades at Cherbourg were not to be embarked without orders from UK. This can achieve nothing but lead to chaos! It means that Jimmy Cornwall will probably arrive on the rest of the crowd before they have had time to be evacuated. After lunch I had another talk with Dill and was again told that for political reasons it is desirable that the two Brigades of the 52nd Div[ision] [Drew] should not be re-embarked for the present. In the evening I was told that

shipping was available at Cherbourg to remove Drew's brigades, but that owing to WO [War Office] instruction it could not be made use of! We are wasting shipping and valuable hours; at present bombing is not serious, at any moment it may become so. Received Liaison Officer from Jimmy Cornwall with his situation, and statement that he had not yet informed Altmayer of decision to re-embark BEF. Sent him reply not to disclose this fact for the present.

After dinner had another talk with Dill and Anthony Eden and pointed out to them that from a military point of view we were committing a grave error, we are wasting shipping, valuable time, and opportunities while hostile air interference is not serious. Subsequently was again called up by Dill and informed that I could embark some of the gunners of the 52nd Div and RE [Royal Engineers] at Cherbourg, provided I retained the infantry of the two bdes [brigades]. I am therefore trying to fill one ship with gunners etc. at Cherbourg.

[Material in italics indicates Alanbrooke's later addition to the diary.] *Modern developments, such as wireless and telephones, may constitute serious dangers for a commander in the field, if these systems are being made use of by politicians to endeavour to influence operations without being conversant and familiar with the circumstances prevailing in that theatre of operations. Wellington was indeed fortunate!*

Later Guy Rack commanding L of C troops at Rennes called up and said that 2 French generals were enquiring what all this movement towards the ports was implying!! I have replied that we are thinning out Base and L of C organization of BEF, originally intended for 12 Div but now much smaller. I hope this answer will satisfy them.

16 June, Redon (North of St Nazaire)

Got to bed shortly after midnight and had good sleep till 6 am when I was called up by CIGS on very bad telephone line. Told [me] to prepare to carry on embarking 2 brigades of 52nd Div at Cherbourg confirmation to follow shortly. Also probably orders for Cornwall's force. At 8.45 had second message by telephone from Dill, telling me to fire ahead with 52nd Div but to wait a little longer as regards Cornwall's force. Asked him whether Cornwall could agree to embarkation of French from Cherbourg for England if they desired, and told yes. . . .

At 6.25 pm I called up again and got Dill who informed me that the decision was that troops with the X Army should remain there and continue fighting with the X Army as long as it remained intact. Should X Army begin to disintegrate they may retire on Cherbourg. This is an unsatisfactory arrangement, but possibly inevitable. At 6.30 pm Drew called up from Cherbourg to say that half his army there was embarked, the remainder to embark tomorrow. He asked about his brigade with the X French Army and I told him he was not to wait for it but was to sail with his 2 brigades.

Dill in his last call said that [French Commander-in-Chief General Maxime] Weygand was not satisfied that I should have departed from our signed agreement. . . . However, I do not mind what accusations may be made against me. If I were faced with the same situation again I should act exactly in the same way, and am convinced that any other course of action could only result in throwing good money after bad. . . .

Midnight reports of embarkation are good. Some 45,000 have been embarked in last 24 hours, 12,000 previous 24 hours, giving total of just under 60,000 in 48 hours. Transportation hopeful of making 60,000 figure in next 24 hours which should complete evacuation.

17 June, Aboard trawler *Cambridgeshire*

Received report in early morning that X French Army was in full retreat and that Jimmy Cornwall was retiring British forces under his command on Cherbourg. X French Army [illegible] on Laval and Rennes. Barratt's air reconnaissance reports Germans in Orléans and tanks advancing from there on north bank of Loire.

Had several conferences in place for the day. Settled that Fighter Squadron should move during the day from Dinant to the Channel Islands, to protect Cherbourg landings from there. Saw Naval Officer and instructed him to have destroyer ready for my HQ at St Nazaire this evening in case it should be necessary. Informed Naval Commodore and De Fonblanque of necessity to push on with all speed loadings today as this will probably be the last 24 hours clear for all ports.

At 10 AM put call through to Dill to tell him of situation on X Army Front and of Jimmy Cornwall's move on Cherbourg. First reaction of Dill was that Jimmy should have remained with French X Army. However, as this army is in full retreat and as the forces of Jimmy Cornwall are based on Cherbourg, and further since Jimmy said that any pressure from Germans would result in disintegration of the X French Army, I cannot see that any other course was open to him. Dill then said that he hoped that if French wished they should be given opportunity of retiring in this direction. I assured him that Jimmy had already been instructed to that effect. I then gave him figures of embarkation and asked him what he wished me to do as I could not see that I was performing any useful function stopping on out here. He seemed to consider that my presence out here was important from a political point of view, which I fail to see as I am not in contact with any French forces nor under the command of any French formation. He then suggested that I should proceed by sea to Cherbourg to find out how evacuation was proceeding there. Finally informed me that he would call me up about 3 pm to let me know what I was to do. Telephone line to WO very bad and interrupted by bombing attack on Rennes. . . .

2.30 PM. Have just seen Meric [French liaison officer] who told me he heard the French broadcast by Pétain telling

French armies to cease hostilities, whilst he negotiates with the Germans. This renders situation very critical lest negotiations should lead to internment of British troops in France! It is essential for us to get away early. . . .

4.30 PM. We left Redon and motored to the vicinity of St Nazaire. There we parked in a lane hidden from aeroplanes and waited for the destroyer to arrive. We sent Allen the Naval officer on ahead to find out when the destroyer would arrive. He came back about an hour later saying that the *Lancastria* had been bombed with 6,000 on board as she was sailing out and sunk. The destroyer detailed for us had to be used to save the survivors and was no longer available! We had to choose between the *Ulster Sovereign*, not sailing till tomorrow, and an armoured trawler which would just take our HQ and could sail at once. We chose the latter. It can only sail at 9 knots per hour and will take some 30 hours to reach Plymouth!

When we arrived on board we found that she had just been saving 900 survivors from the *Lancastria*. She was in an indescribable mess, soaked in fuel oil and sea water with discarded wet clothes lying all over the place. Everything sticky with this beastly black fuel oil, all the walls, chairs, furniture etc. black with it. I have just spent an hour clearing up what I have taken as my cabin. We are going to have a rough trip from most points of view. But I hope that we may look sufficiently small and insignificant as not to be worth bombing! I have got what is left of my HQ with me, and also de Fonblanque and part of his staff. It's going to be hard to keep clean here. But I have so far salvaged my whole kit!

18 June, Aboard trawler *Cambridgeshire*

After midnight there were 3 air raids on the port before we sailed. All AA [anti-aircraft] guns, including the one on this trawler, firing furiously, but I did not hear any bombs being dropped. He may have been dropping magnetic mines. At 4 am we sailed instead of the previous evening as we had hoped. Did not get very much sleep owing to continued noise. . . .

The last week has been a very trying one, and I hope never to be entrusted with a similar task again! To try and relate political considerations, with which you are not fully informed, with military necessities, which stare one in the face, is a very difficult matter when these two considerations pull in diametrically opposed directions. Politically it may have been desirable to support our allies to the very last moment even to the extent of being involved in the final catastrophe and annihilation. Militarily it was self evident from the start that the very small forces at our disposal could do *nothing* towards restoring the military situation which would have required at least 2 complete armies to exercise any influence. Furthermore, it was clear that any additional forces landed in France, or existing forces retained in that country must inevitably be annihilated if left to fight the war to the last. The

difficulty has been to extract the existing forces without giving the impression that we were abandoning our ally in its hour of need. Pétain's order to cease hostilities gave the ultimate necessary relief to this situation, but unless this situation had been anticipated in our preparations I doubt whether we should have saved much.

Source: Field Marshal Lord Alanbrooke, *War Diaries 1939–1945*, eds. Alex Danchev and Daniel Todman (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2001), pp. 85–88. Permission granted by David Higham Associates.

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2.3. Winston Churchill, “The Few”

About the Author

One of the towering figures of World War II, the man who brought hope to the British people and the Allied cause at the European war's darkest moment, was Winston Churchill, who became prime minister of Great Britain on 10 May 1940, as Germany launched its assault on the Low Countries and France. The next few months brought a succession of disasters: the rapid German conquest of Belgium, the Netherlands, and France, followed by a major air assault on Great Britain, first against British air fields and facilities and then on the major industrial cities. Most of the British army escaped ignominiously from France, leaving behind 30,000 prisoners and its equipment, much of which the German forces captured. Britain had no allies left in Europe, and if it decided to fight on alone, needed to make up the losses of matériel as fast

as possible. North America, Canada and even more the United States, were the only major potential sources of outside supplies. Although U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt was broadly sympathetic to the Allied cause, he was wary of sending much in the way of military equipment, since he feared that Britain might be forced to capitulate and was in any case preoccupied with a tough reelection campaign. The United States itself was only beginning to rearm, and military supplies were scarce and valuable; moreover, he feared that if Britain surrendered, such weapons might well fall into German hands. Great Britain's international record for most of the 1930s gave some reason to believe that before long the British government would reach some form of humiliating peace settlement with Germany whereby it would acquiesce in Nazi domination of the European continent.

When Churchill took office, therefore, high among his first tasks were the need to restore British morale and the necessity to convince the outside world that his country was determined to fight on, no matter what the odds. He was peculiarly equipped to do so, and in some sense, all his life had been an apprenticeship for the five years he spent as wartime premier, which in his own words became both his own and Great Britain's "finest hour." Churchill, then in his late sixties, was a political maverick, whose past career had at best been somewhat checkered. A minor British aristocrat, he was the grandson of the Duke of Marlborough and the son of Lord Randolph Churchill, a brilliant but erratic nineteenth-century Conservative politician who died young, leaving his eldest son to fulfill his own political ambitions. Churchill inherited and even surpassed his father's talents but also had something of his instability. In the early twentieth century, he switched from the Conservative to the Liberal Party over the issue of protectionism, serving as home secretary, first lord of the admiralty, and colonial secretary; once the Liberals went into permanent decline in the mid-1920s, he returned to the Conservatives and served as chancellor of the exchequer. When the Conservatives lost office in the late 1920s, Churchill began a forceful campaign for British rearmament, which he continued throughout the 1930s, sounding the alarm against Nazi Germany's intentions (though he rather admired other European dictators, including Benito Mussolini of Italy and Francisco Franco of Spain). The National Government that took power in 1931, successively headed as the decade wore on by Prime Ministers J. Ramsay MacDonald, Stanley Baldwin, and Neville Chamberlain, was deeply unsympathetic to Churchill's views, considering them extreme, provocative, and impractical. He spent more than 10 years in the political wilderness before returning to office in September 1939 as first lord of the Admiralty once more.

Those who considered Churchill untrustworthy had some excuse. Apart from his switches of political allegiance—"I

belong to the noble order of rats," he once said—his personal style alarmed many. Ambitious, self-promoting, and somewhat grandiloquent, throughout his career he went in for self-advertisement, beginning with his early escape from captivity when he was a journalist in the Boer War. Many questioned his political judgment, especially on such matters as the disastrous World War I Gallipoli expedition, for which many held Churchill responsible, Indian independence, which he opposed ferociously during the 1930s, and his support for King Edward VIII during the 1936 abdication crisis. Churchill's personal reputation was also less than savory. Both his father and his mother, Jennie, the beautiful daughter of a wealthy American businessman, belonged to the high-living set centering around the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII, 1901–1910) and enjoyed its fast-paced, extravagant, and racketsy lifestyle of frenetic socializing, gambling, love affairs, and debts. Churchill himself was devoted to his wife and often sought relaxation in bricklaying and painting. Even so, most of his closest political associates were rather disreputably raffish, and his own lifestyle was decidedly sybaritic, marked by expensive and exotic holidays, gambling, rich food, and massive consumption of cigars and alcohol, to the point that some considered him a functioning alcoholic. Far from wealthy but undoubtedly industrious, for most of his political career Churchill subsidized his expensive tastes by writing numerous well-received popular books and articles, though he also received welcome subventions from richer friends. Given the political establishment's reservations toward him, Churchill was only likely to become prime minister in a major national emergency.

A romantic imperialist with a deep attachment to his own vision of Great Britain and its empire, an outstanding wordsmith who possessed a photographic memory for poetry, history, and literature, Churchill rose to this occasion magnificently to become one of the world's great war leaders. All his life, he had prided himself on his (in other contexts, sometimes slightly overblown) rhetorical skills, and in a national crisis, they proved their worth. Arrogant, egotistical, inconsiderate, and demanding, Churchill also possessed vast courage and stamina, a strong sense of occasion, and a fundamental belief in both Great Britain and democracy that translated into an unquestioning conviction that his own country would not only survive but eventually—admittedly with American help—would defeat Germany and Italy. In this sense, he greatly resembled the equally temperamental and idiosyncratic Free French leader General Charles de Gaulle.

Besides running the government and the war effort, as soon as he took office in mid-May 1940, Churchill delivered a year-long series of rousing speeches, some in the House of Commons, others over the radio, in memorable language, rallying the British people to withstand defeat in Europe and German bombing and potential invasion, and proving to the

rest of the world that Britain remained indomitable and would fight on. To many at home and abroad, he came to seem the national embodiment of all the best—as well as some of the worst—qualities of Great Britain. Speaking against a changing but always perilous background of the retreat from Dunkerque, the fall of France, fearsome air battles between British and German fighter squadrons, and the bombing of Britain's cities, dangers he never attempted to minimize, Churchill caught the popular imagination both within and outside his own country. Refusing to admit the possibility of defeat, by the end of 1940, Churchill had restored morale within Britain and won massive international sympathy and respect for his country in its battle against Hitler. His campaign also ensured him permanent recognition as one of the greatest figures of the twentieth century and the finest war leader in British history.

About the Document

Churchill delivered this particular speech to the British House of Commons at the height of the Battle of Britain, the protracted German attacks on British air facilities that followed Churchill's refusal to negotiate peace with Hitler once France had fallen. The destruction of British air capabilities was considered an essential preliminary to a successful German invasion of Britain, so virtually every British political and military leader believed that their country's fate ultimately hinged upon the outcome of this contest.

Although Churchill had a gift for words and quick-witted repartee, his speeches were normally set pieces whose oratory was rarely spontaneous. Even before entering politics, he had hoped to be able to sway audiences through the power of his rhetoric. (Interestingly, oratorical skill and the ability to project it, not just in mass gatherings but also over the new medium of radio, was one important common denominator shared by many of World War II's most prominent political leaders, including Hitler in Germany, Mussolini in Italy, and Roosevelt in the United States.) Churchill put intensive preparation and rehearsal into all his speeches, many of which—like this one—were primarily descriptive but sections of which usually contained notably stirring rhetoric. As with most of his speeches to parliament, Churchill subsequently rebroadcast it as a radio address for the British people, and it was also sent out live to the United States and other overseas countries. So admired was his oratory at this period of the war that, even in German propaganda radio stations, work stopped so that everyone could listen to Churchill.

In this speech, Churchill intended both to give an overview of the existing state of British defenses and to encourage his people to believe that victory was attainable and that they could endure the sustained German assaults and, if necessary, the feared invasion. Churchill sought neither to disguise the gravity of the existing situation nor to exaggerate its dan-

gers. Interestingly, he made extensive comparisons between the British situation in August 1940 and that of 25 years earlier, one year into World War I. For Churchill, and indeed the entire generation of British political leaders to which he belonged, the earlier conflict was a constant reference point, a memory they found it impossible to forget. Churchill rightly pointed out that British casualties in the first year of World War II were far lower than those in the earlier conflict, but he also noted how quickly France had surrendered, whereas in World War I, it stubbornly fought Germany for more than four years.

Speaking three months after becoming prime minister, Churchill put the best gloss possible on the recovery of British defenses from the disasters of May and June 1940. He pointed out that British arms production facilities had been greatly expanded and that massive amounts of munitions had recently arrived from the United States, enabling the British to rebuild their armed forces. He also contended that British naval and air defenses and food production were all in far better shape than they had been one year earlier. In an implicit reference to an ongoing debate with the United States over whether Britain would allow food and other supplies to enter occupied Europe, Churchill uncompromisingly warned that his government would not do so, since any such imports would release other vital materials for the German war effort.

Delivered at the height of the Battle of Britain, Churchill's speech became famous for his generous and well-deserved tribute to the youthful pilots whose airplanes met German fighters in raid after raid, suffering heavy casualties in the process: "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few." He also thanked the less glamorous bomber squadrons who were contemporaneously raiding German industrial facilities, and as he did so, probably exaggerated for the sake of domestic morale the damage these operations inflicted on the enemy.

A particularly interesting feature of this speech is the degree to which, though delivered in the British House of Commons, its intended audience was not just the general British public but also that of the United States. Two months earlier, as France capitulated, Churchill had stated that upon the impending Battle of Britain "depends the survival of Christian civilization." If Britain failed, he argued, "then the whole world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age" (Churchill, speech in the House of Commons, 18 June 1940, as reported in *Hansard*). Roosevelt found these arguments and the now indisputable British determination to fight on persuasive. In August, he agreed to transfer 50 overage American destroyers to Britain in return for U.S. base rights in British possessions in the Caribbean and North America. Churchill presented this agreement as evidence of the degree to which, even though the United States was not

formally at war, the countries were now coordinating their defense policies against common enemies. Though the destroyers arrived too late to make any great contribution to British defense in 1940 and many were in very poor repair, the very fact that the U.S. government was prepared to conclude this agreement gave the embattled British an enormous psychological boost. Although Churchill tactfully depicted these two transactions as unrelated, in reality, they were closely linked. The version of the negotiations given in this speech was only the first of many, both during and after the war, when he deliberately exaggerated the extent of wartime Anglo-American unity, harmony, and cooperation.

Although Churchill refused at this stage to lay out a formal program of war aims on the pragmatic grounds that the war still had to be won, he did make clear his belief and expectation of the inevitability that in the future “these two great organizations of the English-speaking democracies, the British Empire and the United States, will have to be somewhat mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage.” Himself of mixed Anglo-American heritage, Churchill had long believed that close international collaboration between the two would benefit both nations, but more especially his own Great Britain, between the wars already an empire in decline. After World War II, he would deliberately promote an image of the grand alliance that won the conflict as an object lesson in harmonious British-American cooperation, urge even closer coordination of the two nations’ Cold War foreign policies, and appeal to U.S. leaders to remain actively involved in international affairs. At least in part, Churchill’s determination to draw the United States into both World War II and the postwar world sprang from a shrewd appreciation that, without American assistance, the flagging British Empire lacked the resources to win World War II or dominate the subsequent settlement. His public speeches reveal that as early as 1940, he recognized the potential of the United States to play a crucial role in international affairs. Ensuring that the United States fulfilled this potential, ideally in partnership with Great Britain, would eventually become the consuming preoccupation of Churchill’s final two decades.

Primary Source

Winston Churchill, “The Few,” Speech in the House of Commons, 20 August 1940

Almost a year has passed since the war began, and it is natural for us, I think, to pause on our journey at this milestone and survey the dark, wide field. It is also useful to compare the first year of this second war against German aggression with its forerunner a quarter of a century ago. Although this war is in fact only a continuation of the last, very great differences in its character are apparent. In the last war millions of

men fought by hurling enormous masses of steel at one another. “Men and shells” was the cry, and prodigious slaughter was the consequence. In this war nothing of this kind has yet appeared. It is a conflict of strategy, of organization, of technical apparatus, of science, mechanics and morale. The British casualties in the first 12 months of the Great War amounted to 365,000. In this war, I am thankful to say, British killed, wounded, prisoners and missing, including civilians, do not exceed 92,000, and of these a large proportion are alive as prisoners of war. Looking more widely around, one may say that throughout all Europe, for one man killed or wounded in the first year perhaps five were killed or wounded in 1914–15.

The slaughter is only a small fraction, but the consequences to the belligerents have been even more deadly. We have seen great countries with powerful armies dashed out of coherent existence in a few weeks. We have seen the French Republic and the renowned French Army beaten into complete and total submission with less than the casualties which they suffered in any one of half a dozen of the battles of 1914–18. The entire body—it might almost seem at times the soul—of France has succumbed to physical effects incomparably less terrible than those which were sustained with fortitude and undaunted will power 25 years ago. . . .

There is another more obvious difference from 1914. The whole of the warring nations are engaged, not only soldiers, but the entire population, men, women and children. The fronts are everywhere. The trenches are dug in the towns and streets. Every village is fortified. Every road is barred. The front line runs through the factories. The workmen are soldiers with different weapons but the same courage. These are great and distinctive changes from what many of us saw in the struggle of a quarter of a century ago. There seems to be every reason to believe that this new kind of war is well suited to the genius and the resources of the British nation and the British Empire; and that, once we get properly equipped and properly started, a war of this kind will be more favorable to us than the somber mass slaughters of the Somme and Passchendaele. If it is a case of the whole nation fighting and suffering together, that ought to suit us, because we are the most united of all the nations, because we entered the war upon the national will and with our eyes open, and because we have been nurtured in freedom and individual responsibility and are the products, not of totalitarian uniformity, but of tolerance and variety. If all these qualities are turned, as they are being turned, to the arts of war, we may be able to show the enemy quite a lot of things that they have not thought of yet. Since the Germans drove the Jews out and lowered their technical standards, our science is definitely ahead of theirs. Our geographical position, the command of the sea, and the friendship of the United States enable us to draw resources from the whole world and to manufacture weapons of war of

every kind, but especially of the superfine kinds, on a scale hitherto practiced only by Nazi Germany.

Hitler is now sprawled over Europe. . . . It is our intention to maintain and enforce a strict blockade, not only of Germany, but of Italy, France, and all the other countries that have fallen into the German power. . . . There have been many proposals, founded on the highest motives, that food should be allowed to pass the blockade for the relief of these populations. I regret that we must refuse these requests. The Nazis declare that they have created a new unified economy in Europe. They have repeatedly stated that they possess ample reserves of food and that they can feed their captive peoples. . . . Many of the most valuable foods are essential to the manufacture of vital war material. Fats are used to make explosives. Potatoes make the alcohol for motor spirit. The plastic materials now so largely used in the construction of aircraft are made of milk. If the Germans use these commodities to help them to bomb our women and children, rather than to feed the populations who produce them, we may be sure that imported foods would go the same way, directly or indirectly, or be employed to relieve the enemy of the responsibilities he has so wantonly assumed. Let Hitler bear his responsibilities to the full, and let the peoples of Europe who groan beneath his yoke aid in every way the coming of the day when that yoke will be broken. Meanwhile, we can and we will arrange in advance for the speedy entry of food into any part of the enslaved area, when this part has been wholly cleared of German forces, and has genuinely regained its freedom. We shall do our best to encourage the building up of reserves of food all over the world, so that there will always be held up before the eyes of the peoples of Europe, including—I say deliberately—the German and Austrian peoples, the certainty that the shattering of the Nazi power will bring to them all immediate food, freedom and peace.

Rather more than a quarter of a year has passed since the new Government came into power in this country. What a cataract of disaster has poured out upon us since then! The trustful Dutch overwhelmed; their beloved and respected Sovereign driven into exile; the peaceful city of Rotterdam the scene of a massacre as hideous and brutal as anything in the Thirty Years' War; Belgium invaded and beaten down; our own fine Expeditionary Force, which King Leopold called to his rescue, cut off and almost captured, escaping as it seemed only by a miracle and with the loss of all its equipment; our Ally, France, out; Italy in against us; all France in the power of the enemy, all its arsenals and vast masses of military material converted or convertible to the enemy's use; a puppet Government set up at Vichy which may at any moment be forced to become our foe; the whole western seaboard of Europe from the North Cape to the Spanish frontier in German hands; all the ports, all the airfields on this immense front employed against us as potential springboards of inva-

sion. Moreover, the German air power, numerically so far outstripping ours, has been brought so close to our Island that what we used to dread greatly has come to pass and the hostile bombers not only reach our shores in a few minutes and from many directions, but can be escorted by their fighting aircraft. Why, Sir, if we had been confronted at the beginning of May with such a prospect, it would have seemed incredible that at the end of a period of horror and disaster, or at this point in a period of horror and disaster, we should stand erect, sure of ourselves, masters of our fate and with the conviction of final victory burning unquenchable in our hearts. Few would have believed we could survive; none would have believed that we should today not only feel stronger but should actually be stronger than we have ever been before.

Let us see what has happened on the other side of the scales. The British nation and the British Empire, finding themselves alone, stood undismayed against disaster. No one flinched or wavered; nay, some who formerly thought of peace, now think only of war. Our people are united and resolved, as they have never been before. Death and ruin have become small things compared with the shame of defeat or failure in duty. We cannot tell what lies ahead. It may be that even greater ordeals lie before us. We shall face whatever is coming to us. We are sure of ourselves and of our cause, and that is the supreme fact which has emerged in these months of trial.

Meanwhile, we have not only fortified our hearts but our Island. We have rearmed and rebuilt our armies in a degree which would have been deemed impossible a few months ago. We have ferried across the Atlantic, in the month of July, thanks to our friends over there, an immense mass of munitions of all kinds: cannon, rifles, machine guns, cartridges and shell, all safely landed without the loss of a gun or a round. The output of our own factories, working as they have never worked before, has poured forth to the troops. The whole British Army is at home. More than 2,000,000 determined men have rifles and bayonets in their hands tonight, and three-quarters of them are in regular military formations. We have never had armies like this in our Island in time of war. The whole Island bristles against invaders, from the sea or from the air. . . .

Our Navy is far stronger than it was at the beginning of the war. The great flow of new construction set on foot at the outbreak is now beginning to come in. We hope our friends across the ocean will send us a timely reinforcement to bridge the gap between the peace flotillas of 1939 and the war flotillas of 1941. There is no difficulty in sending such aid. The seas and oceans are open. The U-boats are contained. The magnetic mine is, up to the present time, effectively mastered. The merchant tonnage under the British flag, after a year of unlimited U-boat war, after eight months of intensive min-

ing attack, is larger than when we began. We have, in addition, under our control at least 4,000,000 tons of shipping from the captive countries which has taken refuge here or in the harbors of the Empire. Our stocks of food of all kinds are far more abundant than in the days of peace, and a large and growing program of food production is on foot.

Why do I say all this? Not, assuredly, to boast; not, assuredly, to give the slightest countenance to complacency. The dangers we face are still enormous, but so are our advantages and resources. I recount them because the people have a right to know that there are solid grounds for the confidence which we feel, and that we have good reason to believe ourselves capable, as I said in a very dark hour two months ago, of continuing the war "if necessary alone, if necessary for years." . . .

The great air battle which has been in progress over this Island for the last few weeks has recently attained a high intensity. It is too soon to attempt to assign limits either to its scale or to its duration. We must certainly expect that greater efforts will be made by the enemy than any he has so far put forth. . . .

On the other hand, the conditions and course of the fighting have so far been favorable to us. I told the House two months ago that, whereas in France our fighter aircraft were wont to inflict a loss of two or three to one upon the Germans, and in the fighting at Dunkirk, which was a kind of no-man's-land, a loss of about three or four to one, we expected that in an attack on this Island we should achieve a larger ratio. This has certainly come true. . . .

A vast and admirable system of salvage, directed by the Ministry of Aircraft Production, ensures the speediest return to the fighting line of damaged machines, and the most provident and speedy use of all the spare parts and material. At the same time the splendid—nay, astounding—increase in the output and repair of British aircraft and engines which Lord Beaverbrook has achieved by a genius of organization and drive, which looks like magic, has given us overflowing reserves of every type of aircraft, and an ever-mounting stream of production both in quantity and quality. The enemy is, of course, far more numerous than we are. But our new production already, as I am advised, largely exceeds his, and the American production is only just beginning to flow in. It is a fact, as I see from my daily returns, that our bomber and fighter strength now, after all this fighting, are larger than they have ever been. We believe that we shall be able to continue the air struggle indefinitely and as long as the enemy pleases, and the longer it continues the more rapid will be our approach, first towards that parity, and then into that superiority, in the air upon which in a large measure the decision of the war depends.

The gratitude of every home in our Island, in our Empire, and indeed throughout the world, except in the abodes of the

guilty, goes out to the British airmen who, undaunted by odds, unwearied in their constant challenge and mortal danger, are turning the tide of the World War by their prowess and by their devotion. Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few. All hearts go out to the fighter pilots, whose brilliant actions we see with our own eyes day after day; but we must never forget that all the time, night after night, month after month, our bomber squadrons travel far into Germany, find their targets in the darkness by the highest navigational skill, aim their attacks, often under the heaviest fire, often with serious loss, with deliberate careful discrimination, and inflict shattering blows upon the whole of the technical and war-making structure of the Nazi power. On no part of the Royal Air Force does the weight of the war fall more heavily than on the daylight bombers, who will play an invaluable part in the case of invasion and whose unflinching zeal it has been necessary in the meanwhile on numerous occasions to restrain.

We are able to verify the results of bombing military targets in Germany, not only by reports which reach us through many sources, but also, of course, by photography. I have no hesitation in saying that this process of bombing the military industries and communications of Germany and the air bases and storage depots from which we are attacked, which process will continue upon an ever-increasing scale until the end of the war, and may in another year attain dimensions hitherto undreamed of, affords one at least of the most certain, if not the shortest, of all the roads to victory. Even if the Nazi legions stood triumphant on the Black Sea, or indeed upon the Caspian, even if Hitler was at the gates of India, it would profit him nothing if at the same time the entire economic and scientific apparatus of German war power lay shattered and pulverized at home. . . .

The defection of France has, of course, been deeply damaging to our position. . . .

Most of the other countries that have been overrun by Germany for the time being have persevered valiantly and faithfully. The Czechs, the Poles, the Norwegians, the Dutch, the Belgians are still in the field, sword in hand, recognized by Great Britain and the United States as the sole representative authorities and lawful Governments of their respective States.

That France alone should lie prostrate at this moment is the crime, not of a great and noble nation, but of what are called "the men of Vichy." We have profound sympathy with the French people. Our old comradeship with France is not dead. In General de Gaulle and his gallant band, that comradeship takes an effective form. These free Frenchmen have been condemned to death by Vichy, but the day will come, as surely as the sun will rise tomorrow, when their names will be held in honor, and their names will be graven in stone in the streets and villages of a France restored in a liberated Europe to its full freedom and its ancient fame. . . .

A good many people have written to me to ask me to make on this occasion a fuller statement of our war aims, and of the kind of peace we wish to make after the war, than is contained in the very considerable declaration which was made early in the autumn. Since then we have made common cause with Norway, Holland and Belgium. We have recognized the Czech Government of Dr. Benes, and we have told General de Gaulle that our success will carry with it the restoration of France. I do not think it would be wise at this moment, while the battle rages and the war is still perhaps only in its earlier stage, to embark upon elaborate speculations about the future shape which should be given to Europe or the new securities which must be arranged to spare mankind the miseries of a third World War. The ground is not new, it has been frequently traversed and explored, and many ideas are held about it in common by all good men, and all free men. But before we can undertake the task of rebuilding we have not only to be convinced ourselves, but we have to convince all other countries that the Nazi tyranny is going to be finally broken. The right to guide the course of world history is the noblest prize of victory. We are still toiling up the hill; we have not yet reached the crest-line of it; we cannot survey the landscape or even imagine what its condition will be when that longed-for morning comes. The task which lies before us immediately is at once more practical, more simple and more stern. I hope—indeed, I pray—that we shall not be found unworthy of our victory if after toil and tribulation it is granted to us. For the rest, we have to gain the victory. That is our task.

There is, however, one direction in which we can see a little more clearly ahead. We have to think not only for ourselves but for the lasting security of the cause and principles for which we are fighting and of the long future of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Some months ago we came to the conclusion that the interests of the United States and of the British Empire both required that the United States should have facilities for the naval and air defense of the Western Hemisphere against the attack of a Nazi power which might have acquired temporary but lengthy control of a large part of Western Europe and its formidable resources. We had therefore decided spontaneously, and without being asked or offered any inducement, to inform the Government of the United States that we would be glad to place such defense facilities at their disposal by leasing suitable sites in our Transatlantic possessions for their greater security against the unmeasured dangers of the future. The principle of association of interests for common purposes between Great Britain and the United States had developed even before the war. Various agreements had been reached about certain small islands in the Pacific Ocean which had become important as air fueling points. In all this line of thought we found

ourselves in very close harmony with the Government of Canada.

Presently we learned that anxiety was also felt in the United States about the air and naval defense of their Atlantic seaboard, and President Roosevelt has recently made it clear that he would like to discuss with us, and with the Dominion of Canada and with Newfoundland, the development of American naval and air facilities in Newfoundland and in the West Indies. There is, of course, no question of any transference of sovereignty—that has never been suggested—or of any action being taken without the consent or against the wishes of the various Colonies concerned; but for our part, His Majesty's Government are entirely willing to accord defense facilities to the United States on a 99 years' leasehold basis, and we feel sure that our interests no less than theirs, and the interests of the Colonies themselves and of Canada and Newfoundland, will be served thereby. These are important steps. Undoubtedly this process means that these two great organizations of the English-speaking democracies, the British Empire and the United States, will have to be somewhat mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage. No one can stop it. Like the Mississippi, it just keeps rolling along. Let it roll. Let it roll on full flood. Let us not view the process with any misgivings. I could not stop it if I wished; no one can stop it. Like the Mississippi, it just keeps rolling along. Let it roll. Let it roll on full flood, inexorable, irresistible, benignant, to broader lands and better days.

Source: Winston S. Churchill, *The Complete Speeches*, 8 vols., ed. Robert Rhodes James (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1974), 6: 6260–6268. Reprinted with permission of Curtis Brown, Ltd., London.

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2.4. Henry R. Luce on the U.S. Role in International Affairs

About the Author

Henry R. Luce was one of the most influential journalists and publishers in U.S. media history. Born in 1898 in China to American missionary parents, he spent the first 14 years of his life there. Luce then studied at Hotchkiss School in Connecticut and at Yale University, where he was voted “most brilliant” of the class of 1920. Even in his teens, Luce was active in journalism, working as an editor on weekly and monthly newspapers at Hotchkiss and becoming editor of the *Yale Daily News*. He also served as a second lieutenant in Yale’s Reserve Officer Training Corps and, after graduation, spent a year studying history at Oxford University in England. After finishing his studies, Luce went into journalism, and in 1923, he and a school friend, Briton Hadden, raised the funds to establish *Time*, the first weekly newsmagazine in the United States. The new publication, of which Luce became the business manager, proved enormously successful. After Hadden’s sudden death in 1929, Luce also became its editor, and his abilities in this role soon became legendary as he attracted a stable of brilliant young writers and helped to hone their professional skills. Luce founded several other publications, most notably the business magazine *Fortune* in 1930, *Life* magazine in 1936, and *Sports Illustrated* in 1954. Luce remained editor in chief of all until 1964.

By the late 1930s, Luce publications dominated the market for popular middlebrow news in the United States, and he had become immensely wealthy. However, like many twentieth-century press magnates, Lord Northcliffe and Lord Beaverbrook in Britain, for example, or the more recent Rupert Murdoch, Robert Maxwell, and Conrad Black, Luce sought to translate wealth into political clout, so that eventually he would be making the news rather than simply reporting it. Luce’s missionary background, from which he took a nearly messianic sense of his own destiny and that of his country, probably contributed to his broader ambitions. Dour and forbidding, he was not obviously suited for a political career. He chose a more indirect route, becoming a close associate of leading Republican politicians. In 1936, his publications supported the Republican presidential candidate against Franklin D. Roosevelt, but the latter won a landslide victory, leaving Luce still outside the charmed circles of power.

Given his background, Luce always took particular interest in China. He admired the Guomindang (GMD, Kuomintang, KMT, Nationalist) government of Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), who took power in the later 1920s and unified most of China under his own leadership. Luce used his mag-

azines to promote the image of Jiang, together with his American-educated wife, Song Meiling (Soong May-ling), as the model of a Christian, modernizing Asian leader. Luce supported Jiang’s efforts to eliminate what was by the mid-1930s his major political rival, the Chinese Communist Party, led by Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung). When the Sino-Japanese War began in summer 1937, Luce supported the Chinese cause, helped to raise substantial funding for war relief there, and supported American assistance to Jiang. Later in the war, the Luce publications would become closely identified with continued assistance to Jiang and his wife, an integral part of what was to become the American China lobby of Jiang supporters.

For much of the 1930s, Luce was sympathetic to the demands of the European Fascist powers, Germany and Italy, and this stance was reflected in his publications, which praised the Munich Agreement of September 1938. Adolf Hitler was made “Man of the Year,” albeit with a highly unflattering cover cartoon and some anti-Fascist copy in the text. Luce was, however, strongly anticommunist, which led him to turn against Hitler after the August 1939 German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact. In 1940, he became a strong supporter of American assistance to British premier Winston Churchill’s efforts to fight on against Germany, making Churchill *Time*’s “Man of the Year” for 1940.

Although strongly pro-Allied by mid-1940, Luce was almost equally hostile to Roosevelt. He was one of those Republicans who engineered the nomination of the pro-Allied Wendell L. Willkie as their party’s presidential candidate in 1940. Luce publications slanted their reporting in Willkie’s favor, as their proprietor was on close terms with the candidate and apparently hoped to become secretary of state in a Willkie administration. Such ambitions evaporated early in November 1940 when Roosevelt won the election. Luce now used his own press facilities to try to establish himself as an influential voice in foreign affairs.

About the Document

In February 1941, *Life* published Luce’s essay, “The American Century.” In this piece, whose title would be used as a cliché to describe the twentieth-century international role of the United States, Luce argued that his country was already effectively in the current war and that it should in the future play a far greater part in world affairs. Luce made Herculean efforts to publicize his views beyond *Life*’s 12 million readers. He reprinted the piece in full-page advertisements in newspapers throughout the country and sent copies of a reprint pamphlet edition, bolstered by generally favorable commentary by several well-known journalists and commentators, to hundreds of influential friends and associates. This was clearly a well-financed full-scale campaign to establish Luce

as someone whose foreign policy views deserved recognition and discussion, an effort that his personal wealth and media access greatly facilitated.

“The American Century” used high-flown language to urge that Americans should address themselves to “the authentic creation of the 20th Century—our Century.” Luce did not adopt Roosevelt’s view that vital U.S. interests were necessarily at stake in Europe; in fact, he flatly suggested that “regardless of what happens in Europe, it would be entirely possible for us to organize a defense of the northern part of the Western Hemisphere so that this country could not be successfully attacked.” In this, he was at one with the members of the contemporary anti-interventionist America First Committee.

What Luce did argue was that the United States had a choice as to whether to enter the war and that, if it did so, the country must therefore decide what it was fighting for and what it hoped to get out of the war in terms of “a workable Peace.” In his view, the United States, though it had already become “the most powerful and the most vital nation in the world,” did not know how to deploy its strength, and to date, Americans had “failed to play their part as a world power—a failure which has had disastrous consequences for themselves and for all mankind.” The remedy he prescribed was that the country should “accept wholeheartedly our duty and our opportunity as the most powerful and vital nation in the world and in consequence to assert upon the world the full impact of our influence, for such purposes as we see fit and by such means as we see fit.” The United States should “shar[e] with all peoples . . . our Bill of Rights, our Declaration of Independence, our Constitution, our magnificent industrial products, our technical skills.”

Luce’s article sounded many of the themes that would characterize postwar American internationalism. Implicit in it was the message that, if Americans did not rise to this challenge and become actively involved in the outside world, they would themselves suffer materially and psychologically. Rather than simply pursuing its own interests, the United States was also to propagate American political, economic, and cultural values, serving as a model to other countries. Luce envisaged his country disseminating the American way of life around the world, pointing out the extent to which “American jazz, Hollywood movies, American slang, American machines and patented products” had already spread internationally, so that, in his view, “America is already the intellectual, scientific and artistic capital of the world.” Luce urged Americans consciously to provide scientific, technological, educational, and cultural leadership. He suggested that a free American economy depended on the acceptance of “free economic system[s]” elsewhere in the world and that the United States should therefore ensure freedom of the seas and the air and become the top international trading nation.

Luce also believed that Americans must provide humanitarian aid to a world facing famine and destitution. Lastly, he called upon the United States to propagate and spread abroad both specifically American ideals and those more broadly associated with Western civilization generally. He clearly hoped that this would be only the beginning of American world dominance, finishing his article by stating that Americans should work together “to create the first great American Century.”

As he intended, Luce’s article provoked wide-ranging discussion throughout the United States and beyond. Then and afterward, many on the Left, Vice President Henry A. Wallace, for example, and socialist leader Norman Thomas, condemned Luce for envisaging a new international order run in the interests of American capitalism and business, a world system in which U.S. imperialism and militarism would replace those of the European colonial powers. In its confident messianic sense of American international destiny, the essay drew not only on Luce’s personal missionary heritage but also on the long-standing broader sense of the United States as an exceptional chosen nation whose “manifest destiny” gave it a special mission to the world, an outlook epitomized earlier in the twentieth century in the rhetoric of President Woodrow Wilson during World War I. Somewhat optimistically, but very much in the Wilsonian tradition, Luce affirmed that whereas other great powers were distrusted, “throughout the world [there] is faith in the good intentions . . . of the whole American people.” The absence of any real humility in Luce’s writing, his blunt insistence that his country was already the world’s greatest power, was undoubtedly less than tactful and an example of the kind of triumphalist rhetoric that has so often repelled even nations friendly to the United States.

In the short run, Luce’s article generated great discussion but, given his alienation from the Roosevelt administration, had little immediate impact on policy. Despite Luce’s caveats that intervention was inevitable, it nonetheless strengthened those, among whom the president and his close associates were prominent, who sought to argue that the United States could no longer remain at least semidetached from international developments, a participant in the economic sphere but still a state whose national security was not vitally affected by events outside the Western Hemisphere. Luce had, moreover, indelibly and memorably labeled the growing world role of the United States. Scores of future books—and many, no doubt, still to come—would bear the title or discuss the concept of “The American Century.” If he had intended to set the terms of popular debate, Luce undoubtedly succeeded. In retrospect, “The American Century” would seem both prophetic and symptomatic, a seminal essay that both accurately predicted the nature of the future American international role during the Cold War and beyond and in itself embodied the

hubris and exaggerated sense of omnipotence that would on occasion be highly detrimental to the effective exercise of U.S. power.

Primary Source

Henry Luce, "The American Century," February 1941

There is one fundamental issue which faces America as it faces no other nation. It is an issue peculiar to America and peculiar to America in the 20th Century—now. It is deeper even than the immediate issue of War. If America meets it correctly, then, despite hosts of dangers and difficulties, we can look forward and move forward to a future worthy of men, with peace in our hearts.

If we dodge the issue, we shall flounder for ten or 20 or 30 bitter years in a chartless and meaningless series of disasters. . . .

Where are we? We are in the war. All this talk about whether this or that might or might not get us into the war is wasted effort. We are, for a fact, in the war. . . .

Now that we are in this war, how did we get in? We got in on the basis of defense. Even that very word, defense, has been full of deceit and self-deceit.

To the average American the plain meaning of the word defense is defense of the American territory. Is our national policy today limited to the defense of the American homeland by whatever means may seem wise? It is not. We are now in a war to promote, encourage and incite so-called democratic principles throughout the world. The average American begins to realize now that's the kind of war he's in. And he's halfway for it. But he wonders how he ever got there, since a year ago he had not the slightest intention of getting into any such thing. Well, he can see now how he got there. He got there via "defense."

Behind the doubts in the American mind there were and are two different picture-patterns. One of them stressing the appalling consequences of the fall of England leads us to a war of intervention. As a plain matter of the defense of American territory is that picture necessarily true? It is not necessarily true. For the other picture is roughly this: while it would be much better for us if Hitler were severely checked, nevertheless regardless of what happens in Europe it would be entirely possible for us to organize a defense of the northern part of the Western Hemisphere so that this country could not be successfully attacked. . . . No man can say that that picture of America as an impregnable armed camp is false. No man can honestly say that as a pure matter of defense—defense of our homeland—it is necessary to get into or be in this war.

The question before us then is not primarily one of necessity and survival. It is a question of choice and calculation. The true questions are: Do we want to be in this war? Do we prefer to be in it? And, if so, for what? . . .

This questioning reflects our truest instincts as Americans. But more than that. Our urgent desire to give this war its proper name has a desperate practical importance. If we know what we are fighting for, then we can drive confidently toward a victorious conclusion and, what's more, have at least an even chance of establishing a workable Peace.

Furthermore—and this is an extraordinary and profoundly historical fact which deserves to be examined in detail—America and only America can effectively state the war aims of this war. . . .

The big, important point to be made here is simply that the complete opportunity of leadership is ours. . . . [I]f our trouble is that we don't know what we are fighting for, then it's up to us to figure it out. Don't expect some other country to tell us. Stop this Nazi propaganda about fighting somebody else's war. We fight no wars except our wars. "Arsenal of Democracy?" We may prove to be that. But today we must be the arsenal of America and of the friends and allies of America. . . .

In the field of national policy, the fundamental trouble with America has been, and is, that whereas their nation became in the 20th Century the most powerful and the most vital nation in the world, nevertheless Americans were unable to accommodate themselves spiritually and practically to their fate. Hence they have failed to play their part as a world power—a failure which has had disastrous consequences for themselves and for all mankind. And the cure is this: to accept wholeheartedly our duty and our opportunity as the most powerful and vital nation in the world and in consequence to assert upon the world the full impact of our influence, for such purposes as we see fit and by such means as we see fit. . . .

Consider the 20th Century. It is ours not only in the sense that we happen to live in it but ours also because it is America's first century as a dominant power in the world. So far, this century of ours has been a profound and tragic disappointment. No other century has been so big with promise for human progress and happiness. And in no one century have so many men and women and children suffered such pain and anguish and bitter death. . . .

What can we say about an American Century? It is meaningless merely to say that we reject isolationism and accept the logic of internationalism. What internationalism? Rome had a great internationalism. So had the Vatican and Genghis Khan and the Ottoman Turks and the Chinese Emperors and 19th Century England. After the first World War, Lenin had one in mind. Today Hitler seems to have one in mind—one which appeals strongly to some American isolationists whose opinion of Europe is so low that they would gladly hand it over to anyone who would guarantee to destroy it for ever. But what internationalism have we Americans to offer?

Ours cannot come out of the vision of any one man. It must be the product of the imaginations of many men. It must be

a sharing with all peoples of our Bill of Rights, our Declaration of Independence, our Constitution, our magnificent industrial products, our technical skills. It must be an internationalism of the people, by the people and for the people. . . .

Once we cease to distract ourselves with lifeless arguments about isolationism, we shall discover that there is already an immense American internationalism. American jazz, Hollywood movies, American slang, American machines and patented products, are in fact the only things that every community in the world, from Zanzibar to Hamburg, recognizes in common. Blindly, unintentionally, accidentally and really in spite of ourselves, we are already a world power in all the trivial ways—in very human ways. But there is a great deal more than that. America is already the intellectual, scientific and artistic capital of the world. Americans—Midwestern Americans—are today the least provincial people in the world. They have traveled the most and they know more about the world than the people of any other country. America's worldwide experience in commerce is also far greater than most of us realize.

Most important of all, we have that indefinable, unmistakable sign of leadership: prestige. And unlike the prestige of Rome or Genghis Khan or 19th Century England, American prestige throughout the world is faith in the good intentions as well as in the ultimate intelligence and ultimate strength of the whole American people. We have lost some of that prestige in the last few years. But most of it is still there.

* * *

No narrow definition can be given to the American internationalism of the 20th Century. It will take shape, as all civilizations take shape, by the living of it, by work and effort, by trial and error, by enterprise and adventure and experience.

And by imagination!

As America enters dynamically upon the world scene, we need most of all to seek and to bring forth a vision of America as a world power which is authentically American and which can inspire us to live and work and fight with vigor and enthusiasm. And as we come now to the great test, it may yet turn out that in all of our trials and tribulations of spirit during the first part of this century we as a people have been painfully apprehending the meaning of our time and now in this moment of testing there may come clear at last the vision which will guide us to the authentic creation of the 20th Century—our Century.

* * *

Consider four areas of life and thought in which we may seek to realize such a vision:

First, the economic. It is for America and for America alone to determine whether a system of free economic enter-

prise—an economic order compatible with freedom and progress—shall or shall not prevail in this century. We know perfectly well that there is not the slightest chance of anything faintly resembling a free economic system prevailing in this country if it prevails nowhere else. What then does America have to decide? Some few decisions are quite simple. For example: we have to decide whether or not we shall have for ourselves and our friends freedom of the seas—the right to go with our ships and our ocean-going airplanes where we wish, when we wish and as we wish. The vision of Americas [sic] as the principal guarantor of the freedom of the seas, the vision of America as the dynamic leader of world trade, has within it the possibilities of such enormous human progress as to stagger the imagination. Let us not be staggered by it. Let us rise to its tremendous possibilities. Our thinking of world trade today is on ridiculously small terms. For example, we think of Asia as being worth only a few hundred millions a year to us. Actually, in the decades to come Asia will be worth to us exactly zero—or else it will be worth to us four, five, ten billions of dollars a year. And the latter are the terms we must think in, or else confess a pitiful impotence.

Closely akin to the purely economic area and yet quite different from it, there is the picture of an America which will send out through the world its technical and artistic skills. Engineers, scientists, doctors, movie men, makers of entertainment, developers of airlines, builders of roads, teachers, educators. Throughout the world, these skills, this training, this leadership is needed and will be eagerly welcomed, if only we have the imagination to see it and the sincerity and good will to create the world of the 20th Century.

But now there is a third thing which our vision must immediately be concerned with. We must undertake now to be the Good Samaritan of the entire world. It is the manifest duty of this country to undertake to feed all the people of the world who as a result of this worldwide collapse of civilization are hungry and destitute—all of them, that is, whom we can from time to time reach consistently with a very tough attitude toward all hostile governments. For every dollar we spend on armaments, we should spend at least a dime in a gigantic effort to feed the world—and all the world should know that we have dedicated ourselves to this task. Every farmer in America should be encouraged to produce all the crops he can, and all that we cannot eat—and perhaps some of us could eat less—should forthwith be dispatched to the four quarters of the globe as a free gift, administered by a humanitarian army of Americans, to every man, woman and child on this earth, who is really hungry.

* * *

But all this is not enough. All this will fail and none of it will happen unless our vision of America as a world power

includes a passionate devotion to great American ideals. We have some things in this country which are infinitely precious and especially American—a love of freedom, a feeling for the equality of opportunity, a tradition of self-reliance and independence and also of co-operation. In addition to ideals and notions which are especially American, we are the inheritors of all the great principles of Western civilization—above all Justice, the love of Truth, the ideal of Charity. The other day Herbert Hoover said that America was fast becoming the sanctuary of the ideals of civilization. For the moment it may be enough to be the sanctuary of these ideals. But not for long. It now becomes our time to be the powerhouse from which the ideals spread throughout the world and do their mysterious work of lifting the life of mankind from the level of the beasts to what the Psalmist called a little lower than the angels.

America as the dynamic center of ever-widening spheres of enterprise, America as the training center of the skillful servants of mankind, America as the Good Samaritan, really believing again that it is more blessed to give than to receive, and America as the powerhouse of the ideals of Freedom and Justice—out of these elements surely can be fashioned a vision of the 20th Century to which we can and will devote ourselves in joy and gladness and vigor and enthusiasm. . . .

It is in this spirit that all of us are called, each to his own measure of capacity, and each in the widest horizon of his vision, to create the first great American Century.

Source: Henry Luce, “The American Century,” *Life*, February 1941. Reprinted in Michael J. Hogan, ed., *The Ambiguous Legacy: U.S. Foreign Relations in the “American Century”* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 11–29. Reprinted with permission of Time, Inc.

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2.5. “America First”

The America First Committee

Though President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his chief advisers were strongly interventionist in World War II, taking measures that effectively made American entry into the conflict more likely, opposition to the war also existed. The America First Committee was established in July 1940, as that year’s presidential election campaign gained momentum, to organize those forces who believed that the best way the United States could meet the ever more serious international crisis was by building up American defenses and by holding itself aloof from Europe. America First members argued that the European crisis, however deplorable, did not threaten U.S. security sufficiently to justify American intervention and that domestically, American involvement in war would be highly detrimental to the nation. Liberals believed that it would mean the end of New Deal reforms; conservatives, who already resented the expansion of governmental bureaucracy and functions during the 1930s, argued that intervention would further enhance the government’s role and bestow near-dictatorial powers upon Roosevelt, their greatest enemy. Though usually supportive of greater American defense spending and a strong military posture, America First members generally believed that their country should confine its activities to the Western Hemisphere. Most opposed such administration-backed measures as the summer 1940 Destroyers-for-Bases Deal, the passage and implementation of Selective Service legislation in September 1940, the Lend-Lease Act of spring 1941, and the various naval measures whereby the Roosevelt administration moved ever closer to war with Germany.

About the Author

The best known member of America First was the famed aviator Charles Lindbergh, who won international celebrity in 1927 when he became the first person to make a solo flight across the Atlantic. Tragedy struck in 1932, when his two-year-old son, Charles Jr., was kidnapped and killed, a highly publicized crime that led Lindbergh, his wife, and their growing family to spend much of the later 1930s living in Europe, only returning to the United States in April 1939, as general European war seemed ever more likely. During these years, Lindbergh frequently visited Germany, where he was welcomed as an honored guest and invited to inspect German military installations, especially the aviation facilities. In retrospect, it seems that German officials deliberately gave Lindbergh an inflated idea of their own aerial capabilities, though at the time when he left Europe these were still almost certainly superior to those of Great Britain and France. Even after the Battle of Britain, Lindbergh remained convinced

that Germany had gained irreversible air superiority over its opponents.

Lindbergh believed that the outbreak of general European war was a terrible mistake that would erode the international position of the “Anglo-Saxon” powers, in whose racial and political superiority he believed, and destroy Western civilization; he therefore hoped that Britain and Germany would soon reach a negotiated settlement. From September 1939 until Pearl Harbor in December 1941, Lindbergh was one of the most prominent Americans publicly to oppose American intervention in the developing European war. Working closely with anti-interventionist Republican opponents of Roosevelt, he wrote numerous articles, gave frequent speeches, and appeared before congressional committees, opposing the Destroyers-for-Bases Deal, Selective Service legislation, and Lend-Lease, and urging his countrymen to improve American defenses but hold strictly aloof from European affairs. His antagonism to the Roosevelt administration’s policies was sharpened by earlier disputes during the 1930s over the introduction of airmail postal services. Only in April 1941, however, did Lindbergh join the America First Committee after careful reflection over whether its attitude and objectives coincided with his own. After Germany invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, Lindbergh also warned that neither the United States nor Britain was justified in joining forces with a communist power with whom they had nothing in common except their shared antagonism to Hitler.

Lindbergh’s role as one of the best-known antiwar spokesmen carried a personal price. His wife, Anne Morrow Lindbergh, daughter of a partner in J. P. Morgan and Company, a fervently pro-British New York private bank that served as Allied purchasing and financial agent during World War I, loyally though perhaps rather unhappily supported him. Her sister, however, was married to Aubrey Morgan, a key official in the New York-based British Information Service, and her mother was a prominent member of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies (CDAAA). For his part, Lindbergh warned that the British were encouraging American intervention for entirely self-interested reasons, to save them from otherwise inevitable defeat.

Lindbergh’s anti-interventionist stance soon brought allegations that he was a fascist sympathizer and perhaps even in German pay, charges elaborated in a 28-page pamphlet, *Is Lindbergh a Nazi?*, which American interventionists published in September 1941. Such accusations were given added force later that month when Lindbergh addressed a meeting in Des Moines, Iowa, and listed American Jews, with “their large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio, and our Government” (Cole 1974, 172)

among those groups who were promoting American intervention in the European war for their own ends. Naively at best, he warned that, if war came, American Jews might well face discrimination, even persecution, at home. Lindbergh’s ill-considered though undoubtedly sincere remarks, made against his wife’s advice, immediately raised a storm of protest and denunciation from Jews, Protestants, Catholics, newspapers, and politicians of every stripe, many of whom called upon America First—which split over his remarks—to repudiate Lindbergh. His reputation remained permanently tarnished by this episode, and his expressed beliefs in eugenics and the superiority of Western civilization lent charges of anti-Semitism additional credibility. At best, the speech revealed a near-foolhardy political insensitivity and imprudence that rebounded extremely detrimentally upon both Lindbergh and the cause he was representing.

About the Document

The radio address given here was less controversial than Lindbergh’s notorious Des Moines speech. Lindbergh delivered it just after formally affiliating himself with the America First Committee, an association that meant he added all that organization’s enemies to his existing opponents. Like any public address, Lindbergh’s speech was designed to win over his audience to his own viewpoint. This did not, of course, mean that his arguments were insincere; indeed, all we know of Lindbergh suggests that he spoke from deep conviction and at a considerable sacrifice of the personal privacy he greatly valued. Lindbergh based his antiwar position upon three fundamental propositions: that, if the United States should go to war with Germany, it could not win; that it was possible for his country to remain aloof from the war without compromising essential American interests; and that the great majority of Americans strongly opposed intervention.

Lindbergh set forth what remained his very pragmatic conviction right up to Pearl Harbor that the United States was still unprepared for war and therefore should not involve itself in a conflict it could not win. In 1938 and 1939, he had based his pessimistic assessments of British and French abilities to resist Germany upon similar material calculations. Much of what he said as to the contemporary unreadiness of the American military was undoubtedly true. It remains interesting that Lindbergh, a skilled engineer who prided himself on his rational assessment of military and industrial capabilities, was unable to predict the rapidity with which the United States would eventually mobilize itself for war, the inability of German factories to match those of the United States on a long-term basis, or even Britain’s ability to withstand the German assaults of the Battle of Britain and the Blitz. British attempts to draw the United States into war

were, in his view, entirely self-interested. Apart from making the pragmatic argument that, should his country go to war against Germany, it could not win, Lindbergh contended that Germany would not attack the United States first. The most prudent strategy for his country, he believed, was to strengthen its own defenses in the Western Hemisphere and make that area an unshakable bastion of Western civilization. Drawing on time-hallowed tradition, he invoked the policies of George Washington, first president of the United States, and the Monroe Doctrine in justification of “the maintenance of armed forces sufficient to defend this hemisphere from attack by any combination of foreign powers.”

Finally, Lindbergh played the democratic card, charging that 80 percent of Americans were opposed to U.S. intervention and that efforts to move the country toward war were therefore undemocratic. Lindbergh, the son of a populist Minnesota congressman who was deeply suspicious of New York banks and the “money trust,” was always somewhat socially ill at ease among the elite East Coast circles into which he married. The way in which patricians such as the Morgan partners and other staunch supporters of the pro-Allied groups the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies and Fight for Freedom (FFF), admittedly working closely with Roosevelt administration officials, arrogated to themselves the right to set the national agenda left him uncomfortable. “We have been led toward war,” he charged, “by a minority of our people,” with “power,” “influence” and “a loud voice,” but a minority that, in his view, “d[id] not represent the American people.” In a tactic more astute politicians would later emulate, he claimed to be speaking for the majority of ordinary people, “[o]ver a hundred million,” who “[we]re opposed to entering the war” but had no real voice in politics. The irony here, of course, was that Lindbergh himself, speaking first on his own behalf and then for the pressure group America First, could not claim to be any more democratic or representative of the American people than were the CDAAA or FFF groups, who were at least working closely with the Roosevelt administration. Lindbergh had not, as he might have done, made any effort to run for political office in the 1940 election. However unenthusiastic the American people were for war and however slippery the president might be, when Roosevelt won in November 1940 with a solid majority, few who supported him could have doubted that he was strongly pro-Allied in sympathy and ready to make considerable efforts to assist the British in their war against Germany. Such factors may have been one reason for the increasing desperation with which Lindbergh made a case he believed to be rational, could he but persuade others to share his viewpoint, and for the fact that he eventually resorted to arguments that so drastically and lastingly backfired on him.

Primary Source

Charles A. Lindbergh, Radio Address, 23 April 1941

There are many viewpoints from which the issues of this war can be argued. Some are primarily idealistic. Some are primarily practical. One should, I believe, strive for a balance of both. But, since the subjects that can be covered in a single address are limited, tonight I shall discuss the war from a viewpoint which is primarily practical. It is not that I believe ideals are unimportant, even among the realities of war; but if a nation is to survive in a hostile world, its ideals must be backed by the hard logic of military practicability. If the outcome of war depended upon ideals alone, this would be a different world than it is today.

I know I will be severely criticized by the interventionists in America when I say we should not enter a war unless we have a reasonable chance of winning. That, they will claim, is far too materialistic a viewpoint. They will advance again the same arguments that were used to persuade France to declare war against Germany in 1939. But I do not believe that our American ideals, and our way of life, will gain through an unsuccessful war. And I know that the United States is not prepared to wage war in Europe successfully at this time. We are no better prepared today than France was when the interventionists in Europe persuaded her to attack the Siegfried line.

I have said it before, and I will say it again, that I believe it will be a tragedy to the entire world if the British Empire collapses. That is one of the main reasons why I opposed this war before it was declared and why I have constantly advocated a negotiated peace. I did not feel that England and France had a reasonable chance of winning. France has now been defeated; and, despite the propaganda and confusion of recent months, it is now obvious that England is losing the war. I believe this is realized even by the British Government. But they have one last desperate plan remaining. They hope that they may be able to persuade us to send another American Expeditionary Force to Europe, and to share with England militarily, as well as financially, the fiasco of this war.

I do not blame England for this hope, or for asking for our assistance. But we now know that she declared a war under circumstances which led to the defeat of every nation that sided with her from Poland to Greece. We know that in the desperation of war England promised to all those nations armed assistance that she could not send. We know that she misinformed them, as she has misinformed us, concerning her state of preparation, her military strength, and the progress of the war.

In time of war, truth is always replaced by propaganda. I do not believe that we should be too quick to criticize the

actions of a belligerent nation. There is always the question whether we, ourselves, would do better under similar circumstances. But we in this country have a right to think of the welfare of America first, just as the people in England thought first of their own country when they encouraged the smaller nations of Europe to fight against hopeless odds. When England asks us to enter this war, she is considering her own future and that of her Empire. In making our reply, I believe we should consider the future of the United States and that of the Western Hemisphere.

It is not only our right, but it is our obligation as American citizens, to look at this war objectively and to weigh our chances for success if we should enter it. I have attempted to do this, especially from the standpoint of aviation; and I have been forced to the conclusion that we cannot win this war for England, regardless of how much assistance we extend.

I ask you to look at the map of Europe today and see if you can suggest any way in which we could win this war if we entered it. Suppose we had a large army in America, trained and equipped. Where would we send it to fight? The campaigns of the war show only too clearly how difficult it is to force a landing, or to maintain an army, on a hostile coast.

Suppose we took our Navy from the Pacific and used it to convoy British shipping. That would not win the war for England. It would, at best, permit her to exist under the constant bombing of the German air fleet. Suppose we had an air force that we could send to Europe. Where could it operate? Some of our squadrons might be based in the British Isles, but it is physically impossible to base enough aircraft in the British Isles alone to equal in strength the aircraft that can be based on the continent of Europe.

I have asked these questions on the supposition that we had in existence an Army and an air force large enough and well enough equipped to send to Europe; and that we would dare to remove our Navy from the Pacific. Even on this basis, I do not see how we could invade the continent of Europe successfully as long as all of that continent and most of Asia is under Axis domination. But the fact is that none of these suppositions are correct. We have only a one-ocean Navy. Our Army is still untrained and inadequately equipped for foreign war. Our air force is deplorably lacking in modern fighting planes.

When these facts are cited, the interventionists shout that we are defeatists, that we are undermining the principles of democracy, and that we are giving comfort to Germany by talking about our military weakness. But everything I mention here has been published in our newspapers and in the reports of congressional hearings in Washington. Our military position is well known to the governments of Europe and Asia. Why, then, should it not be brought to the attention of our own people.

I say it is the interventionists in America as it was in England and in France, who give aid and comfort to the enemy. I say it is they who are undermining the principles of democracy when they demand that we take a course to which more than 80 percent of our citizens are opposed. I charge them with being the real defeatists, for their policy has led to the defeat of every country that followed their advice since this war began. There is no better way to give comfort to an enemy than to divide the people of a nation over the issue of foreign war. There is no shorter road to defeat than by entering a war with inadequate preparation. Every nation that has adopted the interventionist policy of depending upon someone else for its own defense has met with nothing but defeat and failure. . . .

There is a policy open to this Nation that will lead to success—a policy that leaves us free to follow our own way of life and to develop our own civilization. It is not a new and untried idea. It was advocated by Washington. It was incorporated in the Monroe Doctrine. Under its guidance the United States became the greatest Nation in the world.

It is based upon the belief that the security of a nation lies in the strength and character of its own people. It recommends the maintenance of armed forces sufficient to defend this hemisphere from attack by any combination of foreign powers. It demands faith in an independent American destiny. This is the policy of the America First Committee today. It is a policy not of isolation, but of independence; not of defeat, but of courage. It is a policy that led this Nation to success during the most trying years of our history, and it is a policy that will lead us to success again. . . .

The United States is better situated from a military standpoint than any other nation in the world. Even in our present condition of unpreparedness no foreign power is in a position to invade us today. If we concentrate on our own defenses and build the strength that this Nation should maintain, no foreign army will ever attempt to land on American shores.

War is not inevitable for this country. Such a claim is defeatism in the true sense. No one can make us fight abroad unless we ourselves are willing to do so. No one will attempt to fight us here if we arm ourselves as a great nation should be armed. Over a hundred million people in this Nation are opposed to entering the war. If the principles of democracy mean anything at all, that is reason enough for us to stay out. If we are forced into a war against the wishes of an overwhelming majority of our people, we will have proved democracy such a failure at home that there will be little use fighting for it abroad.

The time has come when those of us who believe in an independent American destiny must band together and organize for strength. We have been led toward war by a minority of our people. This minority has power. It has influ-

ence. It has a loud voice. But it does not represent the American people. During the last several years I have traveled over this country from one end to the other. I have talked to many hundreds of men and women, and have letters from tens of thousands more, who feel the same way as you and I.

Most of these people have no influence or power. Most of them have no means of expressing their convictions, except by their vote which has always been against this war. They are the citizens who have had to work too hard at their daily jobs to organize political meetings. Hitherto, they have relied upon their vote to express their feelings; but now they find that it is hardly remembered except in the oratory of a political campaign. These people, the majority of hard-working American citizens, are with us. They are the true strength of our country. And they are beginning to realize, as you and I, that there are times when we must sacrifice our normal interests in life in order to insure the safety and the welfare of our Nation.

Such a time has come. Such a crisis is here. That is why the America First Committee has been formed—to give voice to the people who have no newspaper, or newsreel, or radio station at their command; to the people who must do the paying, and the fighting, and the dying if this country enters the war.

Source: Charles A. Lindbergh, Radio Address, 23 April 1941. Reprinted in T. H. Breen, ed., *The Power of Words: Documents in American History*, Vol. 2, *From 1865* (New York: Harper Collins, 1996), pp. 172–174. Reprinted with permission of Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

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2.6. Hitler's Decision to Invade the Soviet Union, June 1941

Adolf Hitler's Invasion of Russia

In retrospect, one of the two worst military decisions Führer Adolf Hitler of Germany ever made—the second being his declaration of war on the United States in December 1941—was the launching in June 1941 of Operation BARBAROSSA, the invasion of Soviet Russia. He did so despite the misgivings of his senior military advisers, who believed that, given continuing serious warfare against Great Britain and in the Middle East, Germany should concentrate all its resources on those operational theaters. Hitler disregarded this advice and broke his Non-aggression Pact with the Soviet Union a little less than two years after he had concluded it. Although his campaign met with swift and easy success in its early weeks, by the end of the year, German forces were bogged down in front of Moscow, Russia's symbolic heartland. A brutal winter, overextended supply lines, savage partisan resistance, and stubborn opposition from Soviet troops culminated in August 1942–February 1943 in the Battle of Stalingrad, the turning point of the war. Though the Soviet army and people lost something in the region of 26 million dead, the German army also suffered by far its heaviest casualties on that front, which devoured the Wehrmacht's (German army's) finest divisions. Another cross his troops had to bear was the fact that Hitler's own military orders, though sometimes brilliant, were on other occasions ill-conceived, as when in August 1941 he divided his forces in Russia rather than concentrating all on a knockout blow against Moscow. Even if Germany had refrained from declaring war on the United States six months later, the Russian campaign would probably have sufficed to wear Germany down in a protracted war of attrition.

The Relationship between Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini

As Europe's two leading Fascist dictators, Hitler and Mussolini had a somewhat uneasy relationship. In terms of seniority, Mussolini came to power 10 years before Hitler, but in terms of effective military strength, Germany soon overshadowed Italy. From November 1937 onward, the two countries were associated, together with Japan, in the Anti-Comintern Pact, expanded in September 1940 into the Tripartite Pact, but this agreement did not necessarily make them genuine equals. Mussolini's triumphs in Abyssinia were swiftly dwarfed by German successes in remilitarizing the Rhineland, annexing Austria and Czechoslovakia, and then overrunning Norway, Denmark, the Low Countries, and eventually France. In practice, Hitler was far more bellicose

than the blustering but often cautious Mussolini, who tried never to enter a fight he thought he might not win. In August 1939, Mussolini had originally promised to join Germany in war against Poland, a pledge withdrawn in nervous haste when Britain and France gave formal military guarantees to Poland, whereupon Hitler deferred by five days his invasion of Poland while he and his generals decided whether they should still go ahead. Mussolini only entered the war against France in mid-June 1940, when German victory was expected within a few days, arriving just in time to lay claim to assorted useful patches of territory. German forces had to rescue Italian troops from initial disaster in the poorly executed 1940–1941 campaign against Greece, and in the North African desert, German Field Marshal Erwin Rommel effectively took over operations against the British. Although some Italian units fought courageously in Russia, for the most part, German leaders regarded their Italian ally as a rather weak reed.

Even so, Hitler and Mussolini each represented the best ally either was likely to find and, by summer 1940, were both at war with the British Empire and increasingly at odds with the United States. Though there was no real joint strategic consultation and coordination between them of the kind that would quickly develop between Great Britain, the United States, and even the Soviet Union once all were at war, Italian and German leaders found it necessary at least to inform each other of major strategic decisions. In regular exchanges of correspondence, they apprised each other of their own military progress (such bulletins tended to be fuller, faster, and more expansive when there were successes to report), requested assistance of various kinds, and discussed the conduct of other leaders, hostile, friendly, or neutral.

About the Document

This letter from Hitler to Mussolini, announcing his decision to invade the Soviet Union the following day, was one of the more important missives among their regular correspondence. Captured by the Allies at the end of World War II, these documents were subsequently published in their original languages and also translated into English. To avoid international embarrassment, correspondence between heads of state often remains classified for many decades, but in this case, the circumstances ensured that the exchanges between Hitler and Mussolini became public within a few years of their countries' World War II defeat. Although the German and Italian Foreign Offices, who were responsible for transmitting messages—in this case by cable—between Hitler and Mussolini, were almost certainly aware of their contents, it is apparent that the leaders themselves normally drafted their letters to each other. Though letters between two heads of state are rarely entirely frank—they undoubtedly sought to impress, to

make their own case to, and on occasion to obtain concessions from each other—the correspondence of Hitler and Mussolini bears the stamp of their own individual personalities.

In this instance, Hitler faced the challenge of explaining why he had embarked on yet another major military venture while still facing a serious war against Britain in Europe and the Middle East, together with problems in the Balkans. It is worth noting that he only informed Mussolini of his plans, whose outcome would almost certainly be highly important to Italy as well as Germany, one day before the invasion of Russia began. As fairly often happens even in alliances—and as, to be fair, Mussolini himself had recently done in Greece—one partner acted without bothering to consult the other. In this case, Hitler could appeal to the common ideological antipathy that, as good fascists, he and Mussolini were supposed to harbor toward all communist nations. As he so often had done in the past before attacking another state, he alleged that the Soviet Union was planning aggressive action against him, massing its troops on what was now its border with Germany in an effort to “extort” concessions while Hitler was preoccupied with the war against Britain. Some revisionist historians have recently tried to suggest that Soviet President Josef Stalin was at this juncture contemplating launching a war against Germany, but the evidence for this is unconvincing. Russian military forces were still recovering from the purges of the 1930s, the Soviet Union was assiduously supplying much useful war matériel to Germany, and Stalin ignored numerous warnings from outside sources, including the Allies, that Hitler was about to launch an invasion.

Hitler clearly resented Soviet gains in the Baltic republics and Poland and told Mussolini he feared that, if he turned all his attention to the projected invasion of England, he would leave the east open to further stealthy Soviet depredations. He argued that, if he simply left things as they were and did nothing for a year, Britain would become steadily less willing to sue for peace; the interim would enable the British to appreciably improve their position, as supplies from the United States arrived in ever greater amounts. Assuming that, even though the campaign would “surely be difficult,” his forces would nonetheless be rapidly victorious in Russia, Hitler argued that this would have a drastic impact on British morale but skated over the possibility that these operations would also remove the worst of the German pressure from Britain and give that enemy a badly needed breathing space. Perhaps Hitler’s most significant remark on Russia was that he felt “spiritually free” now that he had reached the decision to break “[t]he partnership with the Soviet Union” and return to his older ideological orientation. A long string of quick military victories had apparently given him almost unbounded confidence that German troops could repeat these against the

country that, ever since he wrote *Mein Kampf* (1924), he had portrayed as Germany's ultimate opponent.

Hitler was very frank in discussing other European states with Mussolini, warning quite accurately that Vichy "France is, as ever, not to be trusted" and that it was impossible to guarantee that France's North African territories would not "suddenly desert" and that "irresolute" Spain "will take sides only when the outcome of the war is decided." He was far too confident in dismissing the potential of both Britain and the United States as enemies of Germany. He did, however, express the hope that a German attack on Russia would embolden Japan, whose foreign minister had recently visited Berlin and also signed a Non-aggression Pact with the Soviet Union, to move more aggressively against the United States in East Asia. Hitler thanked Mussolini for his offer of at least one corps of Italian troops for the Eastern Front, which he accepted; asked that Il Duce also build up his forces in North Africa for a potential offensive against British interests there; and requested him to carry the air and submarine war against the British into the Mediterranean. Surely seeking to flatter Mussolini, Hitler told him such assistance might be decisive to the war's overall successful outcome. He also assured Mussolini that he was leaving adequate forces in Western Europe to hold down and occupy those areas and that, if British aerial attacks on Germany intensified, the Luftwaffe had more than enough bomber and fighter squadrons to defend the homeland and retaliate against Britain.

Hitler's letter to Mussolini provides interesting insight into his state of mind at this crucial juncture of the war, when by breaking his August 1939 agreement with the Soviet Union, which had been one of his greatest diplomatic coups, he made what was probably his worst decision of the war. Though Hitler obviously sought to reassure Mussolini that his war against the Soviet Union was not only justified but, even more significantly, could be won without great detriment to German and Axis strategic interests elsewhere, unless he himself genuinely believed this to be the case, he would hardly have embarked on this new venture. He was clearly quite confident that German forces would triumph in Russia and could then turn back to the task of mopping up remaining British redoubts in the Middle East, the Mediterranean, and the British Isles themselves. Although the war would by then have lasted longer than he had initially planned, Hitler still seems to have expected that it would be over in the near future, perhaps within a year. Though even greater detail would make it yet more valuable, in most respects, it would be difficult to improve on this letter to his closest ally as a revelation, written just one day before his invasion of Russia, of Hitler's broad perspective on the challenges of the war that still lay ahead of him.

Primary Source

Adolf Hitler to Benito Mussolini, 21 June 1941

Duce!

I am writing this letter to you at a moment when months of anxious deliberation and continuous nerve-racking waiting are ending in the hardest decision of my life. I believe—after seeing the latest Russian situation map and after appraisal of numerous other reports—that I cannot take the responsibility for waiting longer, and above all, I believe that there is no other way of obviating this danger—unless it be further waiting, which, however, would necessarily lead to disaster in this or the next year at the latest.

The situation: England has lost this war. With the right of the drowning person, she grasps at every straw which, in her imagination, might serve as a sheet anchor. Nevertheless, some of her hopes are naturally not without a certain logic. England has thus far always conducted her wars with help from the Continent. The destruction of France—in fact, the elimination of all west-European positions—is directing the glances of the British warmongers continually to the place from which they tried to start the war: to Soviet Russia.

Both countries, Soviet Russia and England, are equally interested in a Europe fallen into ruin, rendered prostrate by a long war. Behind these two countries stands the North American Union goading them on and watchfully waiting. Since the liquidation of Poland, there is evident in Soviet Russia a consistent trend, which, even if cleverly and cautiously, is nevertheless reverting firmly to the old Bolshevik tendency to expansion of the Soviet State. The prolongation of the war necessary for this purpose is to be achieved by tying up German forces in the East, so that—particularly in the air—the German Command can no longer vouch for a large-scale attack in the West. I declared to you only recently, Duce, that it was precisely the success of the experiment in Crete that demonstrated how necessary it is to make use of every single airplane in the much greater project against England. It may well happen that in this decisive battle we would win with a superiority of only a few squadrons. I shall not hesitate a moment to undertake such a responsibility if, aside from all other conditions, I at least possess the one certainty that I will not then suddenly be attacked or even threatened from the East. The concentration of Russian forces—I had General Jodl submit the most recent map to your Attaché here, General Maras—is tremendous. Really, all available Russian forces are at our border. Moreover, since the approach of warm weather, work has been proceeding on numerous defenses. If circumstances should give me cause to employ the German air force against England, there is danger that Russia will then begin its strategy of extortion in the South and North, to which I would have to yield in silence, simply

from a feeling of air inferiority. It would, above all, not then be possible for me without adequate support from an air force, to attack the Russian fortifications with the divisions stationed in the East. If I do not wish to expose myself to this danger, then perhaps the whole year of 1941 will go by without any change in the general situation. On the contrary, England will be all the less ready for peace, for it will be able to pin its hopes on the Russian partner. Indeed, this hope must naturally even grow with the progress in preparedness of the Russian armed forces. And behind this is the mass delivery of war material from America which they hope to get in 1942.

Aside from this, Duce, it is not even certain whether I shall have this time, for with so gigantic a concentration of forces on both sides—for I also was compelled to place more and more armored units on the eastern border, also to call Finland's and Rumania's attention to the danger—there is the possibility that the shooting will start spontaneously at any moment. A withdrawal on my part would, however, entail a serious loss of prestige for us. This would be particularly unpleasant in its possible effect on Japan. I have, therefore, after constantly racking my brains, finally reached the decision to cut the noose before it can be drawn tight. I believe, Duce, that I am hereby rendering probably the best possible service to our joint conduct of the war this year. For my overall view is now as follows:

1. France is, as ever, not to be trusted. Absolute surety that North Africa will not suddenly desert does not exist.
2. North Africa itself, insofar as your colonies, Duce, are concerned, is probably out of danger until fall. I assume that the British, in their last attack, wanted to relieve Tobruk. I do not believe they will soon be in a position to repeat this.
3. Spain is irresolute and—I am afraid—will take sides only when the outcome of the war is decided.
4. In Syria, French resistance can hardly be maintained permanently either with or without our help.
5. An attack on Egypt before autumn is out of the question altogether. I consider it necessary, however, taking into account the whole situation, to give thought to the development of an operational unit in Tripoli itself which can, if necessary, also be launched against the West. Of course, Duce, the strictest silence must be maintained with regard to these ideas, for otherwise we cannot expect France to continue to grant permission to use its ports for the transportation of arms and munitions.
6. Whether or not America enters the war is a matter of indifference, inasmuch as she supports our opponent with all the power she is able to mobilize.

7. The situation in England itself is bad; the provision of food and raw materials is growing steadily more difficult. The martial spirit to make war, after all, lives only on hopes. These hopes are based solely on two assumptions: Russia and America. We have no chance of eliminating America. But it does lie in our power to exclude Russia. The elimination of Russia means, at the same time, a tremendous relief for Japan in East Asia, and thereby the possibility of a much stronger threat to American activities through Japanese intervention.

I have decided under these circumstances as I already mentioned, to put an end to the hypocritical performance in the Kremlin. I assume, that is to say, I am convinced, that Finland, and likewise Rumania, will forthwith take part in this conflict, which will ultimately free Europe, for the future also, of a great danger. General Maras informed us that you, Duce, wish also to make available at least one corps. If you have that intention, Duce—which I naturally accept with a heart filled with gratitude—the time for carrying it out will still be sufficiently long, for in this immense theater of war the troops cannot be assembled at all points at the same time anyway. You, Duce, can give the decisive aid, however, by strengthening your forces in North Africa, also, if possible, looking from Tripoli toward the West, by proceeding further to build up a group which, though it be small at first, can march into France in case of a French violation of the treaty; and finally, by carrying the air war and, so far as it is possible, the submarine war, in intensified degree, into the Mediterranean.

So far as the security of the territories in the West is concerned, from Norway to and including France, we are strong enough there—so far as army troops are concerned—to meet any eventuality with lightning speed. So far as air war on England is concerned, we shall, for a time remain on the defensive—but this does not mean that we might be incapable of countering British attacks on Germany; on the contrary, we shall, if necessary, be in a position to start ruthless bombing attacks on British home territory. Our fighter defense, too, will be adequate. It consists of the best squadrons that we have.

As far as the war in the East is concerned, Duce, it will surely be difficult, but I do not entertain a second's doubt as to its great success. I hope, above all, that it will then be possible for us to secure a common food-supply base in the Ukraine for some time to come, which will furnish us such additional supplies as we may need in the future. I may state at this point, however, that, as far as we can tell now, this year's German harvest promises to be a very good one. It is conceivable that Russia will try to destroy the Rumanian oil region. We have built up a defense that will—or so I think—prevent the worst. Moreover, it is the duty of our armies to eliminate this threat as rapidly as possible.

I waited until this moment, Duce, to send you this information, because the final decision itself will not be made until 7 o'clock tonight. I earnestly beg you, therefore, to refrain, above all, from making any explanation to your Ambassador at Moscow, for there is no absolute guarantee that our coded reports cannot be decoded. I, too, shall wait until the last moment to have my own Ambassador informed of the decisions reached.

The material that I now contemplate publishing gradually, is so exhaustive that the world will have more occasion to wonder at our forbearance than at our decision, except for that part of the world which opposes us on principle and for which, therefore, arguments are of use.

Whatever may now come, Duce, our situation can become no worse as a result of this step; it can only improve. Even if I should be obliged at the end of this year to leave 60 or 70 divisions in Russia, that is only a fraction of the forces that I am now continually using on the eastern front. Should England nevertheless not draw any conclusions from the hard facts that present themselves, then we can, with our rear secured, apply ourselves with increased strength to the dispatching of our opponent. I can promise you, Duce, that what lies in our German power, will be done.

Any desires, suggestions, and assistance of which you, Duce, wish to inform me in the contingency before us, I would request that you either communicate to me personally or have them agreed upon directly by our military authorities.

In conclusion, let me say one more thing, Duce. Since struggling through to this decision, I again feel spiritually free. The partnership with the Soviet Union, in spite of the complete sincerity of the efforts to bring about a final conciliation, was nevertheless often very irksome to me, for in some way or other it seemed to me to be a break with my whole origin, my concepts, and my former obligations. I am happy now to be relieved of these mental agonies.

Source: U.S., Department of State, *Nazi-Soviet Relations 1939–1941: Documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Office* eds. Raymond James Sontag and James Stuart Beddie, i.e., (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office), pp. 349–353.

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2.7. Pearl Harbor, 7 December 1941: Japanese and American Views

Pearl Harbor, 7 December 1941

On 7 December 1941 an unexpected Japanese attack on the U.S. naval base in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, headquarters of the Pacific Fleet, marked the opening of the Pacific War. Skillfully planned by Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku, commander in chief of the Japanese Combined Fleet, the operation was designed to destroy the American fleet. Japanese leaders hoped thereby to gain a year's breathing space, during which they would take control of all Southeast Asia, and that afterwards the United States, faced with a *fait accompli*, would be prepared to reach a negotiated peace settlement leaving Japan with its gains intact. They failed to anticipate how swiftly American forces would recover and regain their strength in the Pacific. Although Japanese diplomats initially intended to hand American officials in Washington a declaration of war approximately an hour before the assault started, slowness in transcribing this message meant that it was not delivered until half an hour after the raid began. Popular resentment of what was generally considered an unheralded sneak attack contributed to American determination to fight Japan to the finish.

Operationally, Pearl Harbor was implemented with exceptional skill. As a Japanese task force under Admiral Nagumo Chūichi approached Pearl Harbor in late November, it maintained radio silence for several days so that American and British scanners would be unable to locate its position. On 7 December 1941, Nagumo dispatched 352 aircraft toward Pearl Harbor. Beginning at 7:55 a.m., Hawaiian time, the Japanese launched a two-wave air attack against shore installations and the U.S. Pacific Fleet itself, then at anchorage in Pearl Harbor. Within two hours, Japanese aircraft had destroyed or seriously damaged 18 American vessels, including 8 battleships, 3 light cruisers, 3 destroyers, and 4 auxiliary craft. Some 73 aircraft were destroyed and 120 damaged,

most of them on the ground at Hickham Field. The raid, the worst foreign attack to occur on American soil until the 11 September 2001, destruction of the New York World Trade Center towers, left 2,403 Americans dead and a further 1,178 wounded. Japanese losses included 29 planes, 1 large and 5 midget submarines, and 64 men. The Japanese failed, however, to eliminate two aircraft carriers, which were then at sea, and also left unscathed the machine shops and oil storage tanks with 4.5 million barrels of fuel oil, all vitally important to the Pacific Fleet's subsequent ability to recover.

About the Authors

By August 1945, when Japan surrendered, Fuchida Mitsuo was the only pilot still living who had taken part in the Pearl Harbor attack. Fuchida, who fought numerous air battles over China in the late 1930s, was considered one of Japan's most able and experienced pilots, the reason he was chosen to lead the Pearl Harbor attack. Returning to base afterwards, he transmitted the famous radio message "Tora! Tora! Tora!" (Tiger, Tiger, Tiger) indicating that his force's mission was accomplished. Badly wounded at the Battle of Midway in 1942, Fuchida thereafter held various staff positions. Japan's defeat in August 1945 left him severely depressed, and he became a peasant farmer. In 1952, he converted to Christianity and became a well-known traveling evangelist in the United States. Fuchida published studies of Pearl Harbor and Midway and recorded extensive oral histories on his World War II military experiences, the basis of a subsequent biography by Gordon W. Prange.

In 1941, Earl Nightingale was a young marine corporal. One of the relatively few 334 survivors from the USS *Arizona*, on which 1,177 crewmen lost their lives, he spent five more years in the U.S. military. When the war was over, Nightingale became a radio announcer, first in Phoenix, Arizona, and then in Chicago, after which he bought and ran an insurance company. Nightingale eventually became a leading author of inspirational, motivational, and self-improvement literature. With a friend, he established a publishing company that soon became a multi-million dollar business. According to their publicity, their daily five-minute "radio program, *Our Changing World*, . . . became the longest-running, most widely syndicated show in radio" (Winner Strategies Inc. 2004).

About the Documents

Both these documents are personal accounts by individuals who took part in a battle and survived to tell the tale. Every war is ultimately fought by thousands, even millions, of individual combatants, each of whom usually sees only his small piece of the action taking place. Since the mid-twentieth century, perhaps even before, oral history programs have made

Herculean efforts to record the memories of ordinary people, not just the elite. Even such endeavors, however, tend to be disproportionately dominated by the more articulate. It is probably not entirely coincidental that for several decades after World War II, both Fuchida and Nightingale had lengthy careers as speakers and writers. Since both were designed for publication or something very close to it, their oral histories were also relatively polished, a final product rather than a rough draft.

Because both Fuchida and Nightingale played their separate parts in Pearl Harbor and were moreover fortunate enough to survive until the end of the war—by their nature, the dead do not record *ex post facto* oral histories—they became recognized as authorities on that event. Nightingale's oral history is part of the official USS *Arizona* commemorative web site, and Fuchida became an important source for such well-known historians as Gordon W. Prange. For each, Pearl Harbor was undoubtedly one of the high spots of their respective careers, its details etched on their memories as they dined out and lectured on that particular story for decades. For Fuchida, Pearl Harbor was one of the great triumphs of his career, a display of professional skill in which—notwithstanding Japan's subsequent defeat—he could take justifiable pride and an accomplishment deservedly admired by other pilots of all nationalities. For Nightingale, Pearl Harbor was a providential escape from the death that entrapped so many of his shipmates. Over time, the oft-told narratives of these two men may well have crystallized into a slightly stylized and formalized pattern, but one can be quite certain that neither was likely to forget the day of Pearl Harbor. Each gave a vivid and immediate account of his own part in that battle; Fuchida from on high, dropping his bombs, watching the damage inflicted by the 352 airplanes he commanded, and trying to avoid fierce anti-aircraft fire; and Nightingale from below, trying to survive the destruction of his ship, where more than half of all Pearl Harbor deaths occurred.

Oral histories and similar recollections are usually particularly valuable in conveying two types of information: accounts, as in this case, of specific well-remembered and highly significant events that were high points in the narrators' lives; and broad general outlines of routines and experiences, such as, for example, what it was like to train and serve as a U.S. marine corporal or a top Japanese pilot. As a rule, oral histories are usually far less reliable when narrators try to describe lengthy chronological sequences of events with any accuracy, a whole series of aerial raids, for example, or a battleship's operational history over months or even years. Human memory is fallible, and though it is easy to recall a crucial and unique episode, which Pearl Harbor undoubtedly was, comparable incidents

are quite easily confused with each other. Oral histories often provide details missing from the official record, but whenever possible, their overall accuracy should always be checked against whatever documentary evidence may be available.

Primary Source

A) Japanese Air Force Commander Mitsuo Fuchida Recalls Pearl Harbor

One hour and forty minutes after leaving the carriers I knew that we should be nearing our goal. Small openings in the thick cloud cover afforded occasional glimpses of the ocean, as I strained my eyes for the first sight of land. Suddenly a long white line of breaking surf appeared directly beneath my plane. It was the northern shore of Oahu.

Veering right toward the west coast of the island, we could see that the sky over Pearl Harbor was clear. Presently the harbor itself became visible across the central Oahu plain, a film of morning mist hovering over it. I peered intently through my binoculars at the ships riding peacefully at anchor. One by one I counted them. Yes, the battleships were there all right, eight of them! But our last lingering hope of finding any carriers present was now gone. Not one was to be seen.

It was 0749 when I ordered my radioman to send the command, 'Attack!' He immediately began tapping out the pre-arranged code signal: 'TO, TO, TO . . .'

Leading the whole group, Lieutenant Commander Murata's torpedo bombers headed downward to launch their torpedoes, while Lieutenant Commander Itaya's fighters raced forward to sweep enemy fighters from the air. Takahashi's dive-bomber group had climbed for altitude and was out of sight. My bombers, meanwhile, made a circuit toward Barbers Point to keep pace with the attack schedule. No enemy fighters were in the air, nor were there any gun flashes from the ground.

The effectiveness of our attack was now certain, and a message, 'Surprise attack successful!' was accordingly sent to *Akagi* (Flagship of the Japanese attack fleet) at 0753. The message was received by the carrier and duly relayed to the homeland. . . .

The attack was opened with the first bomb falling on Wheeler Field, followed shortly by dive-bombing attacks upon Hickam Field and the bases at Ford Island. Fearful that smoke from these attacks might obscure his targets, Lieutenant Commander Murata cut short his group's approach toward the battleships anchored east of Ford Island and released torpedoes. A series of white waterspouts soon rose in the harbor.

Lieutenant Commander Itaya's fighters, meanwhile, had full command of the air over Pearl Harbor. About four enemy fighters which took off were promptly shot down. By 0800 there were no enemy planes in the air, and our fighters began strafing the airfields.

My level-bombing group had entered on its bombing run toward the battleships moored to the east of Ford Island. On reaching an altitude of 3,000 meters, I had the sighting bomber take position in front of my plane.

As we closed in, enemy anti-aircraft fire began to concentrate on us. Dark gray puffs burst all around. Most of them came from ships' batteries, but land batteries were also active. Suddenly my plane bounced as if struck by a club. When I looked back to see what had happened, the radioman said: 'The fuselage is holed and the rudder wire damaged.' We were fortunate that the plane was still under control, for it was imperative to fly a steady course as we approached the target. Now it was nearly time for 'Ready to release,' and I concentrated my attention on the lead plane to note the instant his bomb was dropped. Suddenly a cloud came between the bombsight and the target, and just as I was thinking that we had already overshot, the lead plane banked slightly and turned right toward Honolulu. We had missed the release point because of the cloud and would have to try again.

While my group circled for another attempt, others made their runs, some trying as many as three before succeeding. We were about to begin our second bombing run when there was a colossal explosion in battleship row. A huge column of dark red smoke rose to 1000 meters. It must have been the explosion of a ship's powder magazine. (This was the Battleship *Arizona*.) The shock wave was felt even in my plane, several miles away from the harbor.

We began our run and met with fierce anti-aircraft concentrations. This time the lead bomber was successful, and the other planes of the group followed suit promptly upon seeing the leader's bombs fall. I immediately lay flat on the cockpit floor and slid open a peephole cover in order to observe the fall of the bombs. I watched four bombs plummet toward the earth. The target—two battleships moored side by side—lay ahead. The bombs became smaller and smaller and finally disappeared. I held my breath until two tiny puffs of smoke flashed suddenly on the ship to the left, and I shouted, 'Two hits!'

When an armor-piercing bomb with a time fuse hits the target, the result is almost unnoticeable from a great altitude. On the other hand, those which miss are quite obvious because they leave concentric waves to ripple out from the point of contact, and I saw two of these below. I presumed that it was battleship *Maryland* we had hit.

As the bombers completed their runs they headed north to return to the carriers. Pearl Harbor and the air bases had been pretty well wrecked by the fierce strafings and bomb-

ings. The imposing naval array of an hour before was gone. Antiaircraft fire had become greatly intensified, but in my continued observations I saw no enemy fighter planes. Our command of the air was unchallenged.

Source: Mitsuo Fuchida and Okumiya Masatake, *Midway, the Battle that Doomed Japan* (1955). Reprinted by Orion Press.

Primary Source

B) Marine Corporal B. C. Nightingale at Pearl Harbor

At approximately eight o'clock on the morning of December 7, 1941, I was leaving the breakfast table when the ship's siren for air defense sounded. Having no anti-aircraft battle station, I paid little attention to it. Suddenly I heard an explosion. I ran to the port door leading to the quarterdeck and saw a bomb strike a barge of some sort alongside the NEVADA, or in that vicinity. The marine color guard came in at this point saying we were being attacked. I could distinctly hear machine gun fire. I believe at this point our anti-aircraft battery opened up.

We stood around awaiting orders of some kind. General Quarters sounded and I started for my battle station in secondary aft. As I passed through casement nine I noted the gun was manned and being trained out. The men seemed extremely calm and collected. I reached the boat deck and our anti-aircraft guns were in full action, firing very rapidly. I was about three quarters of the way to the first platform on the mast when it seemed as though a bomb struck our quarterdeck. I could hear shrapnel or fragments whistling past me. As soon as I reached the first platform, I saw Second Lieutenant Simonson lying on his back with blood on his shirt front. I bent over him and taking him by the shoulders asked if there was anything I could do. He was dead, or so nearly so that speech was impossible. Seeing there was nothing I could do for the Lieutenant, I continued to my battle station.

When I arrived in secondary aft I reported to Major Shapley that Mr. Simonson had been hit and there was nothing to be done for him. There was a lot of talking going on and I shouted for silence which came immediately. I had only been there a short time when a terrible explosion caused the ship to shake violently. I looked at the boat deck and everything seemed aflame forward of the mainmast. I reported to the Major that the ship was aflame, which was rather needless, and after looking about, the Major ordered us to leave.

I was the last man to leave secondary aft because I looked around and there was no one left. I followed the Major down the port side of the tripod mast. The railings, as we ascended, were very hot and as we reached the boat deck I noted that it was torn up and burned. The bodies of the dead were thick,

and badly burned men were heading for the quarterdeck, only to fall apparently dead or badly wounded. The Major and I went between No. 3 and No. 4 turret to the starboard side and found Lieutenant Commander Fuqua ordering the men over the side and assisting the wounded. He seemed exceptionally calm and the Major stopped and they talked for a moment. Charred bodies were everywhere.

I made my way to the quay and started to remove my shoes when I suddenly found myself in the water. I think the concussion of a bomb threw me in. I started swimming for the pipe line which was about one hundred and fifty feet away. I was about half way when my strength gave out entirely. My clothes and shocked condition sapped my strength, and I was about to go under when Major Shapley started to swim by, and seeing my distress, grasped my shirt and told me to hang to his shoulders while he swam in.

We were perhaps twenty-five feet from the pipe line when the Major's strength gave out and I saw he was floundering, so I loosened my grip on him and told him to make it alone. He stopped and grabbed me by the shirt and refused to let go. I would have drowned but for the Major. We finally reached the beach where a marine directed us to a bomb shelter, where I was given dry clothes and a place to rest.

Source: Earl C. Nightingale, "Attack at Pearl Harbor, 1941." Eye Witness to History Web Site, available at <http://www.eyewitnesstohistory.com/pearl.htmj> (1997). Date accessed: 9 June 2004. Reprinted with permission of Ibiscom.

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2.8. “A Day Which Will Live in Infamy”: Franklin D. Roosevelt on Pearl Harbor

Franklin D. Roosevelt and Pearl Harbor

More than two years elapsed between the outbreak of war in Europe in September 1939 and the entry of the United States into the conflict in December 1941, immediately after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Democratic politician Franklin D. Roosevelt, president of the United States since 1933, was the key figure in the U.S. decision to follow anti-German and anti-Japanese policies. A distant cousin of former president Theodore Roosevelt, he shared the latter's belief that American security from attack ultimately depended upon the protection of the British fleet. From 1913 to early 1920, including all of World War I, Roosevelt served as Assistant Secretary of the Navy in the administration of President Woodrow Wilson. While holding this position he took an extremely pro-Allied and anti-German attitude, welcoming American intervention in April 1917. In 1920 Roosevelt ran as his party's vice-presidential candidate and, though he lost, until the early 1930s he remained one of the strongest American supporters of Wilson's League of Nations. Decidedly a politician, in the presidential campaign of 1932 Roosevelt jettisoned his support of the League of Nations in order to win the endorsement of influential anti-League Democrats, including the California press lord William Randolph Hearst. Even so, at heart he still believed that the United States should take on a far more substantial international role than that it had played between the wars.

For much of the 1930s one major preoccupation of the American Congress was how best to ensure that the United States remained uninvolved in any future international conflict in either Europe or Asia. From 1935 onward, Congress passed a series of Neutrality Acts whose fundamental objective was to ensure that the United States should not be drawn into war as it had been in 1917, either through trade with a belligerent nation or because Americans wished to travel on the ships of belligerent states. The American Neutrality Acts decreed that, if such trade or travel took place at all, it would be entirely at the risk of those Americans involved, whose government would have no responsibility to defend them. During the 1930s Roosevelt acquiesced somewhat reluctantly in the passage of neutrality legislation, endorsed the Munich settlement of 1938, and hoped against hope that it might be possible to preserve European peace. In spring 1940 he even dispatched an abortive peace mission to Europe, headed by Sumner Welles, his Under Secretary of State. Few doubted, however, that fundamentally Roosevelt supported the Allies.

In November 1939 he obtained the amendment of the current neutrality legislation to permit belligerent nations to buy war supplies in the United States, provided they paid in cash and transported the matériel in their own ships.

Once Hitler launched his May 1940 blitzkrieg of Western Europe, Roosevelt's major fear was that all western Europe would crumble and there would be nothing left to defend. Although Scandinavia, the Low Countries, and France each quickly surrendered to German forces, leaving Great Britain to fight on alone, in May 1940 Winston Churchill, for at least a decade a dedicated opponent of European fascist powers, replaced Neville Chamberlain as Britain's prime minister. Churchill's rousing speeches made it clear that, whatever the cost, Great Britain was not prepared to sue for peace with Germany, but intended to fight on, alone if necessary, but preferably with the benefit of some material assistance at least from the United States. The fact that, although the majority of the soldiers of the British Expeditionary Force escaped from France in late May and June 1940, they left most of their equipment behind on the beaches of Dunkerque and other ports, made such aid even more vital.

Roosevelt responded in kind. Initially, he still feared that Great Britain stood next on the list of easy conquests for Hitler's forces. Churchill's stirring speeches, affirming that at no matter what cost Britain would fight on to the bitter end, and Britain's steadfast resistance, first to attacks by German fighters on its air facilities, then to brutal bombing raids on its cities, convinced him that Great Britain now constituted a European redoubt Hitler could not take. Churchill's rhetoric also won his country the admiration and sympathy of many ordinary Americans, who followed the war's course in great detail. Britain's determination to stand firm and continue the fight, a great contrast to the behavior of its government for much of the 1930s, resonated with American journalists based in London, the sources from whom much of the American public learned about the European war. Within the United States dedicated groups of pro-British Americans, most upper class members of the East Coast patrician elite, lobbied with a determination surpassed only by that of Churchill himself for increased American aid to the Allies (at this stage primarily Great Britain), whatever the risk to the United States itself. Many such individuals began to join the growing wartime bureaucracy, centered on the War and Navy Departments, that was beginning to prepare the country for actual intervention in the war, upgrading American military and naval procurement and lobbying for peacetime conscription in the form of selective service legislation, under which all young American men between the ages of 21 and 35 would be subject to call-up for compulsory military training. In September 1940 Roosevelt signed an agreement under whose terms the United States gave Britain 50 obsolescent

destroyers, in return for rights to eight bases in British possessions in the Caribbean and North America. Few doubted that Roosevelt, whatever caveats he might utter in public, was personally profoundly pro-British in sympathy, and prepared to offer all assistance short of war to enable Great Britain to continue to resist German attacks and invasion attempts.

Although a fierce debate over foreign policy was still raging, in early November 1940 Roosevelt won an unprecedented third term as United States president, and would not face another election until 1944. The outcome emboldened him to move more decisively against both Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia. On Roosevelt's initiative, on 11 March 1941 Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act, which permitted the United States president to send aid to "the government of any country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States." Payment for such aid was to be deferred until the end of the war. Britain was the first recipient of assistance under the new program, quickly joined by the Soviet Union after Hitler declared war on that country in July 1941, and China, which had been in a state of undeclared war with Japan since 1937. In September 1940 Japan, Germany, and Italy had signed the Tripartite Pact, an alliance which led the Roosevelt administration to view all three powers as united in a coordinated international attack on the Western democracies. After the Atlantic conference of August 1941, the United States and Great Britain began military staff talks to coordinate their strategic planning. Throughout 1941, Roosevelt's policies toward both Germany and Japan became increasingly uncompromising, as he moved ever closer to naval warfare with German ships in the Atlantic, and in summer 1941 embargoed the sale of virtually all U.S. raw materials, including essential petroleum, to Japan.

When Roosevelt received the news of the Pearl Harbor attack on the afternoon of 7 December 1941, he was apparently profoundly shocked. Ever since that date, a variety of conspiracy theories have been advanced regarding Pearl Harbor. Roosevelt's political opponents charged that he deliberately set out to provoke a war with Japan in order to enter the European war against Adolf Hitler's Germany through the "back door" of a war with Japan. Others subsequently alleged that the president and his top advisers received advance warning through intelligence intercepts that an attack was planned on Pearl Harbor but deliberately forbore to warn the military officers in charge there because they sought an unsailable pretext for war. More recently, former British intelligence operatives have rather sensationally suggested that, thanks to the cryptographic skills of ultra code-breakers at Bletchley Park, Oxfordshire, British premier Winston Churchill knew several days in advance of the projected Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor but purposely left Roosevelt

ignorant of this, since Churchill sought American intervention in the war, whatever the cost to his ally.

On close examination, none of these theories carries any great conviction. Had Germany and Italy not taken the initiative and declared war on the United States a few days after Pearl Harbor, the United States would in all probability have concentrated the bulk of its efforts on winning the war in Asia, rather than focusing on the European war that Roosevelt considered the higher priority. Even if the U.S. government had been able to warn its forces at Pearl Harbor to expect a Japanese assault and they had been better prepared to resist it, the attack would still have led to war between the two countries. Indeed, defensive measures might well have reduced the damage to the fleet and the number of casualties, leaving the United States better equipped to handle the subsequent Japanese onslaught throughout Southeast Asia. The same considerations held true for Churchill: though he later cheerfully admitted welcoming the fact that Pearl Harbor brought the United States fully into the war, he would undoubtedly have been happier had his ally's naval forces been in healthier shape immediately after Pearl Harbor, something a timely British warning might have remedied.

Intercepted and decoded Japanese cables had informed top American leaders that war was coming and they should expect a near immediate attack on some major Western target in Asia but did not specify precisely where this would come. Pearl Harbor represented above all a distinct intelligence failure, as overworked code-breakers deciphered Japanese cables but spent too little time collating and analyzing them. Complacent racist contempt for Japanese abilities, moreover, led most if not all Western policymakers grossly to underestimate just how devastatingly effective Japanese onslaughts would be over the six months following Pearl Harbor. This may also have been one reason top officials in Washington never insisted strongly enough that Pearl Harbor and other American redoubts in Asia must observe a permanent maximum alert.

From the president down, Pearl Harbor came as an overwhelming shock to virtually every American. Roosevelt immediately faced the task of requesting a declaration of war from Congress and of rallying the American people for what would inevitably be a long and almost certainly a difficult war. The day after Pearl Harbor, he asked both houses of Congress formally to declare war on Japan, and with only one dissenting vote, they did so. The following day the president addressed the American people on the national crisis, laying out at considerably more length what this war would mean for the United States and for average Americans.

About the Documents

Though Roosevelt usually spent considerable time working on his major speeches, both these addresses were drafted in

great haste. The first, his message to Congress, was extremely brief, simply laying out in terse and simple language how Japanese forces had first attacked the American Fleet and naval base at Pearl Harbor, causing heavy loss of life and much material damage, and had now launched assaults on numerous other places in the Pacific, and requesting a declaration of war. Roosevelt pointed out that Japan must have set the Pearl Harbor operation in motion several weeks earlier, when negotiations with the United States were still proceeding, and asked Congress formally to recognize the state of hostilities that already existed. He also pledged to continue the war until “absolute victory” was achieved. His one rhetorical flourish was to describe 7 December 1941 as “a date which will live in infamy,” a description that quickly became famous. Understandably, in the circumstances, Roosevelt’s message was very much to the point, intended simply to elicit an immediate declaration of war from Congress.

Even though he prepared his next speech under almost equally intense time pressure, when he addressed the American people one day later, Roosevelt ranged far more widely, discussing not just his country’s response to the immediate Japanese attack but the broader implications of the state of war that now existed. Once more, his tone was businesslike, direct, and straightforward, as he sought to reassure shaken Americans and restore their confidence that they could surmount this crisis triumphantly.

Although his rhetoric on this occasion was less memorable, Roosevelt almost certainly drew on his earlier experience when he first took office in March 1933, at the nadir of the Great Depression, and his first task was to inspire his countrymen with hope that they could survive their economic difficulties. Roosevelt spoke to the American people directly by radio, and this speech was only one in a lengthy series of such addresses he delivered at irregular intervals throughout his presidency, that he termed “fireside chats”. The president wished his listeners to feel that he had come to their house to sit beside the fire in their living room, and discuss the major issues of the day with them. In the first of these speeches, made in March 1933, immediately after his first inauguration, Roosevelt resoundingly declared that the United States had “nothing to fear but fear itself.” In the 1930s radio was still a relatively new technology, and politicians were only beginning to recognize its potential. The fascist dictators Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini used radio to broadcast their major speeches, as did Winston Churchill for his great wartime addresses. Roosevelt’s speeches, however, were rather different in style from the conscious oratory of these political leaders. He deliberately aimed for a low-key, relaxed, intimate and friendly approach, almost deprecating in effect, rather than the overblown rhetoric of Mussolini and Hitler or the grand oratorical flourishes of Churchill. One might even say that he sought to be a national teacher, setting out impor-

tant issues in simple language that anyone could readily understand, and appealing for support for his actions on them.

Although American policies had for at least the previous eighteen months been primarily directed at Germany and Italy, when Roosevelt spoke the United States was still only at war with Japan. As it transpired, a few days later, the two remaining Axis powers themselves declared war on the United States, but despite his hostility to both states, on 9 December, Roosevelt could not count on this. Significantly, therefore, his radio address emphasized not simply Japan’s disregard for all rule of international law in attacking the United States without any warning but placed this in the context of a global struggle, in which all three Axis nations had for the past 10 years used similar tactics of launching wars without issuing any warning, coordinated their strategies, and considered the entire world “one gigantic battlefield.” Roosevelt urged Americans to eradicate “Axis aggression” everywhere, not just in Asia, and to consider the wars in Europe and the Pacific as parts of one coordinated whole. His address reflected his own concern that the United States would focus exclusively on the war with Japan, to the neglect of the ongoing crisis in Europe, which he ultimately considered an even greater danger. He therefore made every effort to tie the two together and argue that the defeat of one would inevitably involve the defeat of both and that neither the United States nor the world could enjoy real security until this was accomplished.

Roosevelt recognized that the United States had now taken on a colossal task and, though reassuring Americans that they would eventually win through to victory, did not attempt to minimize the difficulties they must surmount. He warned that all would be required to make real sacrifices: to serve in the armed forces, to work harder as civilians, to pay heavy taxes, to buy war bonds, and if necessary, to deprive themselves of unnecessary luxuries. Though rather smugly congratulating himself that the industrial buildup of the previous 18 months had both substantially enhanced American defenses and helped anti-Axis states to hold their mutual enemies at bay, Roosevelt bluntly stated that winning the war would in the future require the economic mobilization of all his country’s massive industrial strength on a yet unprecedented scale, envisaging the doubling or even quadrupling of production.

Just two days into the war, Roosevelt stressed that he would not contemplate a negotiated peace with any of those “gangster” nations he numbered among his country’s enemies, whether or not they were yet formally at war. The United States, he warned, could “accept no result save victory, final and complete.” In his view, this implied not just the defeat of Japan, but that “the sources of international brutality, wherever they exist, must be absolutely and finally

broken.” Specifically, this meant that the power of Germany and Italy must also be overthrown. Moreover, when the war eventually ended, the United States would have to make drastic changes in its international policies, jettisoning its earlier attempts to remain aloof from world affairs and “abandoning once and for all the illusion that we can ever isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.” He envisaged the United States rebuilding “a world in which this Nation, and all that this Nation represents, will be safe for our children.” The task that lay before the United States was not just to win the war, but also “to win the peace that follows.”

Roosevelt’s address, delivered little more than 48 hours after Pearl Harbor, was short, workmanlike, and almost entirely devoid of the stirring rhetoric that Churchill in Britain had used 18 months earlier to rally the British people to resist Hitler’s air assaults. It was also extremely comprehensive, setting out an ambitious program of war objectives embracing the defeat of all the Axis powers, not just Japan; the massive mobilization of American military, industrial, and economic resources that would be required to accomplish this; and the long-term aim of American assumption of a prominent global role, in which capacity the United States would take the lead in reconstructing the international system to ensure a more peaceful and prosperous postwar world. Over the previous months and years, the American president had obviously devoted much careful thought to his country’s future international policies. In this one brief speech, he effectively described the policies the United States would indeed follow throughout the war and beyond.

When the occasion finally arose, at two days’ notice, Roosevelt was able to present a clear, concise, comprehensible, and carefully argued summary of the broad lines of his wartime military and domestic strategies and his overall war aims. Even more impressively, he did so while reassuring his countrymen that, however grave the immediate situation, the problems facing the United States were in no sense insurmountable. Roosevelt’s behavior on this occasion demonstrates why, even 30 or 40 years later, many Americans would still regard him as the yardstick against whom all American presidents should be judged.

Primary Source

A) Franklin D. Roosevelt, Address to the U.S. Congress, 8 December 1941

Yesterday, December 7, 1941—a date which will live in infamy—the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that Nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its Gov-

ernment and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in Oahu, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to the Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. While this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. Very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam.

Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.

Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island.

This morning the Japanese attacked Midway Island.

Japan has, therefore, undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our Nation.

As Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense.

Always will we remember the character of the onslaught against us.

No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory. I believe I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again.

Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory, and our interests are in grave danger.

With confidence in our armed forces—with the unbounded determination of our people—we will gain the inevitable triumph—so help us God.

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.

Source: U.S., Department of State, *Peace and War: United States Foreign Policy, 1931–1941* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 838–839.

Primary Source

B) Franklin D. Roosevelt, Radio Address to the United States People, 9 December 1941

The sudden criminal attacks perpetrated by the Japanese in the Pacific provide the climax of a decade of international immorality.

Powerful and resourceful gangsters have banded together to make war upon the whole human race. Their challenge has now been flung at the United States of America. The Japanese have treacherously violated the long-standing peace between us. Many American soldiers and sailors have been killed by enemy action. American ships have been sunk, American air-planes have been destroyed.

The Congress and the people of the United States have accepted that challenge.

Together with other free peoples, we are now fighting to maintain our right to live among our world neighbors in freedom and in common decency, without fear of assault. . . .

The course that Japan has followed for the past 10 years in Asia has paralleled the course of Hitler and Mussolini in Europe and Africa. Today, it has become far more than a parallel. It is collaboration so well calculated that all the continents of the world, and all the oceans, are now considered by the Axis strategists as one gigantic battlefield.

In 1931, Japan invaded Manchukuo—without warning.

In 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia—without warning.

In 1938, Hitler occupied Austria—without warning.

In 1939, Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia—without warning.

Later in 1939, Hitler invaded Poland—without warning.

In 1940, Hitler invaded Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg—without warning.

In 1940, Italy attacked France and later Greece—without warning. In 1941, the Axis Powers attacked Yugoslavia and Greece and they dominated the Balkans—without warning.

In 1941, Hitler invaded Russia—without warning.

And now Japan has attacked Malaya and Thailand—and the United States—without warning.

It is all of one pattern.

We are now in this war. We are all in it—all the way. Every single man, woman, and child is a partner in the most tremendous undertaking of our American history. We must share together the bad news and the good news, the defeats and the victories—the changing fortunes of war. . . .

Now a word about the recent past—and the future. A year and a half has elapsed since the fall of France, when the whole

world first realized the mechanized might which the Axis nations had been building for so many years. America has used that year and a half to great advantage. Knowing that the attack might reach us in all too short a time, we immediately began greatly to increase our industrial strength and our capacity to meet the demands of modern warfare.

Precious months were gained by sending vast quantities of our war materials to the nations of the world still able to resist Axis aggression. Our policy rested on the fundamental truth that the defense of any country resisting Hitler or Japan was in the long run the defense of our own country. That policy has been justified. It has given us time, invaluable time, to build our American assembly lines of production.

Assembly lines are now in operation. Others are being rushed to completion. A steady stream of tanks and planes, of guns and ships, of shells and equipment—that is what these 18 months have given us.

But it is all only a beginning of what has to be done. We must be set to face a long war against crafty and powerful bandits. The attack at Pearl Harbor can be repeated at any one of many points in both oceans and along both our coast lines and against all the rest of the hemisphere.

It will not only be a long war, it will be a hard war. That is the basis on which we now lay all our plans. That is the yardstick by which we measure what we shall need and demand—money, materials, doubled and quadrupled production, ever increasing. The production must be not only for our own Army and Navy and air forces. It must reinforce the other armies and navies and air forces fighting the Nazis and the war lords of Japan throughout the Americas and the world.

I have been working today on the subject of production. Your Government has decided on two broad policies.

The first is to speed up all existing production by working on a 7-day-week basis in every war industry, including the production of essential raw materials.

The second policy, now being put into form, is to rush additions to the capacity of production by building more new plants, by adding to old plants, and by using the many smaller plants for war needs. . . .

On the road ahead there lies hard work—grueling work—day and night, every hour and every minute.

I was about to add that ahead there lies sacrifice for all of us.

But it is not correct to use that word. The United States does not consider it a sacrifice to do all one can, to give one's best to our Nation when the Nation is fighting for its existence and its future life.

It is not a sacrifice for any man, old or young, to be in the Army or the Navy of the United States. Rather is it a privilege.

It is not a sacrifice for the industrialist or the wage earner, the farmer or the shopkeeper, the trainman or the doctor, to pay more taxes, to buy more bonds, to forego extra profits, to work longer or harder at the task for which he is best fitted. Rather is it a privilege.

It is not a sacrifice to do without many things to which we are accustomed if the national defense calls for doing without.

A review this morning leads me to the conclusion that at present we shall not have to curtail the normal articles of food. There is enough food for all of us and enough left over to send to those who are fighting on the same side with us.

There will be a clear and definite shortage of metals of many kinds for civilian use, for the very good reason that in our increased program we shall need for war purposes more than half of that portion of the principal metals which during the past year have gone into articles for civilian use. We shall have to give up many things entirely.

I am sure that the people in every part of the Nation are prepared in their individual living to win this war. I am sure they will cheerfully help to pay a large part of its financial cost while it goes on I am sure they will cheerfully give up those material things they are asked to give up.

I am sure that they will retain all those great spiritual things without which we cannot win through.

I repeat that the United States can accept no result save victory, final and complete. Not only must the shame of Japanese treachery be wiped out, but the sources of international brutality, wherever they exist, must be absolutely and finally broken.

In my message to the Congress yesterday I said that we shall make very certain that this form of treachery never “will endanger us again.” In order to achieve that certainty, we must begin the great task that is before us by abandoning once and for all the illusion that we can ever again isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.

In these past few years—and, most violently, in the past few days—we have learned a terrible lesson.

It is our obligation to our dead—it is our sacred obligation to their children and our children—that we must never forget what we have learned.

And what we all have learned is this:

There is no such thing as security for any nation—or any individual—in a world ruled by the principles of gangsterism.

There is no such thing as impregnable defense against powerful aggressors who sneak up in the dark and strike without warning.

We have learned that our ocean-girt hemisphere is not immune from severe attack—that we cannot measure our safety in terms of miles on any map.

We may acknowledge that our enemies have performed a brilliant feat of deception, perfectly timed and executed with

great skill. It was a thoroughly dishonorable deed, but we must face the fact that modern warfare as conducted in the Nazi manner is a dirty business. We don’t like it—we didn’t want to get in it—but we are in it and we’re going to fight it with everything we’ve got.

I do not think any American has any doubt of our ability to administer proper punishment to the perpetrators of these crimes.

Your Government knows that for weeks Germany has been telling Japan that if Japan did not attack the United States, Japan would not share in dividing the spoils with Germany when peace came. . . . We also know that Germany and Japan are conducting their military and naval operations in accordance with a joint plan. That plan considers all peoples and nations which are not helping the Axis Powers as common enemies of each and every one of the Axis Powers.

That is their simple and obvious grand strategy. That is why the American people must realize that it can be matched only with similar grand strategy. . . . Remember always that Germany and Italy, regardless of any formal declaration of war, consider themselves at war with the United States at this moment just as much as they consider themselves at war with Britain and Russia. . . .

The true goal we seek is far above and beyond the ugly field of battle. When we resort to force, as now we must, we are determined that this force shall be directed toward ultimate good as well as against immediate evil. We Americans are not destroyers; we are builders.

We are now in the midst of a war, not for conquest, not for vengeance, but for a world in which this Nation, and all that this Nation represents, will be safe for our children. We expect to eliminate the danger from Japan, but it would serve us ill if we accomplished that and found that the rest of the world was dominated by Hitler and Mussolini.

We are going to win the war, and we are going to win the peace that follows.

Source: Franklin Roosevelt, Fireside Chat, 9 December 1941. Fireside Chat Files: State Department, 1941, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library Digital Archives. Available at <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/120941.html>.

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Section III

Waging War

By bringing the United States fully into the war, Pearl Harbor gave the Allied powers a massive advantage in manpower and economic resources over their Axis opponents. Even so, the conflict lasted almost another four years. 1942 began badly, as the Japanese swept through much of Asia, taking Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaya, the Philippines, and Burma within a few months. In June 1942 U.S. naval forces in the Pacific Ocean nonetheless blocked further Japanese expansion by winning the battle of Midway. Both this victory and the British triumph over German forces in North Africa at the El Alamein the following November were greatly assisted by the success of the Allies in breaking many of the Japanese and German top secret communication codes. On the eastern front, from mid-1942 until early 1943 German and Soviet forces contended for the crucial stronghold of Stalin-grad, a brutal contest that ended in the encirclement and defeat of Hitler's forces, a vital turning-point in that contest. The failure of his Western allies, the United States and Britain, to mount a second front in Europe in 1943 nonetheless infuriated Stalin. Throughout Europe and Asia it became increasingly clear that, when the war had ended, leftist and communist forces were likely to engage in bitter contests for power with centrist or right-wing rivals. On D-Day, 6 June 1944, British and American forces under the command of General Dwight D. Eisenhower finally launched the long-awaited invasion of Western Europe, landing on the Normandy beaches and eventually fighting their way to Germany in May 1945. In the Pacific, General Douglas MacArthur's Allied forces faced even bloodier fighting in a far-flung "island-hopping" campaign against Japanese troops who, almost to a man, fought with bloody and desperate resistance for every inch of ground.

3.1. Enigma Codebreaking in World War II: Recollections of Edward Thomas

Codebreaking in World War II

One of the great Allied triumphs of World War II was the ability to read many, though not all, of the coded cable messages sent by the Axis powers, both internal communications dispatched by the units of their armies, navies, foreign ministries, and so forth, and some of those that passed between the different Axis governments. Enormous quantities of official cable traffic were generated every day by the various states involved in the war, some of it routine, some highly significant. Units of the armed forces and naval vessels received their instructions by cable and reported back in the same way; military commanders communicated with their superiors at home and their subordinates in the field by wire; diplomats

exchanged messages, and supplies were ordered by cable. Allied radio watchers in Cairo could tell, simply by monitoring the cable traffic, whether Field Marshal Erwin Rommel was at his headquarters, since his presence there vitalized all around him, dramatically affecting the quantity, tone, and atmosphere even of German radio transmissions, something that simple traffic analysis could pick up even without decryption.

Although the Allied achievements were the more spectacular, both sides in World War II had some successes with code-breaking. For much of 1942–1943, German cryptographers had broken the British naval codes used to direct convoys in the Battle of the Atlantic, causing a crisis in the shipment of supplies from North America to Britain. The Japanese were less skilled at decryption. The Finns and the neutral Swedes were able to read some German cables, and the latter, preferring the prospect of an Allied victory, even passed naval information on to the British. The great tri-

umphs for the United States, operations collectively known as magic, were deciphering first the Japanese “Purple” diplomatic codes, in 1940, and eventually the Japanese army and naval codes. These latter were especially valuable to the United States, contributing appreciably to the American naval victory at the Battle of Midway in June 1942 and to subsequent American victories in the Pacific. In April 1943, information obtained by decrypting Japanese naval traffic also enabled U.S. fighters to shoot down the airplane carrying Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku, the architect of the December 1941 Pearl Harbor attack. Apparently both German and Soviet code-breakers emulated the Americans in breaking the Japanese Purple diplomatic code. After the June 1941 German invasion, Josef Stalin was therefore able to switch Soviet military forces in Asia to oppose Hitler’s troops, safe in the knowledge that Japan did not intend to declare war on Russia but intended instead to move south.

During World War II, the British took the lead in decrypting German and Italian cables, greatly assisted by earlier Polish experience in doing so, and the Polish capture of one of the German Enigma cipher machines. The British headquarters for these efforts, collectively known as *ULTRA*, was the country mansion of Bletchley Park, Oxfordshire, in whose grounds various prefabricated huts were erected, each concentrating upon a different German (Enigma) or Italian (Fish) cipher. In earnest of their good faith, even before outright American intervention in World War II, British premier Winston Churchill informed U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt of this operation, and a team of qualified Americans soon joined the British cryptanalysts. Strict secrecy regarding these operations was observed during the war, since any hint that the Allies were reading their cable traffic would have impelled the Axis powers to change their codes. Some, such as Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz, commander of the German U-boat squadrons and subsequently commander in chief of all German naval forces, were in any case suspicious that the Allies might be able to do so and took measures to upgrade the security of the existing Enigma machines by enhancing their complexity. For almost all of 1942, British cryptographers were therefore unable to read the German naval traffic.

Code-breaking was difficult and demanding work. Most encryption was the work of machines, but the settings on them often changed daily, usually at human direction, so the decipherers faced constant new challenges. Some decrypting could be entrusted to machines, especially the replicas of captured German Enigma transmitters, but the work also demanded considerable mathematical skills, plus the ability to outguess the enemy through sheer human ingenuity. The teams of cryptographers, many of them brilliant civilian scientists and other academics temporarily in uniform, were distinguished by their brains, informality, and sense of cama-

raderie. Rank counted for little, provided that the job was done. Despite the impact and ravages of war and though they often worked under great stress, for many, their time at Bletchley Park represented one of the most stimulating and memorable experiences of their lives.

About the Document

Among the numerous denizens of Bletchley Park was Edward Thomas, a young naval officer in his twenties who joined Hut 4 there in early 1942, after 18 months in Iceland as a naval intelligence officer, and subsequently transferred to the associated Hut 3N. Professor Edward Norman, his former German teacher at King’s College, London, who helped to establish the Bletchley Park operation, was probably responsible for his secondment. Many years later, Thomas was one of around 30 Bletchley Park employees who contributed their reminiscences to a volume compiled by the noted Cambridge historian F. H. (Harry) Hinsley, who had been one of Bletchley’s leading figures, and his former colleague Alan Stripp. The editors themselves noted that, since it was easier for them to contact the British than the Americans who had worked there, the volume underrepresented the contributions of the U.S. Bletchley team. Thomas’ reminiscences were therefore only one part of a coordinated project intended to give a systematic overview of the accomplishments at Bletchley Park. Although this is a memoir written almost 40 years after the fact, Thomas prepared it at the request and under the editorial direction of two sophisticated historians, one of whom was responsible for the multivolume history of wartime British intelligence. Hinsley and Stripp admitted that, although they had made every effort to cross-check their facts, their entire book, a collection of comparable memoirs, “rested almost entirely on personal memories; and this is unusual in an account which pretends to any sort of accuracy” (Hinsley and Stripp 1993, p. vi). The nature of the book was dictated in part by the tight secrecy that until the mid-1970s, enshrouded the very existence of Bletchley Park, let alone the operations that took place there.

Thomas’ recollections focused rather precisely on the operations of Huts 3 and 4 during the approximately 18 months from early 1942 to mid-1943 that Thomas spent working there, a period that included the worst stretch of the Battle of the Atlantic, when German naval codes had been upgraded and an 11-month hiatus in their decryption ensued. It also covered the war in the Middle East, up to the time of the British victory at El Alamein, from the British perspective, one of the war’s great turning points. Thomas gave a lively picture of the informal atmosphere at Bletchley, despite or perhaps even because of the great pressures under which its inhabitants habitually worked. His lucid description of the assorted codes on which the two huts’ cryptogra-

phers would be working at any given time and the coordination of these efforts gives some sense of the complexity of the Enigma operation, with different codes altering on a sometimes daily basis and having to be cracked anew. The verve and vigor with which Thomas tells his tale makes it clear that, despite the rather bleak working conditions and the still rather desperate British position in the war, like many others, he found his time at Bletchley Park immensely stimulating and rewarding. For a serving naval officer, particularly one who had until recently been part of the Iceland contingent battling the U-boats, the revelations of the instructions behind the German maritime operations were both fascinating and illuminating, giving him a glimpse of the other side of the war.

Thomas is perhaps slightly too self-congratulatory on Bletchley Park's contributions to the Desert War, substantial though these undoubtedly were. The code-breakers themselves could be taken in by inaccurate information. On at least one occasion, British forces attacked Rommel in the belief that he was short of military equipment, only to discover that this was not the case. To ensure that his requests for supplies received the highest priority, Rommel often exaggerated the gravity of his existing position in communications to Berlin requesting additional matériel. (Whether Thomas realized this, even retrospectively, is of course another question.) General Sir Bernard Montgomery had some excuse for his cautious approach toward Rommel after El Alamein, however frustrating this appeared to Huts 3 and 4.

Primary Source

Excerpts from Edward Thomas, "A Naval Officer in Hut 3"

In early 1942 some half-dozen naval officers knowing German were summoned to Bletchley's Naval Section. Current gossip at the Park had it that there were two explanations for this. One was that the Section's head, observing that Hut 3 boasted several individuals in RAF and Army uniform, wished to have some navy-clad folk about the place to impress visiting VIPs. The other was that officers with first-hand experience of the naval war might be able to add a touch of verismo to the interpretation and analysis of the German naval Enigma decrypts then being done in Hut 4, mainly by men and women in civilian garb. We naval folk were soon to learn the super-erogatory character of this second explanation. There was precious little that Hut 4's civilians did not know about how navies worked. Most of what I ever knew about the German navy came from those who had been working on the naval Enigma since it was first broken a year earlier.

I vividly remember the sense of shock produced on my first arrival at the Park by the grimness of its barbed-wire

defences, by the cold and dinginess of its huddled accommodation, and by the clerk-work we were first set to do. But this was soon swept aside by the much greater shock of discovering the miracles that were being wrought at the Park. In Iceland I had been interrogating the survivors of the many merchant ships sunk in the, at first, highly successful offensive against the Atlantic convoys launched by the U-boats in March 1941. I had spent many hours trying to analyse their strength and tactics. I could have spared my pains. For I now discovered that all this, and everything else about the U-boats, was known with precision by those privy to the Enigma decrypts. Leafing through the files of past messages—for the dreaded Shark key for U-boats, that had been introduced a week before my arrival, was to defeat Hut 8's cryptographers for another ten months—I shivered at seeing the actual words of the signals passing between Admiral Dönitz and the boats under his command whose terrible work I had seen at first hand. . . .

I can place the date of my arrival in Hut 4 pretty exactly. It was shortly before 11 February 1942, the day of the famous 'Channel Dash' of the *Scharnhorst*, *Gneisenau*, and *Prinz Eugen*. There was great commotion in the hut and cries of 'Where's Harry? Harry will be furious!' Indeed he was. Harry Hinsley, whom we naval newcomers had already pin-pointed as perhaps the most knowledgeable of all those in Hut 4, flew in late in the afternoon scattering smiles, scarves, and stimulus in every direction, exclaiming, 'It's happened again: whenever I take a day off something big blows up.' There had, indeed, been good indications that the ships were about to move; but the Enigma settings of 10, 11, and 12 February, by a stroke of the ill luck which precipitated tragedy from time to time, were not solved until three days later.

Hinsley was a key figure in Hut 4. His uncanny ability to sense, from tiny clues in the decrypts or the externals of the radio traffic, that something unusual was afoot was already legendary in the Park. He was well versed in the ways of navies, having more than once visited the Home Fleet in Scapa Flow to explain the workings of the Enigma to the Commander-in-Chief. He was a popular figure there and was known, as I later discovered when I joined the Home Fleet, as 'the Cardinal'. He was the chief channel for the exchange of ideas between the Naval Section and the Admiralty's Operational Intelligence Centre (OIC). This capable—but not infallible—organization had already in 1940 rejected a suggestion by Hinsley which, if adopted, might have saved the aircraft carrier *Glorious*. On the other hand, during the 'Channel Dash' it was smart work done in the OIC which contrived to use the decrypts to have the *Scharnhorst* and the *Gneisenau* mined off the Dutch coast with resounding strategic consequences. . . .

This episode coincided with the onset of Hut 8's ten-month-long inability to break into the newly introduced

Shark. Severe losses of merchant ships were to follow, largely in consequence of this. But already by the end of 1941 a turning-point had been reached in the battle of the Atlantic. The evasive routing of convoys made possible by Hut 8's breaking of the naval Enigma in the spring of 1941 had, according to some historians' calculations, spared some three hundred merchant ships and so provided a cushion against the heavy losses yet to come. It also defeated Dönitz's offensive, which was intended to knock out Britain while the German armies disposed of Russia, so avoiding a two-front war. The six-months' long decline in sinkings also provided a crucial breathing-space during which the Allies could develop anti-submarine weapons and tactics, and get on with building more merchant ships. This victory, which saved Britain, was based entirely on the work of Bletchley Park. It was also responsible, though I did not know it at the time, for the great reduction in the number of survivors who passed through my hands in Iceland, reducing my work-load and making it possible for me to be released to Bletchley. . . .

We naval newcomers were at once impressed by the easy relations and lack of friction between those in, and out of, uniform. Despite the high tension of much of the work, a spirit of relaxation prevailed. Anyone of whatever rank or degree could approach anyone else, however venerable, with any idea or suggestion, however crazy. This was partly because those in uniform had mostly been selected from the same walks of life as the civilians—scholarship, journalism, publishing, linguistics, and so forth—and partly because these were the people who saw most clearly what stood to be lost by a Hitler victory. All at the Park were determined to give their all to see this did not happen. Service officers gladly served under civilians, and vice versa. Dons from Oxford and Cambridge worked smoothly together. . . .

. . . Hut 3 [was] responsible for translating and elucidating the German Air Force and Army decrypts from Hut 6, for supporting its cryptanalysts, and for signalling the gist of the decrypts to operational Commands in the Mediterranean and, later, in other theatres. . . . New, fascinating, and exciting work was found for us. [German General Erwin] Rommel, fighting in Africa, depended on shipments of fuel, ammunition, and other supplies sent across the Mediterranean in convoys controlled by the Italians. His fortunes waxed or waned with the adequacy, or inadequacy, of his supplies. His most notable victories came when his logistic position was good; and his defeats when he was weakened through want of supplies. They were adequate when the fortunes of war permitted his convoys to arrive safely and in sufficient number: but he faltered when the RAF and Navy contrived to prevent this. His final defeat owed much to the sustained sinking of his supply ships. Bletchley played a big part in bringing this about.

Hut 6's decrypts told us a great deal about these convoy movements. One source was the Air Force Enigma which throughout 1941 had been revealing, albeit somewhat spasmodically, the instructions for their air escort. This intelligence had, for example, resulted in considerable disruption of the transport to Africa of the first of Rommel's armoured formations. The second and more important source was the Italian administration machine cipher, C38m, broken by Hut 8 in the summer of 1941. This yielded, amongst other things, advance warning of the sailing dates, routes, and composition of virtually all trans-Mediterranean supply convoys. It also threw occasional light on Italian main-fleet movements. During 1941 the gist of the relevant Enigma decrypts had been signalled by Hut 3 to the Mediterranean authorities by the SCU/SLU channel, while that of the C38m decrypts had been sent by a part-naval, part-civilian processing watch in Hut 4 separately to Malta and elsewhere. An outstanding result of these messages had been a spate of sinkings in late 1941 which played a big part in Rommel's retreat to El Agheila at that time.

It was probably a coincidence that, at the time of the Hut 3 reorganization of early 1942, a twenty-four hour watch of naval officers—one of them a regular—was set up and became an integral part of that hut. Called 3N, one of its jobs was to provide advice, hitherto lacking, to the watch on naval problems arising from the Army-Air Force decrypts. Its other and more important task was to co-ordinate the shipping intelligence from these decrypts with what came out of the C38m. To bring this about 3N and Hut 4's Italian watch became virtually a single team, the former being responsible for the final shape of the outgoing signals—and for taking on the chin any riposte from bewildered recipients at the other end (which was seldom). This development came at a bad time for the British in the Mediterranean. The Axis had greatly strengthened its convoy defences and Malta was all but immobilized by the attacks of the newly arrived Luftflotte 2. Axis convoys were getting through wholesale, and opportunities for attacking them were much reduced. Rommel's recovery in January 1942 was made possible by these developments. Every scrap of intelligence became doubly valuable. The co-ordination of the two sources came at the right moment. . . .

The Air Force Enigma, unlike the C38m, would sometimes indicate the importance—to the German Air Force, of course—of a given convoy, occasionally specifying that it carried urgent supplies of fuel or ammunition. Though these indications were made only in general terms, they were invaluable to the attack planners. From about August 1942 Hut 6 regularly broke the Chaffinch key of the German Army in Africa and this provided, as well as much else of the highest importance, precise details of cargoes. Ships carrying

operationally urgent supplies could now be distinguished from those with routine shipments. This made selective attack possible and greatly increased the effectiveness of the anti-ship campaign. An example of its effectiveness may be found in the Allies' ability, which came as a surprise to some historians, to feed the 250,000 prisoners trapped in Cape Bon during the final phase of the war in Africa. Ships known from the decrypts to be carrying rations had been spared; while those with cargoes of tanks, fuel, and ammunition had been selected for attack.

The arrival of Chaffinch, supplementing the former sources, coincided with that of Rommel on the Egyptian frontier. It now became doubly urgent to deprive him of supplies. It also coincided, to our great good fortune, with the recovery of Malta as a base for anti-ship operations, and with the breaking by Hut 8 of the naval Enigma key used by the Germans in the Mediterranean. Its yield made for much more efficient attacks on coastal supply shipping, on which Rommel, far from his supply bases and convoy terminals, now largely depended. All this sharply increased the pace of our work. Rommel clamoured for fuel, and attacks on tanker convoys were now given highest priority. Many were successful. Those during August 1942 were largely responsible for his failure at Alam Haifa. After the war I found my initials at the bottom of the signals giving details of the three supremely important tanker movements at the time of the October battle of El Alamein. Their sinking was largely responsible for Rommel's long and halting retreat westwards. I well remember the frustration that exploded from our Hut 3 colleagues at Montgomery's failure to overtake and destroy him. I had not seen such a demonstration since the Knightsbridge fighting six months earlier, when the Eighth Army advanced against an anti-tank trap at the so-called 'Cauldron' position and lost heavily. Hut 3 believed that it had provided full details of Rommel's intentions on this occasion.

The Hut 4/3N routine continued until the final victory at Cape Bon. It seemed scarcely credible that the Axis could have sufficient ships left unsunk to succour the fighting in Tunisia. But they did. And the pressure continued right up to the end.

Source: Edward Thomas, "A Naval Officer in Hut 3." Reprinted in F. H. Hinsley and A. Stripp, eds., *Codebreakers: The Inside Story of Bletchley Park* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 42–49. Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press.

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3.2. The Battle of Stalingrad

Tensions in the Grand Alliance: The Soviet Union and the Western Allies

The Soviet Union effectively became an ally of Britain and the United States shortly after the German invasion of June 1941. Even so, deep fissures divided the major Allies, and these fractures would eventually contribute to the Cold War that developed immediately after the end of World War II.

The alliance between the Soviet Union and the Western allies, Great Britain and the United States, was essentially one of convenience. Ever since the Bolsheviks took power in Russia in late 1917 and created the Soviet Union, the world's first communist state, their relations with the Western democracies had been cool. At the end of World War I, the Allies, including Britain, France, the United States, and Japan, sent troops to Russia, in part to protect Allied personnel, supplies, and railway concessions there, but in most cases, with the unstated mission of attempting to strengthen anti-Bolshevik forces in the ongoing civil war. Although the Allies withdrew their forces in 1921, the bitter memory of the intervention lingered on, poisoning Soviet relations with the West. Official Communist ideological hostility to the capitalist world made it difficult for the new regime to develop warm relations with those states, as did the Soviets' refusal to settle the tsarist government's official debts to former Allied governments and private Western bankers. Most Western states recognized the Soviet Union during the 1920s, and even the United States did so in 1933, but relations still remained chilly.

During the 1930s, Soviet leaders, alarmed by the growing assertiveness of the authoritarian governments of Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia, in both cases quite possibly targeted at Russian interests, moved closer to the Western democracies, adopting a "united front" strategy of a coalition

of all antifascist forces. Even so, neither side fully trusted the other, a situation epitomized in the exclusion of the Soviet Union from the negotiations leading to the September 1938 Munich Agreement, and the subsequent Soviet decision to reach an accommodation with Nazi Germany in the August 1939 German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact. With German collaboration, in September 1939, the Soviet Union annexed much of eastern Poland, together with the Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Later that year, Soviet leader Josef Stalin demanded that Finland cede certain strategically valuable areas to Russia, in exchange for less desirable lands; when Finland refused, the Soviet Union declared war and invaded the country, bringing its own expulsion from the largely moribund League of Nations. Until Hitler launched his invasion in June 1941, the Soviet Union was effectively supporting Germany's war effort against the Allies by selling the Nazi government substantial amounts of useful war supplies. After Pearl Harbor, the Soviet Union remained neutral toward Japan until August 1945, during which time Russia likewise continued to sell appreciable quantities of goods to that nation, many of which contributed to Japan's Pacific war effort.

After June 1941, first Great Britain and then the United States became formal allies of the Soviet Union and together constituted the Big Three Allied powers of World War II, who made most of the major wartime decisions. Even so, their relationship was by no means entirely happy. Despite the near inevitable tensions that the contrast between the decline of British international power and the growing global might of the United States imparted to Anglo-American relations, for the most part, military and diplomatic representatives of those two countries worked together relatively harmoniously, their collaboration smoothed by the numerous personal ties to each other's countries linking many of the individuals involved and the shared political and intellectual mindsets of both states. This was far from true of Soviet relations with the two Western powers. Disputes frequently occurred over the dispatch of Lend-Lease goods, when Western representatives believed that the Soviets exaggerated their requirements and Russian officials refused to account for those supplies they had received. Soviet military and political leaders were often churlish and unforthcoming in their meetings with Western counterparts.

More significant, however, was Stalin's fear that his allies were prepared to fight to the last Russian and that they sought to win the war with Russian lives. He particularly resented the Allied failure to open a second front against Germany in Europe until June 1944, which meant that for exactly three years, the Soviet Union faced the undiluted force of the German armies there. The war on the Eastern Front was brutal: 8.5 million Soviet soldiers died in action, and, though the numbers were never precisely calculated, civilian casualties

brought the Russian death toll up to perhaps 27 million in all. Two million German soldiers died in the war, almost 5 million were seriously wounded, and close to another 2 million went missing in action; the great bulk of all these losses occurred on the Eastern Front, where Soviet forces gradually wore down the once mighty Wehrmacht in savage and brutal warfare, waged both by regular troops and by partisans.

Top military and political leaders in the Western democracies, conscious that excessive casualties might eventually lead the public to turn against the war, did not wish to open another front against Germany until they enjoyed a massive advantage in military equipment, which would in turn tend to minimize their own losses. British premier Winston Churchill in particular had bitter memories of World War I trench warfare in Flanders and northern France, which devoured a generation of British young men, and was wary of once again committing huge armies on the same front. He devoted some of his remarkable ingenuity to devising diversionary schemes of "periphery-pecking" to attack Germany on the fringes, in North Africa, Sicily, and Italy, in the hope that it might be possible to avoid a direct assault upon the center of German power through France and the Low Countries. Although American officials were more eager to launch an all-out continental assault against Germany, they too were not prepared to do so until they had assembled a huge, well-equipped, and highly trained expeditionary force for the purpose. Despite Stalin's passionate pleas for the opening of such a second front, first in 1942, then in 1943, this only occurred in June 1944. Until then, he had to rest content with receiving extremely substantial but to his mind, still inadequate Lend-Lease supplies from the "great arsenal of democracy," accompanied by secondary Allied campaigns in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. Allied strategic decisions fueled the never-trusting Stalin's suspicions that his Western Allies sought to pay in Russian blood for defeating Germany, even, perhaps, that they hoped the war would exhaust both Russia and Germany. In practice, this deferred second front meant that when the war ended, Russian military forces would effectively control most of eastern and east-central Europe, a great improvement on the prewar Soviet strategic position and a development Western leaders would dislike but find themselves virtually powerless to prevent. Resentment over what many Russian officials perceived as their disproportionately high sacrifices of lives nonetheless lingered on.

The Battle of Stalingrad (August 1942–2 February 1943)

The Battle of Stalingrad marked the turning-point of World War II in Europe. In July 1942, Adolf Hitler ordered General Friedrich Paulus, commander of the German Sixth Army, to capture the southwest Russian city of Stalingrad. Symboli-

cally important to Stalin because it bore his own name and was therefore identified with himself, the city also controlled southern Russia's road and rail communications, and its capture would open the way for German forces to take Moscow and so bring about Russia's defeat. Stalin therefore rushed 1 million troops to the area. In early September, 250,000 German troops began to enter Stalingrad, which first endured heavy bombing from the Luftwaffe but encountered bitter resistance in street fighting that continued into November, by which time Paulus controlled 90 percent of Stalingrad.

Both Stalin and Hitler now regarded the battle for Stalingrad as a test of will and rushed additional forces there. On 10 November, the Sixth Army launched a new offensive, but Soviet troops drove the Germans back southward to the outskirts of Stalingrad, where they risked encirclement by Soviet troops. Hitler nonetheless ordered Paulus to hold his ground rather than retreat, promising to airlift supplies to him if necessary, a pledge the Luftwaffe could not honor in full. Although most of his officers believed they should attempt a breakout before it was too late, Paulus chose to obey Hitler's orders. Within a month, the shortage of supplies caused 28,000 German troops to starve to death, and eventually, rations were denied any wounded who were unable to fight. In December 1942, an attempt by General Erich von Manstein of the IV Panzer Corps to break through and rescue the trapped Sixth Army ended in failure, and Manstein himself, fearing similar encirclement, withdrew on 27 December and ordered the Sixth Army to break out. Paulus refused to do so, claiming his men were too weak, and on 31 January 1943, the 91,000 German survivors surrendered to the surrounding Soviet forces. Although Soviet losses were far higher, 150,000 German troops died during the siege of Stalingrad, and only 7,000 of those taken prisoner survived the war, 45,000 dying during the forced march to prison camps in Siberia, most of the remainder while in captivity. For the Soviets, Stalingrad proved that they could not merely withstand but defeat the Germans. For Hitler, it was the war's greatest humiliation to date, worse even than El Alamein the previous November, in that the German commander was not merely defeated but also surrendered ignominiously.

About the Document

This description of the differences dividing the Soviet Union and its two greatest allies, and of the Battle of Stalingrad, the turning-point of the war on the Eastern Front, is a composite account based on the two Soviet history textbooks most commonly used by preuniversity students. For twenty years after the mid-1950s, it remained essentially unchanged. Endorsed by the Soviet government, it purveyed the approved official version of World War II to several generations of Soviet schoolchildren.

As one might expect, Soviet textbooks set out the orthodox and ideologically correct Marxist interpretation of the war, citing the alliance with Britain and the United States as an example of the successful application of Soviet founder Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's precept on the treatment of capitalist and imperialist states. The war was presented as an exercise in triumphant Soviet Communist leadership of an antifascist coalition, a crusade undertaken in part, too, due to the mass pressure the British and American peoples exerted on their own governments, but dominated and guided by the Soviets. Writing in the early 1950s, probably while Stalin was in power, the authors of school textbooks prudently took great pains to praise their leader's foresight, diplomatic skill, and implementation of communist principles.

The unidentified authors also sedulously minimized the role of other nations in World War II. Three years of "heroic" Soviet resistance against Germany, "practically on her own," was cited as the primary reason for Hitler's defeat. The Western powers, by contrast, were depicted as quite deliberately deceiving the Soviet Union by failing to launch a second front in 1942 or even 1943, leaving the Red Army to fight alone against Hitler for three years and to defeat his forces unaided at Stalingrad, the turning point in the war. Lend-Lease aid to the Soviet Union, by then quite substantial, was not mentioned except in the context of an alleged eight-month hiatus in supplies, and all emphasis was on the valiant but solitary Russian fight against Germany. Minor details were also altered, so that Stalingrad became a straightforward tale of outnumbered but staunch Soviet defenders courageously beating off an attack from much stronger forces and, in the process, reversing the course of the war. The huge numerical superiority of Soviet troops was transformed into a German "numerical advantage," with 1 million rather than 250,000 German soldiers fighting at Stalingrad; the enormous Russian casualties were quietly left unmentioned; and much was made of the efforts of political commissars to rally soldiers and workers for the battle and how these succeeded. In a straightforward morality tale, the virtuous Soviet Communists succeed in overcoming not just German Fascist forces but also the obstacles placed in their way, all too often deliberately, by the untrustworthy governments—though not, of course, the valiant and enlightened peoples—of their purported allies.

School textbooks habitually emphasize their own country's contributions to significant international events and downplay those of other nations. When envisaging World War II, Americans habitually focus upon Pearl Harbor, North Africa, Italy, D day, and the war in the Pacific; the British highlight an overlapping but not identical series of events and operations, with special emphasis not just on the West European and North African campaigns but also on D day, the Battle of Britain, and the Battle of the Atlantic, whereas their

Pacific war consists largely of Singapore, Hong Kong, and Burma. Soviet textbooks provide a salutary reminder that, for virtually every Russian, all those events were mere sideshows, and the war on the Eastern Front was the “real” war.

In this instance, the intense Cold War antagonisms of the 1950s undoubtedly sharpened the normal tendency in any country to feature its own national contribution to any great international event, deepening the unquestionable resentment of many Russians over the deferment of the European second front, so that the United States and Britain were characterized as untrustworthy, even treacherous, imperialist-capitalists who deliberately sought to win the war at Soviet expense. Though it is difficult to quantify the influence of these particular textbooks and their official, state-sponsored version of the conflict Russians still term “the Great Patriotic War,” given that they were read by hundreds of thousands, even millions, of teenagers in high school, whose parents probably reinforced at least some of these textbooks’ messages with their own memories of the war, one suspects the impact of these writings was probably quite substantial.

Primary Source

Excerpts from Soviet Textbooks on the Battle of Stalingrad

THE CREATION OF THE ANTI-FASCIST COALITION

The [Soviet] victory outside Moscow [in late 1941] finally brought about the decisive formation of an anti-Fascist coalition. On 1 January, 1942, in Washington, twenty-six states, including the USSR, the USA and England, signed the United Nations Declaration. They pledged themselves to make use of their resources for the struggle against the aggressors, to cooperate in waging the war and not to conclude a separate peace. Later, on 26 May, representatives of the Soviet Union and England met in London and signed an agreement of alliance in the war against Hitler’s Germany and its accomplices in Europe. This agreement also provided for collaboration and mutual aid in the post-war world.

Simultaneously in Washington Soviet-American negotiations were set up, culminating in a written agreement on 11 June. Both sides pledged the mutual supply of defence materials and information, as well as the development of trade and economic collaboration.

The Governments of the USA and England, in entering into an anti-Fascist coalition, were pursuing their own imperialist aims. But the formation of the coalition was also a great success for Soviet foreign policy; it was the result of putting into practice the precepts of Lenin on how to take advantage of the deep conflict that exists between the imperialist states. The coalition came into being not only as a result of an agreement between the great powers, but its creation can also be

attributed to the tremendous anti-Fascist struggle waged by millions, with the Communists always to the fore. Of great significance was the pressure the mass of the people exerted on their Governments in England and the United States.

The mainspring and chief protagonist in the united anti-Fascist front of freedom-loving nations was the Soviet Union. The heaviest burden of the struggle against the Fascist hordes lay on the shoulders of the Soviet people and their armed forces.

The Difference in Aims between the Main Participants in the Coalition

Sharp differences of opinion existed between the members of the anti-Fascist coalition about the aims of the war, and about the programme of post-war reconstruction. The USSR was fighting for the defeat of Fascism, the liberation of the enslaved nations, the rebirth of democratic freedom and the creation of favourable conditions for the approaching peace.

The imperialists of the USA and England considered the main aim of the war to be the defeat of Germany and Japan in their capacity as chief rivals, and the consolidation of their domination of the world. At the same time reactionary circles in the USA and England were aiming to preserve Germany and Japan and to provide military power for a struggle against the USSR.

The Soviet Union strictly observed the obligations placed upon her by this alliance, but the USA and England flagrantly infringed the conditions. In the course of Anglo-Soviet and Soviet-American negotiations, agreement was reached about the opening of the Second Front in Europe. In 1942 the USA and England had at their disposition a large body of armed forces and enormous military and technical reserves for waging war in Europe, and, what is more, 70 per cent of the German army was concentrated on the Eastern Front. However, the Western Powers deliberately deceived their ally. They preferred to await the course of events, expecting the exhaustion of the warring parties.

The delay in opening the Second Front postponed the defeat of Fascism and condemned to death yet more millions. For three years the Soviet Union waged a heroic struggle, practically on her own, against the Hitlerite hordes, thus saving world civilization from Fascist barbarism. . . .

The battle outside Moscow had caused the transfer of enemy troops from North Africa. . . .

Because the main Fascist forces had been drawn on to the Soviet-German front, the English command, led by General Montgomery, could now build up their reserves and in October, 1942, begin an offensive. The enemy retreated from Egypt. . . .

The defeat of the Hitlerites, who had flung the main body of their forces into the battle of Stalingrad, now created favourable conditions for an attack by Anglo-American troops in North Africa. In hot pursuit of the Fascists, the Allies

occupied Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, followed by Tunis. In May, 1943, the Italian and German troops in North Africa surrendered utterly. . . .

In spite of repeated assurances by the Allies, the Second Front was not opened in 1943. The Governments of the United States and England were well aware of the needs of the Red Army and of the tremendous losses sustained by the USSR in the war. But in the spring of 1943 they suspended the convoys of military supplies to the northern ports of the USSR and did not start them up again until eight months later. Delays such as this occurred repeatedly. The conduct of the Allies seriously impaired the trust placed in them by the USSR.

STALINGRAD

The Fierce Defensive Battles in the Summer of 1943

Taking advantage of the absence of any Second Front in Europe, the Hitler command concentrated 237 divisions on the Soviet-German front in the summer of 1942, and by the autumn they had increased these to 266 divisions and were preparing a large-scale offensive. The enemy's aim was the destruction of the Soviet troops on the Western Don, and the capture of the extremely rich agricultural areas of the Don and the Kuban and the oil-fields of the Caucasus.

Following the capture of Stalingrad, they planned to cut our lines of communication along the Volga. The Hitlerites thought that a victory in this vital area would allow them to win a decisive campaign and bring the war to an end in 1942.

At the end of June the enemy, gathering its forces in a south-easterly direction undertook a great offensive with forces outnumbering the Soviet troops two to one. . . . The Red Army was faced with the task of halting the enemy, come what may. 'Not one step backwards'—thus ran the command of the Fatherland. The commanding officers and political workers explained to the troops that to retreat further would be to court disaster, and that to withstand the enemy onslaught was to guarantee victory.

The Heroic Defense of Stalingrad

From the middle of July fierce battles against the superior forces of the enemy took place on the distant approaches to Stalingrad. This was the beginning of the mighty battle for Stalingrad. The Soviet troops just managed to hold off a furious attack by the enemy on the west bank of the Don. More than 150,000 inhabitants of Stalingrad, led by the regional party committee, built defensive lines. Workers increased the production of arms to fulfil the needs of the front. Every day forty tanks were sent straight from the factory conveyor belt to the front. Tens of thousands joined the People's Volunteer Corps and fighting battalions. In August the German-Fascist troops, who had the numerical advantage, forced a crossing over the River Don. At the cost of huge losses they succeeded in breaking through our front on 23 August and advancing

towards the Volga. The enemy subjected the town to severe bombardment from the air. 'We have turned the town into a burning hell', boasted the Fascist airmen. German tanks broke through to the area around the tractor factory. But their attack was beaten off by the workers in the factory.

The Hitlerites continued to bring in fresh detachments and concentrated in this area more than a million soldiers, a fifth of all their infantry, and about a third of their tank divisions. Besides this, one Italian army and two Rumanian armies fought by their side. But all the time the enemy offensive was losing impetus. Only at the price of tremendously severe losses did the Hitlerites succeed on 13 September in getting really close to Stalingrad.

From that day on fierce fighting took place in the town itself, the defence of which was entrusted to the 62nd Army under the command of General Chuikov and the 64th Army commanded by General Shumilov.

The enemy tried to break our defences, isolate the defenders and annihilate them in groups. But all their attempts failed. . . .

The Red Army's Triumphant Completion of the Battle of Stalingrad

From the end of 1942 the Great Patriotic War entered upon a new phase. The Red Army definitely passed to the attack, now that they had begun the massive expulsion of the German-Fascist invaders from our soil. . . .

One foggy morning, 19 November, 1942, a great force of Soviet artillery rumbled along the banks of the Don and the Volga, hundreds of planes bearing the Red Star soared into the air. A heavy artillery bombardment lasting eighty minutes preceded the attack, then the troops of the South-Western and Don fronts, commanded by General Vatutin and General Rokossovsky, moved to the offensive.

Shock units of tanks battered the enemy defences. Caught unawares, the enemy troops wavered and began to fall back. The following day, 20 November, the troops of the Stalingrad front, under the command of General Yerenenko, joined the attack and broke through the enemy defences. Mechanized divisions drove through the breach that had been made in the enemy lines. As a result of this speedy attack the troops of the Stalingrad front joined up with those of the South-Western front on 22 November in the area around the town of Kalach. Thus they surrounded twenty-two German Fascist divisions, numbering 330,000 men, together with a large quantity of military equipment. . . .

On 8 January the Soviet command delivered an ultimatum calling for the capitulation of the surrounded German Fascist troops. But Hitler ordered them to continue their resistance, and the ultimatum was declined. Then the Soviet troops began military operations to exterminate this company of enemy soldiers, and on 2 February, 1943, it ceased to exist.

The bodies of 147,200 Fascist officers and men who had been killed in the fight were picked up from the battlefield and buried. The Soviet troops took prisoner 91,000, including 2,500 officers and twenty-four generals, together with General-Fieldmarshal Paulus.

The International Significance of the Victory at Stalingrad

The battle at Stalingrad was the greatest military and political event of the Second World War. This victory turned out to be the beginning of a fundamental change in the course of the war to the advantage of the USSR and the whole of the anti-Fascist coalition. From the banks of the Volga the Red Army began its advance which culminated in the unconditional surrender of Hitler's Germany.

The scale of the German defeat at Stalingrad, unprecedented in the history of war, made the ruling circles of Japan regard matters in a more sober light and staved off Japan's entry into the war against the USSR. It also upset the calculations of Turkey's rulers, who although formally neutral, were in fact assisting Germany and were waiting for the fall of Stalingrad to enter the war on the side of Germany.

Source: Graham Lyons, ed., *The Russian Version of the Second World War: The History of the War as Taught to Soviet Schoolchildren*, trans. Marjorie Vanston (London: Leo Cooper, 1976), pp. 42–54. Excerpt is a composite translation drawn from I. V. Bekhin, M. I. Belenkii, and M. P. Kim, *Istoriya SSSR* (Moscow: Prosveshchenie Moscow, 1956; and P. M. Kuz'michev, G. R. Levin, V. A. Orlov, L. M. Predtechenskaya, and V. K. Furaev, *Noveishaya Istoriya* (Moscow: Prosveshchenie Moscow, 1956.)

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3.3. The Left in Europe: Frank Thompson and Bulgaria

Annotations

About the Author

Frank Thompson came from a liberal intellectual Oxford family with a cosmopolitan background. His anti-imperialist father, an academic and writer, became a strong supporter of Indian nationalism while teaching there; his American mother was born in the Near East to missionary parents. Many slightly older contemporaries of the young Frank fought and some died in the Spanish Civil War, a conflict with which he personally identified emotionally. Frank himself, a gifted linguist who spoke nine European languages, won a scholarship to the elite Winchester College, and in 1938, he entered New College, Oxford. In 1939, Thompson joined the Communist Party at Oxford, but in September that year, he ignored the party's Soviet-ordained antiwar stance and joined the British Army immediately on the outbreak of war. Thompson's linguistic skills soon marked him as a natural recruit for the elite GHQ Liaison Regiment (Phantom), a military unit specializing in communications and intelligence that provided liaison officers to work with the enormously varied and diverse national units included among the forces fighting the Axis. He fought for three years in the Middle East, in the Western Desert, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Syria, the Lebanon, Palestine, and Sicily, and in autumn 1943 transferred to Special Operations Executive (SOE) to work with European partisan resistance movements, many of which were Communist or left-wing. By that time, Thompson had won promotion to the rank of captain; he became a major during his Bulgarian mission, after the death of his superior officer.

Thompson, who retained his left-wing sympathies throughout the war, had hoped to be attached to a Greek partisan group but instead was assigned to a Bulgarian guerrilla unit, the 2nd Sofia Brigade, parachuting to join it in Bulgarian-occupied Serbia in January 1944. At the time, Bulgaria was still controlled by a right-wing government allied to Nazi Germany, and captured partisans were often subjected to brutal torture and execution. For the next four months, Thompson and his associates were constantly on the run, closely pursued by Bulgarian government troops, who surrounded them and other partisan units in April. In mid-May 1944, what remained of the 2nd Sofia Brigade, desperately short of food and supplies, broke out and crossed into Bulgarian territory, and on 31 May 1944, its surviving members were captured. Some were executed immediately, others taken prisoner and held in the village of Litakovo, where they were brutally interrogated, and some—possibly including Thompson—were tor-

tured. On 10 June 1944, most of those still alive, Thompson among them, were shot, killed, and buried in a mass grave. In September 1944, a bloody insurrection in Bulgaria overthrew the existing government, which was replaced by a largely Communist people's regime. Thompson posthumously became a National Hero of the new regime, though over the next 50 or more years, his precise status varied according to the dictates of the government then in power.

About the Documents

Shortly after the war ended, Thompson's family published selections from his wartime diaries, letters, and poems, together with reminiscences of him, in the time-honored format of a memorial volume to a brilliant young man whose career was cut short in war. Numerous such publications had appeared during and just after World War I, when so many promising young men died in the trenches, and grieving families sought some way to memorialize them. If only because the preparation of such works usually required a certain amount of time and money, their subjects were predominantly middle or upper class, a bias intensified because those from such backgrounds were more likely to be well educated and articulate and to leave an extensive cache of written materials behind them. The work on Thompson, prepared by his mother and younger brother, clearly conformed to this by now conventional pattern.

Thompson, a highly articulate young man, wrote frequently to his family and friends during the war and also kept extensive diaries, all of which were returned to his family after his death, together with their letters to him. The letters were originally written not for publication but to convey his wartime experiences and his feelings about them to his correspondents, most of whom he knew shared his own consciously liberal-radical outlook. Although, as is usual in such circumstances, especially when letters are published very close to their time of writing, some material is excluded from the published letters, these omissions appear to be purely personal information rather than anything substantive. Like many on the Left, Thompson hoped that the war would bring a fairer, more just, and more democratic social order to both the victorious and vanquished countries. He expressed great sympathy for the wartime sufferings of the Russian and Eastern European peoples and praised the role of Communists, including Soviet Russia, in defeating Nazi Germany. This was, he felt, the same cause for which several of his friends—Ralph Fox, Geoffrey Garratt, and Anthony Carritt—had fought and all but Garratt had died in the Spanish Civil War. Thompson was also enthusiastic about the prospect of greater postwar European unity, an ideal his own linguistic facility made particularly attractive to him but that many others among his contemporaries shared. His were almost conventional views for the idealistic young Western Left of the

time. His letters and diaries also gave a vivid picture of the multinational Allied forces in the Middle East, conveying the atmosphere of that war with considerable literary skill.

The manner of his death meant that Thompson's memorial volume would be more controversial than most, and ascertaining the precise circumstances in which he died would become an exercise in the politics of the developing Cold War. Thompson's younger brother, Edward, would become one of the foremost radical British historians of his generation, another factor that helped to make Thompson's memory debatable. His mother and brother printed Raina Sharova's account of Thompson's death in good faith, but in reality, it was apparently largely an exercise in fiction: there was no such formal set-piece trial and so no opportunity for Thompson to give the bravura performance reported here. The most credible account is that soldiers of the Bulgarian army commanded by a Captain Stoianov told Thompson, together with around twelve partisans, that they were being moved to another village, marched them to a ditch, and then shot them. Why, then, this highly colored account? The Communist government that seized power in Bulgaria in September 1944 made Thompson an official National Hero, naming a railway station and schools in his honor, erecting memorials, and welcoming his surviving relatives to Bulgaria immediately after the war. National Heroes are expected to behave heroically, to make stirring speeches, and to meet their death with defiance; a squalid unannounced death in a ditch does not suffice. The Bulgarian government therefore ensured that the official version of Thompson's death accorded with the approved scenario of heroic behavior.

Thompson's brother, a dissident Marxist who himself left the British Communist Party in 1956, disgusted by the party's reaction to the "secret speech" of Soviet leader Nikita S. Khrushchev condemning the excesses of his predecessor Josef Stalin, later traced the vagaries of his brother's Bulgarian reputation. In internal power struggles within the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1948, Moscow-trained Communists triumphed over "homegrown" leaders. The Western agents who had been wartime associates of the latter were now depicted as imperialist spies sent to undermine the Communist position, though, because the British Communist Party had claimed Frank Thompson as a member, when not ignored entirely, he was normally depicted as a dupe of his imperialist colleagues, one who had been used and then abandoned by them. From the late 1950s, as Soviet president Nikita Khrushchev relaxed Soviet control over Bulgaria and former partisans emerged from prison to rehabilitation and regained power, Thompson's stock rose, he once more became a National Hero, and in the late 1970s, books and even a film on his life appeared. Rumors abounded, however, that though Thompson himself was trustworthy, anti-Communist SOE operatives in Cairo had passed on the contents of his

wartime radio messages to Bulgarian government forces, thereby absolving the partisans of any blame for his mission's disastrous end. All Bulgarian documents on the subject, however, remained firmly closed to research.

From the British side, there were still more twists to the tale. Here, too, many though not all of the official SOE, War Office, and Foreign Office files were still closed to general research, though some official historians and individuals with SOE connections were able to use them. Thompson's death became one of those episodes that generates its own crop of rumors. Some former British SOE figures alleged that he had disregarded radio instructions from headquarters in Cairo to avoid crossing the Bulgarian frontier with the partisan forces and even forced his radio operator to accompany him at gunpoint. The two men, this story alleged, were then robbed by their Bulgarian associates, who were more bandits than partisans, betrayed to the Bulgarian military, and abandoned to their fate. The sergeant, who survived his capture, later indignantly repudiated this tale to E. P. Thompson. The latter also carefully investigated all the records available to him and found that assorted communications failures and delays due to incompetence meant that Thompson had effectively been left to make his own decisions in extremely hazardous situations and received little support of any kind from his base; in other words, this SOE mission was poorly conceived, administered, and backed up, though perhaps no more so than comparable efforts, some of which still, against the odds, succeeded.

The most bitter surmise regarding British policy toward Frank Thompson, however, sprang from the fact that, as British relations with the Soviet Union deteriorated in early 1944 and the shadow of the coming Cold War became apparent, British premier Winston Churchill ordered that SOE be cleansed of operatives with Communist sympathies. According to E. P. Thompson, his brother's membership in the British Communist Party was primarily a response to the rise of fascism in Europe, his party association and loyalty remained loose if not nonexistent, and Frank did not belong to any communist cell or group within the army; indeed, Edward Thompson was certain his brother would have repudiated the party no later, at most, than he himself did. Even so, he made no secret of his broad leftist orientation, and British authorities almost certainly knew of and disliked his past affiliations. According to the accepted version, Captain Stoianov, who ordered Thompson's execution and that of his comrades, exceeded his orders in doing so, crimes for which, together with six of his men from the firing party, he was summarily tried and himself executed in September 1944. E. P. Thompson nonetheless speculated that, at this stage in the war, when their own position was precarious, Bulgarian government officials would not have shot a British officer out

of hand and risked alienating his country. He suspected, therefore, that prior consultations with some British representative occurred, in which the Bulgarian government learned that his superiors considered Thompson expendable.

If this were indeed so, any British records relating to the subject would almost certainly have been destroyed, if indeed anything were ever put on paper in the first place. Though the Bulgarian government then in power conceivably might have protected itself by keeping some written record of any such conversations, it might equally well have found it more convenient to place all the blame on Captain Stoianov. Even though the Bulgarian records are closed, one suspects that, if any proof of such an understanding had still been extant on the Bulgarian side, the Communist regime would long since have made this evidence of dual betrayal public. Most of those involved are now dead, some many decades ago. It will never be possible either to prove or disprove E. P. Thompson's theory, but a brutal question mark will always hang over the reason for Frank Thompson's death.

Primary Source

A) Frank Thompson, Excerpt from a Letter to His Family, November 1941

Aren't the Slavs a splendid lot? The Poles have suffered more than any nation in Europe. The Czechs, especially their students, have done far more than we had any right to expect. I try to imagine myself standing in Broad Street [Oxford] while the officials of the National Union of Students are shot in cold blood. That's what happened in Prague. Serb rebels are currently reported to be in virtual control of a quarter of Serbia. Perhaps it's not just coincidence that Serb resistance has been much stronger since Russia came in. There's a strong Communist movement in Yugoslavia. Even the old peasant Bulgars will turn in the end—just you see. Nor is it the first time the Slavs have thrown their bodies between Europe and destruction. They bore the brunt of the Turks and the Tartars too. 'To suffer like a Slav' will soon become a byword in all the world's languages.

Source: E. P. Thompson and T. J. Thompson, eds., *There Is a Spirit in Europe* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1947), letters from pp. 134, 169–170. Courtesy Dorothy Thompson.

Primary Source

B) Frank Thompson, Diary Entry, 5 August 1942

There is something epic about this 'Middle East' if only one could get a frame for it. We have an assortment of nationalities that would make Caesar's legions look like a team from the Home Counties. The Russians, driving north through

Hamadan, close-cropped, berry-brown, in dark blue breeches with knee-boots, grinning fit to bust and giving the V-sign to every one they pass; the diminutive Iraqis in khaki breeches and puttees mounting guard among the white holyhocks on the Persian frontier; the Arab legion and the French *meharistes*, slender and almost girlish in their red-and-white kefiyehs and long brown cassocks, camps like old Tamurlane on the green steppe-land, swaying round the fire in dances that might have come from *Sanders of the River*; Indians everywhere, the neatest, cleanest and most dignified soldiers in our army—fat, bearded Sikhs, P.M.s with their pointed puggarrees, and Gurkhas (are those Gurkhas with their almost Malayan features?) travelling impassively on the backs of trucks; coons everywhere, squatting round brushfires, driving down main roads like a wind out of hell, grinning in road-gangs, but never, that I could see, working (on the Phoenician sea coast a camp with a large crocodile mosaicked out in white pebbles with the word BASUTOLAND); elegant Greek and Yugoslav officers preening themselves on the streets of Alex[andria]; Fighting French, Poles, Canucks, Yanks in jeeps, huge South Africans almost childlike in their docility, New Zealanders, rough-hewn and intelligent, Aussies, rough-hewn and undoubtedly villainous. And Englishmen? Yes, there are quite a few Englishmen—nearly always to be recognized by their utter civilianity, the complete lack of martial fire or any other eccentricity with which they stroll down streets and stare wistfully into shop windows. And glimpses, not always without humour, of the Wops and Dutchies. This war is demonstrating, beyond any hope of refutation, the Unity of Man. No one, at least, who's been in the Middle East will want to deny it.

Source: E. P. Thompson and T. J. Thompson, eds., *There Is a Spirit in Europe* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1947), letters from pp. 134, 169–170. Courtesy Dorothy Thompson.

Primary Source

C) Frank Thompson, Diary Entry, 25 February 1943

How wonderful it would be to call Europe one's fatherland, and think of Krakov, Munich, Rome, Arles, Madrid as one's own cities! I am not yet educated to a broader nationalism, but for a United States of Europe I could feel a patriotism far transcending my love for England. Differences between European peoples, though great, are not fundamental. What differences there are serve only to make people mutually more attractive. Not only is this Union the only alternative to disaster. It is immeasurably more agreeable than any way of life we have known to date.

Source: E. P. Thompson and T. J. Thompson, eds., *There Is a Spirit in Europe* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1947), letters from pp. 134, 169–170. Courtesy Dorothy Thompson.

Primary Source

D) Frank Thompson, Excerpt from a Letter to His Family, 26 July 1943

Every one just now is exulting about [the fall of] Mussolini. My chief regret is that Geoffrey Garratt is not here to enjoy and record this last chapter of his story. It's more than ever necessary now, with this wave of self-righteousness spreading over British propaganda, with the First and Eighth armies wearing Crusader's shields, with the Church doing its level best to corner the moral credit for the war on Fascism, to remember those men who, in the sierras and on the banks of the Ebro, bore the heat of the day alone; who fought against hopeless odds, while many of our leading churchmen were expressing delight that the trains ran on time in fascist Italy. This is their victory—Cornford's victory, Ralph Fox's victory, the victory of the Carritts and the Garratts, of the Asturian miners and Barcelona working men. Those of us who came after were merely adopting an idea that they proved—that freedom and Fascism can't live in the same world, and that the free man, once he realises this, will always win.

Source: E. P. Thompson and T. J. Thompson, eds., *There Is a Spirit in Europe* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1947), letters from pp. 134, 169–170. Courtesy Dorothy Thompson.

Primary Source

E) Frank Thompson, Excerpt from a Letter to His Brother, Edward Palmer Thompson, 25 December 1943

My Christmas Message to you is one of Greater Hope than I have ever had in my life before. There is a spirit abroad in Europe which is finer and braver than anything that tired continent has known for centuries, and which cannot be withstood. You can, if you like, think of it in terms of politics, but it is broader and more generous than any dogma. It is the confident will of whole peoples who have known the utmost humiliation and suffering and have triumphed over it, to build their own life once and for all. . . . And for every one that is killed or mutilated by the Gestapo, the Ustasha, the Brigades Speciales of Vichy, and all the other despicable quislings, two more are made by that example. There is a marvellous opportunity before us—and all that is required from Britain, America and the U.S.S.R. is imagination, help and sympathy. This may look like an over-simplification, but it isn't. Four years of Nazi occupation have made the main issues in Europe very clear. . . . 1944 is going to be a good year though a terrible one.

Source: E. P. Thompson and T. J. Thompson, eds., *There Is a Spirit in Europe* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1947), letters from pp. 134, 169–170. Courtesy Dorothy Thompson.

Primary Source

F) Frank Thompson, Excerpt from a Letter to Iris Murdoch, 26 December 1943

I have had the honour to meet and talk to some of the best people in the world. People whom, when the truth is known, Europe will recognise as among the finest and toughest she has ever borne. Meeting them has made me utterly disgusted with some aspects of my present life, reminding me that all my waking hours should be dedicated to one purpose only. This sounds like all New Year resolutions, but in this case I think I shall soon have a change in my way of living which will give me a real chance. Nothing else matters. We must crush the Nazis and build our whole life anew. 'If we should meet again, why then, we'll smile.' If not, why then those that follow us will be able to smile far more happily and honestly in the world we have all helped to make. And, believe me, no men are more disarming in their gaiety than these men our allies, who have known more suffering than we can easily imagine.

Source: E. P. Thompson and T. J. Thompson, eds., *There Is a Spirit in Europe* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1947), letters from pp. 134, 169–170. Courtesy Dorothy Thompson.

Primary Source

G) Account by Raina Sharova of Frank Thompson's Death, 7 June 1944

Major Frank Thompson . . . was executed about June 10 after a mock trial at Litakovo. . . . He had been in captivity about ten days. With him perished four other officers—one American, a Serb and two Bulgarians—and eight other prisoners. Fifty-seven of Thompson's other companions had already been executed. . . .

When the partisans were taken to Litakovo it appears that the plan was to have them lynched so that, if enquiry were made, their deaths could be represented as due to a spontaneous outburst of popular indignation. This attempt failed; the people were on their side.

A public 'trial' was hastily staged in the village hall. A Bulgarian officer, whom the eye-witness calls 'the captain,' was in charge. The hall was packed with spectators.

The eye-witness saw Frank Thompson sitting against a pillar smoking his pipe. When he was called for questioning, to everyone's astonishment he needed no interpreter, but spoke in correct and idiomatic Bulgarian. He was asked his name, rank, race and political opinions.

'By what right do you, an Englishman, enter our country and wage war against us?' he was asked.

Major Thompson answered, 'I came because this war is something very much deeper than a struggle of nation against nation. The greatest thing in the world now is the struggle of Anti-Fascism against Fascism.'

'Do you not know that we shoot men who hold your opinions?'

'I am ready to die for freedom. And I am proud to die with Bulgarian patriots as companions.'

The crowd was deeply stirred, and an old woman broke from it. . . .

'I am an old woman, and it does not matter what happens to me. But you are all wrong. We are not on your side; we are on the side of these brave men.'

The captain struck her to the ground. He saw that the crowd were against him and the trial was hustled to a finish; it was all over in less than half an hour.

Major Thompson took charge of the condemned men and led them to the castle. As they marched off before the assembled people, he raised a clenched fist, the salute of the Fatherland Front which the Allies were helping. A gendarme struck his arm down, but Thompson called out to the people, 'I give you the Salute of Freedom!'

All the men died raising this salute.

The spectators were sobbing, many present declared the scene was one of the most moving in all Bulgarian history, that the men's amazing courage was the work of the English Officer who also carried their spirits, as well as his own.

Source: Account by Raina Sharova quoted in E. P. Thompson and T. J. Thompson, eds., *There Is a Spirit in Europe* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1947), pp. 10–11. Courtesy Dorothy Thompson.

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3.4. D-Day: American and German Perspectives

D-Day, 6 June 1944

On 6 June 1944, 2,727 ships, part of an armada of more than 5,000, landed a combined U.S., British, and Canadian invasion force, 5 infantry divisions of 156,000 men, on 5 Normandy beaches over a 30-mile front, the greatest and best equipped such operation ever undertaken in history. Three airborne divisions totaling 23,000 troops, two-thirds of them American, also parachuted in the night before, taking heavy casualties of more than one-third. In the following two days, another 156,000 troops landed, and within a month a total of more than 1 million Allied men had come ashore. Ten thousand Allied aircraft provided air cover, and immediately before the invasion began, had bombarded all German communications in the surrounding area, destroying almost every bridge across the Seine. This was the opening of Operation OVERLORD, the long-awaited Allied Second Front against Germany, the full-scale invasion of Western Europe, aimed at the center of German power, which Soviet leader Josef Stalin had demanded ever since Pearl Harbor. Conscious that failure would be disastrous, U.S. leaders had waited until they had assembled an invasion force sufficiently large and well-equipped to maximize their chances of victory.

By this time Soviet forces were advancing into Eastern Europe, and Stalin coordinated a major Soviet military offensive with D-Day, to give the Allied invasion the greatest chances of success. Germany now faced attack by huge armies from both the west and the east, who would eventually meet at the Elbe River in Germany itself in late April 1945. Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, the charismatic commander of the 50 German divisions facing the Allied invasion, begged German Führer Adolf Hitler for as much additional support as possible, especially German panzer reserves. The only German chance of resisting defeat, he believed, was to repel the Allied invasion force on the beaches themselves, since once they broke through the highly mechanized North American and British units, who faced far less well equipped and therefore less mobile German troops, they would be able to range throughout France. Hitler did order the reinforcement of Normandy's defenses in late April 1944, believing that the Allies would land airborne forces there as part of a broader invasion concentrated on the Pas de Calais, but the new fortifications, mines, and other defensive preparations were patchy and incomplete.

Despite continuing German reverses on the Eastern Front, Hitler himself welcomed the Allied invasion, which would finally give German troops the opportunity to meet the main bulk of the Anglo-American armies. Allied disinformation,

moreover, had convinced Hitler, and, initially, Rommel too, that that the Normandy invasion was only a feint, with the main thrust to come elsewhere, and additional German units and equipment were slow in arriving, in part due to Allied air supremacy. German airplane production could not match that of the United States and the Soviet Union, and gasoline shortages caused cutbacks in pilot training time, so that German fliers were increasingly inexperienced and accident-prone, and their craft were no longer of the highest quality. The Luftwaffe (German air force) had virtually no planes in reserve in France, and though 10 wings were supposedly transferred from Germany to meet the invasion, in practice, few arrived, and between 50 and 150 German aircraft faced 10,000 Allied counterparts. Even so, despite the absence of air support and tanks, German troops put up fierce resistance, inflicting 2,500 casualties on the American forces that landed at Omaha Beach on D-Day itself. During the Normandy Campaign, the casualty rate among Allied troops was 50 percent higher than that they inflicted on German soldiers, who fought highly efficiently in desperate circumstances. Indeed, according to the military historian Martin L. Van Creveld, despite their inferiority in matériel and supplies, German troops consistently outfought their American counterparts, something he ascribes to superior German training; the Wehrmacht's cultivation of teamwork, leadership abilities, and camaraderie from the lowest level upward; and the proliferation of administrative paperwork and bureaucracy that bedeviled the U.S. armed forces (Van Creveld 1982). Over the first three days, the invasion force took 10,300 casualties, and not until the end of July did the Allies break out of their Normandy bridgehead into France proper.

About the Author

Forrest Pogue was one of the great combat historians and military biographers of the twentieth century. Born in Murray, Kentucky, as a young graduate student, he studied in both Paris and Germany in the late 1930s. Returning to pursue an academic career, after Pearl Harbor, he was called up for military service and selected as one of the U.S. Army's combat historians. During World War II, the War Department decided to establish a special unit of professional historians, some of whom would accompany the American forces during the operations, and Pogue was among them. He went with American units as they fought their way through France and into Germany, an assignment during which he became well-known for taking risks in the pursuit of historical truth. After the war, Pogue wrote the official history of the U.S. Supreme Command during World War II. He was later selected as the official biographer of General George C. Marshall, chief of staff of the U.S. Army throughout the war and subsequently both secretary of state and secretary of defense, on whom

Pogue produced a massive four-volume work. Pogue pioneered the use and techniques of oral history, conducting extensive interviews with personnel in the armed forces, and later with Marshall himself and many of his associates. He also became famed for the generous encouragement he gave to younger scholars just beginning their careers.

About the Documents

The two documents given here are different in type. Pogue kept a diary of his adventures as a combat historian, which was published after his death. Besides the actual diary, the published version included a retrospective account of his own experience on D-Day and the day after, together with a summary of the picture he was able to put together from interviews with many of the combat personnel involved within a few days of the invasion. From the other side, Robert Vogt was a 19-year-old German infantryman who took part in 10 days of fighting, from the actual invasion until 16 June 1944, when he was wounded and captured. His reminiscences, published more than 40 years after D-Day as part of a book of oral history reminiscences on the Third Reich at the time, give one rather young soldier's individual view of his small part of a vast operation.

Pogue was a trained historian in his early thirties when he took part in the D-Day landings. His chance to accompany the D-Day landings was undoubtedly one of the most exciting episodes in his entire professional career. He was, moreover, not without courage. Finishing his studies in Germany in the late 1930s, he risked attracting unwelcome attention from German customs officials and secret police and brought out with him a suitcase full of both Nazi and anti-Nazi propaganda he had collected during his months there. His own observations on D-Day are those of a trained and rather skeptical observer, who saw no need to exaggerate the role that he and his fellow "parasites," the combat historians, played in that event. Particularly illuminating is his comment how badly Omaha Beach was obscured by smoke, making it unlikely that the media correspondents who sent back such vivid eyewitness reports of what they had watched that day from 10 miles offshore were giving their readers and listeners quite the unvarnished truth!

Pogue's description of the overall landings, drawn from a lengthy series of interviews extending over six weeks with officers and men who took part in the landings, beginning on 7 June, when various wounded men came aboard his ship, was a synthesis of the information given him by many different individuals, each of whom had seen only his small part of an operation involving hundreds of thousands of men on each side. Pogue was primarily interested in providing an accurate overview of the Normandy invasion and did not attempt to minimize any blunders that had occurred, such as the dispersion of units, losses of equipment, "land[ings] on

the wrong beaches," or confusion once the troops were ashore. He cited a long list of difficulties encountered on Omaha Beach in particular, some at least probably avoidable. Pogue's objective was to put together a picture of what actually happened during the Normandy invasion, not to glorify American feats of arms and ignore any mistakes.

Robert Vogt was only 19 on D-Day, a private in the German infantry facing his first big operation. Infantry privates, such as Vogt, were the basic fighting men who had to carry out the orders given by those above them and do the bulk of the fighting. Even though far more soldiers serve in the lower ranks, they tend to leave fewer individual and personal records behind them than do their seniors. Though each separate soldier's experience of war differs from every other one, that of any one private is probably the most typical overall. In every war, the infantry do most of the usually rather unglamorous ground fighting, often facing the heaviest casualties and the greatest danger. By 1944, many of the more battle-hardened German soldiers had died on the Eastern Front, and new recruits, of whom Vogt "was one of the oldest," were increasingly young and obviously inexperienced. Even 40 years on, his recollections were still vivid, perhaps understandably given that the 10 days he was recounting were his only real experience of combat.

Vogt gives a vivid picture both of his part in the actual fighting and of the state of the German army at this stage of the war. He also graphically describes the chaos and confusion that characterize almost every war, especially when an army is on the receiving end of an offensive attack. His experiences during his 10 days of fighting probably resembled those of many other German troops, fighting in foxholes and rather hopelessly trying to oppose the oncoming invaders. He frankly confessed that he "was scared stiff the entire time," feelings undoubtedly common among soldiers in combat, which many, however, might not wish to admit. He remembered only too well and, even 40 years later, obviously intensely resented the shortages of ammunition and weapons, as well as the absence of air cover—something on which Pogue also commented—that plagued the German army by this time. It is doubtful whether, at this stage, Hitler had yet written off Normandy, but American propaganda that he had done so clearly sank in, depressing the spirits of Vogt and his fellow soldiers. Vogt vividly recalled the contrast between the German forces' scanty equipment and the abundant weaponry at the disposal of their opponents, whether in shipping, airpower, tanks, or weaponry, and how this material superiority meant "[t]he Allies could afford to spare their troops." Morale apparently sometimes flagged, as his anecdote of a German officer forcing soldiers to advance at gunpoint illustrates. Vogt's unit was perhaps particularly badly supplied; it is worth remembering that Allied forces took six weeks to break out of Normandy itself. Vogt's reminiscences

are the kind of raw material from which Pogue eventually put together his own composite account. Inasmuch as they are the recollections of one particular individual, they have a personal immediacy not present in Pogue's synthesis, which does, however, provide an excellent broad overview of the early stages of the Normandy Campaign from the Allied perspective.

Primary Source

A) Forrest C. Pogue on the D-Day Landings

[Forrest C. Pogue, then a young official combat historian in the United States army, was present at the D-Day landings. His group of five combat historians was attached to part of the 175th Infantry, who were supposed to land on the afternoon of 6 June 1944, D-Day itself. Congestion on the invasion beaches meant the 175th did not land until 7 June 1944, while the historical personnel remained on board ship until the following day. Pogue described what he was able to observe of the day's fighting on 7 June.]

Naval craft off the beaches fired sporadically. Everyone seemed pleased that the French ships were joining in the attack on shore positions. Destroyers lay near the shore and fired on shore positions several miles in. The Germans replied occasionally to the fire, but without effect, and as for German air, we saw only one enemy plane, a reconnaissance aircraft, during the day. British and American planes were over in force all day. In one fifteen-minute period we counted five flights of eighteen Marauders each.

After three o'clock the skies cleared except for a few clouds over the fighting area and it turned hot, to our great discomfort. We wanted to go ashore, but orders came out that only people with rifles, who were prepared to use them, were to go in. So we parasites, armed for the most part with pistols, stayed aboard as spectators of the second act. Standing on jeeps and trucks, we watched developments off Omaha Beach as if we were at a fair. Actually, we could make out very little on the shore. Signs of movement were obscured by smoke from the firing, fires that had been started by shells, and by the demolition of mines. I did not see how it was possible for troops to have recognized any landmarks, nor have I been able to understand how correspondents, who watched the D-Day attack from ten miles out, ever got such vivid pictures of the shore. . .

My own picture of D-Day was gleaned from dozens of interviews with officers and men who went in during the morning of 6 June. Some I talked to shortly after they were wounded, others I interviewed as they rested near the front lines, and some gave their stories weeks later. A short outline of that morning is given below.

The ships that took the assault elements to Normandy had been loaded, much like ours, in many coves and inlets in Wales, southern England, and the eastern counties. On the

evening of 5 June they had proceeded from the rendezvous area near the Isle of Wight southward toward France. Shortly after midnight, minesweepers of the Allied fleet began to clear channels through the minefields for the ships. British and American airborne units took off from English fields and flew overhead to drop over their objectives—the British east of the Orne and the Americans in the Cotentin Peninsula. The British reached their bridgehead early and secured it, while the American forces, scattered to a considerable degree, had a tough job of assembling for concerted action.

Toward daylight the planes and ships took up their task of softening up the enemy, the chief change in plan being that . . . the air force struck a few miles inland instead of at the beaches. On the western limit of Omaha Beach, the Rangers scrambled ashore to find that the six guns they were to knock out were pulled back out of their way.

By daylight, ship channels had been cleared to the beaches and the small landing craft had been filled with men from the LSTs and larger transports and were on their way in from rendezvous points some ten miles out. The floating tanks were started in, as were guns in small craft. Only five out of thirty-two DDs survived of those that tried to float in under their own power, while most of those in the other tank battalion, sent in at the last minute by boat, got in safely. In one field artillery battalion all but one gun was lost when the craft carrying them capsized.

The accounts of the early landings tend to follow the same pattern. Heavy seas threatened to swamp the smaller craft and made many of the soldiers seasick. Enemy fire struck numerous craft or forced navy crews to unload in deep water. Poor visibility, obstacles, and inexperience led other navy crews to land on the wrong beaches. Many of the soldiers in the first waves had to wade ashore carrying heavy equipment, which they often disposed of in deep water. At the extreme ends of the beaches, the cliffs interfered to some extent with the enemy fire and gave our troops some protection. In front of Vierville, the men hid behind the seawall that ran along the beach, and near Saint-Laurent-sur-Mer they found mounds of shingles to use as cover. Accounts of the first hours on the beaches speak of efforts of officers and non-coms [non-commissioned officers] to organize their units and get them off the beaches, but often those who tried to direct the attack fell as soon as they exposed themselves to the enemy. In some cases, platoons stuck together, but in others sections landed some distance apart—and there were instances where dispersed elements attached themselves to entirely different regiments and divisions and did not return to their parent organization for two or three days.

The first real effort to give direction to the attack came after the regimental commanders landed. The command group of the 116th Regimental Combat Team, which included Brigadier General Norman D. Cota, the assistant division

commander, and Colonel C. D. W. Canham, the regimental commander, came in at about 7.30 a.m. The S-4 of the regiment was killed near the water's edge and other members of the command group were hit. Colonel Canham was wounded as he tried to organize the attack, but after receiving first aid he returned to his task. One of the most active commanders was General Cota, who, according to the accounts of the soldiers, was apparently everywhere that morning. Some spoke of his handling the bangalore torpedo that breached the wire at one of the exits, and others had him handling a Browning automatic rifle. His activities in the first weeks ashore made him almost a legendary figure. Noncoms were also called on to give leadership, as heavy casualties were inflicted on the junior officers. In one case, a private who had worked until a short time before in the regimental Post Exchange rallied the men of his unit by calling them by name and persuading them to follow him over the seawall.

On the 16th Infantry's beaches, Colonel George Taylor, the RCT commander, gained lasting fame by saying to his officers and men: "The only people on the beach are the dead and those who are going to die—now let's get the hell out of here." In a short time he had the men in his sector moving. He and Colonel Canham were promoted to the rank of brigadier general for their work on D-Day.

The manner of the advance up the bluffs differed somewhat among the various units. Some stayed behind the seawall until units in the second and third waves came in through them and went up the cliffs. Others, after being reorganized, pressed forward and by noon were on top of the bluffs.

By midnight on 6 June all of the regiments in the 1st Division (the 16th, the 18th, and 26th) and two from the 29th (the 116th and 115th) had been landed on Omaha Beach. The 2d and 5th Ranger Battalions were in position to their right. Heavy seas, landings on the wrong beaches, intense fire from well-trenched positions, the foundering of DD tanks and artillery pieces, abnormally high casualties among officers, failure to open all the beach exits, beach congestion, the slowness of some of the assault waves to move forward from the seawall, the difficulty of using the full force of naval gunfire because of the fear of inflicting losses on the infantrymen, the lack of sufficient gaps in underwater obstacles and beach obstacles, and the failure, for various reasons, of air bombardment to take out beach fortifications all placed V Corps a considerable distance from its D-Day objectives, and, as a result of the presence of the German 352d Division in the area, in danger of a counterattack before the time estimated. In the face of this situation, the regiments were reorganized, defenses were set up for the night, and preparations made for a vigorous offensive to attain the D-Day objectives as quickly as possible.

Source: Forrest C. Pogue. *Pogue's War: Diaries of a WWII Combat Historian* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky,

2001), pp. 51–54. Reprinted with permission of University Press of Kentucky.

Primary Source

B) German Infantryman Robert Vogt Describes the D-Day Landings and the Normandy Campaign

Before June 6, 1944, the day of the D-Day landings, we were directly on the coast near Arromanches, planting "Rommel Asparagus." We did all of this at low tide when the sea retreated for several miles. We put in a wooden beam and then, at a distance of, I'd say, five yards, another beam. On top of these, we attached a third beam with clamps—all of it done by hand—and secured more clamps. We attached land mines to the tips of the beams, all such that at high tide, the mines were so close to the water surface that even a flat-bottomed boat would touch them and be destroyed.

All this construction went on under great pressure, because there were virtually no bunkers at our location, only dugouts. This was the time when Field Marshal Rommel said the famous words, "You must stop them here on the first day. If you don't stop them here, it's over."

We worked in shifts around the clock. I caught some shut-eye that night. We had built two- and three-story bunk beds in a farmhouse about 500 yards from the beach. It must have been around 2:30 A.M. when I jumped out of bed at the sound of a huge crash. At first I had absolutely no idea what was going on. Of course we had been expecting something, but we didn't have a clue as to where and when. We didn't know that this was the invasion. In the distance, we heard bomb carpets falling all along the coast and in the rear areas. There were intermittent pauses which lasted anywhere from half an hour to an hour, but the area we were in was a terrible mess.

All at once we were under alarm condition three, the highest level. By then we guessed it must be the invasion, but since it was still dark outside and we couldn't see any ships or anything, we still weren't sure.

In the morning, my platoon leader told me to go to the coast to try and make contact with the other platoons in our company. On the way, I ran into a bomber attack, but I managed to get to our position on the Arromanches cliffs. Guns and machine guns were already firing. Then a voice called, "Enemy landing boats approaching!" I had a good view from the top of the cliffs and looked out at that ocean. What I saw scared the devil out of me. Even though the weather was so bad, we could see a huge number of ships. Ships as far as the eye could see, an entire fleet, and I thought, "Oh God, we're finished! We're done for now!"

During the following days, we were stuck in foxholes along the front. And when these foxholes were shot up—if the Americans were stalled for long enough—other troops came and we were pulled out again.

I last saw action on July 16, 1944. We only had infantry weapons; we didn't even have a bazooka. And to top it off, we were even short of small-arms ammo. The supply columns had not taken the Allies' total air superiority into account. They got caught in heavy fire and were terribly shot up, so we didn't get any supplies. Our company commander sent several men to the shot-up supply units at night to pick up ammunition and bring it back to us at the front. And the Americans were right. They dropped leaflets in German which read, "Attacked from the front, Cut off from behind, Written off by Hitler."

Every day we told ourselves, "Now, finally, the Luftwaffe squadrons are going to come and whip them good." They didn't come. I didn't see a single German tank the entire time, either. We only had some light machine guns and the ammunition we had scrounged up, no heavy weapons or anything else. Well, we dug ourselves in at the edge of some woods, and when the Yanks came over the next hedgerow, we shot at them with our machine guns, trying to use our ammunition sparingly. After two or three bursts it usually got quiet, but it didn't take long until mortar and artillery fire set in. What was really bad were the heavy battleship guns. And then came the Marauders, the Lightnings, and the Thunderbolts—that was the worst.

I think we were used as cannon fodder. You know, it was the fifth year of the war, and we just didn't have the means. The Allies could afford to spare their troops, what with their superiority in equipment. They said, "Why should we sacrifice a single GI against German infantry fire; the Germans outdo us there anyway. No, we'll just carpet-bomb them. We'll just use our fliers to drop the sky on their heads. We'll just make use of our superior artillery."

At the time, we had to rely on little apple trees for cover. I could still hug those trees today. The pilots flew 100 feet over our heads and if they saw anything, they didn't only drop bombs, they sent their Thunderbolts to fire rockets at us. It was pretty bad. We made use of every blade of grass and every little tree when we heard the planes coming.

I was scared stiff the entire time, but at the same time, I was incredibly angry that we were being used against such odds. Still, we wanted to hold the front under any circumstances, and hoped from day to day that the German tanks would finally show up, that some artillery would arrive, and, above all, that the German Luftwaffe would fly in. One single time I saw two German fighter planes, and that was at Arromanches on the morning of June 6. Two Messerschmitts. When we saw them, we all shouted hurrah, but they were the only ones. That was it. It was so terribly depressing.

On the morning of June 16, between 11:00 and 11:30, we came under heavy machine gun fire. And then the monsters came: tanks. They approached our positions through the brush and fired at us. At this point we were in a large meadow surrounded by hedges. I would guess that the tanks were

about 250 yards away. I counted 15 of them. They didn't come directly at us. They stopped, practically taunting us. And whenever they spotted any of us, they let loose a barrage of shells. It was horrible.

I looked right and I looked left, and I told myself that shooting any more with a machine gun was pointless. We didn't have any bazookas. They must have thought we did, though, otherwise they would have advanced more quickly. As it was, they stopped at a distance slightly out of bazooka range. Then they came forward very slowly. We got tank fright and I saw German *Landser* moving back to my left and right. My comrades and I took off too. We only took our weapons along with us. We left all of our personal belongings—there wasn't much—back in the foxholes.

About 400 yards from the positions we had just left, we came upon a great miracle: an 88 mm ack-ack gun. We reported to the commanding officer that tanks were coming up. At nineteen, I was one of the oldest. The officer pulled out his machine pistol and said, "If you don't advance and reinforce our position in a half-circle of at least 200 yards, I'll shoot you!" To say the least, we suddenly got our courage back!

I had advanced about 150 yards when I came under heavy fire again. I hit the dirt behind a tree and then, oh God, I heard our flak gun shooting. I can't tell you what a tremendous lift that gave me! The next moment I saw a tank coming toward me, crushing the shrubbery in its path, and I did exactly what I shouldn't have done: I jumped up and ran away because I thought it was going to crush me flat. I hadn't gone three or four steps when I was hit above the left knee with what felt like a sledgehammer. It hurt, and then again, it didn't. I tried to stand up two or three times, but my leg just wouldn't participate. Uh-oh, I thought, now they've got you. And then my only thought was the hope that I wouldn't be run over by that tank.

Later I heard that the attack was stopped by the German flak gun, and that the Americans drew back again. The unwounded German soldiers were able to hold the position for a few more days.

Source: Johannes Steinhoff, Peter Pechel, and Dennis Showalter, eds., *Voices from the Third Reich: An Oral History* (Washington, DC: Regnery Gateway, 1989), pp. 253–256.

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3.5 The Men Who Fought the War: Experiences of U.S. Soldiers

U.S. Soldiers in World War II

Sixteen million Americans served in their country's armed forces between 1939 and 1945, with the majority by far entering the army in some capacity. Some of them were volunteers, but the great bulk were conscripted ("drafted") under the Selective Service legislation passed in 1940 and periodically revised throughout the war. While all the armed forces obviously had significant numbers of long-serving career personnel ranging in age from their late twenties well into their fifties and even beyond, and as the war progressed older men were drafted in increasing numbers, for the most part the American troops who fought the war were relatively young men, in their late teens and early twenties. In the United States, the minimum age for conscription was originally twenty-one, but fell to eighteen during the war, while the British government gradually dropped its lower limit from twenty to eighteen. The same was largely true of the military of other countries that took part in the conflict. Indeed, by the time the war ended huge military casualties were forcing the German armed forces to enlist boys of seventeen, sixteen, and even fifteen or fourteen, together with elderly men previously considered unsuitable for active service. Equally youthful troops fought with the Soviet forces, especially as partisans, and in both the Japanese and Chinese military.

Of those who joined the American military, by no means all saw active combat service, but even support personnel providing backup services, handling supplies, or doing administrative work were liable to encounter decidedly hazardous situations once they left the security of the United States. Some of those who belonged to glamorous elite units of the armed forces, bomber and fighter pilots, for example, parachute regiments, commandos, and marines, also faced extremely high casualty rates. Overall, however, it was the ground troops or infantry who bore the brunt of both fighting and casualties. In his final report on the war, U.S. Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall, a man who always

demonstrated particular concern and respect for the infantry, wrote: "The heaviest losses have been on the ground where the fighting never ceases night or day. Disregarding their heavy losses to disease and exposure, the combat divisions have taken more than 81 percent of all our casualties. . . . In the Army at large, the infantry comprises only 20.5 percent of total strength overseas, yet it has taken 70 percent of the total casualties." Tank units, although supposedly protected by their armor, also fought under extremely dangerous conditions, not least because they were exposed to assaults from their deadly enemy counterparts. Relatively young men, whose physical fitness and stamina was at its peak, were disproportionately represented in all combat units. Those aged thirty or above, even officers, they usually considered to be "old" men.

Young men who joined the armed forces were often extremely "gung ho" and confident at the beginning of their service, especially when undergoing the lengthy training most received before they were eventually sent overseas. If only to enable themselves to function psychologically, even under combat conditions many individuals believed that they would not be killed or wounded, a faith large numbers rather superstitiously tried to reinforce by observing particular rituals or routines or carrying lucky medals, bullets, coins, medals, toy elephants, and other modern-day tokens and amulets. The reality of combat, its often random and casual brutality, savagery, and danger, the filth and squalor in which troops routinely lived and fought, the dismembered bodies, fearful deaths, and equally horrific and sometimes bizarre wounds, shocked many. To survive and function while retaining their sanity, many distanced themselves emotionally from their own actions and those of both their comrades and enemies. On all sides, atrocities and breaches of the rules of war were relatively routine, especially when prisoners were considered to have stepped beyond the boundaries of acceptable behavior, by having themselves committed atrocities for which revenge was due, for example, or by turning on their captors. Pilots who were shot down and captured during bombing raids were likewise liable to be abused, beaten, or killed out of hand in retaliation for the damage they had wreaked on civilians on the ground. The most savage behavior generally took place in the Pacific War or on the German eastern front, where few prisoners on either side survived and all involved waged battle with particular ferocity. The various Anglo-American campaigns in North Africa, Italy, France, and Germany between 1942 and 1945 were by comparison reasonably civilized. Yet, for those taking part in it, the fact that the war in western Europe was somewhat less barbaric than those in Asia or Russia and the chances of survival rather better did little to mitigate the brutality and savagery they not only faced but also habitually demonstrated themselves.

Those British and American troops who survived World War II returned to a hero's welcome, applauded for their role in defeating fearsome and cruel authoritarian dictatorships in Germany, Italy, and Japan in what some have termed the last good war, a conflict in which the lines between good and evil could supposedly be clearly drawn and there were few moral ambiguities. While the reasons for which the Allied powers had entered the war were often complex, the terrors and oppression of the German Holocaust against the Jews, the fearful concentration and extermination camps, German and Japanese biological experimentation on human beings, and the savagery with which the Axis powers treated conquered civilian populations, provided almost impeccable moral justification for the war they had waged against Hitler, Mussolini, and Japan. The men who fought the war, however, often found it less simple to come to terms with their memories. On the battlefield itself, as some survivors noted, soldiers could fall victim to "combat fatigue" or "battle fatigue," taking senseless risks in the conviction either that they were invulnerable, or that they were in any case fated to die. Stress-related nervous breakdowns that left fighting men unable to function any longer in combat situations were far from uncommon, a condition—often termed "shellshock" in World War I—that would later be known as "post-traumatic stress disorder" (PTSD). During the bitter battle for Okinawa that took place in the Pacific in February 1945, for example, in addition to 40,000 casualties killed or seriously wounded, 26,000 men were withdrawn from fighting due to combat fatigue.

The effects were often protracted. One woman remarked: "I don't think any of these men came home the same as they went." (Oral history of Jeannie Roland, Essay 47. It seems that among U.S. World War II veterans perhaps fewer were affected than was the case with those who later went to Vietnam, perhaps because the fact that they had fought in a war often gave them a certain insulation against the worst effects. This may also, however, have reflected the fact that, among the "greatest generation" who fought in World War II, it was considered less acceptable to suffer from or admit to psychological difficulties or permanent traumas. While some undoubtedly dined out on their more spectacular war stories, for decades many other soldiers of all nationalities simply refused to discuss their experiences, especially when speaking to outsiders with no personal knowledge of combat. Substantial numbers also suffered from nightmares or flashbacks, going for long drives in the middle of the night or walking for hours, and in some cases finding it difficult to hold down jobs or maintain marriages or long-term relationships. Some turned to alcohol for escape and consolation.

Human beings are nonetheless resilient. Bob Levine, whose letter to his family after he had lost his foot at the age of nineteen may seem a preternaturally cheerful and optimistic effort to put a brave face on a terrible injury, recalled

many years later that "when you're on the front line and in combat, you really don't think you're going to make it. I had come to the conclusion that I would never survive. . . . And so when you wake up and all it is is an amputation, you think, 'That's all it is.'" A man of great vitality, he went on to marry his high-school sweetheart and enjoy a successful career. In all probability, the majority of returned American World War II veterans who had seen combat service still pursued lives they found satisfying, fulfilling, and rewarding, and coped reasonably well with whatever challenges they encountered when they came back. Yet even those who survived the war had generally lost close friends and, whether or not they had been personally responsible for these, seen some fairly horrific events. For the rest of their lives, most would feel the impact of these experiences.

About The Document

The letter and oral histories here are all taken from a collection of World War II materials compiled since the late 1980s. While it includes some documents from the war itself, such as the letter Bob Levine sent his family in August 1944, describing the recent amputation of his foot, the oral histories were all recorded at least forty-five years after the war ended. They are therefore very different in nature from those gathered by the official military historian Forrest C. Pogue during the weeks and months immediately after D-Day, as he accompanied American troops slowly battling their way through France into Germany during the last year of the European war. These oral histories are more personal and biographical. They focus less on the details of a specific military operation, and more on the broad wartime experiences of average soldiers. They concentrate upon the individual histories of particular men going through training and battle, in many cases suffering serious injuries or being taken prisoner, and give the story of each man's own specific role in his unit and in the campaigns in which he took part. These oral histories also provide information on their subjects' pre-war and post-war careers and often discuss the long-term impact they believe the war had upon them.

The subjects of these oral histories were typical ordinary soldiers, mostly privates, corporals, and sergeants, plus a few officers. At the core of the collection are the stories of the 712th Tank Battalion, to which the father of Aaron Elson, the working copy-editor who gathered them together in his spare time, belonged, but the focus was broadened to include members of other units, and even the wartime stories of some women, generally wives or sisters of military personnel. There might seem to be an obvious element of self-selection, in that only those who cared enough about their wartime experiences to recount them are included, but, interestingly, this turned out not to be the case. Although some of the interviewees already belonged to veterans' groups organized around their units,

which in turn stimulated them into joining the oral history program, in other cases Elson went to great lengths to track down initially reluctant subjects, such as Sam Cropanese and Joe Bernardino, whom he believed had valuable stories to tell. The oral histories do seem to give a rather accurate cross-section of the basic make-up of the World War II army. Like most American draftees, the subjects were generally young, in their late teens or twenties, when they were called up or enlisted. Few were professional soldiers, and most returned to civilian careers once the war was over.

These oral histories present history from the bottom-up rather than the top-down, focusing on the lives of average soldiers. One appreciates just how young most of the troops who actually fought World War II were, in many cases only recently out of high school. They recount how and why young men joined the forces and give details of training, of how they crossed to Europe and Asia, and of what it felt like to be fighting in a tank, in the infantry, in a transport or engineer unit, or accompanying the troops in a medical or other ancillary role. Not surprisingly, fifty years after those events took place, men from the same unit sometimes disagree over the details of particular episodes. The war they describe was rarely particularly glamorous, romantic, or fun. They include episodes which were sometimes discreditable and therefore might not be recounted at all in connection with an official history, when frankness might compromise the teller. Some were minor: the behavior of American troops, for example, in throwing out of train windows meat pies given to them by British civilians who had taken these from their own scarce rations, but which the American recipients found unpalatable and were too tactless to wait until later before disposing of. Shootings of prisoners in defiance of the rules of war, by contrast, might well have been classified as war crimes and were episodes unlikely to be volunteered until many years after the fact, when confirmation was difficult and those involved themselves unlikely to live much longer. In many cases, the oral histories also give detailed accounts of how their subjects came to be wounded, often quite seriously, or spent lengthy periods in German or Japanese prisoner-of-war camps, during which some were fairly brutally treated. Many made it clear that, while fighting the war, the interviewee was permanently frightened, waiting nervously for unanticipated and threatening events endangering his life to happen and wondering how long he himself would survive. Several interviewees reflected on how combat brutalized those taking part in it, and argued that their actions while fighting could not be judged by the standards of normal life, but fell outside the rules of "civilization", since "being in combat is not like going to a party of something."

Why, several decades after the war had ended, did these interviewees decide to volunteer their stories. There were probably a variety of motives. Jerome Auman of the 22nd

Marines, who fought under General Douglas MacArthur in the Philippines, and clearly took pride in his large family of children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, recorded his oral history in 1998. In it he recalled how, just before a memorial service for a dead comrade, he stood up, told those assembled how seven members from their unit had died over the past year, and urged those still surviving to write their stories, even if these were not particularly distinguished, because, "[i]f you don't write them, there's nobody can write it. Look at our age. We aren't going to be around, as seven are showing us that are no longer with us. Write your story. Your children, your grandchildren, and history needs these. . . . Now I know a lot of veterans never want to talk about their experiences, but that's not the attitude to have. You should want to write this down, want to record it. . . . We'll never know how soon it'll be too late." Auman also recalled that another man present then confessed that his son, who had recently died of cancer, had complained that his father had never told him about his past service in the marines, which he had longed to learn about. Ed Hays, a B-17 tail gunner who was shot down over Denmark and held prisoner in Germany, confessed that after the war he "came home. I got started in life. Got married. Went to college. Had three kids, and got on with our life." He did not talk in any detail of his wartime experiences from 1945 until 1995, when the Danish boy who had found him in a field got in touch with him and helped him make contact with the German pilot who had shot him down, the beginning of a somewhat surprising friendship between the two old fliers, both of whom had spent time as prisoners of war. The sense of their impending mortality gave many a new impetus to make some permanent record of the past.

For some, too, the process of recording these oral histories may have served a cathartic function, taking the poison out of memories they still found painful to recall. Aaron Elson, who conducted most of these interviews, noted "that these men cut off their feelings, and they were almost aware of it. They couldn't feel anything after a certain point. . . . If a friend was killed, they would still be overwhelmed, but in order to go on, they would see things, and it would almost be like looking at a photograph." A psychiatrist described this reaction as "emotional numbing", something very common with post-traumatic stress disorder. Joe Bernardino and Sam Cropanese, two friends in the same tank crew who were both badly wounded in the same engagement, seem to have suffered from such symptoms, and Bernardino also recalled suffering nightmares which he found himself unable to discuss with his wife. Even in their oral histories, both men sought to distance themselves from the worst aspects of war, placing it in another category of experience distinct from normal life, and stressing that "war is hell, and I accepted it as that." One suspects that for both men their memories had become a burden, and that finally retelling these to a sympathetic and non-

judgmental listener may have released them from at least part of the load they had been carrying.

One last question remains. How and why was this collection of oral histories and other materials put together? Their existence is due primarily to the energy, enthusiasm, initiative, and hard work of one man, Aaron Elson, whose father served in the 712th Tank Battalion, which fought its way through France and Germany after D-Day. Some years after his father's death in 1980, Elson began recording the stories of other veterans from his unit, at first in the hope of reconstructing his father's service more exactly, but soon for their own sake, because he realized that they were, in his words, not just a valuable historical record but also "great stories" of the lives "of ordinary men and women who did extraordinary things under the most adverse of circumstances." Over time, Elson compiled over 600 hours of interview tapes, published four books of selected oral histories, and also used the interviews as the basis for a major website, Tankbooks.com. In many cases, those who recorded these oral histories are now dead, and without Elson's encouragement and willingness to listen their stories would have been lost for good. As with all oral histories, they tend to give detailed accounts of particularly significant episodes, and a good deal of general background and atmosphere on individuals' experiences. This particular collection is also valuable because, although World War II is obviously Elson's primary focus, he has gathered data on his subjects' earlier and subsequent lives, so that one has a sense of how the war fitted into the pattern of their entire careers.

Several millions of Americans could probably have told comparable tales. These particular individuals were fortunate in having someone available to record them at a time when they were willing to talk. More often than we like to suppose, the survival of historical memories, data, and documents depends on the determination and enthusiasm of one person or, at most, a few individuals, who can energize others into contributing and helping to gather them. In this case, Elson has played a vital role in facilitating the creation of a crop of source materials which would otherwise have been lost. In personal terms, the families of those who recorded these oral histories now have a permanent record of an earlier generation. Historians, meanwhile, will also find this treasure trove of documents of great value in reconstructing the texture of a vanishing past which, as it moves ever further away in time, fewer and fewer people will still be alive to remember in any detail.

Primary Source

A) Oral History of Chuck Hurlbut, 229th Combat Engineer Battalion

[E]ver since high school I had heard about Hitler and all this stuff in Europe. It was getting to me. But I never realized

how deeply it was going to affect me until Pearl Harbor. Whenever you talked about Hitler and Europe, that was their war, don't get involved. Pearl Harbor turned everyone around. They were so united, so determined. I don't think there'll ever be a time again when this country is so unified. . . .

I graduated at 16. . . I got a job and then Pearl Harbor hit, and now I'm 17. I never wanted to be a soldier; that was the farthest thing from my mind. But when something like Pearl Harbor happens, you get a feeling. "I'm supposed to do something." I got overwhelmed, and I couldn't wait to become 18 so I could be drafted. I wanted to do my part. So when I hit 18, within days I was down at the draft board, registered. In three months I was called, went for my physical, passed. Then you wait around until they call you.

I got the announcement, "You are to report to the Greyhound bus station on such and such a date." This is in Auburn, New York. So we went down there, and here's 60 or 70 guys, all in this draft group. I think this is true: It was the largest draft contingent ever to come out of Auburn. And the mothers and fathers and sweethearts, brothers and sisters were there. It was quite a congregation.

Finally they put us on a bus and sent us to Fort Niagara, which was the big gathering center for this area of New York State. And most of us guys knew each other. We had gone to school together, worked together, dated the same girls; there was a real strong camaraderie there. And you said, "Well, guys, this can't last. You're gonna go here, I'm gonna go there. We're gonna be all split up."

When the announcement came, about 90 percent of us stayed together. We couldn't believe it. We were going to be combat engineers. We couldn't care less. The idea we're all together was the big point. We don't care what we're gonna be.

So they put us on a train and they sent us to Camp White, Oregon, where they activated the 299th Engineer Combat Battalion. We are the original members of the 299th. And we went through basic training.

The first few weeks were basic military skills: close order drills, marches, hikes, how to clean a rifle, what is a machine gun? And then you were introduced to the specialties of an engineer: the bridge building, the mine detection. We were combat engineers. We had specific things that we did that the big engineering groups didn't do. Engineers are always thought of as building these enormous bridges. The combat engineers do the same thing on a minor scale in a quicker fashion, under fire. We learned how to throw a treadway or a pathway across a river. How to ford a river. How to blow up a bridge. How to wire a bridge. How to build a Bailey bridge. We became pretty good at it. . . .

We took all our training, and then we went out in the ocean and came in on rubber rafts, learned demolition, hand to hand combat, the whole business. A lot of the big brass—this was in December 1943—came down to watch us, and we put

on a big show. I guess we got pretty good credentials, because we were commended. I guess right then they decided we can use this unit in an invasion; that's the feeling we got.

And we realized that we're no longer just a combat engineer unit, we're a specialized group now; we're specialists in invasion techniques, beach assault techniques. And some of the guys thought, "Hey, piece of cake. We're so good."

But a lot of guys thought, "Hey, wherever we go, it's gonna be a suicide mission."

[Asked: "What was your feeling?"]

Piece of cake. Hey, I know all this stuff, and we're so good. We can do it. Hey, I'm 18 years old, I just had my 18th birthday. And when you're 18, nothing bothers you. You're gung-ho. I'm on top of the world. That was a big attitude, but a lot of the guys were a little more serious than I was. They had these feelings. So a lot of guys went AWOL [Absent Without Leave]. I think it was because of what they saw coming. But they were picked up and returned, and our commanding officer made damn sure that they were part of the invasion.

Primary Source

B) Bob Levine, Company K, 358th Infantry Regiment, 90th Infantry Division, Letter to His Family, 13 August 1944

Dearest All,

Back in good old England once more, and let me tell you it didn't break my heart to leave France. We were flown out and in one hour we were on terra firma. I'm not in a station hospital awaiting shipment to still another hospital. I've been eating like a king, and right now enjoying my first days in a real bed in I don't know how long. I have already written to you but it suddenly occurred to me that the government might not have informed you as to what had happened to me in the past month or so, since they are sometimes very slow in getting news out.

The story in brief is that I was wounded and subsequently captured by the Jerries. After spending three or four unpleasant weeks in a prison hospital, I was recaptured when the Americans started to make their recent drive. The sadder news of the story is that my right foot had to be amputated at the ankle. However, it has in no way broken me up or made me miserable, because as I wrote at first, my main concern was just to come through alive. I think I can best explain my feelings when I see you, which may be in the very near future, I hope. I believe I'll be sent to a hospital in the States before anything else is done to me.

So now you know just what the score is, but although you might think I'm a couple of runs behind, in reality I'm way ahead. My plans for the future are still the same, and I believe more apt to be realized because of some good first-hand experiences. Guess the one change I'll have to make is to take up golf and just watch tennis from the bench. Not too

great a sacrifice, I don't think. I just want you to remember that the good Lord has been a lot kinder to me than you could ever imagine. If I seem too nonchalant about the loss of my foot, it is only because I realize it and I'm grateful it was not worse. Remember me to everyone, and perhaps not too long after you've read this I'll be saying hello to you again.

Primary Source

C) Oral History of Sergeant Vincent "Mike" McKinney of the 1st Infantry Division, recorded 5 February 1999

Asked "Did you become hardened?", McKinney replied:

Yes, I did. I can remember, my troops were up on a hill, it seems we were always on a hill. I took one guy from the left, a little guy, I remember, a little Italian guy, only about four and a half feet tall. I took him from the left side and I said, "Go down to the end there and dig in down there by those guys." There were a couple of shots back and forth. A little while later I went down there, and he had been killed. I felt bad I had sent him down there. If I had left him alone maybe he would still be alive. But he's there, I'm in the foxhole. He's alongside the foxhole. I remember I started eating a can of beans. I had no place to lay it; I laid it on his chest. I thought about that after the war. I'm eating beans on his chest, there's a dead body there. You become hardened, it's just . . . you're half human, I think. You're a lot animal. The way you're living. You're laying in mud and dirt, and you're filthy. You straighten up a little bit when you go back to reserve for a while, a rest area, or if there's a break in the action, you go back to civilization. When I think of how I acted during the war a lot of times, yeah, you're not all human.

Primary Source

D) Oral History of Corporal Sam Cropanese, Gunner, 712th Tank Battalion, Recorded 17 May 1993

We had so many battles. Mayenne, Avranches, St. Lo was the first one. Then came the Falaise Gap. There was one time there that we bivouacked, and the company commander told us to watch all the roads. Put the tanks on the main roads. Of course, when you park the tanks you have to watch the roads, but he was so strict about it. Watch these roads. Don't let anything come through.

So we were watching. All of a sudden, at night, we heard rumbling. Tanks, coming down the road, and they let the tanks get close. They said, "Don't fire, don't fire." All of a sudden all hell broke out. It was the German tanks, they were trying to break through our lines. Well not only our company, our whole battalion of tanks were there and had every road covered, our whole battalion of tanks, caught 'em like crazy. What a beating they got. They were hit from all over. They didn't know where the firing was coming from. We took in a lot of prisoners there. . . .

We were attached to the 82nd Airborne. What fighters they were! One time, the 82nd was told not to take any prisoners, because the Germans had taken the 82nd and they were hanging them on trees, they were pulling out their nails, they'd done something real bad, so the 82nd Airborne division commander must have told them not to take any prisoners. They would take them, but they would take them back in a field and all of a sudden they would open up on them. But it was because of what they did to them. If it wasn't for that, the Americans, they wouldn't do that. But they were so mad because of what they did to their buddies.

They were one hell of a nice outfit to work with, the 82nd Airborne. Always there. Always with us. Always watching. Telling us if there was anything around. If we needed to scout out anything, they would go out and scout it out. Let us know if a road was clear, if anything was there they would tell us. . . .

Every time we went out, I had to shoot at the houses, and the fields, just rake the fields where we were going. Just in case there was anything there, we would rake the fields. A lot of times you saw them getting up and they'd get down again, but we'd just pass and go.

We had a 75 and a .30 caliber in the front when I was the assistant driver. When I was in the back I was loading the 75. I had a little porthole on the side, and one time I saw a German on the ground, like one of our machine guns, we were just passing, he couldn't harm us. We were passing him and he was firing at us, and I got a grenade and just dropped it out of the porthole and kept right on going. It must have blown him all up. I never even looked around to see what happened.

I must have killed a lot of them, because I raked a lot of the bushes, hit a lot of the homes, the hedgerows. We would rake the whole hedgerows, in case there was an 88 [German gun] there, you'd hit him, because they're wide open. You would hit them or scare them to just abandon the thing and go hide until we got out of there.

. . . [T]anks, oh my God, tanks, talking about tanks. I've seen tanks that were knocked out, you'd see pieces of the arm, a hand, all crumpled up, fingers all black, just a piece, scattered, over there, a piece of an arm here, the head blown off. On an 88 I've seen the same thing, a German 88, just seen charred pieces here and there, I'm telling you, it was a disgusting thing to look at.

But while you're there, you're in the battle and everything, it's not as bad as after. After, you start thinking about it, you say, Holy geez, I saw all that stuff there? These Germans all charred up. Americans in the small tanks that were hit, they were all charred, the tanks, and you could still see the GIs in the tanks, all black, like they were looking at you. All charred up. Oh my God, what a thing to look at.

God, when you see stuff like that, you really say to yourself, my God, we're next. When's it gonna hit us? Every time

we were called out, to go into a battle to help out the infantry or whatever you got called on, we used to say, "Well, maybe this is it." Every time we went out. Maybe this one's it. Maybe this one's it. You never knew if you were gonna come back.

We'd say to ourselves, Boy, we were lucky this time.

Primary Source

E) Oral History of Private First Class Joe Bernardino, Loader, 712th Tank Battalion, Recorded 27 August 1994

. . . [W]e also saw Lieutenant Bell, when he was killed. I saw someone in the side of the ditch, with no head. And I said to my captain, "Boy, look at that guy. No head." Well, we went back to our headquarters, and he called me and asked me if I could remember where that place was that I saw the man without the head. So we went back there, and we're looking down at him and he says, "You know who that is?"

I said, "No."

He says, "That's Captain Bell." I mean Lieutenant Bell. And I think, he always used to tell him, "George, one of these days," his first name was George, "one of these days you're gonna lose your head." . . .

There were other things, but you know, war is hell, what are you gonna do. We had a lot of fun, we went out, we were knocking down church steeples and all kinds of stuff. I was a machine gunner, and I used to like to set the curtains on fire in the houses. I used to set the gun one and one, one bullet and one tracer, the tracers were incendiary. And if they fired back, then we hit the 75 and we'd blow the roof off. But that's the way we did it. . . .

Toward the end of the war, we had hundreds and thousands of Germans, all loaded with their gear and all, they just didn't want to fight anymore. Then we went, we were with Patton, they switched us from the First Army to the Third. Oh, I've had a rough, terrific, exciting life. I stayed with it till the end of the war. I was in the little town of Stroh, Germany, when the war ended. But then it didn't end for us. We fought two weeks after that, mopping up those who didn't know the war ended. So those who got killed after the declaration that the war ended, I felt sorry for. . . .

[A]t one point, we came around a corner and here's this tank. It's a tiger, and it was a question of who got the first shot. We got the first shot and it just peeled the side of that cannon, so they couldn't use it. And something must have exploded inside. I, as the bow gunner, jumped off of my tank when we got there. I opened the hatch, and saw a guy there, eating. He had a can of sardines open and a loaf of black bread. So I pulled the pin and dropped a grenade in and closed the hatch, and jumped back in my tank and we left. The rest were dead. He was the only one alive. This is a story that I've never told, and I think that was up around Avranches. . . .

I went with three or four other guys to get some replacement tanks, so they put Russell in my place, as a bow gunner. They went out on a mission, and were gone two days. Their tank didn't come back. And then I heard about what happened. The tank got hit, Russell got both his legs blown off and part of his rear end, he died two days after that. That was supposed to have been me. As much as I didn't want to go and get those tanks, I was glad then that I did. But that would have been me.

In one of our travels also, we saw a German who was taught in Ohio. He was a lieutenant. We got him in a barnyard and we were marching him with a branch in his shoulder, making him goose step, and he said too many things that we didn't like. One of the things was that he had killed so many people, and he was honored by the fuhrer, he was personally, the fuhrer's this and that, so while he talked too much we finally shot him. Which we didn't want to do, but hey, war is war, what are you gonna do? . . . [W]e just pumped so many shots into him, like he said he had done to some of our people. Of course, we don't know who hit him and who didn't, we were at a distance. But we didn't class it as an atrocity or anything like that. It's just that he was an SS, and if we turned our backs and he had a gun, we would have all been dead. . . . But to me, war is hell, and I accepted it as that, and I always tried to look after myself and my fellow man. . . .

I remember, I don't know if anybody ever told you, but there were bodies on the beach stacked up six and twelve high, American bodies, waiting for the trucks to come along and pick them up. Germans were coming out, getting in the LSTs and being brought over to England. There was all kinds of stuff, but you don't remember everything. You remember the things that maybe you don't want to remember, that you can't forget, and many people have gone crazy. As you know, being in combat is not like going to a party or something. And then, when you live with it all these years and you have no one to talk to about it, that's worse yet. I could never talk to my wife about it . . .

I used to wake up, whatever hour of the night it might be, in a cold sweat, and I'd sit up, and I'd look around the room,

and everything's all right, and I'd go back to sleep. At first my wife was very concerned, and then I told her, and I guess she began to realize what it was from, and so we just never bothered with it anymore. I haven't had that for quite some time now, but this is something that never leaves you, you never forget these things. This is not a thing that you went out and somebody played ball and somebody lost and nothing was lost. This is memories, this is friends, this is buddies, the closest people to you, and what you see, what you hear, what you smell, you can't tell anybody what it's like that wasn't there. . . .

The only time we would talk would be if I bumped into another buddy of mine, like at the bus garage, another veteran, we started to talk about different things, and everything comes out a little bit, it's like religion. You don't talk about religion. If you're a Catholic, you don't tell a Protestant about your religion. And you don't want to hear his, because it's not gonna match up with yours. So it's one of those things. And I always say, if I had to do it over again, I would do it.

Source: Tankbooks Website, <http://www.tankbooks.com/interviews/htm>. Permission granted by Aaron Elson.

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Section IV

The Home Fronts

The demands of fighting large-scale war made heavy economic demands on every nation and affected every aspect of civilian life. Each belligerent state reorganized its economy to meet the industrial needs of war, redeploying factories and plants to produce goods needed for the war effort, urging labor to work longer hours and jettison restrictive workplace regulations, and rationing civilian consumption of scarce commodities. With millions of men absent in the various armies, women took over many jobs and responsibilities previously considered masculine preserves, and in almost every country some joined female auxiliary branches of the armed forces. In the United States, large numbers of African-American young men were also called up for the military, while many more American blacks than ever before found employment in industrial manufacturing. So, too, did Mexican-Americans and other Hispanics, some U.S. citizens, others attracted over the border under the “bracero” program, established in 1942 to encourage Mexican-Americans to work in American agriculture. Rather predictably, these major social and demographic changes generated severe ethnic tensions and resentments, which peaked in June 1943, when major race riots between blacks and whites broke out in Detroit, and almost simultaneously brutal conflicts erupted between “zoot-suited” Mexican-Americans and white military and naval personnel in Los Angeles. In every country, millions of wives and children had to cope as best they could, only too often in conditions of physical danger and great insecurity, with the protracted absences of husbands and fathers enlisted in the armed forces. Civilians everywhere, even in the United States, distant from the actual conflict, suffered the suspense of wondering whether much-loved friends and relatives would return unscathed from combat.

4.1. American Industrial and Economic Mobilization

“The Arsenal of Democracy”: U.S. Economic Mobilization for World War II

Several months before President Franklin D. Roosevelt formally proclaimed in December 1940 that for the duration of the war his country would “be the great arsenal of democracy,” he launched a major rearmament drive, and modifications to the Neutrality Act simultaneously permitted the British to order enormous quantities of North American war supplies. Throughout the 1930s, the American economy had run below capacity, with persistently high unemployment rates of 15 percent or more. Up to 60 percent of American industrial productive capacity was unused in 1939. From 1940 onward, however, output and productivity began to soar—developments enhanced by the Lend-Lease program

for Britain and other allies established in March 1941, under which \$50 billion worth of goods eventually went abroad, and the full-scale economic mobilization needed to support a huge U.S. Army at war after December 1941. By the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor, American military spending every month amounted to \$2 billion, and the government’s total overall expenditure on the war was \$381 billion, dwarfing the New Deal economic recovery spending of the 1930s. American wartime production totaled 300,000 airplanes, 77,000 ships, 372,000 big guns, 20 million small arms, 6 million tons of bombs, 102,000 armored vehicles, and 2.5 million trucks. During the war, the U.S. gross national product rose 60 percent and wages increased by 50 percent, whereas the cost of living only went up 30 percent. Unemployment disappeared, as the armed forces absorbed 16 million men and as women, African Americans, and Hispanics were encouraged to take up jobs in defense plants and elsewhere. Many Americans thought of World War II as “the good war,”

not simply, perhaps, because they felt they were fighting in a just case but also because most among them who stayed at home did better materially than they had for more than a decade.

Organizing the industrial war effort was a major undertaking, largely directed by the government in cooperation with both big business and labor. By 1940, businessmen, bankers, and corporation lawyers with industrial experience had begun to flock to Washington to staff the wartime defense bureaucracy. The War and Navy Departments were responsible for placing most wartime contracts, but an extensive network of government agencies also developed to supervise these agreements. Such bodies normally included representatives of both business and labor, usually drawn from the larger corporations and the major unions. Fuelled by government contracts, employers were willing to pay higher wages. The Roosevelt administration depended heavily on the labor movement for political support and also sought to encourage labor to work long hours and raise production, even if this sometimes meant breaching work contracts and union regulations. In exchange, top union officials expected good working conditions for their members, together with representation along with business on such public bodies as the National Defense Advisory Commission, established in May 1940 to assist the revived Council of National Defense in setting official guidelines for the industrial war effort.

About the Author

Lithuanian-born Sidney Hillman was one of the founders and first president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. In 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him a member of his Labor Advisory Board, where he helped to draft the Fair Labor Standards Act, and in 1936 and again in 1940, Hillman worked tirelessly for Roosevelt's reelection. Hillman also became the first vice president of the umbrella labor federation the Committee on Industrial Organization (CIO), founded in 1937, that spearheaded the drive of the later 1930s to unionize such major industries as steel and automobile production. After September 1939, Hillman broke with the CIO's president, John L. Lewis, in supporting Roosevelt's policies of all-out aid to the Allies, even at the risk of American intervention in the war. In May 1940, as German forces appeared likely to defeat France, Roosevelt announced a huge new program to increase American military and naval production. At the same time, he appointed a seven-man National Defense Advisory Commission to supervise this effort and define the basic principles that should govern wartime contracts and labor policies. Hillman was appointed to this body, where his primary responsibilities were the organization and coordination of labor for the defense effort; the post also effectively rewarded him for supporting Roosevelt politically and on defense issues. Throughout the war,

he remained prominent in the various government agencies successively entrusted with organizing wartime production. In 1941, Roosevelt made Hillman associate director of the Office of Production Management, and in 1942, he became head of the War Production Board's labor division, positions where Hillman sought to protect and further the interests of labor. In 1944, Hillman mobilized the entire CIO organization in support of Roosevelt's final reelection campaign, efforts that may well have given the president his margin of victory that year.

About the Documents

Two different kinds of documents are included here: official government directives setting out the principles and standards that should govern the allocation of government contracts and the labor practices to be observed by businesses receiving such contracts; and oral history reminiscences from individuals who played some part in the bureaucratic apparatus generated by the industrial war effort.

The two directives included here were both public documents, issued by the National Labor Advisory Commission, which the president then forwarded to Congress. In return for supporting the industrial war effort, labor leaders expected their members to receive excellent wages and benefits, provisions that were to be included in government contracts and that the directive argued would also enhance industrial efficiency. As one might expect, Hillman was the prime author of this particular directive. Designed to win labor support for a program that might be politically controversial, it also emphasized the importance of the new defense program in reducing unemployment. The second directive, issued a week later, set "general principles governing" the allocation of the many billions of defense contracts that the U.S. government itself placed from May 1940 onward. When selecting suppliers, speed of delivery, quality, and price were all to be taken into account. Other things being equal, officials allocating war orders were also instructed to pay due regard to geographical distribution, so that all parts of the United States would share the economic benefits these contracts would generate. Suppliers were expected to comply with the labor standards laid down a week earlier and also to have a good reputation for honesty and financial probity. Competitive bidding was desirable but not essential; the efficient fulfillment of national defense needs took priority. These guidelines tended to favor big business, since large firms were more likely to be able to meet these requirements. In effect, the government's wartime industrial mobilization was run on lines that ensured it support from both big labor and big business, the precursor of the cozy and mutually beneficial government-business-labor defense contracts arrangements that President Dwight D. Eisenhower would later term the "military-industrial complex."

Both liberals and politicians had some misgivings over these developments, though congressional representatives, senators, and local officials normally sought to win as large a share as possible of lucrative government orders for their own states and districts. The two memoirs included here illustrate some of the strains and suspicions that characterized the relationships of businessmen with liberal government bureaucrats and with politicians. The New Deal bureaucracy of the 1930s included many bright young leftist intellectuals, who often regarded business with considerable suspicion, a feeling most businessmen strongly reciprocated. Wartime industrial mobilization required extensive government direction of the economy and careful planning of the allocation of scarce resources, a kind of bureaucratic intervention that businessmen often resented. An oral history recorded by Joe Marcus, a New Deal economist who became head of the Civilian Requirements Division of the National Defense Advisory Committee in 1940 and later joined the War Production Board, is rather short on detail but ably conveys much of the hectic atmosphere and confusion that characterized the enormously rapid wartime buildup of American production facilities. It also describes the clashes that inevitably occurred among all the disparate and ill-assorted groups involved. Marcus worked primarily with businessmen, and even though he recognized that most were genuinely patriotic, the experience apparently did little to increase his respect for their sagacity or foresight as a group. Military procurement was also a nightmare, as the navy and army competed with each other for scarce resources, eventually forcing the establishment of a coordinated priority allocation system. Marcus shared the prevalent liberal view that the war largely ended the New Deal. He also believed that the creation of a powerful, even dominant military-industrial complex was “[t]he single most important legacy of the war.”

American taxpayers ultimately funded wartime contracts, and almost immediately, Congress therefore demanded the right to supervise and investigate their allocation and fulfillment. In spring 1941, Senator Harry S Truman of Missouri took the lead in establishing a committee “to look into defense expenditures,” a move that brought him new political prominence and ultimately his selection in 1944 as the Democratic vice presidential nominee. A collection of Truman’s own previously unpublished autobiographical writings compiled and published by the historian Robert Ferrell in 1980 included Truman’s own rather informal account of the Truman Committee’s establishment, operations, and achievements, which extended from 1941 to 1944. Whereas Marcus recorded his reminiscences for a book by Studs Terkel in the knowledge that some portions would probably be published, Truman wrote this in retirement and primarily for his own reference. He may, nonetheless, have had one eye on posterity; he did know that all his papers would eventually

be deposited in his presidential library in Independence, Missouri, and that at some stage scholars and researchers would be likely to read the account. Truman stressed that, despite some of his colleagues’ suspicions of his motives, he undertook this work not for any political advantage that might accrue to him but in the national interest. He emphasized the committee’s bipartisan character, the excellence of its staff, and its reputation for integrity. He also stated that though the Truman Committee unearthed numerous examples of graft, waste, overcharging, profiteering, and deliberately substandard production, these were only a small percentage of the total, and overall, the industrial war effort was well run and honestly conducted. Judging from Truman’s recollections, the committee was more interested in ensuring the honest disbursement of government funds than in enforcing the social provisions of contracts, an outlook that probably reflected both its bipartisan search for consensus and growing conservative hostility to labor unions during and after World War II. Truman’s verdict seems plausible not only because there were numerous official reports to back it up but also because he prided himself on his populist outlook, and by the time he wrote down these reminiscences, he could neither gain nor lose politically through frankness on this or any other subject. It is interesting, too, to note his rather sharp characterization of Senator James F. Byrnes, a political rival whom Truman appointed secretary of state when he first became president but later fired when Byrnes proved too independent. In his final years, Truman did indeed acquire the reputation of occasionally—especially after imbibing several glasses of his favorite bourbon—being rather embarrassingly blunt and outspoken on both past and current events.

Primary Source

A) United States National Defense Advisory Commission Directive, 31 August 1940

By unanimous vote the National Defense Advisory Commission has adopted a labor policy which calls for compliance with all Federal, State and local statutes protecting labor, a statement by the Commission said today.

It was reported that Sidney Hillman, Labor member of the Defense Commission, had worked with his associates for more than a week on several drafts of the policy and that the discussions were at times animated. However, when the members of the Commission became convinced, it was said, that the conservation of labor’s social gains and their extension would insure an increase of production in the interests of national defense, they approved the proposals.

Source: Louis Stark, “Labor Acts Backed by Defense Board,” Dateline Washington, DC, 31 August 1940, published in *New York Times*, 1 September 1940, p. 7.

Primary Source

B) Full text of Directive of 31 August 1940

Primary among the objectives of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense is the increase in production of materials required by our armed forces and the assurance of adequate future supply of such materials with the least possible disturbance to production of supplies for the civilian population. The scope of our present program entails bringing into production many of our unused resources of agriculture, manufacturing and man power.

This program can be used in the public interest as a vehicle to reduce unemployment and otherwise strengthen the human fiber of our nation. In the selection of plant locations for new production, in the interest of national defense, great weight must be given to this factor.

In order that surplus and unemployed labor may be absorbed . . . all reasonable efforts should be made to avoid hours in excess of 40 per week. However, in emergencies or where the needs of the national defense cannot be otherwise met, exceptions to this standard should be permitted. When the requirements of the defense program make it necessary to work in excess of these hours, or where work is required on Saturdays, Sundays or holidays, overtime should be paid in accordance with the recognized local practices.

All work carried on as part of the defense program should comply with Federal statutory provisions affecting labor wherever such provisions are applicable. This applies to the Walsh-Healey Act, Fair Labor Standards Act, the National Labor Relations Act, etc. There should be compliance with State and local statutes affecting labor relations, hours of work, wages, Workmen's Compensation, safety, sanitation, etc.

Adequate provision should be made for the health and safety of employes;

As far as possible, the local employment or other agencies designated by the United States Employment Service should be utilized;

Workers should not be discriminated against because of age, sex, race, or color;

Adequate housing facilities should be made available for employes.

The commission reaffirms the principles enunciated by the Chief of Ordnance of the United States Army in his order of Nov. 15, 1917, relative to the relation of labor standards to efficient production:

"Industrial history proves that reasonable hours, fair working conditions, and a proper wage scale are essential to high production. Every attempt should be made to conserve in every way possible all our achievements in the way of social betterment. But the pressing argument for maintaining industrial safeguards in the present emergency is that they actually contribute to efficiency."

Source: Associated Press Dispatch, "Roosevelt Statement on Contracts," Dateline Washington, DC, 13 September 1940, published in *New York Times*, 14 September 1940, p. 9

Primary Source

C) Directive of the National Labor Advisory Commission on Government Wartime Contracts, 6 September 1940

The essence of the preparedness program is the getting of an adequate supply of materials of the proper quality in the shortest space of time possible. Considerations of price alone are highly important, but in the emergency are not governing.

1. Speed of delivery of all items on the defense program is essential. This means:
 - (A) That orders should be placed in such a manner as to insure the most efficient use of each particular facility from the point of view of the program as a whole;
 - (B) That proper consideration should be given to contributory industries, such as the machine tool industry, to avoid creating underlying bottlenecks;
 - (C) That once delivery dates are set, assurances be given that they will be met by the supplier.
2. Proper quality is also of prime importance. It is therefore necessary to determine first of all whether or not the supplier can meet the quality requirements, as specified. There should be a willingness on the part of both the Army and Navy, on the one hand, and of the supplier, on the other, to adjust specifications on a cooperative basis in order that such specifications may come as near as possible to meeting commercial standards while at the same time fulfilling the military requirements.
3. Price, while not the sole consideration, is of outstanding significance, and every effort must be made to secure a fair price. This must take recognition, among other things, of determination of proper cost factors.
4. The impact of the defense program upon the consumers must be recognized. This relates to such factors as:
 - (a) Due regard to the necessity of protecting civilian needs and morale;
 - (b) Proper health and housing conditions among employes;
 - (c) Consideration to possible off-season production in order to dovetail the military program into production for civilian requirements. Off-season production should also lead to lower overhead and consequently to lower prices for both the consumers and the government.
5. Adequate consideration must be given to labor. This means compliance with the principles on this subject

stated by the commission in its release of Aug. 31, copy of which is attached hereto.

6. Undue geographic concentration of orders should be avoided, both as to procurement districts and as to industrial sections within any such procurement district. Reasons for such decentralization relate to factors of military strategy, as well as avoiding congestion that will slow down production.
7. Financial responsibility of the supplier should be examined. Ability to post a bond does not necessarily dispose of this problem. The probability should exist that the supplier will be able to continue in business, at least long enough to complete his contract satisfactorily. Further, an ability to finance himself through private sources should take preference over necessity for securing government aid. . . .
11. The moral responsibility of the supplier is important and, in some respects, fundamental. There should be evidence of honest and sincere desire to cooperate with the Army and Navy in producing what is called for, and on time, without profiteering; to assume some risks himself rather than attempting to shift all such risks to the government, and to furnish a correct statement as to his capacity and experience. The supplier's general standing and reputation among reputable business men (as distinct from his financial rating) is one index of such qualifications.
12. The commission recognizes that competitive bidding is the better procedure in certain types of industry and circumstances. However, it is often impossible to make sure that the principles outlined above are followed when contracts are placed on the basis of price alone and are let to the lowest bidder. Therefore, in cases where competitive bidding will not fulfill the above-stated needs of national defense, the commission recommends that the use of the negotiated contract be authorized where necessary in order that these objectives be obtained in making defense purchases.

Source: Associated Press Dispatch, "Roosevelt Statement on Contracts," Dateline Washington, DC, 13 September 1940, published in *New York Times*, 14 September 1940, p. 9.

Primary Source

D) Recollections of Joe Marcus, Head of the Civilian Requirements Division, National Defense Advisory Committee

Most of my time was spent fighting with representatives of industry. Did we have the capacity to make enough steel, enough copper, for military as well as civilian needs? Our

reports showed we didn't. The top industrial boys resisted this very strongly. They had gone through the Depression and, from their standpoint, there was an excess of capacity. They weren't going to fiddle around, increasing the capacity just because some screwball kids tell them they don't have enough.

What happens in a severe depression is that your consumption goes down, say, twenty percent. With a decrease in construction and in the demand for machinery by about eighty percent, it's devastating. From '32 to '39, there is recovery. But there are still ten or eleven million unemployed. The production of consumer goods is still low. All they're doing is replacing worn-out equipment. Why add more machinery? Why build more factories? Let's say they have the capacity to produce 80 million tons of steel and the demand is for only 70 million. Why should they listen to some screwballs in Washington who say, If there's a war, you're going to need 150 million tons?

We were young New Dealers who found the military in their planning stodgy and backward. They thought we didn't have the industrial capacity to produce more than, say, 5 billion dollars worth of military goods. So a group of us wrote a memorandum showing that there were so many unemployed, so much machine-tool capacity, that it was possible to produce 75 billion dollars worth. It flew in the face of the military statements.

Roosevelt had that memo on his desk on the day of Pearl Harbor. When he reorganized the War Production Board, with Donald Nelson on board, he insisted that the boys who wrote the memo watch the program. He set up two committees on the board. One was planning. The other was program progress control. I was yanked out of my previous job and made program progress control officer. (Laughs.)

When we got into the war, everything was a mess. Suddenly you've got to produce an enormous number of planes, tanks, build an eleven-million-man army, supply the British and, soon afterwards, the Russians. And the Free French. We needed an enormous jump in production. There was a bottleneck: machine tools.

Nelson got on the radio and said the machine-tool producers were not doing their job. They were not working around the clock, not working three shifts. The Machinery and Allied Products Institute, the trade association, says to Nelson, We can't run three shifts. Nelson tells them not to bother him, to talk to the guy who wrote the speech. So they came to see me.

Now my studies were based on statistics. I don't know how to build a machine tool. I barely knew one machine tool from another. (Laughs.) They insisted I make a tour of the machine-building industries. I accepted the invitation. I came back with my report: the Machinery and Allied Products Institute was wrong. I had visited factories across the

street from each other, one working three shifts, one working one shift. Now they wanted me to take over planning and controls for the tool industry. (Laughs.)

I hesitated. It was a challenge: I was a critic, now I had to do something. It was a question of the war, too. I felt it was important. I was young. I was Jewish. I had never met a payroll. So I accepted the challenge.

Here I was, an outsider, reorganizing the whole goddamn thing. It was insane the way they were operating. You take government people: they don't know where the hell the factories are, don't know the possibilities. You take the industry people: they're concerned about their business after the war, doing things the way they have traditionally done it. They had no sense of the war needs and planning.

The heads of these divisions were dollar-a-year men. They kept their company salaries. They were the leaders of industry. Now, down below, you had heads of companies who actually knew their business. You also had guys the industry wanted to get rid of, executives they didn't know what to do with. Washington wants someone in charge of ball bearings? Send this clown there.

The first job I tackled was machine tools. Say an auto factory, an airplane factory, had all the lathes it needed but didn't have milling machines. Another factory, making tanks, was all ready to go with milling machines but didn't have lathes. I looked into it: how did they distribute these machines? I discovered it was done on the basis of conflicts within the military forces themselves. The army wanted machine tools for army products, the navy wanted theirs, the air force theirs. Ten percent went to one, five to another, three to a third. It made no sense. It had no connection to what the actual needs were. Someone had to take over, to allocate machine tools on a priority system. So I did. I couldn't have done it without support from some of the top people who really understood. It was a way of thinking different from what they'd been accustomed to. Others, well . . .

They all were patriotic, but in different ways. Many worried about how their regular customers would react. If I said, Send this abrasive to such and such a firm which was not their standard customer and wouldn't be after the war, don't send it to one which had been their customer, they were bothered—and how! Many fights took place.

In the early days, some of these industrialists wouldn't sign major military contracts until they had the right kind. The right kind? When the war ends, who's stuck with the supplies? What payment do we get when you terminate? Who's gonna pay when we move it out? They wanted to make sure of every cent of profit.

The concessions in these contracts was the biggest thing of all. The war had to be won. Dr. New Deal—with all of FDR's talk about economic royalists—goodbye. Dr. Win The War,

hello. The government gives in. The military, of course, is much more sympathetic to business. They feel more comfortable with them. They're the same kind of boys. (Laughs.)

The railroad industry didn't like what I was doing. They brought in their own people with Dun & Bradstreet reports. Everything, they said, was fine. My report remained downstairs. One day, Bernard Baruch shows up. He starts to yell at the top guys of the War Production Board: "You guys aren't doing anything. You're not prepared. There's not enough steel, not enough copper, not enough aluminum." So they rushed down and got me to come up with my report. To show him they were thinking about it. (Laughs.) That's the only time they ever paid any attention to my reports.

One of my early reports showed that there won't be enough railroad cars to move the wheat, the iron ore, the coal because an awful lot of cars were in disuse, needed repairs. We must build more cars. Otherwise, when push comes to shove, there'll be no way to move things around unless we have government controls. Well, do you know that my report, an internal report, was used by the Association of American Railroads in full-page ads in the *Washington Post*, all over? Scare headlines: Socialism proposed by the government.

Pearl Harbor comes along. We're at war. A system of controls of raw material is set up. According to priorities. At that point, guys from the Association of American Railroads come to see me. They want to wine and dine me. They say, "You understand our problem. Will you help us get our allocation of steel? Otherwise, we can't repair the cars." I did help them. But do you know they were so stupid, they never really did it right, as far as I'm concerned. There's resistance in industry to the idea of planning. Comes the big crisis, they'll learn.

We were a group of young people, idealistic, who came in with the New Deal. We were not career-minded. When it came to the New Deal, we carried out its basic principles. When it came to the war, it was to win it. That meant getting production out. It was as simple as that. Though we worked with big industrialists, we were not subservient to them. We understood their problems, but we had the nerve to fight 'em on policy matters. . . .

The most single important legacy of the war is what Eisenhower warned us about in his farewell speech: the military-industrial complex. In the past, there were business representatives in Washington, but now they are Washington. And with the military buildup beyond all our imagination, we have a new fusion of power. It has become a permanent feature of American life.

Source: "Recollections of Joe Marcus, Head of the Civilian Requirements Division, National Defense Advisory Committee," in Studs Terkel, ed., *The Good War: An Oral History of World War Two* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), pp.

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Primary Source

E) Harry S Truman Recalls His Work on the Senate Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program (The Truman Committee)

I started my second term as junior senator from Missouri on January 3, 1941. . . . After we had appropriated about twenty-five billions of dollars for national defense I took my old coupe and began inspecting camp construction and naval installations from Maine to Florida and from Pennsylvania to New Mexico. Some 30,000 miles were covered. This while the bitter Missouri election campaign [of 1940, which Truman won] was on also.

On February 18, 1941 I made a statement to the Senate on what I'd seen, and asked that a special committee be authorized to look into defense expenditures. I believe that statement resulted in the saving of billions of the taxpayers' money and thousands of lives of our fighting men.

A great deal of difficulty was experienced in getting the Committee on Audit and Control to authorize funds after the Military Affairs Committee had decided that a special committee to investigate the defense program ought to be authorized. [Democratic Senator for South Carolina] James F. Byrnes was chairman of the Committee on Audit and Control. He is a very cagey politician and he was afraid that the junior senator from Missouri [Truman] wanted a political weapon, although he'd just been returned to the Senate for another six years and could afford to be a statesman for at least four years. Mr. Byrnes finally agreed to give the committee the munificent sum of \$15,000 to investigate the expenditure of \$25 billion. The vice president [Henry A. Wallace] appointed the committee of seven senators with Truman as chairman and we went to work.

The committee was made up of five Democrats and two Republicans. If my memory is not at fault Senators Connally, Hayden, Wallgren, Mead and Truman were the majority members and Senators Ball and Brewster the minority. Senator Hayden couldn't serve because of his duties on the Appropriations Committee and chairman of the Joint Committee on Printing.

The first problem was the selection of a committee counsel. . . . [I] had some ideas on the subject of a counselor and before making a decision, having had some administrative experience in presiding over the county court in Jackson County, [Missouri] I knew what a vital part of the administrative procedure a counselor could be. So I made a trip down the Avenue to see the attorney general, who at that time was the Honorable Robert H. Jackson. He is a great man—was a

great attorney general and has made an able justice of the Supreme Court. I told the attorney general that I wanted a counselor for the new Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program; that I wanted an able lawyer, one who knew a fact when he saw one and that I wanted him to be able to prosecute a case to its conclusion, if prosecution became necessary, without being a persecutor. I wanted him to get the facts, question witnesses and advise the committee, but that policy would be decided by the committee itself. Jackson told me that such a man was impossible to find but he would try to get me one.

Mr. Hugh Fulton was recommended by Attorney General Jackson, was employed by the committee, and met the specifications. From first to last he did a real job. So with a good counselor and seven senators who wanted results in the war effort we had excellent results. We made no statements unless we had the facts. We wanted no one smeared or whitewashed and after two years of very hard work the committee had a national reputation for energy and integrity.

We saw the seamy side of the war effort. We had to investigate crooked contractors on camp construction, airplane engine manufacturers who made faulty ones, steel plate factories which cheated, and hundreds of other such sordid and unpatriotic ventures. We investigated procurement, labor hoarding, army and navy waste in food and other supplies. But when we were coming to our conclusion, we all decided that by and large the greatest production and war preparation job in history had been done.

We looked into rubber and made a report on it in May, 1941, which resulted in the Baruch plan. We found cartel agreements by the great oil and aluminum companies which were helpful to the enemy, and we found labor leaders who were willing to sacrifice the country for their own aggrandizement. Publicity is the best antidote for this sort of thing and the committee acted as a sounding board to the country. We made some thirty reports over a three-year period and due to the painstaking care with which facts were assembled and presented not one report contained minority views.

Source: Harry S. Truman, *The Autobiography of Harry S. Truman*, Robert H. Ferrell, ed. (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1980), pp. 74–78. Original document located in the Harry S. Truman Presidential Library.

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4.2. The United States Home Front

The U.S. Home Front in World War II

Most Americans did not serve overseas during World War II but remained at home, generally thousands of miles from the fighting. Unlike most of the populace of Europe and Asia, the average American civilian had no direct contact with actual war: no fighting took place in the United States, nor was the country subjected to bombing raids as were Great Britain and even, for a while, Australia. This did not mean, however, that the war had no domestic impact. From early 1941 onward, after President Franklin D. Roosevelt christened his country the “Arsenal of Democracy,” priorities boards allocated limited resources to industries producing for the war effort. Rationing of some scarce materials came into force in 1943: gasoline, rubber tires, shoes, and some foodstuffs, including coffee and meat. Other materials, though not necessarily rationed, were often in short supply and, though the war brought full employment, there was relatively little for Americans to spend their money on, as production for the war effort took priority over consumer goods. Many large consumer items—automobiles and household appliances—were soon unavailable. Manufacturers produced “utility” dresses and shoes, deliberately designed to stretch the available fabric and leather as far as possible; and buying and wearing these products rather than more voluminous and perhaps more flattering models became a patriotic act. The government exhorted citizens to exercise economy in every way, so as to conserve valuable food and raw materials: to grow their own fruit and vegetables in “Victory Gardens” and preserve these for the winter, to save tinfoil, scrap metals, rubber, paper, fabric, and fat, to give neighbors lifts or take public transportation, thereby conserving essential rubber and gasoline, and, rather than throwing out old clothes, to repair and refurbish them, or to use their fabric or unravel their wool to make new ones. Knitting or producing homemade children’s clothes on a sewing

machine, ideally by recycling materials one already possessed, thus came to be considered useful contributions to the war effort.

Americans were also asked to invest their savings in the war. The immediate direct cost of the war to the United States was \$381 billion, of which less than half, about 44 percent, was covered by direct taxation. By 1943, tax rates had been increased both up and down, as the wealthy and corporations were expected to pay higher taxes, but the lower and middle classes were also brought within the system, and withholding taxes on wages was introduced for the first time. Even so, the American national debt quintupled during the war, from \$50 billion to \$260 billion. The government borrowed to cover the remaining cost of the war. About \$135 billion of war costs, perhaps a third of the total, came from sales of government war bonds to both corporations and individuals, although individual purchases only amounted to a quarter of these overall. Though some Roosevelt administration officials recommended the introduction of a compulsory wartime savings program, Treasury Secretary Henry J. Morgenthau Jr. preferred to rely on voluntary sales campaigns using Hollywood celebrities, spectacular displays, stunts, and gimmicks. To attract small buyers who might otherwise have been unable to afford them, war bonds included E-bonds, a series sold in small denominations that bore interest at guaranteed rates and could be redeemed before maturity and purchased through employer-administered payroll savings programs. Seven war-loan drives, intensive sales campaigns each lasting a month and introducing a new series of bonds, were held during the war. The first, in December 1942, netted \$12.9 billion, and by 1944, war E-bond sales absorbed 7.1 percent of personal income after taxes.

The domestic impact of war in the United States should not, however, be exaggerated. Tax rates were far lower than in most of the belligerent countries. Shortages were rarely overly acute, and when they were, the government stepped in to address the problem. There was a black market in rationed or unavailable commodities, even if only one in five Americans were prepared to tell an interviewer that buying scarce goods at high black market prices could on occasion be acceptable. Although many families faced the prospect that a much-loved relative or friend might die in war, with 500,000 Americans dead in the war and around the same number wounded, these numbers were far lower in proportion to the population than those suffered in most other belligerent countries. American civilians never faced the serious prospect of invasion, occupation, or physical danger that the conflict represented to most other countries engaged. In 1943, halfway through the war, two-thirds of Americans, many of whom had undoubtedly been making the expected contributions to the war effort, felt that they had not been called upon to make any real sacrifices.

About the Documents

The three documents here are each different in nature. The first is a short memoir written many years after the event by one of the editors of a book on the American wartime home front that was published fifty years after the war ended. It gives an almost classic picture of that experience as seen through the eyes of a small boy, mentioning Spam, Victory gardens, canning, listening to the radio news, rationing, war bonds, civil defense, air-raid drills, and stars in windows to indicate family members serving in the armed forces. Robert Heide and his family lived in Irvington, New Jersey, a typical American small town of its time. Several members of the family served in the war, and one of his cousins died. His mother did not work outside the home, but his unmarried older sister did, and his father was working for the defense industry. As with most personal recollections of this kind, Heide remembers in detail one or two high points, especially hearing the news of his cousin's death, and much of the general atmosphere of the time. His recollections of the war years, which encapsulate all the major traditional features of the period, might seem almost too stereotypical to be true. It is worth remembering, however, that stereotypes often emerge in part because, though not necessarily true of all, they do represent the experiences of a substantial number. In this case, Heide's own vivid memories of the war years, clearly an important and notable period of his life as far as he was concerned, were a major reason why he was personally interested in putting together a book on the subject.

The second document is an example of government-sponsored efforts to persuade Americans to support the war effort by buying war bonds, campaigns facilitated by the fact that, since most production was devoted to the war effort, consumers had relatively little else on which to spend their money. Although purchases were voluntary, much moral pressure was exerted to persuade the general public that it was their patriotic duty to buy as many war bonds as they could afford and, moreover, that these represented an excellent investment for the future. Not only were most Americans making good wages for the first time in a decade, often in war-related jobs, but farmers, too, were enjoying unwonted prosperity after the hardships of the 1930s, with the government demanding all they could produce in order to feed Americans at home or in the army, or to be sent via Lend-Lease programs to U.S. Allies overseas. On 3 August 1942, Evan Griffith, administrator of the state's War Savings Staff, sent out an appeal to Kansas farmers urging them to buy war bonds for reasons of both patriotism and self-interest, a missive strategically timed to arrive about the same time that their profits from the recent agricultural harvest began to come in. Once the war was over, he suggested, farmers would be able to cash in their bonds and use the proceeds to buy "cars and tires and farm machinery," items that were not then available for general purchase.

Griffith's appeal to buy war bonds was one form of American government propaganda. The third document, an article by the journalist Elsie McCormick, published in the high-circulation middlebrow magazine *The Reader's Digest*, is an example of another type, a supposedly independent piece by a friendly author, setting out the government's case. It also provides evidence of how much less rigorously rationing and priorities were enforced in the United States than in most of the warring countries. In Great Britain, for example, the general population rarely saw oranges and bananas during the war except as gifts from American servicemen.

The priorities that war-related industries received in obtaining scarce raw materials and other commodities meant that in practice, even in the United States, by 1943 there were major shortages of items civilians often considered vital—diapers, safety pins, garbage and milk cans, rope, baby clothes, baby carriages, refrigerator parts, rat-traps, umbrellas, cutlery, steel wool, and needles. The government, which always had one eye on the election cycle, was not anxious to irritate American consumers unduly, especially when many knew that much of the production of U.S. factories was being shipped to other countries. As a matter of morale, therefore, in April 1943, the Roosevelt administration established an Office of Civilian Requirements (OCR) to attend to civilian needs. McCormick described this office's establishment and the efforts it made to remedy the shortages of such goods, all of which were presented as in some way essential to the efficient prosecution of the war effort. She also highlighted the OCR's campaign to increase production of clothing, especially nonluxury items, by raising textile output and using materials that could not be employed for war-related purposes, and even to maintain supplies of cosmetics, which the OCR "regard[ed] as important morale items." In addition, McCormick briefly mentioned its efforts to standardize production of such items as doorknobs, gas stoves, and dental drills, and to develop substitutes for others, including bed-springs and hairpins, all of which would release additional materials for the armed services. The article's overall thrust was to reassure American civilians that the sacrifices demanded of them would not be too great, since the government believed it essential to the effectiveness of the war effort itself to ensure them dependable supplies of those "things necessary to keep the home front in a state of health, efficiency and high morale."

Primary Source

A) Recollections of Robert Heide

For a boy living through the unsteady times of World War II in a small town in the United States, I remember the intense family togetherness mixed with feelings of sweet sadness, a

hopeful yearning for a peaceful future, and the directive that permeated everything: WE HAD TO WIN THE WAR! . . .

Irvington, New Jersey, where I grew up was typical of most small middle-class towns across America during the World War II years . . . A great number of German immigrants including my father Ludwig and mother Olga had settled in towns like Irvington or the bordering town of Union in the 'teens and twenties. Grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, and family friends often then referred to Europe as "the old country" and looked hopefully to America as a land of promise and opportunity. As U.S. citizens their loyalties had been given over to "the new country." To our extended German-American family Adolf Hitler was seen as a monster menace who was causing havoc in Europe, a terrible threat to the free world we now inhabited. Sons and sometimes daughters enlisted or were being drafted into the service to fight a "home" country in the grip of a Nazi party. My brother Walter, who turned eighteen during the war, joined the Army Air Force to become a tail-gunner on a bomber that flew many dangerous missions over Italy and Germany. Cousin Sonny became an Army Paratrooper and later joined the Navy full-time and another cousin, Teddy, went into the infantry.

For the war's duration we kept a small banner in our front window for my brother. A blue star against a white satin background framed in a red-felt border showed the world and passersby that our house like many other houses had a son—or daughter for that matter—on active duty in the service. Some banners had more than one blue star on a field of white; and if a serviceman lost his life in battle, a banner with a gold star was hung in the window, a symbol of the utmost sacrifice.

During the war my father, who had previously been a tool-and-dye-maker, contracted to do defense work for the Singer Company (manufacturers of sewing machines) in Elizabeth, New Jersey. My sister Evelyn worked part-time after high school at Uncle Fred's new stainless-steel diner located next to a gas station in the Vailsburg section of Newark. Following her job as a part-time diner-girl-waitress and after graduating from Frank Morell High School, Evelyn decided to accept an office position at the Prudential Insurance Company in downtown Newark. There she purchased savings bonds and a hopechest, and began making her own suits and dresses on her Singer sewing machine from sendaway fashion magazine patterns.

The home-front housewife activities accomplished by my mother, other than grocery shopping, cooking, washing, ironing, scrubbing floors, and cleaning windows, were knitting khaki-colored scarves, sweaters, and socks for the boys in camp or on overseas duty. Once a week a group of women, including my aunts Martha, Alma, and Great Aunt Gussie, would get together along with my mother at one another's homes to knit, gossip, play card games, and exchange wartime home recipes over perked Bokar coffee and homemade baked goods.

Spring, summer, and fall my father's spare time went into tending a Victory garden in our backyard. Each season would yield red ripe and yellow tomatoes, carrots, beets, lettuce, and other vegetables in great abundance. Some were given to our neighbors; but much of it would be cooked up by my mother to be preserved in glass-sealed Macon jars which were stored in the cellar pantry. My mother dressed for this chore in a flower print housedress, a plaid, floral, or checkered patterned apron, and always wore a hairnet to protect her tight permanent-wave hairdo. She regarded her Victory canning as serious work.

At that time few homes had freezing compartments although a company called Bird's-Eye began packaging frozen vegetables that easily fit into the freezing compartment of a Frigidaire, and could be purchased at the A & P. My mother's kitchen pantry was well stocked with canned goods and often at lunch she would serve Campbell's soup with a bologna, egg-salad, or tuna fish sandwich. Like artist Andy Warhol, a wartime baby who later transformed the label into a pop-art icon, I practically grew up on Campbell's "condensed" soups. Sometimes an entire meal would be served up out of a can. Canned Spam or a meat product called Treet could be pan-fried in Spry or Crisco or baked, just like a real ham, in the oven with slices of Dole canned Hawaiian pineapple. These cheap wartime meat products would then be sliced and put on a plate next to cost-saving, out-of-the-can Del Monte peas, Franco-American spaghetti, or Heinz baked beans.

Wartime regulation ration stamps seemed to confuse my mother and the grocer as well; but everyone made an effort to do their very best for the sake of Victory. Waste fat or bacon or chicken was saved and taken to the butcher, supposedly to be used in the making of bombs. (To this day, I'm not sure how.) Because meat was scarce we seldom had steaks, which were particularly hard to come by. For the most part, it was meatloaf, chicken, fricassee, beef stew (with potatoes and carrots), and an occasional pot roast, roast pork, or a roast chicken on Sundays. If fresh vegetables were used, like string beans or broccoli, they were always overcooked and unappetizing. Meat was stretched out; but there were always massive bowls of mashed potatoes to fill us up.

When my father came home from work at 5:30 P.M., it was supertime. Afterwards the family would gather together in the living room which was dimly lit with 25-watt light bulbs to save on energy. . . .

Entertaining and being hospitable to men in the service who were on leave or about to be shipped out overseas was considered almost a patriotic duty; and when my sister Evelyn and cousin Doris went out to one of these servicemen's dances it all seemed to be in good fun. True, there was the hope chest filled with blankets, curtains, and even a compartment for war bonds; and there was behind it the dream

of a married life off in the future. There would be tears in the eyes of the two girls as they talked quietly of a young man they had met and might never see again. Feelings of longing and loneliness were always just beneath the sparkling surface of upswept hairdos and cherry-red lips as the girls prepared to go out. . . .

One night the family was gathered around the console radio listening to a broadcast, when I heard the sound of a jalopy pulling into the driveway. Out of the window I could see my aunt and uncle in their 1928 Ford. When I opened the door Aunt Alma was standing there clutching a yellow envelope, tears rolling down her cheeks. Aunt Alma handed my mother the telegram which read: “We regret to inform you that . . .” It seemed that no one uttered a single word for a long period of time. Evelyn turned down the radio; and there was a choking silence. We were dumbstruck and bewildered, unable to explain why Teddy, out of so many, was one of the unlucky ones. The next time we went to visit Aunt Alma and Uncle Louie, a single gold star on a banner hung in the window. Teddy left behind his bereft parents, two sisters, Mildred and Gertrude, and a war bride with a newborn baby girl.

I remember the sense of unity the war seemed to bring to families like my own on the home front. Neighbors and teachers became Civil Defense officers, purchasing their uniforms from local dry goods or department stores. During trial air raids, which seemed all too real to me, we would sit silently on the floor as my mother and father pulled the blackout drapes across the windows. Until the sirens stopped, or an announcer on the radio station told us the air raid drill was over, we remained motionless and silent. I would sometimes imagine that a bomb was falling and would hide under my bed with Jiggs [the family dog]. I remember during kindergarten and grade school being led with my other classmates by my teacher to a sub-basement area during one of these trial raids. All the children were fearful that the enemy might drop a bomb on their school.

Source: Robert Heide and John Gilman, *Home Front America: Popular Culture of the World War II Era* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1995), pp. 23–29. Reprinted with permission of Wendy Lipkind Agency, New York.

Primary Source

B) Evan Griffith, Appeal to Buy War Bonds, 3 August 1942

TO THE FARMERS OF KANSAS:

Your own sons and neighbors are fighting on foreign battle fields to hold back the Japs and Hitler. Millions of other American boys are being trained for overseas service. These men cannot fight bare-handed. They must have guns and tanks and ships and planes—which cost a lot of money. We

must supply these war implements in a hurry. We must win, and the sooner we win, the fewer American boys will be killed.

Farmers, like all Americans, have obligations to meet and families to support. Crop failures have occurred frequently in recent years. Some sections are just now recovering from the effects of drouth and depression years. This year, again, adverse weather conditions have hurt some localities. Farming in Kansas certainly has not been profitable for everyone every year. Still, the Kansas farmer has kept his faith in the “good earth” of Kansas—and that faith now is paying dividends. It appears that farm income for Kansas this year will be more than in any year since 1929—and I am writing to ask you to buy all of the War Bonds you possibly can. You can buy these Bonds through your banker, postmaster, building and loan association and many of our merchants.

You help win the war . . . you’re backing the boys in the service . . . when you Buy War Bonds.

War Bonds are the soundest investment on earth . . . you are always guaranteed at least what you pay for them, plus interest . . . War bonds can be cashed in at any time after sixty days . . . they are a liquid asset, like wheat in the bin.

We all realize that we can’t buy cars and tires and farm machinery . . . but we can convert Bonds into cash for farm machinery and other necessary articles when the war is over and these articles are available again.

Source: Evan Griffith, “Appeal to Buy War Bonds,” 3 August 1942. “Government Material” File, Linda Kuntz Papers, World War II Participants and Contemporaries Collection, Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library. Reprinted in Mark P. Parillo, ed., *We Were in the Big One: Experiences of the World War II Generation* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2002), pp. 14–17.

Primary Source

C) Elsie McCormick, “Essential Civilian Needs Will Be Met”

By last spring, war demands had made such inroads into essential civilian supplies that something had to be done about it. In many parts of the country such homely but necessary articles as diapers, denim work clothes and garbage cans had almost completely disappeared. Safety pins were so scarce that in some towns policemen collected them from door to door for maternity hospitals. Dairymen were killing cows because they could not get milk cans. Rope was so scarce that some ranchers in Oklahoma threatened to break into a store and take a supply frozen by priority regulations.

To help the forgotten men and women on the home front, the War Production Board last April organized an Office of Civilian Requirements, and placed at its head soft-voiced but iron-willed Arthur D. Whiteside, president of Dun and Brad-

street. Under him, the OCR has fought vigorously to relieve shortages that might damage health, morale, and efficiency.

The OCR can claim allotments of raw materials for making essential civilian goods, have them sent to manufacturers, and then so earmark the goods that, except in a real emergency, not even war industry or the armed forces can take them away from the ordinary buyer. Its sphere includes practically everything except food, fuel and rubber.

One of the first emergencies faced by OCR concerned the American baby. The 1942 diaper supply had been 10,000,000 yards less than requirements and the birth rate was zooming. The looms that had made diaper cloth were busy turning out cotton bags for farm produce and army supplies, as substitutes for the burlap that could no longer be had from India. In addition, war factories were buying diapers in huge quantities for use in wiping off machines.

The OCR allocated enough looms for diaper production to bring the supply to near normal and forbade the sale of the cloth for factory rags. Meanwhile, clearing the Mediterranean sea lanes has opened the short route from India and the first shipments of an order for 850,000,000 yards of burlap are on the way.

Sixty percent of the safety-pin supply had been taken for the hospital needs of the army and navy. In addition, the batiste once popular for infants' clothing was being used in balloons; and baby carriages were being bought up by munitions plants, where their soft springs assured the safe handling of sensitive explosives.

The OCR doubled the allotment of steel for safety pins; captured some material for baby clothes; and arranged for the manufacture of more baby carriages. Reports from the field soon indicated that the new carriage, using only six pounds of steel, was not a success. Mothers were overloading them with groceries crammed in alongside the baby, and the wooden wheels buckled. The OCR has now claimed more steel for each carriage. In addition it has provided for twins, overlooked in the original order.

The OCR is one of the few government agencies that doesn't smother its public under questionnaires dreamed up by desk men in Washington. Its field investigators talk and listen to war workers, farmers and housewives all over the country, in informal, friendly fashion. It receives hundreds of letters describing cases of individual hardship. It has 21 "listening posts" throughout the country to spot local shortages in the early stages; it then rushes the needed articles into that area.

One important thing learned by the OCR has been the disastrous effects of irregular ice deliveries and the breakdown of mechanical refrigerators. The consequent spoilage of food—wasteful in itself—has meant more garbage, which, coupled with the scarcity of garbage cans, brought a danger-

ous increase in rats. Lack of spring wire led to a shortage of rat-traps.

The OCR is having refrigerator repair parts made by smaller war plants not working at capacity. Since the number of refrigerator servicemen has dropped from 16,000 to about 5300, local draft boards have been asked to defer such workers for several months. Meanwhile the electrical industry has begun a program of training new men.

The garbage cans, it turned out, were being bought by war plants to hold tools, small machine parts and greasy rags. Now plants no longer buy garbage cans on priorities, and the OCR is claiming more galvanized iron to help tide over the shortage. And the amount of steel for rat-traps has been almost doubled.

Cutting the umbrella output to 30 percent of normal resulted in illness and absenteeism among the millions of people who used to ride in cars but now often wait in the rain for buses. So the shortage of umbrellas is being relieved.

More steel wool is going to be made, too, because OCR investigators found that housewives often complained more about this shortage than any other. In homes where the kitchens serve as living rooms, rows of gleaming pots and pans are a great source of pride. The steel wool to keep them shining will be made out of wire scrap, not needed as war material.

The fact that more silver-plated flatware is to be manufactured will be good news to restaurant owners. Purchases by the army and navy, and diversion of the industry to making everything from Ranger knives to magnesium bombs, cut the total for consumers to about one sixth of normal. The pinch was felt chiefly in factory areas where thousands of people were establishing new homes. Thefts of cutlery from restaurants became so common that some eating places were severely handicapped.

No steel has been claimed for needles. We have never made needles for hand sewing. Our entire supply came from England and Japan and we are still getting needles from both countries. The Japanese needles are reaching us from indirect sources.

The OCR has successfully avoided clothes rationing. Many textile mills are being put on a three-shift basis, and enough material for essential needs is now assured. Luxury garments will be scarcer than cheap ones. There are fewer rayon dresses because rayon makes a good parachute for fragmentation bombs or for food supplies and ammunition floated down to isolated outposts. Dresses of heavy, solid colors are being replaced by prints and pastels, because the coal-tar derivatives from which dyes are made are in demand for TNT, synthetic rubber and aviation gasoline. There is no real scarcity of cosmetics. The OCR regards them as important morale items, and maintains their production.

By working with manufacturers and with other WPB departments to simplify styles and use substitutes, the OCR has also released large amounts of materials for the armed services. For instance, the 27,000 varieties of door-knobs and other formers of builders' hardware of prewar days have been reduced to only 3600. There are now fewer styles of incandescent lighting fixtures, and only one type of domestic gas stove. Your dentist's choice of burrs for drilling teeth has been reduced from 75 to 34.

Substitutes developed by WPB's Office of Production Research and Development, with the help of about 200 laboratories throughout the country, include waterproof baby pants, an efficient kitchen utensil cleaner made of bamboo and reeds, a coiled rawhide bedspring, a hairpin made of wood, and an all-clay stove.

The OCR is not trying to maintain civilians in their accustomed style. But Mr. Whiteside believes that without things necessary to keep the home front in a state of health, efficiency and high morale, the way to victory might be seriously impeded.

Source: Elsie McCormick, "Essential Civilian Needs Will Be Met," *Reader's Digest* 43: 258 (October 1943), pp. 64–66. Reprinted in Mark P. Parillo, ed., *We Were in the Big One: Experiences of the World War II Generation* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2002), pp. 223–226. Reprinted with permission of Reader's Digest.

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4.3. Race in the Wartime United States

African Americans and World War II

When World War II began, African Americans in the United States invariably faced pervasive discrimination, both formal and informal. In the southern states, formal legislative controls forced blacks to use public facilities that were separate from—and almost invariably inferior to—those provided for whites. These “Jim Crow” restrictions covered public schools, hospitals, transportation, restaurants, sports facilities, cinemas, bathrooms, and hotels. Poll taxes, literacy clauses, and other devices, backed up by violence, also made it very difficult for African Americans in the South to vote, and they had virtually no chance of winning elections themselves. The majority of southern blacks were agricultural workers or sharecroppers. Lynchings of “uppity” blacks who questioned this system remained quite common. In both the North and South, African Americans were largely restricted to menial jobs, as servants, janitors, porters, tram conductors, and the like. Few were admitted to prestigious educational institutions, the professions, or responsible business positions, and those who did win success often did so in almost all-black institutions and organizations. Few if any private clubs welcomed blacks, and many housing developments were restricted to whites only.

During the 1930s, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal offered limited but still substantial public assistance to American blacks, whose poverty and unemployment rates far surpassed those of whites. In several well-publicized incidents, his wife, Eleanor, publicly opposed racial discrimination. Roosevelt himself, however, invariably expressed deep sympathy but refused to take direct action against racism, even if only by sponsoring antilynching legislation; he cited the need to win support from influential southern Democratic senators and congressmen, almost all of whom were staunchly segregationist, first for his domestic New Deal policies and then for his wartime measures.

World War II itself gave a substantial boost to black activism, effectively kick starting what grew into the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The stated values of the United States, as proclaimed in its liberal war aims, made the Roosevelt administration vulnerable to demands by African Americans, who constituted around 10 percent of the country's population, for legal equality and the end of segregation and discrimination. So, too, did Japanese characterizations of the United States as a racist nation where all nonwhites were second-class citizens. The requirements of war brought major demographic and employment changes to the black community, which in turn helped to generate

African American demands for equality with whites. In response to the American economy's need for manpower, 700,000 African Americans migrated from the agrarian southern states to take factory jobs in the large industrial conurbations of both the South and the North. Many defense contractors initially refused to hire them, and in 1942, blacks held only 3 percent of all jobs in defense industries, but by 1945, the proportion had grown to 8 percent. One million black Americans, of whom two-thirds were women, took new industrial jobs during the war, and the number of skilled black workers doubled, though most were still concentrated in unskilled positions, and relatively few were even considered for managerial and white-collar positions.

Some of these changes reflected greater activism within the black community itself. In the first half of 1941, A. Philip Randolph, a longtime African American activist who headed the labor union the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a traditionally black occupation, took advantage of the wartime crisis to put pressure on Washington. He announced plans to hold a march on Washington, in which 100,000 African Americans would publicly protest racial segregation and their exclusion from wartime jobs. Such an event would have been exceptionally embarrassing to the Roosevelt administration's efforts to portray the United States as the opponent of totalitarian racism and brutality and the champion of democracy, equality, and the Four Freedoms. More than 20 years later, in 1963, the celebrated March on Washington actually did take place, headed by the black activist the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., a gathering largely organized by Randolph and at which he himself also spoke. In the shorter term, Randolph called off the 1941 march, and in return for this concession, on 25 June 1941, Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, outlawing discrimination by government agencies, in job training programs, and in the employment of defense workers in any industrial plant awarded government defense contracts. The order also established an agency, the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC), to supervise and enforce the implementation of Executive Order 8802.

In practice, these measures often proved ineffective, as Congress refused to vote the FEPC sufficient funds to enforce the order's provisions and dismantled the agency altogether in 1946, and the War Department normally refused to penalize or blacklist businesses that contravened the order, since it gave the efficient fulfillment of war contracts priority over efforts to combat racism. Even so, the government had finally taken a decisive public stance against racial discrimination in employment, a symbolic move of great importance. Black federal government employees increased from 60,000 to 200,000 during the war, increasingly at higher levels, though many still held menial positions. In the course of the war, the National War Labor Board prohibited the payment of differential wages

based on race, so that all workers doing the same job should now receive the same pay; the U.S. Employment Service ceased accepting job requests that specified one particular race; and the National Labor Relations Board refused to certify labor unions that excluded minorities. As more African Americans were hired, increasing numbers of employers stated that they found their work satisfactory. Average wages for black urban workers doubled, rising from \$400 to \$1,000 per year, and the average black family income also increased, while the take home pay of such heavily African American occupations janitors, truck-drivers, and Pullman porters rose by 50 to 80 percent. Wartime progress should not be exaggerated. The median income of black families remained approximately half that for whites; within labor unions, racial discrimination was still rife; and many employers only gave token compliance to Executive Order 8802. African Americans were still disproportionately concentrated in lower-level occupations. When the war ended, African Americans constituted 27.6 percent of all laborers, 21.1 percent of farm workers, 21.9 percent of service workers, and 75 percent of domestic servants, but only 3.6 percent of craftsmen and foremen, and they held only 3.3 percent of professional and technical positions and 2.8 percent of clerical and sales jobs.

Within the military, discrimination also remained pervasive, though there, too, World War II brought significant changes. More than 1 million African Americans served in the armed forces, representing 8 percent of the country's military personnel, and many felt that they were fighting a double battle, seeking victory against fascism abroad but also victory against racism and segregation at home. American military policies discriminated heavily against African Americans, in part because under the Constitution, the right to bear arms implied full citizenship, a status still effectively denied black Americans. In 1940, the Marines and Air Corps would not even accept them, the navy would only take them as messmen, and the army segregated them rigidly in separate combat and noncombat units, with the emphasis on the latter. Seventy-eight percent of blacks but only 40 percent of whites were in service units, where they often performed difficult and dangerous tasks but lacked the acclaim and recognition of combat troops. Whereas white officers commanded black combat units, black officers could only serve in segregated black service or reserve units and were not permitted to command white troops. The military leadership was initially reluctant to send black troops overseas, fearing that an egalitarian reception in other countries might send them home discontented with their own. Many army training camps were sited in the rigidly separatist southern states, where their facilities were segregated and black soldiers were liable to additional harassment and discrimination.

Civilian and military officials alike initially argued that blacks made inherently poorer soldiers and that in any case,

the stresses and demands of winning the war precluded any risky experiments with desegregation, which they feared might damage the morale of the white majority of soldiers. Nonetheless, pressures for change mounted, placing the military under escalating compulsion to demonstrate its commitment to equality and democracy. Understandably, many black soldiers deeply resented these policies of discrimination and challenged them as individuals and units. Civil rights activists also assailed military segregation, and the pressures of waging war efficiently also did much to erode discriminatory practices, which came to seem a liability in winning the war. From April 1942 onward, the navy changed its policies, admitting blacks for general labor service and eventually integrating several ships, on which African Americans served as radio and gunnery specialists. Twenty-two black combat units fought in Europe, and after the Battle of the Bulge decimated various all-white infantry regiments, 2,500 African Americans were formed into platoons that joined white companies. In July 1941, the Air Corps also established a black training program at Tuskegee, Alabama, that eventually graduated 992 pilots, including those who made up the famous all-black 99th Fighter Squadron and 332d Fighter Group. In combat, African Americans generally performed at least as well as whites, receiving more than 12,000 decorations and citations.

By the time World War II ended, American blacks had become far more militant and self-aware than in 1940. Membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) increased from 50,000 to 500,000, and a new organization, the interracial Congress of Racial Equality, also came into existence. Young African Americans in particular participated in boycotts and picketing against racist businesses, and many blacks were consciously committed to the Double V for Victory campaign. In 1944, the Supreme Court declared all-white primaries, common in many southern states, unconstitutional, and the NAACP prepared to mount legal challenges to other segregationist practices. Blacks had become an important presence in most urban centers, and helping to defend their country energized many returning African American servicemen, who had claimed substantial educational and housing benefits under the GI Bill of Rights, to stand up for their rights at home. Though still doggedly opposed by many Americans, by the time the war ended, civil rights and the struggle for black equality had become part of the national liberal agenda.

About the Author

Born the son of a Florida Methodist minister, A. Philip Randolph moved to New York as a young man, where he studied economics and philosophy at New York City College. He later joined the Socialist Party, ran unsuccessfully for several city political posts, and lectured at the Rand School of Social

Science. In 1917, Randolph founded a magazine that campaigned for black civil rights and also urged African Americans not to join the army. During the 1920s, Randolph organized black workers in laundries, the garment trade, and movie theaters, and in 1929, he founded what became the first successful black labor union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP). In the mid-1930s, the failure of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) to act against racial discrimination among its membership led him to switch the BSCP to the newly formed Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Randolph perceived World War II as offering an excellent opportunity to demand government action against racial discrimination. Once the war ended, he spearheaded the successful campaign to desegregate the U.S. military, which President Harry S. Truman did by executive order in July 1948. Randolph later served as a vice president of the merged AFL-CIO, and from 1960 to 1966 was president of the Negro American Labor Council. In this position, he took the lead in organizing the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, the occasion on which Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech.

About the Documents

The three documents included here are each entirely different in nature. The first is an article by a political activist, advocating a particular cause; the second a government statement; and the third a personal oral history reminiscence. All, however, relate to the same subject, the treatment of African Americans during World War II, a subject into which each in various ways provides valuable insight.

By 1942, Randolph was a prominent public figure and a leader of the African American community. Randolph and much of the black press interpreted Roosevelt's decision to issue Executive Order 8802 as evidence that the tactics of threats and public action were more effective than simple moral appeals in winning concrete gains on civil rights. He therefore launched a program of massive but nonviolent public meetings to protest racial discrimination in the United States and warned that if necessary, he was still prepared to mount a march on Washington for this purpose. This article and the attached program, published in the progressive journal *The Survey Graphic* in November 1942, provided a clear and concise statement of the objectives toward which Randolph believed African Americans should work and the reasons he believed the U.S. government should support them. His program demanded the complete eradication of racial discrimination and segregation from American life. Essentially, he argued that it was impossible to fight for democracy abroad without also implementing democracy at home. If black Americans did not believe that they were fighting for the latter, they would also be extremely unenthusiastic in fighting for the former. As a good socialist, Randolph also

opposed imperialism abroad, especially since he perceived it as another example of white domination of dark peoples. During the war, his stance gradually became more radical, and in summer 1943, he called for further large civil rights demonstrations in 26 major American cities. By that time, he also advocated acts of civil disobedience, including black boycotts of segregated railroad trains, weeklong withdrawals of black children from “Jim Crow” public schools, and ostentatious black patronage of predominantly white hotels, restaurants, and other social centers in northern cities. At the time, many African Americans felt that Randolph’s tactics were too radical for wartime and might backfire on them, and for the remainder of the war, the March on Washington Movement was rather in eclipse. Randolph nonetheless set out what would become some of the most effective tactics of the postwar civil rights movement as well as its basic agenda.

Truman K. Gibson’s statement, made on behalf of the secretary of war at an official press conference, demonstrates how seriously the U.S. Army had been forced to address the issue of racial discrimination by the time the war ended. Gibson (1912–1994) was himself an African American, whose family relocated from Atlanta, Georgia, to Columbus, Ohio, in an effort to escape racial violence. He studied law at the University of Chicago, where his roommate was Benjamin O. Davis Jr., who eventually became the first black general in the U.S. Air Force. Gibson practiced law in Chicago, and in 1940, became assistant to William Hastie, the first black civilian aide to Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, with the primary responsibility of investigating and handling issues relating to black troops. Early in 1943, Gibson replaced Hastie, who had become so dissatisfied with the military’s continued complacency over what top officials openly admitted were discriminatory and unfair segregationist policies that he resigned in January. The fact that Hastie, the first black aide in the War Department, had left under such circumstances perhaps smoothed Gibson’s path; other War Department officials apparently treated his opinions with some respect. Black journalists, however, annoyed by repeated requests from Gibson in 1943 that they tone down stories on racial conflict in the army, suggested that Gibson essentially functioned as an apologist for War Department policies and acquiesced too readily in racial discrimination. From the time Gibson replaced Hastie in the War Department, its policies gradually became more liberal, though even when he made this statement, the army remained a largely segregated force.

Gibson made his statement to newspapermen on behalf of the Press Branch of the War Department Bureau of Public Relations, and it must be understood as being to some extent—like his own appointment—an exercise in political spin. The office, not the man, was speaking. Gibson also had earlier blunders of his own to repair. In early 1945, he was strongly criticized in the black press and characterized as an

“Uncle Tom” for disparaging comments he gave at a press conference on the alleged poor performance in Italy of the all-black 92nd Division. Gibson presented a roseate and by no means entirely frank picture of race relations in the U.S. Army. He sought to emphasize that Allied military leaders in the European campaign were attempting to utilize all their men, whatever their color, as efficiently as possible. In pursuit of human interest, Gibson gave several anecdotal instances of this policy in operation. He also emphasized that black troops had fought exceedingly well and were at least as good as any other troops, that African American nurses were doing an outstanding job, and that the Supreme Command was insistent that there must be no racial discrimination within the Allied forces. Any that had occurred, according to Gibson, was individual, not institutional, in nature. The army, by Gibson’s account, was an integrated force in which blacks and whites were cooperating harmoniously together to win the war.

The individual stories Gibson recounted may well have all been true, but the overall picture he wished to present was primarily an exercise in wishful thinking. Perhaps the greatest significance of his statement was its demonstration that, whereas five years before, the U.S. Army had operated on blatantly segregationist and discriminatory lines, one month before World War II ended in Europe, such attitudes were no longer publicly acceptable. If the American military now felt obliged to portray itself as essentially a racially integrated organization, the actual implementation of such policies could probably not be long delayed. Interestingly, among the more significant factors impelling President Harry S. Truman to desegregate the army in 1948 were the findings and recommendations of a presidential Advisory Committee on Universal Military Training of 1946, a body that included Gibson.

Although Gibson’s official position obliged him to furnish reporters an upbeat account of military interracial cooperation, for much of World War II, racial conflicts bedeviled the U.S. Army. Allen Thompson of Cleveland, Ohio, part black, part Irish, was studying history and political science at Wilberforce University when he was drafted in October 1941. It may well be significant that his grandfather had left the southern state of Mississippi to escape lynching after he had beaten up a white man who was cheating him, an episode that had clearly long since become part of family legend. When army authorities tried to switch Thompson’s all-black unit, the 758th Tank Battalion, from training for tank service to becoming truckers and support troops, the entire group went on hunger strike until they were returned to tank training. Especially in the South, racially motivated fights between black and white soldiers often disturbed the routine of military training camps. In 1943, units of black soldiers clashed repeatedly with white paratroopers at Camp Patrick Henry, Virginia. Thompson recalls one such episode in which a paratrooper died and one black soldier was shot in the leg.

Thompson also assertively challenged racial segregation in Tennessee. Like most oral histories, that of Thompson concentrated on high points and was sometimes vague on details. It did, however, accurately convey not just the pervasiveness of racism within and outside the wartime U.S. Army but also the impact of wartime service in spurring black soldiers to fight discrimination and stand up for themselves.

Primary Source

A) A. Philip Randolph, "Why Should We March?" November 1942

Though I have found no Negroes who want to see the United Nations lose this war, I have found many who, before the war ends, want to see the stuffing knocked out of white supremacy and of empire over subject peoples. American Negroes, involved as we are in the general issues of the conflict, are confronted not with a choice but with the challenge both to win democracy for ourselves at home and to help win the war for democracy the world over.

There is no escape from the horns of this dilemma. There ought not to be escape. For if the war for democracy is not won abroad, the fight for democracy cannot be won at home. If this war cannot be won for the white peoples, it will not be won for the darker races.

Conversely, if freedom and equality are not vouchsafed the peoples of color, the war for democracy will not be won. Unless this double-barreled thesis is accepted and applied, the darker races will never wholeheartedly fight for the victory of the United Nations. That is why those familiar with the thinking of the American Negro have sensed his lack of enthusiasm, whether among the educated or uneducated, rich or poor, professional or nonprofessional, religious or secular, rural or urban, north, south, east or west.

That is why questions are being raised by Negroes in church, labor union and fraternal society; in poolroom, barbershop, schoolroom, hospital, hair-dressing parlor; on college campus, railroad, and bus. One can hear such questions asked as these: What have Negroes to fight for? What's the difference between Hitler and that "cracker" [Governor Eugene] Talmadge of Georgia? Why has a man got to be Jim Crowed to die for democracy? If you haven't got democracy yourself, how can you carry it to somebody else?

What are the reasons for this state of mind? The answer is: discrimination, segregation, Jim Crow. Witness the navy, the army, the air corps; and also government services at Washington. In many parts of the South, Negroes in Uncle Sam's uniform are being put upon, mobbed, sometimes even shot down by civilian and military police, and on occasion lynched. Vested political interests in race prejudice are so deeply entrenched that to them winning the war against Hitler is secondary to preventing Negroes from winning democracy for

themselves. This is worth many divisions to Hitler and Hirohito. While labor, business, and farm are subjected to ceilings and floors and not allowed to carry on as usual, these interests trade in the dangerous business of race hate as usual.

When the defense program began and billions of the taxpayers' money were appropriated for guns, ships, tanks and bombs, Negroes presented themselves for work only to be given the cold shoulder. North as well as South, and despite their qualifications, Negroes were denied skilled employment. Not until their wrath and indignation took the form of a proposed protest march on Washington, scheduled for July 1, 1941, did things begin to move in the form of defense jobs for Negroes. The march was postponed by the timely issuance (June 25, 1941) of the famous Executive Order No. 8802 by President Roosevelt. But this order and the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, established thereunder, have as yet only scratched the surface by way of eliminating discriminations on account of race or color in war industry. Both management and labor unions in too many places and in too many ways are still drawing the color line.

It is to meet this situation squarely with direct action that the March on Washington Movement launched its present program of protest mass meetings. Twenty thousand were in attendance at Madison Square Garden, June 16; sixteen thousand in the Coliseum in Chicago, June 26; nine thousand in the City Auditorium of St. Louis, August 14. Meetings of such magnitude were unprecedented among Negroes. The vast throngs were drawn from all walks and levels of Negro life—businessmen, teachers, laundry workers, Pullman porters, waiters, and red caps; preachers, crapshooters, and social workers; jitterbugs and Ph.D's. They came and sat in silence, thinking, applauding only when they considered the truth was told, when they felt strongly that something was going to be done about it.

The March on Washington is essentially a movement of the people. It is all Negro and pro-Negro, but not for that reason anti-white or anti-Semitic, or anti-Catholic, or anti-foreign, or anti-labor. Its major weapon is the non-violent demonstration of Negro mass power. Negro leadership has united back of its drive for jobs and justice. "Whether Negroes should march on Washington, and if so, when?" will be the focus of a forthcoming national conference. For the plan of a protest march has not been abandoned. Its purpose would be to demonstrate that American Negroes are in deadly earnest, and all out for their full rights. No power on earth can cause them today to abandon their fight to wipe out every vestige of second class citizenship and the dual standards that plague them.

A community is democratic only when the humblest and weakest person can enjoy the highest civil, economic, and social rights that the biggest and most powerful possess. To trample on these rights of both Negroes and poor whites is

such a commonplace in the South that it takes readily to anti-social, anti-labor, anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic propaganda. It was because of laxness in enforcing the Weimar constitution in republican Germany that Nazism made headway. Oppression of the Negroes in the United States, like suppression of the Jews in Germany, may open the way for a fascist dictatorship.

By fighting for their rights now, American Negroes are hoping to make America a moral and spiritual arsenal of democracy. Their fight against the poll tax, against lynch law, segregation, and Jim Crow, their fight for economic, political, and social equality, thus becomes part of the global war for freedom.

Program of the March on Washington Movement

1. We demand, in the interest of national unity, the abrogation of every law which makes a distinction in treatment between citizens based on religion, creed, color, or national origin. This means an end to Jim Crow in education, in housing, in transportation and in every other social, economic, and political privilege; and especially, we demand, in the capital of the nation, an end to segregation in public places and in public institutions.
2. We demand legislation to enforce the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments guaranteeing that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, so that the full weight of the national government may be used for the protection of life and thereby may end the disgrace of lynching.
3. We demand the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and the enactment of the Pepper Poll Tax bill so that all barriers in the exercise of the suffrage are eliminated.
4. We demand the abolition of segregation and discrimination in the army, navy, marine corps, air corps, and all other branches of national defense.
5. We demand an end to the discrimination in jobs and job training. Further, we demand that the FEPC be made a permanent administrative agency of the U.S. Government and that it be given power to enforce its decisions based on its findings.
6. We demand that federal funds be withheld from any agency which practices discrimination in the use of such funds.
7. We demand colored and minority group representation on all administrative agencies so that these groups may have recognition of their democratic right to participate in formulating policies.
8. We demand representation for the colored and minority racial groups on all missions, political and technical, which will be sent to the peace conference so that the interests of all people everywhere may be fully

recognized and justly provided for in the post-war settlement.

Source: A. Philip Randolph, "Why Should We March?" *Survey Graphic* (November 1942). Reprinted in William L. Van Deburg, ed., *Modern Black Nationalism: From Marcus Garvey to Louis Farrakan* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), pp. 74–77. Reprinted with kind permission of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, Washington, DC.

Primary Source

B) Statement of Truman K. Gibson Jr., Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, at Press Conference, Monday, 9 April 1945

The press has already reported that Negro and White Infantrymen are now fighting side by side in Germany. In France I visited some of the Negro platoons before they left for the front and talked with the men being trained at the Reinforcement Training Center. What I saw and heard was evidence that the Supreme Command in SHAEF was following in racial matters what must be the basic policy of any Army, in any way, namely, that of utilizing most efficiently all available resources of men and materiel to defeat the enemy.

Such a policy is working. At the Training Center a white noncommissioned veteran, who was assisting in the training program, said graphically, if ungrammatically, about the Negro trainees: "Sure they'll get along all right. It don't matter whose [sic] firing next to you when you're both killing Krauts." The Texas-born, battle-scarred Commanding Officer of the Center was confident that the trainees, all of whom volunteered for the training course with all noncommissioned officers taking a reduction to the grade of private, would do well in combat. He said, "These men will fight because they have been trained and treated just like the other soldiers here and they know they are going to be used in the same manner. In the same Divisions. They want to fight. When the first group went out we had only two cases of AWOL [Absent Without Leave] among all the Negro soldiers in the Center. We found out where the two men were when we received a wire from a front line Division Commander informing us that they had reported to him to fight."

The estimate of this officer has been confirmed by the report of an official observer who spent time with some of the platoons in the fighting around Remagen where the first of the units was committed to combat. He reported that the Negro soldiers fought as well as any others and that the mistakes they made were the same as those made by other troops lacking battle experience.

This policy of making the best use of all soldiers is further evidenced in the excellent performance of the Service of Supply troops throughout the theater. These troops, a large per-

centage of whom are Negroes, regard themselves as soldiers performing vital jobs. They had a very real identification with the fighting front. In one Quartermaster Depot, manned by Negro personnel, the first sergeant when questioned as to why the men were working voluntarily around the clock, replied: "We have got to keep the supplies moving and we all want to do our part." The officers in this unit were white and were enthusiastic about their men and their work. Discussing their men, Negro officers in a Quartermaster Truck Company said that on many occasions their drivers had insisted on delivering white Infantrymen into dangerous territory late at night far in advance of the debarkation points because "they hated to see the 'Doughs' walk."

In the European Theater of Operations are the first units of Negro nurses and Wacs to go overseas. The nurses, stationed at a hospital in the north of England, are busy treating American soldiers who have been wounded in action. They are described by their Commanding Officer as being the equals professionally of any nurses in the area. The Wacs officer and man the Central Postal Directory for the entire European Theater of Operations. Their efficiency has drawn repeated praise from the Commanding Officer of the United Kingdom Base Section. They have adjusted exceptionally well in the short time they have been overseas to their work and the community in which they are situated.

Generally, on both the Continent and in England, it was apparent that the attitude of the Supreme Command that there should be no discrimination against any soldier on account of his race had reached all elements of the Command. Discriminatory acts and incidents that have occurred were regarded by the soldiers as being individual in nature. As a result of my trip to the Mediterranean and European Theaters I am impressed that such differences as exist between soldiers are not due to racial characteristics but to such factors as training, motivation, and environment. The fact that the Commands in these theaters believe this is encouraging. Certainly the record being made by Negro soldiers gives the lie to any charge that Negroes cannot and will not fight.

Source: Statement of Truman K. Gibson Jr., Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, at Press Conference, 9 April 1945. Available at Harry S. Truman Presidential Library Web Site. Desegregation of the Armed Forces Folder, 1945. http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/desegregation/.

Primary Source

C) Racial Conflicts in the U.S. Army: Recollections of Allen Thompson

We were in tank training at Fort Knox when all of the sudden they told us they were going to put us into a trucking com-

pany. So we refused to eat. We did not go to the mess hall. We did it as a whole unit. There were a couple of lawyers in the group, and they got us organized. We just did not eat. And we said that we wanted to be trained as tankers and used as tankers, that was our demand. We did not want to be truck drivers or port battalion or loaders. We wanted to be tankers. Finally, they saw it our way. We even got black cooks because we complained that the white guys didn't know how to cook for us. . . .

When we got to Camp Patrick Henry, I saw it brewing. I could smell trouble, and I could see it too. When we went in for our indoctrination, the paratroopers on that base were antagonistic. They would gesture. They had shroud knives, the kind you use to cut your shroud when you drop in a parachute. They patted them, and they made gestures with those knives. We were told when we got there we could go anywhere on the post, because we are in the United States Army and all that. It was the post commander talking. "You are not confined to any area. You can go anywhere you want to." Well, that wasn't the case.

Some of our men had gone to the PX and were escorted out or run away from the area. The PX in our area was mixed, white and black soldiers. But the problem began because some white girls were overly friendly with the black soldiers, and the white paratroopers didn't like it. I was in the PX that night with a couple of sergeants, and I said, "Let's get out of here. I see some problems." So we got out.

The next night I was in charge of quarters, and oh, about fifty of those paratroopers came down the road in front of our barracks. They were making a lot of racket. I said, "What do you fellas want?"

"Well, your boys are trying to emulate paratroopers," they said. "They have their pants stuck down in their combat boots like us, and we feel that you all are trying to emulate paratroopers."

I said, "Well, these men are authorized for combat boots." And I told them to get back to their unit because they had no business over here. They left, but the next night about two hundred of them came back.

That night they said, "We're gonna kill some niggers tonight." Well, some shooting started. I don't know what side started it. But I do know that my company commander was supposed to have been knocked down, and the key to the armory was taken. And guns were taken out. And we had a small gunfight. It lasted about a hot minute. Because when the shots rang out and people fell, those guys cleared out in about two seconds. One of my men in the company got shot in the foot. One of theirs got killed. So they more or less quarantined the company, and there was a large investigation.

They took us in one by one and questioned us. They didn't have any evidence. None of the guns had fingerprints; nobody remembered nothing. But they busted the staff sergeant in

my company, said that he had taken the key from the company commander. They couldn't figure out how my gun had been fired, and I said, "I don't know either."

We heard that paratrooper unit had jumped on every black unit that had come through. They found some excuse to jump on the black units, and they had never been stopped. One officer said, "Your outfit was the first to stop them." Yeah, my bunch of boys in the 758th Tank Battalion were crazy, I tell you. We had fellas from Chicago, New York, Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia, all, mostly, city boys, big city boys.

Source: Excerpted from Maggi M. Morehouse, ed., *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army: Black Men and Women Remember World War II* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), pp. 102, 106–108. Permission granted by Roman and Littlefield.

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4.4. Wartime Racial Tensions in the United States

Race Riots in the United States, Summer 1943

In summer 1943, racial tensions peaked in the United States. From 1942 onward, numerous minor fights and small riots pitting white against black soldiers had broken out on or near military bases and training camps, and newspaper reports of such clashes, which often ended with one or more deaths and serious injuries, proliferated during 1943. More seriously, several large-scale, protracted, and well-publicized riots occurred in major American cities, the most serious involv-

ing the "zoot-suit" anti-Hispanic riots of June in Los Angeles, quickly followed by black-white race riots in Detroit the same month and black attacks on white-owned property in Harlem, New York, in August. Less serious riots also occurred in Beaumont, Texas, and Newark, New Jersey.

In a weeklong rampage beginning 3 June 1943, hundreds of servicemen clashed with "zoot-suited" young Mexican Americans in East Los Angeles, stripping them of their distinctive clothing and beating them up. Mexican Americans were generally impoverished, living in substandard housing, easy prey to disease, malnutrition, and discrimination, forced to attend segregated schools, and with few economic opportunities open to them. Young Mexican American men tended to join pachuco gangs, which were frequently at violent odds with each other as well as the white community. Gang members, together with other young Hispanic men, often sported duck-tailed hair, broad-brimmed hats, and long dangling chains over brightly colored zoot suits, outfits whose long jackets had broad shoulders and narrow waists over pants with pleated balloon-like legs. Racial feeling ran high in Los Angeles after the August 1942 Sleepy Lagoon murder of a young Mexican American, José Diaz, by members of the local "38th Street" gang. Police rounded up more than 600 young pachucos, 22 of whom were tried for murder, with nine found guilty in January 1943, though one year later, their convictions were overturned. The press characterized all young Latinos, especially those wearing zoot suits, as dangerous gangsters and even after the trial was over, continued with a near-hysterical anticrime campaign.

Racial tensions continued to rise, fueled by war-related social tensions. With the majority of young white men enlisted in the armed forces, women, Hispanics (many of whom were not U.S. citizens), and African Americans had taken up industrial jobs in Los Angeles. The West Coast was home to numerous military and naval bases, and young white servicemen, many from elsewhere in the United States, resented the highly visible presence of young, flamboyantly attired Latino males who were not in the armed forces. On the night of 3 June, several sailors were robbed and beaten, apparently by Mexican American pachucos. The following evening, a mob of 200 sailors swept into Los Angeles in taxicabs to wreak revenge, invading the Latin quarter, or *barrio*, where they assaulted all young Latino males, zoot-suited or not, together with any young black or Filipino men unfortunate enough to encounter them. The victims were usually beaten up and stripped of their clothing. For several days, these nightly riots continued and also spread to Long Beach, and the press applauded the public spirit and anticrime fervor of those attacking the local Latino community. Assorted soldiers and civilians joined the mob in its assaults, and zoot-suited young men in many cases fought back. Meanwhile, the Los Angeles police, who had been instructed to allow shore police and military police to handle

all service personnel, restricted themselves to observing the action and arresting on charges of rioting and vagrancy more than 500 Latino young men, many of whom had themselves been assaulted. The fact that some Latina young women, who had apparently formed gangs of their own, known as the Slick Chicks and Black Widows, occasionally took part in the fighting provoked considerable press comment and speculation. Similar but smaller-scale riots also spread to other cities with substantial Latino communities throughout California, Texas, and Arizona, and there were even some minor incidents in New York, Philadelphia, and Detroit. On 7 June, local naval and army commanders finally declared Los Angeles off-limits to their personnel; but they officially treated these events as episodes in which sailors and soldiers were simply defending themselves, and none of the perpetrators was punished. The next day the Los Angeles City Council banned the wearing of zoot suits in public; offenders were liable to a 30-day jail term. The only arrests that occurred were those among the Latino community.

A few days later, serious black-white race riots erupted in the major American industrial city of Detroit, Michigan. In the previous three years, Detroit's population had swelled from 1.6 million to 1.8 million, as around 50,000 blacks and 150,000 largely Southern whites immigrated to the city in response to the demands of the industrial war effort. Housing was in short supply, child care nonexistent, food was rationed, and workers who were earning good wages had little to spend them on. Tensions between blacks and whites and between newcomers and older residents were fierce. Blacks generally lived in expensive slums and were excluded from most public housing, and in early 1942, small-scale racial violence broke out when, over white opposition, African Americans moved into the Sojourner Truth Housing Project, located in a previously all-white area. White workers protested against working on the same assembly lines with blacks, and in many factories, white supremacist organizations, notably the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Legion, were highly visible and active. In protest against what they considered unfair treatment, some blacks began a "bumping campaign" of deliberately walking into whites on the streets and nudging them off the sidewalks. In early June 1943, 25,000 white workers in the Packard defense project, producing engines for bombers and PT boats, stopped work in protest over the promotion of three blacks.

On the evening of 20 June, minor skirmishes broke out between young black and white men in Belle Isle, quickly attracting additional participants, and before the police declared the riot over at midnight, more than 200 individuals had joined in. Rumors of various racial incidents swept through other parts of the city. By 4 a.m., angry mobs of both blacks and whites had gathered together, confronting each other in the city center, and virtual guerrilla warfare broke

out, watched by a crowd of 100,000 spectators, while 2,000 city police and 150 state police troops found themselves overwhelmed. Over two days, 34 people, 25 of them black, were killed, 461 injured, and extensive looting took place. On several occasions, white police officers opened fire on black crowds, and even though the chief of police had refused to issue "shoot-to-kill" orders, their guns were responsible for 17 black deaths. After 36 hours of chaotic violence, Michigan Governor Harry Kelly and Detroit Mayor Edward Jeffries Jr. requested assistance from President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and as armored cars and jeeps bearing federal troops with automatic weapons moved in, the mobs dispersed. Approximately 1,800 individuals, the majority of them black, were arrested for looting and other crimes, and 13 murders remained unsolved.

Additional though less serious racial clashes continued throughout the summer, providing valuable propaganda for the Japanese government, which gleefully cited these events as evidence that the United States was a white supremacist and racist society and that Japan's foremost enemy was collapsing due to internal social disunity. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt openly expressed her concern over the state of race relations in Los Angeles. Black civil rights leaders accused the Detroit police of racist bias. The riots also generated much soul-searching in the United States and several inquiries, public and private, into the state of American race relations.

About the Documents

Although one is the report of an official inquiry and the other a lengthy article by a journalist, both the documents excerpted here highlighted the legitimate grievances of Latinos and blacks in the United States, and each was extremely critical of the behavior of the authorities in handling civil disorder. In different ways, each of these documents represented part of the broader national inquiry generated by the widespread shock and self-questioning that soon formed part of the aftermath of the various summer 1943 racial riots. Until that time, most white Americans believed that African Americans were relatively satisfied with their conditions; after these events, the numbers believing this fell dramatically, from 60 percent of whites in 1942 to a mere 25 percent in 1944. The disorders of 1943 were not repeated the following summer. Black leaders, alarmed that violence would rebound on their community and its ambitions for equality, consciously urged greater moderation on African Americans, and the federal government and many states moved more assertively to redress at least some black grievances in employment and the armed forces. By highlighting the existence of racial tensions and discontent and the need to alleviate them, these episodes of violence probably assisted the civil rights movement in the long run.

In early 1943, Governor Earl Warren of California established a Citizens Committee for Latin American Youth to investigate the interracial situation in Los Angeles County. Immediately after the zoot suit riots ended, he instructed this body to undertake a major investigation of these events. Allegations were rife that Los Angeles police had colluded with and acquiesced in the vigilante activities of white southern servicemen; members of the House Un-American Activities Committee, by contrast, claimed that Axis agents had instigated the riots, though no evidence was ever presented that bore out this theory. Although the committee's report, issued toward the end of 1943, was an official document, the outrage of its authors comes through very clearly in its language. The committee's report was highly critical of both the poor living conditions prevalent among Latinos in Los Angeles and the racial prejudice and suspicion of crime to which the entire community was subject. The behavior of the mob of sailors, soldiers, and civilians was strongly criticized, as was that of the police in standing by and doing nothing. The reports recommended that where identifiable, all perpetrators of the riots should be punished, but the only individuals who were ever penalized for them were those Latinos arrested at the time. Los Angeles Mayor Fletcher Bowron publicly challenged the report's findings, blaming the disorder on juvenile delinquents and white southerners from elsewhere and stating that racial prejudice had played no part in the riots.

In 1943, Earl Brown was the only black journalist working for *Life* magazine. His series of articles on race in the United States, published in that magazine and *Harper's* magazine over the years 1942–1944, have been listed among the 100 best examples of twentieth-century journalism. This lengthy account of the Detroit race riots, a model of what would today be termed in-depth investigative journalism, was published in 1944, several months after the riots occurred, as a separate pamphlet by the New York Public Affairs Committee, which two years earlier had also brought out a similar piece Brown co-authored on *The Negro and the War*. Brown was not writing sensational journalism, and he carefully described the background to the riots, putting them in the broader context of Detroit's lengthy history not just of racism but also of fanatical religious extremism, white supremacism, and labor conflicts, which when combined with longstanding racial discrimination, the substandard slum housing of African Americans, and immediate wartime tensions, made an explosive mix. Brown was, however, extremely critical of the failure of the police—whom he described as either “helpless or negligent”—and city authorities to take effective action themselves, declare martial law, or call in federal troops for almost 48 hours. This pamphlet was a serious effort, written after much research and reflection, to put the Detroit riots in their

broader historical context and thereby suggest how similar events might be avoided in the future.

Primary Source

A) The Zoot Suit Riots, Los Angeles, June 1943: Report of the Governor's Citizens Committee

There are approximately 250,000 persons of Mexican descent in Los Angeles County. Living conditions among the majority of these people are far below the general level of the community. Housing is inadequate; sanitation is bad and is made worse by congestion. Recreational facilities for children are very poor; and there is insufficient supervision of the playgrounds, swimming pools and other youth centers. Such conditions are breeding places for juvenile delinquency. . . .

Mass arrests, dragnet raids, and other wholesale classifications of groups of people are based on false premises and tend merely to aggravate the situation. Any American citizen suspected of crime is entitled to be treated as an individual, to be indicted as such, and to be tried, both at law and in the forum of public opinion, on his merits or errors, regardless of race, color, creed, or the kind of clothes he wears.

Group accusations foster race prejudice, the entire group accused want revenge and vindication. The public is led to believe that every person in the accused group is guilty of crime.

It is significant that most of the persons mistreated during the recent incidents in Los Angeles were either persons of Mexican descent or Negroes. In undertaking to deal with the cause of these outbreaks, the existence of race prejudice cannot be ignored. . . .

On Monday evening, June seventh, thousands of Angelenos, in response to twelve hours' advance notice in the press, turned out for a mass lynching. Marching through the streets of downtown Los Angeles, a mob of several thousand soldiers, sailors, and civilians, proceeded to beat up every zoot-suiter they could find. Pushing its way into the important motion picture theaters, the mob ordered the management to turn on the house lights and then ranged up and down the aisles dragging Mexicans out of their seats. Street cars were halted while Mexicans, and some Filipinos and Negroes, were jerked out of their seats, pushed into the streets, and beaten with sadistic frenzy. If the victims wore zoot-suits, they were stripped of their clothing and left naked or half-naked on the streets, bleeding and bruised. Proceeding down Main Street from First to Twelfth, the mob stopped on the edge of the Negro district. Learning that the Negroes planned a warm reception for them, the mobsters turned back and marched through the Mexican east side spreading panic and terror.

Throughout the night the Mexican communities were in the wildest possible turmoil. Scores of Mexican mothers were trying to locate their youngsters and several hundred Mexi-

cans milled around each of the police substations and the Central Jail trying to get word of missing members of their families. Boys came into the police stations saying: “Charge me with vagrancy or anything, but don’t send me out there!” pointing to the streets where other boys, as young as twelve and thirteen years of age, were being beaten and stripped of their clothes . . . not more than half of the victims were actually wearing zoot-suits. A Negro defense worker, wearing a defense-plant identification badge on his workclothes, was taken from a street car and one of his eyes was gouged out with a knife. Huge half-page photographs, showing Mexican boys stripped of their clothes, cowering on the pavement, often bleeding profusely, surrounded by jeering mobs of men and women, appeared in all the Los Angeles newspapers. . . .

At midnight on June seventh, the military authorities decided that the local police were completely unable or unwilling to handle the situation, despite the fact that a thousand reserve officers had been called up. The entire downtown area of Los Angeles was then declared “out of bounds” for military personnel. This order immediately slowed down the pace of the rioting. The moment the Military Police and Shore Patrol went into action, the rioting quieted down.

Source: Governor’s Citizens’ Committee Report on Los Angeles Riots, 1943. Digital History Web Site. Available at http://www.gliah.uh.edu/mexican_voices/voices_display.cfm?id=104 (Gilder Lehrman Resource Guides).

Primary Source

B) Earl Brown, “The Detroit Race Riots of 1943”

On Sunday, June 20, 1943, one of the most serious race riots in American history broke out in the city of Detroit. Before it was brought under control some thirty hours later, twenty-five Negroes and nine white persons were killed and property worth several hundreds of thousands of dollars had been destroyed.

The forces which led to the outbreak in that city exist, to a greater or lesser degree, in most of our cities. Similar outbreaks have occurred elsewhere. A study of the factors leading to the outbreak in Detroit is important because it can show us how to avoid similar outbreaks, not only in Detroit, but in other cities. . . .

My first visit to wartime Detroit occurred in July, 1942. I found that although Detroit is the munitions capital of the United Nations and its war production is essential to victory, there was a disturbing lack of unity of effort. The atmosphere was tense, and the tension was increasing. There were sudden gusts of strikes for unimportant reasons—a strike occurred at the Chrysler Tank Arsenal because the men were not allowed to smoke during work.

But racial feeling was the most alarming of all. Groups of Negro zoot-suiters were brawling with gangs of young white toughs; the determination of Negroes to hold the war jobs they had won was matched by the determination of numerous white groups to oust them. There were many signs of trouble. . . .

One of the features of Detroit that in many ways sets it off from many other cities is the presence of great numbers of religious and political fanatics. Even before the last war Detroit was known as the city of “jazzed-up religion.” Today all shades of opinion are to be found in the city, all races, all creeds, all political attitudes and beliefs. The first figure to attract national attention was Father Charles Coughlin. Railing against Hoover and Wall Street from his radio pulpit, he soon attracted a great following in Detroit and through the Middle West. Next came the Black Legion, an organization of native white Americans and an offshoot of the Ku Klux Klan—with hoods, grips, and passwords. It was organized originally for the purpose of getting and holding jobs for Southern whites, but it quickly developed into an elaborate “hate” organization—its enmity directed against Catholics, Jews, Negroes, and “radicals.” . . .

By the middle 30’s, Detroit had a representation of every kind of panacea, political nostrum, and agitation. There were the Anglo-Saxon Federation and an anti-Negro organization called the National Workers League. But the most steady, day-in and day-out exhortation came from the sensational preachers. Of these the best known are the Reverend Frank J. Norris and the Reverend Gerald L. K. Smith. . . .

These three men—Coughlin, Norris, and Smith—are the best known of the Detroit religious-political demagogues, but there are thousands of others. Some have been in Detroit for years; others came during the recent migrations. It is estimated that there are more than 2,500 Southern-born evangelists of one kind or another in Detroit alone, not counting those in near-by communities. This war has caused an upheaval among the little shouting sects in the South; they have split and split again, and new sects have been formed. . . .

There is a connection between the apocalyptic doctrine of these sects and religious and racial intolerance. The appeal is not only highly emotional but is grounded on old traditions—which which in the South mean White Protestant Supremacy. . . . Many of these exhorters are members of the Klan off-shoot organizations, defiantly “American,” suspecting “radicals,” and completely at home with White Supremacy. For more than a decade—and increasingly during the past three years—these rustic preachers have been spreading their brand of the Word. As feeling in Detroit became more aroused over the race issue, the effect of this kind of preaching was like pouring gasoline on a bonfire. . . .

It is interesting to note that despite the racial collisions and the frequent enforcement of Jim Crow practices in Detroit, Negroes have succeeded in getting some political preferment. There are two Negro assistant prosecuting attorneys, the State Labor Commissioner is a Negro, and one of the State Senators is a Negro. The Detroit Street Railway Company, which is owned by the city, employs about a thousand Negroes—both men and women—as motormen, bus drivers, conductors, and workers of other kinds. With the police it is another matter, and this has been a burning issue. Out of 3,600 policemen, only forty are Negroes. In addition, Southern whites have been taken into the force freely, and they have frequently shown a hostile attitude toward Negroes.

The local political machine was perfectly happy to cooperate with Negro gamblers, but they had no interest whatever in the fact that most of Detroit's Negroes lived in two wretched slum areas. The two principal Negro districts in Detroit cover about thirty square blocks on the West Side and a larger district on the East Side called Paradise Valley. . . . Here—on the East Side—live most of Detroit's Negroes. Almost everybody now has plenty of war wages to pay for lodging, but decent houses simply do not exist. The only recourse the Negroes have is to cram themselves into the filthy valley tenements. . . .

The war naturally aggravated Detroit's underlying instability. Anti-Negro sentiment was particularly strong in the Polish districts of Hamtramck, a suburb. As early as July, 1941, gangs of Polish youths provoked a series of minor riots. An editor of a Polish paper reports that anti-Negro handbills were distributed on the steps of St. Florian's Church in Hamtramck during the Sojourner Truth riots.

For many months the Negro press in Detroit and elsewhere busily promoted a "Double-V" campaign for victory at home as well as abroad. This campaign was based on the assumption that victory in the war against the fascists abroad did not mean much if there was Jim Crow at home. Colored soldiers had told a thousand bitter stories of discrimination and lack of respect for the uniform. The killings of colored soldiers at Alexandria, Louisiana, and in other Southern communities were taken to heart. The hopes roused by President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802, issued June 25, 1941, forbidding job discrimination in plants with war contracts slowly faded. The Committee on Fair Employment Practice, set up by the President shortly after the issuance of the Executive Order, was left to pine away without money or authority and was finally placed under the War Manpower Commission. If the government would do nothing, there was nothing left but the union and the determination of the Negroes themselves. Colored workers who had been promoted to more skilled jobs were ready to hold on for dear life to their new jobs, and the brimstone evangelists, viewing with alarm this resolution of the Negroes, whipped up resentment.

Shortly after the beginning of 1943 a series of anti-Negro strikes broke out in the plants. Aside from fights between individuals, there was no violence in the plants, but much bitterness was aroused. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics lists anti-Negro strikes in the following plants from mid-March until the end of May: United States Rubber Company; Vickers, Incorporated; Hudson Motor Car Company; Hudson Naval Arsenal; and the Packard Motor Car Company. In the Packard strike, which brought the climax, 26,883 men left work when three Negroes were upgraded. The circumstances of this strike were so peculiar that union leaders were convinced that it had been engineered by one of the anti-Negro groups in the city, but nothing was ever proved.

Shortly after the Packard strike Mayor Jeffries called together the editors of the three local dailies, the *Free Press*, the *News*, and the *Times*, to take counsel. The conference over, nothing was done. A procession of Negro leaders and a few prominent white citizens besought the Mayor to take heed and act before the explosion. The Mayor listened, but appeared to be more confused after these visits than before. Then everyone relaxed to await the inevitable. It came on the evening of June 24, 1945.

Belle Isle lies in the Detroit River, connected with the city and Grand Boulevard by a bridge. There were probably a hundred thousand persons in the park that hot, humid Sunday, and the greater number seem to have been Negroes. The atmosphere was anything but peaceful. Tension had increased to the breaking point. An argument between a Negro and a white man became a fist fight and the fighting spread.

A hurry call was made for the police, but by the time they arrived the brawl, involving some two hundred white sailors by this time, was eddying across the bridge into the riverside park on the mainland near the Naval Armory. The news that fighting had broken out traveled like the wind. A young man in a colored night club on Hastings Street is supposed to have grabbed the microphone about 11:30 and urged the five hundred customers present to "come on and take care of a bunch of whites who have killed a colored woman and her baby at Belle Isle Park." This rumor was, of course, false. It was matched by another story, which spread through the white districts, that Negroes had raped and killed a white woman on the park bridge. By midnight fighting and looting had spread into a dozen different districts and Paradise Valley was going crazy. By two o'clock that morning a crowd of Negroes stopped an East Side street car and stoned white factory workers who were passengers. White men coming from work at the Chevrolet Gear and Axle plant, three miles away from the center of Paradise Valley, were attacked by a Negro mob.

Alfred McClung Lee, chairman of the Sociology Department of Wayne University, and Norman Humphrey, Assistant Professor of Sociology at the same institution, have

pieced together a remarkable timetable of the violence in *Race Riot* (New York: Dryden Press, 1943), a report on the riot. Both the authors were present and moved about the city while the fighting was in progress. Their report shows that:

At four o'clock in the morning (Monday, June 21) there was a meeting in the office of Police Commissioner Witherspoon to determine action. Mayor Jeffries, Colonel Krech (the U.S. Army commander of the Detroit area), Captain Leonard of the Michigan State Police, John Bugas (in charge of the local office of the F.B.I.), and Sheriff Baird were present. Colonel Krech told the Mayor that the military police could be on duty in Detroit in forty-nine minutes after a request from the Mayor had been cleared through the Governor and the proper U.S. Army officials. Nothing was done about this at the time, and by 6:30 A.M. Commissioner Witherspoon decided that there was a let-up in "serious rioting."

But there was no let-up. At 8:30 in the morning a Negro delegation asked the Mayor to send for troops. At nine o'clock Commissioner Witherspoon asked the Mayor for troops. Mayor Jeffries telephoned to the Governor, who transmitted the request by telephone to the Sixth Service Command Headquarters in Chicago. By eleven o'clock it was known that troops could not come unless martial law was declared. Governor Kelly hesitated to do so. By this time gangs of white hoodlums were roaming the streets burning Negro cars.

The police had already shown themselves to be helpless or negligent. On the previous night, police had been stationed outside the all-night Roxy movie theater. A witness reported that a threatening white crowd assembled at the entrance and every time a Negro came out of the theater the mob went for him. When the witness asked the police to get Negroes a safe-conduct through the mob, the officers replied, "See the chief about it!"

At four o'clock on Monday afternoon Major General Aurand arrived from Chicago. By that time, according to Lee and Humphrey, "the crowds of whites were increasing in size on Woodward Avenue. Milling packs of human animals hunted and killed any of the easily visible black prey which chanced into the territory."

At 6:30 Monday night, just as Mayor Jeffries was going on the air with a plea for a return to sanity, four white boys, aged 16 to 20, shot down Moses Kiska, a middle-aged Negro, "because we didn't have anything to do." Still no troops, and all through the evening, after even the Mayor had admitted that the city administration and police were unable to deal with the situation, there went on an endless amount of official confusion until, at least, it was discovered precisely what had to be done to get federal intervention. Just before midnight President Roosevelt proclaimed a state of emergency, and by Tuesday morning 6,000 troops in trucks and jeeps were patrolling the city. The hold of the city authorities had so completely collapsed that it took the United States Army

to get twenty-nine Negro members of the graduating class of Northeastern High School away from the closing exercises in safety.

Two days later Governor Kelly decided to ease restrictions a little, and by degrees the city began to breathe again. . . .

Source: Earl Brown, *Why Race Riots: Lessons from Detroit*, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 87, (New York: 1944), pp. 1–3, 14–15, 18–24. Reprinted in Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People of the United States*, Vol. 4: *From the New Deal to the End of World War II* (New York: Citadel Press, 1992), pp. 443–453.

Credit: Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Books Division. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library. Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

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4.5. American Women's Wartime Experiences

American Women and World War II

During World War II, the U.S. government actively encouraged American women to work, either at civilian jobs or in one of the auxiliary branches of the armed forces. With 12 million men enrolled in the armed forces and therefore withdrawn from the workforce, women's labor was one of the most readily available sources to fill the gap. One of the iconic images of World War II was the poster of "Rosie the Riveter," a woman worker in an aircraft plant who is often thought to

epitomize the wartime contributions American women made to the war effort.

At least temporarily, American women did indeed go to work in numbers never seen before. From 1942 onward, the U.S. government launched an aggressive publicity campaign to encourage women to take up jobs so as to free men to serve for the armed forces. Whether married or single, women were exhorted that it was their patriotic duty to do their share, and “Mrs. Stay-at-Home” became a figure of reproach. During the war, the number of American women working increased 60 percent, reaching a total of 19 million in 1940, and the proportion of all American women employed rose from 28 to 37 percent. The figure for African American women in employment expanded from 33 to 40 percent, and their actual numbers from 1.5 to 2.1 million. Some 350,000 women joined the armed forces: there were 150,000 in the Women’s Army Corps (WAC) and Women’s Airforce Service Pilots (WASP) unit, 100,000 joined the navy as WAVES (Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service), 22,000 served in the Marines, and thousands more in the Coast Guard and the reserves. A further 74,000 of the total were army and navy nurses. Others went into the Women’s Land Army. The great bulk of women, however, took up civilian jobs. Approximately 72 percent of women joining the workforce during the war were married, and 60 percent, the majority of them, were over 35 years of age. In 1944, for the first time in American history, more married than single women had jobs.

Not all women, however, took jobs; of 33 million women not working in December 1941, more than 28 million had not taken jobs in 1944. Nine out of ten young mothers did not work, in many cases quite possibly because good child care was rarely available, and the employment rate for women under 35 increased by only 0.5 percent during the war. Two-thirds of adult American women were still homemakers. These figures were perhaps somewhat misleading, as such women often made appreciable contributions to the war effort. The American Red Cross had 5 million women volunteers, who sent 29 million food parcels to prisoners of war and refugees, collected blood, and packed up kit bags for U.S. soldiers posted overseas. Millions more worked without pay with the United Services Organization, the American Women’s Volunteer, and the Young Women’s Christian Association.

In 1940, only 2.2 million American women, about 20 percent of those in employment, worked in industry, the majority in poorly paid jobs in textile and garment factories. The bulk of women were concentrated in clerical, sales, teaching, and other white-collar positions, usually at the lower levels, or in the service industries. During the war, an additional 3 million joined the industrial workforce, and most of these women entered the war-related defense industries, where their numbers increased from around 550,000 to perhaps 3

million. Even so, only 16 percent of women employed in 1944 were working in the defense industries and only one-third in manufacturing. Far fewer American women were domestic servants, but the number who held white-collar jobs, whether in the federal government, in manufacturing, or in the service industries, increased dramatically during the war. The number of women office workers grew by 1 million, and the number of women civil servants increased from 200,000 to more than 1 million. Overall, by 1944, there were more than 50 percent additional women white-collar workers.

Looked at more closely, however, the picture was less roseate. Within the industrial labor force, in 1944, women held only 4.4 percent of positions as craftsmen, foremen, and skilled workers, up from 2.1 percent in 1940. Women were disproportionately concentrated at the level of semiskilled laborers, helpers, and record-keepers, and despite the fact that the government theoretically mandated equal pay for women in defense contracts, were often paid less for the same job. Overall, the weekly wages of women in industry were only about 60 percent those of men, and few women were ever promoted. Labor unions were usually prepared to accept women members, but not to treat them equally with men. White-collar women workers also tended to be concentrated at the lower end of their professions. The high visibility and subsequent celebration of around 1,000 wartime WASPs should not lead one to consider them typical of U.S. service personnel. Nurses apart, within the U.S. armed forces, 80 percent of women held clerical jobs, and they were banned from combat duties or from serving with units that had a combat mission. Women pilots were never granted full military status and were restricted to ferrying and delivering planes and test pilot duties, and in 1944, Congress terminated the entire program. No woman officer could give orders to a man, and neither the WAVES nor WACs would admit women with young children.

The restrictions upon American women perhaps reflected the fact that, despite all the demands for military and industrial manpower, the U.S. home front wartime situation was far less desperate than that in Great Britain, where from late 1941 the government expected all single women to accept some kind of war work, let alone the Soviet Union, where by 1945 women constituted 55 percent of the industrial and 92 percent of the agricultural workforce, and 800,000 women served in the Soviet army. In the United States, there was, moreover, a broad assumption that women’s wartime employment was only a temporary expedient for the wartime emergency and that once the war was over most women would be glad to give up their jobs and return to a life as homemakers. Although the WAC became a permanent part of the armed forces in 1946, after V-J Day, many women were laid off precipitately, especially those in industrial manufacturing. The broad assumption was that the returning servicemen

should automatically have priority for any employment that was available. By early 1947, approximately 1 million fewer women held factory jobs than in 1945, though female employment remained stable in light industry, white-collar, and service jobs, economic sectors that from World War II onward were considered women's jobs. Between 1945 and 1947, the percentage of women working dropped from 37 to 30 percent; by 1947, women, who constituted 36 percent of the workforce two years earlier, were only 28 percent; and by 1950, around one-third of the women who had joined the workforce during the war had left, though some of these departures reflected retirements by older women. Even so, during and immediately after World War II, the fundamental assumption was that women should invariably and as of right subordinate their own preferences to the broader dictates of the male-dominated state, so that when their labor was required for the war effort, they should work, but when they were no longer needed, they should once more retreat to dependent status.

About the Author

Susan B. Anthony II (1916–1991), the great-niece of the nineteenth-century woman's rights campaigner of the same name, became a notable liberal activist in her own right. The causes this staunch antifascist, working journalist, and broadcaster forthrightly supported included not just women's rights but also labor issues and civil rights. During World War II, she wrote her first book, *Out of the Kitchen—Into the War* (1943) and coauthored a comprehensive survey, "Women during the War and After." In 1945, Anthony, together with the journalist Helen Snow, cofounded the Congress of American Women, which she represented before the United Nations Status of Women Commission in 1948. For nine months in 1946, Anthony hosted a weekday New York radio show, "This Woman's World," which proved too controversial and was eventually cancelled. During the 1950s, Anthony's liberal views made her the subject of McCarthyite attacks, and after marrying an Englishman and acquiring British citizenship, for almost a decade, she was denied her U.S. citizenship. Until her death in 1991, she remained a committed feminist, endorsing the Equal Rights Amendment and also protesting against the use of nuclear weapons.

About the Documents

The documents included here are of several different types, but all provide useful insights into the wartime status of women, especially those who became industrial workers. Susan B. Anthony II's book, *Out of the Kitchen—Into the War*, was a public appeal, stating her view that American women should permanently enjoy the same status and opportunities as men. Temporary wartime dispensations were entirely inadequate, in her opinion. Anthony sought to present these

measures as essential to the war effort, arguing that if women were not treated equally with men, they would have no incentive to support the war effort wholeheartedly. She also presented the full utilization of women's energies and talents as essential to fulfill the social goals of the New Deal program of the 1930s, of ensuring all Americans "enough food, housing, clothing," deliberately echoing President Franklin D. Roosevelt's famous statement, that he saw "one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-fed, ill-cared for." Implicitly equating the pre-war status of American women with that of women in Nazi Germany, Anthony urged the United States to reject the "fascist concept of woman . . . that her life's work is to breed and feed." Instead, she believed, women should be permanently assured of representation at top levels of government, business, and society. By publishing this book, Anthony was seeking to win public opinion over to her viewpoint, waging a campaign to convince Americans that women should in every way be treated equally with men, a cause she advocated by using multiple arguments, citing fairness, democratic principles, the need to win maximum support for the war effort from women, and the requirements of ensuring postwar prosperity for all. This was a struggle that, as she stated, she rightly expected to be long, arduous, and hard-fought. At the end of World War II, Anthony's goals for American women would still be very far from attainment.

Kathryn Blood's description of the achievements of African American women as industrial workers was part of an official report written for the U.S. Department of Labor. It did not advocate any particular policies, but graphically demonstrated that numerous black women had worked as efficiently as men at many different jobs in steel mills, foundries, and engineering plants, and had broken into jobs once reserved for men. The report stated, without comment, that it was unlikely that many women would remain in such jobs once the war was over, since returning veterans would have priority over them, and in "a predominantly male industry," they would automatically be denied opportunities to "acquire the higher skills" or win promotion. The report stated that some employers intended to keep women on in some of the lighter jobs at which they excelled but that they were unlikely to be left in "heavy" work. Neutral and non-judgmental in tone, this report sought to convey the situation on the ground and the probable position in the future.

Oral histories by two women, one African American, one a Jewish radical, give two contrasting pictures of the fortunes of American women who worked in industrial jobs. Fanny Christina Hill was a Texan-born black woman, aged 24 in 1940, who worked as a domestic servant in California until she took a job at a North American Aircraft plant. Although she stopped work late in the war to have a child, she returned to North American Aircraft in 1946, where she remained until she retired in 1980. She related that she, like other African

Americans, did on occasion encounter discrimination in work assignments but that the union was helpful in advising her how to obtain a transfer to pleasanter work. For Hill, factory work gave her an opportunity to lead a different and far more fulfilling lifestyle that she embraced wholeheartedly and, after a brief break, successfully continued (a rather atypical outcome) after the war.

Another woman who took a factory job was Lola Weixel, a young Jewish woman from New York. Highly politically conscious, far more so than Hill in most ways, she perceived the war in terms of an antifascist crusade. It also offered her the opportunity to become a welder, a trade she had unavailingly sought to learn during the 1930s. To her great regret, however, Weixel lost her job immediately after the war ended, the most common fate of women industrial workers at that time.

Apart from portraying their own personal experiences with some immediacy, these contrasting oral histories remind us that though many women lost their industrial jobs in 1945, for some at least, this development was only temporary, and the experience of war could genuinely alter not only women's expectations but also their long-term opportunities.

Primary Source

A) Susan B. Anthony II on Women's Rights, 1943

What assurance have the women of America that maximum exertion of their energies now will give them not only a place in the war today but a place in the world tomorrow? . . .

If we are to win the war it is clear that nursery schools, public cafeterias, housing projects, medical services, recreation facilities, and special services for maternity cases are vital necessities. But they are more than that—they are the key to the postwar position of women and a promise to men and women of a standard of living that will enable *three-thirds of a nation* to be well-housed, well fed, and well cared for.

If we do not obtain nursery schools, if we do not obtain adequate health programs, school lunch, and milk for our children *now, when they are desperately needed as wartime measures*, you can be sure of a reversion in the postwar world to substandards of living. . . .

Victory can no longer be regarded as separate from the assurance to our people of a future that will hold a place for them. To arouse the spirit of victory the people must be given a demonstration of what democracy means, what full employment means, what public services mean.

We are in a death struggle against fascism—a system whose ideology and practice reduces men and women to slaves, living on starvation levels. What better proof could we offer the American people of our absolute irreconcilability with Hitler's methods than to start *now* to provide employment and security for all. . . .

America has limped along for too many centuries utilizing half the productive forces of the nation. Only in wartime does our vast industrial and agricultural machine become nearly fully used. Only in wartime does the vast energy and talent of the American woman begin to be unleashed. It has been said that women are the margin for victory in this war. I would add that women are the margin for victory for the economic life of the peace. The kind of war we wage determines the kind of peace. The kind of peace we have will be determined largely by the kind of use we make of our labor potential.

If we plan a nation producing enough food, housing, clothing, for all of our people, then we will need the labor of all of the adult men and women to staff the factories, farms, and offices. Energies going into the weapons of war today should be used for the essentials and for the luxuries of life tomorrow. Unless we envisage a return to the economy of scarcity of prewar America, we are going to need our women as well as our men in production. Unless we envisage losing the war, we need community services *now* to release women for the big wartime tasks of production.

With them America will be on the road to victory, both in war and peace. Without them America cannot mobilize its labor forces either for war or peace. If we provide these services now, they will be a means to victory. They can then be utilized as a means of raising the peacetime standards of living of *all our people*.

Yet women need more than the mere extension of community services to give them a real stake in the war. They need the assurance that *never again will they be deprived of the right to work, and the right to hold top positions*. Temporary orders permitting equal pay for equal work, transitory demands of employers for their services, are not enough. . . .

When women formed only one-quarter of the productive forces of the nation, it was easy to push aside their claims to equal participation in governing the nation. The right to vote has been relied upon as the complete answer to our demands for a voice in the highest councils of the Government. In almost doubling the number of women workers this war doubles the justice of our demands for an equal place in the legislatures, on the court benches, and in law enforcement.

No longer can women be satisfied with a backseat in Congress, with one seat in the President's circle of advisers and administrators, *with no seat on the Supreme Court Bench*. Wherever people are governed, representatives of these people should be amongst the governors. That is part of the fundamental democratic principle for which we are now fighting. Women, being governed, must logically be among the governors. We would be but a poor pretender to democracy if, after having worked our women to the utmost to win the war, we barred them from a meaningful role in the peace. How can we

claim to be purified of fascist tendencies in our own nation if we permit a fascist concept of women to prevail?

As we know, the fascist concept of woman is that her life's work is to breed and feed. She breeds a dozen years and feeds for a lifetime. After breeding—after having fulfilled her biological function—she is then, according to the fascists, only useful to brood over the kitchen stove. The boundary for women, under fascism, is the home; and beyond that boundary she must not go. Democracy's task is to elevate woman so that the world is her home—not the home her world.

Fascism is determined to make women servants of the house. Democracy must encourage women to be servants of the world. The conditions of war are definitely pulling women out of the house into the world. The peace must not push them back into the house, unless they wish to go there.

We must recognize that woman's place is in the world as much as man's is. Woman's place is in the factory, in the office, in the professions, in the fields, and at the council table—wherever human labor, human effort, is needed to produce and create. In the postwar world there must be an abolition of the fatal distinctions between men and women—between “men's jobs” and “women's jobs.” Personal ability, not choice, must determine the job-holder. Present discriminations must be done away with, for they work against men as well as women.

The greatest distinction between men's and women's work is that jobs at the top are tacitly regarded as being “For Men Only.” The menial and the semiskilled jobs are thought to be ideal for women. Wartime necessity will to some degree wipe out this distinction; but extreme vigilance will be needed in the postwar period if we are to maintain any of the higher positions we reach now as an expedient because the men are fighting.

The hopeful thing is that each major American war has resulted in the extension of democracy to a group that was formerly under privileged. The American Revolution extended to white men the right to vote, the right to elect the world's first republican form of Government. The Civil War extended to black men the right to vote. The First World War extended to white and black women the right to vote.

This extension of democracy in past wars has not come easily. It has not been handed down generously from above. It has been wrenched from the hands and against the prejudices of those in power; it has been reluctantly granted, after great pressures and bloody battles.

In these wars of American history, the Government has had to extend democracy to new sections of the population for a specific reason of winning the war. Each war in our history has demanded the lives and the sweat of larger and larger sections of the population.

Today, we are engaged in the greatest war of our history. More men, more machines, more material are being used

against the enemy. Today, for the first time, whole populations, men and women, are involved as active belligerents.

And out of the necessities of our struggle against fascism, this nation is being forced to mobilize that great reservoir of anti-fascist fighters—the American women. As in the Civil War when the Union freed the Negroes to fight to win the war, so today our Government is being forced to free women to win this war. America must unlock the doors that have imprisoned millions of women. Women must be let out—liberated from the homes, so that they can take their place in the war of the world today—and in the work of the world tomorrow. [Italics as in original]

Source: Susan B. Anthony II, *Out of the Kitchen—Into the War: Woman's Winning Role in the Nation's Drama* (New York: Stephen Daye, 1943). Reprinted in Judy Barrett Litoff and David C. Smith, eds., *American Women in a World at War: Contemporary Accounts from World War II* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1997), pp. 214–218.

Primary Source

B) Kathryn Blood, *Negro Women War Workers, Report Submitted to the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, 1945*

STEEL MILLS, FOUNDRIES

Negro women were employed in most of the 41 steel mills surveyed by the Women's Bureau in 1943. Areas visited by Women's Bureau agents included Pittsburgh-Youngstown, Buffalo, Chicago-Gary, and West Virginia, and one mill each in Colorado, Sparrows Point (Md.) and Bethlehem (Pa.). While women were working in most divisions of the steel industry, their proportion was small, about 8 percent, covering all races. In some of the mills, however, women were found in almost every department. There were women working at the ore docks, in the storage yards for raw materials, on the coal and ore trestles, in the coke plants, the blast furnaces, the steel furnaces, the rolling mills, and the finishing mills that were doing fabricating on shells, guns, and regular products such as nails, spikes, and bolts.

The majority of the Negro women, like the white women, worked on labor jobs. The proportion of Negro women in the masonry and outside-labor gangs was large. Where women were employed in the wintering plants they were chiefly Negroes, and were reported as moving as much dirt and material as men. Jobs around a sintering plant are all dirty and chiefly of a labor grade; everything around such a plant is covered with iron dust. The sintering plant salvages ore dust and blast-furnace flue dust by mixing it with water and spreading it on moving conveyors that carry it under gas

flames for baking into clinkery masses known as sinters, which are charged back to the furnace. Considerable numbers of women in these plants worked on dumping the cars of ore and dust, inspecting along the sides of the conveyor to remove lumps of slag and foreign matter, shoveling up spills along the conveyor lines, screening coal and dust, carrying tests to the laboratory, etc.

Plants on the Great Lakes receive most of their ore supply by boat. At one of these plants women were working on the ore docks. Though the boats are unloaded by electric ore bridge cranes that scoop up 15 to 20 tons in each bucketload and empty a boat in a few hours, it is necessary for labor gangs to go down into the bottom of the boats and sweep and shovel up the leavings of ore into piles for removal by special hoists, as the grab-buckets cannot clean up around the sides and edges. To do this work a crew of women, chiefly Negro and with a woman gang leader, went from boat to boat as needed. When there were no boats ready for cleaning, they worked around the docks and stockyards as part of a general clean-up labor gang. The ore, coal and limestones are heavy to handle even when a small shovel is used.

In 2 of the steel mills used by the Bureau, a Negro woman was employed as panman. The job of the panman is to mix the fire clay, shoveling the materials into a mixing mill, for sealing the casting hole of the blast furnace. The work is carried on in blast-furnace shed. Mud mixing is not a full-time job and is incidental to other labor.

Another unusual job held by a Negro woman was that of operating a steel-burning machine. This intricate machine, 25 feet long and 6 feet high, cuts parts for 6 different kinds of anti-aircraft guns from huge plates of steel. The acetylene torches cut two parts at a time and must be set and guided with precision. The operator must have a dozen or more controls set exactly right.

In the Buffalo area Negro women were breaking into many jobs traditionally closed to women in the steel industry. In one large plant in this area Negro women made up about one-third of the total number of women employed.

Review of the situation in the steel mills, however, indicates quite general acceptance of the position that women's employment in steel is only for the duration of the war, and that men returning from the armed services will take over the jobs on the basis of seniority and priority rights in the industry.

Negro women were employed in 8 of the 13 foundries visited by Women's Bureau representatives in the latter half of 1943. A few of the foundries produced small as well as large castings. In the foundry itself, excluding other departments, the 13 establishments surveyed reported the proportion of women (race not stated) as 16 percent (93,631) of the workers. In one midwestern foundry 50 percent of the women were Negro, and in one steel-casting corporation such percent was 67.

Women were found in occupations ranging from the shoveling and mixing of sand and other unskilled types of labor to fairly skilled work in the fine finishing of molds. A few foundries indicated that they might keep women after the war in some of these jobs, individual foundries stating that women may be retained in jobs at which they excelled. Included in the list of jobs mentioned were clerical work, drafting, laboratory work, sand testing, operation of the heat-treat furnaces, and the making of small cores. Many foundries were convinced that women were better than men at the making of small cores. No large numbers of women, however, seemed likely to remain in foundry work after the war, even if they wished to do so. In a predominantly male industry they would have little opportunity to acquire the higher skills or advance up the job-progression ladder. The heavy nature of much of the work itself would prevent that.

ARSENAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS—DETROIT

The Bureau of the Census reports that the number of non-white women employed in the Detroit-Willow Run area rose from 14,451 in March 1940 to 46,750 in June 1944. Fewer than 30 Negro women were employed in war plants in this area in July 1942, but by November 1943 about 14,000 were so employed. Early in 1944, 7 to 8 percent of the workers in the entire state of Michigan were Negroes, and it was estimated that almost 6 percent of them were women.

Negro women in the Detroit area early in 1944 were working as machine operators, assemblers, inspectors, stenographers, interviewers, sweepers, material handlers, and at various other jobs in all types of work where women can be used. The first woman hired as a detailer by a small engineering company was a Negro woman trained in engineering. A company that for some time resisted taking Negro women employed 2 as inspectors in the middle of December 1943; a few months later it had 47 Negro women inspectors and machine operators.

In one Detroit company Negro women made up 10 to 12 percent of the 1,000 women employed. Another that used a large number of women had about 25 to 30 percent Negro women; they were in every department and worked at almost every skill. In this company, management and the union backed the rights of its Negro workers—men and women—for advancement on the basis of seniority and skill.

A foundry that employed some 250 women had about 12 percent Negro women. Women applicants were interviewed and hired on a basis of qualifications and ability to adjust to other workers without regard to creed or color.

Though a company had been violating War Manpower Commission regulations on discriminatory newspaper advertising, it was persuaded to withdraw the advertisement and cooperate with the W.M.C. and the union in introducing Negro women workers. As a result, in 1944 the proportion of

Negro women in this company's two plants were 29 percent and 35 percent.

A company that had hired about 1,500 Negro women reported that they made up from 8 to approximately 25 percent of the women in its various plants. Another company opened certain departments to women in one of its plants. At the beginning it hired 8,000 women in this plant, around 75 percent were Negro, and the company was pleased with their production performance.

Source: Kathryn Blood, *Negro Women War Workers*, Report Submitted to the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, Bulletin No. 205 (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1945). Reprinted in Judy Barrett Litoff and David C. Smith, eds., *American Women in a World at War: Contemporary Accounts from World War II* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1997), pp. 180–183.

Primary Source

C) Oral History of Fanny Christina Hill

Most of the men was gone, and they wasn't hiring too many men unless they had a good excuse. Most of the women was in my bracket, five or six years younger or older. I was twenty-four. There was a black girl that hired in with me. I went to work the next day, sixty cents an hour.

I think I stayed at the school for about four weeks. They only taught you shooting and bucking rivets and how to drill the holes and to file. You had to use a hammer for certain things. After a couple of whiles, you worked on the real thing. But you were supervised so you didn't make a mess. . . .

I was a good student, if I do say so myself. But I have found out through life, sometimes even if you're good, you just don't get the breaks if the color's not right. I could see where they made a difference in placing you in certain jobs. They had fifteen or twenty departments [in the factory], but all the Negroes went to Department 17 because there was nothing but shooting and bucking rivets. You stood on one side of the panel and your partner stood on this side, and he would shoot the rivets with a gun and you'd buck them with the bar. That was about the size of it. I just didn't like it. I didn't think I could stay there with all this shooting and a'bucking and a'jumping and a'bumping. I stayed in it about two or three weeks and then I decided I did *not* like that. I went and told my foreman and he didn't do anything about it, so I decided I'd leave.

While I was standing out on the railroad track, I ran into somebody else out there fussing also. I went over to the union and they told me what to do. I went back inside and they sent me to another department where you did bench work and I liked that much better. You had a little small jig that you would work on and you just drilled out holes. Sometimes you

would rout them or you would scribe them and then you'd cut them with a cutters.

I must have stayed there nearly a year, and then they put me over in another department, "Plastics." It was the tail section of the B-Bomber, the Billy Mitchell Bomber. I put a little part in the gun sight. You had a little ratchet set and you would screw it in there. Then I cleaned the top of the glass off and put a piece of paper over it to seal it off to go to the next section. I worked over there until the end of the war. Well, not quite the end, because I got pregnant, and while I was off having the baby the war was over. . . .

I started working in April and before Thanksgiving, my sister and I decided we'd buy a house instead of renting this room. The people was getting a little hanky-panky with you; they was going up on the rent. So she bought the house in her name and I loaned her some money. The house only cost four thousand dollars with four hundred dollars down. It was two houses on the lot, and we stayed in the little small one-bedroom house in the back. I stayed in the living room part before my husband came home and she stayed in the bedroom. I bought the furniture to go in the house, which was the stove and the refrigerator, and we had our old bedroom sets shipped from Texas [where they had grown up]. I worked the day shift and my sister worked the night shift. I worked ten hours a day for five days a week. Or did I work on a Saturday? I don't remember, but know it was ten hours a day. I'd get up in the morning, take a bath, come to the kitchen, fix my lunch—I always liked a fresh fixed lunch—get my breakfast, and then stand outside for the ride to come by. I always managed to get someone that liked to go to work slightly early. I carried my crocheting and knitting with me.

You had a spot where you always stayed around, close to where you worked, because when the whistle blew, you wanted to be ready to get up and go to where you worked. The leadman always come by and give you a job to do or you already had one that was a hangover from the day before. So you had a general idea what you was going to do each day. . . .

Some weeks I brought home twenty-six dollars, some weeks sixteen dollars. Then it gradually went up to thirty dollars, then it went up a little bit more and a little bit more. And I learned somewhere along the line that in order to make a good move you gotta make some money. You don't make the same amount everyday. You have some days good, sometimes bad. Whatever you make you're supposed to save some. I was also getting that fifty dollars a month from my husband and that I saved straight away. I was planning on buying a home and a car. And I was going to go back to school. My husband came back, but I never was laid off, so I just never found it necessary to look for another job or to go to school for another job.

I was still living over on Compton Avenue with my sister in this small little back house when my husband got home. Then,

when Beverly [her daughter] was born, my sister moved in the front house and we stayed in the back house. . . .

I worked up until the end of March [1945] and then I took off. Beverly was born the twenty-first of June. I'd planned to come back somewhere in the last of August. I went to verify the fact that I did come back, so that did not go on my record that I didn't just quit. But they laid off a lot of people, most of them, because the war was over.

It didn't bother me much—not thinking about it jobwise. I was just glad that the war was over. I didn't feel bad because my husband had a job and he also was eligible to go to school with his GI bill. So I really didn't have too many plans—which I wish I had had. I would have tore out page one and fixed it differently; put my version of page one in there.

I went and got me a job doing day work. That means you go to a person's house and clean up for one day out of the week and then you go to the next one and clean up. I did that a couple of times and I discovered I didn't like that so hot. Then I got me a job downtown working in a little factory where you do weaving—burned clothes and stuff like that. I learned to do that real good. It didn't pay too much but it paid enough to get me going, seventy-five cents or about like that.

When North American called me back, was I a happy soul! I dropped that job and went back. That was a dollar an hour. So, from sixty cents an hour, when I first hired in there, up to one dollar. That wasn't traveling fast, but it was better than anything else because you had hours to work by and you had benefits and you come home at night with your family. So it was a good deal.

It made me live better. I really did. We always say that Lincoln took the [cotton] bale off the Negroes. I think there is a statue up there in Washington, D.C., where he's lifting something off the Negro. Well, my sister always said—that's why you can't interview her because she's so radical—"Hitler was the one that got us out of the white folks' kitchen."

Source: Sherna Berger Gluck, ed., *Rosie the Riveter Revisited* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987), 37–42.

Primary Source

D) Oral History of Lola Weixel

I was a welder during World War II. I worked hard, was an anti-fascist—thought about that every day—and thought about my loved ones. I think that nobody can imagine the passion that we had, first as human beings, as anti-fascists, and, in my case, as a Jewish woman, to defeat fascism and save the world—save civilization from the plans of the Nazis that we all knew Hitler had outlined in his writings and in his ravings. So, I went to school. They had the National Youth Administration set up to train what today we call disadvan-

tagged youth to learn trades. We were all disadvantaged during the Depression. I wanted to become a welder because the boy across the street from my grandma's house was learning to be a welder, and he told me it was the most exciting thing on earth but that women couldn't do it. I wrote to the National Administration, and they agreed that women couldn't do it. Then one day, Herman, the boy across the street, told me that there was a woman in the program and that maybe I should try again. I wrote again, and they said this was an unusual and special woman; she was different than all the other women. She was a protégé of Mrs. Roosevelt. She was going to be a pilot as well, and she was using welding as a means of earning a living and spending her money on flying lessons.

But aha! Pearl Harbor happened. Right away I got a letter, and there were lot of other women there overnight being trained. There were men in the program, too. We had a really good course. We had to take sheet-metal work before we could do welding; we had to learn to use tools. I was very bad. I was pretty dumb, but I was so determined, and they were so kind in that they didn't throw me out. They let me stay as long as it took, and it took me long compared to the other people, but then I got very good. We had two unusual teachers, and they were able to speak and tell me about what the heck I was doing there and what the function of welding was. I was never one who could learn something by imitating; I had to understand the process. Before I knew it, I was not only working as a welder, but I had a certificate that said I was a first-class welder. Lots of the women got that. We were very, very proud of it. It meant you were capable and could be trusted to work any kind of welding job. . . . Some people thought we were there to meet men. What men? We were there to get that "A" paper.

The women I worked with and the women I went to school with were largely, what we called at that time, working-class women. There's some talk saying that women came from every walk of life, and I suppose it's true, but women who chose to do hard, dirty work were working-class women whose fathers and brothers were often in the trades. They thought it was great. They knew about unions; they knew that they could make more money if they joined unions. Most of them were really down-to-earth, nice; I don't like to say ordinary or plain, but I mean that in the best sense of the words. Women who could be depended upon.

The first job I had as a welder was in a machine shop where they were making targets. We did the metal frames. They were round metal frames, and I understand that a colored sleeve would be put on it. They were towed up in the air on an airplane, and the men would do target practice on those. Now this was really very simple welding, and that made me a little unhappy because I felt that I could do more. I don't want to say that it was boring. It wasn't, because we had a lot of fun in the shop. We did a lot of singing, and the girls were swell. But I really wanted to do more skilled work.

There were some women who wanted to do what they called table work. They would sit, I guess these were some of the older women, and do small parts for the glider. The younger ones, and I was among them, wanted to do the climbing all over the glider, working in strange positions and doing more demanding work. That was fun. Now, the last job I had was very strange because they told us that we were making bomb cases. So I say we were making bomb cases. But I wouldn't swear to that. I don't know. They looked like metal coffins.

There were older men, and then, after awhile, wounded veterans . . . coming back, soldiers who had been hurt or whatever. For whatever reason, they were out of the army.

Of the women I worked with, well, there were some more political than others, but they were all very much for the war and against Hitler. I must say that the feelings against the Japanese bordered on the racist. Everybody watched where the Red Army was every day on the maps. Everybody cared about that because they knew damn well we were giving our production, but they were giving their lives. We all knew it; everybody knew it. It hurts me today when I realize that there are so many young people growing up who don't even know that we were a partnership. . . .

My husband [away in the army] wrote to me at one time when I guess he was contemplating how we would get along after the war, because we were not rich people. We were not even comfortable people. We were very uncomfortable people as far as money was concerned. And he said: "You'll be a welder after the war. And you'll make a decent living and I'll do something and together we'll be okay. Don't worry." We did depend on it. So what a shock to find out that it was not to be. I think that the question often is, Well, didn't you women expect to be thrown out after the war? Some women apparently, according to what they say, did. But people I worked with . . . thought we were learning a skill that would last us and be useful all our lives. We were very shocked and angry and hurt when we found that that was not true, that after the war they were finished with us, and we were gone—in spite of being a first-class welder and all that. It was not to be for the future.

I think the testimony of black women was especially touching, in that here they gained so much dignity and a feeling of self-worth from holding down these jobs in difficult situations. They were very good, very good. Black women wanted very much to excel because they had so much to gain. More than the rest of us, I would say. And to hear them say that they had to go back to cleaning somebody's house was really very, very maddening. You can imagine the frustration that went with that.

Source: Helene Keyssar and Vladimir Pozner, *Remembering War: A U.S.-Soviet Dialogue* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 95–98. Reprinted with permission of Oxford University Press.

sity Press, 1990), pp. 95–98. Reprinted with permission of Oxford University Press.

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4.6. Women in Wartime around the World

Women and World War II

For almost all women, whatever their nationality, World War II eventually presented challenges and demands they would not normally have encountered. In the absence of husbands and fathers, many who had never expected to have to do so were forced to fend for themselves. Some survived, others did not. For women, war could as easily become a source of suffering and hardship as of liberation. Almost invariably, except perhaps in the United States, they had to deal with unusual deprivations and hardships, food shortages, even starvation, disease, bombing, evacuation, homelessness, and invasion or occupation. In the course of the war, millions became refugees, among whom women were disproportionately represented, since men were often away in the military. Germany recruited 1.5 million women from occupied countries for forced labor in industry or agriculture. Women were frequently the subjects of sexual exploitation, in many cases driven or forced to prostitution. In occupied countries in both Europe and Asia, many fought in the partisan movements, where if captured they were liable to be raped, as well as, like men, tortured and killed.

British women were expected to take on a vast range of new roles and responsibilities as their contribution to the

national war effort. Whereas, in the United States, government propaganda strongly encouraged women to take jobs outside the home, but they could not be compelled to do so, in 1940 the British Ministry of Labour acquired the power to direct able-bodied single women and married women without family responsibilities to undertake war work of national importance, employment which often meant work in munitions factories or in agriculture, rather than, for example, as domestic servants or manicurists. Many young women immediately volunteered for one of the women's armed forces, especially the supposedly glamorous Women's Royal Naval Service (WRNS) or WAAF (Women's Auxiliary Air Force). Tens of thousands of others served as nurses or in assorted volunteer organizations and units. In December 1941, the government went so far as to subject to conscription all unmarried women between 18 and 30 (the limit later went up to 35) not already engaged in work of national importance. At least 125,000 women were called up under these provisions and given the choice of joining one of the women's auxiliary armed forces, civil defense, or the Women's Land Army (WLA). Married women and single women with family responsibilities were not subject to conscription, but if their family circumstances permitted they too were urged to work, their path smoothed by generous childcare facilities and government canteens. Whereas, before World War II, women who were government employees, civil servants, teachers, even doctors, had been required to give up their jobs upon marriage, they now became the target of patriotic exhortations to return to work as a national duty.

Although the majority of women voluntarily took some form of employment deemed in the national interest, at least 125,000 British women were actually drafted under the December 1941 National Service Act; 80,000 joined the Women's Land Army, working on farms; and over 470,000 women served in the armed forces or women's auxiliary units. By 1943 7,750,000 women, over 40 percent of all women between 14 and 65, were enrolled in the British armed forces, auxiliary units, or industry. Women eventually comprised over 10 percent of the British armed forces. Unlike men, women in the armed forces or civil defense positions could not be assigned to what might be considered combat situations—including, for instance, anti aircraft duty, or service overseas—without their written consent. At least 700, however, died in air defense or fire fighting roles, and more than half of all civilian British casualties of bombing attacks were women. Women pilots in the Air Transport Auxiliary (ATA) ferried aircraft from factories to the front line and between different bases, efforts in which fifteen of them were killed. The majority of British women in the armed forces, however, served in support roles, as spotters, searchlight operators, radio and radar operators, drivers, cipher clerks, or providing clerical

services. Service in the Women's Voluntary Services for Civil Defense (WVS) could prove equally hazardous, as they fought fires, cleared rubble from bombing raids, and organized shelters and relief services. Although sometimes assigned in responsible positions to dangerous theaters of war, British women in the armed forces were restricted to non-combatant duties. This did not apply, however, to the relatively small number of women—perhaps 50 to 100—who enlisted in Special Operations Executive (SOE) and undertook espionage operations behind enemy lines.

The country where women's contributions to the war effort were most extensive, however, was the Soviet Union, where by 1945, women constituted 55 percent of the total civilian workforce and more than 80 percent of agricultural workers. Since its inception, the Soviet state had expected women to work, often in jobs traditionally considered male preserves, and during the war, this established tendency was reinforced by the shortage of able bodied men, great numbers of whom went into the armed forces. The Soviet Union also made the greatest use of women in the military, enlisting 800,000 in the Soviet armed forces, approximately half in the Air Defense Forces and the remainder in ground units. Though the other Allied armies generally restricted women's combat roles, the Soviet Union made extensive use of them in such capacities. Women operated anti-aircraft batteries, barrage balloon units, and searchlights. Some, though relatively few, joined much-publicized air combat fighter and bomber units that were sometimes integrated, sometimes all-women. Others served with combat units as tank and artillery crews, mechanics, cooks, and in medical and staff units. Almost 2,000 Russian women became snipers. Between 8,000 and 14,000 Polish women also served in national units under Russian command.

Nazi ideology precluded Germany from making as effective wartime use of women as did the Soviet Union. Adolf Hitler's National Socialist program sought to restrict women to the supposedly appropriate spheres of children, kitchen, and church; and mass mobilization of women, even though some of his subordinates urged it, would have challenged the prevailing mindset. Although legislation passed in 1940 required German women to register for work, in practice, its scope was restricted, applying only to women who had already held jobs and to the working class, which proved a fruitful source of social tensions and resentments. Even so, over time, efforts to recruit women intensified, with a new registration decree passed in early 1943, the enforcement of which became far more draconian from mid-1944 onward. From 1939 onward, all young, single German girls were expected to work for 6 to 12 months as nurses or agricultural or industrial workers, and 1.5 million German women entered the workforce during the war. Like the Allies, the Ger-

man forces also had women's auxiliary units that provided support services and freed men for combat duty, and their numbers eventually grew to more than 500,000. About 100,000 German women served in anti-aircraft units, and some who later became notorious were found among the guards in concentration camps. A few much-feted German women even served as test pilots.

Japan had no women's auxiliary armed forces, but toward the end of the war, the Greater Japan Women's Association trained female volunteers for civil defense duties in the hope of repelling the expected American invasion. Although Japanese women were not mobilized for war until late 1943, by the time the war ended, around 1.5 million, many extremely young, had been commandeered for war work.

About the Documents

The four oral histories included here are all taken from larger collections gathered together several decades after the war had ended. If recorded at an earlier date, two, at least, would probably not have been so frank, since one is the story of a Korean "comfort woman," one of the 200,000 attractive young Korean, Chinese, Indonesian, and Dutch women forced to serve Japanese troops as wartime prostitutes, effectively sexual slaves, and the other recalls the occasions the author was raped by Russian troops. Indeed, though prepared to speak, the Korean woman, identified only as "Ms. K," still wished to remain anonymous. Above all, these oral histories suggest the wide variety of wartime experiences women around the world might have. Some simply endured long-term sexual exploitation, which if they survived, left them permanently scarred emotionally; some concentrated their energies on survival, doing the war work required of them and dealing as best they might with defeat and occupation; whereas some flourished and even began promising careers.

By far the most spectacular of these women was the redoubtable Lt. Olga Lisikova, commander of a male aircraft crew during the war, who eventually became a general in the Soviet military. Even though British and American women served in their countries' armed forces, they were normally restricted to noncombatant jobs. Those who flew, for example, did so as ferry pilots, delivering airplanes or supplies. After the German invasion of June 1941, however, the Soviet Union raised three combat regiments of women fliers, most of them pilots who had trained in civil aviation before the war. The much-publicized "night witches" flew throughout the war on both bomber and fighter missions, more than 30,000 combat sorties in all. Many of the ground crew of these units were also women. The most prominent of the pilots was Major Marina Raskova, who died in an air crash. By no means all such fliers served in all-women units. Olga Lisikova, born

in 1917 into an intellectual family in the Russian Far East, flew with the 1st Regiment, the members of which were mostly men. She had entered flying school in 1937. During the war, she soon became commander of an otherwise all-male crew. Though occasionally the subject of sexual harassment and discrimination, with which, at least by her own account, she invariably dealt most competently, she managed to win an extremely fulfilling career for herself, one that continued for decades after the war.

The three other accounts are perhaps more typical, in that their authors' major task was simply to cope with the difficulties the war created for them. Two apparently dealt with hunger, cold, demanding factory work, defeat, and in one case rape, and survived reasonably well: the German Juliane Hartmann went on to have a fulfilling personal and professional life, working in the German Foreign Service, and Takamizawa Sachiko married and was a middle-aged housewife when she wrote down her recollections in response to a newspaper's appeal for memories of World War II. Although she begged her way back to her own country and made contact with her mother again, the Korean comfort woman was too ashamed of what had befallen her ever to rejoin her family. Her recollections were among those collected by advocates of the Korean women who sought to win compensation from the Japanese government. That does not, however, necessarily make them any more or less true than the others included here. In all cases, precise details may well have shifted over time and be somewhat inaccurate, but all appear to provide a reasonably convincing picture of the experiences of one particular woman in the war, experiences that were probably commensurate though not identical with those of others in similar situations. One must also, of course, remember that in at least one way, these women who survived to tell of their experiences were the lucky ones, in that they had not died in combat, bombing raids, of starvation, illness, casual brutality, or venereal disease.

Primary Source

A) The Comfort Women of World War II

I was born in Ulsan, a small town in the southern part of Korea, in 1928. I was the oldest among several children in my family.

My Japanese name was Kikuko Kanazima. Under the Japanese colonial rule at the time, we were forbidden to use our own Korean names or language. I finished elementary school under the direction of a Japanese principal. Twice a day, at the beginning and the end of school, we were instructed to bow to the picture of Emperor Hirohito placed at the top of classroom blackboard. We were also ordered to bow to soldiers whenever they passed.

I was about 15 years old when a tragic fate took hold of me. A town clerk and policeman visited my home and told me that I had to appear at the county office by a certain date. I was told that young girls had to join “*Jungshindae*,” the women’s labor corps, to fight for the Emperor so that the war would soon be won. They also told me that I would work at a military factory and that I would be paid wages.

My mother resisted this order. However, at the end of September, a policeman came again and took me to the county office by force. When I arrived, there were about 30 girls of my age there. The police put us on a truck that took us to a military cargo train. On the train I could see 30 or 40 Korean men who were drafted as laborers. We were put into a boxcar which had no windows, with lighting only from a dim candle. Two soldiers guarded us.

After about one week’s ride, we arrived at Uonkil Station in Manchuria. They separated us into different groups and put us into military trucks. After riding quite a while through the night, I and a few other girls were discharged at a military camp. Some young girls, including those of Chinese origin, were already at the camp. Each girl received two blankets, one towel, and a military-type uniform. Then guards took us to a wooden warehouse surrounded by barbed wire. They put one girl into each of the small cubicles. Our supervisors were Japanese soldiers or men wearing militia uniform. They told us to obey them.

For the first three days, only officers visited me. After that I was forced to have sex with 20 to 40 soldiers a day. I worked from eight in the morning till ten at night, but there were many nights I had to sleep overnight with an officer. A military doctor inspected us on a regular basis, but we all ended up having venereal diseases. Some girls died from these and other illnesses. Some girls became hysterical and crazy. In exchange for sex, soldiers apparently paid some kind of military money, but our supervisors took the money, saying that they would save it for us. In any case, I never received a penny from them.

During this horrifying enslavement, I was moved to three different military camps. The last unit was called “Koyabashi 8000” stationed near Jijiharu. Whenever we were moved, we were guarded by military policemen and kept under constant watch. I tried to escape several times, but I was caught each time by the soldiers and severely beaten by the supervisors. On one occasion, I jumped off a truck and tried to run away in the dark. But they caught me and my supervisor beat me savagely all over my body and then cut off my three left fingers with a knife.

Life in the camp became devastating toward the end of the war. We were starving. Those who were sick had no medical treatment. Then, one day, the camp became completely silent. I went outside. There were no soldiers in the camp. Finally, a Chinese told me that the war was over.

It took me about two months to walk back to Korea. I had to beg food from the Chinese on the way. I was glad to have survived, but very ashamed and angry about my past life. I decided not to go back to my home because of the shame and potential harm to my family.

I settled down in Pusan and worked as a waitress in restaurants and as a house maid. Eventually, I contacted an aunt who arranged a meeting with my mother. My mother asked me to come back to her, but I decided to live by myself. As time passed, I became sick and had to undergo a hysterectomy.

In 1979, my younger sister who was living in New York City invited me to live with her. So I came to America. At present, I live alone with financial assistance from my sister, the U.S. government, and the South Korean government. I wait for death.

If I were to speak to the Japanese government, there is one question I would ask: Is it right to ignore me like this as if they did nothing to me? Are they justified after trampling an innocent and fragile teenage girl and making her suffer for the rest of her life? How would you feel if your own daughter met the same fate as mine?

This should never happen again in the world. I hope the Japanese people will also join mankind’s march for justice and peace.

Source: Sangmie Choi Schellstede, ed., *Comfort Women Speak: Testimony of Sex Slaves of the Japanese Military* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 2000), pp. 102–105. Reprinted with permission of Holmes and Meier.

Primary Source

B) Recollections of Takamizawa Sachiko, Housewife, 1986

“Students, you are allowed to go home now.” All of us seated on tatami mats in the large hall fell silent at these unexpected words from the principal. In the next instant we pushed forward. The only sound was that of our work pants stiffened by arum-root paste as we slid across the tatami mats. “Did I really hear that?” said the intense expression on everyone’s face.

We automatically formed a circle around the principal. When the reality that we were able to go home sank in, a shriek went up. The sound of sobs filled the room. Such was the scene at the end of February 1945, at the Kokura munitions plant where our fourth-year class in girls’ high school had been mobilized to produce balloon bombs.

We glued several layers of Japanese paper together with arum-root paste, steamed them, and pressed them with steel plates. Fusing some seven hundred of these pieces of paper, we fashioned a balloon ten meters in diameter. A bomb was to be hung on the balloon. Launched on the prevailing west-

erly winds, these balloons floated toward the American mainland at altitudes above nine thousand meters. We worked on these through the frigid winter, and the food was very poor. We worked two twelve-hour shifts, standing the entire time. Those on the night shift were forced to take two stimulant pills to stay awake. It was a constant struggle against drowsiness. Our dormitory, which slept twelve to a ten-tatami-mat room, was a place where we went only to flop down to sleep.

In these vile conditions almost everyone got athlete's foot and frostbite. Nearly one-tenth of our number died soon after graduation. Many suffered from tuberculosis, neuralgia, rickets, and overexhaustion. Our response to the news that we were able to go home symbolized the severity of our lives and the sadness that we had endured as mobilized students.

Source: Frank Gibney, ed., *Senso: The Japanese Remember the Pacific War: Letters to the Editor of Asahi Shimbun* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe), pp. 181–182. English language translation copyright 1995 by the Pacific Basin Institute. Reprinted with permission of M. E. Sharpe, Inc.

Primary Source

C) A Russian “Night Witch”: Reminiscences of Lieutenant Olga Lisikova

Sixteen of us girls went to flying school, where we were issued flying uniforms. I put mine on, and it was terrible—I looked like a monster! It was so awfully oversized that I couldn't move in it. I cut it drastically, as well as the high boots. Out of the remainder I appeared in the formation, and I was given ten days in the guardhouse for destroying state property! The other girls decided to support me and express their solidarity, and the next day they all appeared for roll call in their altered uniforms. The commander of the battalion could do nothing but release me from the guardhouse. . . .

[After retraining in 1940] I was transferred to the Flying Division of Special Role, which was assigned to the State Committee of Soviet Defense. This organization completed missions on all fronts, from the Black Sea to the Barents Sea. The main base was at the Vnukovo airdrome, not far from Moscow. When we were fulfilling our combat missions, we flew out of auxiliary airfields closer to the front lines or to the location of our mission. The pilots were experienced airline pilots with many hours. Our missions were to bail out paratroopers, drop supplies for encircled troops, transport fuel and spare parts to advancing troops, fly to the partisans in the rear, drop intelligence officers to the enemy rear, and bring supplies to besieged Leningrad. . . .

In a month I was appointed commander of the aircraft. But a few days later I was ordered to fly to Siberia to be assigned as a copilot ferrying aircraft from America. It turned

out that the commander of my division learned that I, a woman, was flying in his division, and he was determined to get rid of me. But then he was ordered to another command, and my chief rescinded the order. . . .

I actively took part in all the combat missions my division carried out. The new commander of the division summoned me and told me that I, being the only female pilot in the division, had a great responsibility, because all eyes were on me. Each flight, every landing was closely watched by the staff. And where the failure of a male pilot could pass unnoticed, mine would be always under surveillance. Any blunder, or worse—an accident—would not serve me well. He cautioned me to be demanding of myself. After that talk I changed drastically; I didn't look or act like myself. Everything congested inside; I became very strict with myself and my subordinates. Before, I would go to rest and relax after a mission; now, I went to the navigators' room and scrupulously studied the route of the next mission. When the crew went to see a movie, I went to the meteorological station and studied the weather reports. I would do everything better than the men. . . .

We were transferred to a division of the long-distance flights, closer to the front. After this redeployment, the commanding staff of the division invited me to a dinner with their major-general at the head of table. As the dinner came to an end, I noticed the general's staff were quietly sneaking out of the room. I tried to follow their example, but I was stopped by the commander of the division. I understood that the general wanted to bed me down. Yes, I was only a lieutenant, but apart from that I was Olga Lisikova, and it was impossible to bed me down. His pressure was persistent. I had to think very fast, because nobody would dare to come to my rescue. In desperation I said, “I fly with my husband in my crew!” and he was taken aback. He didn't expect to hear that. He released me; I immediately rushed out and found the radio operator and mechanic of my crew. I didn't make explanations. I, as commander of the crew, ordered that one of them was to be my fictitious husband and gave them my word of honor that nobody would ever learn the truth! Then I released them.

I couldn't sleep all night; I couldn't believe any commander would behave like that. I thought, Were generals allowed to do anything that came to mind? I couldn't justify his behavior. The only explanation that seemed appropriate was that I was really very attractive in my youth. Thank God we flew away early the next morning.

I already had 120 combat missions when our division began receiving the C-47 aircraft. It was a most sophisticated plane, beyond any expectations. We pilots didn't even have to master it—it was perfect and flew itself! Before I was assigned a mission in it, I made one check flight. My next flight was a combat mission, to drop paratroopers to liberate

Kiev. Later, when Kiev had been liberated, I flew there again. There were few planes on the landing strip, and in the distance I saw an aircraft of unusual shape, like a cigar. I realized at once that it was an American B-29. I taxied and parked next to it. My radio operator, tail gunner, and I were invited aboard by the American crew. We spoke different languages, but my mechanic knew German and an American spoke it also; thus, the communication took place. The outside of the aircraft was no surprise, but when you got into it, touched it, and saw the most sophisticated equipment, you realized that it was the most perfect aircraft design. The Americans received us very warmly. The news that we flew the American C-47 made them respect us more. The most astonishing news for them was that I, a woman, was commander of the plane. They couldn't believe it. It was an instant reaction—I suggested that I would fly them in my plane to prove it! I put the crew in the navigator compartment and placed the copilot in the right seat beside me. The flight was short, six or seven minutes, but it was hilarious. After that I was strictly reprimanded by my commander.

By the time I had made 200 combat mission, I was entrusted at last to fly in the Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff of the Red Army. I will tell you about one of those flights. . . . I was assigned a mission to fly to the enemy rear and drop supplies to the partisans. I crossed the front line at 4,000 meters, and at the appointed place began a dive. The altimeter showed me to be lower and lower, but I could see nothing through the clouds. Finally the altitude read zero and then less than that. Judging by the meter I was to be deep in the soil, but still I held the dive. I couldn't return to base without completing my mission: I didn't want to be reproached after the flight that I hadn't fulfilled the risky mission only because I was a coward, because I was a woman. Then I glimpsed the ground, and below me was the target where we were to drop the cargo. The area was covered with dense, patchy fog. We dropped the supplies to the partisans and returned to base.

When we returned we learned that all the crews had turned back, not having managed to fulfill the mission. Everyone was astonished. How could I, a woman, do what other male pilots hadn't managed to accomplish? The division commander said he would promote me to be awarded the Gold Star of Hero of the Soviet Union, but I never received that award, because my crew consisted of males. If the crew had been female, it would have been awarded.

I flew with the division almost the whole war and completed 280 combat missions, but I was never awarded a single order. Although I was promoted for awards, it was always denied. The deputy commander of our division staff told me that it was totally his fault and responsibility that I had never been given an order. He had decided that I might get a swelled

head in the purely male division if I had been given a high award. Instead, he thought it quite healthy for stories about me to be published in the press. Twenty years later, when I met him at the reunion of our division, I saw that his breast was pinned with high awards. I told him that during the whole war I had made more than 280 combat flights as commander of the aircraft, while he had all the traces of distinction on his body although he hadn't made a single combat flight.

Source: Anne Noggle, *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), pp. 238–245. Permission granted by Texas A&M Press.

Primary Source

D) Reminiscences of Juliane Hartmann

It was the autumn of 1944. My father was at war, and, in the meantime, my stepmother had moved with my younger brothers and sisters to a farm in Bavaria. I was 19 and decided to stay in Berlin. Berlin was, after all, my home. Not much later I was drafted into the labor service and had to work 64 hours a week in an ammunition factory. Thank God I didn't end up in the main hall, but instead was sent to work with two wounded soldiers in a small room. It was said that we were doing solder work on some secret weapon, but all I recall soldering were pots and pans. I got up at five o'clock every morning and rode my bike to the factory to begin work at six. I worked 10 hours a day, 64 hours a week for "our Führer."

About that time, we began to really feel the food shortage at home. There was nothing left to hoard, and we had used up what we had in reserve. We relied totally on the official rations. Our noon meal consisted of cabbage and potatoes, while in the evening we generally ate potatoes and carrots. Besides my aunt and me, there were up to 35 refugees living in our house. I remember having to divide a tiny piece of butter up into "Monday to Friday"; the daily portions were never even enough to spread on one piece of bread.

I remember distinctly, it was April 14, 1945, when there was a major attack on Potsdam. From that day on, we had neither running water nor electricity. The telephones weren't working either. The first wave of Russians arrived shortly after that. The first thing we did was to hang a white sheet out the window. What followed was worse than anything we had ever imagined. Today, I am able to say that "I was the first victim on the street." The never-ending stealing and looting became a daily occurrence over the following weeks and months.

The man who lived next door had been bombed out of his house in Berlin. One night he was visited by an entire horde of Mongolians who pointed their guns at him and asked, "Where woman?" Since he lived alone, the only thing he could say was

that there were none in his house. And so they went to the next house, which was ours. They forced their way through the front door. I can't tell you now exactly how many of them there were. They went through the entire house—which was very large—with flashlights, from the basement to the attic. Some of the people living in the house were able to hide. As for myself, I fell into the hands of one of the Mongolians.

That was actually the second time. The first time occurred when I mentioned I was the first victim on the street. It was the middle of the day. One Russian went into the garage and the other headed for the house. Not having the slightest idea of what would happen, I followed the man into the house. First, he locked all of the doors behind him and put the keys in his pocket. I began to feel a bit funny when we got to one of the bedrooms. I wanted to go out on the balcony, but he pointed his gun at me and said, "*Frau komm!*" We had already heard about a few of the horrible things going on, so I knew one thing for certain and that was "Don't try to defend yourself." An upper-middle-class child, I had never been told about the facts of life. . . .

I was 19, not that young by today's standards. We were just so happy that the war was over, that we were still alive, and that no more bombs would fall. Of course, we contemplated what the future would have in store for us, but primarily we thought we were lucky to be alive at all. I was examined, and fortunately I hadn't been infected with venereal disease. At least I knew I was all right, though I admit that I did have nightmares for quite a while after that. But looking back at what happened to me, it's as though I wasn't really being violated. Instead I was standing next to myself, alongside my body, a detached observer. That feeling has kept the experience from dominating the rest of my life.

Source: Johannes Steinhoff, Peter Pechel, and Dennis Showalter, eds., *Voices from the Third Reich: An Oral History* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1994), pp. 453–455.

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4.7. The Wives They Left Behind Them

The Women Who Waited

Civilians in the United States had a relatively easy time in World War II, spared the rigors and dangers of bombing, invasion, or occupation that were the common lot of most other countries taking part in the conflict. Despite government-sponsored campaigns to conserve vital materials, even rationing was far less strict for Americans. The demands of industrial mobilization and rearmament for the war effort also brought the end of the Great Depression that had acted as a drag on the American economy throughout the 1930s, when unemployment rates rarely fell below fifteen percent and wages, production, and industrial investment all lagged far behind capacity. For those Americans who were not called up for military service, the war brought full employment and good wages.

This did not, however, mean that American civilians escaped unscathed. Of none was this more true than for those millions of women married to soldiers who enlisted or were called up for combat service overseas. Over 16 million American men, most of them young and many married, served in the U.S. armed forces during the war, the majority of them spending at least some time outside the United States, often in conditions of great physical danger. Over 400,000 soldiers died on active service and an additional 670,000 were seriously wounded and 114,000 taken prisoner. While many of the young men who joined the armed forces were still single, a substantial and—as the war progressed—growing number were already married, and in many cases also fathers of young children.

The absences, periods that often stretched into long years of separation once soldiers had shipped overseas, were particularly hard for those wives left behind. Under the pressure of war, some enlistees had married in haste, and many such marriages of two incompatible individuals who hardly knew each other, or who had both changed greatly during protracted separations, quickly ended in divorce once the war was over. Thousands of husbands and wives who were parted for long periods of time found consolation, temporary or per-

manent, with other people, as did those who had believed themselves engaged or in serious relationships. There were good reasons why the American Legion, when advising civilians on what to include in letters to absent soldiers, warned: “Above all, do not write and tell about the ‘best girl’ going out with some other fellow” (Parillo, 53).

For many others, however, especially wives, war-enforced separation was an ordeal that only ended when their husbands finally returned, often as men much changed from when they went away and sometimes badly scarred by their experiences. For women left behind, the departure of their husbands or other relatives often meant a lengthy agony of waiting, frequently in great fear that any break in communications—generally through often inadequate and sporadic mail services—might mean that a much-loved husband had died in combat or, sometimes even worse, had been seriously wounded or captured by the enemy. The suspense and uncertainty were often the worst part. Financial worries and additional responsibilities were likewise common. Married women could often find relatively well-paid jobs, which also kept them occupied, but many often had to compensate for the absence of their family’s primary breadwinner. Even when soldiers sent most of their pay home, they received relatively low wages, and their dependants often had to manage with tight budgets on straitened finances. Women often found themselves taking on sole responsibility not just for their children but also for elderly relatives, who might worry as much as they themselves did over how their absent brothers, sons, or grandsons were faring. Those proud families with great clusters of stars displayed in their windows to denote absent relatives serving in the forces also bore multiple burdens of anxiety and uncertainty over the fates of all the soldiers who were dear to them. And when those men finally returned, if they did, they might well be suffering from what would now be called post-traumatic stress disorder, afflicted with nightmares caused by what they had seen or done in combat, and unable to share their fears and experiences. They also came back to wives who had managed for years without them and, in many cases, acquired far greater independence of mind and behavior, and children who frequently hardly knew them.

Such afflictions were not, of course, peculiar to women or families in the United States. Indeed, since casualty rates among American soldiers were relatively low, and their military authorities fairly efficient in notifying spouses and other survivors of deaths or injuries, their burdens were lighter than those of women and family members in many other countries. Nor did they have to carry their load in tandem with the fear or reality of physical hardship and danger due to starvation, bombing, or invasion. Thirty years later, one German from an aristocratic Prussian officer family, a young boy who had a father and two uncles fighting on the Eastern

front in Russia during World War II, recalled how, each time his family saw the telegram delivery boy approaching the house, they knew that one more of those brothers was dead. Others were even less fortunate; many families in Russia and Asia simply had to accept the fact that one or more members had joined the armed forces—or sometimes enrolled in a resistance group—and disappeared. In France and other conquered countries, in some cases family members simply lost contact with each for several years, with some joining forces in exile overseas and others enduring the rigors of enemy occupation. Many found their inability to know exactly what had happened to a dearly loved husband, fiancé, son, grandson, brother, or close friend particularly painful and distressing. Physical distance from actual fighting did not necessarily reduce the stake any individual civilian had in the war.

About the Documents

These two oral histories were both recorded during the mid-1990s by the wives or widows of men who had served in the 712th Tank Battalion, a military unit for which the oral historian Aaron Elson had already recorded numerous such reminiscences by the soldiers themselves. Apparently, what impelled him to include recollections by wives was a question from Helen Grottola during the 1994 reunion: “When are you going to interview some of the wives who stayed at home while their husbands went off to fight in the war?” Although some compilers of oral histories, especially those focusing on women, have attempted to fill this gap, collections of World War II reminiscences have tended to focus on the experiences of the many millions of men who fought in the armed forces. Perhaps almost inevitably, the memories of civilians have taken second place. As time passes and every year brings new absences in the ranks of those, men or women, soldiers or civilians, who actually took part in World War II, such gaps become ever more difficult to fill.

At the time of Pearl Harbor Helen Grottola and Jeannie Roland were both young women in their late teens or early twenties, and when their husbands joined the forces neither had been married long. Despite this, each marriage endured until the 1990s, when both men died of natural causes. There were differences between them: Grottola already had an infant daughter when her husband enlisted, whereas Roland and her husband had no children. Grottola, whose father was a career navy officer, also had a service background, which was not true of Roland. Both, however, found the separation of war a great trial, especially when they knew or suspected that their husbands had been injured. Grottola, juggling the demands of a job, a premature child with some problems, an absent husband and father, and straitened finances, perhaps faced more obvious difficulties than Roland, who had professional training as a home economics teacher. Both, how-

ever, referred to the suspense and worry of the time, their constant fears for their husbands, their anguished wait for letters, and the delight when their men finally returned, even though, in Roland's case, her husband was much changed from the rather carefree and lighthearted man who had sailed for Europe earlier in the war. Their accounts also give insight into the stratagems wives and other relatives and friends used to discover what their men were doing and where they were going, despite official orders that troops were not to give out such information. Roland bluntly said she found it "hell" having her husband away overseas, while Grottola confessed that only many years later was she able to "make a big joke" of that time, because "it was really not a very good experience for me." Yet Grottola, with a family military background, also suggested that, despite all the hardships involved, her husband—and by implication she herself—had gained something important from his wartime experience, sentiments absent from Roland's recollections.

As is usually the case with oral histories, especially those recorded many years after the events described, these contain a few vivid anecdotes which have stuck in the interviewee's mind, together with general descriptions of the atmosphere and prevailing conditions of the time. Recorded almost fifty years after the war had ended, they incorporate the interviewees' subsequent reflections on those experiences. One rather interesting difference between these two oral histories is that Grottola's is the direct transcript of an interview, at which her husband was also present, published on a website, whereas Roland's has been edited into a coherent narrative and included in a book containing a variety of such reminiscences. The different formats allow one to appreciate how the raw materials of history can be gently massaged into a shape which, though containing no word which the narrator or interviewee did not say, is easier to read and comprehend. The manner in which the historian or recorder handles and presents the data at his or her disposal is often an important factor in making these accessible to the general, non-specialist reader.

Primary Source

A) Oral History of Helen Grottola, Widow of Joe Grottola, 712th Tank Battalion, recorded 22 September 1994

Helen Grottola: My father was an orphan from the day he was born. His mother died in childbirth, and his father was killed six months later on the railroad. So he was an orphan when he was born. And when he was old enough he lied about his age and went into the Navy. . . . And I was raised a Navy brat.

I was seven or eight when [my parents] moved to Harrisburg [Pennsylvania]. In the meantime, Joe came to Harrisburg, but his family came to another section, so we went to

different grade schools. Then we started junior high in seventh grade. Then we came out [and graduated] in January of '41 and we got married in May of '41. But over half of our class was already in the service. A lot of our boys came to graduation in their uniforms.

Question: And this was before Pearl Harbor?

Helen Grottola: Yes. Then Joe went to work for the government. He was sewing uniforms. He and his father both. They were both tailors. . . . Then Joe went to welding school, and he left on Monday morning and didn't come back until Friday night. That was when he learned to weld. And he was doing that when he was called into the service.

Question: How old was he when he was drafted?

Helen Grottola: Around 20. . . .

Question: Did Joe go into the service before Pearl Harbor or after?

Helen Grottola: It was after. Let me see, our baby was 13 months old, and that would have been November of 1943. She was born in October of '42 and then the following November he went in.

Question: Would having a child have gotten him a deferment if he wanted? Or did he not want a deferment?

Helen Grottola: He didn't want it.

Question: And how about you?

Helen Grottola: Oh, I'd have given anything if he would have taken it. And he very easily could have because he was working at York Safe and Lock Company which was making safes for the military, and he could have gotten a deferment. His boss wanted him to get it, and he didn't want it. And like a very dutiful little wife at that time, I said, "Well, whatever he wants." You know, "If he wants to go. . . ." So he did. And he left a very small baby. And it was very hard, because she was a premie to begin with. I had her at seven months. . . . Marcia was 13 months old when Joe went in the service. It must have been between Christmas and New Year's when he shipped out, because I really cried.

Question: You did?

Helen Grottola: Oh, buckets. Buckets. Because I didn't know where he was going, what he was going to be doing.

Question: Did you get to see him off?

Helen Grottola: No. He went right from Fort Mead to wherever. I knew he was at Fort Mead, that was it.

Question: Was he writing home regularly?

Helen Grottola: Oh yes. I went down to Fort Knox, Kentucky, for a week with the baby. Then I came home, and he'd call on Saturday night, I always knew he'd be calling. We wrote back and forth, and then he said, "I'm going to Fort Mead." And I said, "Oh, great! That's in Maryland. That's about an hour, an hour and a half from home! Hot diggety dog!"

I think he wasn't down there too long, and he called one night and said, "If you don't hear from me, don't get worried."

And of course I wanted to know why. And he said, “I can’t tell you. There’s too many guys here at the phone.”

Well, with first my dad being military, I said, “You’re leaving.”

He said, “I didn’t say that. You said it.”

And I said, “Okay.”

The next call I got was from New York, and I said, “Can I come up?”

And he said, “No.”

I said, “You won’t be there?”

He said, “You said it. I didn’t.” So I knew that it was just a matter of time, and with my father being military I never asked questions. I knew better.

Question: Was your father still in the Navy?

Helen Grottola: Oh, yes.

Question: Was he in World War II also?

Helen Grottola: Yep. He went to Sicily and then they shipped him over to Oran, and they put him in ship’s receiving. He was taking stuff off of the ship and sending it to wherever it was to go. And in the meantime, my [younger] brother was over in the Aleutians and was on his way down to Australia. . . . My young brother was in the Navy. Had two ships torpedoed from under him. And of course Joe was in Europe. . . .

I lived with my mother and I had a house. And the two of us lived together. Because my brother was in the Pacific, my father was in Africa and Joe was in Europe. We had three stars hanging in our window. At that time, that was the big deal. You hung stars in the window for your servicemen. . . .

Question: Did you get many letters from Joe when he was overseas?

Helen Grottola: Oh yes. He wrote almost every week.

Question: Even when he was in combat?

Helen Grottola: I got a lot of letters. I never knew where he was. Even when he upset the truck, that was the worst part, because I didn’t get any letters, and I thought, uh-oh, something’s wrong. I didn’t get anything from the military saying that he’s been hurt or he’s been deceased or anything, and that went on for about six weeks.

Question: Did you contact the military and ask what was happening?

Helen Grottola: I called the Red Cross but that was a big laugh. We didn’t get much satisfaction out of them. Because they had too many to take care of.

Question: What happened to Joe?

Helen Grottola: He upset a truck. They went for coal. I don’t remember any more where they went, then they upset the truck. They were racing back and he missed a curve in the road, and they went over.

Question: Was the war still on?

Helen Grottola: Oh, yeah. That’s why I was scared to death.

Question: Did he write to you about it?

Helen Grottola: Oh, yes. That was the greatest thing in the world. The mailman even came up to the door and rang the doorbell and said, “Look what I’ve got for you!” . . .

Question: How was money? Were you poor?

Helen Grottola: Oh, very poor. Try living on ninety dollars a month, raising a baby.

Joe Grottola: She was getting eighty dollars a month and I was sending her I think twelve dollars of mine, and I was getting \$16 when I was overseas. I’d send her \$12 of the \$16, and that would leave me four dollars that came out of my salary.

Question: Sixteen a week?

Joe Grottola: A month.

Question: What rank were you?

Joe Grottola: A private. I didn’t get to be a Pfc [Private first class] until after the war was over. I was doing sergeant’s work, but they weren’t giving out any ratings because the war was on. So you just did the work. I never questioned it.

Helen Grottola: You try raising a child on ninety dollars a month, a child who needs new shoes every three months because their feet are growing, and being a preemie she’s got to have them, and then the shoes are rationed and you have to go to the Ration Board and get extra coupons so your baby can have shoes. You go to the other Ration Board, the Food Rationing Board, and you get extra stamps so that your baby can have meat, because the meat was rationed, butter was rationed, sugar was rationed, you don’t have a car, you’d ride a streetcar. It was a nickel a ride. . . .

Question: Did [your daughter] recognize him when he came home?

Helen Grottola: Yes she did. He got out of the car and she damn near tore out of my mother’s arms and screamed, “My Daddy! My Daddy!” And she was four and a half years old.

Question: And she hadn’t seen you in three years?

Joe Grottola: Two and a half. When I left Fort Knox I went right to New York, and right on a ship. In fact, she came to New York to see me, and the day she came up to see me they froze us, we weren’t allowed to go into New York. I was already in New York for about four days, and then the day she came up was the day they said, “You can’t go. You’re going overseas.” . . .

Question: What would you write in your letters to Joe? Would you try to be cheerful?

Helen Grottola: Oh, I’d tell him the neighbors ask about you and want to know how you’re doing. And did I know where you are. The baby’s fine. She has a new tooth. She’s walking. . . . the little stinker wouldn’t walk until the day after he left. Or I would write that I went to town, I saw so and so and they didn’t even know you were in the service, they just haven’t seen us for a long time but didn’t know what happened to us, and they thought maybe with the baby we were just staying at home, or we couldn’t get babysitters. That was the roughest thing, trying to get babysitters because all the

women were working, like his mother, she was in Middletown, which was a big military operation during the war. His sister went to Middletown and worked. And his other sister went to the newspaper and worked. So it was a problem to get babysitters. You almost had to work in between shifts and depend on your family. You couldn't call a high school kid because they were working too. And the boys were working in the mills, they really needed them. It was rough. . . .

Question: Was there a support network?

Helen Grottola: No. Not like they have now.

Question: What about other women whose husbands were overseas?

Helen Grottola: Well, for myself it was rough, because I lived in a neighborhood of older people. In fact, my brother and I and the girl next door were the only children within three blocks. It was an established neighborhood. I mean it was people who bought their homes and were raising their children, so when I married and stayed there, my girlfriend is really the only one that I had that I could cry on her shoulder and she could cry on mine. . . .

Question: Did you get married knowing Joe was going to be leaving, or sensing it?

Helen Grottola: Oh, no. I figured with him being with his father in the tailor shop making military clothes, oh, that was going to be it. He wouldn't have to go. And then he started taking this welding course and he liked it and he gave up the tailoring and then he went in making these safes, so I figured, well, he'll never go, they'll keep him out. But I didn't know my husband too well. I think most of the young boys were that way. . . . The fellows got the letter that said "Greetings from the President," and they all, hey, hot diggity dog! Cowboys and Indians.

Question: Did you work [during] the war?

Helen Grottola: Yes, I went to Bell Telephone because Bell Telephone would not employ married women until the war, and then during the war they had no choice. They had to employ married women because there weren't any men. . . . [M]y mother kept the baby, and then I worked there until right before Joe came home, and when I knew he was coming home I quit. . . .

Question: Did you save the letters that Joe wrote during the war?

Helen Grottola: I saved them on up until I guess it was when we sold the big house and went into the apartment and I burned them. And I wish now that I hadn't of. . . . I read every one of them again. It took me days to burn them. . . .

But I wouldn't give up the military experience that I've had, and I know he wouldn't. He wouldn't give you a nickel for to do it over again, but he wouldn't take all the money in the world for the experience of it either. And neither would I, because I think anybody who went through it I think it made a better person.

Source: Tankbooks Website, <http://www.tankbooks.com>.
Permission granted by Aaron Elson.

Primary Source

B) Oral History of Jeannie Roland, Widow of Jack Roland, 712th Tank Battalion, recorded 26 January 1995

I met Jack when he was at Pine Camp, in New York State, and I was teaching school. One of my students was going with a soldier there. I had a car and I took her out there and I met Jack. . . . We were married in August of '42 in Phenix City, Alabama. . . . We were in Columbus[, Georgia] for about a year, and then we were in Augusta, and then in Columbia, South Carolina. Jack was in the intelligence department. . . .

As a teacher in 1941, I was one of the people who had to sign people up for ration books for tires, for gasoline, for meat, for sugar, for coffee and so forth. I was a home economics teacher, and one of the things we did was I had the women in this small community get together to put on a meal for a large number of people, for practice, in case we had to have some kind of help for people. I hadn't thought about that in a long time. Those were some experiences. . . .

What was it like when Jack was overseas? It was hell. I was teaching school in another small town, over toward Elmira. When he came home, I hadn't heard from him for weeks. When the war ended, he was in Germany having his appendix taken out. The war in Europe ended in May, and he came home in September.

I weighed 104 pounds. I weighed 120 when he went overseas. I was so frantic, not knowing where he was. I boarded with a woman who was a volunteer for the Red Cross, and she came and called up the stairway one day and said, "Jean, how long has it been since you've had any word from Jack?"

And I said, "Eight weeks."

She said, "Would you like me to do something about it?"

I said, "Yes." A lot of mail was lost, there were all kinds of complications, but I was worried to death.

I had lost so much weight that Jack said when he got off that train, if he'd taken a good look at me, he'd have gone back. The bones in my hips were showing. But it was no worse for me than it was for anybody else, I'm sure.

Jack was wounded in the summertime. I was at my mother and father's house in Friendship, New York, when the letter came, and I opened it up, and he said, "I have been wounded and I'm in the hospital in England." Well, I got in my car and took off for my friend's house, I was so upset, and my father started looking for me all over town. In a few days I got a telegram from the War Department, but I'd already had the letter.

That was at the end of July and he was in the hospital until Thanksgiving. He had been hit in the front and the back with shrapnel. He went back in time for the Battle of the Bulge.

Penicillin had just come out as a treatment, and they used to put it in the shoulder. It was mixed with oil I guess and stung like mad, and he just about punched out the nurse one night, and finally he said, "Don't come in here and give me a shot until you know that I am thoroughly awake!" Because it hurts a lot. But I'm sure it saved a lot of lives, too.

When Jack came home he was not the same person that went overseas. And we didn't talk about it. He never did tell me a whole lot about what went on. He had nightmares. He'd get up out of bed in the middle of the night and disappear.

But I don't think any of these men came home the same as they went.

Before he went away, we laughed and laughed and laughed. Everything was lovely. When he came home he was more serious, but also, he was just not himself.

Source: Aaron Elson, *9 Lives: An Oral History* (Maywood, NJ: Chi Chi Press, 1999), pp. 104–108; also on Tankbooks Website, <http://www.tankbooks.com>. Permission granted by Aaron Elson.

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4.8. A Child in the London Blitz

World War II is enshrined in British mythology as a time when all Britons, whatever their class, sex, or age, held together in a spirit of national unity and endured heavy pun-

ishment rather than submit to German demands. As time passed the experience and even the hardships of civilian life in wartime attained a retrospective luster, buffed to its highest pitch during the 1995 British celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of victory in Europe. Nostalgia shed romance and glamour on air raid shelters, the sound of the sirens, searchlights, the songs of Vera Lynn, wartime shortages and rationing, the fashions of the time, the "Dad's Army" Home Guard of men too old for military service who nonetheless prepared to defend Britain to the last should it be invaded, the street parties that celebrated the end of the war, and even on spam, the rather unpalatable canned luncheon meat shipped in bulk under the American Lend-Lease program that was a major staple of British wartime diet.

At the center of wartime mythology stood the Blitz, the incessant, heavy, and highly destructive bombing raids to which Hitler's air force subjected London and other major British cities between September 1940 and May 1941, in an effort to force Britain either to come to terms with Germany or to soften up the country in preparation for a German invasion. Over these nine months the Luftwaffe made 127 large-scale night-time attacks on British cities, 71 on London, the others against Liverpool, Birmingham, Plymouth, Bristol, Glasgow, Southampton, Coventry, Hull, Manchester, Sheffield, Newcastle, Nottingham, Cardiff, and Belfast, Northern Ireland. Most of these were major industrial centers. The objective was both to break the morale of the civilian population and to damage or destroy Britain's industrial capacity. London bore the brunt of the German assault: of two million houses destroyed or made uninhabitable, 1.2 million were in the capital, which also lost the bulk of the 60,000 civilians killed and 87,000 seriously injured. Even after these raids ended, for the rest of the war British cities endured more sporadic air raids, supplemented from early 1944 for the south of England by the German V-1 "buzz-bombs" or "doodlebugs," unpowered airplanes packed with high explosive which quite literally landed with a bang when their pre-programmed engines eventually cut out, and their successors, the silent and therefore even more sinister V-2 long-distance rockets, bearing similar cargoes.

World War II was also the height of the Anglo-American alliance. By late 1941 the United States had a massive and ever growing military mission in Britain, and from 1942 onward American servicemen began arriving in substantial numbers, initially often as fliers mounting raids on Germany and Italy, later in huge numbers in preparation for the forthcoming Allied invasion of Europe that eventually took place in June 1944. By 1945 three million American servicemen had spent time in Britain, in what their fascinated but sometimes resentful hosts on occasion termed the "American occupation" of their country. Famously described as "oversexed, overpaid, overfed, and over here," they tended to be phys-

cally large, the product of the superior United States diet, and brash and loud in a culture that emphasized restraint and understatement. In the midst of rationing, austerity, and shortages of every kind, which had by then lasted for several years, lonely American servicemen desiring female companionship—or simply seeking friendship and substitutes for their distant families—could tap the generous supplies of the military PX stores to offer British girls and women near unobtainable nylon stockings, perfume, chocolates, fruit, and other coveted luxuries. It was hardly surprising that envious British men often felt unable to compete. Many such relationships were undoubtedly shortlived, but during the war and shortly after it ended, between 40,000 and 45,000 British women married their American boyfriends, most going back to the United States with them as “war brides.” Countless children also remembered the almost casual bounty of unfamiliar fruit, chocolate, and candy they received from individual American soldiers.

There is a good deal of truth in the accepted picture of the war. Many found a spirit of camaraderie, and took pride in carrying on under fire. The latter was undoubtedly true of British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, whose defiant speeches of 1940 and 1941, their intended audience not just the British people themselves but also the outside world and particularly the United States, whose economic support and supplies Britain desperately needed, did much to create the image of British determination and unity. So, too, did contemporary newspaper reports, together with radio broadcasts by both the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) Overseas Service and American networks, many of them unobtrusively orchestrated by the British Ministry of Information.

Yet there were other sides to the civilian war. In an exercise in self-censorship, for example, British and American reporters—including Ed Murrow of CBS, whose verbatim radio reports to the United States from London rooftops at the height of the Blitz in 1940 soon epitomized the indomitable British spirit for many of his countrymen—downplayed anything that might discredit the British cause: the inadequacy of air-raid shelter provisions in the poorer, working class areas of London as opposed to those for the well-to-do, for example, or looting in bombed out areas. In recent years historians have begun to highlight different and more uncomfortable aspects of the British wartime civilian experience. Although all Londoners were targets during the Blitz, the working class areas of the East End and Lambeth undoubtedly suffered more heavily than did more upscale locations, as did their counterparts in other British cities. Yet government-provided shelter facilities were far superior in more affluent areas than in working-class districts. One historian has even suggested that the British government took more pains to protect art-works from bombing damage than it did to safeguard ordinary people. The British were by no

means immune to anti-semitism, a staple of the moderately popular British Fascist movement of the 1930s headed by Sir Oswald Mosley. Those with money could resort to a flourishing black market for goods officially unobtainable. Women and children evacuated from dangerous urban areas to the countryside on many occasions encountered kindness and generosity, but others found only a surly, even hostile reception. Official bureaucratic regulations ensured that financial compensation for destroyed homes and provision for alternative accommodation often arrived only tardily. It was perhaps not surprising that one of the major forces behind the Beveridge Report of 1943, that promised ordinary British people a welfare state providing greater security in old age and better healthcare, housing, and educational facilities, was a sense that, as civilians and soldiers, the working class had suffered the brunt of the war and in return deserved a better life and more opportunities in the future.

About the Documents

This oral history by Pamela Lazarus—then Pamela Rodker—recounts the wartime story of a young Jewish girl living in the East End of London throughout World War II. Three when the war began and nine when it ended, she was at an age when one’s memories are perhaps most vivid, as a child begins to focus on the outside world. Like most oral histories, her recollections tend to center on two sets of issues: memorable highlights, such incidents as meetings with American GIs or the return of her father, and the prevailing long-term conditions of life. Many of her memories focus upon almost conventional themes common to many recollections: the shortage of food during rationing, the blackout, the fear and horrors of bombing, the dramatic impact of American soldiers upon the British population, the absence of her father in the armed forces, and the street party that celebrated the ending of the war in 1945.

One also, however, gains a sense of the darker side of the war. Pamela Rodker Lazarus belonged to a Yiddish-speaking Jewish family from Russian Poland, with ramifications extending into “Berlin, Warsaw, Paris, London, Prague.” Her grandparents were among the many hundreds of thousands of Jews who left Eastern Europe at the turn of the century to escape pogroms and persecution. Her paternal grandfather, an affluent corsetier, was among them, moving to London with his wife and children, including Lazarus’ father, who became a barber. Although most of the family quickly learned English, her grandmother always refused to speak anything but Yiddish. Lazarus gives a vivid but unromanticized picture of life in wartime London. She is unsparing in recounting the anti-Semitism that all too many Jewish families often encountered in Britain before and during the war, a salutary antidote to the picture of a united country that had forgotten all class, ethnic, and religious distinctions.

Lazarus also gives a sense of the pressures that the demands of war placed upon children, even those who were relatively lucky, in that they were not killed in bombing raids or forced to become refugees. She mentions how grim and “scary” she found the war, and also that, because her father was away in the British armed forces and her rather young mother found it difficult to cope and was frightened during air raids, she herself “always felt responsible for her, like I should be her mother and take care of her. But I was only three and four and five and six and didn’t know how, except by not being a burden.” She was only one of millions of small children who found themselves catapulted by war into situations that placed on them burdens beyond their capacity to bear and only too often effectively stole their childhood. The war also had other consequences for families. When her father finally returned after several years away, like many men who had gone to war he found a wife who had learned to cope without him, almost totally different from the dependent girl he had left behind him. He also met a daughter and son who hardly knew him, the former of whom certainly resented his authority at times.

Some British children, especially those in country areas relatively remote from the war, undoubtedly enjoyed a relatively tranquil and happy childhood despite the conflict, albeit one marked by austerity, shortages, and the deaths of too many relatives, friends, and acquaintances not too much older than themselves. Lazarus, however, when asked if she had been happy during the war, retorted: “If I were to be offered one million dollars to relive my childhood, in a heartbeat I’d say ‘No way?’ . . . I remember my childhood with shivers.” In the mid-1950s she emigrated with her family, first to Canada, then to the United States, a move which almost certainly gave her the chance of a more affluent lifestyle, but which like many emigrants she also felt cut her off from her extended family and its traditions. A lively, competent, and outgoing woman, with a great sense of humor, she “married a young man from Brooklyn” in 1968, had two daughters and, once they were in school, began an excellent career in “classically men’s jobs” selling “first industrial chemicals and tools, then warehouses, land and office buildings.” Although she and her husband divorced in 1975, she “made lots of money and made sure my daughters went to and graduated from college.” Her daughters both have excellent careers, she has four grandchildren to whom she is clearly devoted, and she describes her life as “a very typical American immigrant success story.” It is hard to disagree.

Yet despite all these achievements Lazarus feels she did not escape unscathed from the war. She believes that her wartime experiences and the insecurity caused by “years of living in fear” left her “a young adult with absolutely no sense of self, or of safety, anywhere, at any time.” The aftereffects

of the war years were, she thinks, responsible for a nervous stomach disorder she suffered at the age of ten, and contributed to the breakup of her marriage, difficulties in interpersonal relationships, and her chronic health problems. When, fifty-five years after the war had ended, she came across the Timewitnesses website for survivors of World War II, set up in January 1994, its mission to ensure “that the lessons of the past will be learned by a new generation,” she quickly volunteered an oral history and also agreed to become one of those participants who were prepared to correspond with children and others seeking to learn more about the war. Her story is a moving testimony not just to the permanent collateral damage war often inflicts on its participants, especially the most vulnerable and those with the least opportunity to avoid its consequences, but also to the courage its survivors sometimes summon up in the effort to confront a difficult past and overcome its scars.

Primary Source

The British Home Front: Recollections of Pamela Lazarus, 10 October 2001

It wasn’t much fun being a small kid at that time. It was too scary. London was a smoggy city, filled with gray skies, gray fog, rainy days and one seldom saw a blue sky or sunshine. Or so it seemed. And indoors, it always seemed to be night. Everyone had black curtains on the windows so that no light would escape into the street, and more importantly, be seen from the German airplanes flying overhead. Lights could show them a good place to drop a bomb. Besides, electricity was expensive, and not to be used if not necessary.

My Dad was away in the army, somewhere in Europe and my mother was very nervous. She was a young woman in her mid 20’s, with a little girl (me) and a new baby, and she wanted someone to look after her, and there wasn’t anyone to do it. So she cried a lot, and when the siren would go off to warn of an air-raid, she would scream in fear. I always felt responsible for her, like I should be her mother and take care of her. But I was only three and four and five and six and didn’t know how, except by not being a burden.

In the beginning, the bombing was at night. She would tell me to quickly! quickly! put on a sweater or coat and shoes and run downstairs. I would hide under the kitchen table until she had dressed herself and wrapped up the baby. Then we would run through the long, narrow garden to the air-raid shelter. It seemed always to be night, and dark, with sirens screaming and wailing.

The shelter was simply some corrugated steel sheets made into a shed against the brick, garden wall, with a sloping roof. It had a dirt floor and two wooden benches inside on which to sit. No heat, no light. Mother brought candles if she remembered, or else we sat in the dark. If a stranger was on

the street when the sirens began, they could knock at any house door and be taken in to the shelter, and spend the night in the shelter.

Mother was always complaining about the rations. She wasn't a good cook and didn't know how to make exotic things like puddings or any treats, so our food was very simple. Mostly something boiled or fried. There was often nothing—nothing at all—to eat and we got used to being hungry. . . .

* * *

The City Authorities would regularly send people (women with small children) out of the City, into the country for safety. Mother would go with much grumbling and complaining. She was a City person.

The train would be packed to the limit with American soldiers coming and going somewhere. Every seat was taken, every foot of ground had someone crammed into it. As a small child, I could not step over the rucksacks or around the people, so the soldiers would pass me down the corridor, from hand to hand, with my mother trying to keep up. And they gave me chewing gum! I learned to say "Any gum, chum?" for a stick of Wrigley's Spearmint gum.

Those yanks! I thought they were the grandest, most glamorous people in the world.

Easy smiling, handsome, glamorous looking, movie-star sounding, generous and friendly.

Yanks! With oranges and chocolate bars in their backpacks, silk stockings in their hip pocket, chewing gum (Wrigley's Juicy Fruit) in their hands. All to be given away, to us, if only we can get to talk to them. If only your young and pretty aunt will go dancing with one, and then invite him home for tea.

They aren't like us English. To be proper we must be standoffish, serious, and quiet. (Children should be seen and not heard). And we shouldn't want or take more than one of anything.

But the Yanks! Their uniforms are smooth and beautiful; their movements are relaxed, spacious. They take up lots of space, just standing there. They have wonderful accents. Sometimes hard to understand, but wonderful to hear when they draaawl their words. It sounds soft, unthreatening, friendly. They talk easily, loudly to each other—they laugh easily, out loud, even in public places!

They like children! How astonishing—they actually like children! Talk to us, tousele our hair, sit us on their laps, tell us we're cute (what's cute??), give us sticks of gum. And we don't have to save it—we can eat it. Before dinner! And they don't get angry if we ask for more. Or if we hang around them, stay close, touch them. This must be what having a father is like.

Age 5—in love. Head-over-heels madly in love—with Yanks. . . .

During one of these exits from the city, we were staying with a woman and her four daughters in a big farm house. These pretty girls were being dated by American soldiers and one day one of the soldiers brought an extraordinary treat to the house. It was something I had never seen before and that the girls had not seen in 4 or 5 years—a fresh orange! The orange was peeled, with everyone standing around the table watching. Then, it was carefully divided into segments, and each person got one segment. First we licked it, so no drop of juice could escape. Then, we took tiny nibbles, letting the juice come slowly into our mouths, and held it there. Don't swallow too fast! Then take another tiny nibble, until finally, the whole slice was gone. How terrible that there was no more. Seeing what a great success the gift had been, the soldier decided he had to be a hero to the nth degree.

A few days later he came back with his friend, and a carton, a whole carton of cans of sliced peaches. 12 cans. 12 CANS! Wow! What to do with such booty? Urgent conversations took place. Suggestions made and discarded. Finally, with everyone watching, the carton, less one can, was taken down into the cellar, and buried under the heap of coal.

Then, everyone was sworn to secrecy. No one must tell what was hidden there.

Some time passed, and one day there was a knock at the door. Military police. They wanted to search the house for stolen contraband from the PX. My heart was racing . . . would we go to jail? Would the soldiers be arrested? What would happen? They searched everywhere, but did not want to get dirty moving the heap of black, sooty coal, and so the peaches were undiscovered. But we all felt horribly guilty whenever a can was opened, and it spoiled the pleasure in eating those sweet slices.

Most of our country trips were not so exciting or pleasant. The people in the country were paid for the room and board of the Londoners, and they didn't like us. They would come to the train station when we'd arrive, and choose the family they would take. They didn't like fat people much because they would eat too much. They didn't like Jews because they were supposedly all the awful things that have ever been said about Jews. And we were Jewish.

Mother had pinned a tiny Star of David to my undershirt, hoping it would work like a good luck charm to help keep me alive. One evening, the lady of the house walked into our room while my mother was giving me a sponge bath, saw the Star of David and became hysterical. She told us to leave her house, screaming that we had 'contaminated' everything we had touched—her dishes, her knives and forks—her very air!

We walked to the train station along the stony country lane, and my doll, my precious doll, my only toy, fell from the carriage where our bags of stuff were stacked. Her china head cracked and broke. We spent the night sitting on the bench at

the train station waiting for the morning train to take us back to London. I was heartbroken and cried for hours.

Back in London, one day my Zaida (Grandfather) and Mum were pushing the baby carriage along the High Street of our neighborhood, in the middle of the day, when the siren began it's up and down wailing. Mother wanted to run to the tube station shelter because it was closer. But Zaida said "No, we cannot leave Booba (Grandmother) alone. She would be too frightened." Mother insisted on going to the station But Zaida grabbed hold of the baby carriage and began pushing it, running, toward home. Mother and I had no choice but to follow him.

We spent the rest of the day and all the night in the dark, in the shelter. In the morning, when it was quiet, we came out, only to hear on the news that the subway station we had almost gone to had been bombed. All the people down there on the subway platform had died.

When the war was over, there was a party on the street. And some time later the soldiers began coming home.

I begged my mother to allow me to run down the stairs and answer the door when my daddy came home. And she said yes.

It seemed a long time later that the doorbell rang, and I remember very well the excitement of that moment. I ran to the door, opened it, and a giant stood there. A tall, tall man in uniform, with a backpack. A total stranger. I don't remember

him at all after that moment for many years. My mother told me that I kept asking her when he was going away again, because I didn't like this stranger telling me what to do.

Source: Website Timewitnesses: Memories of the Last Century <http://timewitnesses.org/english/pamelalay.html>. Permission granted by Pamela Lazarus.

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Section V

The Human Impact of War

To many, the war brought great suffering. Often, too, it posed great dilemmas of conscience, as individuals both ordinary and distinguished faced harsh choices and ethical conundrums. Pacifists had to decide, often at the risk of imprisonment and social ostracism, whether or not to fight, to support the war effort in other ways, or to refuse to give any assistance whatever. In authoritarian states, political dissent on any grounds whatsoever could bring harsh incarceration in a concentration camp or even death. All belligerent governments interned enemy nationals, including women and children, in conditions ranging from acceptable to atrocious, together with those of their own citizens who were suspected security risks. In the United States, the latter category was expanded to include all Japanese-Americans, whatever their age, sex, or citizenship status, living on the west coast, most of whom spent several years in primitive camps. Conditions for prisoners-of-war spanned the gamut from basic to horrendous, with the worst examples found on the eastern front where German and Russian forces fought each other, and in Japanese facilities around Asia. Despite German and Japanese proclamations promising a “new European order” or a “Greater East Asia Co-Prospersity Sphere” in those areas they had conquered, occupation forces usually treated local populations with great brutality. Given that the rewards of collaboration often included not just additional food and resources and protection for oneself and one’s family, but also political power, among the subjugated there always existed at least some individuals ready to accept and work with their new rulers. In much of Asia, where Japanese troops drove out Western colonial overlords, some nationalist collaborators further justified their tactics as the best means of attaining ultimate independence.

From around 1933 until the war ended in 1945, many millions of people in both Europe and Asia endured horrific experiences and fearful sufferings, which often ended in death for them and their families. Even by these standards, the sufferings of European Jews were exceptional. From the early 1920s, Hitler proclaimed his belief that Jews were an inferior people, a cancer in the German body politic that must be eliminated. When he gained power, Hitler imposed increasingly harsh regulations and restrictions upon German Jews, who became non-citizens, subjected to an ever growing array of humiliations and brutalities, restricted to ghettos, and eventually deported eastward. Fearful of an influx of Jewish refugees, the United States and other Western nations erected numerous bureaucratic barriers deliberately designed to discourage Jewish immigration. In early 1942 German officials formally decided to murder all Jews in Europe, a policy implemented by means of such labor and extermination camps as Dachau and Auschwitz. In all, around 6 million European Jews died in what became known as the Holocaust.

Millions of other civilians in both Asia and Europe, many of them children or the elderly, became collateral victims of war, killed in the increasingly savage bombing raids upon cities and other major targets all countries mounted against their enemies, dead of starvation or exposure, or victims of casual violence from occupying forces or even “friendly fire” from those on their own side. Children had to cope, sometimes alone, with conditions and responsibilities most adults would have found difficult to bear. Simply because they had at least survived, the 9 million refugees in displaced persons camps when the war ended, many of them stateless, without homes and families, and often still only children or teenagers, were far luckier than many others.

5.a. Issues of Conscience, Civil Liberties, and Occupation

5.a.1. The Internment of Japanese-Americans

The Internment of Japanese Americans

On 19 February 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, authorizing the U.S. military to ban any American citizen from a zone 60 miles wide along the American West Coast, extending from Washington State, through Oregon and California, and inland into Arizona. At the time, the United States had been at war with Japan, Germany, and Italy for slightly more than two months. Non-American citizens were also subject to relocation and internment. The continental United States had a population of 47,000 Issei, foreign-born Japanese who had emigrated before 1924 and were therefore ineligible for citizenship under the existing immigration rules and approximately 80,000 Nisei, American citizens of Japanese ancestry, most of whom had been born in the country. The area defined under the executive order contained numerous American defense plants and facilities. It also had a large population of ethnic Japanese descent, 9,000 of whom hastily departed and moved elsewhere in the United States. This loophole was soon closed, and over the next few months, the remaining 110,000 were forced to leave their homes and relocate to hastily constructed camps within and outside the affected states. Unless they joined the American military, most remained there until January 1945, when the order was lifted on all but 5,000 individuals who were still banned from the West Coast. At their own request, however, in 1943 about 8,000 of the internees, including one in every four Nisei of draft age, were eventually repatriated to Japan.

Camps were sparse and life there monotonous, bleak, and restricted. Internees had to leave their jobs and businesses and sell many of their possessions, often at fire-sale prices. Many were unable to maintain mortgage payments on houses and farms and were forced to sell the properties for whatever price buyers were prepared to pay. The justification given for this action was that, after Pearl Harbor, any American of Japanese descent had to be regarded as a potential fifth columnist or saboteur, on whose first loyalties the U.S. government could not safely count. No real attempt was made to investigate the Japanese American population; instead, this precautionary measure was applied wholesale to all, including children of every age born in the United States and elderly men and women, a gross infraction of civil liberties and the Bill of Rights. Japanese Americans were, however, partic-

ularly vulnerable. Their numbers were relatively small and few had any real political influence, greatly facilitating their relocation. Japanese Americans in California had always been the targets of much racist resentment and suspicion, and local business competitors on the West Coast also coveted their property and economic assets. In the atmosphere of national hysteria immediately after Pearl Harbor, superheated patriotism easily became a plausible disguise for covert racism and economic exploitation.

In Hawaii, where Japanese airplanes had after all launched a lethal and destructive bombing raid on the Pearl Harbor naval base, 37.8 percent of the population was of Japanese ethnic descent, and without them, the local economy would have collapsed. Hawaiian Japanese Americans were also reasonably well organized politically, at least in Hawaii itself. The result was that only those individually considered to be security risks were interned. The same was true of the much larger, politically influential, and more widely dispersed German American and Italian American communities in the United States, both of which included many millions of American citizens. Eleven thousand German Americans, some of them citizens, and 3,200 Italian American resident aliens were arrested under Executive Order 9066; eventually 5,000 of the former and 300 of the latter were interned, as were others of both ethnic derivations in other areas of the United States. To incarcerate German Americans and Italian Americans for protracted periods without trial or appeal, the government had to cite some specific reason, not just the blanket justification of their ancestry.

Although the ultimate responsibility rested with President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who soon came to consider the internment of Japanese Americans politically advisable, the War Department, especially Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson and his assistant John J. McCloy, was the agency largely responsible for first urging and then implementing these policies. In late 1944, the Supreme Court paved the way for the release of the internees when it decided that the existing executive order had given the government only the authority to remove Japanese Americans from the West Coast but not to imprison the evacuees, leaving undecided the question whether additional legislation to do so would be constitutionally invalid. Roosevelt died just before the war ended, and Stimson a few years later, leaving McCloy to bear the burden of defending them for several decades. He invariably argued stubbornly that the situation of national emergency had fully justified the infractions of civil liberties these policies represented, however unpalatable they might in other circumstances be to both those affected and to the implementers. McCloy also strongly opposed the payment of compensation to former internees or their heirs, a campaign that gathered force and visibility during the 1970s. In 1988, the surviving internees finally won a formal apology

from the U.S. government, together with individual compensation of US\$20,000 apiece.

About the Author

Mary Tsukamoto, then Mary Tsuruko Dakuzaku, was born in 1915 in San Francisco, the second of five children of parents who had emigrated from Okinawa. In 1925, the family moved to Florin, California, where they operated a market garden, growing strawberries for the nearby cities. Their children had to attend segregated schools, where Dakuzaku's teachers themselves paid part of the cost of her subsequent education at the College of the Pacific, Stockton, inspiring her to become a teacher herself. In 1936, Dakuzaku married Alfred Tsukamoto, the son of another Florin market gardener, and the couple had a daughter the following year.

By the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor, Mary Tsukamoto, then 27 years old, was a leader in the Japanese American Citizens League, which soon assumed the responsibility of serving as an intermediary between the government and Japanese Americans, some of whom spoke no English. From spring 1942 until January 1945, the family was interned at a camp in Jerome, Arkansas. After the war, the Tsukamotos returned to Sacramento, and Mary spent 26 years as a teacher, her dynamism such that eventually a district elementary school was renamed in her honor. She also became a prominent activist in the campaign to win compensation for the Japanese American internees. A leader of her community, she aggressively gathered together artifacts and materials relating to Japanese American immigrants in California, a collection eventually donated to California State University, Sacramento, together with a major oral history collection on the Japanese American experience. She died in 1998.

About the Document

As with many oral histories, this excerpt from that of Mary Tsukamoto provides a lively and vivid depiction of one of the central experiences in her and her family's life. The extract given here is only part of a longer oral history covering the period of internment as well as the months leading up to it. It was one of several such memoirs included in a book that appeared in 1984.

One need not doubt the truth of everything included in Tsukamoto's account, which by then she had almost certainly repeated innumerable times in both private and public settings. At the same time, it is important to realize that she probably had more than one motive for setting it down and allowing its publication. Tsukamoto probably shared the now very common desire to set down personal experiences for one's own family and posterity and had a well-attested interest in ensuring that some permanent record should remain of the history of the Japanese American community in Cali-

fornia. One should also recognize, however, that at the time this collection of memoirs appeared, she was one of the leaders of the campaign to win restitution from the U.S. government for the hardships Japanese Americans had endured during World War II.

Intentionally or otherwise, her portrayal of the Japanese American community in Florin carefully emphasizes aspects that might well facilitate this endeavor. We learn that the Japanese Americans were Christians who organized and attended church services, that they were hardworking, law-abiding, had a strong sense of community, and assisted each other in times of trouble. She exposes the pettiness of the post-Pearl Harbor restrictions on Japanese Americans—regulations never imposed on the Germans or Italians in Florin village—and she highlights how, even under these restrictions, their community consciously remained “Americans and loyal citizens, [who] wanted to do what Americans should be doing.” While their young men patriotically enlisted in the armed forces, the rest were buying war bonds, preparing bandages for the Red Cross, and taking first aid classes. The harsh consequences of evacuation are fully exposed: the stress on the elderly; the loss of property, much-loved gardens and possessions, and even cherished pets. Even so, as a representative of a Japanese American community organization she wrote letters to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and to local teachers and newspaper editors thanking them for their assistance.

In essence, Tsukamoto presented the Japanese American community as model Americans, embodying almost every virtue and characteristic traditionally associated with the American way of life. By implication, they were loyal and patriotic Americans who had not deserved such a fate and did deserve compensation for their sufferings. This is the story that Tsukamoto had by then told again and again, a discreetly flattering picture of the Japanese American community, carefully crafted to convert the general public and politically influential listeners to support delayed compensation to former internees. The reader readily understands why, in later life, she won great respect from both her own and the white community. She is not bitter or hysterical; the tone is reasonable, and she even has kind words for her white neighbors of that time.

One underlying reason for the very publication of this particular volume of reminiscences (together with another book on the subject that Tsukamoto coauthored three years later)—with its title, *We the People*, artfully emphasizing the theme of just how quintessentially American the Japanese Americans were—was to generate additional momentum in this ongoing battle. Despite Tsukamoto's rather judicious and unembittered tone, one has to regard her memoir as in some sense a public statement and expect that even harmless

or trivial episodes or matters that, deliberately or otherwise, might in any way discredit the Japanese American community would have been quietly ignored or edited out. Whatever other functions these reminiscences may and probably did serve, in one respect they must be regarded as an attractively packaged brief, presenting, with an underlying steely determination, the case that the U.S. government should recognize, accept its responsibility, and make belated restitution for the wartime sufferings of the Japanese American community. This document is interesting, vivid, and probably quite truthful as far as it goes, but the reader should bear in mind that the author did not necessarily seek to purvey the full and unvarnished truth and undoubtedly had specific ulterior motives for putting her community in a certain favorable, even blameless light. There might well have been a seamier side to the Japanese American internment experience, even some instances of espionage, for example. Mary Tsukamoto may or may not have known of such matters, but even if she did, it would be naive to expect this particular document to serve as an informative source on such matters.

Primary Source

Recollections of Mary Tsukamoto

I do remember Pearl Harbor Day. I was about twenty-seven, and we were in church. It was a December Sunday, so we were getting ready for our Christmas program. We were rehearsing and having Sunday School class, and I always played the piano for the adult Issei [Japanese-Americans born in Japan] service. Of course, because there were so many Japanese, all of it was in Japanese; the minister was a Japanese, and he preached in Japanese. But after the service started, my husband ran in. He had been home that day and heard on the radio. We just couldn't believe it, but he told us that Japan attacked Pearl Harbor. I remember how stunned we were. And suddenly the whole world turned dark. We started to speak in whispers, and because of our experience [with earlier anti-Japanese sentiment] in Florin, we immediately sensed something terrible was going to happen. We just prayed that it wouldn't, but we sensed that things would be very difficult. The minister and all of the leaders discussed matters, and we knew that we needed to be prepared for the worst.

Then, of course, within a day or two, we heard that the FBI had taken Mr. Tanigawa and Mr. Tsuji. I suppose the FBI had them on their list, and it wasn't long before many of them were taken. We had no idea what they were going through. We should have been more aware. One Issei, Mr. Iwasa, committed suicide. So all of these reports and the anguish and the sorrow made the whole world very dark. Then rumors had it that we were supposed to turn in our cameras and our guns, and they were called in. Every day there was something else

about other people being taken by the FBI. Then gradually we just couldn't believe the newspapers and what people were saying. And then there was talk about sending us away, and we just couldn't believe that they would do such a thing. It would be a situation where the whole community would be uprooted. But soon enough we were reading reports of other communities being evacuated from San Pedro and from Puget Sound. After a while we became aware that maybe things weren't going to just stop but would continue to get worse and worse.

We read about President Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066. I remember the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) people had a convention in San Francisco in March. We realized that we needed to be able to rise to the occasion to help in whatever way we could in our community. We came home trying to figure out just how we could do that. We had many meetings at night and the FBI was always lurking around. We were told we couldn't stay out after eight o'clock in the evening.

Meanwhile, Hakuji [white] neighbors were watching us and reporting to the FBI that we were having secret meetings. We were not supposed to meet after eight o'clock, but often we couldn't cut off our JACL meeting at eight o'clock, and so we would have tea or coffee and keep talking. We would be reported and the police would come. There were so many people making life miserable for us. Then we heard that we had been restricted to traveling five miles from our homes; it was nine miles to Sacramento, and at that time everything was in Sacramento, like doctors, banks, and grocery stores. So it just was a terrible, fearful experience. Every time we went anywhere more than five miles away, we were supposed to go to the Wartime Civilian Control Administration (WCCA) office in Sacramento, nine miles away, to get a permit. It was ridiculous.

A lot of little things just nagged at us and harassed us, and we were frightened, but even in that atmosphere I remember we frantically wanted to do what was American. We were Americans and loyal citizens, and we wanted to do what Americans should be doing. So we were wrapping Red Cross bandages and trying to do what we could to help our country. By May 1942, more than a hundred of our boys were already drafted. We worried about them, and they were worried about what was going to happen to their families. We knew what we wanted to do. We started to buy war bonds, and we took first aid classes with the rest of the Hakuji people in the community. We went out at night to go to these classes, but we worried about being out after eight o'clock. It was a frightening time. Every little rule and regulation was imposed only on the Japanese people. There were Italian and German people in the community, but it was just us that had travel restrictions and a curfew. . . .

I had anxieties for Grandpa and Grandma. They were old and had farmed all their lives, and after more than fifty years here, the thought of uprooting these people and taking them away from their farm and the things they loved was terrible. Grandpa growing tea and vegetables, and Grandma growing her flowers. It was a cruel thing to do to them in their twilight years. But we had to get them ready to leave, anxious for their health and their safety. And my daughter, who was five, had to be ready to go to school. Al [her husband] had had a hemorrhage that winter, so we all had our personal grief as well.

The Farm Security Administration told us that we should work until the very last moment. Yet we had to worry about selling our car and our refrigerator and about what we should do with our chickens and our pets. . . . I wrote to the President of the United States and the principal of the high school and the newspaper editors thanking them for whatever they did for us. I don't know if I was crazy to do this, but I felt that history was happening, and I felt that it was important to say good-bye in a proper way, speaking for the people who were leaving and trying to tell our friends that we were loyal Americans and that we were sorry that this was happening. We needed to say something, and that's what I did.

We left early in the morning on May 29, 1942. Two days earlier we sold our car for eight hundred dollars, which was just about giving it away. We also had to sell our refrigerator. But some wonderful friends came to ask if they could take care of some things we couldn't store. . . .

It happened so suddenly to our community. You know, we grew up together, we went through the hardships of the Depression, and then finally things were picking up. People who had mortgages on their land were beginning to be able to make payments back to the bank. They were going to own the land that they had worked so hard to have. Then we had to evacuate. So there were still some people who owed some money on their property, and they lost the property because, of course, they couldn't make mortgage payments.

These were our people, and we loved them. We wept with them at their funerals and laughed with them and rejoiced at their weddings. And suddenly we found out that the community was going to be split up. The railroad track was one dividing line, and Florin Road the other dividing line. We were going to Fresno; the ones on the other side went to Manzanar; and the ones on the west side went to Tule. The ones on the west and north went to Pinedale and Poston. We never dreamed we would be separated—relatives and close friends, a community. The village people, we were just like brothers and sisters. We endured so much together and never dreamed we would be separated. Suddenly we found out we wouldn't be going to the same place. That was a traumatic disappointment and a great sadness for us. We were just tied up in knots, trying to cope with all of this happening. I can't

understand why they had to do this. I don't know why they had to split us up. . . .

I don't know, we had been a very happy family. When we left, we swept our house and left it clean, because that's the way Japanese feel like leaving a place. I can just imagine everyone's emotions of grief and anger when they had to leave, when the military police came and told them, "Get ready right now. You've got two hours to get ready to catch this train."

Early in the morning, Margaret and George File came after us in their car because we no longer had one to move our things. We had taken our luggage the day before on the pickup. We were very fortunate. Al had a very dear friend, Bob Fletcher, who was going to stay at our place and run our farm, our neighbor's farm, and Al's cousin's farm. So these three adjoining farms would be taken care of, at least the grape vineyards would be. Bob would stay at our place, and we left our dog with him. Nobody could take pets, and this was a sad thing for our daughter. There were tears everywhere; Grandma couldn't leave her flowers, and Grandpa looked at his grape vineyard. We urged him to get into the car and leave. I remember that sad morning when we realized suddenly that we wouldn't be free. It was such a clear, beautiful day, and I remember as we were driving, our tears. We saw the snow-clad Sierra Nevada mountains that we had loved to see so often, and I thought about God and about the prayer that we often prayed.

I remember one scene very clearly: on the train, we were told not to look out the window, but people were peeking out. After a long time on the train somebody said, "Oh, there's some Japanese standing over there." So we all took a peek, and we saw this dust, and rows and rows of barracks, and all these tan, brown Japanese people with their hair all bleached. They were all standing in a huddle looking at us, looking at this train going by. Then somebody on the train said, "Gee, that must be Japanese people in a camp." We didn't realize who they were before, but I saw how terrible it looked: the dust, no trees—just barracks and a bunch of people standing against the fence, looking out. Some children were hanging onto the fence like animals, and that was my first sight of the assembly center. I was so sad and discouraged looking at that, knowing that, before long, we would be inside too.

Source: Mary Tsukamoto, "Jerome," in John Tateishi, ed., *And Justice for All: An Oral History of the Japanese American Detention Camps* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984), pp. 3–13. Permission granted by the University of Washington Press.

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5.a.2. The German Resistance: Count Helmuth von Moltke

The German Resistance

A German resistance movement did still exist in wartime Nazi Germany, though it was small in size and generally too fragmented and poorly organized to be effective. Nazi persecution of political opponents began in 1933, immediately upon Adolf Hitler becoming German chancellor, and continued until 1945, so by the time World War II began, many socialists, communists, and others inimical to Nazi rule had already been eliminated. Most resistance groups were small and often based on close-knit internal family, personal, and professional ties.

In the big cities, some Communist cells still existed, usually based within German factories, and even after the conclusion of the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact, these continued to exist and circulate occasional propaganda. After the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, they produced a massive outpouring of propaganda leaflets. In 1942–1943, however, Gestapo operatives infiltrated most of these largely working-class groups, and by spring 1943, virtually all had been “rolled up.” Two groups of middle-class intellectuals and professionals also had some successes. The Home Front group published a newspaper by that name for fifteen months, from summer 1941 to fall 1942, and also disseminated pamphlets providing news and information drawn from BBC and Soviet radio broadcasts. The Red Orchestra largely consisted of left-leaning officials within the Economics and Air Ministries, members of the radical middle-class intelligentsia, who from 1940, passed on intelligence information to Soviet officials and also disseminated

propaganda leaflets. For something like a year in 1941–1942, Communist German Jews also organized a Zionist resistance group in Berlin, but the Gestapo eventually arrested and executed its members. German churches generally endorsed World War II, but individual ministers and Christians sometimes took their own stand. The best known among these was the liberal Protestant theologian and pastor Dietrich Bonhoeffer, arrested in 1943 and executed in April 1945, who not only publicly opposed Nazism but also helped Jews and other refugees to escape from Germany. Another prominent Christian minister, the Berlin Protestant pastor Martin Niemöller, imprisoned in 1937 for his outspoken opposition to Nazi persecution of opponents, was only released in 1945. Small groups of idealists, the most famous among them probably the “White Rose” organization headed by the Munich students Hans and Sophie Scholl, also mounted brave if quixotic protests, usually sadly short-lived; the Scholls, for instance, began publishing leaflets in summer 1942 and were executed in February 1943.

Within the German military, where many among the traditional officer caste despised Hitler and the Nazis, substantial opposition to Hitler also gradually developed. Among them were General Wilhelm Canaris, head of the Abwehr, the army’s intelligence service, and Ludwig Beck, former chief of the German general staff. Carl Goerdeler, former mayor of Leipzig, who had opposed the Nuremberg laws and became one of Winston Churchill’s informants on German rearmament during the 1930s, was associated with them. In summer 1944, after the Allied invasion of the west had begun and Hitler refused to contemplate a negotiated peace, a group of military officers headed by Colonel Claus von Stauffenberg, chief of staff of the German reserve forces, made an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Hitler and seize power. Many, including Stauffenberg himself, Canaris, and Goerdeler, were arrested, tortured, and executed. Germany’s most admired soldier, Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, commander of German forces in Normandy until he suffered serious head injuries when an Allied airplane strafed his car, was not a prime mover in the plot but, though he initially opposed the assassination, eventually reluctantly endorsed it as the only practicable means of ousting Hitler. Under torture, the conspirators implicated him. Reluctant to depress domestic morale by arresting and executing their outstanding national hero, the German authorities gave him the option of committing suicide, after which he received an impressive state funeral.

On various occasions, British and American intelligence operatives had some contact with the conspirators, who were disappointed that their overtures regarding a negotiated peace settlement were poorly received, the Allies insisting that only Germany’s unconditional surrender would satisfy them. The Stauffenberg group hoped for a peace settlement

that would enable Germany to retain many of its territorial gains of the 1930s and early 1940s, restoring its eastern frontiers of 1914, which would return much of western Poland to Germany, incorporating the Sudetenland, Austria, and much of the Tyrol within Germany, and granting autonomy to the provinces of Alsace-Lorraine, the possession of which Germany and France had disputed for almost a century. Allied authorities felt that many of the plotters sought to preserve the bulk of Hitler's gains though disposing of the man himself and finally eliminating the unsavory Nazi party from German politics. Bearing in mind the aftermath of World War I, which ended in a negotiated armistice forcing German troops to withdraw to their own country's borders, a peace settlement that Hitler and many on the right, including such leading military men as Quartermaster General Erich von Ludendorff, subsequently blamed upon the betrayal of the German army by weak-minded civilians, Allied officials were determined that the ending of World War II should demonstrate as irrefutably as possible that German forces had been conclusively defeated. The simultaneous invasion and occupation of German territory by Soviet and Western troops was, they believed, the best means of doing so.

About the Author

Count Helmuth James von Moltke came from a renowned German military family, being the son of General Helmuth von Moltke, the army's chief of staff from 1906 to 1914, who adopted and modified the Schlieffen Plan that directed early German strategy in World War I, and great-nephew of Field Marshal Count Helmuth Bernhard von Moltke, who built up and led the German military to victory over Denmark in 1866 and France in 1870. For more than a decade, his stellar ancestry accorded von Moltke a degree of protection within Nazi Germany, but on Hitler's orders, he was finally executed on 23 January 1945.

A liberal and progressive lawyer by training, who had no sympathy whatever for the Nazi regime, von Moltke nonetheless chose to remain in Germany and, during the later 1930s, assisted many refugees to escape. In 1939, von Moltke joined the Foreign Division of the Abwehr, the German military intelligence service, a base from which he attempted to mitigate human rights abuses and breaches of international law by the German armed forces during the war and also sought to rescue some Jews from extermination. Von Moltke, who traveled extensively in his professional capacity, used trips to neutral countries to seek sympathetic allies and to contact both neutral and Allied figures. Unlike many German resistance figures, he was not seeking a negotiated peace settlement, but believed that a conclusive defeat of Germany was a necessary precondition for its postwar reconstruction.

Von Moltke was the center of the "Kreisau Circle," a group of like-minded Germans, including several who held office

within the German Foreign Ministry and the military bureaucracy, who gathered around him and another distinguished Prussian nobleman, Count Peter Yorck von Wartenburg, at his Kreisau estate. This cosmopolitan group of anti-Hitler Christians, politicians, aristocratic lawyers, and intellectuals were liberal socialists who sought the overthrow of Hitler, a negotiated peace, and the total remaking of Germany's political and social system on liberal and democratic lines. They developed extensive plans for postwar Germany, envisaging a Christian democratic nation in which the state would have a major economic and social role and power would be divided between the central and provincial governments. They also advocated the integration of the various European countries into a federal system. After 1945, much of what they suggested eventually became reality within West Germany, something few of them survived to see. Following the discovery of their implication in the 1944 plot to overthrow Hitler, most of the Kreisau circle members were arrested and executed.

The Gestapo arrested von Moltke in January 1944 because he had warned a friend of his impending arrest on an unrelated matter. Von Moltke's superlative family, personal, and professional connections ensured that until the failed assassination attempt against Hitler in summer 1944, his conditions of imprisonment were relatively lenient. Several of von Moltke's associates, including Yorck von Wartenburg, took part in the plot to kill Hitler. Von Moltke himself had little faith in such efforts, writing in 1943 that Germany "need[ed] a revolution, not a coup d'état," something the generals were unlikely to accomplish, since "no revolution of the kind we need will give generals the same scope and position as the Nazis have given them, and give them today." The Gestapo nonetheless rightly suspected that he possessed at least some foreknowledge of this enterprise, which despite his initial reluctance, he had indeed eventually endorsed. This brought a drastic tightening of von Moltke's conditions of imprisonment and, though he escaped torture, his eventual condemnation to death. The American diplomat George F. Kennan, who met von Moltke several times, later described him as "the greatest person, morally, and the largest and most enlightened in his concepts, that I met on either side of the battle lines in World War II" (Von Moltke 1990, 4).

About the Document

In March 1943, von Moltke, seeking to establish a channel of communication with British liberals, wrote a letter in English to Lionel Curtis, a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and a leading member of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, an influential British foreign policy think tank closely associated with the British Foreign Office. Curtis, a long-time advocate and publicist of schemes for world government, was likely to welcome any efforts to encourage international

cooperation even with Britain's current enemies; he also had an enormous range of influential personal contacts in his own country and beyond. Von Moltke hoped that, using Curtis as an intermediary, he and other associates would be able to win assistance from British liberals for their efforts to disrupt and overthrow the Nazi government. His letter may have been precipitated by the executions of organizers of the "White Rose" resistance group, Hans and Sophie Scholl, an event he hoped might convince British officials that a credible German resistance movement genuinely existed. Von Moltke hoped that a Swedish friend, Dr. Harry Johansson, director of the Nordic Ecumenical Institute in Stockholm, would ensure that this missive was delivered to London, but Johansson feared that the task might be dangerous and also a compromise of Swedish neutrality, so he kept the original letter. In July 1943, an intermediary memorized the gist of it and, without indicating the precise source, passed on a summary to the British Bishop George Bell of Chichester, a controversial Anglican cleric who had extensive contacts with liberal German church figures, including Bonhoeffer, and who publicly urged the Allies to observe humanitarian standards when waging war. Bell in turn sent the summary to Curtis with a covering note urging him to follow von Moltke's suggestion of sending a trustworthy intermediary to Stockholm to meet with German resistance representatives, and another copy to Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart, head of the British Political Warfare Executive. Curtis would almost certainly have passed this letter on to the British Foreign Office and MI5, the intelligence agency, but after that point, it apparently sank without trace, the victim of a decree from British Prime Minister Winston Churchill that all approaches from Germans should be disregarded. Von Moltke's letter therefore had no practical impact whatever upon the course of World War II or Allied dealings with the German resistance. Given Allied reluctance to work with German dissidents, it must also remain doubtful whether, even if delivered slightly more expeditiously, his missive would have generated any closer collaboration between the Western Allies and anti-Nazi Germans.

The obstruction of its purpose does not necessarily mean, however, that von Moltke's letter has no value as a historical document or even that its historical significance is purely biographical. From at least three angles, it is extremely interesting. First, von Moltke's letter provides considerable information on the state of the German home front in 1943: the absence of all young men on combat service at the front; the constant shortages; the battle that daily life had become for the average German, especially German women; and the absence and deliberate suppression of reliable information. Even von Moltke, who had excellent official sources and was actively seeking information on the subject, could only unearth "rather vague and indistinct and inexact" data on the concentration camps that he knew were operating in consid-

erable numbers. The ordinary German preferred to disbelieve in their existence and to doubt "that we have killed hundreds of thousands of Jews."

Secondly, the letter is an important source on the state of the German resistance movement, insofar as it could even be considered deserving of the name. It gave an almost brutally clear-minded assessment of the practical difficulties under which the German resistance labored, including both the constant loss of personnel to the guillotine and yet also its accomplishments. According to von Moltke, successes included numerous quiet efforts to "throw sand into the machine" and prevent the effective implementation of Nazi commands; the saving of individual lives, especially in occupied countries; winning over the German churches; and "breaking down of the idea of a highly centralized German state." One notes the near complete absence of the spectacular though dangerous—even willfully foolhardy—operations deliberately intended to attract attention to their cause that were, however sporadically, mounted by resistance movements outside Germany. The final section of von Moltke's letter also suggested that some degree of cooperation already existed between the anti-Hitler opposition in Germany and counterparts in the occupied countries. Rather chillingly, von Moltke feared that, should details of his activities become known to the British secret service, before long the German secret police would also acquire this information. It undoubtedly took considerable courage for him even to dispatch this letter.

Thirdly, the letter provided interesting insights into von Moltke's ideas on postwar Germany and by extension those of the Kreisau Circle. Many of these views were later taken up by the Christian Democrats, the political party that directed West German affairs until the late 1960s. He sought the complete remaking of Germany, not just the change of leadership at the top and extirpation of the SS and Gestapo that many of the military conspirators envisaged. He clearly favored a federal state in which authority would be decentralized, a reflection of his revulsion against Hitler's concentration of power in his own hands and those of the Nazi party. Von Moltke called for the postwar punishment of war criminals, preferably by Germans themselves. Looking ahead to what would become the Cold War, he also clearly anticipated that communism, a totalitarian faith he disliked equally with nazism, would attract many Germans and that this would be a problem all those building the new Germany, both Germans themselves and the Allies, would have to guard against.

Primary Source

James von Moltke to Lionel Curtis, 25 March 1943

This letter has a chance of getting into your hands without passing any censor. And I want to take this singular oppor-

tunity of giving you an analysis of conditions in my country, and to make some proposals as to how matters could be speeded up. . . .

2.

People outside Germany do not realise the following handicaps under which we labour and which distinguish the position in Germany from that of any other of the occupied countries: lack of unity, lack of men, lack of communications.

Lack of unity: in all countries under Hitler but Germany and France the people are practically united. If it be in Norway or Poland, in Greece, Jugoslavia or Holland the vast majority of the people are one in mind. In Germany, and to a lesser extent in France this is different. There are a great many people who have profited from the third realm [Third Reich] and who know that their time will be up with the third realm's end. This category does not only comprise some few hundred people, no it runs into hundreds of thousands and in order to swell their number and to create new posts of profit everything is corrupted.—Further there are those who supported the Nazis as a counterbalance against foreign pressure and who cannot now easily find their way out of the tangle; even where they believe the Nazis to be in the wrong they say that this wrong is counterbalanced by a wrong done to us before.—Thirdly there are those who—supported by Göbbels' propaganda and by British propaganda—say: if we lose this war we will be eaten up alive by our enemies and therefore we have to stand this through with Hitler and have to put him right, i.e., get rid of him thereafter: it is impossible to change horses in mid-stream.—You may disagree with those reasons just as strongly as I do, but you must take them into account as politically effective in making for disunity. Therefore while, practically speaking, you can trust every Dutchman, Norwegian, etc., as to his intentions, you have to probe deep into every German before you find out whether or not you can make use of him; the fact that he is an anti-nazi is not enough.

Lack of men: In our country we have, practically speaking, no young men left, men of the age groups which make revolutions, or are at least its spearhead. You have got young men or at least fairly young workers in your home factories, you have your young men training in your own country. All this is different with us; all our young men, even those in training, are far beyond our frontiers. Instead we have got more than 8 million foreign and potentially hostile workers in the country, and their numbers are going to be swelled to 10 millions and not a man younger than the age group of 1899 in the country. The exceptions to this rule are, but for the secret police and the SS, negligible. And those who still are there and are active are terribly overworked and have no strength to spare. The women, if they are not engaged in war work of one kind or another, are fully occupied—physically but especially mentally—in keeping their houses in order. The worse

the economic strain gets the less likely a revolution becomes, because people are so occupied in simply living. Food distribution is fairly all right, though it also takes a lot of time; but if you endeavour to buy anything else you will have an exhausting experience. If you need an envelope, want your shoes repaired, your dress mended, your coat cleaned, if you are so audacious as to ask for nails or a toothbrush, for glue or a cooking-pot, a piece of pottery or glass, if you try to park your child anywhere or need a doctor you will find the fulfilling of any one of these desiderata a full-time job. You have to wait and to run, to stand and to bid, to press and to plead, and in the end you will probably only get what you want if you have something to offer in return, be it services or goods. And all this additional work falls on the women. While the men forget in their job of soldiering completely what work is like, the women are thoroughly overworked. And that means not only that they are occupied physically with these jobs, they are of course, but the worst is that their head is full of thoughts about stratagems to get what you need, be it a toothbrush or a doctor. When a woman goes to sleep her last thought probably is: "I must not forget that they said they might get some envelopes at three, and the doctor's office said he might be back by 6:30; but what do I do with my child while waiting for the doctor; it may be 9 before I come back." There is no time even to think of the war.

Lack of communication: That is the worst. Can you imagine what it is like if you

- a. cannot use the telephone,
- b. cannot use the post,
- c. cannot send a messenger, because you probably have no one to send, and if you have you cannot give him a written message as the police sometimes searches people in trains, trams, etc., for documents;
- d. cannot even speak with those with whom you are completely d'accord, because the secret police have methods of questioning where they first break the will but leave the intelligence awake, thereby inducing the victim to speak out all he knows; therefore you must limit information to those who absolutely need it;
- e. cannot even rely on rumour or a whispering-campaign to spread information as there is so effective a ban on communications of every kind that a whispering campaign started in Munich may never reach Augsburg.

There is only one reliable way of communicating news, and that is the London wireless, as that is listened in to by many people who belong to the opposition proper and by many disaffected party members.

3.

Some of this devilish machinery has been invented by the Nazis, but some of it has been produced by war itself. But this

machinery is used to great effect by the ruling class. Their first aim is to keep the army out of touch with the political trends in the country. They succeed in this to a great extent. None but men on leave and those managing anti-aircraft guns are in the country. When on leave they do not want to be bothered and their relatives do not want to bother them. When out of the country, the information they get by post is very scanty as their womenfolk dare not write to them for fear of repressive measures which are and have been taken. Besides, the soldiers lead a fairly secluded life. Where they are they usually appear in great strength and have only the enemy to cope with. Most officers especially lead a life far above their status in civilian life. The normal soldier does not know more about conditions in Germany than you, probably a great deal less. And besides the soldiers are continuously led into positions where there is no choice but to fight. Their mind is occupied with the enemy as fully as the housewife's is occupied with her requirements. "The German general and soldier must never feel secure, otherwise he wants to rest; he must always know that there are enemies in front and at his back, and that there is only one thing to be done and that is to fight." This remark Hitler addressed to field marshal [Eric von] Manstein, who proposed to fortify some line way behind the frontline.

But even in Germany people do not know what is happening. I believe that at least 9 tenths of the population do not know that we have killed hundreds of thousands of Jews. They go on believing that they just have been segregated and lead an existence pretty much like the one they led, only farther to the east, where they came from. Perhaps with a little more squalor but without air raids. If you told these people what has really happened they would answer: you are just a victim of British propaganda; remember what ridiculous things they said about our behaviour in Belgium in 1914/18.

Another fact: German people are very anxious about their men or boys who have been reported missing in Russia. The Russians have allowed our men to write home, which was a very wise thing for the Russians to do. Well, these letters are, on their arrival in Germany, locked up or destroyed but not allowed to reach the relatives. About 1000 of these cards had passed the censor through some technical error. The recipients who then tried to answer in the normal way through the ordinary channels were thereupon arrested, questioned, and kept in confinement until they had realized what it would mean to them if they ever talked about the fact that they had received news from their men. Things like that go on in Germany for months and perhaps years and this is a bit of information for which Germans are eagerly waiting; you cannot explain it away, as you could with the example given about the Jews, with the argument that the Germans are impolitic and do not want to hear, that they have put Jews to death. No, even these facts about the communications from Germans in Russia are neither known nor, where you tell them, believed.

And where the facts become known, as with officials dealing with the cards or their relatives, there is a widespread belief, that the cards are faked and that the Führer in his magnanimity does want to prevent the raising of hopes by the beastly Russians which are unfounded and must give way to still deeper despair once the facts become known.

A third fact: We have now 19 guillotines working at considerable speed without most people even knowing this fact, and practically nobody knows how many are beheaded per day. In my estimation there are about 50 daily, not counting those who die in concentration camps.—Nobody knows the exact number of concentration camps or of their inhabitants. We have got a concentration camp only a few miles from our farm, and my district-commissioner told me that he only learnt of the fact that there was a concentration camp in his district when he was asked for orders to stop an epidemic of typhoid spreading to a neighbouring village; by that time the camp had existed for months. Calculations on the number of KZ-inhabitants vary between 150,000 and 350,000. Nobody knows how many die per day. By chance I have ascertained that in one single month 160 persons died in the concentration camp of Dachau. We further know fairly reliably that there are 16 concentration camps with their own cremation apparatus. We have been informed that in Upper Silesia a big KZ is being built which is expected to be able to accommodate 40 to 50,000 men, of whom 3 to 4,000 are to be killed per month. But all this information comes to me, even to me, who is looking out for facts of this nature, in a rather vague and indistinct and inexact form. We only know for certain, that scores, probably many hundreds of people die not a glorious death, as those in the occupied countries do, knowing that their people consider them heroes, but an ignominious death knowing that they are classed among robbers and murderers.

4.

What is happening to the opposition, the men "of whom one hears so much and notices so little" as a headline in a paper lately said.

Well, first of all, it loses men, at a considerable rate. The quick-working guillotines can devour a considerable number of men. This is a serious matter, not alone because of the loss of life; that has to be faced, as we will not be able to get out of the quandary into which we have been led without considerable sacrifices in men. The worst is that this death is ignominious. Nobody really takes much notice of the fact, the relatives hush it up, not because there is anything to hide, but because they would suffer the same fate at the hands of the Gestapo if they dared telling people what has happened. In the other countries suppressed by Hitler's tyranny even the ordinary criminal has a chance of being classified as a martyr. With us it is different: even the martyr is certain to be classed as an ordinary criminal. That makes death useless

and therefore is a very effective deterrent. Secondly, the opposition has thrown sand into the machine. It will probably never be known to what extent this has helped your people. But the extent to which that has been done is very considerable, especially in the higher bureaucracy. There is seldom a week when I do not notice something that must have been done in order to prevent a command from being executed or at least from becoming fully effective.

Thirdly, the opposition is saving individual lives. We cannot prevent the ferocious orders from being given, but we can save individuals. And this is done in all walks of life. People who have been officially executed still live, others have been given sufficient warning to escape in time. This is especially so in occupied countries: there is no denying the mass-murders, but once the balance is drawn, people will perhaps realize that many thousands of lives have been saved by the intervention of some German, sometimes a private and sometimes a general, sometimes a workman and sometimes a high-ranking official.

Fourthly, the opposition has made many mistakes. The main error of judgement has been the reliance placed on an act by the generals. This hope was forlorn from the outset, but most people could never be brought to realize this fact in time. The same reasons which made it impossible for the french generals to get rid of Napoleon prevent this happening in Germany. To expound the reasons would be too long a process. The main sociological reason is that we need a revolution, not a coup d'état, and no revolution of the kind we need will give generals the same scope and position as the Nazis have given them, and give them today.

Fifthly, the opposition has done two things which, I believe, will count in the long run: the mobilisation of the churches and the clearing of the road to a completely decentralised Germany. The churches have done great work these times. Some of the sermons of the more prominent Bishops, Catholic as well as Protestant, have become known abroad, especially two sermons of the Bishop of Berlin, Count Freysing, of May 16th (?) 1942 and December 20th 1942. But the most important part of the churches' work has been the continuous process by which the whole clergy, practically without exception, have upheld the great principles in spite of all the intense propaganda and the pressure exerted against them. I do not know of a single parson who in a church demolished by British bombs held a sermon with an antibritish strain. And the churches are full Sunday after Sunday. The state dare not touch the churches at present, and in order to get over this difficulty the churches have been requisitioned in many places for storing furniture saved from bombed houses; thereby the state hopes to make church-work slowly impossible.

The breaking down of the idea of a highly centralised German state has made considerable progress. While two years ago the idea of a completely decentralised Germany was con-

sidered a utopia it is today nearly a commonplace. This will ease the transitory period between war and peace, and may, perhaps, make a meeting of the minds possible.

5.

Two general observations can be added: one on war criminals and one on the threat of communism. The punishment of political criminals once the third realm [Third Reich] has come to an end will this time be very popular with the German people. You must realize that we have a concentration-camp-population of some 250000, certainly once again that number of men have lost their lives through the nazis' hands, and probably another 250000 have once been in a camp but have been released and fight or work somewhere. These 750000 men and/or their relatives have only one big desire: to kill the person whom they consider responsible for their special case. And this by the quickest procedure possible, if attainable with their own hands. And those who are killing people in occupied countries are to a great extent the same people who have killed or imprisoned Germans, unless they are drawn from other countries, especially from Latvia.—By the way, most of the most brutal SD-men, murderers, etc., have been drawn either from Austria or from the Sudetenland, the minority are toughs from the smaller Germany, and probably a quite minute minority only from Prussia.—Therefore it is a need of the internal German politics to bring these men to justice, perhaps even to death without justice, and the only way in which this could be prevented would be by making these toughs national heroes suffering for Germany instead of being punished by Germans.

The "danger of communism" is in our position very real. But as things are this danger arises mainly in the group of intellectuals and not among the workmen. The reason is that those workers who would go communist are already nazis. And those who are nazi are ready to go communist any day. If one does not take care, one will find all those brutal SA and SS men posing as persecuted communists, who now have to avenge themselves on their opponents. But those workers who are not nazi now, and that is the majority of the older and highly skilled workers, are completely fed up with all kinds of totalitarianism. These are the workers on whom we must build, not on those who can escape with a simple change of colour without change of heart. You see, the fight against nazism is not confined to one class or another: it goes on inside the classes and there are adherents to each creed at all levels of the society, at the top as well as at the bottom. If there is anything you can say about classes it is this: broadly speaking, the middle classes are nazi or at least most highly afflicted by one form of totalitarianism or another, and the lower ranks of the Prussian nobility as far as it still possesses land is least afflicted, is in fact practically immune from any kind of totalitarianism. The nobility of the higher ranks from dukes

upwards and the nobility of the South and West of Germany is much more afflicted by this disease and the urbanized nobility is really part of the middle-classes. These middle-classes tend, where they are anti-nazi, to be philo-bolshevist, philo-Russian, etc. they feel uncertain of themselves and hope for the great new strength that shall come from the East.

6.

Now my plea in these circumstances is for a stable connection between the German opposition and Great Britain and a connection not based on secret service relations, not used mainly to extract information but a political connection. I do not want this in order to discuss possible peace terms, possibilities of a post-war world. I want this connection in order to assist our war against Hitler, our internal war. I enclose a note I made about a certain event which has occupied us lately. If we had had a stable connection with Great Britain we could have discussed common strategy in exploiting these facts. As we have not got this connection we have to grope about in the dark, hoping that the information which comes to your people will not be used in such a way as to discredit and perhaps endanger us.—Occasions like this will recur, and other occasions will make contact useful. But I hope that this one example will show you what I mean without further details or examples.

7.

Now, how can this be done technically? We would have to have a man in Stockholm who knows Central Europe and who, working under the general guidance of the ambassador, would have special functions to keep in touch with the various underground movements in Europe, especially in Germany, and would have to deal with them on a basis of political discussion and cooperation. We would supply him with addresses here which would contact him with the oppositions in various countries under Hitler. Preferably it should be a man whom I know or about whom I know something, because time is precious and with a stranger it will take some time to get intimate and real personal contact is required.

But there are two main points, one about his position and one about his powers. Although subject to the general guidance of the ambassador, he should be free from all entanglements of secret service work. As far as I can make out, the channels of all secret services of the various nations are the same, and most agents will work for at least two parties. Therefore whatever you put into the secret service of one country will in due course be known to the secret services of all other countries. As a result the secret services of all countries are secret to everybody but its opponent. There may be an all-important time-lag before one bit of information available to one secret service percolates to the other, but in the end it will get there, and there is not much to be thankful for if the guillotine is simply postponed for 3 months.

As to the powers, I have to offer the following remark: the man must be able in certain circumstances to provide one of us with everything necessary to get to Britain and back in a short time, so that if necessary common plans can be discussed *viva voce*.

Well these are the proposals and I hope you will be kind enough to give them a thought. Perhaps they will be brought to you by one of our Swedish friends; if not, they will contain the address of one of our friends, with whom you could put a man you sent here in contact. You will realise that you must please not mention my name in this connection unless it is to a man placed so highly as to be able to decide himself without handing the information with the name on to some superior. The name must most certainly never appear in writing anywhere.

Source: Helmuth James von Moltke, *Letters to Freya 1939–1945*, ed. and trans. Beate Ruhn von Oppen (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), pp. 281–290. Used by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, a division of Random House.

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5.a.3. German Occupying Forces in Soviet Territory

The German Occupation of the Soviet Union

German forces ruthlessly exploited and abused conquered or subject peoples, undercutting Hitler's claims to establish a "New Order" in Europe that would benefit areas under Ger-

man domination. Even in Western Europe, where German occupation policies were relatively mild, this was the case, but these practices were far more pronounced in Polish and Russian territories. Nazi doctrine considered Slavs, native Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, and the like intrinsically inferior races, suitable only for forced labor, exploitation, and eventual deportation as far east as possible, perhaps to Siberia, unless they conveniently died in the process. In Russia, many inhabitants of the Baltic States, the Ukraine, and the Crimea, who had suffered particularly harshly during the purges of the 1930s, initially welcomed the German invaders as liberators, until the harshness of German occupation, together with rousing appeals by Soviet leader Josef Stalin to patriotism, disabused most of the belief that German rule would be any improvement. German atrocities against not just Jews and Muslims but the Russian population of the occupied zones in general, soon turned the inhabitants against them. So, too, did German treatment of Russian prisoners, among whom the mortality rate was 57 percent, though Germans captured by the Soviets faced equally dismal survival prospects. Jewish prisoners and political officers among the POWs were shot out of hand, and many Soviet prisoners died of starvation, exposure, or overwork. Following explicit instructions from Adolf Hitler and Heinrich Himmler, head of the feared SS, German forces set out to kill all communist officials and wreaked harsh retribution for partisan activities on the Russian civilian population and eliminated any support they had originally received.

About the Authors

The well-born Hans Herwarth von Bittenfeld came from a Prussian noble family the members of which traditionally served in the army and as diplomats. In 1930, he himself joined the German Foreign Service, spending most of the 1930s as a junior diplomat in Moscow. Sociable, intelligent, and charming, Herwarth was on excellent terms with many British, French, and American diplomats. Immediately after the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact was signed, Herwarth joined the aristocratic German First Cavalry and, with his regiment, took part in the 1939 invasion of Poland, the 1940 Western blitzkrieg across the Low Countries and France, and the 1941 attack on the Soviet Union. Herwarth was particularly active in efforts to recruit discontented Soviet soldiers for the Nazi war effort. In 1944, he was one of those German officers who unsuccessfully attempted to assassinate German dictator Adolf Hitler. More fortunate than most of the conspirators, Herwarth escaped with his life, as those who were arrested did not betray him. When the war ended soon after, Herwarth's efforts stood him in good stead, as former American friends of his debriefed him and then recruited him to work on Austrian reconstruction for them. Eventually, Herwarth returned to the diplomatic service. In

1955, he became the first postwar German ambassador to Britain, a post he held for six years, and he subsequently served as German ambassador to Italy. He ended his career as head of the West German foreign office.

In June 1941, Aleksey Gorlinskiy, the son of a Soviet career military officer, obtained a degree in chemistry from Kiev University and planned to go on to become a scientist. He joined the Russian artillery as a lieutenant on 22 June 1941, the first day of Russia's war with Germany, and fought through the entire war, beginning in the Western Ukraine. He took part in the battles of Kiev, Stalingrad, and the Kursk Salient, crossed the River Dnieper, and helped to liberate the Ukraine, Romania, Poland, eastern Germany, and Czechoslovakia, finishing the war as a major. As a junior officer, Gorlinskiy was present on 25 April 1945 when American and Soviet troops met at the Elbe, vowing, in the exaltation of the moment, "that neither [they] nor [their] children nor [their] grandchildren would ever know war again" (Keyssar and Pozner 1990, 206–207). Gorlinskiy remained in the army, rising to major general before he retired. He then served on the Soviet Veterans' Committee and on the Soviet Peace Committee of Generals for Peace.

About the Documents

Both these documents are oral histories recorded by gentlemen who eventually became rather eminent, one the leading German ambassador of his generation, the other a top Soviet military figure. They fought on different sides on the Eastern Front, and each took part in bitter fighting. Each in his own way indulged in a form of special pleading, designed to place himself or causes he favored in a good light. The more august one's interviewees, the more of an occupational hazard it becomes that, in either their personal or official capacity, they will have special agendas to push and particular axes to grind.

Thanks to his efforts to overthrow Hitler and his diplomatic connections, Herwarth came out of the war rather well, largely untainted by his association with the Nazi regime. In these recollections and in his much lengthier memoirs, he essentially stated the conventional case for the professional German military, that the atrocities and excesses of Hitler's Germany were largely the work of the National Socialist Party, whereas the German armed forces merely sought to wage war according to accepted professional standards. The German army loyally did its "damned duty" against the Soviet Union, even when its leaders "never believed in ultimate victory over the Soviet Union." From a cynical perspective, one might ask why, in that case, they took so long to organize an assassination plot. It would be easy to argue that the German army was prepared to tolerate Hitler just so long as his military policies brought victory. Herwarth blamed Hitler for alienating potential Russian supporters by mounting "a reign of terror,"

allowing the SS to run wild in occupied Russia, and refusing to reverse Stalin's collective farming policies. According to Herwarth's memoirs, his own unit, the 1st Cavalry Division, made it clear in advance that they would not obey the order to shoot all Russian political commissars. The army, he claimed, ran those Russian territories under their sole jurisdiction far more humanely and efficiently, with the result that there were "no partisans whatever."

Herwarth also spoke highly of the efforts to recruit Russians into the German armed forces, a pet project of his own, minimizing the degree to which the appalling conditions Russian POWs faced impelled them to volunteer for the German army simply as a way to obtain enough to eat. Herwarth implied that only SS maltreatment of the Russian populace obviated the successful provocation of a Soviet civil war by Germany or at least the permanent detachment of large portions of Soviet territory. One cannot but feel that he tended to exaggerate the effectiveness of such efforts and by so doing to overplay the potential contribution he could have made to the war, if his advice had only been followed. He did, however, have a second motive for making much of this subject. Within a few years of the ending of World War II, the new Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) dramatically changed its relationship with the United States and Britain, metamorphosing from a defeated enemy into a valued Cold War ally against the Soviet Union. As one of West Germany's top diplomats, Herwarth had every reason to stress his country's and his own past anti-Soviet credentials and to indulge in speculation that, but for Hitler's folly in terrorizing the Russian populace, in the early 1940s, the German military might have succeeded in backing a Russian civil war that would have destabilized Stalin's hold on power and overthrown Communist rule in the Soviet Union. He sounded this same theme in his memoirs. Simple logic might, of course, suggest that without Hitler, German forces would not have been on Russian soil in the first place, but Herwarth was not about to allow such minor caveats to overturn his fascinating exercise in speculation!

Gorlinskiy, by contrast, emphasized the extent of German atrocities in the Ukraine, not just the brutal executions of entire villages, even the children, but the conditions in concentration camps, especially for Russian prisoners, and the dehumanization of Russians in occupied territory. Gorlinskiy undoubtedly sought to position the harsh Soviet treatment of occupied Germany in the broader context of more than three years of horrific German treatment of both soldiers and civilians. He had some justification. More than 8 million Soviet soldiers died during the war and, by some estimates, close to 20 million civilians. While some of these deaths were due to Stalin's scorched earth policies and the harsh retribution he exacted on any troops suspected of disloyalty, the majority were directly due to German action.

The context in which Gorlinskiy made these remarks was also important. He prepared them for a televised "spacebridge" dialogue, using technology to bring together participants in both the United States and the Soviet Union for a dialogue on their World War II cooperation, a program later edited and aired in May 1985 to mark the fortieth anniversary of the ending of World War II in Europe. At the time, Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev was in power and had instituted domestic policies of glasnost (openness), while seeking a dramatic improvement in Soviet relations with the United States. Both Gorlinskiy's wartime record and his prominence among Soviet generals promoting peace made him an excellent candidate to participate in such an occasion. Officials on the Soviet side unquestionably regarded this program and the book that came out of it as something of a diplomatic event, one that would permit them to set out their own view of World War II and emphasize both Soviet suffering and Russian contributions to the joint war effort against Germany. The two themes Gorlinskiy stressed for the program—German barbarities against Russia and the warm and friendly meeting between Soviet and American forces at the Elbe—were both entirely valid parts of his war experience but had been carefully chosen to encourage the further improvement of Soviet-American relations.

Primary Source

A) Recollections of Hans Herwarth von Bittenfeld

We soldiers already had an eerie feeling when we first marched into the Soviet Union. I was with a regiment that was half East Prussian and half Bavarian. Prussians and Bavarians alike were in awe of the size of Russia; it reached all the way to the Pacific Ocean. The troops were not at all enthusiastic about the prospects of fighting in the Soviet Union.

Once, a representative from the Propaganda Ministry visited us and gave a speech that was, in fact, quite excellent. In an attempt to prepare us for what lay ahead, he reminded us that in the Middle Ages German knights had also ridden east. We listened silently, and there was no applause. Afterwards we stood around, and the speaker said to my divisional commander, "I am actually rather disappointed. I don't see any enthusiasm here." A captain responded, "Sir, enthusiasm is not the point. But when we are ordered to fight, we do it extremely well." In a sense, this explains the tragic situation of the German front officer. We did our damned duty, but we never believed in ultimate victory over the Soviet Union.

When we marched into the Soviet Union we were initially looked upon as liberators and greeted with bread and salt. The farmers shared the little they had with us. They hoped finally to be treated as Europeans and as human beings. They expected the end of collective farming. Hitler, on the other hand, claimed this to be the best system for requisitioning

grain. Thus Hitler thought the same as Stalin on the subject of collectivization. That was the disaster. The party functionaries succeeded in driving people who were willing to cooperate with us back into the arms of Stalin.

They managed to achieve this through a reign of terror and the behavior of the SS. The SS dealt with the minorities first by murdering Jews and many Muslims. Because Muslims were circumcised, they were thought to be Jews, considered subhuman. Naturally this stupid, inhuman treatment of the population slowly eroded the good will of the people.

Interestingly enough, it was different in the southern part of the Soviet Union. There, because the North Caucasus region was under military administration, people were treated properly. The troops were ordered to behave as if they were on maneuvers in their own country. General von Köstring, the former military attaché in Moscow who was half German and half Russian, was sent to the region to ensure that a situation similar to the one in the Ukraine—where the people were driven back to Stalin—did not arise. In the North Caucasus, the collective farms were dissolved, and the troops behaved properly. The result: no partisans whatever.

We realized that the idea of transforming the war against the Soviet Union into a civil war could only succeed without Hitler. That was a tragedy. After all, at the end of the war we had 800,000 Soviet volunteers in the German army. Sometimes people maintained that all these volunteers were pressed into service. That, of course, is incorrect. Granted, there were surely a few who enlisted because they wanted out of the POW camps. But I myself saw how Russian soldiers deserted, came over to us, and said they wanted to fight on our side. Once, a Russian captain we had captured asked me where our artillery positions were. Since I can speak Russian I told him: “That is none of your business.” “It is,” he answered, “because your artillery has consistently been off target. I want to show your gunners how to aim the guns better.” This best illustrates how much hatred there was toward the Soviet Union, and it was justified hatred. There was no family in the Soviet Union which had not suffered under Stalin.

Source: Johannes Steinhoff, Peter Pechel, and Dennis Showalter, eds., *Voices from the Third Reich: An Oral History* (Washington, DC: Regnery Gateway, 1989), pp. 129–131.

Primary Source

B) Reminiscences of General Aleksey Kirillovich Gorlinskiy on the Soviet Advance

This was in the Ukraine. The Germans were retreating; we were driving them out, and I remember seeing rows of gallows, the bodies of our people still hanging from them. All were in civilian clothes. Maybe they were partisans, and

maybe they didn't have any resistance connections at all but were simply the first people to get caught. I have seen even worse scenes. When we took the village of Reshetilovka, not far from the town of Poltava, it was terribly hot and we were thirsty. So we looked for a well. And we found it . . . completely filled with children's corpses. The fascists had conducted a scorched-earth policy there. All the houses were burned. When we entered villages, we generally found only chimneys standing. And then it fell upon me to liberate prisoners from concentration camps. The first such death camp was near Shepitovka. Most of the prisoners were French. Things were not so bad there. The Germans treated the French better; I certainly didn't see in this camp what I saw later in camps with our own people. In short, the first concentration camp didn't leave an especially strong impression on me. The concentration camp in Slavut left a considerably stronger impression. It was close to Shepitovka, and it was for our people. When we got there, most prisoners were dead; the Germans had machine-gunned them before retreating. Then, the camp at Terezin [Theresienstadt] in Czechoslovakia. The Germans used it as a showcase; they had even brought the Red Cross there. In 1982, I was a member of a delegation which took part in the first international conference of liberated prisoners from fascist concentration camps. It was held under the aegis of the U.S. State Department; Alexander Haig greeted us. And, you know, one old woman, knowing I had liberated Terezin, approached with a young woman, apparently her daughter, and told her, “Kneel before this man, because he is the reason I survived.”

And before Terezin, I remember, was Lignitz, in Polish territory. There were also many Frenchmen there, but there were a great many of ours. When we entered the camp, how these people did meet us! It was impossible to describe. They could barely stand on their legs, merely skin and bones, and from them I also discovered that conditions for the prisoners were unequal. They were especially terrible for the Russians, the Soviets.

You can imagine what kind of hatred our soldiers felt. And it was not simply hatred for an inhuman, sadistic enemy, it was a hatred which rallied the people and helped us fight.

I recall coming across the body of a German officer. He had a wallet, and, of course, you always checked such things for documents or papers. I found a photograph in that wallet. Apparently, this photo came from home. It showed six Soviets harnessed like oxen to a cart, and two German boys, about twelve years of age, were driving them with whips. Beside them stood adult Germans, making sure the poor bastards couldn't do anything. I gave this photograph to a correspondent who published it in a newspaper. How could such a thing not evoke hatred? Yes, we took it out on the Germans; we made them pay for what they did to us.

Source: Excerpted from Helene Keyssar and Vladimir Pozner, *Remembering War: A U.S.-Soviet Dialogue* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 95–98. Used by permission of Oxford University Press.

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5.a.4. Japanese Maltreatment of Prisoners-of-War and Internees

The War in the Pacific: Japanese Treatment of Western Prisoners and Internees

After Pearl Harbor, Japanese troops swept through much of Southeast Asia and by mid-1942, had captured around 140,000 European and North American prisoners and 180,000 Chinese, Filipino, Indian, and other Asian troops. Many of the nonwhite captives were soon released, but the Japanese kept their Western prisoners until the war ended in 1945. More than 100,000 Western civilians—noncombatant men, women, and children, and medical personnel—were also interned for the duration of the war, living in camps where they were usually expected to perform some kind of work.

Japanese treatment of captives, whether prisoners of war or civilians, soon became notorious for its brutality. Although Japan had signed—but not ratified—the 1929 Geneva Convention governing conditions for prisoners of war (POWs) and in 1942, pledged to observe its spirit, this promise was not honored. The Japanese military ethos decreed that soldiers should fight to the death, so there was no real concept of POWs, who were despised as dishonorable cowards. Espe-

cially when only just captured, POWs were often subjected to torture, humiliation, and brutal treatment; after Hong Kong fell, a number of captured Canadian soldiers were tortured and killed, wounded military personnel in hospital beds were massacred, and nurses were raped repeatedly.

Prison camps provided minimal accommodation, with poor and inadequate food, clothing, and health care, and, in contravention of the Geneva Convention, grueling forced labor was demanded of POWs and sometimes of internees. Punishments were severe and often arbitrary, in many cases amounting to torture. The overall wartime mortality rate for POWs held by Japan was 26.9 percent, though for the 25,600 American prisoners alone it rose to 35.6 percent, probably due to a very high death rate on the 1942 Bataan Death March. This compared with a mortality rate of 57 percent among Soviet troops captured by German forces, who treated them as subhumans, as opposed to only 3.5 to 5.1 percent for American and British prisoners of Germany. Around one-third of German POWs held by the Soviet Union died in captivity. Savage Japanese treatment of American and European prisoners may have demonstrated a certain gleeful satisfaction that Japan had overthrown the Western colonial empires and could now humiliate their representatives. It also reflected the harsh overall ethos of the Japanese army, where offenses by soldiers generally brought severe punishments, often worse than those meted out to POWs, and superiors enforced stringent discipline upon inferiors. Many Western survivors of Japanese prison camps emerged with a profound hatred of Japan that endured until their deaths.

The Bataan Death March, April 1942

On 9 April 1942, 12,000 American and 68,000 Filipino troops on the Bataan Peninsula in the Philippines surrendered to Japan, ending a 100-day siege. The horrific 65-mile journey of the weakened survivors, mostly on foot, to board trains for Camp O'Donnell, a prisoner-of-war camp, became one of the enduring memories of the Pacific war. Most were already starving and many were ill. Japanese guards subjected the captives to random atrocities, denied them food and water, and left them for hours exposed to the blazing sun. Those who fell out were killed. The trains were made up of overcrowded and overheated boxcars with no sanitation facilities, and upon arrival, a further 7-mile march awaited the prisoners. Between 600 and 650 American soldiers and 5,000 to 10,000 Filipinos died before reaching Camp O'Donnell, followed by a further 1,600 Americans and 16,000 Filipinos who became victims of starvation, disease, or maltreatment in their first six or seven weeks in the camp.

The Burma-Thailand “Death” Railway

In defiance of the Geneva Convention, POWs held by the Japanese were generally sent to labor camps and assigned to a variety of industrial, construction, mining, and agricultural

enterprises. Although working conditions varied, they were generally poor, with food increasingly short as the war progressed, clothing inadequate, and medical facilities at best poor and often virtually nonexistent. Camps were primitive and overcrowded, with dangerously basic sanitation, and mechanical equipment conspicuous by its absence. One of the most notorious of these work projects was building the railway linking the Burmese capital, Rangoon, to Thailand's capital, Bangkok, on which 50,000 Australian, British, Dutch, and American prisoners of war and around 250,000 local Asian slave laborers worked. Perhaps one-third of the Western prisoners and almost one-half of the Asian laborers died while working on the "death railway," many from horrific tropical ulcers, cholera, dysentery, malaria, or other diseases. Working conditions were worst from February to October 1943 when Japanese officials launched a campaign to expedite completion of the railway, and those supervising its construction demanded still more work from men whose health and strength were rapidly declining.

About the Documents

All three of these documents are oral histories or reminiscences, written down or recorded as interviews many years after the event, for inclusion in compilations of similar recollections. Over the past two decades, an interesting pattern has emerged, whereby large numbers of memoirs and oral histories of wartime prisoners or internees have appeared and been published. A few came out in the years immediately after the war, but many prisoners seem to have waited for several decades before recording and publishing their memories. Often, the authors are not professional writers; some have therefore found themselves a collaborator with the necessary literary skills, whereas others have contributed reminiscences to larger collections. Part of this outpouring may simply be due to enterprising authors and publishers responding to popular interest in the subject. It does however seem as if, immediately after they were finally released, numerous prison and internment camp survivors wished simply to leave their past experiences behind them and forget them, since many were probably then too painful to remember. As they approached old age, however, some apparently reached a point where they finally wished to remember, and perhaps to come to terms with and make some sense of their experiences, as well as to put them down on record for posterity. At least one World War II historian who has made extensive use of oral histories has spoken of conducting interviews with women survivors of captivity who have finally spoken of experiences, multiple rapes by Japanese troops, for example, about which some of them had for 50 years remained silent even to their families.

All these oral histories give striking and down-to-earth portrayals of the actual human experience of imprisonment

and internment, especially the prolonged suffering that they had endured, something that was obviously etched deep on the memories of all three survivors, even though Truus Clydesdale said that she had forgotten the pain of a beating. The memoirists make no attempt to glamorize or romanticize their own behavior under sordid, oppressive, and difficult circumstances. Each was imprisoned or interned for several years, so inevitably the subject tends to recount the most memorable high and low points of that time. In all three cases, the more horrific aspects are well to the fore. Some of the details included could probably be checked up against camp records or the memories of other prisoners, but others might well have been lost for good had they not been recorded before the deaths of the protagonists. All, of course, have already been published, which may well mean that some grammatical and stylistic infelicities have been edited out, together with more mundane passages of these reminiscences.

Primary Source

A) Bill Nolan Recalls the Bataan Death March, April 1942

On April 10th, 1942, the Jap guards started us walking from our position at Cabcaban, going north as fast as the guards could walk. Myself with a very sore head, ears hurt, could not hear . . . very thirsty . . . no food or water. The temperature reached 95 degrees and prisoners would faint or pass out on the march. These prisoners that could not get up were shot or bayoneted to death and left along the road. Some were run over by Japanese trucks bringing Jap soldiers for the invasion of Corregidor. As these trucks passed American soldiers, they would hit and club Americans on their head and shoulders. Many fell and died under the wheels of Jap trucks. We walked from 6:00 a.m. until 6:00 or 7:00 p.m. Again no water or food. Calvin Graef, my First Sergeant, and myself both dipped water from the ditch on the side of the road.

This ditch contained water covered with green slime, dead horses, and American soldiers killed by Japs. Everyone suffered from malaria and dysentery. We had no quinine since February, '42. That night we slept on the ground on the side of the road. During these stops, Jap soldiers would strip us for our rings, watches, and pen-and-pencil sets. On dead American soldiers Japs would cut off fingers to get the rings. They took our canteens, gun belts—and left us with shirts and pants. Our helmets were knocked off and left on the road. So no hats for the rest of the march.

These conditions continued for four days until we reached San Fernando. Here we received our first cup of rice and some tea. While waiting in line for food, I passed out. When I came to, I was lying on the ground and had another large bump on the back of my head and was very dizzy.

We stayed here overnight, and the next morning at day-break, all prisoners were marched to the railway station. At

the siding were small, metal box cars. We were pushed by bayonets into those cars. About 100 prisoners in each car . . . could only stand up . . . and no room to sit down. The door was locked by the guards. Again the temperature reached 95 degrees. The metal sides of these box cars became so hot, we could not touch them. The ride lasted until dark when we unloaded. During the ride many prisoners became uncontrollable from the heat with no water or toilet facilities. Everyone had dysentery, and everyone went on the floor and over prisoners lying on the floor. These prisoners had passed out or were dead. I believe 10 or 15 men died in each box car during the eight hour trip.

Source: Adrian R. Martin, *Brothers from Bataan: POWs, 1942–1945* (Manhattan, KS: Sunflower University Press, 1992), pp. 78–79. Reprinted with permission of Sunflower University Press.

Primary Source

B) Tex M. Offerle, American Prisoner-of-War, Recalls Working on the Burma-Thailand “Death” Railway

[Roy M. “Tex” Offerle, born in Texas in 1921, was one of 668 American soldiers of the Second Battalion captured on the Indonesian island of Java in March 1942. Recovering from amoebic dysentery, he was set to work on constructing the Burma-Thailand Railway, and sent to 18 Kilo[meter] Camp, where his elder brother Oscar, who later died of a tropical ulcer, was also working.]

Basically, 18 Kilo was like one of the many camps we were to be in the future. You’re talking about, like, maybe three, four, five thousand men in these camps, a lot of men. They had long huts made out of bamboo frames tied together with atap, which are leaves wrapped over thin pieces of bamboo about three feet long. They’d leave the walls open, and they had atap leaf roofs that were then overhanging. My brother was working in the cookhouse and then on the wood detail, cutting wood for the kitchen. Anybody related to the kitchen got a little better food. When I got there, he started bringing me some extra food, and it helped me get well fast. The quality wasn’t too good, but the quantity was fair.

The first job we had was a fill about three blocks long. It was forty meters across the top of the depression; there was a natural slope to it, which went about twenty feet deep. It took four or five thousand men working a month or two to build this fill. . . . The men worked hard because they knew they were off as soon as they moved a meter of dirt. After we got accustomed to pick-and-shovel work and carrying dirt, we would finish at three or four o’clock in the afternoon.

Well, then the Japs just gave us a larger quota. So we went to a meter-and-a-tenth, a meter-and-a-quarter, a meter-and-a-half per man per day. Later on up country, they went to two

meters of dirt. When they went to one-and-a-half meters of dirt, you’d get in about dark. Two meters of dirt would get you in at about ten or eleven o’clock at night. They eventually went to this, and by then, too, we got food that didn’t have all of your vitamins. You weren’t keeping your strength up. The men’s physical strength gradually wore down and our quotas gradually went up, which set us up for disease and sickness and a lot of the things that were to follow.

At this time, our group, which was one of the largest groups of Americans working on the railroad, hadn’t yet experienced real hardship. We were getting a little sickness, some malaria, maybe a few people hurt. From 18 Kilo we went to 80 Kilo Camp. Now, we had larger quotas to meet. We were up in a lot more jungle. Conditions were not so good. We were farther away, so supplies were harder to get up there. We got away from canteens and extra food that you could buy.

From 80 Kilo, which was a smaller camp, we went to 100 Kilo, which was a larger camp. Incidentally, we were at 85 Kilo Camp for a while—80, 85, 100. But 100 Kilo Camp seemed to be a larger camp. I believe it was in 100 Kilo Camp where we got the full brunt of the rainy season. When you talk about rainy season in Burma, you’re talking about three or four months where it comes out like you’re pouring it from a bucket, day in and day out. It’s possibly three or four hundred inches of rain in a season. Actually, creeks and rivers form, and you can almost watch vegetation grow. The rainy or monsoon season turned everything to soup or mud. They couldn’t get supplies up there easily. Then the speedup on work came. We went from one meter, to a meter-and-a-half, to two meters of dirt per day. Well, the men’s health broke down. We started getting lots of malaria, beriberi, dysentery, and tropical ulcers, because it seemed that the germ that causes tropical ulcers was more prevalent in the rainy season. We started getting a multitude of diseases.

The more people that got sick, the less the Japs had for working parties, so more sick people had to work. They’d set a quota of men everyday that had to go out, and they’d fill it. I worked all this time. I hadn’t been sick, although I lost weight. I didn’t have malaria, beriberi, or any diseases. So I worked. This *kumi* of fifty men that I was in was originally all sergeants, and it was down after the rainy season started to thirteen or fourteen men. That didn’t mean they were all dead; some of them were, but most of them were just sick. They were sick enough that if they had been in the United States, they’d have been in an isolation ward with a nurse twenty-four hours a day. Yet here they were in a bamboo hut in the rainy season eating a little rice and water stew; no medication and no one to take care of them, except our own medics and doctor who had no medicine.

This developed into a situation where we started losing men fast. The Japs would force the sick out. If they wanted a *kumi* of twenty-five to go out, and had fourteen healthy there,

that meant eleven sick had to go out. So they would come down through the sick barracks. The first time I stayed in, I had malaria and was sick as a dog. I was shaking and felt terrible and had a high fever and chills. I asked the doctor if I could stay in, and he said, 'Yes, you haven't been in, so stay in.' So here come the Japs down for extra men to go to work. Well, I got off the heavy-duty job, but they said they had to send me out on light duty. The doctor said, 'There are some men sicker than you. Can you go out on light duty?' I said, 'Well, if I have to, I will.' He said, 'Yes, you'd better go out.' These Japs raised Cain, and they started beating everybody and giving the doctors and medics a hard time. So, light duty was busting rocks with a sledgehammer—putting rocks on the roads—because they were just a sea of mud, and they were trying to fix the roads enough to get trucks up them with supplies.

Source: Robert S. La Forte and Ronald E. Marcello, eds., *Building the Death Railway: The Ordeal of American POWs in Burma, 1942–1945* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1993), pp. 171–173.

Primary Source

C) Truus Clydesdale Recalls Muntilan Camp

[When Japanese forces invaded Indonesia in 1942, 70,000 Dutch women and children were taken prisoner. Most were interned. Truus Clydesdale, born in Aceh, Indonesia, 1929, was the eldest of four daughters of a black Dutch Indonesian Army officer who was descended from African slaves brought to the Dutch colony of Surinam, in South America, and of a Dutch mother. When the Japanese conquered Indonesia, her father was imprisoned almost immediately, dying in captivity, and his family interned in a succession of camps. In late 1944 the Clydesdale family was moved, together with the other occupants of Saninten Laan 21 camp, to Muntilan, women and children travelling for many hours without food or water in a closed train with no sanitary facilities. Truus Clydesdale later recalled her experiences in Muntilan.]

We were sorted into groups and our things were put into *gerobaks*, or carts, that were usually pulled by oxen. Now the women were harnessed up and had to pull them themselves. We walked and walked, how far I don't remember. Eventually we got to a nunnery in Muntilan and were put into large schoolrooms. Ours was room No 90 and we were jammed in there with a hundred other women and children.

Mother was always crying. She was quite unable to cope with it. She was a nightwatcher and had to walk around all night keeping watch. We knew there was torture going on in the church because we could often hear the screams. If they took you to the church you knew you were in for trouble. Women were tortured for stealing sugar. Mother had to clean up the torture rooms the next day. The poor women had let

everything go, urine, faeces and vomit. It was horrible. They used electric needles under your fingernails and also cigarette burns. They did that to me when I ate the carrots.

The worst story is about Mrs Kieboom. She was a big woman with masses of thick brown hair and had a crystal radio set hidden under her mattress. It was found in one of their searches. They called us all out into the square and we all had to sit and watch while they beat her with bamboo canes. It was hot—midday—and we just had to sit there and watch. Then they dragged her up the steps. She never stopped screaming and pleading with them to stop. All the Japs took turns beating her, one after the other. All the skin was stripped from her arms and body. At sunset she was brought on a stretcher to the toilet room next to us. It will haunt me for the rest of my life. I wanted to see her but the grille was too high so I put my little sister on my shoulder and hoisted her up so she could tell me what she saw. Mrs Kieboom lay there as though she was dead for many days and we were all quite sure she had died. All they gave her was water but amazingly she survived. If it was meant as a lesson to the rest of us, it certainly worked. We were all terrified. Once again my poor mother had to go in and clean the toilet room when Mrs Kieboom was let out. As usual, it was filthy with excreta.

[*Truus Clydesdale and her friend, Tilli, also had to work on the local Muntilan bridge.*]

We had to maintain the sides of the bridge by bringing stones up from the bed of the river in a basket. I must have been mischievous or something because I whispered to Tilli, "This is too heavy for me. When the guard isn't looking, I'm going to tip some of the stones out and just bring the little ones up to the top."

How innocent I must have been. When I came up for the second or third time with only the little stones in my basket, the guard was ready for me. He pulled off my shirt and grabbed his whip. Tilli fainted. She thought he was going to kill me. He gave me a terrible beating but strangely enough I can't remember it. I've put the pain out of my mind. I was talking about it to Tilli when I was last in Holland and we were able to laugh about it. Funny isn't it, how time smooths these things out in your mind.

Source: Truus Clydesdale, "Truus Clydesdale Recalls Muntilan Camp," in Shirley Fenton Huie, ed., *The Forgotten Ones: Women and Children under Nippon* (Pymble, Australia: Angus and Robertson, 1992), pp. 136–137. Reprinted with permission of HarperCollins Publishers.

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5.a.5. The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

From at least the 1930s, Japanese politicians sought to win over nationalist forces in Asian countries that had been colonized by European states, presenting Japan as the guardian of pan-Asian interests, seeking to drive out Western imperialists and restore Asia to solely Asian rule. In 1938, Japanese Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro appealed for a “New Order in Greater East Asia,” to encompass Japan, Manzhouguo (Manchukuo or Manchuria), China, and Southeast Asia, a vision paralleling Adolf Hitler’s proclamation of a “new order” in Europe that would unite the continent politically and economically under German leadership. Two years later, on the traditional 2,600th anniversary of the founding of Japan, the Konoe cabinet called for the establishment of a Japanese-led “Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere” in this area, which would implement political and economic integration throughout East and Southeast Asia in order to combat and repel Western imperialism. In China, they sought to attract nationalists who resented the economic concessions and legal privileges granted Westerners, though many Chinese found Japanese behavior at least as imperialist as that of their European and American rivals, and their tactics were considerably more brutal.

As Japanese forces moved into much of Southeast Asia in 1941 and 1942, they urged the leaders and peoples of the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies (present-day Indonesia), Malaya, Burma, together with those of India, the territory of

which Japanese troops never reached, to transfer their allegiance from their former imperialist overlords to Japanese-sponsored governments of national liberation. Though some Asian leaders resisted all such siren calls, others found such invitations hard to resist, if only in some cases on the purely pragmatic grounds that the Japanese now controlled their countries, and it was by no means certain that their former American, British, or Dutch overlords would ever return. The rapid Japanese victories of 1941–1942 against Western forces also did much to destroy the prestige of their defeated opponents. Nationalist leaders, among them Ba Maw and General Aung San of Burma, Soekarno of Indonesia, and Subhas Chandra Bose of India, were particularly susceptible to Japanese arguments. As Japanese troops swept brutally into his country in December 1941 and the U.S. government confessed it could send no additional reinforcements, even the normally pro-American President Manuel Quezon of the Philippines toyed with the idea of negotiating mutually acceptable peace terms with Japan. Quezon ultimately escaped to safety in Australia, but in January 1942, 32 prominent Filipino politicians who had remained behind accepted a Japanese invitation to cooperate, behavior for which Quezon himself publicly stated they should not be condemned, given the extremely difficult situation in which the Philippines found itself. In every country occupied by Japan, some politicians and many among the general population were prepared to collaborate with the new overlords, whereas others joined the resistance movements that fought against Japanese rule.

In August 1943, a pro-Japanese government headed by Ba Maw, who in 1937, had become the first Burmese premier to hold office under the British, was put in place in Burma (Myanmar). In October 1943, Japan formally established a supposedly independent Filipino government, headed by former Interior Minister Dr. José Laurel. In the same month, Bose proclaimed Azad Hind, his provisional Free Indian government-in-exile. These moves were preliminaries to a broader Japanese effort to cement the loyalties of its clients around Asia as the fortunes of war began to turn in favor of the Allies. This campaign reached its peak in early November 1943, when representatives of seven Asian nations—Japan, China, Thailand, Manzhouguo (Manchukuo), the Philippines, Burma, and Free India—met in Tokyo on the invitation of the Japanese government, to establish the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. The conference issued a declaration that its member states would fight to the finish in the war against British and American imperialism and then establish a mutually cooperative postwar order conducive to the prosperity and stability of all.

In practice, Japanese rule usually proved to be much more oppressive even than that of Western imperialists, provoking much popular resentment and resistance. During the war, Japan subordinated the economic interests of the areas it

occupied to its own, looting them of oil, rice, rubber, tin, and other supplies. Although individual politicians and others collaborated with Japan in Malaya and Indonesia, in neither country did Japan contemplate establishing even a quasi-independent government, since, like Korea, annexed by Japan in the early twentieth century, these resource-rich areas were to be reserved for direct Japanese rule and exploitation. Even in those countries where Japan encouraged the formation of supposedly independent governments, the occupying forces denied those administrations any genuine authority and often treated the inhabitants with great severity, helping to provoke popular resistance. Many decades after the war, throughout East and Southeast Asia, Japanese rule was remembered as a brutal and humiliating interlude and still deeply resented.

Even so, the issue of collaboration was an extremely sensitive one, opening issues of imperialism and legitimacy that most were reluctant to scrutinize too closely. After the Allied victories of 1945, returning colonial overlords rarely contemplated serious reprisals against those who had collaborated with the Japanese. In Burma, Lord Mountbatten, British commander in chief for Southeast Asia, issued specific orders that only those Burmese who had participated in actual atrocities during the Japanese occupation should be punished. In the Philippines, Allied commander in chief General Douglas MacArthur and President Sergio Osmeña issued similar instructions. Nonvindictive policies were enforced in most areas liberated from Japanese rule. Extremely few were penalized for mere acquiescence in Japanese occupation, and many of those leaders who had joined Japanese-sponsored governments later enjoyed successful political careers.

About the Author

By the early 1940s, Claro M. Recto, a lawyer, poet, writer, and former Philippine Supreme Court justice, was prominent in Filipino politics. During the 1930s, he served as both minority and majority floor leader in the Philippine Senate, switching parties in the mid-1930s in nationalist protest against the economic and military terms on which the United States was prepared to grant the Philippines independence under the 1932 Hare-Hawes Cutting Act. In 1934, Recto presided over the convention that drafted the new Philippine constitution. In 1941, Recto, who had spent some years in private practice, won reelection to the Philippine Senate. In January 1942, he became one of 32 leading Filipino politicians who accepted a Japanese invitation to cooperate. From 1942 to 1943, Recto served as commissioner for education, health, and public welfare and then as minister of state for foreign affairs in the Laurel government. At the end of the war, Recto was accused of collaboration with Japan, arrested, and charged with treason. Rather than taking advantage of the subsequent amnesty proclamation of President Manuel Roxas, Recto insisted on

fighting his case in the courts, pleading not guilty and winning acquittal after proving that he had maintained connections with the underground resistance movement. He was elected twice more as senator, in 1949 and 1955, and ran unsuccessfully for the presidency in 1957.

About the Documents

In most respects, these two documents are very different, one illustrating the rhetoric, the other demonstrating the reality of Japanese occupation rule. The declaration of the Greater East Asia Congress was a formal and official public statement intended to enshrine the decisions and principles on which the participants in that meeting had reached agreement. All stated their determination to continue to fight against Western imperialism until victory was attained and Britain and the United States driven out of Asia, and their commitment to a mutually cooperative and prosperous Greater East Asian Order, the member states of which would be on good terms with the rest of the world. Like many such international declarations, most of its terms were so vague as to be virtually meaningless. Issued in Tokyo, the statement was virtually dictated by Japanese officials, who hoped that it might impel their Asian clients to remain loyal to Japan as Allied forces moved inexorably closer to Japanese-occupied territory.

Recto's purportedly "unofficial" letter, written seven months later and sent to Wachi Takazi, director general of the Japanese military administration in the Philippines, was far more interesting and remarkably frank, in that it depicted vividly and at length some of the realities of Japanese rule in the Philippines eight months after the formal grant of independence. Fundamentally, Recto was calling the Japanese bluff on the rhetorical promises enshrined in the November 1943 Greater East Asia declaration. One is, indeed, rather surprised that Recto even dared to write this letter, though the gradual Allied erosion of Japanese power and the increasingly desperate Japanese military situation in the Philippines may well have emboldened him to take this step. Recto's position epitomized the dilemmas facing those Filipino and other collaborationist politicians who saw their behavior as regrettable but necessary, in that it facilitated their ability to protect their own people against oppression. He warned that a great many Filipinos felt nothing but "distrust and hostility . . . towards the present regime." The reason for this, he explained, was above all the prevailing brutal Japanese treatment of both average and higher-class Filipinos, including collective reprisals for guerrilla activities, coupled with the near-total Japanese disregard for the supposed authority of Philippine officials, which meant that the new government had lost all credibility with the general public and was considered a mere puppet regime. As foreign minister, he found himself constantly trying to mediate between the Japanese authorities and his own people, almost, Recto stated, as if he

were an ambassador accredited to a foreign country trying to protect his nationals there.

Recto tactfully stated that Wachi's own behavior and that of other top Japanese officials had been a model of "exemplary and statesmanlike conduct," embodying the stated principles of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, and regretted that this attitude had not "percolated [down] to the rank and file of the Japanese soldiers and civilians in the Philippines." Politely but definitely resorting to implicit blackmail, he warned that Filipinos would not be prepared to fight enthusiastically against the Allies in the near future unless they believed that they were defending their own "real and authentic" independence. Something "concrete," not just "such high principles as Asia for the Asians or such large ideals as the establishment of the Co-Prosperity Sphere," would be required if his countrymen were to feel that they had "a real stake in the war." As a description of the flaws in Japanese rule under the Co-prosperity Sphere, Recto's letter was detailed and enlightening. His diagnosis was the more convincing in that even writing such a missive exposed him to some personal risk. Although tactful, diplomatic, and friendly in tone, its underlying message was unequivocal: unless the Japanese granted their Philippine "allies" genuine independence, at the first opportunity, the Filipinos would simply abandon them.

Primary Source

A) Joint Declaration of the Greater East Asia Congress, Tokyo, 6 November 1943

It is a basic principle for the establishment of world peace that the nations of the world each have its proper place and enjoy prosperity in common through mutual aid and assistance. The United States of America and the British Empire have, in seeking their own prosperity, oppressed other nations and peoples. Especially in East Asia, they indulged in insatiable aggression and exploitation, sought to satisfy their incredible ambition of enslaving the entire region and finally came to menace seriously the stability of East Asia. Herein lies the cause of the present war.

The countries of Greater East Asia, with a view of contributing to the cause of world peace, undertake to cooperate toward prosecuting the War of Greater East Asia to a successful conclusion, liberating their region from the yoke of British-American domination, ensuring their self-existence and self-defense and constructing a Greater East Asia in accordance with the following principles:

1. The countries of Greater East Asia, through mutual cooperation, will ensure the stability of their region and construct an order of common prosperity and well-being based upon justice.
2. The countries of Greater East Asia will ensure the fraternity of the nations in their region by respecting one another's sovereignty and independence and practicing mutual assistance and amity.
3. The countries of Greater East Asia, by respecting one another's traditions and developing the faculties of each race, will enhance the culture and civilization of Greater East Asia.
4. The countries of Greater East Asia will endeavor to accelerate their economic development through close cooperation upon a basis of reciprocity and promote thereby the general prosperity of their region.
5. The countries of Greater East Asia will cultivate friendly relations with all the countries of the world and work for the abolition of racial discrimination, the promotion of cultural intercourse throughout the world and contribute thereby to the progress of mankind.

Source: Gregorio F. Zaide, ed., *Documentary Sources of Philippine History*, Vol. 12 (Metro Manila, Philippines: National Book Store Publishers, 1990), pp. 43–45. Courtesy Zaide Foundation.

Primary Source

B) Claro M. Recto to Lieutenant General Wachi Takazi, 15 June 1944

I have taken the liberty of writing to your Excellency at some length and with complete frankness on a subject which, I am sure, is as close to your heart as it is to mine; the question of improving further the relations between the Filipinos and the Japanese, enhancing Filipino faith in the Republic, and strengthening Filipino loyalty to our common cause. . . .

Permit me to go into the core of the matter at once. I think you will agree with me that in spite of the best efforts of the Philippine Government, a considerable portion of the Filipino people have not rallied as they should have to the common cause. It is deeply to be regretted that, notwithstanding the liberal policies laid down by the Tokyo Government and carried out in its larger aspects by its able representatives here, little has been accomplished, as a matter of fact, to eliminate the feeling of distrust and hostility which a considerable portion of our people continue to entertain towards the present regime. This fact requires a word of explanation lest the Japanese Government, unaware of the reasons behind the present attitude of this portion of the Philippine people, should come to regard all of them, in general, as ungrateful, unwilling or unable to appreciate Tokyo's liberal policies towards the Philippines. . . .

The explanation seems to be simple enough. It may be found, in the first place, in the psychology of the common peo-

ple, not only in this country but everywhere. Here as elsewhere the common man is less concerned with high policies, great issues or abstract principles than with matters that intimately affect him: his livelihood, his individual rights, the welfare of his family and of the small community to which he belongs. If he is thrown out of his house without any other place where to go, if his property is confiscated without what he believes to be just compensation, or if he is driven to desperation as a result of the present situation, he finds himself losing faith in the Republic and feeling aggrieved against Japan. It is then quite difficult to impress him with the display of his country's flag, with generous donations of clothing and medicine, or with such liberal policies as condonation of Army loans to the Republic, the restoration of public properties to his government, the establishment of a new Philippine currency replacing the military scrip now in use on a basis of parity with the yen, etc. These high matters of government policy interest the man in the street or the barrio folk but little at all. The real determinants of his attitude and conduct towards Japan and the Japanese continue to be the incidents of everyday life, the things that happen to him, to his family, to his friends, and to his neighbors. For the Filipino is both simple and worldly wise. He bases his judgment on the things he sees around him however seemingly unimportant they may be. A little act of kindness and consideration is worth to him incalculably more than a thousand words of propaganda.

Nor is the situation among the more enlightened classes any better. One would think that being more reasonable and less sentimental than the common masses, they would be more inclined to judge matters on a plane of high issues and principles. It is not so, however. The educated Filipino who sees the kind of treatment that is meted out to his neighbors may be less emotional and violent in his reactions, but he is nonetheless deeply affected. With him the violent emotional reaction of the common man becomes a coolly reasoned conviction. Precisely because he is educated, his sensibilities are more easily violated by acts of cruelty, discrimination, offensive behavior, and lack of consideration. Moreover, he is better able to distinguish between political sovereignty and economic independence. He understands much better the differences between word and deed, between promise and realization, between principle and action.

In view of these facts, we cannot but admit that one of the most important and pressing problems which confront the Filipino leaders today is how to convince the people of the reality of the Philippine independence in order that they may all support the government of the Republic and cooperate with the Japanese forces by living in peace, and engaging in useful and productive activities.

When independence was proclaimed in October 1943, a great many of those who doubted Japan's true intentions towards the Philippines showed a willingness to change their

attitude. They had high hopes for the newly established Republic and expected to see a material improvement in the conditions then existing, particularly in the relations between Japanese and Filipinos, and between the Japanese and the Philippine authorities. There was, nevertheless, a good portion of the Filipino people who feared that Philippine independence would not be real but was being declared merely for propaganda purposes.

From the time the Republic was established, therefore, it has been the constant endeavor of the Filipino leaders to promote and maintain its prestige in the eyes of their own people, and to have it exercise as much as possible the power and prerogatives to which the government of a sovereign state is entitled, saving only the limitations arising from the exigencies of the war situation as defined in the Pact of Alliance between the Philippines and Japan. To this end, we have appealed to our people, trying to convince them that the independence of our country is real, that Japan's intentions in sponsoring and recognizing it were sincere, and that therefore they should have faith in their Government, assisting it in the work that it is doing, and cooperating to the fullest extent with the Japanese authorities in the Philippines for the accomplishment of the noble purposes envisaged in the said Pact of Alliance.

If the Filipino leaders have not thus far been as successful in their efforts as might be desired, their failure is due to a number of causes, many of them traceable to certain practices which should have been discontinued after our independence was declared. Foremost among these is the kind of treatment to which, from the very beginning of the occupation of the Philippines, a great number of our people have been subjected. . . .

The practice, for instance, of slapping Filipinos in the face, of tying them to posts, of making them kneel in public, in the heat of the sun, and then beating them up—this upon the slightest fault, mistake or provocation, or without any other reason than failure to understand each other's language, is certain to create resentment on the part not only of the victim but also of the members of his family, his friends, and the general public. Even more serious is the practice of inflicting cruel, unusual and excessive punishment upon persons arrested on mere suspicion, during their investigation and before their guilt has been established. There have been even cases wherein, because of overcrowding in public places, such as street-cars, some Japanese, military or civilians who were inadvertently jostled or pushed, immediately slapped or beat the persons they thought guilty of pushing them.

Thousands of cases have been reported of people being either burned alive, killed at the point of the bayonet, beheaded, beaten without mercy, or otherwise subjected to various methods of physical torture, without mercy, or otherwise subjected to various methods of physical torture,

without distinction as to age or sex. Women and children below fifteen years are known to have been among those who were victims of such punishment. On many occasions, these killings and punishments were purposely done in public. In my home town, Tiaong, Tayabas, over one hundred were summarily executed during the “zonification” of the people there shortly before the inauguration of the Republic. The same thing was done in Lopez, Tayabas, where not less than this number of people were put to death as recently as March 1944, upon no evidence but the identification by a secret informer. The cases of these municipalities are merely cited as typical instances of what are common occurrences in other municipalities all over the islands. The unfortunate thing about all this is that in many cases the victims are really innocent of any crime but are punished merely upon suspicion or false denunciation by informers who harbor some private or personal grudge against them, or if they are guilty at all, do not deserve the excessive penalties inflicted upon them. Many have no fault at all except the fact that they have sons or brothers who are members of the “guerrilla” bands, or that they have given food to the latter, under threat of death or physical injuries. If they are released maimed, crippled, or sick they lament, and naturally the feeling is shared by their families and friends and by those who have knowledge of such things.

Many also are the cases wherein people have been arrested, taken for questioning, and then disappeared completely. No information is ever given to their relatives as to their whereabouts and the nature of the charges against them. While the Philippine Government justifiably feels that it has a right to intervene and ought to intervene in matters which involve the lives and welfare of its citizens, it has not even gone to that extent but has merely tried to help the people who come to it for assistance in securing information concerning those whose disappearance has been reported after having been arrested by the Japanese authorities. In many cases, however, no information whatever concerning their whereabouts or the nature of the charges against them could be obtained.

The proclamation of the independence of the Philippines and the establishment of the Government of the Republic have not minimized these occurrences. They used to be done before but they have continued and continue to be done now. Most of the towns in the provinces are still actually governed by the commanders of the local Japanese garrisons, who are in the majority of cases with only the rank of Sergeant, and who treat the municipal mayors as their subordinates even to the extent of beating them publicly, and who continue to arrest and punish people without advising either the local civil authorities or the national government. The only sign of independence is the display of the Filipino flag. Even Japanese civilians consider themselves above Philippine laws,

and Filipinos working in Japanese companies are sometimes punished summarily by their employers instead of being turned over to the appropriate Philippine authorities.

Another matter that needs to be mentioned is the practice of exacting collective responsibility for individual acts. If a “guerrilla” happens, for instance, to ride in a *carretella* [cart] with other peace-loving and law-abiding citizens who are completely unaware of the former’s identity, and that “guerrilla” is arrested, all those who, by pure accident, are riding with him are also arrested, and punished in the same way. Or when a “guerrilla” is discovered and arrested in one of the small roadside eating places (*carinderia*) in the provinces, the owner of the place and all those who happen to be eating there at the time are also arrested and punished. Similarly, entire barrios and municipalities have been placed in concentration and made to suffer for the acts of one or a few of the inhabitants there or because some “guerrillas” happened to pass by there and to exact food or other commodities of the innocent folk, who found themselves helpless because of the physical threats or coercion employed. Oftentimes there is no distinction between innocent and guilty, between old and young, or between strong and weak, to such an extent that there have been instances where women and children below fifteen have died as a result of the concentration, excessive punishments and outright executions. In fact, the innocent are usually the only ones who suffer, because the culprits manage to get out or otherwise escape punishment. . . .

One other thing which constitutes a source of mounting dissatisfaction among the people, particularly in the City of Manila, is the fact that many of them have been and are being ordered to evacuate their homes so that the same may be occupied by personnel of the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy. While in the beginning the needs of the Army and Navy for accommodations were attended to with dispatch and with as little inconvenience as possible to the house owners and tenants, the situation has come to such a point that it is no longer possible to do so without actually driving them out into the streets, with no place where they could be sheltered. . . .

The incidents and practices which I have described are the cause of constant requests for assistance received by the Philippine Government from the people concerned, and in making representations in their behalf to the Japanese authorities, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs finds itself in the strange role of an embassy trying, none too successfully, to protect its nationals in the foreign country to which it is accredited.

It is for the foregoing reasons that many Filipinos seem to have but little faith in their government today. They doubt the reality of their country’s independence. They consider it hardly anything more than display of the Filipino flag, since independence has not minimized the rigors of military rule, particularly in the provinces. Even in Manila the people

believe that independence has meaning only for those in the high council of the government, but none for the ordinary citizen. It becomes, therefore, an increasingly difficult task for the Filipino leaders to convince their people of the noble intentions of Japan in waging the present war and of the sincerity of the pronouncements of Japanese leaders that Japan came to the Philippines not as conqueror but as liberator. It is difficult for many Filipinos to conceive of Japan as it really is—as a nation with a high culture and advanced civilization—because not having been to Japan and not knowing enough of its history, literature or the spirit of its people, they have nothing on which to formulate their opinions except what they actually see and experience in the Philippines; the treatment that they receive at the hands of some Japanese, the injuries that they suffer, the personal indignities to which they are subjected, the inability of their Government to accord them adequate protection and consequent embarrassment which the Republic has to suffer. . . .

The existence of “guerrilla” elements or of outright banditry, particularly in the provinces, is not principally due to any fundamental political motive. It is doubtful whether those who are engaged in such activities are pro-American by conviction. In the first place, they have no real understanding of the basic issues involved in the present war between the United States and Japan. Nor do they feel any real attachment to the Americans with whom they never really mixed well, socially or otherwise. The main reason why many of them have turned “guerrillas” and bandits is not the desire that America should win the war, but simply because of the cruel treatment that they or their relatives, friends and countrymen had received at the hands of the Japanese and their fear that if they go out of hiding and live normal lives, they will be punished or put to death. . . .

Hundreds of cases where Filipinos were the victims of these practices have come to the attention of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Needless to say, many hundreds more and even thousands of similar cases have never been reported to the Philippine authorities either because the aggrieved parties were afraid of reprisals or because they thought it impossible to obtain any redress or satisfaction and, therefore, have preferred to suffer in silence. But they are matters of common knowledge and the subject of daily talks among the people.

Where innocent and law-abiding private citizens are involved the prestige of the Philippine Government suffers from the fact that these persons, their relatives and friends are thereafter convinced that this Government has neither power nor courage to intervene in behalf of its citizens. Cases involving government officials and employees are even more significant because the maltreatment of our government officials constitutes, in the eyes at least of our people, a serious reflection on the prestige and authority of the Government itself. How, in these circumstances, can we demand that our

people respect and have confidence in the Government of the Republic when they see that the only authorized representatives of this Government receive such scant consideration on the part of certain Japanese elements in the Philippines? Is it not natural for a great portion of our people to believe that this Government is only a puppet, having no independent authority of its own, seeing that it is often subject to dictation or now violent interference by the Japanese authorities?

Cases of this nature become all the more serious when they involve the arrest of high ranking authorities of the Government. Without going to the extent of claiming that such officials should be exempt from the operation of military law, it seems reasonable to propose that the arrest of all such officials be done only with the knowledge and consent of the President of the Republic of the Philippines. . . .

In calling attention to these matters, there is no intention to ignore the generous and understanding attitude which the high officials of the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy in the Philippines have consistently shown towards the Filipino people, towards their leaders, in particular. This attitude has even been marked by the utmost sympathy and consideration expressed in many concrete acts of encouragement and support in all that the government had tried and is trying to do in order to establish the Republic upon a stable and enduring foundation. In particular, Your Excellency has been instrumental in conveying effectively to the Filipinos the liberal and magnanimous policies of the Japanese Government and in interpreting to our people the high-minded principles repeatedly enunciated by Premier Hideki Tojo as constituting the basis for the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. In your relations with the Filipino leaders before and since the establishment of the Republic, you have observed the most exemplary and statesmanlike conduct and have thereby won the respect and gratitude of us all who have the privilege of coming in contact with you.

On the other hand, His Excellency, the President of the Republic of the Philippines, has been equally assiduous in bringing home to the Filipino people the generous purposes of Japan in the Philippines. He has staked his political fortune and even his life in the establishment of an independent Philippines as a proud and self-respecting member of the Co-Prosperity Sphere. He has called upon his people to do their part in the establishment of the Sphere upon the enduring foundations of peace, reciprocity, and moral justice. He has tried by precept and by example to imbue the young Republic of the Philippines with the prestige and dignity befitting it as a sovereign state. Your Excellency is personally aware of the President's sincere and tireless efforts in this direction, and if I mention them now, it is only to emphasize the fact that there is an inexhaustible fountain of generous sentiments on both sides to warrant an increase in mutual sympathy and understanding.

Yet precisely because there exists such an abundance of genuine goodwill in the high councils of the Japanese Government and of the Government of the Republic, one is constrained to regret very deeply the present unsatisfactory relations between the Filipinos and the Japanese in the Philippines. Without attempting to relieve my own people of their share of the responsibility for this state of affairs, I think it only just to explain that the situation is partly due to the fact that the liberal policies of the Japanese Government have not percolated to the rank and file of the Japanese soldiers and civilians in the Philippines. While the highest officials here and in Tokyo have always treated us with the utmost tact and consideration, the conduct of those in the lower ranks leaves much to be desired. Unfortunately, it is the day-to-day relationships between the Filipino masses on the one hand, and the Japanese soldiers and civilians on the other that, in general, determine the degree of Filipino-Japanese collaboration and sympathy.

This is not to ignore the fact that the exigencies of military operations and the problems of men required by such operations do not always permit smooth relations and flawless conduct. Breaches of discipline are bound to occur. Neither do I ignore the sincere efforts of the Japanese authorities to apprehend and punish those elements whose misconduct has caused disaffection among our people. But I believe, and I think you will agree with me, that there is plenty of room for improvement on the part of both sides, and that the occasions of friction between them could be further minimized.

In view of the impending developments in the war situation, it is especially important to bring about more harmonious relations between Filipinos and Japanese and to arouse Filipino loyalty to the Republic. The problem briefly stated is this: How are we to prepare the Filipino people, mentally and spiritually, to assume their obligations under the Philippine-Japan Pact of Alliance in the event that they should be called to live up to its terms as demanded by the circumstances foreseen in the pact?

The question suggests its own remedy. Under the terms of the Pact of Alliance, the Filipino people are called upon to render the closest possible economic, political and military collaboration with Japan for the purpose of safeguarding the territorial integrity and independence of the Republic. As far as the resources of the nation is [sic] concerned these have been placed entirely at the disposal of the Japanese Government. But in order to create a united and resolute attitude among the Filipinos in support of the pact, it is necessary to convince and persuade them that they have a country to defend and an independence to safeguard. They must be made to feel that this country belongs to them, that they are master in their own land, that the independence which they have proclaimed and which Japan has recognized is real and authentic. For how, otherwise, would it be possible to induce

the Filipino people, or any people for that matter, to defend a country that they may not call their own or to safeguard an independence that does not exist?

In other words, the Filipino must be given a real stake in the war. He must be given something concrete to fight for—his land, his honor, his freedom and independence—something that will invest with living substance such high principles as Asia for the Asians or such large ideals as the establishment of the Co-Prosperity Sphere.

Source: Gregorio F. Zaide, ed., *Documentary Sources of Philippine History*, Volume 12 (Metro Manila, Philippines: National Book Store Publishers, 1990), pp. 57–74. Courtesy Zaide Foundation.

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5.b. Jews and the Holocaust

5.b.1 American Exclusion of Jewish Refugees

Jewish Immigration to the United States

In 1933, Adolf Hitler, head of the National Socialist (Nazi) Party, became German chancellor. For over a decade, he had called publicly for the elimination of Jews from German life, claiming that they were racially inferior, socialist in sympathy, and part of an international conspiracy that sought to undermine German national power. As soon as the Nazis took office, they began to expel Jews from all government

positions, including the civil service and university teaching jobs. In September 1935, Hitler passed the notorious Nuremberg Laws, which classified Jews as subjects rather than citizens, defined Jews according to ancestry (three or four Jewish grandparents made one a Jew, except in special cases), and forbade marriage or sexual relations between Jews and non-Jews. Germany was to be an “Aryan” state, the pseudoscientific term used to define white Caucasians of non-Slav and non-Jewish origin. All Jews were subject to increasing persecution, banned from owning major businesses or employing “Aryans,” and targets for gratuitous everyday violence and humiliation. In 1938, after the Anschluss, the German annexation of Austria, persecution of Jews accelerated dramatically, as Austrian Jews were subjected to the same restrictions as their German peers and violence against German Jews rose to a climax in the November 1938 Kristallnacht (the night of broken glass), when Jewish businesses throughout the country were attacked and destroyed, synagogues burnt down, 91 Jews murdered and many others attacked, 30,000 arrested, and an additional 30,000 sent to concentration camps.

For most of the 1930s, a steady stream of Jews had left Germany for other countries, France, Britain, the United States, and South America. According to Nazi calculations, between 1933 and October 1941, almost 550,000 Jews emigrated legally from Germany, Austria, and the former Czechoslovakia. The Nazi authorities normally confiscated their possessions, and, unless they had overseas assets or wealthy relatives, they had to make a fresh start. In 1933, the League of Nations established the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees from Germany, whose first incumbent, James G. McDonald, resigned in December 1935, accusing League member states of heartless disinterest in the plight of German Jews. After Kristallnacht, even many who had previously been reluctant to abandon everything sought to leave, or at least to send their children to safety overseas. In all countries, they encountered obstacles to immigration, as few were willing to sanction any large increases in their Jewish population. Indeed, prominent British and American Jews tried to devise schemes to settle the majority of German, Austrian, and other Jews who wished to leave the European continent outside their own countries, in Africa or Latin America, for example. Even so, during the 1930s, many thousands succeeded in leaving the European continent for Britain and, even more, the United States and Canada. Some came in as regular immigrants, others on temporary visas. At the time of Kristallnacht, between 12,000 and 15,000 Jewish refugees were already in the United States on visitor visas, and they were allowed to stay, as President Franklin D. Roosevelt expressed shock and horror over the pogrom and established the President’s Advisory Committee on Political Refugees, headed by McDonald.

Even after Kristallnacht, few countries, however, wished to relax what were often fairly rigid immigration procedures,

and the United States was no exception. At least part of the reluctance to admit Jews was due to the pervasive anti-Semitism prevalent not just throughout Europe but also in the United States, where even seemingly enlightened men and women felt little embarrassment in expressing blatantly anti-Semitic attitudes, and Jews faced a range of quiet social discrimination. Since the early twentieth century, many Americans had strongly supported immigration restriction, and in 1924, Congress passed legislation imposing separate national quotas on immigration from every other country to the United States. The quota for Germany was quite generous, and during the 1930s, substantial numbers of German Jewish refugees entered the United States, usually those who were relatively well educated and well off or had sponsors in the United States who were prepared to support them.

Congress, however, was hostile to relaxing the rules on immigration any further; indeed, the Roosevelt administration feared that it might impose tighter constraints. In 1939, a bill that would have permitted thousands of unaccompanied Jewish children to enter the United States died in committee, though the following year, several thousand—normally non-Jewish—British children whose parents sent them to the United States to escape the dangers of war were admitted with little difficulty.

As war began in Europe in September 1939, the Roosevelt administration and the State Department feared that any major influx of Jewish refugees would cause Congress to pass new immigration legislation considerably more restrictive than the 1924 act, whose constraints might prevent the government admitting selected European Jewish and non-Jewish refugees, mostly intellectuals and political leaders, whose entrance they sought to facilitate. Supposedly seeking to placate political opponents of Jewish immigration, Breckinridge Long, head of the State Department’s Visa Office from early 1940 until 1944, ordered American consular officials overseas to interpret the existing visa regulations in such a manner as routinely to block the entry of most Jewish—and many non-Jewish—refugees to the United States. From 1940 onward, only those who had particularly effective connections were likely to be admitted. Over time, the restrictions were tightened further, as any with German, Russian, or Italian relatives were subjected to stringent security tests supposed to weed out potential fifth columnists and espionage agents. Throughout the war, 90 percent of the German and Italian immigration quotas to the United States were left unfilled, a total of 190,000 places that might have been available to refugees from those countries.

About the Author

Breckinridge Long, assistant secretary of state in charge of the visa division for four years from 1940, was an affluent Missouri Democrat and aspiring politician, who had ambitions

to be a diplomat if he could not win elective office. Substantial campaign contributions smoothed his path. From 1917 to 1920, he was third assistant of secretary of state, and after making large donations to Roosevelt's 1932 presidential campaign, he became ambassador to Italy for three years, where many accused him of being too sympathetic to Benito Mussolini's Fascist regime. Long rejoined the State Department in 1940 and took over the Immigrant Visa Section. His assumption of this position undoubtedly coincided with a marked decline in Jewish immigration to the United States, even though American consulates overseas were almost besieged by desperate refugees seeking to escape. Whatever the political constraints on the Roosevelt administration, the conservative and personally anti-Semitic Long undoubtedly exercised his authority with an enthusiasm that facilitated the deaths of many refugees who might otherwise have escaped. Under Long's direction, in 1943, the State Department even blocked a plan Roosevelt supported to admit thousands of French and Rumanian Jews, whom the Germans planned to deport and send to the gas chambers. Assailed by complaints against Long, especially from the highly influential Henry Morgenthau Jr., a close Jewish friend and his secretary of the treasury, in January 1944, Roosevelt removed all responsibility for refugee problems from the State Department and established the War Refugee Board to take over the matter.

About the Documents

The two documents here differ greatly in tone but are in some ways comparable, inasmuch as they are both confidential internal memoranda discussing the policies of an organization and not intended for publication. Both, therefore, are quite frank. Long sent the first memorandum to two of his State Department colleagues, Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs Adolf A. Berle, who was also in charge of security issues, and Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs James C. Dunn. The second, from Margaret E. Jones, a Vienna representative of the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker group that since the mid-1930s, had worked closely with European refugees, to Clarence E. Pickett, head of that organization, detailed the impact of the new restrictive interpretation of the regulations. It also described a meeting with Long's assistant Alva Warren, who had drafted the revised instructions on the enforcement of existing visa regulations, and in July 1940, began a four-month tour of American diplomatic missions to explain to their personnel how the regulations should be implemented.

The first document sets out in some detail the future administration of U.S. visa policies. The State Department itself would decide on nonimmigrant visas, very few of which would be issued in the future, and would quietly deny admission to certain individuals and nationalities. Immigrant visas were to be blocked for some indefinite period by instructing

consular officials to "put every obstacle in the way" and raising administrative difficulties. The intention was clearly to deny entrance to as many individuals as possible. The tone of the memorandum was businesslike and unemotional; denying potential immigrants access to the United States was treated purely as an administrative problem, with no reference to the likely effects these new practices would have upon the individuals affected. The State Department's major preoccupation was that the policy not be applied in a way that might seem openly discriminatory and so provoke diplomatic difficulties and possible retaliation from Germany, Russia, or other nations.

The second document, sent by the representative of the American Friends Service Committee in Vienna to the American-based head of that organization, set out the impact of the new policies after they had been in place for around four months. The tone was far more personal, as she provided an unsparring description of the probable consequences to the refugees themselves. Jones also gave an outsider's view of the explanations provided by State Department officials, especially Warren, whom she met personally in August 1940. In the mid-1930s, the American Friends began extensive refugee work in Europe, doing what they could to help refugees, who often had little or no money or other resources, through their immediate difficulties and also to facilitate their emigration to another country. In 1947, the Friends received the Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of these and numerous other humanitarian efforts to alleviate refugees' suffering during the 1930s and 1940s. In both Vienna and Berlin, the Friends enjoyed good relations with officials at the American consulates, who were willing to discuss refugee issues fairly frankly with them. Jones' account of Warren's remarks to her suggests that, even though he corrected himself and said that all "aliens," not just "non-Aryans," that is, Jews, would be denied visas in the future, the new procedures were targeted primarily at Jews. Presenting the policy to outsiders, Warren also invoked the president's authority as its ultimate source, though this was almost certainly not true. He also suggested that priority should be given to refugees from England and Shanghai, rather than German Jews.

Jones was clearly unhappy with this switch in policy, though German mail censorship policies meant that she did not write to inform Pickett of it until she visited neutral Geneva in September. Two months later, she sent him this memorandum describing the human impact in the interim. Because the State Department was reluctant to publicize its new policy, which if known, might have generated uncomfortable protests and remonstrations, American consuls were instructed not to tell would-be immigrants at the outset that their case was hopeless but simply to drag out their applications indefinitely by repeatedly requesting additional documentation and information, putting them to considerable

trouble and expense. Jones rightly but unavailingly argued it was morally wrong “to let these tragic people go on hoping” and “that if the U.S. wants to make a new ruling due to the war, etc., that it must make it openly and give the reasons.” She also suggested that “the normal visa program for the applicants in Germany” should be restored.

Jones’ criticisms were all well-founded but also entirely ineffective. Despite protests from the American Friends Service Committee, over the next three years, the State Department would tighten still further its administration of the visa system, deliberately using bureaucratic mechanisms to exclude Jewish refugees from the United States. Her memorandum showed an appreciation of the human consequences of the State Department’s new policies, to which those who devised them remained at best entirely indifferent, and which they may even have welcomed.

Primary Source

A) Assistant Secretary of State Breckinridge Long, Memorandum to State Department Officials Adolf A. Berle and James Dunn, 26 June 1940

Attached is a memorandum from [Long’s assistant] Mr. [Avra] Warren. I discussed the matter with him on the basis of this memorandum. There are two possibilities and I will discuss each category briefly.

NON-IMMIGRANTS

Their entry into the United States can be made to depend upon prior authorization by the Department [of State]. This would mean that the consuls would be divested of discretion and that all requests for nonimmigrant visas (temporary visitor and transit visas) be passed upon here. It is quite feasible and can be done instantly. It will permit the Department to effectively control the immigration of persons in this category and private instructions can be given the Visa Division as to nationalities which should not be admitted as well as to individuals who are to be excluded.

This must be done for universal application and could not be done as regards Germany, for instance, or Russia, for instance, or any other one government because it would first, invite retaliation and second, would probably be a violation of some of our treaty arrangements. The retaliation clause is in connection with Germany because it could mean the closing of our offices in almost all of Europe.

IMMIGRANTS

We can delay and effectively stop for a temporary period of indefinite length the number of immigrants into the United States. We could do this by simply advising our consuls, to put every obstacle in the way and to require additional evidence and to resort to various administrative devices which

would postpone and postpone and postpone the granting of the visas. However, this could only be temporary. In order to make it more definite it would have to be done by suspension of the rules under the law by the issuance of a proclamation of emergency—which I take it we are not yet ready to proclaim.

SUMMING UP

We can effectively control non-immigrants by prohibiting the issuance of visas unless the consent of the Department to obtained in advance for universal application.

We can temporarily prevent the number of immigrants from certain localities such as Cuba, Mexico and other places of origin of German intending immigrants by simply raising administrative obstacles.

The Department will be prepared to take these two steps immediately upon the decision but emphasis must be placed on the fact that discrimination must not be practiced and with the additional thought that in case a suspension of the regulations should be proclaimed under the need of an emergency, it would be universally applicable and would affect refugees from England.

The Canadian situation and travel across that border we can handle through an exception to the general rule and so advise our consuls in Canada.

Source: Assistant Secretary of State Breckinridge Long, Memorandum to State Department Officials Adolf A. Berle and James Dunn, 26 June 1940, Describing Methods of Obstructing the Granting of U.S. Visas to Applicants. Available at Public Broadcasting Service. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/holocaust/filmmore/reference/primary/barmemo.html>.

Primary Source

B) Margaret E. Jones, Memorandum to Clarence E. Pickett [exact date not given, but early November 1940]

RE,—VISA SITUATION IN VIENNA

Because I am deeply disturbed over present visa difficulties in Vienna, I want thee to have this memorandum for thy information.

Last July, en route from Geneva back to the Vienna Center, I stopped in Zurich and had an interview with Mr. Strom, at the U.S. Consulate. He told me of recent orders from Washington which would severely limit the number of visas ordinarily issued month by month from the various Consulates. I asked him if this was an attempt on the part of the State Department to offset any move by Congress to stop immigration entirely. Mr. Strom at once asked me with whom I had been talking to get that impression, and then said that he “did not think it was.” Later in Vienna, Mr. Hohenthal told me too

about the new stringent regulations, and was also obviously interested when I raised the same question with him. About the middle of August, the Consulate—always, as I have repeatedly said, working most cooperatively and sympathetically with me and the Quaker Center—telephoned to say that Mr. Warren of the State Dept. was visiting and wished to meet with me. Mr. Warren, Mr. Morris and Mr. Hohenthal and I talked that afternoon about the new regulations concerning emigration. Mr. Warren began by saying, “Miss Jones, you Quakers will be doing a straight relief job for the non-Aryans here from now on.” I said, “No more non-Aryans to go to the U.S.?” Warren replied—“Not just non-Aryans—but no more aliens.” Then I asked him the same question—was this an attempt to forestall Congress and prevent an out and out closing of immigration by making so severe a cut that the State Dept. could assure Congress they had the situation in hand. Mr. Warren said not Congress, but the President just did not want any more aliens coming to the U.S. and would like to have it closed especially for aliens coming from Germany. The State Dept. asked to be allowed to taper it all off gradually, and he, Warren, was touring Europe as far east as Moscow to check up with the consulates and to make plans accordingly. He explained it somewhat casually—increasing anti-Semitism in the U.S.; some refugees had already been traced to 5th column activities; the need to give visas to England and so forth. He told me that during July, 4000 visas had been granted to England,—many to English people, and many to German refugees in England, and he said that he also hoped additional visas would be granted to Shanghai, to help the refugee situation there. He told me Stuttgart had only given 3 visas during July. Vienna had issued that month about 100, but the number would be greatly reduced. I asked him what the State Dept. planned to do about reuniting families, and also about children. Warren implied that they would carefully consider cases where reuniting families was an issue, and that surely some children would be allowed to emigrate from Germany. But his whole idea was that emigration for German Jews coming from Germany was practically finished.

Thee may recall that as soon as I got to Geneva, in September, on my way home from Vienna, I wrote about this and indicated just how awful it was, because the Consulate kept encouraging people to do everything required of them, and then at the final interview decided the person would “become a public charge” and therefore could not get a visa. I now know that about 3 or 4 visas are issued each week, and that supposedly with each, the Consulate evaluates the candidate according to Mr. Warren’s instructions, “What outstanding contributions can he make to the U.S.A.?” No one can imagine what trouble the men and women must go through to finally get to the Consulate for the last interview—all sorts of severe local requirements must be met before permission to leave is given by the Nazi authorities. Each step takes weeks,

and also Marks. (This entirely apart from the heartbreaking anxiety over affidavits and steamship tickets.) With every thing in order, the candidate learns now from the Consulate that he must have a new certificate notarized (20 to 40 Marks) indicating that at least two friends can vouch that he is an upright man and not engaged in espionage activities. This in addition to the usual Police certificate, which would be sufficient. (I should think the Consulate would know, if they suspect every applicant for a visa as a potential spy, that the applicants could get anyone to sign such a statement if they wanted to do so.) Furthermore, the candidate for the visa in his final interview faces a board of Consuls, who ask questions (I was told in the Consulate in Vienna that this questioning HAD to last 40 minutes and that often the two men doing the questioning just couldn’t fill in the time!) and a stenographer takes down the answers in short hand. Now very few non-Aryans in Germany entirely trust the German members of the U.S. Consular staff, and to reply to questioning in a way which would damn the Nazi government, and to know that those replies are being taken down by a German, naturally terrifies the applicant. On the other hand, if he doesn’t say what he thinks about the Nazi gov’t, he feels that the U.S. Consuls will judge him potential 5th Column material and refuse the visa accordingly.

Perhaps I feel too strongly about this—but I know only too well what the life of the Jew in Vienna is today. I know of the terror and despair, and of the unbelievable difficulties each man and woman endures, and tries to solve, in connection with obtaining the U.S. visa. I want to say again that the Vienna Consulate has on its Visa Division staff men of ability and sympathy, who work as much as possible with the individual in mind, but they can only do what the U. S. immigration law permits. (I cannot endorse the physician at the Consulate, but his attitude is subject for another memorandum!) But it seems to me that if the U.S. wants to make a new ruling due to the war, etc., that it must make it openly and give the reasons. We cannot continue to let these tragic people go on hoping that if they comply with every requirement, if they get all the special documents required (Marks are increasingly needed by the Jews just to live), if they nerve themselves for the final interview at the Consulate, they may just possibly be the lucky ones to get visas when we know that practically no one is granted visas in Germany today. As thee knows, the whole question of affidavits is involved—irrevocable trust funds as required by the Consulate—we can’t go out to individuals in this country for this basic cooperation when we know that regardless of what we or the applicant does, he is not going to get the visa.

Thee understands that this is a confidential report for thee to have as background. I do hope that the question can be given very careful study, and a decision reached which will in some measure allay the mental suffering of so many per-

sons. We could alleviate a lot of the mental suffering, of course, by restoring the normal visa program for the applicants in Germany.

Naturally I am fully aware of the almost insuperable difficulties of travel from Germany. Greece is now closed to those who would have attempted to go via that country through the Mediterranean to Lisbon. Spain now refuses a transit visa to anyone with a “J” [for Jew] on his passport. The route via Siberia and Japan is the only one open, and it offers tremendous difficulties. But our government should make its own position absolutely clear, and I do hope the several refugee committees can get this matter satisfactorily outlined.

Source: Margaret Jones, Memorandum to Clarence E. Pickett (exact date not given, but early November 1940). Available at Public Broadcasting Service. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/holocaust/filmmore/reference/primary/barletter.html>. Courtesy American Friends Service Committee Archives, Philadelphia.

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5.b.2. The Final Solution: The Wannsee Protocol

The Wannsee Protocol and the Final Solution

From the time the Nazis took power in Germany in 1933, all Jews who fell under their authority were subjected to ever increasing persecution, designed to make their lives unbearable and if possible, to drive them out of Germany. Nazi ideology, as expressed in Führer Adolf Hitler’s testament of faith

Mein Kampf (1924), held that Jews—defined not simply as those of the Jewish faith but also nonpracticing individuals of Jewish ancestry—were *Untermenschen* (subhumans) who were genetically ineradicably inferior to those of Aryan (white Caucasian or Teutonic) blood. Indeed, according to this perspective all races, Slavs, Latins, Asians, Arabs, and Africans, were graded according to a hierarchy, with Aryans in the top rank, and Jews at the bottom, together with gypsies.

By the beginning of 1942, most German Jews had been driven out of Germany proper and those central European areas, especially Czechoslovakia and Austria, under German rule since the late 1930s. Those who could not emigrate or escape as refugees were first confined to Jewish ghetto areas of their own cities, and then shipped eastward, usually under dreadful conditions in cramped and overcrowded railroad cars, at the mercy of the weather and without sanitation, food, or water, and forced into camps or ghettos in other cities close to the main railway lines, such as Lodz and Warsaw. There, living conditions were usually cramped, sanitation poor, and food and heating scarce, and the inhabitants easily fell victim to cold, malnutrition, and disease; some, indeed, died on the journey there. In the east, Jews from rural areas were also forced into urban ghettos. From the mid-1930s onward, many Jewish men were sent to concentration camps, labor and punishment centers where many were worked to death. In autumn 1939, it was decreed that all Jewish men must perform compulsory labor. Given these conditions, there was a high mortality rate among the Jewish population, especially children, the elderly, and other vulnerable individuals.

Even so, many survived, and German conquests, especially in the east, greatly enhanced what the Nazi regime saw as its Jewish problem. About 3 million Jews lived in Poland, two-thirds in the area under German occupation and one-third in the portion first occupied by Soviet troops and then taken over by German forces in June 1941. The Soviet Union likewise had a substantial Jewish population, many residing in the Ukraine and other western areas first invaded by Germany. Other European countries, some of them allied with Germany; some, such as France, the Netherlands, Norway, and Denmark, under German occupation; others, notably Britain, German enemies, and various neutral states, all had substantial Jewish populations. According to German calculations, which in fact substantially overstated the size of surviving Jewish populations, in January 1942, there were still 11 million Jews in Europe, the greatest numbers in Poland (2.7 million) and Russia (5 million), almost 750,000 in Hungary, 432,000 in Rumania, 865,000 in France, 160,000 in the Netherlands, 165,000 in Denmark, 330,000 in England, and smaller but still sizeable Jewish communities in almost every other European country, including Turkey. All of them the Nazis intended to eradicate, a formidable undertaking, especially given that Germany was also waging a major war and

would have to divert at least some resources from the war effort to the implementation of this initiative.

Until early 1942, the Nazi regime relied on ad hoc measures, primarily mass killings and other brutal atrocities, to reduce the numbers of Jews in the east. One of the most dramatic of these was the two-day massacre of 33,000 Ukrainian Jews at Babi Yar ravine, near Kiev, over 28–29 September 1941, but throughout the area under German occupation, thousands of smaller-scale episodes occurred. Polish and Russian partisans who offered resistance to German occupation were treated equally harshly. By the end of 1941, between 500,000 and 1 million Jews had died. German leaders nonetheless felt that such uncoordinated measures had hardly dented the problem, and a more systematic strategic approach was essential. Shooting, the most common method of execution, was moreover somewhat inefficient, and subjected those who wielded the guns to some stress.

On 31 July 1941, *Obergruppenführer* Reinhard Heydrich, head of the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* (RSHA), the major German security and police authority, obtained authority from Reichsmarshall Hermann Göring to devise and implement an overall “final solution” to the Jewish problem. Heydrich summoned a group of German ministers, civil servants, and security officials to a conference eventually held at scenic Wannsee House, near Berlin, in January 1942. Detailed minutes were kept of this meeting, written by SS Lieutenant Colonel Adolf Eichmann, head of the RSHA Jewish section. Able-bodied male and female Jews were to be evacuated east to labor camps, to be worked to death. Since, according to crude Darwinian logic, any who survived would be the fittest of their race and hence the nucleus of a future Jewish renaissance, they would “have to be treated accordingly,” ambiguous language that undoubtedly meant killed. Jews over 65 would be sent to a special old-age camp. The administrator of the “General Government,” i.e., German-occupied Poland, volunteered those Jews under his control as the first Jewish population scheduled for evacuation under this scheme.

The Wannsee Protocol was somewhat coy about the fate of those too young, too old, or too ill to work, or for other reasons considered expendable. In December 1941, one month before the Wannsee meeting took place, an extermination camp, modeled on those established for Germany’s earlier 1939–1941 euthanasia program for those adults and children defined as physically or mentally unfit to live, was set up at Chelmo, near Lodz. In the first half of 1942, three more began operations, at Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka, where over the next two years, much of Poland’s Jewish population was deported. Later that year, three huge labor camps and extermination centers, established in Polish territory, supplemented them: Majdanek, Auschwitz I (first established as a concentration camp in May 1940), and Auschwitz II or

Auschwitz-Birkenau. Existing concentration camps, such as that first established at Dachau, Bavaria, in 1933, were now equipped with additional extermination facilities, gas chambers—for some reason those at Dachau were never used, though numerous deaths nonetheless occurred there—and also mass crematoria for the disposal of bodies. Others, such as Buchenwald, served as staging camps for the death camps themselves. Between 1941 and 1945, about 6 million European Jews, between 100,000 and 200,000 gypsies, perhaps 100,000 Poles, and thousands of Soviet prisoners of war, communists, homosexuals, Jehovah’s Witnesses, criminals, and others considered socially undesirable were murdered. New arrivals were separated into those unfit or unable to work, who were killed immediately, usually in large gas chambers; and those considered sufficiently able-bodied to do useful labor. Not all were gassed: some were worked to death, often finally succumbing to starvation and illness, and some fell victim to the casual brutality of camp guards and work-party supervisors.

About the Document

The minutes of the Wannsee Conference are an official document, written to record the issues discussed and decisions reached at this particular meeting. It was a businesslike gathering, summoned to decide on how best to implement a “final solution” that would eventually eliminate all European Jews, even those in neutral or enemy countries who were presumably beyond the Nazi reach at that time. Perhaps the most chilling aspect is the degree to which all present took it for granted that the elimination of all European Jews was an entirely acceptable goal that none saw fit to question. The participants concentrated on “the practical execution of the final solution,” how best to attain their objective and implement those policies they had decided on, preferably without “alarming the population” in those territories affected, but all concurred in thinking it desirable. The closest one comes to any faint sign of a bad conscience are the references to Jewish deaths, with the slightly squeamish euphemism that, of those Jews assigned to forced labor, “doubtless a large portion will be eliminated by natural causes,” a tactful intimation that many would essentially be worked to death in conditions so abysmal as to guarantee a high mortality rate. In an even more mealy-mouthed circumlocution, any survivors would “have to be treated accordingly,” a remarkably oblique intimation that they would be executed.

Some revisionist historians on the far Right, most notably David Irving, have sought to use the Wannsee memorandum as evidence that in reality, the Nazis did not intend to murder Jews en masse but simply to use them as forced laborers, and this meeting bore no relation to the contemporaneous estab-

ishment of extermination camps, most though not all of whose clientele were Jews. Given those particular passages, however, and also the subsequent remark by the administrator of the General Government (formerly Poland) that most of the estimated 2.5 million Jews in his area, whom he wished to take priority under this scheme, were in any case unfit for work, this interpretation seems remarkably strained. So, too, does Irving's suggestion that German Führer Adolf Hitler remained unaware of the establishment and operations of labor and extermination camps and the factory-style mass murders that took place in them. Admittedly, no document bearing Hitler's signature and authorizing the final solution has been located to date, but it scarcely proves that he was ignorant of these activities. Given the authoritarian nature of the Nazi regime, with fierce competition and backstabbing the rule among the highest echelons, in which every politically prominent individual within that system was liable eagerly to inform Hitler of any instance in which a rival disregarded the Führer's authority, it is inconceivable that enterprises on this scale, involving numerous high officials, could for several years have been implemented without his knowledge.

Primary Source

Minutes of the Wannsee Protocol, 20 January 1942

TOP SECRET

Minutes of Meeting

This meeting of top German officials with responsibility for Jews under their control was held on 20 January 1942 at Berlin, am Grossen Wannsee No. 56/58. Those present included Gauleiter Dr. Meyer and Reichsamtleiter Dr. Leibbrandt of the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern territories; Dr. Stuckart, Secretary of State of the Ministry for the Interior; Secretary of State Neumann, Plenipotentiary for the Four Year Plan; Dr. Freisler, Secretary of State of the Ministry of Justice; Dr. Bühler, Secretary of State of the Office of the General Government; Dr. Luther, Under Secretary of State of the Foreign Office; SS-Oberführer Klopfer of the Party Chancellery; Ministerialdirektor Kritzinger of the Reich Chancellery; SS-Gruppenführer Hofmann of the Race and Settlement Main Office; SS-Gruppenführer Müller and SS-Obersturmbannführer Eichmann of the Reich Main Security Office; SS-Oberführer Dr. Schöngarth of the Security Police, Security Department, Commander of the Security Police, Security Department (SD) of the General Government; SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Lange of the Security Police, Security Department, Commander of the Security Police and the Security Department for the General-District of Latvia, in his capacity as deputy to the Commander of the Security Police and the Security Department for the Reich Commissariat "Eastland."

II.

At the beginning of the discussion Chief of the Security Police and of the SD, SS-Obergruppenführer Heydrich, reported that the Reich Marshal [Hermann Göring] had appointed him delegate for the preparations for the final solution of the Jewish question in Europe and pointed out that this discussion had been called for the purpose of clarifying fundamental questions. The wish of the Reich Marshal to have a draft sent to him concerning organizational, factual and material interests in relation to the final solution of the Jewish question in Europe makes necessary an initial common action of all central offices immediately concerned with these questions in order to bring their general activities into line. The Reichsführer-SS [Heinrich Himmler] and the Chief of the German Police (Chief of the Security Police and the SD) [Reinhard Heydrich] was entrusted with the official central handling of the final solution of the Jewish question without regard to geographic borders. The Chief of the Security Police and the SD then gave a short report of the struggle which has been carried on thus far against this enemy, the essential points being the following:

- a) the expulsion of the Jews from every sphere of life of the German people,
- b) the expulsion of the Jews from the living space of the German people.

In carrying out these efforts, an increased and planned acceleration of the emigration of the Jews from Reich territory was started, as the only possible present solution.

By order of the Reich Marshal, a Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration was set up in January 1939 and the Chief of the Security Police and SD was entrusted with the management. Its most important tasks were

- a) to make all necessary arrangements for the preparation for an increased emigration of the Jews,
- b) to direct the flow of emigration,
- c) to speed the procedure of emigration in each individual case.

The aim of all this was to cleanse German living space of Jews in a legal manner.

All the offices realized the drawbacks of such enforced accelerated emigration. For the time being they had, however, tolerated it on account of the lack of other possible solutions of the problem.

The work concerned with emigration was, later on, not only a German problem, but also a problem with which the authorities of the countries to which the flow of emigrants was being directed would have to deal. Financial difficulties, such as the demand by various foreign governments for increasing sums of money to be presented at the time of the landing, the lack of

shipping space, increasing restriction of entry permits, or the cancelling of such, increased extraordinarily the difficulties of emigration. In spite of these difficulties, 537,000 Jews were sent out of the country between the takeover of power and the deadline of 31 October 1941. Of these

approximately 360,000 were in Germany proper on 30 January 1933
 approximately 147,000 were in Austria (Ostmark) on 15 March 1939
 approximately 30,000 were in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia on 15 March 1939.

The Jews themselves, or their Jewish political organizations, financed the emigration. In order to avoid impoverished Jews remaining behind, the principle was followed that wealthy Jews have to finance the emigration of poor Jews; this was arranged by imposing a suitable tax, i.e., an emigration tax, which was used for financial arrangements in connection with the emigration of poor Jews and was imposed according to income.

Apart from the necessary Reichsmark exchange, foreign currency had to be presented at the time of landing. In order to save foreign exchange held by Germany, the foreign Jewish financial organizations were—with the help of Jewish organizations in Germany—made responsible for arranging an adequate amount of foreign currency. Up to 30 October 1941, these foreign Jews donated a total of around 9,500,000 dollars.

In the meantime the Reichsführer-SS and Chief of the German Police had prohibited emigration of Jews due to the dangers of an emigration in wartime and due to the possibilities of the East.

III.

Another possible solution of the problem has now taken the place of emigration, i.e., the evacuation of the Jews to the East, provided that the Führer gives the appropriate approval in advance.

These actions are, however, only to be considered provisional, but practical experience is already being collected which is of the greatest importance in relation to the future final solution of the Jewish question.

Approximately 11 million Jews will be involved in the final solution of the European Jewish question, distributed as follows among the individual countries:

[The document proceeds to list the number of Jews living not only in states such as France, Hungary, and Rumania already currently under German occupation or control, but also in countries at war with Germany, including Britain and Russia, allied with it, such as Italy, sympathetic but neutral, such as Spain and Portugal, and simply neutral, including Ireland, Sweden, and Switzerland.] . . .

Under proper guidance, in the course of the final solution the Jews are to be allocated for appropriate labor in the East. Able-bodied Jews, separated according to sex, will be taken in large work columns to these areas for work on roads, in the course of which action doubtless a large portion will be eliminated by natural causes.

The possible final remnant will, since it will undoubtedly consist of the most resistant portion, have to be treated accordingly, because it is the product of natural selection and would, if released, act as the seed of a new Jewish revival (see the experience of history.)

In the course of the practical execution of the final solution, Europe will be combed through from west to east. Germany proper, including the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, will have to be handled first due to the housing problem and additional social and political necessities.

The evacuated Jews will first be sent, group by group, to so-called transit ghettos, from which they will be transported to the East.

SS-Obergruppenführer Heydrich went on to say that an important prerequisite for the evacuation as such is the exact definition of the persons involved.

It is not intended to evacuate Jews over 65 years old, but to send them to an old-age ghetto—Theresienstadt is being considered for this purpose.

In addition to these age groups—of the approximately 280,000 Jews in Germany proper and Austria on 31 October 1941, approximately 30% are over 65 years old—severely wounded veterans and Jews with war decorations (Iron Cross I) will be accepted in the old-age ghettos. With this expedient solution, in one fell swoop many interventions will be prevented.

The beginning of the individual larger evacuation actions will largely depend on military developments. Regarding the handling of the final solution in those European countries occupied and influenced by us, it was proposed that the appropriate expert of the Foreign Office discuss the matter with the responsible official of the Security Police and SD.

In Slovakia and Croatia the matter is no longer so difficult, since the most substantial problems in this respect have already been brought near a solution. In Rumania the government has in the meantime also appointed a commissioner for Jewish affairs. In order to settle the question in Hungary, it will soon be necessary to force an adviser for Jewish questions onto the Hungarian government.

With regard to taking up preparations for dealing with the problem in Italy, SS-Obergruppenführer Heydrich considers it opportune to contact the chief of police with a view to these problems.

In occupied and unoccupied France, the registration of Jews for evacuation will in all probability proceed without great difficulty.

Under Secretary of State Luther calls attention in this matter to the fact that in some countries, such as the Scandinavian states, difficulties will arise if this problem is dealt with thoroughly and that it will therefore be advisable to defer actions in these countries. Besides, in view of the small numbers of Jews affected, this deferral will not cause any substantial limitation.

The Foreign Office sees no great difficulties for southeast and western Europe.

SS-Gruppenführer Hofmann plans to send an expert to Hungary from the Race and Settlement Main Office for general orientation at the time when the Chief of the Security Police and SD takes up the matter there. It was decided to assign this expert from the Race and Settlement Main Office, who will not work actively, as an assistant to the police attaché.

IV.

[Intermarriages between Jews and non-Jews could give rise to problems in precisely who qualified as a Jew, and here it was proposed to follow the guidelines given in the earlier Nuremberg Laws of the 1930s, though in many cases exceptions and exemptions for meritorious conduct or the reverse were at least theoretically possible, as were forced sterilization and the forced dissolution of mixed marriages.]

With regard to the issue of the effect of the evacuation of Jews on the economy, State Secretary Neumann stated that Jews who are working in industries vital to the war effort, provided that no replacements are available, cannot be evacuated.

SS-Obergruppenführer Heydrich indicated that these Jews would not be evacuated according to the rules he had approved for carrying out the evacuations then underway.

State Secretary Dr. Bühler stated that the General Government would welcome it if the final solution of this problem could be begun in the General Government, since on the one hand transportation does not play such a large role here nor would problems of labor supply hamper this action. Jews must be removed from the territory of the General Government as quickly as possible, since it is especially here that the Jew as an epidemic carrier represents an extreme danger and on the other hand he is causing permanent chaos in the economic structure of the country through continued black market dealings. Moreover, of the approximately 2 1/2 million Jews concerned, the majority is unfit for work.

State Secretary Dr. Bühler stated further that the solution to the Jewish question in the General Government is the responsibility of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD and that his efforts would be supported by the officials of the General Government. He had only one request, to solve the Jewish question in this area as quickly as possible.

In conclusion the different types of possible solutions were discussed, during which discussion both Gauleiter Dr.

Meyer and State Secretary Dr. Bühler took the position that certain preparatory activities for the final solution should be carried out immediately in the territories in question, in which process alarming the populace must be avoided.

The meeting was closed with the request of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD to the participants that they afford him appropriate support during the carrying out of the tasks involved in the solution.

Source: Minutes of the Wannsee Protocol, 20 January 1942. Available at Harold B. Lu Library, Brigham Young University. <http://lib.byu.edu/rdh/eurodocs/germ/wanneng.html>.

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5.b.3. The United States Refuses to Bomb Auschwitz, 1944

The Allies and the Refusal to Bomb Auschwitz

Of all the Nazi extermination camps, Auschwitz was the largest and was responsible for the greatest number of deaths. It was first established in 1940 in occupied Polish territory. Over the next four years, it expanded massively, until it comprised three main camps—Auschwitz I, Auschwitz II-Birkenau, and Auschwitz III-Monowitz—plus 40 subcamps. Auschwitz I, a forced labor camp, became notorious for the gruesome medical experiments on living human subjects that took place there, many of which were supervised by the fanatical physician Dr. Josef Mengele. Auschwitz II, constructed in late 1944, was primarily an extermination camp,

disposing of Jews (including most of the Hungarian Jewish population), Poles, gypsies, and Soviet prisoners of war. The gas chambers of Auschwitz II could kill up to 6,000 people daily. It is difficult to put a precise figure on the number of deaths that occurred there, but they eventually amounted to somewhere between 1.1 and 1.6 million. Auschwitz III began with a synthetic rubber plant, constructed by the German chemical company I. G. Farben, that extended over 40 square miles and employed slave labor. Other prisoners worked on farms, in coal mines, stone quarries, fisheries, and armaments factories. Many of the best-known Holocaust survivors, including Primo Levi and Elie Wiesel, were confined in Auschwitz. On 7 October 1944, several hundred prisoners destined for the gas chambers rebelled, assisted by explosives smuggled in by women working in an armaments factory nearby, but German guards eventually suppressed the revolt and killed almost all those involved. When Soviet troops liberated Auschwitz on 27 January 1945, most of the remaining prisoners had already been evacuated to Germany, sent on forced marches and freezing trains, which caused many additional deaths among them. Only 7,000 of the sickest inmates, many of them dying, were left in the camp.

Not until mid-1944, when Jewish organizations obtained credible eyewitness reports from two escapees, were the Allied governments presented with definite proof that Auschwitz was an extermination center as opposed to a mere work camp. At that time, 400,000 Hungarian Jews were undergoing evacuation there for subsequent extermination. In early summer 1944, Jewish organizations began to press the British and French governments to dispatch airplanes to bomb either the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp itself or the complex system of railway lines centered upon it in the hope that this would close the camp or at least disrupt its operation for some appreciable time. British premier Winston Churchill apparently favored the suggestion but recognized that U.S. bomber pilots were better placed than his own to undertake what would undoubtedly be a long and hazardous mission. Debate has raged ever since as to whether such operations were militarily feasible and if undertaken, whether they would have been effective. Some historians have argued that such bombing raids would have permanently closed the facility, even though the cost of such success might have been the lives of many of the Jewish inmates, and have suggested that those American officials who chose not to authorize such missions were insensitive or indifferent to the plight of European Jews. Others, including William D. Rubinstein and John Keegan, have forcefully riposted that all any such bombing missions would have accomplished would have been the temporary disruption of extermination operations and that, in the latter's words, "Auschwitz had the capacity to be a self-sustaining killing machine, until the site itself was captured by Allied forces" (Keegan 1996, 25–26), since the labor of the

prisoners themselves would have been used to repair any damage.

About the Author

The man to whom most requests for such action were addressed was John J. McCloy, then assistant secretary of war under the venerable Henry L. Stimson. He would later become one of the most senior "wise men" of the foreign policy Establishment, the group of prominent East Coast financiers and lawyers clustered around Stimson in particular, who believed that the United States must assume a major postwar international world role; who were among the leading Cold War architects; and who helped to devise and implement such major Cold War policies as the Truman Doctrine, promising that the United States would resist the international spread of communism, the Marshall Plan for European reconstruction, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization defense pact. McCloy, a corporate lawyer by profession, who later became chairman of Chase Manhattan, subsequently served as U.S. high commissioner in occupied Germany, wielding the supreme authority in that country for several years, and took an active role in disarmament negotiations throughout the 1960s. During World War II, McCloy served as Stimson's troubleshooter and dealt with numerous sensitive matters on his behalf. Totally determined to concentrate on winning the war as expeditiously as possible, McCloy later attracted much public opprobrium for his crucial role in urging and supervising the wartime internment of Japanese Americans, a policy he continued to defend until his death.

Another matter on which McCloy was heavily criticized, especially by liberals and Jewish organizations, was what most believed to have been his central role in repeatedly turning down requests that American airpower be used to bomb Auschwitz, a subject on which Stimson apparently accepted his recommendations. On this issue, McCloy always justified his conduct on the grounds that he was simply carrying out the dictates of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, that U.S. military resources should only be employed on ventures that would directly assist in winning the war. It should be said in McCloy's defense that, quite apart from the questionable effectiveness of any such operation, he may well have still nurtured some doubts as to whether this was a genuine extermination facility or simply a glorified concentration camp. At that time, at least one close Jewish friend of his, Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, still doubted whether the worst reports of Auschwitz were genuinely credible or whether they had been exaggerated.

More than 40 years later, however, yet another twist to this tale emerged. On occasion, McCloy was criticized for not taking the matter to Roosevelt and letting him decide. For most of his life, until 1986 when he himself was 91, McCloy steadfastly denied having consulted the president. In a private

interview that year, however, which the historian Michael Beschloss recently made public, McCloy claimed that he had indeed taken the proposal to Roosevelt, who—without consulting his own top military advisers—came down against the idea. The president rejected it on the grounds that it would be both pointlessly provocative to the Hitler regime and ineffective, since the Nazis would only move their killing operations elsewhere, and the United States would be heavily criticized for bombing the innocent inmates of the camp. McCloy himself also thought that many of those Jews urging the operation were fanatical and unrealistic as to what it would accomplish. Having been sworn to confidentiality, for many years, McCloy apparently wished to preserve his trust; then, with his own death clearly not too far distant, he perhaps wished finally to set the record straight while he still had the chance. If this account, finally told by McCloy to the son of Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau Jr., one of his own strongest critics on the matter, was indeed true, then Roosevelt and no one else was ultimately responsible for this still controversial decision.

About the Document

This letter, signed by John J. McCloy and most probably drafted by one of his War Department aides for his correction, approval, and signature, is an official statement of War Department policy on the question of the bombing of Auschwitz. Undoubtedly cleared with Secretary of War Stimson, his immediate superior, and, as it now transpires, probably with the president himself, it was prepared in response to repeated requests by Jewish organizations that the United States should bomb Auschwitz. Despite his own expectation that, even if bombed, the railway lines leading to Auschwitz would be swiftly repaired, John W. Pehle, chairman of the War Refugee Board, first passed on such requests to McCloy early in July 1944, when they were rejected, and did so once more in November 1944. Brief and almost curt in style, McCloy's letter went straight to the point, listing the various military reasons why the War Department had rejected those appeals. It was designed to present the strongest possible case for turning down those demands and, if possible—though McCloy cannot have been optimistic on this—to preclude any further such petitions.

McCloy's letter made no mention of the views of President Roosevelt, who may well have been reluctant to take any political criticism from Jewish organizations on the subject. It concentrated entirely on the military feasibility and value of the proposed operation, citing the difficulties involved in any such raid that would have to take place without fighter cover, due to the distances involved, and would demand the employment of extremely risky tactics. McCloy argued that all American strategic airpower was already committed to the effort to destroy German industry, and aircraft, therefore, could not be spared for a raid on Auschwitz. It was subsequently pointed

out that in summer 1944, Allied airpower targeted German synthetic oil facilities in Silesia, including one raid on 20 August in which 127 Flying Fortresses attacked the factory area of Auschwitz III, less than 5 miles away from the extermination camps, and a second such operation three weeks later. If challenged, however, McCloy would no doubt have retorted that destroying Germany's synthetic oil capacity was a military objective and therefore worth the risks involved, whereas attacking the extermination camp was not.

All McCloy's statements were probably true, and even though historians are still arguing the case, there may indeed have been ample practical justification for this decision. Yet, letters signed by government officials sometimes contain soothing if platitudinous rhetoric, including emollient statements of sympathy, for example, even when a request is rejected. In this case, such anodyne efforts to avoid hurt feelings are notably lacking, perhaps an indication of just how irritating McCloy found these reiterated and, in his view, sentimental appeals for military action he himself believed would be ill-considered, ineffective, and counterproductive.

Primary Source

John J. McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War, to John W. Pehle, Director, War Refugee Board, 18 November 1944

I refer to your letter of November 8th, in which you forwarded the report of two eye-witnesses on the notorious German concentration and extermination camps of Auschwitz and Birkenau in Upper Silesia.

The Operation Staff of the War Department has given careful consideration to your suggestion that the bombing of these camps be undertaken. In consideration of this proposal the following points were brought out:

- a. Positive destruction of these camps would necessitate precision bombing, employing heavy or medium bombardment, or attack by low flying or dive bombing aircraft, preferably the latter.
- b. The target is beyond the maximum range of medium bombardment, dive bombers and fighter bombers located in United Kingdom, France or Italy.
- c. Use of heavy bombardment from United Kingdom bases would necessitate a hazardous round trip flight unescorted of approximately 2,000 miles over enemy territory.
- d. At the present critical stage of the war in Europe, our strategic air forces are engaged in the destruction of industrial target systems vital to the dwindling war potential of the enemy, from which they should not be diverted. The positive solution to this problem is the earliest possible victory over Germany, to which end we should exert our entire means.

- e. This case does not at all parallel the Amiens mission because of the location of the concentration and extermination camps and the resulting difficulties encountered in attempting to carry out the proposed bombing.

Based on the above, as well as the most uncertain, if not dangerous effect such a bombing would have on the object to be attained, the War Department has felt that it should not, at least for the present, undertake these operations.

I know that you have been reluctant to press this activity on the War Department. We have been pressed strongly from other quarters, however, and have taken the best military opinion on its feasibility, and we believe the above conclusion is a sound one.

Source: John J. McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War, to John W. Pehle, Director, War Refugee Board, 18 November 1944. Available at Public Broadcasting Service. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/holocaust/filmmore/reference/primary/bombworld.html>.

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5.b.4. Martha Gellhorn, “Dachau,” May 1945

Dachau Concentration Camp

Not all concentration and extermination camps were sited outside Germany proper, in Poland or other occupied territory. Dachau concentration camp was first established near Munich, Bavaria, in late March 1933, six weeks after Adolf

Hitler became German chancellor, as a place to incarcerate enemies of the regime. From the inception of their rule, the Nazis used systematic terror to enforce their authority and crush dissent of any kind. By 1 May 1933, Dachau already had 1,200 inmates, and by the end of that year, almost 5,000 prisoners had been registered. Between then and 29 April 1945, when invading American forces finally liberated the camp, a further 200,000 prisoners would be registered to the camp. This total did not, however, include numerous Soviet prisoners of war and civilians assigned to the camp for “special handling,” that is, summary execution, nor those who died on various death marches to Dachau and the final evacuation march away.

Dachau was initially a concentration camp where inmates were expected to work—a sign above the main gate stated “Arbeit Macht Frei” (work sets one free)—and death was incidental, due to starvation, illness, or casual brutality by the guards. However, in late 1940, it was equipped with gas chambers and crematoria, and additional such facilities were added in 1942. To date, no concrete proof exists that these chambers were used to kill humans, as opposed to fumigating bedding, clothing, equipment, and the like to eradicate typhus-bearing lice and other vermin. Whether or not gas was used, however, many thousands of prisoners died there, on occasion killed in what amounted to massacres, the numbers sometimes outstripping the capacity of the crematoria to cope with the bodies. Thirty thousand deaths were registered in the camp, some of these the result of horrific medical experiments on prisoners. It is believed that there were many more, with some estimates going well above 200,000. As Soviet and Western troops advanced onto German-held territory, many more prisoners were evacuated to Dachau, traveling either on packed freight trains or by foot in forced marches. Many died in transit, due to the appalling conditions, but even so, Dachau camp became seriously overcrowded, and in December 1944, a typhus epidemic killed thousands of prisoners. As Allied forces approached in late April 1945, many prisoners were then evacuated from Dachau, undertaking brutal forced marches that inflicted numerous additional deaths. Almost certainly, it will never be possible to reach an incontrovertibly accurate figure for Dachau-related deaths. When American troops finally reached the camp in the war's final years, they were horrified by the number of unburied corpses stacked in piles like firewood, and the appalling state of the remaining inmates, many of whom were close to death, with some dying after liberation.

Dachau was the first major German concentration camp liberated by Western forces. Despite growing rumors ever since 1944 that Germany ran extermination camps to dispose of Jews and other enemies of the Nazi regime, American and British military leaders were horrified by this concrete evidence of the scope and scale of the killing. During World War

I, allegations of German military atrocities, especially in Belgium, were widely circulated and later found to have been substantially exaggerated, something most Allied officials still remembered 30 years later. They had some excuse, therefore, for suspecting that similar World War II rumors might likewise incorporate heavy embroidery over a kernel of truth. When faced with incontrovertible evidence, even tough, battle-hardened soldiers were revolted. The American George S. Patton Jr., notoriously a fighting general who encouraged his men to kill their enemies and take no prisoners, was not notably squeamish, but he admitted that he found Dachau so distressing and repulsive a sight that he refused to subject himself to a full tour of the camp.

Many German civilians, even those who lived close to concentration camps, insisted that they had never suspected what activities might have taken place within their fences, a confession that suggests at least a certain willing ignorance on their part. Dwight D. Eisenhower, supreme Allied commander in Europe, insisted that Germans must be confronted with the proof of the nature of the regime they had supported. Civilians from Dachau and the surrounding area were taken on compulsory tours and forced to bury the numerous corpses still littering the camp. Seeking to ensure that these atrocities could never be dismissed as merely Allied propaganda, Eisenhower also made every effort to publicize them internationally, not just within Germany. Allied forces flew in numerous war correspondents, including the famed Ed Murrow, to report directly on Dachau concentration camp.

About the Author

The American-born Martha Gellhorn was one of the leading war correspondents of the twentieth century and a lifelong friend of the liberal Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and a major Democratic political figure in her own right. Gellhorn began working as a journalist in 1927 and moved to France in the early 1930s, where she joined the pacifist movement. In 1937, *Collier's Weekly* sent her to report on the Spanish Civil War, which she covered from Madrid, becoming a staunch and lifelong antifascist. As the European situation deteriorated in the late 1930s, Gellhorn reported for *Collier's* from Paris, Czechoslovakia, Finland, and Germany, covering the Anschluss, the Munich crisis and the German seizure of Czechoslovakia, and the early weeks of the Finnish-Soviet Winter War, where her reports helped to generate American public support for the Finns. During World War II, she also reported from Hong Kong, Burma, Singapore, and Britain and enlisted as a stretcherbearer on a hospital ship in order to witness the D day landings. She then accompanied the Allied forces throughout their 1944–1945 campaign against Germany, including the Battle of the Bulge. When World War II ended, Gellhorn switched to the *Atlantic Monthly*, covering every

major world conflict of the next 30 years, including the Vietnam War, the 1967 Six-Day Middle Eastern War, and various Central American insurgencies. Besides nonfiction works based on her journalism, she also wrote several novels and short stories. Gellhorn never lost her liberal sympathies: in later life, she continued to condemn the Franco regime in Spain, distrusted German professions that their country had conclusively repudiated the Nazi past, and opposed American intervention in Vietnam.

About the Document

Martha Gellhorn wrote this article immediately after visiting Dachau concentration and extermination camp in May 1945, a trip encouraged and facilitated by the U.S. Army, which flew Gellhorn and other journalists there. At that time, Gellhorn was an accredited war correspondent, employed by *Collier's Weekly*, a magazine that specialized in fairly lengthy pieces and enjoyed a wide circulation in the United States. Since it was published only once a week, the magazine's slightly more leisurely deadline permitted her to escape from the incessant demands of a daily newspaper, put more time into each piece, and reflect more deeply on what she wrote. Even so, since Gellhorn produced her article within a few days of visiting Dachau, it essentially represented her spontaneous reaction to the camp, unfiltered by long years of memory.

By 1945, Gellhorn was an experienced writer, whose article graphically and concisely depicted the assorted horrors of Dachau: the jam-packed trains, skeletal survivors, medical experiments, stacks of corpses, punishment cells, crematoria, stench, starvation, and everyday routine brutality. These have since become part of the collective memory of World War II, so familiar a part of its story that they are almost clichés, so that one often describes a person who is dreadfully thin as resembling a concentration camp victim. It is worth remembering, though, that they were new to Gellhorn's readers and even to Gellhorn herself. Instances of individual brutality and atrocities occur in every war. What was different in Nazi Germany was that for many years, methods generally used—if rarely quite so savagely—to manage groups of animals had been applied to punish, exploit, and destroy human beings and applied, moreover, with an inhumanity never before seen on that scale. (Prisoners in Soviet leader Josef Stalin's labor camps may well have been treated with great brutality, but at that time, no reporters were admitted to them, and even there, the chances of survival were appreciably higher.) Gellhorn's article was matter-of-fact in the way it described Dachau, but her own sense of shock came through as she herself stated that, despite the numerous horrors she had encountered in World War II and earlier conflicts, “nowhere was there anything like this.”

Did the fact that the U.S. Army sponsored and facilitated Gellhorn's trip to Dachau compromise the integrity of her writ-

ing? At that time, Germany, though just defeated, was still a war zone, and without some kind of official assistance, no war correspondent could move freely around Germany in pursuit of stories. Journalists attached to the armed forces were normally subject to official censorship when they covered the war, as were the news outlets that carried their stories. The Allied authorities undoubtedly encouraged extensive media reportage on Dachau and other concentration camps, since, although none of the Allies had entered the war primarily to rescue European Jews, Germany's state-sponsored mistreatment of them was additional justification for such Allied policies as their insistence on unconditional surrender and the extensive bombing of major German cities. Furthermore, though most Allied military and political leaders needed relatively strong stomachs to wage World War II, the incontrovertible revelation of the nature and scope of German atrocities nonetheless genuinely disgusted and appalled them. Although the Allied authorities unquestionably welcomed Gellhorn's article and similar pieces by other journalists, she was under no obligation to them to publish anything, though *Collier's*, who employed her, might well have been disappointed had she ignored Dachau, one of the war's bigger and most horrific stories. Nor in this case did the authorities feel any great need to manage the news or suggest what would now be called suitable "spin" on the concentration camps; such efforts would have been at best superfluous, at worst counterproductive. The unadulterated impact of a tour of Dachau and interviews with the pitiable survivors was more than sufficient, and media representatives could safely be left to draw their own chilling conclusions and write whatever they pleased.

Primary Source

Excerpts from "Dachau," included in *The Face of War* by Martha Gellhorn

Behind the barbed wire and the electric fence, the skeletons sat in the sun and searched themselves for lice. They have no age and no faces; they all look alike and like nothing you will ever see if you are lucky. We crossed the wide, crowded, dusty compound between the prison barracks and went to the hospital. In the hall sat more of the skeletons, and from them came the smell of disease and death. They watched us but did not move; no expressions show on a face that is only yellowish, stubbly skin, stretched across bone. What had been a man dragged himself into the doctor's office; he was a Pole and he was about six feet tall and he weighed less than a hundred pounds and he wore a striped prison shirt, a pair of unlaced boots, and a blanket which he tried to hold around his legs. His eyes were large and strange and stood out from his face, and his jawbone seemed to be cutting through his skin. He had come to Dachau from Buchenwald on the last death transport. There were fifty boxcars of his dead travelling companions still

on the siding outside the camp, and for the last three days the American Army had forced Dachau civilians to bury these dead. When the transport had arrived, the German guards locked the men, women and children in the boxcars and there they slowly died of hunger and thirst and suffocation. They screamed and they tried to fight their way out; from time to time, the guards fired into the cars to stop the noise.

This man had survived; he was found under a pile of dead. Now he stood on the bones that were his legs and talked and suddenly he wept. 'Everyone is dead,' he said, and the face that was not a face twisted with pain or sorrow or horror. 'No one is left. Everyone is dead. I cannot help myself. Here I am and I am finished and cannot help myself. Everyone is dead.'

The Polish doctor who had been a prisoner here for five years said, 'In four weeks, you will be a young man again. You will be fine.'

Perhaps his body will live and take strength, but one cannot believe that his eyes will ever be like other people's eyes.

The doctor spoke with great detachment about the things he had watched in this hospital. He had watched them and there was nothing he could do to stop them. The prisoners talked in the same way—quietly, with a strange little smile as if they apologized for talking of such loathsome things to someone who lived in a real world and could hardly be expected to understand Dachau.

'The Germans made here some unusual experiments,' the doctor said. 'They wished to see how long an aviator could go without oxygen, how high in the sky he could go. So they had a closed car from which they pumped the oxygen. It is a quick death,' he said. 'It does not take more than fifteen minutes, but it is a hard death. They killed not so many people, only eight hundred in that experiment. It was found that no one can live above thirty-six-thousand feet altitude without oxygen.'

'Whom did they choose for this experiment?' I asked.

'Any prisoner,' he said, 'so long as he was healthy. They picked the strongest. The mortality was one hundred per cent, of course.'

'It is very interesting, is it not?' said another Polish doctor.

We did not look at each other. I do not know how to explain it, but aside from the terrible anger you feel, you are ashamed. You are ashamed for mankind.

'There was also the experiment of the water,' said the first doctor. 'This was to see how long pilots could survive when they were shot down over water, like the Channel, let us say. For that, the German doctors put the prisoners in great vats and they stood in water up to their necks. It was found that the human body can resist for two and a half hours in water eight degrees below zero. They killed six hundred people in this experiment. Sometimes a man had to suffer three times, for he fainted early in the experiment, and then he was revived and a few days later the experiment was again undertaken.'

‘Didn’t they scream, didn’t they cry out?’

He smiled at that question. ‘There was no use in this place for a man to scream or cry out. It was no use for any man ever.’

A colleague of the Polish doctor came in; he was the only one who knew about the malaria experiments. The German doctor, who was chief of the Army’s tropical medicine research, used Dachau as an experimental station. He was attempting to find a way to immunize German soldiers against malaria. To that end, he inoculated eleven thousand prisoners with tertiary malaria. The death rate from the malaria was not too heavy; it simply meant that these prisoners, weakened by fever, died more quickly afterward from hunger. However, in one day three men died of overdoses of Pyramidon, with which, for some unknown reason, the Germans were then experimenting. No immunization for malaria was ever found.

Down the hall, in the surgery, the Polish surgeon got out the record book to look up some data on operations performed by the SS doctors. These were castration and sterilization operations. The prisoner was forced to sign a paper beforehand, saying that he willingly undertook this self-destruction. Jews and gypsies were castrated; any foreign slave laborer who had had relations with a German woman was sterilized. The German women were sent to other concentration camps.

The Polish surgeon had only his four front upper teeth left, the others on both sides having been knocked out by a guard one day, because the guard felt like breaking teeth. This act did not seem a matter of surprise to the doctor or to anyone else. No brutality could surprise them any more. They were used to a systematic cruelty that had gone on, in this concentration camp, for twelve years.

The surgeon mentioned another experiment, really a very bad one, he said, and obviously quite useless. The guinea pigs were Polish priests. (Over two thousand priests passed through Dachau; one thousand are alive.) The German doctors injected streptococcal germs in the upper leg of the prisoners, between the muscle and the bone. An extensive abscess formed, accompanied by fever and extreme pain. The Polish doctor knew of more than a hundred cases treated this way; there may have been more. He had a record of thirty-one deaths, but it took usually from two to three months of ceaseless pain before the patient died, and all of them died after several operations performed during the last few days of their life. The operations were a further experiment, to see if a dying man could be saved; but the answer was that he could not. Some prisoners recovered entirely, because they were treated with the already known and proved antidote, but there were others who were now moving around the camp, as best they could, crippled for life.

Then, because I could listen to no more, my guide, a German Socialist who had been a prisoner in Dachau for ten and

a half years, took me across the compound to the jail. In Dachau, if you want to rest from one horror you go and see another. The jail was a long clean building with small white cells in it. Here lived the people whom the prisoners called the NN. NN stands for *Nacht und Nebel*, which means night and mist. Translated into less romantic terms, this means that the prisoners in those cells were never taken out into the sun and air. They lived in solitary confinement on water soup and a slice of bread, which was the camp diet. There was of course the danger of going mad. But one never knew what happened to them in the years of their silence. And on the Friday before the Sunday when the Americans entered Dachau, eight thousand men were removed by the SS on a final death transport. Among these were all the prisoners from the solitary cells. None of these men has been heard of since. Now in the clean empty building a woman, alone in a cell, screamed for a long time on one terrible note, was silent for a moment, and screamed again. She had gone mad in the last few days; we came too late for her.

In Dachau if a prisoner was found with a cigarette in his pocket he received twenty-five to fifty lashes with a bull whip. If he failed to stand at attention with his hat off, six feet away from any SS trooper who happened to pass, he had his hands tied behind his back and he was hung by his bound hands from a hook on the wall for an hour. If he did any other little thing which displeased the jailers he was put in the box. The box is the size of a telephone booth. It is so constructed that being in it alone a man cannot sit down, or kneel down, or of course lie down. It was usual to put four men in it together. Here they stood for three days and nights without food or water or any form of sanitation. Afterwards they went back to the sixteen hour day of labor and the diet of water soup and a slice of bread like soft gray cement.

What had killed most of these people was hunger; starvation was simply routine. A man worked those incredible hours on that diet and lived in such overcrowding as cannot be imagined, the bodies packed into airless barracks, and woke each morning weaker, waiting for his death. It is not known how many people died in this camp in the twelve years of its existence, but at least forty-five thousand are known to have died in the last three years. Last February and March, two thousand were killed in the gas chamber because, though they were too weak to work, they did not have the grace to die; so it was arranged for them.

The gas chamber is part of the crematorium. The crematorium is a brick building outside the camp compound, standing in a grove of pine trees. A Polish priest had attached himself to us and as we walked there he said, ‘I started to die twice of starvation, but I was very lucky. I got a job as a mason when we were building this crematorium, so I received a little more food, and that way I did not die.’ Then he said, ‘Have you seen our chapel, madame?’ I said I had not, and my guide

said I could not; it was within the zone where the two thousand typhus cases were more or less isolated. 'It is a pity,' the priest said. 'We finally got a chapel and we had Holy Mass there almost every Sunday. There are very beautiful murals. The man who painted them died of hunger two months ago.'

Now we were at the crematorium. 'You will put a handkerchief over your nose,' the guide said. There, suddenly, but never to be believed, were the bodies of the dead. They were everywhere. There were piles of them inside the oven room, but the SS had not had time to burn them. They were piled outside the door and alongside the building. They were all naked, and behind the crematorium the ragged clothing of the dead was neatly stacked, shirts, jackets, trousers, shoes, awaiting sterilization and further use. The clothing was handled with order, but the bodies were dumped like garbage, rotting in the sun, yellow and nothing but bones, bones grown huge because there was no flesh to cover them, hideous, terrible, agonizing bones, and the unendurable smell of death.

We have all seen a great deal now; we have seen too many wars and too much violent dying; we have seen hospitals, bloody and messy as butcher shops; we have seen the dead like bundles lying on all the roads of half the earth. But nowhere was there anything like this. Nothing about war was ever as insanely wicked as these starved and outraged, naked, nameless dead. Behind one pile of dead lay the clothed healthy bodies of the German soldiers who had been found in this camp. They were shot at once when the American Army entered. And for the first time anywhere one could look at a dead man with gladness.

Just behind the crematorium stood the fine big modern hothouses. Here the prisoners grew the flowers that the SS officers loved. Next to the hothouses were the vegetable gardens, and very rich ones too, where the starving prisoners cultivated the vitamin foods that kept the SS strong. But if a man, dying of hunger, furtively pulled up and gorged himself on a head of lettuce, he would be beaten until he was unconscious. In front of the crematorium, separated from it by a stretch of garden, stood a long row of well-built, commodious homes. The families of the SS officers lived here; their wives and children lived here quite happily, while the chimneys of the crematorium poured out unending smoke heavy with human ashes.

. . . . [T]here is a kind of shock that sets in and makes it almost unbearable to remember what you have seen. I have not talked about the women who were moved to Dachau three weeks ago from their own concentration camps. Their crime was that they were Jewish. There was a lovely girl from Budapest, who somehow was still lovely, and the woman with mad eyes who had watched her sister walk into the gas chamber at Auschwitz and had been held back and refused the right to die with her sister, and the Austrian woman who pointed out calmly that they all had only the sleazy dresses they wore

on their backs, they had never had anything more, and that they worked outdoors sixteen hours a day too in the long winters, and that they too were 'corrected,' as the Germans say, for any offense, real or imaginary.

I have not talked about how it was the day the American Army arrived, though the prisoners told me. In their joy to be free, and longing to see their friends who had come at last, many prisoners rushed to the fence and died electrocuted. There were those who died cheering, because that effort of happiness was more than their bodies could endure. There were those who died because now they had food, and they ate before they could be stopped, and it killed them. I do not know words to describe the men who have survived this horror for years, three years, five years, ten years, and whose minds are as clear and unafraid as the day they entered.

I was in Dachau when the German armies surrendered unconditionally to the Allies. The same half-naked skeleton who had been dug out of the death train shuffled back into the doctor's office. He said something in Polish; his voice was no stronger than a whisper. The Polish doctor clapped his hands gently and said, 'Bravo.' I asked what they were talking about.

'The war is over,' the doctor said. 'Germany is defeated.'

We sat in that room, in that accursed cemetery prison, and no one had anything more to say. Still, Dachau seemed to me the most suitable place in Europe to hear the news of victory. For surely this war was made to abolish Dachau, and all the other places like Dachau, and everything that Dachau stood for, and to abolish it forever.

Source: Martha Gellhorn, "Dachau," from Martha Gellhorn, *The Face of War* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1959). Reprinted by permission of Alexander Matthews, literary executor for Martha Gellhorn.

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5.c. Total War Targets Civilians

5.c.1. Dorothy L. Sayers on Attacks on Civilians

Strategic Bombing in World War II

One important technological innovation of World War II was heavy bombing attacks upon industrial cities, urban centers that normally had large civilian populations. Such raids normally had dual objectives, being designed to wear down the enemy's will to resist not just through the destruction of major industrial facilities but also by eroding popular morale through the infliction of heavy civilian casualties. In 1939, German aircraft bombed Warsaw and other Polish cities heavily, and from summer 1940 to early 1941, Adolf Hitler mounted massive air attacks on London and other major British cities. Britain retaliated with substantial raids on German industrial cities, which over time grew in size. On 30 May 1942, the Royal Air Force mounted the first "thousand-bomber raid" against Cologne and in July 1943, created the first bombing-induced firestorm in a raid on Hamburg that killed approximately 45,000 people. That year, the U.S. Eighth Air Force also began air attacks on German industrial facilities from British bases, raids that gradually increased in scale and intensity. Casualties on these raids were high until the introduction of long-range Allied escort fighters, especially the P-51 Mustang in early 1944.

Although U.S. air commanders claimed that they intended only to strike industrial targets, in practice, their bombs were not particularly accurate, and each raid normally inflicted substantial civilian casualties. The British, by contrast, overtly mounted bombing raids on major German cities, generating some friction with their American allies. Both countries collaborated, however, on a controversial three-day February 1945 firestorm raid on the historic Saxon city of Dresden, an important German military and industrial center, that inflicted perhaps 45,000 civilian casualties, and almost destroyed the town. By early 1945, most major German cities and industrial facilities had experienced major bombing raids, in which more than 700,000 German civilians died. In the Pacific, from early 1945, American bombers mounted huge incendiary raids on a total of 66 Japanese cities, almost all the major urban centers, which devastated 178 square miles of built-up territory and killed hundreds of thousands of civilians, and millions more fled to the countryside.

In 1944, Germany introduced two new weapons in supposed retaliation ("Vergeltung") for the Allied raids on German cities, the V-1 flying bomb, which came into operation in June 1944, and three months later, the V-2 rocket. The

V-1 "doodlebug" was a pilotless pulse-jet monoplane with a range of 150 miles, carrying a 1-ton warhead, launched from the Pas de Calais in France and targeted against southeastern England and London. Of 9,500 launched, many fell short or were shot down by British fighters, but approximately 1,435 hit their targets, killing around 6,284 people and causing a major exodus from London in June–July 1944. In September 1944, Allied forces captured the V-1 launch sites. Within a day, however, Germany began to use its new V-2 rocket to deliver bomb attacks on London and the surrounding area, which continued until March 1945, by which time more than 1,000 had been launched. Although highly inaccurate, the V-2, which arrived silently, was even more frightening than the V-1, which could be heard approaching and was often intercepted by Allied fighters.

About the Author

The prolific British author Dorothy L. Sayers is best known for her erudite series of classic detective stories featuring Lord Peter Wimsey. She was also a well-qualified literary scholar, familiar with several languages, including Latin, German, Italian, and French, and a committed Anglican Christian with a strong interest in theology. In the mid-1930s, she abandoned detective stories to write several plays based upon religious themes, in which issues of guilt, responsibility, and redemption featured prominently. She also translated the classic epic poem by the Italian Renaissance author Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*. A staunch believer in good and evil who strongly supported British intervention in World War II, Sayers was nonetheless familiar with the less attractive effects of conflict. Her husband, the journalist Atherton "Mac" Fleming, had been a correspondent in both the Boer War and World War I and was commissioned in the Army Service Corps in 1915, where he remained until World War I ended. Although he wrote an early guidebook for visitors to the Western Front, many of whom sought to pay their last respects at the graves of much-loved family members, Fleming never fully recovered from his war experiences, drinking heavily in later life as his career flagged and becoming financially dependent upon his wife. Sayers' early novels contained at least one character whom shellshock had reduced to a similar state, and service in World War I left her hero, Lord Peter Wimsey, functional but subject to debilitating recurrent nightmares.

About the Documents

The three documents included here were all written by Dorothy L. Sayers in response to World War II and in particular to those issues raised by the often random bombing of civilians. The first was a poem, published in both Britain and the United States in March 1944, centering on the figure of Fraülein Fehmer, her talented German music mistress at high

school, a woman who loved the music of the Polish composer Frederic Chopin and who became an “ardent Nazi” after returning to Germany sometime in the 1930s. Fehmer lived in the city of Frankfurt, one of the major targets of Allied bombing raids on Germany. She did survive the war, and after Germany was defeated, Sayers resumed contact with her and for several years, sent food parcels to her. The two letters by Sayers, the first intended for publication and the second dispatched to a leading Anglo-Catholic socialist activist in the knowledge it might well be published, were written more than a year apart, one in June 1944, when German V-1 attacks on Britain were at their height, the second in October 1945, as part of the debate over the Allied use of atomic bombs against Hiroshima and Nagasaki. All three documents were effectively contributions to the widespread debate over the morality and legitimacy of attacks against civilians in warfare generated by the German attacks on Allied cities, the massive Allied bombing raids against German urban centers and civilian targets, the German deployment of untargeted V-1 bombers, and the Allied use of atomic weapons against Japan.

Sayers was a highly educated woman who prided herself on her scholarship and logical mind. As a theologian, she was familiar with the Christian church’s doctrines on what constituted a “just war.” She was also very conscious that the “total war” mobilization that the scale of modern warfare demanded meant that the civilian population effectively contributed to the success of each country’s war effort, in her case, and probably that of Fehmer, through the taxes she paid and other activities she undertook in support of the war, and for other civilians, more directly through their often lucrative work in war industries. In her view, this made not only industrial plants but also civilian morale itself a justifiable target of war. The real test of a weapon’s legitimacy therefore became, not its destructiveness, but its effectiveness in ending the war as swiftly, and with as few unnecessary casualties, as possible. Uncertain whether Fehmer was still alive or had died in an Allied raid, Sayers was willing to share in the guilt for the decisions and actions that might have killed her former teacher and had certainly been responsible for numerous other deaths. She was prepared to accept that her own support for the war effort made her a legitimate target for V-1 bombs, which might indeed have hit her Essex home in southeastern England, and argued in October 1945, that Hiroshima and Nagasaki might have been equally valid targets for atomic bombs (or, indeed, any other type of weapon). This stance was very different from that of such convinced pacifists as Vera Brittain or Bishop George Bell of Chichester, who spoke out openly at the time against indiscriminate Allied bombing of German cities and condemned the use of atomic weapons. Although she condemned atrocities that could not “be justified by military necessity,” Sayers also took

an entirely different position from those British civilians who were eager to retaliate against Germany for its use of V-weapons, on the grounds that these were targeted indiscriminately. Sayers’ views expressed the bleak and to many unpalatable implications of the mobilization of entire populations for total war, which logically meant that the all members of those populations had become acceptable and valid targets during warfare.

Primary Source

A) “Target Area,” 1944

Our bombers were out over Germany last night, in very great strength; their main target was Frankfurt

The grim young men in the blue uniforms, professionally laconic, charting, over the inter-com, the soundings of the channel of death, have carried another basket of eggs to Fraülein Fehmer—

I do not know, of course, whether she got them.

Fraülein Fehmer,

thirty-five years ago, when I was at school, taught the piano

in a little music-room, one of a row of little music-rooms that lived in the dark passage under the stair leading to the Lower Fourth:

every music-room

distinguished by the name of a great musician;

every music-room

pouring out a jingle of private harmony

in a jangling discord with the private harmonies of its neighbours.

Fraülein Fehmer was stiffly built,

with a strong square face, lionish, slightly blunted,

as though the hand of the potter had given a gentle

push to the damp clay; she wore eye-glasses,

and a shawl round her shoulders in cold weather; her hair

was straight and dark, combed back over a pad;

she had strong square hands, grasping the keys easily

from middle C to the major third over the octave,

blunt finger-tips and wide flat knuckles; she used

a rather unorthodox

and very powerful action of the whole forearm,

so that the wires sang under her touch like bells.

When she started you on a new piece, she always

inscribed

the date neatly above it; when you made mistakes,

stumbling feverishly among the accidentals,

she would say, “Na, na!” in a strong, tart, rebuking

voice. She must be getting an old woman now,

if the grim young men in the blue uniforms

have not cancelled time for her.

Fraülein Fehmer's music-room
 was named "Chopin"; after her favourite composer;
 once or twice in the school year
 we were invited to hear her give a recital
 of Chopin, after supper. We did not grudge seating the Hall
 for Fraülein Fehmer; we recognized that her playing
 was unlike that of the other music-mistresses;
 no doubt they played well, but Fraülein Fehmer's playing
 was music. There is a particular Nocturne
 that I cannot hear to this day without thinking of her;
 when it is tendered
 by celebrated musicians over the ether
 I see the red brick walls, the games trophies,
 the rush-bottomed chairs, the rows of aspidistras
 that garnished the edge of the platform, and Fraülein
 Fehmer
 gowned in an unbecoming dark-blue silk,
 lifting the song from the strings with a squaring of her
 strong shoulders;
 the notes on the wireless are only the imperfect echo
 of that performance. Memory and association
 count for much, but there is no nostalgic glamour
 about my memories; I was timid of Fraülein Fehmer,
 and I was not happy at school;—I am sure I am right in
 thinking
 that as a pianist she was exceptional.

Some years before the war—
 this war, I mean—I suddenly had a letter
 from Fraülein Fehmer, dated from Frankfurt-am-Main.
 In the same pointed script that used to adorn my music-
 books
 she said she remembered England with much affection;
 she had heard that I was a writer; she would like to read
 something that I had written—would I send her a copy
 for old sake's sake? it cost more than she could afford
 to order a book from England; times were hard,
 it was very hard indeed for musicians to live
 in Germany nowadays; "of course," she added,
 "I am an ardent Nazi."
 She used to wear
 a shawl, as I have said, when the weather was pinching.
 Memory
 tells me it was grey. Hitler rose to power
 on the despair of the middle classes. I sent her books, and
 she thanked me;
 for a long time we exchanged polite greetings at Christmas.

*Last night our bombers
 were out in very great strength over Germany;
 Fraülein Fehmer was in the target area.*

There are so many things that one does not know—
 what, for example, becomes of ageing women
 whose skill is rooted in the wrong memories
 when death puts on his harness (he bears arms
 a *cross crampony*, sable); it may be
 that ardent Nazis are not encouraged to play
 Polish music.
 Tell me, Fraülein Fehmer,
 were you playing Chopin when the bombs went down over
 Warsaw,
 or did the Nocturne ring out for the last time
 on the last night of August?
 How much of your pittance, tapped by the tinkling
 hammers,
 arduously, out of long stretches of common time,
 went up in reek and smoke behind St. Paul's Churchyard?
 Did your grey shawl perish in Russia, frozen
 to the aching bone it wrapped, that fearful winter
 when the dead stiffened as they fell, in the ghastly road from
 Moscow?
 When the great Lancasters
 roaring out of England, making the sky boil like a cauldron,
 stooped at last upon Frankfurt from the blackness between
 the stars,
 did the old, heartbreaking melody cry to you
 Poland's agony through the crashing anger of England?
 Did we strike you, perhaps, quickly,
 tossing the soul out through rent ribs or merciful
 splitting of the skull? Or did you
 find yourself suddenly awake at midnight,
 peering from the blankets, fumbling for your glasses, to see,
 by flare-light and fire-light,
 the unexpected precipice by the bedside,
 the piano shattered aslant, with all its music
 coiling out of it in a tangle of metallic entrails,
 dust, books, ashes, splintered wood, old photographs,
 the sordid indecency of bathroom furniture
 laid open to the sky? Or are you, I wonder,
 still waiting the personal assault, the particular outrage,
 expiating the world's sin in a passion of nightly expectation
 till the unbearable is reiterated
 and the promise fulfilled?
 The death sent out
 returns; I have filled the bombs, loaded the bomb-racks,
 built the planes, equipped
 the laconic grim young men in the blue uniforms;
 for this you learned to play Chopin and I to write
 that we might exchange these messages and these replies.
 Neither of us can stop what is happening now,
 nor would if we could; the discord of private harmonies
 must be resolved in the deafening cataract of calamity;

the first to cry “Halt!” utters a cry of defeat, and makes a breach in the dam, through which the water floods over the house-tops.

This I write
with the same hand that wrote the books I sent you,
knowing that we are responsible for what we do,
knowing that all men stand convicted of blood
in the High Court, the judge with the accused.
The solidarity of mankind is a solidarity in guilt,
and all our virtues stand in need of forgiveness,
being deadly.

*Chopin and the old School Hall
were out last night over Germany, in very great strength,
taking messages to Fraülein Fehmer.*

Source: Ralph E. Hone, ed., *The Poetry of Dorothy L. Sayers* (Swavesey, Cambridge, UK: The Dorothy L. Sayers Society, in association with the Marion E. Wade Center, Wheaton College, Illinois, 1996), pp. 140–144. Permission granted by David Higham Associates, Ltd., London (agents for Sayers’s estate).

Primary Source

B) Sayers to the Editor, *The News Chronicle*, 27 June 1944

If by ‘reprisals’ is meant doing something savage merely in order to ‘pay the other fellow out,’ without improving one’s own situation, then all reprisal is not merely a crime but a first-class military blunder. The object of fighting a war is to win it; irrelevant gestures fritter away energy and handicap the side that indulges in them.

In any case, why ‘reprisals’? There is nothing morally reprehensible about a bomb from a pilotless plane as such. Its critics say that it is inaccurate, and therefore, from a military point of view, inefficient; but we can hardly suppose that the Germans made it inaccurate on purpose. What do the advocates of reprisals want us to do? Squander time and material on constructing a weapon equally, or still more, inaccurate and inefficient, in order to ‘larn ‘em to be toads’? (Or would any old kind of frightfulness fill the bill such as the torture and shooting of prisoners?)

If, on the other hand, the critics are wrong, and the flying bomb is a good, useful and accurate weapon, then to manufacture and use it would not be ‘reprisal,’ but the sensible procedure called ‘learning from the enemy.’

The use of a weapon of war is to destroy (a) as many as possible (b) of the *right* people and (c) the *right* material objects (d) as expeditiously and (e) as inexpensively as possible without (f) more cruelty than is necessary to attain that end. A weapon that is slow, wasteful and indiscriminate is a

bad weapon. The proper answer to bad weapons is good weapons; and the proper answer to randomness is not more randomness but purposeful operations directed against those military objectives whose destruction does most good to ourselves and most harm to the enemy’s war potential.

Source: Barbara Reynolds, ed., *The Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, Vol. 3: 1944–1950: *A Noble Daring* (Cambridge, UK: The Dorothy L. Sayers Society, 1998), pp. 33–34. Permission granted by David Higham Associates, Ltd., London (agents for Sayers’s estate).

Primary Source

C) Dorothy L. Sayers to Maurice Reckitt [founder of the *Christendom Group*], 6 October 1945

I have never been able to feel a righteous indignation about ‘indiscriminate’ bombing. I have never (to come down to a single example) understood why it would have been especially wicked for the Germans to have bombed me. I was not a combatant, nor did I manufacture arms or perform specific military duties; but I did what I could, and my money helped to finance the war effort. And when, through my representatives in Parliament, I declared war on Germany, it was surely not with the mental reservation, ‘on the understanding that nothing unpleasant happens to me.’ On what moral principle does one urge a whole people to ‘do their bit,’ and then claim that some of them should be immune from attack?

The real war crimes seem to me to be those that cannot be justified by military necessity (such as ill-treatment of prisoners, slaughter of hostages, and so forth); or those in which the destruction produced is wholly out of proportion to the military advantage gained. (I said this publicly, at the time, about doodle-bugs, so I think I have the right to say it now.) The destruction of Hiroshima by the atomic bomb may turn out to have been an error of military judgement; it might, in the end, have been better to kill more people, or different people, over a longer time, in order to produce a more really crushing kind of victory. I do not know; nor (at present) does anybody. But so long as entire nations—men, women and children—take part in the war effort, or so long as all their citizens democratically make themselves responsible for declaring war, they all share the responsibility and ought to share the risks and penalties.

What you are up against is, once more, the age of mass-produced power. The nature of machine-power is such that it makes every soul in the country a combatant. The soil and the factories fight. Moreover, organised labour now actually profits by war, on which it can rely for full employment and vastly increased earnings. The solidarity of guilt is indivisible. But the problem is not wholly one of methods of warfare, and is insoluble when tackled from that end.

Source: Barbara Reynolds, ed., *The Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, Vol. 3: 1944–1950: *A Noble Daring* (Cambridge, UK: The Dorothy L. Sayers Society, 1998), pp. 166–167. Permission granted by David Higham Associates, Ltd., London (agents for Sayers’s estate).

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5.c.2. An American Bomber Pilot: Robert S. Raymond

Aviators in World War II

In every country, fliers were high among the elite of the fighting forces. Although service in the air forces was extremely dangerous, with casualty rates of close to 10 percent among aircrew on some of the major Allied raids over Germany in 1943–1944, aviators had perhaps the most glamorous image of any in the armed forces. Their job demanded considerable training, skill, and technical ability. It also gave fliers the opportunity of engaging in something close to individual combat, where their survival depended primarily upon the exercise of their own abilities. Most fliers were young men in their twenties; anyone over thirty was considered elderly.

For both bombers and fighters, flying combat missions was a highly stressful enterprise. Whereas fighter pilots often flew alone, a bomber crew consisted of several men, including pilot, copilot, navigator, radio operator, and one or more gunners and bombardiers, all of whom had to work closely together in hazardous conditions, putting a premium on coordinated teamwork. American aircrews were normally

supposed to be rotated home after flying a tour of 25 missions and to receive a week off after every 5 missions. During the major Allied bombing raids of 1943–1944, however, the attrition rate was so high that, on average, bomber crews could expect to fly only 15 missions before being shot down. American losses in the air war in Europe were 9,949 bombers, 8,500 fighters, and 64,000 airmen killed, whereas the British Bomber Command lost 57,000 men. The most experienced crews generally had the best chances of survival; and newly trained pilots were most at risk. Though fighter airplanes were highly maneuverable, bombers, though well armed with machine guns, flew in tight formation and were vulnerable to attacks from enemy fighters and antiaircraft fire (flak) from the ground. Subzero cold and loss of oxygen, as well as enemy gunfire, could kill aircrew. Nervous breakdowns were fairly common among overstrained fliers, especially those piloting transport planes that navigated the dangerous “Hump” route over the Himalayas ferrying supplies from India to China.

About the Document

In spring 1940, Robert S. Raymond, a young American from Kansas City, volunteered to serve in the French army. During the fall of France, he was evacuated to Great Britain, where he joined the Royal Air Force and trained as a bomber pilot, flying 30 missions on Lancaster bombers. He then transferred to the U.S. Army Air Forces, still based in Britain, where he remained until the war ended, surviving the massive Allied bombing raids on German cities in 1943–1944. This letter to Betty, later his wife, written in early 1943, describes a major bombing raid over the German city of Düsseldorf from which he had just returned. Written at midnight, when Raymond, though tired, was still too keyed up to sleep, it has an immediacy rarely present in accounts written at a greater distance in time after the events they describe. Although slightly censored, it contains most of the information he wished to tell a young woman who was already a close friend. It was probably written, in part, to release the author’s tensions after a rather draining and wearing experience in which he and his crew had come uncomfortably close to death.

Raymond’s letter is largely an account of the bombing raid on Düsseldorf, a relatively easy target in that it was fairly close to Britain. As the leader of this particular raid, his aircraft had a slightly less difficult time from enemy flak than those following it, especially since Raymond, as pilot, used diversionary tactics after releasing his bombs and flares to guide the other airplanes. Nonetheless, his plane came under flak attacks all the way from Düsseldorf to the Channel coast, some of which he suspected had hit the plane (which had not yet been inspected for damage when Raymond wrote his letter); and the journey back to Britain, flying on instruments in

bad weather conditions, was hazardous. Raymond readily admitted that without his instrument training, he would have failed to return safely on this occasion, a fact that may also have been the reason why, unlike “little Griffiths” with whom he shared a room, he was unable to sleep that night. Under such conditions, an aircraft’s survival depended primarily upon the pilot and his abilities, though a dependable and competent crew was also an enormous advantage. One of the most interesting passages of Raymond’s letter is his reflection on the value of a well-trained aircrew, in his case seven men, used to working together, in enabling its members to survive the rigors and dangers of an operational tour.

Raymond did not appear to be concerned by the damage his crew and the other bombers accompanying him had wrought upon Düsseldorf or other German cities. Indeed, he took some pride in being part of a small and in some ways pampered force that could inflict such disproportionately heavy destruction upon its enemies, thereby saving many Allied soldiers’ lives. He did, however, express the hope that once the war was over, his country would turn its enormous energies and capacities from devastation to reconstruction. Like many men away at war, Raymond used his memories of home to anchor and orient himself in a very different life of combat. He finished his letter by recalling some of the everyday sounds of Kansas City, where he hoped to return once the war was over. Perhaps the experience of having escaped death only a few hours earlier made him somewhat more reflective than he might otherwise have been. Interestingly, even though writing to a young woman who might well be concerned for his safety, he did not attempt to minimize the dangers to which he was exposed on a fairly routine basis.

Primary Source

Robert S. Raymond to His (Future) Fiancée, 27 January 1943

Have just returned from Düsseldorf, and sitting here in my quiet room, with Griffiths sleeping peacefully, it seems incredible that I was there only 4 hours ago. Griffith’s curly blonde head is little troubled by the experience of another bombing raid, but I am not yet sleepy and shall tell you about it, for memory, particularly mine, is a transient thing, and inevitably softens the clear-cut lines of any experience, however impressive.

Düsseldorf is a great industrial city situated in the Ruhr on the Rhine River, producing great quantities of vital war materials so badly needed by the Wehrmacht on all fronts. It is vulnerable in that the great river is an outstanding landmark, enabling easy identification, and because it is less than 400 miles from England, making it possible for us to carry a much greater weight of bombs than, for instance, to Italy.

We took off under low cloud with the promise of better weather over the target and on our return. Climbed up through several cloud layers just as the sun was tinting them with the last red colours of the day, and so up over the North Sea with George flying. Some flak over the Dutch coast was sent up to our height through a solid layer of cloud, and from then on we were never entirely free from it until we had arrived within a few minutes of the target, when I remarked to Watt that, although we were quite sure of our position, it looked too quiet to be entirely healthy. But we were evidently the first to arrive, and the defenses were lying doggo in the hope that we would either pass over and not bother them or, being uncertain of our position, fail to locate the city. Neither happened; being quite sure of where we were even above the scattered cloud, we ran straight in and planted our cookie and incendiaries (more than 1000 of them) and, since, the scattered cloud below made a good photo of the result improbable, I turned away immediately.

Watt said, “Bombs gone.”

Immediately after the cookie blossomed into a great red mushroom glow and the string of incendiaries began to sprinkle on the ground, more than 50 searchlights concentrated on the place where we should have been after dropping that load, and the flak was bursting right at the apex of the searchlight cone. The ground defenses had been quietly plotting our track all the while, and now that they knew they were to be the “Target for tonight,” they threw up everything they had. I’m afraid we left our companions a hard row to hoe, but we have faced the same situation elsewhere.

Flak all the way to the coast, and finally the blessed emptiness of the lonely North Sea, where we found ice forming on our wings when we attempted to descend through the cloud, and so stayed upstairs at lower temperatures until we were over England and Price could get us the latest weather report from our Base.

An hour before we arrived the cloud ceiling was 4,000 feet and closing down rapidly. By the time we got there, it was down to 800 feet with rain falling and the air gusty and full of pockets (air currents) that tossed us around like peas in an empty sack between 300 and 1200 feet. Having just [censored] just before setting course from Base earlier in the evening, we were even more cautious than usual. Discipline in the air is absolutely essential, for only the W.A.A.F. in the control tower knows where everyone is. Reviewing the situation now, I know that six months ago under such conditions I would most certainly have been listed as missing with my Crew from this night’s operations. But somewhere during my training I learned to fly confidently by instruments alone, and only that accuracy enabled me to maintain contact and land on the flarepath as smoothly and easily in darkness as it is possible to do during the day. All members of air-crew are

trained, not born, for their jobs, and only hard work and practice enable any crew to live through an Operational tour. I've known so many who trusted to instinct, luck and fortune to carry them through. Each serves in more or less marginal situations, but eventually there can be no substitute. For that reason an Operational Crew of proven ability is a premium product and a valuable unit. They can be developed from average material, but somehow the sum of their abilities must be so integrated that the whole is something greater than the sum of its parts. And that is one of the reasons why I still enjoy flying a bomber.

Primarily, I suppose, it's based on vanity. We live a life of comparative ease and leisure, are fed, clothed, housed and paid more than others, but when the chips are down, it's up to small units of 7 men each, to do in a few hours what would otherwise cost the lives of many thousands to accomplish. Our capacity for destruction is tremendous. God grant that in the days of peace to come we shall work as hard and be as zealous to rebuild and recreate the brave new world.

Several bursts of flak were so near tonight that the Gunners still think we were hit, since we could not examine the plane adequately in the dark when we had parked it at the dispersal point, but we shall see tomorrow. . . .

My letters inevitably taper off to unconnected inconsequentialities. Just remembered some sounds I would like to hear—the long, hollow whistle of a train—you, singing—birds on a spring morning—frogs at midnight—traffic on Main Street—the smooth patter of a salesman (with the goods)—wind in a pine forest—the K.C. [Kansas City] Philharmonic—a church choir—the clatter of a mowing machine—the rustle of tall corn—the drowsy hum of bees around a hive—the crackle of a wood fire—carpenters sawing and hammering—and many others, but most of all your voice.

Source: "Diary (4)" File, World War II Participants and Contemporaries Collection, Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library, Abilene, Kansas. Reprinted in Mark P. Parillo, ed., *We Were in the Big One: Experiences of the World War II Generation* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2002), pp. 70–72. Courtesy Elizabeth Raymond.

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5.c.3. The Civilian Victims of Total War

Civilians and Total War

Governments, whether democratic or authoritarian, normally took the decision for war, but it was their own citizens and those of other countries who usually paid the heaviest price. In the twentieth century, the waging of war expanded to encompass the entire civilian population. For most of the nineteenth century after 1815, European nations had left the actual conduct of war to relatively small professional armies, who generally fought each other at some distance from the civilian populace of their home states, often engaged in colonial conflicts over territories several thousand miles away. Although these contests often wreaked destruction upon the indigenous peoples involved, they had virtually no impact upon the ordinary people of such nations as Great Britain, France, Germany, or Italy. Even when wars did break out in Europe, as with the various Italian Wars of Independence and the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871, these conflicts were short and fairly limited in scope. Those civilians whose homes had the misfortune to stand in the path of advancing armies were decidedly affected, often falling victim to looting and destruction, but their numbers were relatively small, and the bulk of the population could usually remain sidelined on the periphery of such wars.

In the first half of the twentieth century, the situation changed. During World War I, British and German forces each launched small-scale bombing raids on each other's cities, which killed a few hundred people, and passenger liners or merchant vessels carrying civilians in maritime areas considered to be war zones were liable to be attacked without warning. In those regions of France or Belgium or the far more fluid Eastern front and Serbia where fighting took place, millions of civilians were forced to flee before advancing enemy troops, or to evacuate areas where their own military forces intended to fight. In the course of the war Armenians were massacred and Serbs persecuted, and forced exchanges of hundreds of thousands of ethnic Greeks and Turks populations marked the conclusion of peace between those two countries in 1923. On both sides, the Russian civil war of

1918–1922 was also characterized by ferocious atrocities against both civilians and soldiers. During the Spanish Civil War, civilians again became targets, most notoriously during the devastating April 1937 bombing attack on the town of Guernica by German airplanes supporting the Nationalist forces of General Francisco Franco, an episode which prefigured the massive bombings all powers launched against enemy urban centers during World War II. Tens of thousands of Spaniards on the losing Republican side were forced into exile, becoming refugees. During the 1930s Nazi persecution also drove many Jews and dissenting Germans to flee their country. While some emigrated elsewhere, others ended up in limbo in camps for displaced persons, waiting and hoping—often fruitlessly—for eventual resettlement in another country before the fortunes of war returned them to the mercy of their original persecutors.

From 1937 to 1945, civilians in both Europe and Asia were targeted on an unprecedented scale, a development which reached its apogee in 1945 with the atomic bombings of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Millions of Europeans became refugees, driven out of their homes and unable to return. From autumn 1940 the German Luftwaffe launched massive bombing raids against London and other major British industrial cities, which lasted until spring 1941 and continued sporadically throughout the war. In retaliation and then in the hope of bombing Germany into surrender, from early 1942 the British, eventually joined by the Americans, launched ever greater bombing raids against major German cities, which developed into fire raids in 1944 and 1945. The culmination of these was a raid that lasted two days, when during February 13–14 1945 over 1200 British and American bombers poured incendiary bombs over the German city of Dresden, whose population, swollen by numerous refugees, amounted to close to one million. It was later estimated that 35,000 Germans died in the attack, though some sources put the number closer to 100,000. From the beginning of their war on China in 1937, Japanese airplanes attacked Chinese cities. In early 1945 most major Japanese urban centers also became the target of Allied incendiary bombing raids. Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and a few others—including the ancient and beautiful city of Kyoto, ultimately removed from the list of likely nuclear weapon demonstration sites on cultural and artistic grounds, because some years earlier Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson had visited and admired it—were spared only because they were already earmarked as potential targets for the atomic bombs which were then being developed in great secrecy.

Leaders on all sides were initially cagey in admitting that they considered civilians legitimate targets. In 1940 Adolf Hitler claimed that he was only targeting British industrial plants, not the British civilian population, and any bombing

to which the latter was subjected was merely what would today be termed regrettable “collateral damage.” British Prime Minister Winston Churchill was more forthright when he subsequently stated that his government considered the destruction bombing could wreak on both workers’ housing and popular morale appropriate wartime objectives. Some British and American intellectuals and pacifists condemned heavy bombing raids against civilians on moral and humanitarian grounds, while those with stronger stomachs argued that, if these helped to shorten the war and reduce the ultimate number of casualties, then, however terrible, they were morally justified. Debate over their effectiveness was protracted. Advocates of air power within the U.S. military later argued that, even if atomic weapons had not been used, the massive bombing raids against Japanese cities would soon have forced that country to surrender, obviating the need for any U.S. invasion of the Japanese mainland. The post-war U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, another official document, suggested that heavy bombing of German cities had failed to make the inroads in either civilian morale or manufacturing production that would have been needed to force Germany to its knees.

To the civilian victims of war, those who lost their lives, family members, or homes in these raids, such debates probably appeared somewhat academic. The novelist Dorothy L. Sayers, a firm supporter of the war against Germany, argued that since, through her elected parliamentary representatives and by paying her taxes, she had voluntarily chosen to endorse it, she had made herself a legitimate target for military attack, as, she further contended, were those workers who were receiving high wages thanks to their employment in the various war industries. Given the absence of many men at the front, small children and teenagers, women, the elderly, and refugees were often disproportionately represented among the victims of bombing raids. In all wars, the most vulnerable, the poor, and those without political influence tend to be those whose sufferings are the greatest. World War II was no exception. Bombs did not discriminate according to political outlook. While some had no doubt been ardent supporters of war, by no stretch of the imagination could many of the victims of bombing raids, especially those living under authoritarian political systems or too young to participate in democratic decisions, be said to have consciously chosen war. Although their deaths may indeed have shortened the conflict’s duration and perhaps helped to prevent even higher numbers of casualties, each death was an individual tragedy that in most cases the victim was powerless to prevent or avoid.

Much the same was often true of refugees, millions of whom died during the war itself, gunned down on the roads of France, Poland, China, and elsewhere as they fled invad-

ing forces, or starving and freezing to death in Russia, Poland, and Eastern Europe. When the war ended, around Europe 9 million people were living in camps for displaced persons. Many were Jews, concentration camp inmates, or former German slave laborers from Eastern Europe, who frequently no longer wished to return to their countries of origin, especially when these had fallen under communist rule. Often they were young people in their teens who had lost parents and other relatives, and found themselves virtually alone in the world, in some cases without passports or identification papers, leaving them stateless. As the eastern front moved into German territory when Russian troops entered East Prussia in January 1945, millions of Germans fled west before the advancing army. Some were physically expropriated from their homes, as Russia had already determined that postwar Poland would receive much of this area, and Germans were unlikely to remain welcome residents. Others feared the harsh treatment they believed Germans would almost certainly receive at the hands of incoming Russian forces, and preferred to move to areas they believed would fall under milder British or American occupation authorities. During this forcible evacuation and flight, in the depths of winter, at least one million Germans died, most of them civilians, experiencing the kind of treatment that, earlier in the war, their own forces had inflicted upon occupied countries. Even so, unlike the millions left stateless, those refugees who fled west across Germany in 1945 had lost their homes but still had a country they could call their own.

So extensive was the refugee problem that in November 1943 the Allied nations established a special agency, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, specifically to deal with the refugee problem. UNRRA operations extended beyond Europe to Asia, where millions of Chinese and others had fled before Japanese forces during the 1930s and early 1940s. As World War II ended, Japanese settlers and residents were in their turn expelled from China, Korea, and Southeast Asia, some officially deported and shipped out together with the remaining Japanese military forces, others making their own way home under extremely difficult conditions. Some never returned to Japan but were killed by incoming Chinese, Russian, or American forces. Occasionally, individual personal relationships mitigated the worst of such sufferings. Japanese nurses or teachers who had shown kindness to former patients or pupils were sometimes helped by them, just as, earlier in the war, their onetime Chinese or Southeast Asian servants had sometimes been willing to assist colonial employers imprisoned in Japanese internment camps. Abandoned comfort women who had been attached to the Japanese forces as prostitutes, many against their will, usually found little official succor, and often had to beg their way home. The developing Chi-

nese civil war soon generated its own crop of refugees, as Nationalist supporters fled before the growing power of the Communists.

In both Europe and Asia, many refugees owned little or nothing except the clothes they stood up in, and in the confusion of war had often lost touch with what remained of their families. UNRRA's operations continued until late 1947, when a new agency, the International Refugee Organization, took over responsibility for the 643,000 displaced persons still living in its camps, most of them individuals who, due to mental or physical health problems or other difficulties, were particularly hard to resettle. Some stories ended fairly happily, with reunions taking place against all odds, but hundreds of thousands of refugees had to abandon all roots and begin new lives in strange countries, poor, without relatives, with few if any qualifications, and having lost years of their lives. But, whatever difficulties they faced, these were still the lucky ones. The bodies of millions of others were scattered around Europe and Asia, leaving them no opportunity for any new life.

About the Documents

Of the three stories included here, not one was written by anyone especially famous or distinguished. Perhaps their saddest feature is that they were in no way unusual or atypical. Tens, even hundreds, of thousands of young people could have recounted similar tales of wartime hardship, deprivation, fear, and suffering. The most famous example is almost certainly the diary of Anne Frank, a teenage Dutch Jewish girl who spent several years in hiding with her family in Amsterdam during the war, dying in a concentration camp after their betrayal to Nazi occupation authorities. All three authors were young children or teenagers during the events they describe. Lothar Metzger was just ten during the bombing of Dresden; Shinoda Tomoko was a schoolgirl of sixteen when she experienced the incendiary raid on Tokyo; and the unidentified German girl who described her family's flight eastward flight was also in her teens. Certain themes run through all three pieces, notably the self-reliance that these young people were forced to develop, trying to help distracted parents to care for smaller siblings, locate missing children, and endure through the most horrific and basic conditions. In each case, one also has a sense of the strength of the bonds still sustaining the surviving family unit, so that family members came together in grief over the loss of Lothar Metzger's father or twin sisters or the German girl's grandparents, whose fate would always remain unknown to their families. One also notes the pathetic effort by Metzger's mother to give him a birthday treat, however small, the joy at the unexpected reunion with Metzger's elder sister, by then presumed dead,

and the relief that Shinoda Tomoko's brothers were safely away from Tokyo during the bombing raids.

Each of these reminiscences described traumatic events that had clearly—as Metzger explicitly states—affected the writer's entire life, together with that of his or her family, and were among the most significant moments of their childhood. Each described in great and harrowing detail an ordeal still remembered only too well, which had engraved itself on the writer's mind and haunted his or her dreams. Two, interestingly, were written down several decades after the events they described, and apparently in response to slightly different stimuli. Metzger produced his account for the Timewitnesses website for survivors of World War II, set up in January 1994, its mission to ensure “that the lessons of the past will be learned by a new generation.” Ensuring that nothing like the Dresden raid ever took place again was apparently one of the major objectives of Metzger's life. Shinoda Tomoko wrote down her recollections in the late 1980s or early 1990s, in response to an appeal by a leading Japanese newspaper soliciting personal accounts of the war years, in a deliberate effort to come to terms with an era of their history many Japanese had previously preferred to forget. The unidentified teenage girl apparently wrote her account of her family's flight across Germany on 9 November 1951, only six years after the events described, for inclusion in a compilation of documents published in West Germany on that flight or expulsion of Germans from beyond the Oder/Neisse line that had become the new boundary dividing East Germany from Poland.

The provenance of the final document is interesting. In the years after World War II, Germans in the new Western-oriented Federal Republic were eager to rehabilitate themselves with their former Anglo-American enemies, especially the United States, now locked in the Cold War with the Soviet Union. One means of doing so was to emphasize the cruelty and deprivation Germans experienced at Soviet hands at the end of World War II. The collection for which this account was first written may well have been compiled with just such ends in view. In the postwar period many Japanese have also sought to stress the cruelty and suffering the Allied atomic and fire bombings inflicted on defenseless civilians across the country. Yet, whether or not such ulterior motives played some part in the decision to solicit or publish such reminiscences, this does not invalidate them as historical documents. They are still horrifying testimony to the inhumanity, cruelty, and deprivation the weakest and most vulnerable in every country endured in consequence of World War II. They also bear moving witness to the courage many children and young people summoned up, however adverse the circumstances, in the effort not just to survive themselves, but to help their families struggle on against the odds and overcome hardship and catastrophe.

Primary Source

A) Lothar Metzger, May 1999, Eyewitness Account of the Firebombing of Dresden, 13–14 February 1945

It was February 13th, 1945. I lived with my mother and sisters (13, 5 and 5 months old twins) in Dresden and was looking forward to celebrating my 10th birthday February 16th. My father, a carpenter, had been a soldier since 1939 and we got his last letter in August 1944. My mother was very sad to receive her letters back with the note: “Not to be found.” We lived in a 3 room flat on the 4th floor in a working class region of our town. I remember celebrating Shrove Tuesday (February 13th) together with other children, The activities of the war in the east came nearer and nearer. Lots of soldiers went east and lots of refugees went west through our town or stayed there, also in the air raid night February 13th/14th.

About 9:30 PM the alarm was given. We children knew that sound and got up and dressed quickly, to hurry downstairs into our cellar which we used as an air raid shelter. My older sister and I carried my baby twin sisters, my mother carried a little suitcase and the bottles with milk for our babies. On the radio we heard with great horror the news: “Attention, a great air raid will come over our town!” This news I will never forget.

Some minutes later we heard a horrible noise—the bombers. There were nonstop explosions. Our cellar was filled with fire and smoke and was damaged, the lights went out and wounded people shouted dreadfully. In great fear we struggled to leave this cellar. My mother and my older sister carried the big basket in which the twins were lain. With one hand I grasped my younger sister and with the other I grasped the coat of my mother.

We did not recognize our street any more. Fire, only fire wherever we looked. Our 4th floor did not exist anymore. The broken remains of our house were burning. On the streets there were burning vehicles and carts with refugees, people, horses, all of them screaming and shouting in fear of death. I saw hurt women, children, old people searching a way through ruins and flames.

We fled into another cellar overcrowded with injured and distraught men women and children shouting, crying and praying. No light except some electric torches. And then suddenly the second raid began. This shelter was hit too, and so we fled through cellar after cellar. Many, so many, desperate people came in from the streets. It is not possible to describe! Explosion after explosion. It was beyond belief, worse than the blackest nightmare. So many people were horribly burnt and injured. It became more and more difficult to breathe. It was dark and all of us tried to leave this cellar with inconceivable panic. Dead and dying people were trampled upon, luggage was left or snatched up out of our hands by rescuers.

The basket with our twins covered with wet cloths was snatched up out of my mother's hands and we were pushed upstairs by the people behind us. We saw the burning street, the falling ruins and the terrible firestorm. My mother covered us with wet blankets and coats she found in a water tub.

We saw terrible things: cremated adults shrunk to the size of small children, pieces of arms and legs, dead people, whole families burnt to death, burning people ran to and fro, burnt coaches filled with civilian refugees, dead rescuers and soldiers, many were calling and looking for their children and families, and fire everywhere, everywhere fire, and all the time the hot wind of the firestorm threw people back into the burning houses they were trying to escape from.

I cannot forget these terrible details. I can never forget them.

Now my mother possessed only a little bag with our identity papers. The basket with the twins had disappeared and then suddenly my older sister vanished too. Although my mother looked for her immediately it was in vain. The last hours of this night we found shelter in the cellar of a hospital nearby surrounded by crying and dying people. In the next morning we looked for our sister and the twins but without success. The house where we lived was only a burning ruin. The house where our twins were left we could not go in. Soldiers said everyone was burnt to death and we never saw my two baby sisters again.

Totally exhausted, with burnt hair and badly burnt and wounded by the fire we walked to the Loschwitz bridge where we found good people who allowed us to wash, to eat and to sleep. But only a short time because suddenly the second air raid began (February 14th) and this house too was bombed and my mother's last identity papers burnt. Completely exhausted we hurried over the bridge (river Elbe) with many other homeless survivors and found another family ready to help us, because somehow their home survived this horror.

In all this tragedy I had completely forgotten my 10th birthday. But the next day my mother surprised me with a piece of sausage she begged from the "Red Cross." This was my birthday present.

In the next days and weeks we looked for my older sister but in vain. We wrote our present address on the last walls of our damaged house. In the middle of March we were evacuated to a little village near Oschatz and on March 31st, we got a letter from my sister. She was alive! In that disastrous night she lost us and with other lost children she was taken to a nearby village. Later she found our address on the wall of our house and at the beginning of April my mother brought her to our new home.

You can be sure that the horrible experiences of this night in Dresden led to confused dreams, sleepless nights and disturbed our souls, me and the rest of my family. Years later I

intensively thought the matter over, the causes, the political contexts of this night. This became very important for my whole life and my further decisions.

Source: Web site: Timewitnesses: Memories of the Last Century. Available at <http://timewitnesses.org/english/lothar.html>. Reprinted with permission of Tim Holloway, webmaster.

Primary Source

B) The Firebombing of Tokyo, 10 March 1945: Reminiscences of Shinoda Tomoko

We were among those surrounded by flames on 10 March 1945. My mother, older sister, and I tried to make our escape. Wherever I went, a wave of fire rushed toward me. Finally I made it to Oshiage station. There were thousands of people there. It was so hot and suffocating that I pressed my cheek to the ground. The air was cool and clean down there. I saw the legs of all sorts of people in front of me. Occasionally on my way a man I didn't know would splash ditch water from a bucket on us and urge us on, saying it was just a little further. Behind me a man sat covered with a large quilt. My back pressed against his, I waited for day to break, fearful and worried about the heat.

With the coming of the pale dawn, people started heading for home. Several military trucks came by around that time. Thinking they had come to help us, I stood up, and the man behind me toppled over. I shook him, but he was dead. They said he died from smoke and the heat of the flames.

On the way home, I thought I saw some black work gloves. When I took a closer look, they were hands that had been torn off. Many red fire trucks were burned out on the major road next to the streetcar tracks, with firemen dead on their vehicles. The dead were blackened and had shrunk to the size of children. It was impossible to tell if they were men or women.

I finally made it back to the charred remains of our house. My mother and sister were there. We hugged each other, weeping. We dug up the crockery, furniture, and food that we had buried in our yard. The rice that had been washed and in our pot was now charred, but we ate it. The tin cans of food that had been stored in the basement of the school building, which had been spared, had burst open due to the tremendous heat of the surrounding fires. I had two younger brothers in first and second grade, but they had been evacuated and were not in Tokyo, so they were safe.

Source: Frank Gibney, ed., Senso: *The Japanese Remember the Pacific War: Letters to the Editor of Asahi Shimbun* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1995), pp. 204–205. Reprinted with permission of M. E. Sharpe.

Primary Source

C) Refugees on the Eastern Front: A Teenage Girl Describes the Flight from East Prussia, January–February 1945

On 21 January 1945 Lyck had to be evacuated. With a heavy heart my mother, my sister and I parted from my father, who had been conscripted into the Volkssturm, and from my grandparents. My grandfather intended to take as much of our movable property as possible and join a trek going in the direction of Arys.

With the last trains that were running we reached Rastenburg, where we stayed the night with relatives. Radio reports which we heard indicated that East Prussia was in a hopeless position. In the meantime, the bad news had reached us that trains to the Reich had stopped running. Now we had only one thought: to leave Rastenburg as quickly as possible. My grandmother stayed behind with her maid because she was determined to wait for her husband. We were never to see her or my grandfather again.

At the goods depot in Rastenburg we three found refuge in a goods wagon which was carrying soldiers in the direction of Königsberg. We had to leave the train at Korschen but had the good fortune to get another goods train which was full of refugees. Babies died of hunger on the way.

On 26 January 1945 we reached Bartenstein. In their fear of falling into the hands of the Russians many refugees had managed, despite the extreme cold, to attach themselves to the transport in open coal wagons. On arrival in Bartenstein many had already frozen to death.

We stayed the night in our wagon. At first light, we left the goods train and looked for lodgings in Bartenstein. A female acquaintance from Lyck joined us with her son, who had been caught out by the flight in the middle of his convalescence. It was minus 25 degrees centigrade. While we were going along we heard the dull grumble of artillery fire in the distance.

We found lodgings and rested for two days. But then the approaching artillery fire drove us out of the town of Bartenstein. With the sound of endless explosions as our own troops blew up the Wehrmacht installations in Bartenstein, we found our way out of the town amidst a headless mass of fleeing people. We soon realized that we could not make any progress along the roads. We went back to the goods depot and again had the incredible luck of finding a wagon which was only partly full. Our acquaintance got hold of a railwayman who, after much persuasion, agreed to couple this wagon onto a hospital train which was going to Braunsberg. The railwaymen looked after the refugees in a very touching way and provided them with food and drink.

On 1 February the transport arrived at Braunsberg. Here we received the latest bad news. Allenstein had fallen. Elbing was occupied by the Russians. We were in a huge trap!

The Russian planes endlessly attacked Braunsberg with bombs and gunfire. A friend of my mother's took us in. Many refugees had to camp in cellars. We stayed in Braunsberg until 10 February 1945. Every day we had to queue for food and coal. The drone of the Stalin organs [Katyusha rockets] was getting nearer and nearer. Electricity and gas had packed up. There were ten of us living in a single room. We decided to leave the town. We left our domicile in the dark with a few other fellow-sufferers and groped our way forward in a pitch black night along a road covered with human and animal corpses. Behind us was Braunsberg in flames; to the left of us—around Frauenberg—bitter fighting was going on.

Around midnight—completely filthy and muddy—we reached the little town of Passarge on the Frische Haff. We awaited the new day in a barn. Hein P., our convalescent soldier, could go no further. We had to leave them behind as we continued on foot to the Frische Haff. In the meantime, the icy cold had been replaced by constant rain. We reached the banks of the Frische Haff, paused for a few minutes and then began the walk to the opposite spit of land.

The ice was brittle and in many places we had to wade through water 25 cm. deep. We kept testing the surface in front of us with sticks. Numerous bomb craters forced us to make detours. Often one slipped and thought one had had it. Our clothes, which were soaked through, only allowed us to move clumsily. But fear of death made us forget the shivering which shook our bodies.

I saw women performing superhuman feats. As leaders of the treks they instinctively found the safest paths for their wagons. Household goods were strewn all over the ice; wounded people crept up to us with pleading gestures, hobbling on sticks; others were carried on small sledges by their comrades.

Our journey through this valley of death took us six hours. We reached the Frische Haffe. We sank into a fitful sleep in a tiny chicken coop. Our stomachs grumbled with hunger.

On the next day we walked in the direction of Danzig. On the way we saw gruesome scenes. Mothers in a fit of madness threw their children into the sea. People hanged themselves; others fell upon dead horses, cutting out bits of flesh and roasting them on open fires. Women gave birth in the wagons. Everyone thought only of himself—no one could help the sick and the weak.

In Kahlberg we placed ourselves at the disposal of the Red Cross and cared for the wounded in the Beach Hall. On 13 February 1945 we went on board a ship as nursing personnel. On the next day we reached Danzig-Neufahrwasser and disembarked.

On 15 February 1945 we were assigned accommodations in Zoppot. My mother, sister and I could barely keep upright. Nevertheless, we dragged ourselves to the goods depot in Gotenhafen where, for the third time, by a stroke of luck we

managed to get a military postal wagon to take us to Stolp (Pomerania). On 19 February as nursing personnel on a hospital train, we arrived via Hanover in Gera in Thuringia, where we were put up by relatives. It was 28 February 1945. On that day our flight from East Prussia was over.

Source: Jeremy Noakes, ed., *Nazism 1919–1945*, Volume 4: *The Home Front in World War II* (Exeter, UK: University of Exeter Press, 1998), pp. 664–666. Reprinted with permission of University of Exeter Press.

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5.c.4. The Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki

The Use of Atomic Weapons against Hiroshima and Nagasaki, August 1945

In an often brutal war, where civilians frequently suffered equally with military personnel, the use of atomic bombs against the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was still unique, in terms of the scale of destruction a single bomb could wreak on an entire city. On 6 August 1945, a B-29 bomber dropped an atomic bomb fueled by uranium 235 on the city of Hiroshima, which at the time probably housed about 350,000 people. By November 1945, approximately 130,000 of these were dead, either in the blast itself or in its aftermath, and in subsequent years, many more would succumb to radiation sickness. Three days later, a second bomb, one fueled by plutonium, fell on Nagasaki, the population of

which was then around 270,000. Encircling hills limited this weapon's effects, but even so, by November 1945, somewhere between 60,000 and 70,000 had lost their lives.

The magnitude of the casualties inflicted, in each case by a single bomb, meant that the decision to use such powerful weapons later generated furious controversy. President Harry S Truman and his close advisers always defended the employment of atomic weapons on the grounds that this represented the only available means to persuade the Japanese government to surrender without the huge loss of both Allied and Japanese lives that an invasion of the Japanese homeland would have entailed. Subsequent critics questioned the estimated number of American casualties, up to 1 million, cited afterwards in justification by Truman and others involved in this decision, particularly Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson. Some historians, notably Gar Alperovitz, subsequently charged that by early August 1945, American officials knew through intercepted communications that Japan was close to surrender and that they used the bomb nonetheless because they sought to demonstrate to the Soviet Union, whose relationship with both the United States and Britain was rapidly deteriorating, the extent of U.S. military power. Another potential reason for its use, cited by Alperovitz, was the American desire to preempt Soviet military intervention in the Pacific war, with the territorial and other advantages this would bring the Soviet Union. Others suggested that had the United States, instead of insisting on Japan's unconditional surrender, unequivocally stated its willingness to retain Japanese Emperor Hirohito as a figurehead national leader, his government would have capitulated before atomic weapons were used. American air force leaders wishing to prove their service's indispensability later claimed that, regardless of whether the United States employed atomic weapons, the firebombing of Japanese cities would have caused Japan's surrender without any invasion, and top naval officials urged that their economic blockade of Japan had been similarly effective.

When subjected to close analysis, such arguments are less than convincing. Stimson, Truman, and others may have exaggerated the exact number of casualties anticipated in any invasion of Japan, but they unquestionably believed these would be high and were determined to minimize further loss of American lives in the war. By June 1945, this was Truman's highest priority, regardless of any additional cost in time or money. The suggestion that Japan was in any case close to surrender is also dubious. To quote J. Samuel Walker: "The recognition that Japan was on the verge of defeat did not mean, however, that it was on the verge of surrender" (Walker 1997, 30). The Japanese military intended to fight on, in the hope of wearing down U.S. morale and the American commitment to continuing the war and perhaps obtaining better peace terms. In June 1945, military leaders had ordered

last-ditch resistance to any Allied invasion, including the use of suicide tactics where possible. Peace feelers through Soviet intermediaries proved inconclusive, as Japanese negotiators sought to obtain terms that included not only the retention of the emperor but also continued Japanese control of its own affairs without any Allied occupation. After the first successful atomic bomb test, on 25 July 1945, Truman, then attending the Potsdam Conference of Allied leaders, ordered the new weapon's use against a major Japanese target on or after 3 August. On Stimson's advice, on 26 July, the president also issued an ambiguous public warning that unless Japan surrendered immediately, it faced attack by "immeasurably greater" forces than those used against Germany, which would "mean the inevitable and complete destruction of the Japanese armed forces and just as inevitably the utter devastation of the Japanese homeland" (Potsdam Declaration, 26 July 1945). Even if Truman had been more specific regarding the probable effects of nuclear weapons, Japanese leaders would almost certainly have ignored this warning and treated it as bluff. Indeed, after Hiroshima, the die-hard Japanese cabinet faction argued that it was an isolated event, since the United States would not have been able to build more than one bomb. Only after the destruction of both Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the formal Soviet declaration of war on Japan in August 1945 did Hirohito succeed in asserting his authority and insisting that Japan surrender, no matter what the terms. Before these events, the Japanese cabinet was deadlocked. Even afterward, when Hirohito announced his decision to sue for peace, Japanese military leaders and their political supporters contemplated a coup and the emperor's possible assassination.

Available evidence suggests that in summer 1945, Truman and his closest advisers regarded nuclear armaments as weapons like any others, their employment against targets where civilians would inevitably suffer massive collateral casualties as acceptable as the use of highly destructive firebombing against Japanese or German cities. The only difference was the scale and scope of damage that each individual bomb could inflict. The fundamental assumption of Truman and most of his advisers was that having devoted enormous resources to developing atomic weapons, unless the war ended immediately, the United States had an obligation to use them. Though Truman did show some concern regarding the number of civilian casualties the Nagasaki attack might cause and gave instructions afterward—when the United States had no more bombs that were immediately operational—that no further such weapons should be used without his specific authorization, he did not countermand the orders to use the second bomb. After eight years of war in Asia and six in Europe, frequently marked by great savagery on all sides and by large-scale atrocities and oppression on

the part of the Axis in particular, sensibilities had become blunted, and Allied leaders could contemplate with equanimity measures they would once have thought unconscionable. The brutal calculus of war was such that for Truman, the preservation of American lives was a far higher priority than minimizing Japanese deaths.

For many decades, Truman's decision to employ atomic weapons continued to provoke popular and historical controversy and dissent, which intensified when scientists and the general public became more familiar with the long-term medical and genetic consequences of radiation contamination and poisoning that afflicted many of the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and even their children. Then and later, the literary critic Paul Fussell spoke for many of those young American soldiers who otherwise faced fighting and possible death or mutilation in the Pacific in applauding Truman's decision and attacking its critics. Asians from countries that suffered the rigors of Japanese invasion and occupation have also generally refrained from retrospective condemnation of Truman's actions. In 1995, a Smithsonian Museum exhibit featuring portions of the fuselage of the *Enola Gay*, the B-29 bomber that delivered the first atomic bomb, provoked enormous controversy and discussion when World War II veterans and others charged that the accompanying recorded commentary was overly critical of the actual decision to use atomic devices.

About the Documents

The first of these documents is Harry S Truman's own account, given in his memoirs, of his decision to authorize the use of atomic weapons, something he claimed never caused him to lose a single night's sleep. Truman recognized that he was essentially justifying his own conduct on one of the most controversial actions of his presidency, so this is very much an account setting out the best case in his defense. Truman emphasized that his top military advisers had informed him just how heavy American casualties were likely to be in any invasion of Japan. He stressed that his top scientific, military, and political advisers, and also British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, were all in agreement that the bomb was "a military weapon and never had any doubt that it should be used." (In fact, one or two dissenting voices were raised but not among the committee of topmost officials or the most influential of Truman's advisers.) Truman also stressed that he took great care to ensure the bomb was used legitimately, "as a weapon of war in the manner prescribed by the laws of war," and he had therefore insisted that all its targets must possess some "military importance." He described how Japan rejected the terms of the Potsdam Declaration and even after Hiroshima, refused to surrender. By relating how it took massive further conventional bombing raids, plus the use of

a second nuclear device against Nagasaki, to extract the first indication that Japan would contemplate surrender, Truman implicitly defended all these measures.

Although most of Truman's account was correct, there were, rather interestingly, certain inaccuracies. Truman implied that the Potsdam Declaration pledged that the Japanese emperor would be left in place, whereas this was not the case, even though General Douglas MacArthur, who headed the Japanese occupation authority, eventually chose to retain him. To accord with an earlier potential American casualty figure of one million publicly given by Stimson in 1947, Truman apparently inflated Marshall's estimate of American combat deaths in an invasion of Japan from 250,000 to 500,000. On other occasions, moreover, he cited different figures. It seems, too, that he never sent an explicit order to General Carl Spaatz "to continue operations as planned unless otherwise instructed," and that Spaatz simply assumed the second attack should go ahead. Human memory is often inexact and such minor mistakes are very common in memoirs and autobiographies. In this case, though, critics alleged that they apparently cast doubt upon Truman's veracity and credibility, as did an account Truman gave of a meeting with his military advisers at Potsdam on the employment of nuclear weapons that may well have never occurred. Although Truman almost certainly consciously doctored the potential casualty figures, his other errors were probably simply the product of a fallible memory. Even so, given the significance of this particular decision, Truman would have been wise to check the precision of all his facts, since even the smallest error was likely to compromise the account he gave.

The second document describes the consequences for those on the ground of the American decision to employ atomic weapons against Hiroshima. It is a straightforward account of personal experiences of the attack on Hiroshima recorded in September 1945 by a German Catholic missionary priest, normally a philosophy professor at Catholic University in Tokyo, who had been evacuated to a mission on the outskirts of Hiroshima. Siemes' narrative, recorded only a few weeks after the destruction of Hiroshima, when his memories were still fresh, is primarily factual, a careful and often gruesome description of the bomb's effect upon those victims beyond the center of impact where all were immediately destroyed. He vividly depicted his own experience of the bomb's blast and the manner in which immediately after the attack, he and other inhabitants of Hiroshima tried to understand and make sense of what exactly had happened to their city. Only in one brief paragraph at the very end did Siemes describe discussions with his colleagues over whether the use of such powerful weapons was legitimate, even in "total war," and he gave no conclusive answer but instead raised a further question, stating: "The crux of the matter is whether total war

in its present form is justifiable, even when it serves a just purpose." No moral philosopher has yet come up with a conclusive answer to Siemes' question, though it may be significant that on no occasion since August 1945 has any state ever employed nuclear weapons.

Siemes' recollections were recorded by American officials and included, apparently uncensored, as one chapter of the June 1946 report on the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings published by the MANHATTAN Project. Even though the full implications of radiation poisoning were not yet known, the report's authors clearly had the intellectual honesty to wish to include material illustrating the human consequences of the employment of atomic bombs. Many scientists who worked on the MANHATTAN Project later confessed to personal uneasy consciences over whether the devastation their invention had brought to Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the potential for further such destruction were morally excusable.

Primary Source

A) President Harry S. Truman Recalls the Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb

A month before the test explosion of the atomic bomb the service Secretaries and the Joint Chiefs of Staff had laid their detailed plans for the defeat of Japan before me for approval. . . .

The Army plan envisaged an amphibious landing in the fall of 1945 on the island of Kyushu, the southernmost of the Japanese home islands. This would be accomplished by our Sixth Army, under the command of General Walter Krueger. The first landing would then be followed approximately four months later by a second great invasion, which would be carried out by our eighth and tenth Armies, followed by the First Army transferred from Europe, all of which would go ashore in the Kanto plains area near Tokyo. In all, it had been estimated that it would require until the late fall of 1946 to bring Japan to her knees.

This was a formidable conception, and all of us realized fully that the fighting would be fierce and the losses heavy. But it was hoped that some of Japan's forces would continue to be preoccupied in China and others would be prevented from reinforcing the home islands if Russia were to enter the war.

There was, of course, always the possibility that the Japanese might choose to surrender sooner. Our air and fleet units had begun to inflict heavy damage on industrial and urban sites in Japan proper. Except in China, the armies of the Mikado had been pushed back everywhere in relentless successions of defeats.

Acting Secretary of State Grew had spoken to me in late May about issuing a proclamation that would urge the Japa-

nese to surrender but would assure them that we would permit the emperor to remain as head of the state. Grew backed this with arguments taken from his ten years' experience as our Ambassador in Japan, and I told him that I had already given thought to this matter myself and that it seemed to me a sound idea. Grew had a draft of a proclamation with him, and I instructed him to send it by the customary channels to the Joint Chiefs and the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee in order that we might get the opinions of all concerned before I made my decision.

On June 18 Grew reported that the proposal had met with the approval of his Cabinet colleagues and of the Joint Chiefs. The military leaders also discussed the subject with me when they reported the same day. Grew, however, favored issuing the proclamation at once, to coincide with the closing of the campaign on Okinawa, while the service chiefs were of the opinion that we should wait until we were ready to follow a Japanese refusal with the actual assault of our invasion forces.

It was my decision then that the proclamation to Japan should be issued from the forthcoming conference at Potsdam. This, I believed, would clearly demonstrate to Japan and to the world that the Allies were united in their purpose. By that time, also, we might know more about two matters of significance for our future effort: the participation of the Soviet Union and the atomic bomb. We knew that the bomb would receive its first test in mid-July. If the test of the bomb was successful, I wanted to afford Japan a clear chance to end the fighting before we made use of this newly gained power. If the test should fail, then it would be even more important to us to bring about a surrender before we had to make a physical conquest of Japan. General Marshall told me that it might cost half a million American lives to force the enemy's surrender on his home grounds.

But the test was now successful. . . .

[At Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson's suggestion, shortly after becoming president in April 1945 Truman had] set up a committee of top men and had asked them to study with great care the implications the new weapon might have for us.

Secretary Stimson headed this group as chairman, and the other members were George L. Harrison, president of the New York Life Insurance Company, who was then serving as a special assistant to the Secretary of War; James F. Byrnes, as my personal representative; Ralph A. Bard, Under Secretary of the Navy; Assistant Secretary William L. Clayton for the State Department; and three of our most renowned scientists—Dr. Vannevar Bush, president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington and Director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development; Dr. Karl T. Compton, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Chief of Field Service in the Office of Scientific Research and Development; and

Dr. James B. Conant, president of Harvard University and chairman of the National Defense Research Committee.

This committee was assisted by a group of scientists, of whom those most prominently connected with the development of the atomic bomb were Dr. Oppenheimer, Dr. Arthur H. Compton, Dr. E. O. Lawrence, and the Italian-born Dr. Enrico Fermi. The conclusions reached by these men, both in the advisory committee of scientists and in the larger committee, were brought to me by Secretary Stimson on June 1.

It was their recommendation that the bomb be used against the enemy as soon as it could be done. They recommended further that it should be used without specific warning and against a target that would clearly show its devastating strength. I had realized, of course, that an atomic bomb explosion would inflict damage and casualties beyond imagination. On the other hand, the scientific advisers of the committee reported, "We can see no acceptable alternative to direct military use." It was their conclusion that no technical demonstration such as they might propose, such as over a deserted island, would be likely to bring the war to an end. It had to be used against an enemy target.

The final decision of where and when to use the atomic bomb was up to me. Let there be no mistake about it. I regarded the bomb as a military weapon and never had any doubt that it should be used. The top military advisers to the President recommended its use, and when I talked to Churchill he unhesitatingly told me that he favored the use of the atomic bomb if it might aid to end the war.

In deciding to use this bomb I wanted to make sure that it would be used as a weapon of war in the manner prescribed by the laws of war. That meant that I wanted it dropped on a military target. I had told Stimson that the bomb should be dropped as nearly as possibly upon a war production center of prime military importance.

Stimson's staff had prepared a list of cities in Japan that might serve as targets. Kyoto, though favored by [Head of the Army Air Force] General Arnold as a center of military activity, was eliminated when Secretary Stimson pointed out that it was a cultural and religious shrine of the Japanese.

Four cities were finally recommended as targets: Hiroshima, Kokura, Niigata, and Nagasaki. They were listed in that order as targets for the first attack. The order of selection was in accordance with the military importance of these cities, but allowance would be given for weather conditions at the time of the bombing. . . .

On July 28 Radio Tokyo announced that the Japanese government would continue to fight. There was no formal reply to the joint ultimatum of the United States, the United Kingdom, and China. There was no alternative now. The bomb was scheduled to be dropped after August 3 unless Japan surrendered before that day.

On August 6, the fourth day of the journey home from Potsdam, came the historic news that shook the world. . . . Shortly afterward I called a press conference. . . . My statements on the atomic bomb . . . read in part. . . .

“We are now prepared to obliterate more rapidly and completely every productive enterprise the Japanese have above ground in any city. We shall destroy their docks, their factories, and their communications. Let there be no mistake; we shall completely destroy Japan’s power to make war.

“It was to spare the Japanese people from utter destruction that the ultimatum of July 26 was issued at Potsdam. Their leaders promptly rejected that ultimatum. If they do not now accept our terms, they may expect a rain of ruin from the air, the like of which has never been seen on this earth.” . . .

Still no surrender offer came. An order was issued to General Spaatz [commander of U.S. air forces in Asia] to continue operations as planned unless otherwise instructed. . . .

On August 9 the second atom bomb was dropped, this time on Nagasaki. We gave the Japanese three days in which to make up their minds to surrender, and the bombing would have been held off another two days had weather permitted. During those days we indicated that we meant business. On August 7 the 20th Air force sent out a bomber force of some one hundred and thirty B-29’s, and on the eighth it reported four hundred and twenty B-29’s in day and night attacks. The choice of targets for the second atom bomb was first Kokura, with Nagasaki second. The third city on the list, Niigata, had been ruled out as too distant. By the time Kokura was reached the weather had closed in, and after three runs over the spot without a glimpse of the target, with gas running short, a try was made for the second choice, Nagasaki. There, too, the weather had closed in, but an opening in the clouds gave the bombardier his chance, and Nagasaki was successfully bombed.

This second demonstration of the power of the atomic bomb apparently threw Tokyo into a panic, for the next morning brought the first indication that the Japanese Empire was ready to surrender.

Source: Harry S. Truman, *Memoirs: Year of Decisions* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1955), pp. 416–426. Reprinted courtesy of Ms. Margaret Truman Daniel.

Primary Source

B) Hiroshima by Father John A. Siemes

Up to August 6th, occasional bombs, which did no great damage, had fallen on Hiroshima. Many cities roundabout, one after the other, were destroyed, but Hiroshima itself remained protected. There were almost daily observation planes over the city but none of them dropped a bomb. The

citizens wondered why they alone had remained undisturbed for so long a time. There were fantastic rumors that the enemy had something special in mind for this city, but no one dreamed that the end would come in such a fashion as on the morning of August 6th.

August 6th began in a bright, clear, summer morning. About seven o’clock, there was an air raid alarm which we had heard almost every day and a few planes appeared over the city. No one paid any attention and at about eight o’clock, the all-clear was sounded. I am sitting in my room at the Novitiate of the Society of Jesus in Nagatsuke; during the past half year, the philosophical and theological section of our Mission had been evacuated to this place from Tokyo. The Novitiate is situated approximately two kilometers from Hiroshima, half-way up the sides of a broad valley which stretches from the town at sea level into this mountainous hinterland, and through which courses a river. From my window, I have a wonderful view down the valley to the edge of the city.

Suddenly—the time is approximately 8:14—the whole valley is filled by a garish light which resembles the magnesium light used in photography, and I am conscious of a wave of heat. I jump to the window to find out the cause of this remarkable phenomenon, but I see nothing more than that brilliant yellow light. As I make for the door, it doesn’t occur to me that the light might have something to do with enemy planes. On the way from the window, I hear a moderately loud explosion which seems to come from a distance and, at the same time, the windows are broken in with a loud crash. There has been an interval of perhaps ten seconds since the flash of light. I am sprayed by fragments of glass. The entire window frame has been forced into the room. I realize now that a bomb has burst and I am under the impression that it exploded directly over our house or in the immediate vicinity.

I am bleeding from cuts about the hands and head. I attempt to get out of the door. It has been forced outwards by the air pressure and has become jammed. I force an opening in the door by means of repeated blows with my hands and feet and come to a broad hallway from which open the various rooms. Everything is in a state of confusion. All windows are broken and all the doors are forced inwards. The bookshelves in the hallway have tumbled down. I do not note a second explosion and the fliers seem to have gone on. Most of my colleagues have been injured by fragments of glass. A few are bleeding but none has been seriously injured. All of us have been fortunate since it is now apparent that the wall of my room opposite the window has been lacerated by long fragments of glass.

We proceed to the front of the house to see where the bomb has landed. There is no evidence, however, of a bomb crater; but the southeast section of the house is very severely damaged. Not a door nor a window remains. The blast of air had

penetrated the entire house from the southeast, but the house still stands. It is constructed in a Japanese style with a wooden framework, but has been greatly strengthened by the labor of our Brother Gropper as is frequently done in Japanese homes. Only along the front of the chapel which adjoins the house, three supports have given way (it has been made in the manner of a Japanese temple, entirely out of wood.)

Down in the valley, perhaps one kilometer toward the city from us, several peasant homes are on fire and the woods on the opposite side of the valley are aflame. A few of us go over to help control the flames. While we are attempting to put things in order, a storm comes up and it begins to rain. Over the city, clouds of smoke are rising and I hear a few slight explosions. I come to the conclusion that an incendiary bomb with an especially strong explosive action has gone off down in the valley. A few of us saw three planes at great altitude over the city at the time of the explosion. I, myself, saw no aircraft whatsoever.

Perhaps a half-hour after the explosion, a procession of people begins to stream up the valley from the city. The crowd thickens continuously. A few come up the road to our house. We give them first aid and bring them into the chapel, which we have in the meantime cleaned and cleared of wreckage, and put them to rest on the straw mats which constitute the floor of Japanese houses. A few display horrible wounds of the extremities and back. The small quantity of fat which we possessed during this time of war was soon used up in the care of the burns. Father Rektor who, before taking holy orders, had studied medicine, ministers to the injured, but our bandages and drugs are soon gone. We must be content with cleansing the wounds.

More and more of the injured come to us. The least injured drag the more seriously wounded. There are wounded soldiers, and mothers carrying burned children in their arms. From the houses of the farmers in the valley comes word: "Our houses are full of wounded and dying. Can you help, at least by taking the worst cases?" The wounded come from the sections at the edge of the city. They saw the bright light, their houses collapsed and buried the inmates in their rooms. Those that were in the open suffered instantaneous burns, particularly on the lightly clothed or unclothed parts of the body. Numerous fires sprang up which soon consumed the entire district. We now conclude that the epicenter of the explosion was at the edge of the city near the Jokogawa Station, three kilometers away from us. . . .

Soon comes news that the entire city has been destroyed by the explosion and that it is on fire. . . . Father Stolte and Father Erlinghagen go down to the road which is still full of refugees and bring in the seriously injured who have sunken by the wayside, to the temporary aid station at the village school. There iodine is applied to the wounds but they are left

uncleansed. Neither ointments nor other therapeutic agents are available. Those that have been brought in are laid on the floor and no one can give them any further care. What could one do when all means are lacking? Under those circumstances, it is almost useless to bring them in. Among the passersby, there are many who are uninjured. In a purposeless, insensate manner, distraught by the magnitude of the disaster most of them rush by and none conceives the thought of organizing help on his own initiative. They are concerned only with the welfare of their own families. It became clear to us during these days that the Japanese displayed little initiative, preparedness, and organizational skill in preparation for catastrophes. They failed to carry out any rescue work when something could have been saved by a cooperative effort, and fatalistically let the catastrophe take its course. When we urged them to take part in the rescue work, they did everything willingly, but on their own initiative they did very little. . . .

[In the late afternoon, the fathers go into the city to try to assist other members of their mission who are injured.] Hurriedly, we get together two stretchers and seven of us rush toward the city. Father Rektor comes along with food and medicine. The closer we get to the city, the greater is the evidence of destruction and the more difficult it is to make our way. The houses at the edge of the city are all severely damaged. Many have collapsed or burned down. Further in, almost all of the dwellings have been damaged by fire. Where the city stood, there is a gigantic burned-out scar. We make our way along the street on the river bank among the burning and smoking ruins. Twice we are forced into the river itself by the heat and smoke at the level of the street.

Frightfully burned people beckon to us. Along the way, there are many dead and dying. On the Misasi Bridge, which leads into the inner city we are met by a long procession of soldiers who have suffered burns. They drag themselves along with the help of staves or are carried by their less severely injured comrades . . . an endless procession of the unfortunate. . . .

Finally we reach the entrance of the park. A large proportion of the populace has taken refuge there, but even the trees of the park are on fire in several places. Paths and bridges are blocked by the trunks of fallen trees and are almost impassable. We are told that a high wind, which may well have resulted from the heat of the burning city, has uprooted the large trees. It is now quite dark. Only the fires, which are still raging in some places at a distance, give out a little light.

At the far corner of the park, on the river bank itself, we at last come upon our colleagues. . . .

While they are eating the food that we have brought along, they tell us of their experiences. They were in their rooms at the Parish House—it was a quarter after eight, exactly the

time when we had heard the explosion in Nagatsuke—when came the intense light and immediately thereafter the sound of breaking windows, walls and furniture. They were showered with glass splinters and fragments of wreckage. . . . They had the same impression that we had in Nagatsuke: that the bomb had burst in their immediate vicinity. The Church, school, and all buildings in the immediate vicinity collapsed at once. Beneath the ruins of the school, the children cried for help. They were freed with great effort. Several others were also rescued from the ruins of nearby dwellings. . . . In the meantime, fires which had begun some distance away are raging even closer, so that it becomes obvious that everything would soon burn down. . . .

Beneath the wreckage of the houses along the way, many have been trapped and they scream to be rescued from the oncoming flames. They must be left to their fate. The way to the place in the city to which one desires to flee is no longer open and one must make for Asano Park. . . . In the park, we take refuge on the bank of the river. A very violent whirlwind now begins to uproot large trees, and lifts them high into the air. As it reaches the water, a waterspout forms which is approximately 100 meters high. The violence of the storm luckily passes us by. Some distance away, however, where numerous refugees have taken shelter, many are blown into the river. Almost all who are in the vicinity have been injured and have lost relatives who have been pinned under the wreckage or who have been lost sight of during the flight. There is no help for the wounded and some die. No one pays any attention to a dead man lying nearby.

The transportation of our own wounded is difficult. It is not possible to dress their wounds properly in the darkness, and they bleed again upon slight motion. As we carry them on the shaky litters in the dark over fallen trees of the park, they suffer unbearable pain as the result of the movement, and lose dangerously large quantities of blood. Our rescuing angel in this difficult situation is a Japanese Protestant pastor. He has brought up a boat and offers to take our wounded up stream to a place where progress is easier. First, we lower the litter containing Father Schiffer into the boat and two of us accompany him. We plan to bring the boat back for the Father Superior. The boat returns about one-half hour later and the pastor requests that several of us help in the rescue of two children whom he had seen in the river. We rescue them. They have severe burns. Soon they suffer chills and die in the park.

The Father Superior is conveyed in the boat in the same manner as Father Schiffer. . . . From the other side of the stream comes the whinny of horses who are threatened by the fire. We land on a sand spit which juts out from the shore. It is full of wounded who have taken refuge there. They scream for aid for they are afraid of drowning as the river may rise

with the sea, and cover the sand spit. They themselves are too weak to move. However, we must press on and finally we reach the spot where the group containing Father Schiffer is waiting.

Here a rescue party had brought a large case of fresh rice cakes but there is no one to distribute them to the numerous wounded that lie all about. We distribute them to those that are nearby and also help ourselves. The wounded call for water and we come to the aid of a few. Cries for help are heard from a distance, but we cannot approach the ruins from which they come. A group of soldiers comes along the road and their officer notices that we speak a strange language. He at once draws his sword, screamingly demands who we are and threatens to cut us down. Father Laures, Jr., seizes his arm and explains that we are German. We finally quiet him down. He thought that we might well be Americans who had parachuted down. Rumors of parachutists were being bandied about the city. . . .

On the Misasa Bridge, we meet Father Tappe and Father Luhmer, who have come to meet us from Nagatsuke. They had dug a family out of the ruins of their collapsed house some fifty meters off the road. The father of the family was already dead. They had dragged out two girls and placed them by the side of the road. Their mother was still trapped under some beams. They had planned to complete the rescue and then to press on to meet us. At the outskirts of the city, we put down the litter and leave two men to wait until those who are to come from Nagatsuke appear. The rest of us turn back to fetch the Father Superior.

Most of the ruins have now burned down. The darkness kindly hides the many forms that lie on the ground. Only occasionally in our quick progress do we hear calls for help. One of us remarks that the remarkable burned smell reminds him of incinerated corpses. The upright, squatting form which we had passed by previously is still there. . . .

About half past four in the morning, we finally arrive at the Novitiate. Our rescue expedition had taken almost twelve hours. Normally, one could go back and forth to the city in two hours. Our two wounded were now, for the first time, properly dressed. I get two hours sleep on the floor; some one else has taken my own bed. Then I read a *Mass in gratiarum actionem* [of thanks], it is the 7th of August, the anniversary of the foundation of our society. Then we bestir ourselves to bring Father Kleinsorge and other acquaintances out of the city.

We take off again with the hand cart. The bright day now reveals the frightful picture which last night's darkness had partly concealed. Where the city stood everything, as far as the eye could reach, is a waste of ashes and ruin. Only several skeletons of buildings completely burned out in the interior remain. The banks of the river are covered with dead and

wounded, and the rising waters have here and there covered some of the corpses. On the broad street in the Hakushima district, naked burned cadavers are particularly numerous. Among them are the wounded who are still alive. A few have crawled under the burnt-out autos and trams. Frightfully injured forms beckon to us and then collapse. An old woman and a girl whom she is pulling along with her fall down at our feet. We place them on our cart and wheel them to the hospital at whose entrance a dressing station has been set up. Here the wounded lie on the hard floor, row on row. Only the largest wounds are dressed. We convey another soldier and an old woman to the place but we cannot move everybody who lies exposed in the sun. It would be endless and it is questionable whether those whom we can drag to the dressing station can come out alive, because even here nothing really effective can be done. Later, we ascertain that the wounded lay for days in the burnt-out hallways of the hospital and there they died. . . .

We took under our care fifty refugees who had lost everything. The majority of them were wounded and not a few had dangerous burns. Father Rektor treated the wounds as well as he could with the few medicaments that we could, with effort, gather up. He had to confine himself in general to cleansing the wounds of purulent material. Even those with the smaller burns are very weak and all suffered from diarrhea. In the farm houses in the vicinity, almost everywhere, there are also wounded. Father Rektor made daily rounds and acted in the capacity of a painstaking physician and was a great Samaritan. Our work was, in the eyes of the people, a greater boost for Christianity than all our work during the preceding long years.

Three of the severely burned in our house died within the next few days. Suddenly the pulse and respirations ceased. It is certainly a sign of our good care that so few died. In the official aid stations and hospitals, a good third or half of those that had been brought in died. They lay about there almost without care, and a very high percentage succumbed. Everything was lacking: doctors, assistants, dressings, drugs, etc. In an aid station at a school at a nearby village, a group of soldiers for several days did nothing except to bring in and cremate the dead behind the school.

During the next few days, funeral processions passed our house from morning to night, bringing the deceased to a small valley nearby. There, in six places, the dead were burned. People brought their own wood and themselves did the cremation. Father Luhmer and Father Laures found a dead man in a nearby house who had already become bloated and who emitted a frightful odor. They brought him to this valley and incinerated him themselves. Even late at night, the little valley was lit up by the funeral pyres.

We made systematic efforts to trace our acquaintances and the families of the refugees whom we had sheltered. Fre-

quently, after the passage of several weeks, some one was found in a distant village or hospital but of many there was no news, and these were apparently dead. We were lucky to discover the mother of the two children whom we had found in the park and who had been given up for dead. After three weeks, she saw her children once again. In the great joy of the reunion were mingled the tears for those whom we shall not see again.

The magnitude of the disaster that befell Hiroshima on August 6th was only slowly pieced together in my mind. I lived through the catastrophe and saw it only in flashes, which only gradually were merged to give me a total picture. What actually happened simultaneously in the city as a whole is as follows: As a result of the explosion of the bomb at 8:15, almost the entire city was destroyed at a single blow. Only small outlying districts in the southern and eastern parts of the town escaped complete destruction. The bomb exploded over the center of the city. As a result of the blast, the small Japanese houses in a diameter of five kilometers, which comprised 99% of the city, collapsed or were blown up. Those who were in the houses were buried in the ruins. Those who were in the open sustained burns resulting from contact with the substance or rays emitted by the bomb. Where the substance struck in quantity, fires sprang up. These spread rapidly.

The heat which rose from the center created a whirlwind which was effective in spreading fire throughout the whole city. Those who had been caught beneath the ruins and who could not be freed rapidly, and those who had been caught by the flames, became casualties. As much as six kilometers from the center of the explosion, all houses were damaged and many collapsed and caught fire. Even fifteen kilometers away, windows were broken. It was rumored that the enemy fliers had spread an explosive and incendiary material over the city and then had created the explosion and ignition. A few maintained that they saw the planes drop a parachute which had carried something that exploded at a height of 1,000 meters. The newspapers called the bomb an "atomic bomb" and noted that the force of the blast had resulted from the explosion of uranium atoms, and that gamma rays had been sent out as a result of this, but no one knew anything for certain concerning the nature of the bomb.

How many people were a sacrifice to this bomb? Those who had lived through the catastrophe placed the number of dead at least 100,000. Hiroshima had a population of 400,000. Official statistics place the number who had died at 70,000 up to September 1st, not counting the missing . . . and 130,000 wounded, among them 43,500 severely wounded. Estimates made by ourselves on the basis of groups known to us show that the number of 100,000 dead is not too high. Near us there are two barracks, in each of which forty Korean workers lived.

On the day of the explosion, they were laboring on the streets of Hiroshima. Four returned alive to one barracks and sixteen to the other. 600 students of the Protestant girls' school worked in a factory, from which only thirty to forty returned. Most of the peasant families in the neighborhood lost one or more of their members who had worked at factories in the city. Our next door neighbor, Tamura, lost two children and himself suffered a large wound since, as it happened, he had been in the city on that day. The family of our reader suffered two dead, father and son; thus a family of five members suffered at least two losses, counting only the dead and severely wounded. There died the Mayor, the President of the central Japan district, the Commander of the city, a Korean prince who had been stationed in Hiroshima in the capacity of an officer, and many other high ranking officers. Of the professors of the University, thirty-two were killed or severely injured. Especially hard hit were the soldiers. The Pioneer Regiment was almost entirely wiped out. The barracks were near the center of the explosion.

Thousands of wounded who died later could doubtless have been rescued had they received proper treatment and care, but rescue work in a catastrophe of this magnitude had not been envisioned; since the whole city had been knocked out at a blow, everything which had been prepared for emergency work was lost, and no preparation had been made for rescue work in the outlying districts. Many of the wounded also died because they had been weakened by under-nourishment and consequently lacked in strength to recover. Those who had their normal strength and who received good care slowly healed the burns which had been occasioned by the bomb. There were also cases, however, whose prognosis seemed good who died suddenly. There were also some who had only small external wounds who died within a week or later, after an inflammation of the pharynx and oral cavity had taken place. We thought at first that this was the result of inhalation of the substance of the bomb. Later, a commission established the thesis that gamma rays had been given out at the time of the explosion, following which the internal organs had been injured in a manner resembling that consequent upon Roentgen irradiation. This produces a diminution in the numbers of the white corpuscles.

Only several cases are known to me personally where individuals who did not have external burns later died. Father Kleinsorge and Father Cieslik, who were near the center of the explosion, but who did not suffer burns became quite weak some fourteen days after the explosion. Up to this time small incised wounds had healed normally, but thereafter the wounds which were still unhealed became worse and are to date [in September 1945] still incompletely healed. The attending physician diagnosed it as leucopenia. There thus seems to be some truth in the statement that the radiation had

some effect on the blood. I am of the opinion, however, that their generally undernourished and weakened condition was partly responsible for these findings. It was noised about that the ruins of the city emitted deadly rays and that workers who went there to aid in the clearing died, and that the central district would be uninhabitable for some time to come. I have my doubts as to whether such talk is true and myself and others who worked in the ruined area for some hours shortly after the explosion suffered no such ill effects.

None of us in those days heard a single outburst against the Americans on the part of the Japanese, nor was there any evidence of a vengeful spirit. The Japanese suffered this terrible blow as part of the fortunes of war . . . something to be borne without complaint. During this, war, I have noted relatively little hatred toward the allies on the part of the people themselves, although the press has taken occasion to stir up such feelings. After the victories at the beginning of the war, the enemy was rather looked down upon, but when allied offensive gathered momentum and especially after the advent of the majestic B-29's, the technical skill of America became an object of wonder and admiration.

The following anecdote indicates the spirit of the Japanese: A few days after the atomic bombing, the secretary of the University came to us asserting that the Japanese were ready to destroy San Francisco by means of an equally effective bomb. It is dubious that he himself believed what he told us. He merely wanted to impress upon us foreigners that the Japanese were capable of similar discoveries. In his nationalistic pride, he talked himself into believing this. The Japanese also intimated that the principle of the new bomb was a Japanese discovery. It was only lack of raw materials, they said, which prevented its construction. In the meantime, the Germans were said to have carried the discovery to a further stage and were about to initiate such bombing. The Americans were reputed to have learned the secret from the Germans, and they had then brought the bomb to a stage of industrial completion.

We have discussed among ourselves the ethics of the use of the bomb. Some consider it in the same category as poison gas and were against its use on a civil population. Others were of the view that in total war, as carried on in Japan, there was no difference between civilians and soldiers, and that the bomb itself was an effective force tending to end the bloodshed, warning Japan to surrender and thus to avoid total destruction. It seems logical to me that he who supports total war in principle cannot complain of war against civilians. The crux of the matter is whether total war in its present form is justifiable, even when it serves a just purpose. Does it not have material and spiritual evil as its consequences which far exceed whatever good that might result? When will our moralists give us a clear answer to this question?

Source: Chapter 25 of The Manhattan Engineer District, *The Atomic Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki* (29 June 1946). Available from the Avalon Project: The Atomic Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/abomb/mp25.htm>.

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Section VI

The Long-Term International Impact

World War II had a permanent and massive impact on the postwar international scene. As early as August 1941, when Roosevelt drafted the Atlantic Charter, U.S. leaders had begun to promise a world based on liberal internationalist principles, promising all peoples democracy and self-determination as one of the Allied war aims. Many American officials hoped that, through advice, aid, and encouragement, their country would be able to promote benevolent political, social, and economic change around the world, converting developing and formerly colonized regions and nations into model liberal social democracies. Throughout Europe, in exchange for popular support during the war, governments promised social reforms aimed at improving the lot of the average man or woman. Many influential European intellectuals now argued that an economically and politically united continent, preferably run on social democratic welfare-state principles, was their only safeguard against further fratricidal European conflicts.

Some portents were less benign. The Soviet Union targeted a major espionage effort against its British and American allies, and in pursuit of national security sought old-fashioned spheres of influence in both Eastern Europe and Asia, which geographical and strategic considerations led the somewhat uncomfortable Roosevelt and Churchill to promise Stalin at the February 1945 Yalta Conference. Even where Japanese forces had not triumphed during the war, as in India, popular Asian nationalist movements threatened to overturn European imperial rule. In much of Asia, including China and French Indochina, anti-colonial or anti-foreign nationalism went hand-in-hand with communism, arousing apprehensions among Western leaders that, if radical nationalist groups gained power, they would turn in fraternal loyalty to the communist Soviet Union. Faced with an uncertain international situation, top U.S. military and civilian officials sought decisive and permanent enhancements of their country's strategic position, intelligence capabilities, and armed forces.

6.1. The Atlantic Charter

The Atlantic Charter, 14 August 1941

Drafted and signed while President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill met secretly at sea in Argentia Harbor, off Placentia Bay on the Newfoundland coast, from 8 to 12 August 1941, the Atlantic Charter was issued publicly by Britain and the United States on 14 August 1941. Although—in an encounter Churchill had completely forgotten—the two men had met briefly at a London dinner in 1918 when both held less eminent government positions in their own countries, this was their first meeting as president and prime minister. In World War II, the practice began of heads of government holding “summit” meetings with each other where they could personally discuss and decide important

issues. The Atlantic Conference was the first of several such wartime gatherings of the top Allied leaders. The most frequent meetings were those between Roosevelt and Churchill, but the two men twice met with Soviet leader Josef Stalin, at Tehran in 1943 and Yalta in 1945, and once with Chinese president Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), at Cairo in 1943. The final such summit meeting was that at Potsdam in July 1945, attended by Stalin, when Clement Attlee replaced Churchill as British prime minister and Harry S. Truman had become president of the United States. Churchill also met at least once with Stalin on an individual basis, in Moscow in 1944.

In August 1941, Britain had been at war with Germany for two years and with Italy since June 1940, but strictly speaking, the United States was still neutral in the war. In reality, Roosevelt had so directed his country's policies that he was

serving as an undeclared ally of Britain: all German, Italian, and even Japanese assets in the United States were by this time frozen, and the U.S. government declared the entire Western Hemisphere off-limits to Axis naval vessels, took over the defense of Iceland and Greenland, exchanged surplus American destroyers for British naval bases in the Caribbean, and under the March 1941 Lend-Lease Act, furnished ever increasing amounts of war supplies to Britain on deferred payment terms. It seemed not improbable that Roosevelt, who had already launched a massive defense buildup at home, would make some minor military or naval clash between U.S. and German forces into the pretext for declaring outright war against Germany.

Besides giving Roosevelt, Churchill, and their top military advisers and other associates an extended opportunity to get to know each other, the Atlantic Conference meeting had two other functions. One was to coordinate future British and American strategy in both Europe and the Pacific. The second was to issue a statement of war objectives behind which all the nations and groups currently massed against the Axis nations could unite. For Churchill, who had previously refused to make any such proclamation on the grounds that it was premature when victory was still a distant prospect and the shape of the world at that time remained highly unclear, this was not a high priority. The Americans, however, wanted a definite joint statement of war aims, and Churchill feared that “the President will be very much upset” if the two countries could not reach agreement upon one. Anxious to placate the United States, upon whom his own country’s war effort was by now so heavily dependent, Churchill therefore yielded. Roosevelt, on his part, sought an idealistic program of liberal war aims around which he could rally American and international public opinion, thereby legitimizing and justifying his steady incremental moves toward war as part of a broader quest toward a fairer and better liberal world order that could be achieved in no other way.

The Atlantic Charter represented the first formal statement of the principles and objectives for which both original signatory powers were fighting. British officials were nonetheless concerned that the principles enunciated therein might compromise their special economic relations with the rest of the British Empire and later added a rider specifically exempting all such arrangements from the provisions of the Atlantic Charter. The Soviet Union had not been consulted at all, and before adhering to the Charter, it too later made significant reservations regarding its own rights in other territories.

About the Document

The Atlantic Charter was a formal statement, designed for international public consumption, and was also the product

of fairly hard bargaining between the two original signatory powers. As with many general international declarations, its language was not only idealistic and formal but also quite deliberately vague, in part to induce other Allied nations to endorse it, at least in principle. No exact pledges were made regarding the postwar disposition or government of any specific territory, in part because it was far too early to predict precisely what conditions would prevail when the war ended. The drafters were well aware, if only because they remembered the situation at the end of World War I, that making definite promises to any nation or group could readily become extremely contentious, delighting the potential beneficiaries but at the price of alienating those who were likely to lose out and leading every other nation or group to demand similar commitments. The signatories therefore restricted themselves to extremely broad, general, and insofar as possible noncontroversial statements of impeccably liberal principles: that they themselves sought no territorial or other aggrandizement to their own power; that international changes must “accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned”; that all peoples should have the right to choose their own form of government; that all nations should have equal access to international trade and raw materials; that they would encourage international economic development and the improvement of all peoples’ socioeconomic conditions; that they would endeavor to facilitate the establishment of a peaceful postwar international order in which all individuals “may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want”; that they supported international freedom of the seas; and that postwar disarmament of previously “aggressi[ve]” nations would be essential.

The Atlantic Charter’s fundamental purpose was to provide a broad public statement of principles around which all those fighting the Axis could unite. Although nonbinding, it would serve to indicate the overall Allied objectives in the war. It was also intended to differentiate Allied methods and tactics from such favored Axis policies as the rule of terror, economic autarky, and the forcible annexation and economic exploitation of other nations. Even the two original signatories soon further clarified their position. One week after the Atlantic Charter was published, on 21 August 1941, Roosevelt sent the U.S. Congress a message enclosing its text, in which he stated that there could be no compromise or negotiated peace with Nazism and added an interpretive comment, essentially expanding the Atlantic Charter, to the effect that “the declaration of principles includes of necessity the world need for freedom of religion and freedom of information. No society of the world organized under the announced principles could survive without these freedoms which are a part of the whole freedom for which we strive” (Rosenman 1938–1950, vol. 10:334).

In late September 1941, representatives of those European governments—many of them from countries then under German occupation—fighting Hitler and his allies met in London and endorsed the Atlantic Charter. Churchill had already promised his Parliament that this agreement's fourth point would not be allowed to compromise the special economic relationships existing within the British Empire; nor, undoubtedly, did he interpret the third point as diluting Britain's control of its colonial empire. At the same gathering, Soviet officials likewise made significant reservations when endorsing the Atlantic Charter, stating that the Soviet Union "defends the right of every nation to the independence and territorial integrity of its country and its right to establish such a social order and to choose such a form of government as it deems opportune and necessary for the better promotion of its economic and cultural prosperity," but adding that "the practical application of these principles will necessarily adapt itself to the circumstances, needs, and historic peculiarities of particular countries" (Schlesinger 1973, vol. 2:4). The significance of these reservations would become apparent later, when Soviet leaders demanded what were in effect special tutelary rights over those east European states that Russian military forces controlled when the war ended. Stalin had no intention of allowing broad general declarations of principle to detract from his ability to pursue and protect what he perceived as his own country's national security interests.

On New Year's Day, 1942, 28 nations and groupings fighting the Axis, including the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union, signed a "Declaration of the United Nations," pledging themselves to make no separate peace with any Axis power before victory was attained and to accept the principles of the Atlantic Charter. In no way, however, did this modify the earlier reservations some had expressed. As with many other broad international declarations of intent, the degree to which the principles enshrined in the Atlantic Charter were implemented in practice would depend primarily upon the readiness of its signatories to accept them and put them into effect. By the end of 1941, it was already apparent that some of the more influential members of the Allied coalition might well refuse to do so in full.

Primary Source

Excerpts from the Atlantic Charter, 14 August 1941

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security;

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

Source: U.S., Department of State, *A Decade of American Foreign Policy: Basic Documents, 1941–1949* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1950), p. 2.

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6.2. Plans for a United Europe

World War II as a Stimulus to European Unity

World War II gave an enormous impetus to proposals for the creation of an integrated European state. At least since World War I, when some Europeans and Americans, including Jean Monnet, the future founder of the European Coal and Steel Community, thought that the wartime Allied cooperative economic machinery provided a model for the future unification of Europe, suggestions for closer union among the European nations, sometimes in collaboration with the United States, had appeared from time to time. In 1935, the British Liberal politician Lord Lothian delivered a well-publicized lecture in which he suggested that the European democracies, the British Empire and, if possible, the United States, should join together in a federal state, its implicit purpose the creation of a bloc strong enough to resist the growing strength of the increasingly coherent fascist grouping of Germany, Italy, and Japan. Although Lothian was primarily interested in forming an alliance between the United States and the British Empire, his address later became one of the inspirations for leading figures in the European federalist movement, especially the Italian intellectuals and democratic socialists Altiero Spinelli and Ernesto Rossi, who drew on Lothian's ideas when writing their own seminal manifesto on the subject in 1941, while interned on the island of Ventotene.

To many thoughtful Europeans, the outbreak of war in 1939 seemed conclusive proof that, unless European countries could moderate their nationalist tendencies through some form of economic and political federation, future wars as destructive or even more so than those that began in 1914 and 1939 were inevitable. Monnet, who spent much of the war in the United States as a representative of the Free French forces, spread this gospel among his influential American associates, winning the support of many among them for his plans for European political and economic integration. Those

he converted to his own viewpoint included the brothers John Foster Dulles, a future secretary of state, and Allen W. Dulles, later director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA); William J. Donovan, founder and director of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the wartime American overseas intelligence agency; David K. E. Bruce, head of the OSS European bureau and a future ambassador to France, West Germany, and Great Britain; John J. McCloy, assistant secretary of war from 1941 to 1945, who later served as the first civilian U.S. high commissioner in Germany; and George W. Ball, a Francophile young lawyer who would later become under-secretary of state in the administrations of Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. After the war, all would help to rally American support for closer European integration as one means of neutralizing the bitter internecine rivalries and suspicions that had helped to precipitate the outbreak of both world wars.

Within wartime Europe, a number of influential intellectuals made extensive efforts to publicize their belief that closer European integration would be fundamental to the postwar world. Most were noncommunists, but in many cases, they were democratic socialists who believed that any new European order must also rest firmly upon socialist principles, especially the genuine improvement of working-class living standards. This was true of the Italians Spinelli and Rossi, whose writings circulated clandestinely throughout their country. Within France, socialist resistance groups likewise affirmed their beliefs in European unity and the introduction of socialist principles. In July 1942, three moderate socialist resistance leaders in southern France—the former army officer Henri Frenay, Claude Bourdet, later a journalist and vice president of the postwar French consultative assembly, and the lawyer André Hauriou—published a manifesto intended to clarify their movement's long-term aims and to provide attractive and idealistic objectives that would inspire their members to fight on in circumstances that were often difficult and dangerous. The three men belonged to Combat, the most prominent of all early French resistance groups. They advocated not just the overthrow of German rule in France but also the rejection of the Vichy government's corporatist policies and the establishment of a new republic in France, based on socialist principles and the improvement of the "conditions of life" of the working class, together with the creation of a European federation. The three men had even broader long-term goals, perceiving European integration as a mere way station on the road to the creation of a genuine world union.

European centrists also rallied to the cause of European unification. As early as spring 1940, the highly respected French Catholic intellectual and philosopher Jacques Maritain (1882–1973), whom the fall of France shortly afterwards sent into exile in the United States, proposed European federation as the only means of preventing further European

conflicts. Only so, he thought, would it be possible both to avoid a humiliating and coercive peace settlement that would provoke further German resentment and to provide France the security it needed against future German aggression. Maritain believed that Britain and France might provide initial guidance and leadership to any European federal grouping, especially if they “purified” themselves by renouncing formal political control of their imperial possessions. He also contemplated the breakup of Germany into its original constituent states, which had only been united into one nation during the mid-nineteenth century. In part, Maritain’s proposals represented a response to German claims to represent a “new order” in Europe. Within occupied France, his later writings and lectures on the subject were published and distributed clandestinely. Maritain spent the war years in the United States, teaching at Princeton and Columbia Universities, which gave him additional opportunities to familiarize Americans with his views. Such was his prestige that from 1944 to 1948 he was liberated France’s ambassador to the Vatican. Another leading Catholic politician who took up ideas of European union was the future French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman, who came from the disputed German-French territory of Alsace-Lorraine and spent most of the war on the run, sheltering in assorted monasteries and reading extensively in theology and political thought.

Interestingly, within Germany itself, there existed a group of centrist Christian intellectuals and officials who shared many of the views expounded by Maritain and European social democrats. The “Kreisau Circle,” clustered around the aristocratic Count Helmuth James von Moltke, were liberal socialists who sought the overthrow of German Führer Adolf Hitler, a negotiated peace, and the total remaking of Germany’s political and social system on liberal and democratic lines. They developed extensive plans for postwar Germany, envisaging a Christian democratic nation in which the state would assume major economic and social functions, and power would be divided between the central and provincial governments. They also advocated the integration of the various European countries into a federal system. After 1945, much of what they suggested eventually became reality within West Germany, though unfortunately, rather few of them survived to see this development, due to their implication in the 1944 assassination plot against Hitler and their subsequent execution. However, many other supporters of European integration—French, Italian, Belgian, Dutch, and Scandinavian—survived the war and subsequently participated in the implementation of plans for closer European integration, in the late 1940s and 1950s, helping to develop the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the European Coal and Steel Community, and then the broader European Economic Community, the ancestor of the current European Union.

About the Documents

Both these documents were public statements intended to win broad public support for their authors’ position. In both cases, the primary audience was the population of France, many of whom were experiencing the rigors of direct German occupation, and the remainder of which was under the conservative rule of the collaborationist Vichy government. After the fall of France, Maritain’s political writings could be circulated only clandestinely within France, and if possible, this was even more true of the southern resistance journal *Combat*, in which the manifesto “Combat and Revolution” appeared. Both these documents were designed to give French people hope during a dark period and to persuade them to refuse simply to acquiesce in German hegemony over Europe and German plans for a new European order by providing alternative political goals and objectives.

The Catholic Maritain perhaps took the darker view of human nature, arguing that closer European integration, spearheaded by Britain and France, was the only alternative to further destructive wars. The three leftist (but noncommunist) resistance leaders, all of whom were fortunate enough to survive the war (though Bourdet was captured by the Gestapo in 1944 and imprisoned in Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald concentration camps), were rather more idealistic and also very general in their stated aims, envisaging “the dawn of a new civilization” that would “introduce into France a spirit of generosity, greatness and daring.” Interestingly, at this time the eight major French resistance groups were engaged in discussions intended to bring about the formation of a unified and coordinated resistance movement. Frenay, Bourdet, and Hauriou probably sought not only to hearten the morale of their own supporters, but also to provide an inspirational statement of their own position that would define their stance during these ongoing negotiations.

Primary Source

A) Jacques Maritain on European Unity, 1940

The war in which the peoples of France and Britain have been involved is a just war on their part. The peace for which they are fighting must be a just peace. That means that Europe will have to be refashioned, taking into account the real, natural and historical conditions of its component peoples; all ideas of empire and domination must give way to a spirit of cooperation, while guarding against any reawakening of aggressive powers. Only thus can we prevent the recurrence of general war every twenty-five years.

As far as one can speak today of a future peace which will have to be framed in circumstances that cannot yet be foreseen, it is vital to avoid basing the discussion on a false conception of the problem. A large section of British opinion rightly urges the need for a federal solution which would

respect the natural aspirations of the Germanic peoples as well as the other peoples of Europe, and would do away with the apparatus of humiliation and vindictive coercion that vitiated the last peace and prepared the way for Hitler. A large part of French opinion rightly insists on the need—not only for French security, but in order that a lasting European regime may be established—to prevent large-scale German rearmament and extirpate Prussian imperialism, while avoiding the political mistakes and weakness which also vitiated the last peace and prepared the way for Hitler. These two attitudes are perfectly compatible, and it would be absurd to treat them as opposites. . . .

We must not tire of repeating that sooner or later, when the present convulsions and perhaps other sufferings are over, a federal solution will be seen as the only way out for Europe, and also for Germany herself. With an imperialist Germany formed by Prussia and the Prussian spirit into an iron unity, a kind of monstrous giantism, a European federation would soon turn into a European servitude with no hope of redemption except by more savage wars. With an inorganic Europe of rival states jealously guarding all the privileges of their sovereignty, a Germany kept down by force in a state of guilt and division would inevitably devote its energy and tenacity to pressing embittered claims which would once more involve the world in ruin. What we must have, once the Hitlerian dream has been drowned in blood, is a federal solution with the assent of Europe and the German peoples delivered from Nazism and the Prussian spirit; in other words, a political plurality of German states reflecting the diversity of their cultural heritage and integrated in a European federation whose members would all agree to the diminution of sovereignty necessary for the purpose of organic institutional cooperation. No doubt there will be many a profound and terrible upheaval before we reach that goal, but we believe it is the only hope for Europe and Western civilization. . . .

Of course any ideal can be betrayed, and the idea of European federation, like any other great idea, can be ruined by egoism and blind ambition seeking to exploit it to its own advantage. Men of good will must be vigilant to avert this evil. But everything leads us to think that post-war conditions in the world will be such that any attempt to subject it to imperialist designs will be doomed to failure.

We should also note that, whereas the Prussian mind cannot conceive of a federal Europe except as a Europe enslaved to Germany, Britain is now alive to the idea of re-making Europe and France has become more aware of the interdependence of all nations. Between them these two are strong enough to raise the idea of a European federation above any imperialistic design and to make it conform to the essential purpose of cooperation and the common weal. A great deal of moral purification is here needed, and is possible. Britain

can purify her sense of empire, retaining only the idea of a free commonwealth based on political friendship; France can purify her sense of the nation state, retaining only the organic and political unity of the motherland, which will not be weakened but enhanced by entry into a federal structure. On both sides there must be acceptance of the diminution of state sovereignty required for the sake of a genuine international organization. If this surrender is conceived in the name of liberty, it will lead finally to the establishment of what may rightfully be called a new Christendom.

Source: Jacques Maritain, *De la justice politique. Notes sur la presente guerre.* (Paris, 1940). Quoted and translated in Walter Lipgens, ed., *Documents on the History of European Integration: Series B, Vol. I: Continental Plans for European Union 1939–1945* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1984), pp. 274–277. Reprinted with permission of Walter de Gruyter, Co.

Primary Source

B) Extract from Manifesto, “Combat and Revolution”

The revolution that we bear within ourselves will be socialist because the moment has come to stop talking and take action to wrest from a powerful oligarchy the control and benefit of the economy, and to restore important sectors of the economy to the nation or, if appropriate, to communities of producers and consumers.

Contrary to Vichy’s policy, which has consolidated large-scale capitalism by the Comité d’Organisation, we want to see workers sharing in the life and profits of enterprises. We shall improve their conditions of life by pooling the benefits of technical progress.

The revolution that we bear within ourselves is more than a material revolution—it is a revolution of the mind, of youth and of the people.

The bourgeois Republic was built on narrow selfishness and on fears that were ill-concealed by the rhetoric of goodwill.

The men of the Resistance, hardened by daily trials, will introduce into France a spirit of generosity, greatness and daring.

The path of learning will be genuinely open to all, as part of their education, and will train character as well as the mind. Thus it will bring forth from the heart of the nation a genuine elite which can be constantly renewed. If an elite cannot renew itself, it dies.

We wish to bring about a harmonious synthesis between victorious individualism and a generous awareness of the community.

The revolution that we bear within is the dawn of a new civilization. That is what the worldwide civil war is about.

History teaches us that frontiers are constantly widening.

The United States of Europe—a stage on the road to world union—will soon be a living reality for which we are fighting.

Instead of a Europe which is not united but enslaved under the yoke of a power-intoxicated Germany, we and the other peoples will create a united Europe on the basis of liberty, equality, fraternity and the rule of law.

Frenchmen of town and country, we call on you to fight for the liberation of our territory from dictatorship and for economic and spiritual freedom. Join the ranks of Combat, which is fighting for France from Dunkirk to Bayonne, from Brest to Nice and in the overseas empire.

With General de Gaulle and the Fighting French forces alongside the United Nations we shall win the war and overthrow Fascism. After that we shall remake France.

Source: Henri Frenay, Claude Bourdet, and Andre Hauriou, “Combat and Revolution,” *Combat*, July–September 1942. Excerpted and translated in Walter Lipgens, ed., *Documents on the History of European Integration: Series B, Vol. I: Continental Plans for European Union 1939–1945* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1984), pp. 291–293. Reprinted with permission of Walter de Gruyter, Co.

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6.3. Planning for the Postwar World

Wartime Demands for Reform: The Western Democracies

In many countries around the world, the wartime experience helped to radicalize politics and generate demands for postwar social reforms designed to improve the living standards

of ordinary people. One common argument within Western democracies, which even some officials in Nazi Germany employed when advocating additional social measures, was that, in return for their support for an all-out war effort, the mass of the people deserved to be rewarded with extensive social reforms designed to create a welfare state. Salient features of such plans normally included the provision of old-age pensions, sickness and unemployment benefits, free or subsidized medical care and education, and good-quality state housing. In Britain, bombing raids upon substandard slum housing in the larger urban centers, including the capital city of London, sensitized the ruling elite to just how inadequate living conditions were for large portions of the population. Representatives of the British Labour Party and trade union movement who joined the coalition government that prosecuted the war expected extensive social reforms as the price of their support. Many remembered that during World War I, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George had promised that those soldiers who fought for their country would return to a “land fit for heroes,” a pledge that evaporated as interwar Britain faced long-term unemployment and economic depression. They were determined that history should not repeat itself once World War II was over. By the early 1940s, there also existed across Europe appreciable disillusionment with the leadership offered by the traditional ruling classes, the members of which had notably failed to avert the impending war during the 1930s and many of whom had lost their moral authority by compromising or collaborating with fascism or at least expressing their readiness to do so before the war.

Demands for social reform met very different fates in the two largest Western Allies, Great Britain and the United States. In 1940, the British Minister of Labour, Ernest Bevin, a leading trade unionist, commissioned Sir William Beveridge to investigate the existing haphazard schemes of social security and prepare a report that would make recommendations as to how best to introduce a comprehensive scheme. Using a term drawn from one of U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s best-known wartime speeches, Beveridge’s 300-page report, presented in November 1942, called upon the British government to ensure “freedom from want” by implementing a comprehensive scheme of state-administered social insurance, funded by contributions from employers and employees, which would include old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, and sickness benefits. He also called for the introduction of children’s allowances for all, to ensure that large families were not economically disadvantaged, together with a range of maternity benefits; and the establishment of comprehensive health coverage for all the population. Beveridge viewed the war against want as only part of a broader attack on social evils, the others being “Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness,” the eradication of

which was the broad objective of what would soon become known as the welfare state. Beveridge did not envisage a fully socialist system in which the state would take all responsibility for individual welfare but one in which individuals would be free to supplement the basic provision guaranteed by the state, and private and public efforts would be harmonized.

The Labour Party quickly expressed its support for the Beveridge Report, which became part of the social reformist platform on which it fought and won a sweeping victory in the 1945 British general election. In the interim, the Churchill coalition government passed the 1944 National Education Act, which for the first time in Britain made education up to the age of 15 universally available for free, a major feature of Beveridge's demand that "Ignorance" should be eliminated. When the Labour government took power under Prime Minister Clement Attlee, it implemented the national insurance system and children's allowances envisaged in the Beveridge Report in 1946, introducing free milk for schoolchildren the same year, and established the British National Health System two years later, which provided medical care for all virtually free at the point of service. Funding these services required heavy rates of taxation on upper and middle-class incomes. Within a few years of the war's end, similar measures were introduced in most other Western European democracies, and in these countries, for several decades, most political parties of both Left and Right accepted the fundamental desirability of the welfare state.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's call for an Economic Bill of Rights met a very different reception. By 1938, a congressional political coalition of Republican and conservative southern Democrats had largely checked his ability to pass any further New Deal social reformist legislation. Domestic frustration was one reason why, during World War II, Roosevelt proclaimed that "Dr. Win-the-War" had replaced "Dr. New Deal." Many congressional representatives viewed the war as an ideal opportunity to eviscerate many of the New Deal programs they found most opprobrious. Roosevelt himself, however, never abandoned his commitment to additional social reforms. In 1943, the National Resources Planning Board (NRPB), a government agency charged with developing proposals to ensure continued postwar full employment and prosperity, issued two reports, *Security, Work, and Relief Policies* and *Post-War Plan and Program*, advocating a "new [economic] bill of rights" to guarantee that all Americans could enjoy good jobs, housing, food, social insurance, medical benefits, and recreational opportunities. Congressional conservatives promptly liquidated the NRPB, but the president took up its proposals, which became part of his State of the Union Address delivered at the beginning of 1944. In this address, delivered at a time when several well-publicized strikes had recently occurred and Americans were beginning to resent the demands of war, the president demanded a new

spirit of national unity in the war effort, calling for the introduction of higher taxes on war profits, legislation to permit the renegotiation of war contracts on terms less advantageous to business, the continuing stabilization of food and other prices, and the passage of a National Service Act that would apply to civilians as well as military draftees. He affirmed his belief that the United States could not withdraw from international affairs in the future. Warning that political and economic freedom were interdependent and indivisible, Roosevelt then appealed for the passage of a new "economic bill of rights," under which all Americans would be assured a productive job at reasonable pay that would promise them a decent living standard and would also have a right to "a decent home," "adequate medical care," insurance against unemployment, sickness, and old age, and "a good education." Farmers, he stated, should obtain fair prices for their crops, and businessmen protection against unfair competition and monopolies. Roosevelt called upon Congress to pass legislation to this effect, to satisfy the fighting men overseas and their families at home who were supporting the war effort.

Roosevelt's appeals for reform largely fell upon deaf ears. Many congressional representatives were deeply hostile to broad social reforms and felt that the New Deal had already gone too far in the direction of egalitarianism. The most they were willing to sanction was legislation that would benefit veterans enlisted in the armed services during the war. During the first half of 1944, the president himself, in flagging health, concentrated on the prosecution of the war and had little energy to devote to pushing his proposed Economic Bill of Rights. He did, however, put himself firmly behind the GI Bill of Rights or Servicemen's Readjustment Act, passed in mid-1944, which provided a liberal package of benefits for every returning American serviceman, including job preferences and substantial unemployment and health benefits, generous educational assistance, and subsidized loans to purchase houses or businesses. For many young American men, this was their passport to a middle-class lifestyle previously unavailable to their families. When signing this bill and on other occasions, Roosevelt repeatedly but unsuccessfully urged that such benefits should be extended to all Americans, not just veterans. The president even toyed with the idea of breaking with the conservatives in his own Democratic Party and emulating the action of his wife's uncle and his own role model, former President Theodore Roosevelt, early in the twentieth century by forming a third, progressive party under his own leadership, to act as a magnet for liberal forces. The increasing ill health that brought Roosevelt's death in April 1945 meant that he never had a chance to put any such plans into practice. Whether they would have proved effective must therefore remain a moot point. Under Roosevelt's successors, however, the United States undoubtedly followed domestic

policies considerably more conservative than those most Western European nations contemporaneously adopted.

About the Author

Beveridge, the Indian-born son of a judge in the Bengal Civil Service, trained as a lawyer but soon developed an interest in social services and unemployment insurance. In 1909, he joined the British Board of Trade and helped to establish a national system of labor exchanges for the unemployed. His ideas contributed to the passage of the National Insurance Act in 1911. During World War I, he became a civil servant and helped to mobilize and organize British manpower. From 1919 to 1937, Beveridge was director of the London School of Economics, serving on various government commissions and committees concerned with social policy. In 1937, Beveridge became master of University College, Oxford. After presenting the Beveridge Report, he entered parliament in 1944 as a Liberal, serving there until he lost his seat in the Labour landslide of 1945. In 1946, Beveridge entered the House of Lords and later served as leader of the Liberal Party. His true claim to fame, however, was as the father of the “cradle-to-the-grave” British welfare state.

About the Documents

The two excerpts included here are both taken from substantially longer official documents, each written or delivered with a specific purpose in mind. Beveridge’s report was written by an expert on the subject at the request of a government minister. Its author knew that it was likely to find a receptive audience. It was a long and detailed document of 300 pages, which discussed plans for the creation of a comprehensive British scheme of national insurance in considerable detail. Beveridge was more politically adept than many experts in that he included a brief summary of its recommendations and principles that would be readily comprehensible to the average reader—and this may well have included the majority of members of parliament—who was unlikely to wish to plough through the entire report. He realized, moreover, that, however technical many of its pages might be, his report and its implications would inevitably generate enormous publicity and media coverage. The bulk of the document, however, was devoted to the detailed technical description of a wide-ranging social insurance scheme, which referred where appropriate to the detailed findings of numerous social surveys and to the minutiae of the existing situation in Britain and of similar schemes that had been introduced in other countries. It was essentially a technical document, designed for an audience of specialized experts, the ultimate significance of which lay in the fact that, unlike many such documents, within a few years its major recommendations were actually implemented, with enormous long-term political and social consequences for Britain overall.

Roosevelt’s speech, by contrast, was designed to persuade both Congress and the American public, its ultimate audience, to throw their support behind a sweeping program of social reforms. The proposals he advocated might well have ultimately resembled the recommendations of the Beveridge Report, but Roosevelt described them in far less detail, only setting out general principles. He was delivering an address in which he sought to appeal to a general audience by describing the overall impact of the measures he proposed, rather than presenting a very detailed program the specifics of which, he knew only too well from experience, Congress was in any case likely to modify. In this case, Roosevelt’s appeal was far less effective than the Beveridge Report in winning popular support for extensive social reforms.

Primary Source

A) Extract from the Beveridge Report, Great Britain, November 1942

THREE GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF RECOMMENDATIONS

6. In proceeding from this first comprehensive survey of social insurance to the next task—of making recommendations—three guiding principles may be laid down at the outset.
7. The first principle is that any proposals for the future, while they should use to the full the experience gathered in the past, should not be restricted by consideration of sectional interests established in the obtaining of that experience. Now, when the war is abolishing landmarks of every kind, is the opportunity for using experience in a clear field. A revolutionary moment in the world’s history is a time for revolutions, not for patching.
8. The second principle is that organisation of social insurance should be treated as one part only of a comprehensive policy of social progress. Social insurance fully developed may provide income security; it is an attack upon Want. But Want is one only of five giants on the road of reconstruction and in some ways the easiest to attack. The others are Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness.
9. The third principle is that social security must be achieved by co-operation between the State and the individual. The State should offer security for service and contribution. The State in organising security should not stifle incentive, opportunity, responsibility; in establishing a national minimum, it should leave room and encouragement for voluntary action by each individual to provide more than that minimum for himself and his family.
10. The Plan for Social Security set out in this Report is built upon these principles. It uses experience but is not tied

by experience. It is put forward as a limited contribution to a wider social policy, though as something that could be achieved now without waiting for the whole of that policy. It is, first and foremost, a plan of insurance—of giving in return for contributions benefits up to subsistence level, as of right and without means test, so that individuals may build freely upon it.

THE WAY TO FREEDOM FROM WANT

11. The work of the Inter-departmental Committee began with a review of existing schemes of social insurance and allied services. The Plan for Social Security, with which that work ends, starts from a diagnosis of want—of the circumstances in which, in the years just preceding the present war families and individuals in Britain might lack the means of healthy subsistence. During those years impartial scientific authorities made social surveys of the conditions of life in a number of principal towns in Britain, including London, Liverpool, Sheffield, Plymouth, Southampton, York and Bristol. They determined the proportions of the people in each town whose means were below the standard assumed to be necessary for subsistence, and they analysed the extent and causes of that deficiency. From each of these social surveys the same broad result emerges. Of all the want shown by the surveys, from three-quarters to five-sixths, according to the precise standard chosen for want, was due to interruption or loss of earning power. Practically the whole of the remaining one-quarter to one-sixth was due to failure to relate income during earning to the size of the family. These surveys were made before the introduction of supplementary pensions had reduced the amount of poverty amongst old persons. But this does not affect the main conclusion to be drawn from these surveys: abolition of want requires a double re-distribution of income, through social insurance and by family needs.
12. Abolition of want requires, first, improvement of State insurance, that is to say provision against interruption and loss of earning power. All the principal causes of interruption or loss of earnings are now the subject of schemes of social insurance. If, in spite of these schemes, so many persons unemployed or sick or old or widowed are found to be without adequate income for subsistence according to the standards adopted in the social surveys, this means that the benefits amount to less than subsistence by those standards or do not last as long as the need, and that the assistance which supplements insurance is either insufficient in amount or available only on terms which make men unwilling to have recourse to it. None of the insurance benefits provided before the war were in fact designed with reference to the standards of the social surveys. Though unemployment benefit was not altogether out of relation to those standards, sickness and disablement benefit, old age pensions and widows' pensions were far below them, while workmen's compensation was below subsistence level for anyone who had family responsibilities or whose earnings in work were less than twice the amount needed for subsistence. To prevent interruption or destruction of earning power from leading to want, it is necessary to improve the present schemes of social insurance in three directions: by extension of scope to cover persons now excluded, by extension of purposes to cover risks now excluded, and by raising the rates of benefit.
13. Abolition of want requires, second, adjustment of incomes, in periods of earning as well as in interruption of earning, to family needs, that is to say, in one form or another it requires allowances for children. Without such allowances as part of benefit or added to it, to make provision for large families, no social insurance against interruption of earnings can be adequate. But, if children's allowances are given only when earnings are interrupted and are not given during earning also, two evils are unavoidable. First, a substantial measure of acute want will remain among the lower paid workers as the accompaniment of large families. Second, in all such cases, income will be greater during unemployment or other interruptions of work than during work.
14. By a double re-distribution of income through social insurance and children's allowances, want, as defined in the social surveys, could have been abolished in Britain before the present war. As is shown in para. 445, the income available to the British people was ample for such a purpose. The Plan for Social Security set out in Part V of this Report takes abolition of want after this war as its aim. It includes as its main method compulsory social insurance, with national assistance and voluntary insurance as subsidiary, methods. It assumes allowances for dependent children, as part of its background. The plan assumes also establishment of comprehensive health and rehabilitation services and maintenance of employment, that is to say avoidance of mass unemployment, as necessary conditions of success in social insurance. These three measures—of children's allowances, health and rehabilitation and maintenance of employment—are described as assumptions A, B and C of the plan; they fall partly within and partly without the plan extending into other fields of social policy. . . .
15. The plan is based on a diagnosis of want. It starts from facts, from the condition of the people as revealed by

social surveys between the two wars. It takes account of two other facts about the British community, arising out of past movements of the birth rate and the death rate, which should dominate planning for its future . . . The first of the two facts is the age constitution of the population, making it certain that persons past the age that is now regarded as the end of working life will be a much larger proportion of the whole community than at any time in the past. The second fact is the low reproduction rate of the British community today: unless this rate is raised very materially in the near future, a rapid and continuous decline of the population cannot be prevented. The first fact makes it necessary to seek ways of postponing the age of retirement from work rather than of hastening it. The second fact makes it imperative to give first place in social expenditure to the care of childhood and to the safeguarding of maternity.

16. The provision to be made for old age represents the largest and most growing element in any social insurance scheme. . . . Briefly, the proposal is to introduce for all citizens adequate pensions without means test by stages over a transition period of twenty years, while providing immediate assistance pensions for persons requiring them. . . .

SUMMARY OF PLAN FOR SOCIAL SECURITY

17. The main feature of the Plan for Social Security is a scheme of social insurance against interruption and destruction of earning power and for special expenditure arising at birth, marriage or death. The scheme embodies six fundamental principles: flat rate of subsistence benefit; flat rate of contribution; unification of administrative responsibility; adequacy of benefit; comprehensiveness; and classification. . . . Based on [these principles] and in combination with national assistance and voluntary insurance as subsidiary methods, the aim of the Plan for Social Security is to make want under any circumstances unnecessary.

Source: Social Insurance and Allied Services: Report by Sir William Beveridge Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty. November 1942 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1942).

Primary Source

B) Franklin D. Roosevelt on the Economic Bill of Rights, State of the Union Message to Congress, 11 January 1944

This Nation in the past two years has become an active partner in the world's greatest war against human slavery.

We have joined with like-minded people in order to defend ourselves in a world that has been gravely threatened with gangster rule.

But I do not think that any of us Americans can be content with mere survival. Sacrifices that we and our Allies are making impose upon us all a sacred obligation to see to it that out of this war we and our children will gain something better than mere survival.

We are united in determination that this war shall not be followed by another interim which leads to new disaster—that we shall not repeat the tragic errors of ostrich isolationism.

When Mr. Hull went to Moscow in October, and when I went to Cairo and Teheran in November, we knew that we were in agreement with our Allies in our common determination to fight and win this war. But there were many vital questions concerning the future peace, and they were discussed in an atmosphere of complete candor and harmony. . . .

The one supreme objective for the future, which we discussed for each nation individually, and for all the United Nations, can be summed up in one word: Security.

And that means not only physical security which provides safety from attacks by aggressors. It means also economic security, social security, moral security—in a family of nations.

In the plain down-to-earth talks that I had with the Generalissimo [Jiang Jieshi or Chiang Kai-shek] and Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill, it was abundantly clear that they are all most deeply interested in the resumption of peaceful progress by their own peoples—progress toward a better life.

All our Allies have learned by experience—bitter experience—that real development will not be possible if they are to be diverted from their purpose by repeated wars—or even threats of war.

The best interests of each nation, large and small, demand that all freedom-loving nations shall join together in a just and durable system of peace. In the present world situation, evidenced by the actions of Germany, and Italy and Japan, unquestioned military control over the disturbers of the peace is as necessary among nations as it is among citizens in any community. And an equally basic essential to peace—permanent peace—is a decent standard of living for all individual men and women and children in all nations. Freedom from fear is eternally linked with freedom from want.

There are people who burrow through our nation like unseeing moles, and attempt to spread the suspicion that if other nations are encouraged to raise their standards of living, our own American standard of living must of necessity be depressed.

The fact is the very contrary. It has been shown time and again that if the standard of living of any country goes up, so does its purchasing power—and that such a rise encourages

a better standard of living in neighboring countries with whom it trades. That is just plain common sense—and it is the kind of plain common sense that provided the basis for our discussions at Moscow, and Cairo and Teheran. . . .

The overwhelming majority of our people have met the demands of this war with magnificent courage and a great deal of understanding. They have accepted inconveniences; they have accepted hardships; they have accepted tragic sacrifices.

However, while the majority goes on about its great work without complaint, we all know that a noisy minority maintains an uproar, an uproar of demands for special favors for special groups. . . .

Such selfish agitation can be and is highly dangerous in wartime. It creates confusion. It damages morale. It hampers our national effort. It prolongs the war. . . .

If ever there was a time to subordinate individual or group selfishness to the national good, that time is now. Disunity at home, and bickering, self-seeking partisanship, stoppages of work, inflation, business as usual, politics as usual, luxury as usual—and sometimes a failure to tell the whole truth—these are the influences which can undermine the morale of the brave men ready to die at the front for us here. . . .

Therefore, in order to concentrate all of our energies, all of our resources on winning this war, and to maintain a fair and stable economy at home, I recommend that the Congress adopt:

First, (1) A realistic and simplified tax law which will tax all unreasonable profits, both individual and corporate, and reduce the ultimate cost of the war to our sons and our daughters. The tax bill now under consideration by the Congress does not begin to meet this test.

Secondly, (2) A continuation of the law for the renegotiations of war contracts which will prevent exorbitant profits and assure fair prices to the Government. For two long years I have pleaded with the Congress to take undue profits out of war.

Third, (3) A cost of food law which will enable the Government (a) to place a reasonable floor under the prices the farmer may expect for his production; and (b) to place a ceiling on the prices the consumer will have to pay for the necessary food he buys. This should apply, as I have intimated, to necessities only; and this will require public funds to carry it out. It will cost in appropriations about one percent of the present annual cost of the war.

Fourth, (4) An early re-enactment of the stabilization statute of October, 1942. This expires this year, June 30th, 1944, and if it is not extended well in advance, the country might just as well expect price chaos by summertime. We cannot have stabilization by wishful thinking. We must take positive action to maintain the integrity of the American dollar.

And fifth, (5) A national service law which, for the duration of the war, will prevent strikes, and, with certain appropriate exceptions, will make available for war production or for any other essential services every able-bodied adult in this whole Nation.

These five measures together form a just and equitable whole. I would not recommend a national service law unless the other laws were passed to keep down the cost of living, to share equitably the burdens of taxation, to hold the stabilization line, and to prevent undue profits.

The Federal Government already has the basic power to draft capital and property of all kinds for war purposes on a basis of just compensation.

And, as you know, I have for three years hesitated to recommend a national service act. Today, however, with all the experience we have behind us and with us, I am convinced of its necessity. Although I believe that we and our Allies can win the war without such a measure, I am certain that nothing less than total mobilization of all our resources of manpower and capital will guarantee an earlier victory, and reduce the toll of suffering and sorrow and blood. . . .

National service is the most democratic way to wage a war. Like selective service for the armed forces, it rests on the obligation of each citizen to serve his nation to his utmost where he is best qualified. . . .

It is our duty now to begin to lay the plans and determine the strategy. More than the winning of the war, it is time to begin plans and determine the strategy for the winning of a lasting peace and the establishment of an American standard of living higher than ever known before.

This Republic had its beginning, and grew to its present strength, under the protection of certain inalienable political rights—among them the rights of free speech, free press, free worship, trial by jury, freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures. They were our rights to life and liberty.

We have come to a clear realization of the fact, however, that true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence. “Necessitous men are not free men.” People who are hungry, people who are out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made.

In our day these economic truths have become accepted as self-evident. We have accepted, so to speak, a second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all—regardless of station, or race or creed.

Among these are:

- The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the nation;
- The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

- The right of farmers to raise and sell their products at a return which will give them and their families a decent living;
- The right of every business man, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;
- The right of every family to a decent home;
- The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;
- The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, and sickness, and accident and unemployment;
- And finally, the right to a good education.

All of these rights spell security. And after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being.

America's own rightful place in the world depends in large part upon how fully these and similar rights have been carried into practice for all our citizens. For unless there is security here at home there cannot be lasting peace in the world. . . .

I ask the Congress to explore the means for implementing this economic bill of rights—for it is definitely the responsibility of the Congress so to do, and the country knows it. Many of these problems are already before committees of the Congress in the form of proposed legislation. I shall from time to time communicate with the Congress with respect to these and further proposals. In the event that no adequate program of progress is evolved, I am certain that the Nation will be conscious of the fact.

Our fighting men abroad—and their families at home—expect such a program and have the right to insist on it. It is to their demands that this Government should pay heed, rather than to the whining demands of selfish pressure groups who seek to feather their nests while young Americans are dying. . . .

Each and every one of us has a solemn obligation under God to serve this Nation in its most critical hour—to keep this Nation great—to make this Nation greater in a better world.

Source: Franklin D. Roosevelt on the Economic Bill of Rights, State of Union Message to Congress, 11 January 1944. Fireside Chat Files: State Department, 1944, Franklin D. Roosevelt Digital Archives. Available at <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/011144.html>.

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6.4. The United States in the Middle East

United States Involvement in Iran and the Middle East During World War II

Significant U.S. commitments in the Near and Middle East were one important outcome of American involvement in World War II. Before the war, American interests in the region were primarily commercial, educational, and philanthropic. U.S.-based missionary organizations had been active in the Near East since the 1820s, founding schools, universities, and hospitals in Greece, Ottoman Turkey, Persia, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, and Palestine. In 1919 and 1920 many such groups had unsuccessfully lobbied the United States government to act as a League of Nations mandatory in Armenia, hundreds of thousands of whose people had been subjected to genocidal Turkish attacks before and during World War I. Since colonial times American businessmen had also traded fairly extensively with the Middle East. United States interests in the area, which underwent major changes of government in the wake of World War I and the consequent breakup of the Ottoman Empire, expanded between the world wars, especially after 1933, when the Arabian American Oil Company, a Standard Oil subsidiary, launched oil exploration efforts in Saudi Arabia. By 1938 these had successfully brought to light major new oil wells, resources the United States military began to consider as representing a significant strategic asset, especially since it could be anticipated that domestic American oil supplies would suffer serious depletion over the coming decades.

The Middle East was an area where great-power interests routinely collided. Since at least the mid-nineteenth century,

Great Britain and Russia had vied for power, influence, and economic advantage in the Middle East and West-Central Asia. When World War II began, Britain possessed extensive oil interests in Iraq and Iran, and held and administered Palestine as a mandatory territory under ultimate League of Nations control. From 1882 to 1922 British forces also directly controlled Egypt, which had previously been under Ottoman rule. Although the country became nominally independent in 1922, the strategic significance to British imperial interests of the Suez Canal, which ran through Egyptian territory and cut several weeks off the sea route along which Middle Eastern oil and goods from Asia traveled to Europe, meant that British civilian and military officials retained ultimate power to direct Egyptian affairs until the end of World War II. Further east, defense of their imperial stake in India was a constant preoccupation for British policymakers, enhancing even further the value of the Suez Canal. The French also had major imperial interests in the area, with client states or colonies in Syria and Lebanon and the nearby North African territories of Libya, Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco.

With the onset of World War II, Allied leaders rightly feared a German thrust into the Middle East and North Africa, with the objectives of seizing the region's vital oil resources and, if possible, destabilizing or overthrowing the British empire in India. France's surrender in 1940 made this prospect more likely, since France's Middle Eastern and North African territories maintained allegiance to the German-controlled Vichy government. In 1941 German forces commanded by the brilliant and inspiring General Erwin Rommel—British cryptographers intercepting German cable traffic could always tell when he was present in person at headquarters, simply because the tone and élan of enemy communications perked up so dramatically—mounted an assault from Libya against Egypt. Rommel's campaign was checked at the battle of El Alamein in November 1942, but until that date it represented a serious short- and long-term threat to Britain's strategic position.

In interwar Iran, where the old Anglo-Russian rivalry for control and power continued unabated between Britain and the Soviet Union, Shah Reza Pahlavi I, an army officer who had seized power after World War I, sought to neutralize the influence of both by playing each off against the other and also by seeking German assistance in his modernization of Iran. By mid-1941 several hundred German technicians and advisers were present in Iran, which in return supplied Germany, by now its most important trading partner, with oil and other valuable resources. In June 1941 Germany invaded the Soviet Union, which meant that Britain immediately welcomed the latter as an ally against Adolf Hitler, and the still neutral United States soon offered Germany's new opponent large quantities of Lend-Lease supplies. The Allies wished to use

routes transiting Iran to deliver these goods to the Soviet Union, and to ensure access to them, and also to deny Iranian oil to the Germans. In August 1941 British and Soviet forces therefore jointly invaded Iran. When Reza Pahlavi I refused to cooperate with them, the occupying powers forced him to abdicate, replacing him with his young son, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, who eventually, in 1943, declared war on Germany.

The United States government, still formally neutral, did not participate in the actual invasion of Iran, but did send several missions almost immediately to Iran, their first objective to help expedite the delivery of Lend-Lease supplies to Soviet Russia. Within the U.S. State Department, moreover, the small and close-knit team of Middle Eastern experts began to develop more ambitious schemes for American involvement in the Middle East, viewing Iran as a potential test case for their country's ability to encourage democracy and social and economic reforms in developing nations, as envisaged under the Allied Atlantic Charter of August 1941. The United States could, they believed, promote beneficial social and political change in such nations, its ability to do so enhanced by the fact that it was free from the taint of imperialism and colonialism that made British intervention so unpopular. Such benevolent U.S. involvement in Iran would also check the expansion of communist Soviet influence in the north of the country. An expanded American role in Iran would further enable the United States to provide better protection for its existing oil interests in Saudi Arabia, and possibly even help it to gain a new stake in Iran's own British-dominated oil industry. As early as 1939 Shah Reza I had attempted to entice the United States into taking more interest in his country and acting as its patron against other great powers by offering oil concessions to American firms. For similar reasons a sizeable group of Iranian politicians, including the young Shah, encouraged the growing American interest in their country, which they viewed as a means of countering both British and Russian influence.

In August 1943 Secretary of State Cordell Hull recommended to President Franklin D. Roosevelt a policy of enhanced U.S. involvement in Iran, aimed at building up that country under American patronage as a model democracy on Atlantic Charter principles, guidelines Roosevelt accepted. Towards the end of the year, at the Tehran conference, Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States all affirmed their commitment to maintaining Iran's postwar independence and territorial integrity. This switch to a pro-active United States policy toward Iran marked an important long-term turning point in American involvement in the Near and Middle East. From early 1943 assorted missions—often poorly coordinated—of American experts attempted to guide and direct the wholesale reform of the Iranian military, police, and finances, together with the political and agricul-

tural systems. Thousands of American servicemen also arrived as part of the Persian Gulf Command, established to expedite the transport of supplies to the Soviet Union via Iran.

United States relations with the Soviet Union became increasingly strained from late 1944 onward, when an Iranian offer of oil concessions in the north of the country to American companies brought Soviet protests and occupying Russian troops banned Anglo-American forces from their zone of Iran and tightened their own control over the area. The independence promised Iran under the Tehran declaration seemed increasingly in jeopardy, even more so after late 1945, when the Soviet Union backed separatist forces in establishing an independent Soviet Socialist Republic in Iran's northern province of Azerbaijan, and encouraged a similar separatist movement in Kurdistan, setting up a puppet state there in early 1946. United States and British forces withdrew on schedule in early 1946, but the Russians announced their intention of retaining at least some troops in the north of the country, precipitating one of the early crises of the developing Cold War. After complicated maneuverings between Iranian politicians and Soviet representatives, the Russians withdrew their forces in exchange for promised oil concessions in northern Iran. With the backing of American advisers, in late 1946 Iranian prime minister Qavam es-Sultanah, who had in the interim successfully negotiated with the United States a substantial package of military, economic, and cultural support, reneged on this bargain, and shortly afterwards Iranian forces successfully overturned the Azerbaijani and Kurdish republics. Although relations between the United States and Iran were often still difficult, the two soon developed a patron-client relationship, intensified when in 1953 the Central Intelligence Agency mounted a coup against the radical nationalist government of Mohammed Mossadeq and restored the young Shah to effective power. From then until the Shah's final overthrow in 1979, support for Iran would be one of the cornerstones of United States policy in the Middle East.

About the Document

This memorandum was written by John D. Jernegan, then in his early thirties, a desk officer and Middle Eastern specialist within the State Department's small and highly cohesive Near Eastern Division. Jernegan was then still only at the beginning of a lengthy diplomatic career, during which he would serve as third and then second secretary in the U.S. embassy in Tehran (1943–1946), and assistant chief and then chief of the division of Greek, Turkish, and Iranian Affairs in the crucial years from 1946 to 1949, when American Cold War policies toward all three countries were in the process of rapid evolution and development. As he grew in seniority, Jernegan subsequently became U.S. ambassador to Iraq (1958–1962) and Algeria (1965–1967), and also twice held the influ-

ential position of deputy assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs (1952–1955 and 1963–1965). A career diplomat at the crucial mid-level of policymaking, for almost three decades Jernegan, one of the State Department's small number of Middle Eastern specialists, was usually closely involved in the formulation and implementation of his country's official policies toward that area.

Rather than being propelled from above by deep presidential interest, as is sometimes the case when new foreign policies are developed, the evolution of American policy toward Iran and the Middle East during World War II was largely the product of lower-level initiatives from within the State Department itself. The cohesive group of regional specialists centered in the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs cherished ambitions to make that area a showpiece of the potential progress and benefits that that could accrue to other states by means of benign United States intervention and guidance. They displayed great—indeed, in hindsight hubristic—faith in the ability of well-meaning U.S. advisers to encourage and implement what would later be termed “nation-building” and thereby remake other countries along American lines, effectively prefiguring numerous subsequent U.S. efforts to promote such policies in developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, as well as the Middle East. Once American forces and advisers had been dispatched to Iran in 1942, the State Department's Near Eastern experts seized on the opportunity to develop a more proactive policy toward the Middle East in general, an initiative that resulted in August 1943 in presidential endorsement of a new State Department formulation of policy toward Iran.

Jernegan's memorandum represented one stage in this process. It is often said that bureaucrats never sign what they write nor write what they sign, a statement generally less true of planning documents than of the end-product of such labors. Jernegan's signature was certainly appended to this particular memorandum, which Arthur Murray, who had for many years headed the Near Eastern Bureau, passed on to his superiors in the department, Secretary of State Hull, Under Secretary of State Sumner G. Welles, and Assistant Secretaries of State Dean Acheson and Adolph A. Berle. Murray recommended that the Department's top officials accept its recommendations, which six days later they apparently did, since Jernegan subsequently noted on this memorandum: “Approved by the Secretary and Mr. Welles. 2/17/43.”

Jernegan's memorandum was an almost classic statement of the belief, which can be traced back at least to President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points speech and other World War I pronouncements, of American moral exceptionalism in international affairs, an outlook which even—or perhaps particularly—when held with deep sincerity, has often provoked mingled disbelief and derision from representatives of

other nations. With unconscious condescension, Jernegan took it as self-evident that his country was morally superior to all others and, moreover, possessed a unique ability to guide less developed nations and admonish other large but less enlightened nations. He held that United States aims in Iran were at bottom entirely disinterested and that, unlike its fellow big powers and wartime allies, Britain and Soviet Russia, his country sought only the most benevolent and unselfish objectives in Iran, seeking primarily to promote democratic and stable political, social, and economic development there. While he briefly cited the importance of Iran due to “its value as a supply route to Russia, its strategic location and its vast production of petroleum products”, he viewed the country primarily as a laboratory, in the light of the Atlantic Charter, for U.S. policies toward what would later be called developing or Third World nations. Iranian leaders, in his view, perceived the United States as a disinterested and benevolent friend whose objectives toward their country were fundamentally unselfish. With a confident naïveté that in retrospect seems highly ironical, given the manner in which by the later twentieth century not just other great powers, but both the leaders and people of developing nations themselves, would come to view the United States as the effective successor of older western imperialist nations, Jernegan proclaimed that “it seem[ed] hardly possible that either [Britain or Russia] could suspect the United States of having imperialistic designs in a country so far removed from us and where we could never hope to employ military force against an adjacent Great Power.” Disinterested American advisers could, he believed, steer Iran along the path to stable, peaceful, and sustainable economic and political progress, setting a model that could be tailored and adapted to fit American policies toward other nations in similar circumstances, thereby fulfilling the aims stated in the Atlantic Charter.

When recommending in August 1943 that President Roosevelt formally adopt such guidelines for U.S. policy toward Iran, and “exert itself to see that Iran’s integrity and independence are maintained and that she becomes prosperous and stable”, Secretary Hull placed rather more emphasis than had Jernegan on the fact that, “from a more directly selfish point of view, it is to our interest that no great power be established on the Persian Gulf opposite the important American petroleum development in Saudi Arabia.” Even so, he echoed Jernegan’s faith in “the exceptionally high regard in which this country is held by the Iranian people.” (Hull to Roosevelt, 16 August 1943, *FRUS 1943* 4:379) American officials appeared blithely unconscious that deploying military, economic, and political advisers and assistance in other countries, negotiating commercial and financial concessions, and working hand-in-glove with sympathetic indigenous officials were classic tactics of both western and Russian imperialism, and that both the host countries involved and their big power

rivals were likely to perceive no essential distinctions in methods or objectives between the United States and other expansionist states. Too often, indeed, in the view of many critics the United States seemed to mount an unconvincing charade of pursuing the best interests of its allies and clients as a mere cloak for the blatant promotion of its own strategic and economic interests. The Shah’s close association with the American “Great Satan” would become one major factor contributing to his 1979 overthrow by Islamic fundamentalists and the protracted subsequent crisis when U.S. diplomats in Tehran were held hostage for more than a year. Well before the end of World War II, the American attitudes that helped to create this situation were already clearly discernible among the small coterie of diplomats directing U.S. Near and Middle Eastern policies.

Primary Source

“American Policy in Iran,” Memorandum by Mr. John D. Jernegan of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs, U.S. Department of State, Washington, 23 January 1943

This Government has come during the past year or more to play a relatively active part in Iranian affairs. In the past, the United States has had no important political interests in Iran and has been seriously concerned with events in that country only from time to time. Our recent activity, therefore, is rather a new departure and has arisen primarily out of our participation in the war and natural concern that political matters in all theaters of war operations should develop favorably with respect to the United Nations. Iran has been, and is, important in this connection because of its value as a supply route to Russia, its strategic location and its vast production of petroleum products. When occasion has arisen to set forth our policy, we have based it upon the foregoing considerations, and I feel that they constitute ample justification for the attitude we have adopted.

I believe, however, that it is worthwhile at this time to put down on paper certain much broader considerations which, it seems to me, should likewise impel us to follow a positive policy in Iran, not only while the prosecution of the war is still foremost in our minds but also in the period when victory is in our grasp and we come to the conclusion of the peace.

I should like to suggest that Iran constitutes a test case for the good faith of the United Nations and their ability to work out among themselves an adjustment of ambitions, rights and interests which will be fair not only to the Great Powers of our coalition but also to the small nations associated with us or brought into our sphere by circumstances. Certainly, nowhere else in the Middle East is there to be found so clearcut a conflict of interests between two of the United Nations, so ancient a tradition of rivalry, and so great a temptation for the Great Powers concerned to give precedence to

their own selfish interests over the high principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter.

For considerably more than one hundred years, Russia has been pressing down upon Iran from the north, repeatedly threatening new annexations of territory, repeatedly attempting in one way or another to dominate Iran. Three times in the present century alone Russian troops have entered Iranian territory against the will of the Iranian people.

For the same period of time, Great Britain has opposed the Russian movement southward, fearing for her position in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean and especially fearful of the potential threat to India. British troops have been on Iranian soil at least twice since the turn of the century and British influence has been exerted over and over again to counter the Russian expansion.

Although Russian policy has been fundamentally aggressive and British policy fundamentally defensive in character, the result in both cases has been interference with the internal affairs of Iran, amounting at times to a virtually complete negation of Iranian sovereignty and independence. It is superfluous to point out that this has created an ingrained distrust of both powers in the Iranian people and has not been without effect upon the attitude of the other weak peoples of the Middle East.

If this were merely history, it would be of no importance. Unfortunately, there are signs that history may be in the process of repeating itself. The basic factors are unchanged: Russia is still without a warm-water port; Britain still clings to her predominant position in the Middle East and east of Suez. Even if we assume the eventual independence of India and Burma and a British withdrawal from Iraq, Palestine and Egypt, there is every reason to suppose that Britain would not welcome an advance into that area by Russia.

Once again Russian and British troops are in Iran, the former in the north, the latter in the south and center. It is true that their presence is made necessary by imperative considerations of military expediency and that their withdrawal at the conclusion of the war has been solemnly promised, but I need not recall the hundreds of instances in which the forces of a Great Power have entered the territory of a weaker nation for one purpose and have remained, indefinitely, for other purposes.

Largely because of this occupation of Iranian territory, the governmental machinery of Iran, and its economic structure, have been seriously weakened. This has become both a reason and an excuse for direct intervention by the Russian and British authorities in Iranian political matters. At the present moment, no Iranian Cabinet can survive without the direct support of the Allied powers. While it is obvious that the United Nations could not permit a hostile government to function at Tehran, it is equally obvious that the Iranian political and economic organization must be strengthened to a

point at which it will be able to function efficiently by itself, if Iran is to survive as an independent nation. It is unnecessary to point out that a political vacuum is as impossible as a physical vacuum; if Iran falls into a state of anarchy, some power must assume responsibility for its government, and it may be assumed that the first to offer themselves for this task would be one or both of the occupying powers.

Apart from the general situation in Iran, I believe we should be fully alive to the character of the present Russian occupation of the northern provinces. In Azerbaijan, the Soviet authorities have greatly restricted the operations of the Iranian civil authorities and have virtually immobilized the small Iranian military forces which they reluctantly permitted to return to the area. They have alternately encouraged and discouraged the restive Kurds, always a thorn in the flesh of the local government. More important still, they have been so successful in propagandizing the population that our Consul at Tabriz has reported that a soviet could be established overnight in Azerbaijan if the Russians gave the word. In this connection, it is well to remember that Azerbaijan is inhabited largely by a Turkish-speaking population whose cultural ties with Soviet Transcaucasia and Turkish Kurdistan are almost as strong as those with the rest of Iran. It is also the most important grain-producing area of Iran and would be a welcome addition to the food resources of Transcaucasia.

There are other items which might be mentioned: the strained relations between the Russian and British authorities in Iran; the suspicion with which the Russians appear to view every move made by the British or Americans, for example their obvious hesitancy in agreeing to our operation of the southern section of the Trans-Iranian railroad; the apparent attempt by the Russian government to weaken British influence by leaving the British to bear the brunt of Iran's economic problems; the continued refusal of the Soviet authorities in Iran to permit transportation of grain from Azerbaijan to meet the urgent needs of Tehran; the impending move by the Russians to take over control of Iranian arms plants.

On the British side, the blunt, uncompromising attitude which has characterized British policy towards Iran does not augur well for a future amicable adjustment of Anglo-Iranian relations. Nor is it reassuring to recall the recent British proposal to arrogate to the Allies power to modify the Iranian cabinet at will.

It may be that the situation outlined above represents nothing more than the inevitable result of the stress and strain of coalition warfare and that once the victory is won all parties will be glad to revert to their former positions, leaving Iranian sovereignty as intact as it was before the Anglo-Russian occupation. Both Britain and Russia have repeatedly promised to do so, and both powers, and Iran as well, have adhered to the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

I should like to submit, however, that the United States has a vital interest in seeing to it that the United Nations *do* live up to the Atlantic Charter and, consequently, in making it as easy as possible for them to do so.

What I have in mind is the situation which will arise when the war is won, or nearly won, and the time comes to think of British and Russian withdrawal from Iran, with consequent full rehabilitation of Iranian self-government. Have we not some reason to anticipate that the respective British and Russian forces may remain suspiciously eyeing each other, each proclaiming its entire willingness to withdraw as soon as the other has done so? Is it not possible that one or both powers will allege, perhaps with reason, that Iran is in such a state of confusion that she must be "protected" for a time? And is it probable that either would withdraw and allow the other to carry out this "protection"?

Carrying this thought one step further, if Russia should really harbor ambitions for expansion in Iran, is it not all too likely that she would insist upon Iran's need for Soviet guidance, and that she would violently oppose the interposition of another interested power in the role of tutor? And if Great Britain should give way on this, would not Britain all the more cling to her position in Iraq and other parts of the Middle East, as protection against a future Russian thrust toward Suez, thus checking the progress which we hope to see in the direction of independence for all Near Eastern peoples?

I think we may assume that the Iranian Government has long since thought of all the foregoing considerations and that its ever-stronger appeal for American assistance is largely based upon them. So far, we have rested our response to this appeal primarily upon our interest in winning the war. I wonder if we should not also begin, privately, to base our response upon our interest in winning the peace?

The United States, alone, is in a position to build up Iran to the point at which it will stand in need of neither British nor Russian assistance to maintain order in its own house. If we go at this task wholeheartedly, we can hope to remove any excuse for a post-war occupation, partition, or tutelage of Iran. We can work to make Iran self-reliant and prosperous, open to the trade of all nations and a threat to none. In the meantime, we can so firmly establish disinterested American advisers in Iran that no peace conference could even consider a proposal to institute a Russian or British protectorate to "recognize the predominance" of Russian or British interests. If Iran needs special assistance of a material character, we can provide it and so remove any cause for claims for compensation by other powers. We can forestall loans carrying with them control of the customs or other servitudes upon the Iranian Government. If railroads, ports, highways, public utilities, industries, are to be built, we can build them and turn them over to the Iranian people free of any strings.

I realize that objections can be raised to such a policy. Some which occur to me at the moment are: (a) it is unprecedented in our relations with the Middle East; (b) it impinges on a "sphere of influence" hitherto considered exclusively British and Russian; (c) there is no guarantee that it will succeed; (d) it might involve expenditure and loss of money; (e) if it came into public notice, it might arouse domestic criticism on the part of isolationists.

To answer these seriatim:

- a) The present war and the problems of future peace for the United States are likewise unprecedented. We have now realized, and publicly stated over and over again, that we cannot be indifferent to the welfare of any part of the world, no matter how remote, because sooner or later it will affect our own peace.
- b) The very fact that Iran has been a "sphere of influence" in dispute between two Great Powers, makes it all the more desirable that a third, disinterested, power should be called in to eliminate the dispute. Both Britain and Russia would be relieved of an anxiety and constant source of friction if each could be assured that the other would have no special position in the area, and it is not inconceivable that both would regard this assurance as worth whatever ambitions might be given up. In this connection, it seems hardly possible that either could suspect the United States of having imperialistic designs in a country so far removed from us and where we could never hope to employ military force against an adjacent Great Power.
- c) If war cannot be waged without taking risks, I submit that the same is true of the making of peace. In any case, if we try and fail, we shall have lost nothing more than if we do not make the attempt. If the ambitions of Britain and Russia, their mutual distrust, or their established interests, are so strong that they would override a purely disinterested effort on our part to improve conditions in Iran, then we may assume that peace, in that part of the world, was doomed from the beginning.
- d) The expenditures involved, even if all of them should be a total loss, would be insignificant by contrast with the cost of the present war, and infinitesimal beside the material and human cost of a failure to make a satisfactory peace throughout the world.
- e) This objection will be met with in connection with any effort by the United States to participate in a cooperative post-war settlement, and we must be prepared to accept it. In the case of Iran, it could be countered by emphasis on the humanitarian aspects and should appeal to the normal American sympathy with any-

thing savoring of assistance to the underdog. If properly presented, a policy of help for Iran might, indeed, receive the same sort of popular approval as has been accorded to our support of China.

Finally, I should like to reiterate the conviction previously expressed that if the principles of unselfish fair-dealing enunciated by the Atlantic Charter are ignored when it comes to Iran, or any other country in similar circumstances, the foundations of our peace will begin to crumble immediately. In my opinion, this is the overriding argument which should lead us to seize every opportunity to direct events in such a way that there will be no occasion for power politics or conflict of interests among the United Nations for their relations with Iran.

If this conclusion is sound, I believe that we should not only comply to the best of our ability with Iranian requests for advisers and supplies but should also take the initiative in suggesting the employment of American specialists and application of American methods in various fields; further, we should not be content merely to support or oppose British or Russian policies and demands in Iran, but should put forward positive suggestions of our own for the improvement of conditions. To this end, we should regard ourselves as at least equally responsible with the British and Russians for the solution of Iranian problems and need not, in any way, leave the initiative to them merely because they happen to be the occupying powers. Moreover, here in Washington we should actively enlist the cooperation of all appropriate agencies of the Federal Government in support of this policy, and we should not confine ourselves solely to steps whose close connection with the war effort can be clearly demonstrated. If necessary, we should make it clear to the other agencies that we regard measures to promote a satisfactory ultimate settlement in Iran as being only slightly less important than those immediately directed towards the winning of the war, and that we consider it most unwise to defer all such measures until the war is over.

Source: U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers 1943: Volume IV: The Near East and Africa* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1964), pp. 331–336. Annex to 711.91/98, Memorandum by the Adviser on Political Relations (Murray), Addressed to the Assistant Secretary of State (Acheson), the Assistant Secretary of State (Berle), the Under Secretary of State (Welles) and the Secretary of State (Cordell Hull), *ibid.*, pp. 330–331.

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6.5. Soviet Espionage During World War II

Klaus Fuchs and Atomic Espionage

Espionage activities flourished during World War II, as each side spied on its enemies and also on its then allies. Not until 1949 did United States authorities discover that during and after the war, Klaus Fuchs (1911–1988), a German-born British scientist in the joint Anglo-American program to develop an atomic bomb, had passed on vital information to the Soviet Union, which appreciably accelerated the postwar development of Soviet atomic weapons. As a young man, Fuchs joined the German Communist Party, and when Hitler and the Nazis took power in 1933 and began arresting Communists, he fled to Great Britain, as did the rest of his family. He took an undergraduate degree in physics at Bristol University, going on to study for a doctorate at Edinburgh University. In 1940 Fuchs, like all Germans resident in Britain, was interned, spending several months in a camp in Quebec, Canada. A prominent Edinburgh professor intervened on his behalf, and in 1941, he was allowed to return to his studies. Soon afterward, he was asked to work on the highly secret Birmingham-based “Tube Alloys” project, the center of British atomic bomb research. In 1943, Fuchs transferred to Columbia University in New York as the British and American governments pooled their atomic research in the Manhattan Project to develop a nuclear bomb. He eventually moved to the project's Los Alamos, New Mexico, headquarters, working in the theoretical division. Serious and intense,

Fuchs was considered an outstanding scientist and researcher who focused almost exclusively on his work. He was familiar not just with research on the atomic bomb but also with the details of work on the ongoing effort to develop the far more powerful hydrogen bomb. In 1946, Fuchs returned to Britain, where he became head of the theoretical division of the Harwell Atomic Research Facility.

In September 1945, Igor Gouzenko, a Soviet intelligence officer based in Canada, defected to the West, where his revelation of the existence of a Canadian-based Soviet spy ring resulted in almost 40 arrests. Gouzenko also claimed that a similar espionage ring existed within the British fraternity of atomic scientists. His information led to the arrest of Alan Nunn May, a British scientist and Communist Party member who confessed to passing on samples of enriched uranium to the Soviets, for which he received a 10-year prison sentence in May 1946. At that time British intelligence also interviewed Fuchs but discerned no evidence of wrongdoing.

In 1947, the U.S. Army Signal Security Agency began to have success in deciphering the so-called Venona Transcripts, a collection of many thousands of intercepted cables dispatched by Soviet KGB (State Security Committee, the Soviet security agency) operatives in the United States from 1943 onward, on which American cryptographers had already been working for several years. Together with Fuchs' own confession, these eventually revealed that almost immediately after Fuchs began work on atomic weapons, through his contacts with another member of the Communist Party, he informed the Soviet Union of the project's existence. From then until his arrest, Fuchs regularly furnished Soviet intelligence operatives with detailed scientific information that greatly facilitated Soviet endeavors to develop both atomic and hydrogen bombs. In December 1949, a British intelligence officer informed Fuchs that he had come under serious suspicion of supplying classified nuclear weapons information to the Soviet Union, charges Fuchs initially repeatedly denied but to which he finally confessed in January 1950. Fuchs' 1950 trial at the Old Bailey lasted less than two hours, as he pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 14 years in prison, the maximum applicable sentence since at the time his offenses took place, the Soviet Union was not an enemy of Great Britain, and, technically speaking, he could not therefore have committed treason. With time off for good behavior, he was released in 1959, whereupon he moved to East Germany and became deputy director of the Central Institute for Nuclear Research in Rossendorf.

Highly ideologically motivated, Fuchs was a model of the spy whose actions were due to his own political convictions, passing on classified information to another country because of his belief in its stated ideals. He was a stellar example of the fascination the Soviet Union and the Communist Party exercised upon many idealistic Western intellectuals during the

1930s and beyond, seeming, in their eyes, to embody a noble cause and the political faith of the future. The detailed technical information Fuchs provided between 1943 and 1948 probably shortened by several years, Soviet development of atomic and hydrogen bombs, an effort that Soviet president Josef Stalin made his country's highest priority after Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The revelation of Fuchs' activities in 1950 also apparently caused President Harry S Truman to accelerate the U.S. effort to build a hydrogen bomb.

The Venona Transcripts

In July 1995, the U.S. National Security Agency, a highly secretive intelligence organization that specializes in the interception of communications, for the first time, revealed that it had inherited from one of its forerunners, the U.S. Army Signal Intelligence Service (later the U.S. Army Signal Security Agency) based at Arlington Hall, Virginia, a cache of many thousands of cable messages exchanged from 1939 to 1946 between Soviet missions in the United States and the Soviet Foreign Ministry in Moscow. These included large numbers of communications between American-based KGB and GRU (military intelligence) case officers and their headquarters in Moscow. Efforts to decrypt these messages began in February 1943, and, though only a fairly small proportion was ever successfully deciphered, between then and 1980, more than 3,000 cables were decoded, an undertaking on which the National Security Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigations, and British intelligence all collaborated. Since United States intelligence officials did not wish to alert their Soviet counterparts that they had access to these materials, on which they continued to work for decades, obtaining new leads into Soviet espionage activities in the United States, even the existence of the Venona Project was kept secret until after the Cold War ended, and evidence drawn from it was not cited in the trials of Fuchs or others, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, convicted of spying for the Soviet Union. (In practice, since the British Kim Philby, a Soviet agent for many years, learned of its existence in 1949, Soviet intelligence agencies presumably knew after that date that American intelligence was exploiting these materials.) The Venona Project nonetheless provided an enormous amount of detailed information on Soviet espionage in the United States and Mexico, which became even more valuable when it was pooled with a comparable set of British intercepts.

In 1995, the National Security Agency began to release many of the decrypted Venona cables, which immediately became a focus of public interest. Some historians seized on them as evidence of the truth of Senator Joseph McCarthy's charges of the late 1940s and 1950s, that the Department of State and other U.S. government agencies were riddled with Soviet spies, and also as incontrovertible proof that the charges of espionage against the Rosenbergs and other

well-known figures, former State Department official Alger Hiss, for example, were well-founded. Others wished that, notwithstanding considerations of national security and the need to safeguard the information, the intercepts had been released much earlier, as they would have demonstrated how groundless were McCarthy's charges that Secretaries of State George C. Marshall and Dean Acheson were Soviet agents.

In practice, however, as the document here demonstrates, such decrypts had to be handled with care. Only a small fraction of the intelligence messages were ever deciphered, none at all for the years 1939–1941, though their bulk suggests that throughout the war, Soviet military and civilian intelligence both undertook substantial operations within the United States. The details, however, are often difficult to establish, since case officers habitually used codenames to refer to their sources and to other individuals, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, for example. The fact, moreover, that an individual was named as an informant or source did not necessarily imply that person was consciously spying for the Soviet Union. Some cables mention information given by Roosevelt's close wartime adviser Harry Hopkins, who undertook several important missions to Britain and the United States on his behalf, which some seized on as evidence that Hopkins was a covert Soviet agent. But, as historians have pointed out, it is not uncommon for top officials to slip significant information they wish to keep confidential into seemingly casual conversations with representatives of another country, in the hope and belief that this will be quietly passed on to their superiors, without necessarily featuring in the formal diplomatic record or going through regular channels. Nor is every person with whom an intelligence operative comes into contact likely to be an agent. Some are likely to be innocent individuals, journalists, for example, who were simply being pumped for interesting information in the course of a casual conversation. Lastly, when reporting to their superiors in Moscow (or elsewhere), intelligence operatives are essentially justifying their continued existence and employment. Like anyone in such a position, they are quite liable to exaggerate their successes and the value of their contacts and to minimize any failures. Especially since those now available were only decoded over many years, the interpretation of information included in such sources as the Venona cables was inevitably a painstaking enterprise demanding meticulous attention to detail.

About the Document

Although not written until fall 1949, this memorandum refers to the wartime activities of Fuchs and represents a careful attempt to correlate information that had by that time been gathered from the Venona transcripts with relevant material gleaned from other sources. It therefore provides a highly

revealing glimpse into the actual interpretation of such sources as the Venona cables and other intelligence intercepts, demonstrating why it took several years for Fuchs to be confidently identified as a Soviet agent. Since at least 1943, the Federal Bureau of Investigation had mounted extensive operations intended to uncover and counter Soviet intelligence activities within the United States. Robert J. Lamphere, then the FBI operative entrusted with liaison duties with other agencies on Soviet espionage, wrote this memorandum for Meredith Gardner, a highly trained cryptographer in the U. S. Army Signal Security Agency, in an attempt to pinpoint a Soviet source within the atomic energy project whom his handlers had code-named "Rest." Those involved had to make every effort to ensure that their identification was accurate, since not only would a wrong guess ruin an innocent man's career, it would also leave the original agent securely in place.

Lamphere later recounted how in 1948 he received through FBI channels the plain text of an 8-inch stack of messages the New York KGB office had sent to Moscow via commercial telegraph services, some of which the Venona decoders were able to correlate with encrypted messages in their own possession, speeding their efforts to decipher them. Snippets of information he had gleaned on "Rest's" background, career, movements, and family were carefully cross-referenced against available information on Fuchs, just as they were undoubtedly checked against every other British scientist involved in atomic research. So, too, was the fact that "Rest" was probably the author of at least one of the scientific documents he passed on to the Soviet Union. Captured German documents that mentioned Fuchs as a Communist Party member were also utilized. Similar methods were used to make a tentative identification of another possible contact of Fuchs' who was also involved in Soviet espionage. Lamphere's memorandum, written less than three months before British intelligence agents directly accused Fuchs of spying, was therefore the product of many months and even years of careful and painstaking decryption of the Venona transcripts, followed by equally meticulous and patient detective work to ascertain "Rest's" true identity.

Primary Source

Robert J. Lamphere to Meredith Gardner, "EMIL JULIUS KLAUS FUCHS aka Karl Fuchs," 26 September 1949

REST

On June 15, 1944, Rest furnished to a representative of Soviet intelligence (M.G.B.), Part III of a document now identified as MSN-12. This document dated June 6, 1944 is on file with the Atomic Energy Commission and is entitled "Fluctuations and the Efficiency of a Diffusion Plant," and Part III specifically refers to "The Effect of Fluctuations in the Flow

of N2.” The designation MSN stands for documents prepared by British scientists who were in New York City working on Atomic Energy research. The author of this document is K. Fuchs, who is actually Emil Julius Klaus Fuchs, who is usually known as Karl Fuchs. He is a top ranking British Atomic scientist.

Information available concerning Rest indicated that he was a British scientist, inasmuch as he had also furnished to the Soviet Intelligence information concerning British participation in the Atomic Energy development. It was also indicated that he had a sister in the United States. There are indications that Rest was actually the author of the document.

Emil Julius Klaus Fuchs also known as Karl Fuchs, was born December 19, 1911, at Russelsheim, Germany. His father, Emil Fuchs was born May 13, 1874, and was a professor in Germany. Emil Julius Klaus Fuchs entered the United Kingdom in 1933, and from 1941 to 1943, was a medical physicist at the University of Birmingham, England. In November 1943, he was designated by the British Government to come to the United States as a part of the British Atomic Energy Commission. He arrived at New York City on December 3, 1943, and went to Los Alamos in August 1944. While in the United States, Fuchs worked with a group of British scientists in the period of March to June 1944, on the development of diffusional operational processes working particularly with the Kellex Corporation, which was working under the Manhattan Engineering District. Fuchs left for England from Montreal, Canada on June 28, 1946.

In November 1947, Fuchs was back in the United States and visiting the Chicago Operations Office of the Atomic Energy Commission. At that time, he attended discussions regarding unclassified and declassified aspects of neutron spectroscopy. He also participated in declassification conferences which were being held between the United States, Great Britain and Canada. Fuchs is presently the senior research worker at the Atomic Energy Commission project at Harwell, England.

Fuchs has a sister, Kristal Fuchs Heineman, who prior to January 1941, resided at 55 Carver Road, Watertown, Massachusetts. From approximately 1941, until about 1945, she resided with her husband, Robert Block Heineman at 144 Lakeview Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts. They presently reside at 94 Lakeview Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Robert Block Heineman has been reliably reported as a member of the Communist Party, United States of America in 1947.

The address book of Israel Halperin implicated in the Canadian Espionage network contained the following: “Klaus Fuchs, Asst. to M. Born, 84 Grange Lane, University of Edinburgh, Scotland Camp (possibly comp) N.—Camp L., Internment Operations—Kristel Heineman, 55 Carvel Road, Watertown.” The phrase Camp L is encircled.

In addition to the foregoing a captured German document prepared presumably by German Counter Intelligence and which relates to Communist Party members in Germany contains the following:

“Klaus Fuchs, student of philosophy, December 29, 1911, Russelsheim, RSHA-IVA2, Gestapo Field Office Kiel.

“Gerhard Fuchs, October 30, 1909, Russelsheim, student RSHA-IVA2, Gestapo Field Office Kiel.”

It is to be noted that Gerhard Fuchs is the brother of Emil Julius Klaus Fuchs.

GUS (GOOSE)

In connection with Rest, who furnished the document MSN-12 and who is thought to be Emil Julius Klaus Fuchs, it is also known that Rest’s sister was a contact of Gus (Goose), who has presumably a scientific background. You will recall, Gus contemplated preparing a work on the production method with respect to the thermal diffusion of gases.

You will also recall, Gus, who has not been identified was also a contact of Abraham Brothman, a Consulting Engineer in New York City, who furnished espionage information to Elizabeth Bentley in 1940.

It is thought that Gus may possibly be identical with Arthur Phineas Weber, who is presently an employee of the Kellex Corporation which is engaged in work under the Atomic Energy Commission. Weber was born March 10, 1920, in Brooklyn, New York and is a chemical engineer. From 1941 to 1942, he worked with Brothman for the Hendrick Manufacturing Company. From June 1942 to June 1944, he worked with Brothman in the Chemurgy Design Corporation, and according to some information during a part of this period he was also working for the Kellex Corporation. Weber lists employment with Kellex Corporation as a chemical engineer from July 1944 to March 29, 1946, and again from April 8, 1946, to the present. It should be noted that the Kellex Corporation was closely working in 1944 with the British Scientist group which included Fuchs.

Source: Robert Louis Benson and Michael Warner, eds., *Venona: Soviet Espionage and the American Response, 1939–1957* (Washington, DC: National Security Agency: Central Intelligence Agency, 1996), pp. 141–143. Reprinted in Robert Louis Benson and Michael Warner, eds., *Venona: Soviet Espionage and the American Response, 1939–1957* (Laguna Hills, CA: Aegean Park Press, 1997).

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6.6. The Yalta Accords

The Yalta Conference, February 1945

World War II was fought by a coalition, the United Nations, among whom the “Big Three,” the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain, carried more weight than the others. The most significant Allied decisions on wartime strategy and planning for the postwar world were reached by the leaders of the Big Three powers themselves, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, British Premier Winston Churchill, and Soviet President Josef Stalin, in a series of summit meetings, occasionally all three together, more often two at a time, which took place throughout the war.

The most controversial such meeting was that between Churchill, Stalin, and Roosevelt in the Crimea port of Yalta in February 1945, where they discussed questions relating to the future government of many states in both Europe and Asia. Hard and sometimes inconclusive bargaining took place on several issues, including the future status of Germany, Eastern Europe and the Balkans, Poland, German reparations, and the nature of the United Nations Organization. Although portions on “Liberated Europe,” Poland, and “Meetings of the Three Foreign Secretaries” were published on 13 February 1945, the remaining text of the Yalta agreements signed by the Russian, British, and American foreign ministers was not released until 24 March 1945. Churchill, Stalin, and Roosevelt themselves signed agreements on the prosecution of the war in Asia and the postwar status and rights of various Asian nations, including the Soviet Union.

From the late 1940s onward, political opponents would attack Roosevelt and Churchill for supposedly making too many concessions to the Soviet Union at Yalta at the expense of East European countries and China. By early 1945, Soviet

forces controlled most of Eastern Europe, and it was clear that Soviet officials would be primarily responsible for deciding the future of that area. Throughout the war, Stalin made it clear to his allies that he intended that Eastern Europe, a region he considered crucial to Soviet security, would come under effective Soviet control and fall within his country's sphere of influence. The decision of the Western Allies to defer opening a second front against Hitler until summer 1944 meant that when the war ended, Soviet troops would have occupied virtually all Eastern Europe as they moved gradually westward on their way to invade German territory. Although the Soviet Union adhered to the Atlantic Charter, stating that the peoples of all countries should be free to choose their own form of government, it did so with significant reservations, carefully designed to allow the Soviets to assume a hegemonic role in Eastern Europe. Twice in 30 years, German troops had invaded Russian soil, marching through Polish territory as they did so, and in World War II, several East European countries, notably Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania, allied themselves with Germany. Stalin was determined that the future foreign policy of those smaller East European states separating Germany and the Soviet Union should be subordinated to his own country's and that their governments should effectively look to the Soviet Union for guidance. In practice, these states would form a protective wall, or *glacis*, separating the Soviet Union from Germany. Although the Declaration on Liberated Europe the three great powers signed at Yalta promised “free elections,” verbally Stalin made it clear to Churchill and Roosevelt that he intended such elections to bring in governments that were at least acceptable to the Soviets, and the two other leaders made little demur. In October 1944, Churchill had, indeed, privately reached agreement with Stalin on the division of Eastern Europe and the Balkans into what were effectively British and Soviet spheres of influence, an accord of which he had informed Roosevelt, who had not repudiated it.

Stalin also won the assent of his allies to his intention to move Poland's frontiers westward, annexing substantial portions of what had been eastern Poland to the Soviet Union, in exchange for which Poland would receive substantial territorial compensation from what had been eastern Germany. The existing Communist-dominated Polish Provisional Government was to be expanded by the inclusion of representatives of other Polish political groups in a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, which would then organize “free and unfettered elections.” In late summer 1944, the effective acquiescence of advancing Soviet troops in the occupying German forces' suppression of a Polish nationalist revolt in Warsaw, a decision many believed reflected Russian eagerness to eliminate all political groupings except pro-Soviet Poles within that country, had shocked many in both the

United States and Britain, which initially supported the Polish government-in-exile headed by Stanislaw Mikolajczyk. Again, the military situation meant that political arrangements within Poland ultimately depended upon Stalin's good graces, and at Yalta, Britain and the United States decided to settle for a face-saving compromise that essentially met Stalin's wishes. Although Mikolajczyk and some of his supporters were initially included in the new provisional government, in which Mikolajczyk was a vice premier, in practice, they were isolated and excluded from real power. As the Cold War intensified, in 1947, Mikolajczyk was forced into exile.

Some other controversial questions were left temporarily undecided. Within the U.S. government, Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr. was the foremost advocate of those who sought to partition defeated Germany into several smaller and weaker states, as well as to destroy its industrial capacity and hence its ability to wage war in the future. Others, however, notably top War Department officials, believed that such schemes were impracticable and that the revival of the German economy was crucial to postwar European economic recovery. The foreign ministers therefore decided the matter needed further study. So, too, did the subject of whether the Allies should exact reparations from Germany, an issue on which the Western Allies, bearing in mind the problems similar efforts had generated after World War I, had reservations, whereas the Soviets were determined to extract all they could from Germany as compensation for their own sufferings and German depredations over the past four years. The principals at Yalta did, however, agree that reparations should only be exacted in kind from Germany, rather than paid in cash over a lengthy period of time. It had earlier been decided that Germany should be divided into three occupation zones, one apiece for the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States, the boundaries of which had already been determined. France, a country the Western Allies now sought to restore as a great European power, was not represented at Yalta, a decision the Free French General Charles de Gaulle greatly resented. However, on the insistence of Britain and the United States, it was granted its own occupation zone, to be carved out of the territory initially allocated to those two countries.

Those at the Yalta Conference did decide to summon a meeting of all the powers allied against the Axis states, plus various neutral nations, to establish a postwar international organization to maintain peace, the United Nations. This led to the San Francisco Conference that met in April-June 1945 and hammered out the final draft of the UN Charter. Yalta also determined the manner of voting on the UN Security Council, the body on which the Big Four Allied powers plus France were permanent members with veto power, which largely controlled the United Nations. It was agreed that the Allies

would support separate United Nations representation for two Russian republics, the Ukraine and White Russia, effectively giving the Soviet Union three votes in the organization rather than one. Some general agreements were reached on United Nations trusteeship of former League of Nations mandates and territories "detached from the enemy as a result of the present war," but much was deliberately left vague, since this might affect the status of former European colonies conquered by Japan, an extremely sensitive subject for Great Britain, the extensive Asian imperial holdings of which might well be affected, together with those of France, the Netherlands, and even the United States. It was therefore made clear that the forthcoming conference would not determine which territories should fall under the trusteeship provisions.

In 1941, Japan and the Soviet Union signed a neutrality pact, which still remained in force at Yalta. Stalin had justified the continuance of this agreement throughout the war on the rather convincing grounds that the Soviet Union, desperately pressed as it was, needed to concentrate all its forces on the war with Germany. The United States and Britain both sought Soviet entry into the war against Japan once the war against Germany was over. At Yalta, Stalin pledged his country would do so two to three months after the war with Germany ended but in return demanded, and received, the same territorial and commercial concessions in northeast China that tsarist Russia had enjoyed until its defeat in the 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese War, together with the Kurile Islands and the preservation of the existing pro-Soviet status quo in Outer Mongolia. The Western Allies pledged to make every effort to obtain Chinese President Jiang Jieshi's [Chiang Kai-shek's] acquiescence in these demands, to which he eventually grudgingly assented. Churchill and Roosevelt were subsequently criticized severely for accepting Stalin's terms for Soviet entry into the war against Japan, especially since the price was paid by other nations. Some argued that the Western Allied leaders should have realized how devastating the effects of Allied firebombing of Japanese cities and the development of atomic weapons would be and that these would make Russian intervention redundant. At the time of Yalta, however, the firebombing program had not yet begun, no successful atomic bomb tests had taken place, and there was no certainty exactly when the bomb would be developed, nor whether it would work. No prudent leaders could have gambled that either firebombing or the development of atomic bombs would necessarily prove effective. Indeed, it might equally be argued that the news of Soviet intervention was one extra factor that eventually helped to persuade the Japanese emperor to prevail on his government to sue for peace in August 1945.

The Yalta agreements ultimately revealed the saliency of power politics among the Allies. The very fact that the leaders of the major Allies met repeatedly during the war, subse-

quently communicating their decisions to representatives of other nations, was evidence that among the Allies themselves, the relative military and economic power of the different states decided which carried the most weight in decision making. The Yalta conference was a rather brutal reminder that, despite the numerous statements of liberal principles issued by the Allies during the war, the postwar settlement would in large part depend on who exercised military control on the ground. However unpalatable they might find some of Stalin's demands, as pragmatic politicians, Roosevelt and Churchill had little alternative but to acquiesce in them.

About the Document

Given their controversial nature, some of the Yalta agreements were released in February 1945, with the remainder not published until almost six weeks later, on 24 March 1945. Like many official government communiqués summarizing international agreements reached among great powers, they emphasized the positive and tended diplomatically to elide any areas of dissension. Some of the most contentious issues, especially those relating to the future status and treatment of Germany, together with trials of war criminals, were reserved for future discussion by the foreign ministers of each power and subsequent decision by the top leaders themselves. There was little in the official language of these communiqués to indicate how hard-fought some of the decisions actually reached had been or the bitter attacks they would provoke in future.

Primary Source

The Yalta Accords, 11 February 1945

Washington, 24 March [1945].—The text of the agreements reached at the Crimea (Yalta) Conference between President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Generalissimo Stalin, as released by the State Department today, follows:

PROTOCOL OF PROCEEDINGS OF CRIMEA CONFERENCE

The Crimea Conference of the heads of the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which took place from Feb. 4 to 11, came to the following conclusions:

I. WORLD ORGANIZATION

It was decided:

1. That a United Nations conference on the proposed world organization should be summoned for Wednesday, 25 April, 1945, and should be held in the United States of America.

2. The nations to be invited to this conference should be:
 - (a) the United Nations as they existed on 8 Feb., 1945; and
 - (b) Such of the Associated Nations as have declared war on the common enemy by 1 March, 1945. (For this purpose, by the term "Associated Nations" was meant the eight Associated Nations and Turkey.) When the conference on world organization is held, the delegates of the United Kingdom and United States of America will support a proposal to admit to original membership two Soviet Socialist Republics, i.e., the Ukraine and White Russia.
3. That the United States Government, on behalf of the three powers, should consult the Government of China and the French Provisional Government in regard to decisions taken at the present conference concerning the proposed world organization.
4. That the text of the invitation to be issued to all the nations which would take part in the United Nations conference should be as follows:

"The Government of the United States of America, on behalf of itself and of the Governments of the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics and the Republic of China and of the Provisional Government of the French Republic invite the Government of _____ to send representatives to a conference to be held on 25 April, 1945, or soon thereafter, at San Francisco, in the United States of America, to prepare a charter for a general international organization for the maintenance of international peace and security.

"The above-named Governments suggest that the conference consider as affording a basis for such a Charter the proposals for the establishment of a general international organization which were made public last October as a result of the Dumbarton Oaks conference and which have now been supplemented by the following provisions for Section C of Chapter VI:

C. Voting

 - "1. Each member of the Security Council should have one vote.
 - "2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.
 - "3. Decisions of the Security Council on all matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members, including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VIII, Section A and under the second sentence of Paragraph 1 of Chapter VIII, Section C, a party to a dispute should abstain from voting.

"Further information as to arrangements will be transmitted subsequently.

“In the event that the Government of _____ desires in advance of the conference to present views or comments concerning the proposals, the Government of the United States of America will be pleased to transmit such views and comments to the other participating Governments.”

Territorial trusteeship:

It was agreed that the five nations which will have permanent seats on the Security Council should consult each other prior to the United Nations conference on the question of territorial trusteeship.

The acceptance of this recommendation is subject to its being made clear that territorial trusteeship will only apply to

- (a) existing mandates of the League of Nations;
- (b) territories detached from the enemy as a result of the present war;
- (c) any other territory which might voluntarily be placed under trusteeship; and
- (d) no discussion of actual territories is contemplated at the forthcoming United Nations conference or in the preliminary consultations, and it will be a matter for subsequent agreement which territories within the above categories will be placed under trusteeship.

[Begin first section published Feb. 13, 1945.]

II. DECLARATION OF LIBERATED EUROPE

The following declaration has been approved:

The Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States of America have consulted with each other in the common interests of the people of their countries and those of liberated Europe. They jointly declare their mutual agreement to concert during the temporary period of instability in liberated Europe the policies of their three Governments in assisting the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany and the peoples of the former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems.

The establishment of order in Europe and the rebuilding of national economic life must be achieved by processes which will enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of nazism and fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice. This is a principle of the Atlantic Charter—the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live—the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived to them by the aggressor nations.

To foster the conditions in which the liberated people may exercise these rights, the three governments will jointly assist the people in any European liberated state or former Axis state in Europe where, in their judgment conditions require,

- (a) to establish conditions of internal peace;
- (b) to carry out emergency relief measures for the relief of distressed peoples;
- (c) to form interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of Governments responsive to the will of the people; and
- (d) to facilitate where necessary the holding of such elections.

The three Governments will consult the other United Nations and provisional authorities or other Governments in Europe when matters of direct interest to them are under consideration.

When, in the opinion of the three Governments, conditions in any European liberated state or former Axis satellite in Europe make such action necessary, they will immediately consult together on the measures necessary to discharge the joint responsibilities set forth in this declaration.

By this declaration we reaffirm our faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter, our pledge in the Declaration by the United Nations and our determination to build in cooperation with other peace-loving nations world order, under law, dedicated to peace, security, freedom and general well-being of all mankind.

In issuing this declaration, the three powers express the hope that the Provisional Government of the French Republic may be associated with them in the procedure suggested.

[End first section published Feb. 13, 1945.]

III. DISMEMBERMENT OF GERMANY

It was agreed that Article 12 (a) of the Surrender terms for Germany should be amended to read as follows:

“The United Kingdom, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall possess supreme authority with respect to Germany. In the exercise of such authority they will take such steps, including the complete dismemberment of Germany as they deem requisite for future peace and security.”

The study of the procedure of the dismemberment of Germany was referred to a committee consisting of Mr. Anthony Eden, Mr. John Winant, and Mr. Fedor T. Gusev. This body would consider the desirability of associating with it a French representative.

IV. ZONE OF OCCUPATION FOR THE FRENCH AND CONTROL COUNCIL FOR GERMANY.

It was agreed that a zone in Germany, to be occupied by the French forces, should be allocated to France. This zone would be formed out of the British and American zones and its extent would be settled by the British and Americans in consultation with the French Provisional Government.

It was also agreed that the French Provisional Government should be invited to become a member of the Allied Control Council for Germany.

V. REPARATION

The following protocol has been approved:

Protocol On the Talks Between the Heads of Three Governments at the Crimean Conference on the Question of the German Reparations in Kind

1. Germany must pay in kind for the losses caused by her to the Allied nations in the course of the war. Reparations are to be received in the first instance by those countries which have borne the main burden of the war, have suffered the heaviest losses and have organized victory over the enemy.
2. Reparation in kind is to be exacted from Germany in three following forms:
 - (a) Removals within two years from the surrender of Germany or the cessation of organized resistance from the national wealth of Germany located on the territory of Germany herself as well as outside her territory (equipment, machine tools, ships, rolling stock, German investments abroad, shares of industrial, transport and other enterprises in Germany, etc.), these removals to be carried out chiefly for the purpose of destroying the war potential of Germany.
 - (b) Annual deliveries of goods from current production for a period to be fixed.
 - (c) Use of German labor.
3. For the working out on the above principles of a detailed plan for exaction of reparation from Germany an Allied reparation commission will be set up in Moscow. It will consist of three representatives—one from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, one from the United Kingdom and one from the United States of America.
4. With regard to the fixing of the total sum of the reparation as well as the distribution of it among the countries which suffered from the German aggression, the Soviet and American delegations agreed as follows:

“The Moscow reparation commission should take in its initial studies as a basis for discussion the suggestion of the Soviet Government that the total sum of the reparation in accordance with the points (a) and (b) of the Paragraph 2 should be 22 billion dollars and that 50 per cent should go to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.”

The British delegation was of the opinion that, pending consideration of the reparation question by the Moscow reparation commission, no figures of reparation should be mentioned.

The above Soviet-American proposal has been passed to the Moscow reparation commission as one of the proposals to be considered by the commission.

V. MAJOR WAR CRIMINALS

The conference agreed that the question of the major war criminals should be the subject of inquiry by the three Foreign Secretaries for report in due course after the close of the conference.

[Begin second section published Feb. 13, 1945.]

VII. POLAND

The following declaration on Poland was agreed by the conference:

“A new situation has been created in Poland as a result of her complete liberation by the Red Army. This calls for the establishment of a Polish Provisional Government which can be more broadly based than was possible before the recent liberation of the western part of Poland. The Provisional Government which is now functioning in Poland should therefore be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad. This new Government should then be called the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity.

“[Soviet Foreign Minister] M. Molotov, [U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union] Mr. Harriman and [British Ambassador to the Soviet Union] Sir A. Clark Kerr are authorized as a commission to consult in the first instance in Moscow with members of the present Provisional Government and with other Polish democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad, with a view to the reorganization of the present Government along the above lines. This Polish Provisional Government of National Unity shall be pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot. In these elections all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates.

“When a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity has been properly formed in conformity with the above, the Government of the U.S.S.R., which now maintains

diplomatic relations with the present Provisional Government of Poland, and the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the United States of America will establish diplomatic relations with the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, and will exchange Ambassadors by whose reports the respective Governments will be kept informed about the situation in Poland.

“The three heads of Government consider that the eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon Line with digressions from it in some regions of five to eight kilometers in favor of Poland. They recognize that Poland must receive substantial accessions in territory in the north and west. They feel that the opinion of the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity should be sought in due course of the extent of these accessions and that the final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should thereafter await the peace conference.”

[Provisions on Yugoslavia, Italy, Bulgaria, Southeastern Europe, Iran, Turkey, the Dardanelles Straits, and Regular Meetings of Foreign Ministers omitted.]

[End third section published Feb. 13, 1945.]

[The following agreement on the war in Asia, was signed by the three principals at the meeting, Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin.]

AGREEMENT REGARDING JAPAN, 11 FEBRUARY 1945

The leaders of the three great powers—the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain—have agreed that in two or three months after Germany has surrendered and the war in Europe is terminated, the Soviet Union shall enter into war against Japan on the side of the Allies on condition that:

1. The status quo in Outer Mongolia (the Mongolian People's Republic) shall be preserved.
2. The former rights of Russia violated by the treacherous attack of Japan in 1904 shall be restored, viz.:
 - (a) The southern part of Sakhalin as well as the islands adjacent to it shall be returned to the Soviet Union;
 - (b) The commercial port of Dairen shall be internationalized, the pre-eminent interests of the Soviet Union in this port being safeguarded, and the lease of Port Arthur as a naval base of the U.S.S.R. restored;
 - (c) The Chinese-Eastern Railroad and the South Manchurian Railroad, which provide an outlet to Dairen, shall be jointly operated by the establishment of a joint Soviet-Chinese company, it being understood that the pre-eminent interests of the Soviet Union shall be safeguarded and that China shall retain sovereignty in Manchuria;

3. The Kurile Islands shall be handed over to the Soviet Union.

It is understood that the agreement concerning Outer Mongolia and the ports and railroads referred to above will require concurrence of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The President will take measures in order to maintain this concurrence on advice from Marshal Stalin.

The heads of the three great powers have agreed that these claims of the Soviet Union shall be unquestionably fulfilled after Japan has been defeated.

For its part, the Soviet Union expresses its readiness to conclude with the National Government of China a pact of friendship and alliance between the U.S.S.R. and China in order to render assistance to China with its armed forces for the purpose of liberating China from the Japanese yoke.

Source: U.S. Department of State, *A Decade of American Foreign Policy: Basic Documents, 1941–49* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1950), pp. 23–28.

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6.7. China in Turmoil

China and Civil War

China, one of the “Big Four” major Allied powers in the coalition against the Axis, had been at war with Japan since 1937. Until well into 1945, the northeastern provinces of Manchuria and the coast were under Japanese occupation. The Chinese situation was complicated by the virtually irreconcilable rivalry between the Nationalist (Guomindang, GMD, Kuomintang, KMT) government headed by President Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) (1887–1975) and the Chinese Com-

unist Party (CCP) led by the charismatic Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) (1893–1976). For the first half of the 1930s, Jiang had given fighting the Communists a higher priority than resisting Japanese incursions. In theory, this situation changed in late 1936, when the Manchurian warlord Zhang Xueliang (Chang Hsüeh-liang) kidnapped Jiang while the latter was visiting Xi'an and insisted that he unite with the Communist forces in opposing the Japanese. Through the Soviet-controlled Communist International (Comintern), Soviet leader Josef Stalin exerted strong pressure on the CCP to join such a united front, which Stalin believed offered the best chance of combating Japanese ambitions, which also threatened Soviet interests.

For almost a decade, Mao constantly but unavailingly challenged and protested against Stalin's instructions, on the grounds that Jiang could not be trusted and his ultimate objective remained the elimination of the Communist forces rather than the prosecution of war against Japan. Communist forces, the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, controlled most of northwestern China, and the Nationalist government the southwest, where the capital had been relocated to Chongqing (Chungking). The Communists refused to grant the Nationalists political authority in areas held by them. CCP-GMD collaboration largely broke down in late 1941, when GMD forces attacked and defeated the New Fourth Army in the lower Changjiang (Yangtze) valley, though an uneasy alliance continued until 1944.

For much of the period 1940–1945, the GMD and CCP leadership each gave considerable thought to maximizing their future advantages in the internal power struggle both expected to resume once Japan was defeated, a preoccupation that had important implications for their conduct of the war. Jiang preferred to rely on a protracted strategy of attrition against the Japanese, bolstered by airpower, a position that frustrated the American Joseph W. Stilwell (1883–1946), commander of U.S. forces in the China-Burma-India theater and chief of staff to Jiang, who urged a more active strategy of building up American-trained and equipped Chinese military forces to defeat Japanese troops on the ground. From Jiang's perspective, his preferred policies had the added advantage that they would preserve his best fighting units for the coming power struggle he anticipated with the Communists. Though Jiang was personally honest, many of his military commanders and officials within his government were extremely corrupt, which threw into relief the Spartan living conditions and austere lifestyle practiced by the Communists in those areas they controlled. Until 1945, Communist forces had few major successes against better-equipped Japanese units but concentrated on encouraging guerrilla operations and entrenching themselves in those regions where they were based. Communist morale was high: their idealistic rhetoric, attractive and charismatic leaders, and dangerous though

small-scale partisan operations all caught the popular imagination and impressed many visiting Western journalists and officials.

Tensions between GMD and CCP leaders came to a head during 1945, as the end of the war against Japan approached. In October 1944, personal difficulties with Jiang, as well as strategic disagreements, caused U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt to recall Stilwell to the United States and replace him with the staunchly anticommunist Major General Patrick J. Hurley, who was far more sympathetic to Jiang's position. All thought of a major Chinese offensive against Japanese forces was abandoned. Jiang now devoted his energies to attempts to bring all military forces in China under his own control. In January 1945, he announced that, for the first time since the early 1940s, the government would convene a National Assembly and restore democratic rule in China. CCP members would not, however, be eligible to participate in this meeting, which would return China to constitutional government, nor would they be included in a proposed interim coalition government, until Communist military units had been incorporated into the National Army, perhaps under the command of a suitable American (as opposed to Chinese) general. The CCP refused these conditions and accused Jiang of deliberately seeking to provoke civil war by treating Communists with contempt.

In August 1945, after the Japanese government admitted defeat, Jiang ordered that only GMD representatives could accept the surrender of Japanese troops in China. He hoped thereby to ensure that the GMD would take over all territory previously under Japanese control, together with the enemy's valuable military equipment. American airplanes and ships helped to move GMD military units to parts of China that had been under Japanese occupation. The Communists protested vehemently against these orders and when possible ignored them, with Soviet assistance, quickly moving into Manchuria, the northeastern provinces of China taken over by Japan in 1931 as the puppet state of Manzhouguo (Manchukuo), which Soviet troops liberated in August and September 1945. Despite protracted U.S. efforts to mediate the burgeoning conflict, in mid-1946, full-scale civil war began in China, which ended in 1949 with the establishment of the People's Republic of China, a Communist state headed by Mao Zedong. Jiang fled to the island of Taiwan, where for the rest of his life he headed a GMD government that still claimed to be the only legitimate representative of the Chinese people.

About the Documents

This section includes two different kinds of documents: one private, the other public. Stilwell's notes were private diary jottings, written for himself during 1944 and perhaps 1945, the period in which his longstanding differences of opinion with Jiang came to a head and eventually brought his recall to

Washington. Stilwell died of cancer in 1946, and his private papers were edited and published by the young journalist Theodore H. White, who spent much of World War II in China and came to admire both Stilwell and the Communist leadership. This book appeared in 1948, as it became increasingly clear that the Communists would be victorious in the Chinese civil war, and a group of pro-Nationalist Americans later known as the China Lobby began to attack official U.S. policy on China as having been too favorable to the Communists and insufficiently supportive of Jiang. By publishing Stilwell's personal papers, White undoubtedly intended to vindicate Stilwell's reputation and to demonstrate that the Nationalists were intrinsically a lost cause, their government so corrupt and inefficient that no amount of American aid could have ensured its victory over the Communist forces.

Stilwell's comments, admittedly written at a time of great personal bitterness against Jiang, were highly critical of the GMD president. Stilwell, a Chinese-speaker, stated that he had great admiration for the ordinary Chinese people and considerable respect for the Communists but none for Jiang. He accused Jiang of having made virtually no effort to win the war against Japan since 1938 and demonstrating no gratitude for those American supplies he received but simply complaining that Britain and the Soviet Union received far more than China. He even compared Jiang and his government to Adolf Hitler and Nazi rule in Germany. By July 1944, Stilwell had bluntly concluded that: "The cure for China's trouble is the elimination of Chiang K'ai-shek." If this were not done, he feared that no united front in China would be possible, that civil war would break out, and that the "Reds" (Communists) would win complete control of China and gravitate toward the Soviet Union. Stilwell rightly realized that if he was personally unacceptable to Jiang, he could not "operate in the China theatre." Stilwell's notes were an outlet for his frustration with Jiang, and some of his expressions may well have been exaggerated. The analysis they gave nonetheless contained considerable elements of truth and illustrated the difficulties that U.S. officials would repeatedly face in dealing with the leaders of client states who were eager to accept material aid while rejecting American political and military advice. Whether a more emollient personality than Stilwell would have been any more successful in persuading Jiang to alter his policies is highly questionable; although on better terms with Jiang, neither Hurley nor Albert Wedemeyer, who succeeded him, had any greater impact than Stilwell on the behavior of the GMD government. Stilwell's analysis—that if one attempted to reform the existing Chinese political structure, the whole edifice would probably collapse—was among his more perceptive comments.

Jiang's speech and Mao's article were both examples of political propaganda. In each case, a party leader stated his

position on an issue of great moment to his own political future and that of his party in the hope of winning public opinion to his own side. Jiang's speech was delivered to the official body charged with preparations for the national assembly that would restore constitutional government in China, to justify his position in excluding the Chinese Communists from that assembly until they were prepared to relinquish control of their own military forces to GMD representatives. Jiang affirmed the need for national unity and the legitimacy of his own party, as "the historical party of national revolution" endorsed by the prestigious Sun Yixian [Sun Yat-Sen], the father of the new China that succeeded the Manchu dynasty in 1911. The issue of military authority was one on which neither the Communists nor GMD were prepared to compromise, since it went to the heart of who would exercise ultimate power within China. Mao's article, published by the leading Communist news agency as Japanese surrender negotiations reached consummation, made it clear that Communist troops would not accept GMD instructions as to whether they might accept the surrender of Japanese and Chinese collaborationist forces but would act on their own initiative. He accused Jiang of ignoring the contributions of Communist forces to the war against Japan and of coveting Japanese weaponry because he sought to use this against the Communists in a civil war he was deliberately seeking to provoke. Mao even challenged Jiang's right to accept the enemy's surrender, charging that Communist rather than GMD armed forces had borne the brunt of the war against Japan, whereas Jiang's "policy ha[d] been to look on with folded arms and wait for victory." One of Mao's more famous sayings was that "power grows out of the barrel of a gun," a perspective that informed this article. To judge from the official statements Mao and Jiang each made on his party's position, by 1945, neither the GMD nor the Communists were prepared to compromise on any essential point, and civil war in China was therefore virtually inevitable.

Primary Source

A) General Joseph W. Stilwell on China

[Undated Diary Note]

CHIANG K'AI-SHEK. I never heard Chiang K'ai-shek say a single thing that indicated gratitude to the President or to our country for the help we were extending to him. Invariably, when anything was promised, he would want more. Invariably, he would complain about the small amount of material that was being furnished. He would make comparisons between the huge amounts of Lend-Lease supplies going to Great Britain and Russia with the meagre trickle going to China. He would complain that the Chinese had been fighting for six or seven years and yet we gave them practi-

cally nothing. It would of course have been undiplomatic to go into the nature of the military effort Chiang Kai-shek had made since 1938. It was practically zero.

Whether or not he was grateful was a small matter. The regrettable part of it was that there was no *quid pro quo*. We did what we could, furnished what was available, without being allowed to first ask what he would do, etc. The result was that we were continuously on the defensive and he could obstruct and delay any of our plans without being penalized. . . .

[Undated Diary Note]

[I have] faith in Chinese soldiers and Chinese people; fundamentally great, democratic, misgoverned. No bars of caste or religion. . . . Honest, frugal, industrious, cheerful, independent, tolerant, friendly, courteous.

I judge Kuomintang and Kungchamtang [Communist party] by what I saw:

[KMT] Corruption, neglect, chaos, economy, taxes, words and deeds. Hoarding, black market, trading with enemy.

Communist programme . . . reduce taxes, rents, interest. Raise production, and standard of living. Participate in government. Practice what they preach. . . .

[Excerpts from an Undated Paper on the Dominant Military Doctrine of the Chinese Army]

In time of war you have to take your allies as you find them. We are fighting Germany to tear down the Nazi system—one-party government, supported by the Gestapo and headed by an unbalanced man with little education. We had plenty to say against such a system. China, our ally, was being run by a one-party government (the Kuomintang), supported by a Gestapo (Tai Li's organization) and headed by an unbalanced man with little education. This government, however, had the prestige of the possession of power—it was opposing Japan, and its titular head had been built up by propaganda in America out of all proportion to his deserts and accomplishments. We had to back the existing regime in order to have any chance of getting China to pull her weight. To change the structure during the emergency would have been next to impossible. All through the Chinese machinery of government there are interlocking ties of interest . . . family, financial, political, etc. No man, no matter how efficient, can hope for a position of authority on account of being the man best qualified for the job: he simply must have other backing. To reform such a system, it must be torn to pieces. You build a framework to grow grape-vines on: in the course of time, the vines grow all over it, twisting in and out and around and pretty soon the frame is so tightly held by the vines that if you start pulling them out, you will tear the frame to pieces. We could not risk it, we had to take the instrument as we found it and do the best we could.

But because it was expedient to back this government to get action against Japan, it was not necessarily advisable to endorse its methods and policies. We could have required some return for our help.

Chiang K'ai-shek made a great point of how badly the U.S.A. had neglected China, who had been fighting desperately for so long, while Lend-Lease materials had been poured into Great Britain and Russia by the billion. His case was that we owed him a great debt and that it was a crying shame we didn't do more to discharge it. This attitude met with sympathy in the U.S. It was true that large quantities of Lend-Lease materials were going to Russia and Great Britain. It was also true that Russia and Great Britain, particularly Russia, were making good use of this material against Germany. It was also true that there was no possible way of delivering the goods to Chiang K'ai-shek unless he made an effort on his part to break the blockade. It seemed reasonable to expect Great Britain to use the huge Indian Army for the purpose. The U.S. was fighting Germany in Europe, and Japan in the Pacific. She was supplying enormous quantities of munitions and food to all the Allies. Under the circumstances it seemed reasonable for somebody else to display a little energy in Burma.

To keep the show going, I had to overlook some of these incongruities and pretend, like the other players. If not, the critics would say it was a bum show, and we are very much afraid of the critics in our show. [This paper was never finished.]

[Notes, Probably July 1944]

SOLUTION IN CHINA

The cure for China's trouble is the elimination of Chiang K'ai-shek. The only thing that keeps the country split is his fear of losing control. He hates the Reds and will not take any chances on giving them a toehold in the government. The result is that each side watches the other and neither gives a damn about the war [against Japan]. If this condition persists, China will have civil war immediately after Japan is out. If Russia enters the war before a united front is formed in China, the Reds, being immediately accessible, will naturally gravitate to Russia's influence and control. The condition will directly affect the relations between Russia and China, and therefore indirectly those between Russia and U.S.

If we do not take action, our prestige in China will suffer seriously. China will contribute nothing to our effort against Japan, and the seed will be planted for chaos in China after the war. . . .

[Undated Notes]

Chiang K'ai-shek is the head of a one-party government supported by a Gestapo and a party secret service. He is now organizing an S.S. of 100,000 members.

[He] hates the so-called Communists. He intends to crush them by keeping any munitions furnished him and by occupying their territory as the Japs retire.

[He] will not make an effort to fight seriously. He wants to finish the war coasting, with a big supply of material, so as to perpetuate his regime. He has blocked us for three years and will continue to do so. He has failed to keep his agreements.

[He] has spoken contemptuously of American efforts and has never said one word to express gratitude for our help, except in one message to the President, in which he attacked me.

[He] is responsible for major disasters of the war. Nanking. Lan Fang. Changsha and Hengyang. Kweilin and Liuchow. Red blockade.

But [he] is the titular head of China and has marked me as *persona non grata*.

Therefore I cannot operate in the China theatre while he is in power

Source: Joseph H. Stilwell, *The Stilwell Papers*, ed. Theodore H. White (New York: Sloan Associates, 1948), pp. 291–296, 311–312. Courtesy heirs of Winifred Stilwell.

Primary Source

B) Speech by President Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-Shek) before the Preparatory Commission for Constitutional Government in Chungking, 1 March 1945

You will recall that in 1936 the Government decided to summon a National Assembly on November 12, 1937 for the inauguration of constitutional government and the termination of the period of political tutelage under the Kuomintang. On July 7, 1937 Japan suddenly made war on us, and the plan had to be shelved. However, the determination of the Kuomintang to realize constitutional government remained as strong as ever. Had it not been for the recommendation of further postponement by the People's Political Council, the National Assembly would have been convened during 1940 in accordance with another Government decision. This year, on the first of January, on behalf of the Government, I announced that the National Assembly will be summoned before the close of the year, unless untoward and unexpected military developments should in the meanwhile intervene.

The Kuomintang is the historical party of national revolution; it overthrew the Manchu dynasty; it destroyed Yuan Shih-kai who would be emperor; it utterly defeated the militarists that succeeded Yuan Shih-kai; it brought about national unification; it achieved the removal of the unequal treaties; and it led the country into the eight-year-old struggle against Japan. It is we who are the party of liberation and progress. In summoning the National Assembly and returning the rule to the people in conformity with the sacred will of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Kuomintang is performing its historical role.

We must emerge from this war a united nation. Only a united nation can effectively perform the tasks of political and economic reconstruction to raise the lot of our toiling masses and handle the problems of external relations in a new, uncharted world. Before the Japanese invasion, we were a united nation. Today, but for the Communists and their armed forces, we are a united nation. There are no independent warlords or local governments challenging the central authority.

I have long held the conviction that the solution of the Communist question must be through political means. The Government has labored to make the settlement a political one. As the public is not well informed on our recent efforts to reach a settlement with the Communists, time has come for me to clarify the atmosphere.

As you know, negotiations with the Communists have been a perennial problem for many years. It has been our unvarying experience that no sooner is a demand met than fresh ones are raised. The latest demand of the Communists is that the Government should forthwith liquidate the Kuomintang rule, and surrender all power to a coalition of various parties. The position of the Government is that it is ready to admit other parties, including the Communist as well as non-partisan leaders, to participate in the Government without, however, relinquishment by the Kuomintang of its power of ultimate decision and final responsibility until the convocation of the National Assembly. We have even offered to include the Communists and other parties in an organ to be established along the line of what is known abroad as a "war cabinet." To go beyond this and to yield to the Communists demand would not only place the Government in open contravention of the political program of Dr. Yat-sen, but also create insurmountable practical difficulties for the country.

During the past eight years, the country has withstood all the vicissitudes of military reverses and of unbelievable privation and has ridden through the storm for the simple reason that it has been led by a stable and strong Government. The war remains to be won, the future is still fraught with peril. If the Government shirks its responsibility and surrenders its power of ultimate decision to a combination of political parties, the result would be unending friction and fears, leading to a collapse of the central authorities. Bear in mind that in such a contingency, unlike in other countries, there exists in our country at present no responsible body representing the people for government to appeal to.

I repeat, whether by accident or design, the Kuomintang has had the responsibility of leading the country during the turbulent last decade and more. It will return the supreme power to the people through the instrumentality of the National Assembly, and in the meanwhile, it will be ready to admit other parties to a share in the government, but it definitely cannot abdicate to a loose combination of parties. Such a surrender would not mean returning power to the people.

We must emerge from the war with a united army. The Communists should not keep a separate army. Here allow me to digress a little. The Chinese Communist propaganda abroad has tried to justify this private army on the ground that if it becomes incorporated in the National Army, it will be in danger of being destroyed or discriminated against. Their propaganda also magnify, out of all proportion, the actual military strength of the Communists. To you, I need hardly say that Government forces have always without exception borne the brunt of Japanese attack and will continue to do so. Today, with the wholehearted co-operation of our Allies, powerful armies are being equipped and conditioned to assume the offensive. We are synchronizing our efforts with those of our Allies in expelling Japan from the Asiatic mainland. . . .

To meet any fear the Communists may have the Government has expressed its willingness for the duration of the war to place an American general in command of the Communist forces under my over-all command as supreme commander—again if the United States Government could agree to the appointment of an American officer. The Communists have, however, rejected all those offers. If the Communists are sincere in their desire to fight the Japanese alongside us and our Allies, they have indeed been given every opportunity to do so.

No one mindful of the future of our 450,000,000 people and conscious of standing at the bar of history, would wish to plunge the country into a civil war. The Government has shown its readiness and is always ready to confer with the Communists to bring about a real and lasting settlement with them. . . .

I have explained the Government's position on the Communist problem at length, because today that is the main problem to unity and constitutional government. . . .

Upon the inauguration of constitutional government, all political parties will have legal status and enjoy equality. The Government has offered to give legal recognition to the Communist party as soon as the latter agrees to incorporate their army and local administration in the National Army and Government. The offer still stands. . . .

I am optimistic of national unification and the future of democratic government in our country. The torrent of public opinion demanding national unity and reconstruction is mounting ever stronger and will soon become an irresistible force. No individual or political party can afford to disregard this force any longer. Let all of us, regardless of party affiliations, work together for the twin objectives of our people—national unity and reconstruction.

Source: Available at *ibiblio* Web site. Available at <http://www.ibiblio.org/pha/policy/1945/450301b.html>. From Chinese News Service.

Primary Source

C) “Chiang Kai-Shek Is Provoking Civil War,” 13 August 1945, by Mao Zedong

A spokesman for the Propaganda Department of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee has made a statement describing as “a presumptuous and illegal act” the order setting a time-limit for the surrender of the enemy and the puppets, which was issued by Chu Teh, Commander-in-Chief of the Eighteenth Group Army, on August 10 from the General Headquarters in Yen-an. This comment is absolutely preposterous. Its logical implication is that it was wrong of Chu Teh to act in accordance with the Potsdam Declaration and with the enemy's declared intention of surrendering and to order his troops to effect the surrender of the enemy and the puppets, and that on the contrary it would have been right and legitimate to advise the enemy and puppets to refuse to surrender. No wonder that even before the enemy's actual surrender, Chiang Kai-shek, China's fascist ringleader, autocrat and traitor to the people, had the audacity to “order” the anti-Japanese armed forces in the Liberated Areas to “stay where they are, pending further orders,” that is, to tie their own hands and let the enemy attack them. No wonder this selfsame fascist ringleader dared to “order” the so-called underground forces (who are, in fact, puppet troops “saving the nation by a devious path” and Tai Li's secret police collaborating with the Japanese and puppets) as well as other puppet troops to “be responsible for maintaining local order,” while forbidding the anti-Japanese armed forces in the Liberated Areas to “take presumptuous action on their own” against enemy and puppet forces. This transposition of the enemy and the Chinese is in truth a confession by Chiang Kai-shek; it gives a vivid picture of his whole psychology, which is one of consistent collusion with the enemy and puppets and of liquidation of all those not of his ilk. However, the people's anti-Japanese armed forces in China's Liberated Areas will never be taken in by this venomous scheme. . . .

Both the comment by the spokesman for the Propaganda Department of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee and Chiang Kai-shek's “orders” are from beginning to end provocations to civil war; at this moment, when attention at home and abroad is focused on Japan's unconditional surrender, their aim is to find a pretext for switching to civil war as soon as the War of Resistance ends. . . . So now they are saying that the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army should not demand that the enemy and puppet troops surrender their guns. In the eight years of the War of Resistance, the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army have suffered enough from the attacks and encirclements of both Chiang Kai-shek and the Japanese. And now, with the War of Resistance coming to an end, Chiang Kai-shek is hinting to the Japanese (and to his beloved puppet troops) that they

should not surrender their guns to the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army but “only to me, Chiang Kai-shek.” One thing, however, Chiang Kai-shek has left unsaid, “. . . so that I can use these guns to kill the Communists and wreck the peace of China and the world.” Isn’t this the truth? What will be the result of telling the Japanese to hand over their guns to Chiang Kai-shek and telling the puppet troops to “be responsible for maintaining local order”? The result can only be that a merger of the Nanking and Chungking regimes and co-operation between Chiang Kai-shek and the puppets will take the place of “Sino-Japanese collaboration” and of co-operation between the Japanese and the puppets, and that Chiang Kai-shek’s “anti-communism and national reconstruction” will take the place of the “anti-communism and national reconstruction” of the Japanese and [the collaborationist Japanese-backed wartime President of China] Wang Ching-wei. Isn’t this a violation of the Potsdam Declaration? Can there be any doubt that the grave danger of civil war will confront the people of the whole country the moment the War of Resistance is over? We now appeal to all our fellow-countrymen and to the Allied countries to take action, together with the people of the Liberated Areas, resolutely to prevent a civil war in China, which would endanger world peace.

After all, who has the right to accept the surrender of the Japanese and puppets? Relying solely on their own efforts and the support of the people, the anti-Japanese armed forces in China’s Liberated Areas, to whom the Kuomintang government refused all supplies and recognition, have succeeded by themselves in liberating vast territories and more than 100 million people and have resisted and pinned down 56 per cent of the invading enemy troops in China and 95 per cent of the puppet troops. If not for these armed forces, the situation in China would never have been what it is today! To speak plainly, in China only the anti-Japanese armed forces of the Liberated Areas have the right to accept the surrender of the enemy and puppet troops. As for Chiang Kai-shek, his policy has been to look on with folded arms and sit around and wait for victory; indeed he has no right at all to accept the surrender of the enemy and the puppets.

We declare to all our fellow-countrymen and to the people of the whole world: The Supreme Command in Chungking cannot represent the Chinese people and those Chinese armed forces which have really fought Japan; the Chinese people demand the right of the anti-Japanese armed forces of China’s Liberated Areas under Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh to send their representatives directly in order to participate in the acceptance of Japan’s surrender and in the military control over Japan by the four Allied Powers and also to participate in the future peace conference. If this is not done, the Chinese people will deem it most improper.

Source: Mao Zedong, “Chiang Kai-shek Is Provoking Civil War, 13 August 1945,” in *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. 4 (Beijing: Foreign Language Press), pp. 27–29. Also available at Maoist Documentation Project. http://www.maoism.org/msw/vol4/mswv4_02.htm. Used by permission of the Foreign Language Press, Beijing.

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6.8. Calls for Asian Independence and Revolution

Nationalism and Colonialism in French Indochina in 1945

On 2 September 1945, as French Indochina awaited the departure of the defeated Japanese forces who had entered the country in 1940 and taken it over from previously compliant Vichy French officials in March 1945, Ho Chi Minh, the country’s most prominent Communist nationalist leader, declared in the capital city of Hanoi that an independent state now existed in Vietnam. Together with the protectorates of Cambodia and Laos, the three portions of Vietnam, the French protectorates of northern Tonkin and central Annam and the outright colony of northern Tonkin, constituted the federation of French Indochina, acquired between 1884 and 1893, France’s richest overseas possession when World War II began.

Under French rule, the Vietnamese protectorates had nominally been governed by a series of puppet emperors, the most recent of whom, Bao Dai, had held his throne since 1925, deftly switching his allegiance to Japan in March 1945. Such elite acquiescence in French dominance notwithstanding, ever since the 1890s, nationalist sentiment had existed in

Vietnam. By 1945, its most prominent representative was the Communist leader best known as Ho Chi Minh (“He Who Enlightens”), who had by that time spent almost 30 years working for his country’s independence from France and was one of the founders of the Indochinese Communist Party. On the outbreak of war in September 1939, Governor General George Catroux of French Indochina promptly outlawed this organization and imprisoned several thousand suspected Communists. Some members remained at liberty, and the Sixth Plenum of the Party Central Committee met secretly near Saigon and announced the creation of a new anti-imperialist National United Front, its objective complete independence for Indochina. In summer 1940, Japanese troops moved into French Indochina and complaisant Vichy French officials collaborated with them. Although many Asian nationalists hailed the Japanese as liberators, Ho considered them just as obnoxious as the French. With Chinese assistance and funding—since Japanese control of Indochina threatened to cut off valuable shipments of war supplies—Ho returned to his country after an absence of three decades and founded the Viet Minh or Vietnam Independence League, an organization committed to combating both Japanese and French domination. Throughout the war, its guerrilla activities harassed the ruling powers persistently and imaginatively, gradually denying them control of all but the major Indochinese cities and making Ho Indochina’s most prominent nationalist leader and a popular hero.

In March 1945, Japanese forces, alarmed that Allied victories in Western Europe had galvanized the previously compliant Vichy officials into making preparations to expel their Japanese patrons and escape from their authority, formally took over Indochina. In their continuing battle against the Japanese, Ho’s forces now received enthusiastic assistance from operatives of the Office of Strategic Services, the wartime U.S. intelligence agency the representatives of which undertook a wide variety of covert missions in both the European and Pacific Theaters of war. Their cooperation encouraged Ho to believe that the United States might be willing to endorse his quest for Vietnamese independence, particularly since President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was known to be strongly anticolonialist, had found Vichy officials’ actions in Indochina particularly distasteful. By the end of the war, Viet Minh forces controlled Tonkin, the northern portion of Vietnam. Once Japan surrendered, Ho promptly seized the occupying power’s rice stocks and distributed them to the Vietnamese population, of whom up to 2 million had already died of starvation during the war. On 16 August, he announced Vietnam’s independence, and on 25 August 1945, he persuaded Emperor Bao Dai to abdicate and hand over his powers to the Viet Minh. One week later, on 2 September, Ho formally proclaimed the new Democratic Republic of Viet-

nam, with himself as founding president and Bao Dai as “supreme adviser.”

Ho’s hopes of obtaining quick and easy Western recognition of the new state failed to materialize. By the end of September, a joint British, Indian, and French force, assisted by some captured Japanese troops, had restored French rule in Laos, Cambodia, and Tonkin, the southern portion of Vietnam, crushing a Viet Minh uprising there. Eager to restore France as a great power and increasingly fearful of international Communism, U.S. officials acquiesced in these developments. From then until his death in 1969, Ho remained determined to reunite his country, a goal only attained in 1975. Nationalist Chinese forces helped Ho to retain control of the north, but in February 1946, Chinese President Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) withdrew these troops in return for French concessions in Shanghai and other Chinese treaty ports. In March 1946, Ho negotiated an agreement whereby France recognized his Democratic Republic of Vietnam as a component part of the French Union and promised a plebiscite in the south to allow that area’s people to decide whether they wished to join the north. France quickly refused to honor these accords and in June 1946, announced the creation of a separate French-controlled government in southern Vietnam.

In November 1946, French troops reoccupied Hanoi and bombarded Haiphong Harbor, forcing the Viet Minh to retreat into the jungle. The Viet Minh responded with large-scale guerrilla attacks on French forces, the beginning of an eight-year struggle against French rule that ended in 1954 with the conclusive French defeat at the mountain fortress of Dienbienphu. In January 1950, Ho Chi Minh again proclaimed a Democratic Republic of Vietnam, controlling the north of the country, which won immediate recognition from the Soviet Union and the new Communist People’s Republic of China. The following month Britain and the United States recognized the French-controlled South Vietnamese government, nominally headed by Bao Dai since March 1949. From 1950 onward, French forces received increasing military and economic assistance from the United States, the beginning of an American commitment to oppose the extension of Communist rule to South Vietnam that only ended in 1975. In the 30 years it took Ho and his followers to expel both the French and their American successors, approximately 3 million Vietnamese soldiers and civilians died.

About the Author

Born Nguyễn Sinh Cung, a name that became Nguyễn Tất Thành when he was 10 years old, as a professional revolutionary, Ho Chi Minh became a man of many aliases, including Nguyen Ai Quoc and around 10 others. The son of an Indochinese imperial court functionary who resigned his

position and became a teacher to protest the emperor's acceptance of French overlordship, Ho inherited his father's nationalist outlook. As a young man, he took part in a series of tax revolts, before going overseas in 1911. Ho lived first in Great Britain, where he trained as a pastry cook, and from 1915 to 1923, in the French capital of Paris. In 1918, during World War I, Ho tried unsuccessfully to persuade the French government to grant independence to Vietnam, as the stated Allied war aims of the self-determination of nations required. Equally unavailingly, the following year, he also petitioned the Allied representatives attending the Paris Peace Conference to redress indigenous grievances and grant equal rights to all within French Indochina. After this rebuff, Ho joined the French Communist Party in 1919 and soon became a professional revolutionary, spending lengthy periods in Moscow and encouraging Communist and nationalist movements throughout much of Asia. Together with several other Indochinese militants, while living in Hong Kong in 1929, Ho founded the Indochinese Communist Party. In 1940, he returned to French Indochina, where he quickly became his country's leading nationalist political figure, spearheading a crusade to gain independence for Vietnam and unite the entire country under Communist control that would absorb all his energies until his death in 1969 and win him universal recognition as the Democratic Republic of Vietnam's first president, a position he held for life, and foremost founding father.

About the Document

Ho's formal proclamation declaring Vietnam's independence was a public document, modeled upon and even quoting directly from the U.S. Declaration of Independence drafted in 1776 by Thomas Jefferson. Its intended audience was not so much the people of Vietnam itself as the governments and influential makers of opinion in the various Western countries among the Allied powers. As the war came to an end, with the Allies formally committed to liberal war aims, including the rights of nations to choose their own governments and form of rule, Ho hoped to win Western support for the establishment of an independent Vietnam. Ho's declaration was carefully thought out and drafted, a document skillfully designed to appeal to all the ideals promulgated by the Western Allied powers before and during World War II. Almost certainly deliberately, it emphasized his movement's democratic credentials and minimized the strong Communist element in the Viet Minh's program, reflecting the fact that, whereas Ho knew he could count on almost automatic Soviet endorsement of his government, Allied support would be far more problematic. In an effort to gain French acquiescence in this goal, he even quoted the French Revolution's declaration of 1791 on the Rights of Man and the Citizen. Despite all the effort Ho devoted to this proclamation, it sig-

nally failed to fulfill its objective of winning over the United States and perhaps even Great Britain. By the time the war ended, American officials were eager to rebuild France as a great power and a potential strong European ally, and nascent Cold War considerations also made them increasingly anxious to block any further extension of Communist rule or influence, and the recognition of Ho's Democratic Republic of Vietnam would have run directly counter to both these objectives.

Like the American declaration, Ho's proclamation listed the various abuses and oppressions to which French imperialism had for many decades subjected Vietnam. More immediately, he cited French officials' pusillanimous willingness over the previous five years to knuckle under to Japanese occupation and collaborate with occupying forces, refusing Viet Minh overtures to join the resistance. Even in March 1945, he charged, French colonial officials failed to resist, but "either fled or surrendered," massacring Viet Minh political prisoners before they did so. The message was clear: the French were poltroons and turncoats who had displayed such cowardice, deserting the Allied cause, that they no longer deserved to retain control of Vietnam. By their own efforts, Ho claimed, the Vietnamese people had won back their country's independence from the occupying Japanese occupiers, before whom the French had fled in disarray, and they should now be allowed to enjoy the fruits of their anti-Fascist exertions. He appealed to the Allies to hold fast to "the principles of self-determination and equality of nations" that they had declared at the recent Tehran and San Francisco conferences. Reading this document, one receives the distinct impression that for Ho, the only real significance of World War II was its impact upon the quest for Vietnamese independence, which was his own greatest preoccupation, and the ways in which he could utilize the course and outcome of that conflict to achieve this objective.

Primary Source

Ho Chi Minh, Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, 2 September 1945

"All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

This immortal statement was made in the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America in 1776. In a broader sense, this means: All the peoples on the earth are equal from birth, all the peoples have a right to live, to be happy and free.

The Declaration of the French Revolution made in 1791 on the Rights of Man and the Citizen also states: "All men are born free and with equal rights, and must always remain free and have equal rights."

Those are undeniable truths.

Nevertheless, for more than eighty years, the French imperialists, abusing the standard of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, have violated our Fatherland and oppressed our fellow-citizens. They have acted contrary to the ideals of humanity and justice.

In the field of politics, they have deprived our people of every democratic liberty. They have enforced inhuman laws; they have set up three distinct political regimes in the North, the Center and the South of Viet-Nam in order to wreck our national unity and prevent our people from being united.

They have built more prisons than schools. They have mercilessly slain our patriots—they have drowned our uprisings in rivers of blood.

They have fettered public opinion; they have practised obscurantism against our people.

To weaken our race they have forced us to use opium and alcohol.

In the fields of economics, they have fleeced us to the backbone, impoverished our people, and devastated our land.

They have robbed us of our rice fields, our mines, our forests, and our raw materials. They have monopolised the issuing of bank-notes and the export trade.

They have invented numerous unjustifiable taxes and reduced our people, especially our peasantry, to a state of extreme poverty.

They have hampered the prospering of our national bourgeoisie; they have mercilessly exploited our workers.

In the autumn of 1940, when the Japanese Fascists violated Indochina's territory to establish new bases in their fight against the Allies, the French imperialists went down on their bended knees and handed over our country to them.

Thus, from that date, our people were subjected to the double yoke of the French and the Japanese. Their sufferings and miseries increased. The result was that from the end of last year to the beginning of this year, from Quang Tri province to the North of Viet-Nam, more than two million of our fellow-citizens died from starvation. On March 9 [1945], the French troops were disarmed by the Japanese. The French colonialists either fled or surrendered, showing that not only were they incapable of "protecting" us, but that, in the span of five years, they had twice sold our country to the Japanese.

On several occasions before March 9, the Viet Minh League urged the French to ally themselves with it against the Japanese. Instead of agreeing to this proposal, the French colonialists so intensified their terrorist activities against the Viet Minh members that before fleeing they massacred a great number of our political prisoners detained at Yen Bay and Cao Bang.

Notwithstanding all this, our fellow-citizens have always manifested toward the French a tolerant and humane attitude. Even after the Japanese putsch of March 1945, the Viet

Minh League helped many Frenchmen to cross the frontier, rescued some of them from Japanese jails, and protected French lives and property.

From the autumn of 1940, our country had in fact ceased to be a French colony and had become a Japanese possession.

After the Japanese had surrendered to the Allies, our whole people rose to regain our national sovereignty and to found the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

The truth is that we have wrested our independence from the Japanese and not from the French.

The French have fled, the Japanese have capitulated, Emperor Bao Dai has abdicated. Our people have broken the chains which for nearly a century have fettered them and have won independence for the Fatherland. Our people at the same time have overthrown the monarchic regime that has reigned supreme for dozens of centuries. In its place has been established the present Democratic Republic.

For these reasons, we, members of the Provisional Government, representing the whole Vietnamese people, declare that from now on we break off all relations of a colonial character with France; we repeal all the international obligations that France has so far subscribed to on behalf of Viet-Nam and we abolish all the special rights the French have unlawfully acquired in our Fatherland.

The whole Vietnamese people, animated by a common purpose, are determined to fight to the bitter end against any attempt by the French colonialists to reconquer their country.

We are convinced that the Allied nations which at Tehran and San Francisco have acknowledged the principles of self-determination and equality of nations, will not refuse to acknowledge the independence of Viet-Nam.

A people who have courageously opposed French domination for more than eighty years, a people who have fought side by side with the Allies against the Fascists during these last years, such a people must be free and independent.

For these reasons, we, members of the Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, solemnly declare to the world that Viet-Nam has the right to be a free and independent country and in fact it is so already. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to mobilise all their physical and mental strength, to sacrifice their lives and property in order to safeguard their independence and liberty.

Source: Bernard B. Fall, ed., *Ho Chi Minh on Revolution: Selected Writings, 1920–66* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1967), pp. 143–145. Courtesy Dorothy Fall.

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6.9. U.S. Planning for the Future

Postwar Planning for a U.S. World Role

As World War II drew to an end, influential officials within the U.S. government anticipated that their country would assume a far greater international role than ever before. Even during the war itself, the United States had been instrumental in the establishment of postwar international institutions to maintain peace and economic stability, most notably the United Nations, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), and the International Monetary Fund. Prominent figures within the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, most of them drawn from the War or Navy Departments or the Office of Strategic Services, and many of whom had lived through the aftermath of World War I when the United States had eschewed any major international role, nonetheless thought such measures far from sufficient. They believed that the United States itself should be far more actively prepared to assume a much greater international role and for that purpose, should greatly enhance its permanent military and diplomatic capabilities, acquire overseas bases, upgrade scientific research and development, and acquire a serious overseas intelligence capability.

Within the military, such proposals were spearheaded by the army's chief of staff, George C. Marshall, ably seconded by General Henry H. "Hap" Arnold, head of the Army Air Forces. As a fairly young officer, Marshall had served in France during World War I, becoming the most trusted aide of General of the Army John J. Pershing, commander of the American Expeditionary Force in that war. Among Marshall's most bitter memories was the manner in which, between the wars, successive American administrations, Republican and Democratic alike, had neglected the army, running it down until by the late 1930s, it was a derisory force. In his final wartime report, Marshall put forward proposals for a "peacetime security policy" for the United States. He

envisaged a relatively small permanent standing army, buttressed by a citizen soldiery who could be called to arms in case of need. The latter he hoped to create through a program of Universal Military Training, required of all young American men. Marshall supported this scheme in part because he believed that once the war was over, American taxpayers would not be prepared to pay to support a substantial military establishment. Marshall expected the regular army to be "a strategic force, heavy in air power, partially deployed in the Pacific and the Caribbean ready to protect the Nation against a sudden hostile thrust and immediately available for emergency action wherever required." In addition, he called for the creation of substantial national stockpiles of arms, ammunition, and other military equipment, and a heavy emphasis on the promotion of scientific research and development in the defense field. Largely due to popular opposition, the United States did not introduce universal military training, but most of Marshall's other recommendations were put into effect.

In August 1945, President Harry S. Truman disbanded the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the United States wartime intelligence agency President Franklin D. Roosevelt had created in 1942 on the urging of William J. Donovan, who became its director. Donovan was one of wartime Washington's more flamboyant characters. An Irish Catholic lawyer from Buffalo, New York, in World War I, he fought with the renowned 165th Regiment of the 42nd ("Rainbow") Division, becoming the first American soldier to win the Distinguished Service Medal, Distinguished Service Cross, and the Medal of Honor. In the late 1930s, he undertook presidential assignments investigating conditions in Asia, Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East, and when World War II began in Europe, he became a strong voice favoring American aid to the Allies and potential intervention. Throughout the war, Donovan remained convinced that the United States needed a permanent intelligence agency to conduct overseas espionage operations, a conviction he stated to Roosevelt on several occasions. Truman, who became president in April 1945, initially decided to reject Donovan's pleas, but Donovan continued to express his views to various Washington officials, including Harold D. Smith, the influential director of the Bureau of the Budget, whose endorsement that the United States could afford such an agency would undoubtedly be useful to any such enterprise. As the burgeoning Cold War developed, in January 1946, Truman began to reverse himself and issued an executive order creating a Central Intelligence Group and a National Intelligence Authority, the personnel of which attempted to centralize American postwar intelligence activities. These two bodies were disbanded when in 1947, Congress passed the National Security Act, which formally established the National Security Council (NSC) to coordinate American national security policies and,

under it, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The latter body's mandate included advising the NSC on intelligence activities and making recommendations as to their coordination; correlating, evaluating, and disseminating intelligence; and performing such intelligence functions and other activities as the NSC might assign to it. Although Donovan himself was denied any position in the new organization, many of its most influential operatives, including Allen W. Dulles, director from 1953 to 1961, were drawn from the former OSS.

The establishment of the CIA and enhanced U.S. military capabilities were only part of a broader expansion of the U.S. defense and national security bureaucracy that came into effect in the years immediately after World War II. Over strong opposition from the U.S. navy, in 1947, all the armed forces were unified under the authority of a new civilian official, the Secretary of Defense, to whom all three services, the army, navy, and air force, were responsible. The new National Defense Establishment was paralleled by the creation in 1947 of the National Security Council, a body answering to the president, the function of which was to rationalize decision making on international affairs by serving as a forum where the views of the State and Defense Departments, the new Central Intelligence Agency, and the White House were all represented, and where coordinated policies could be debated and decided upon. By 1949, the United States had already entered into security alliances in Latin America and Western Europe and had acquired military bases around the world. The outbreak of the Korean War in mid-1950 brought a major increase in American military spending and commitments, the beginning of several decades of heavy defense expenditures that helped to create what President Dwight D. Eisenhower later termed "the military-industrial complex," the group of defense-related businesses with close ties to the military who had much to gain from high military budgets. More broadly, the U.S. government had created what would later be called the "national security state," a political economy and institutional bureaucracy among the most fundamental purposes of which was to meet the demands of American defense commitments.

About the Documents

Both Marshall and Donovan were presenting official documents designed to persuade their intended audience to support the policies the writer was urging. Each man had a rather different set of readers in mind and tailored his style and message to his intended recipients. Marshall's final report, much of which was drafted by subordinates within the War Department and U.S. army and then submitted for his approval, had a much larger potential audience than Donovan's letter to Smith. Marshall addressed his report in the first instance to the U.S. Congress, the support of which he needed if any of

his recommendations for a decidedly more active and well-prepared U.S. military were to become reality. More broadly, his report was also intended for consumption by the American general public, in the hopes that constituents would put pressure on senators and congressmen to pass its recommendations. Marshall also knew that his final report, or at least summaries of it, would receive wide media coverage. The whole document, therefore, was designed to be easy reading, readily comprehensible by politicians, journalists, or ordinary Americans without special military knowledge or expertise. His entire report, not just this excerpt, was clearly written, concise, down-to-earth, with graphic illustrations of the points he made, intended to demonstrate how poorly prepared militarily the United States had been from 1939 to 1941, and why this situation must not, in the interests of the country's own security, be allowed to recur. Marshall wished to emphasize that he was not urging militarism for its own sake but that he sought to avoid another future war. He deliberately stressed that if similar policies had been adopted after World War I, it was quite possible that the United States would never have found itself at war with Germany and Japan in the early 1940s. Marshall also carefully suggested that the policies he was urging were in the best American tradition, citing the desire of the first president of the United States, George Washington, to establish a large citizen army in the late eighteenth century.

Donovan, a classic insider, normally operated not by appealing to the general public but by working behind the scenes to convert influential officials to his own views. Donovan had by this time accepted that the OSS was doomed to disappear and was now concentrating his efforts on ensuring that before long it would have a successor. He undoubtedly knew that Smith was likely to show his letter and attached memorandum to others, and in what amounted to a coordinated lobbying effort, Donovan was himself sending similar missives to other prominent officials within the Truman administration. His objective was primarily to win their support for the creation of a new intelligence organization to replace the OSS, not to start a popular movement for the purpose. Donovan argued that every other major power except the United States had for many years possessed a centralized foreign intelligence service and that the United States could no longer afford to be without such an organization. Donovan made it clear that he believed any such agency should be forbidden to undertake "clandestine activities" within the United States itself. He also argued that, to avoid conflicts over turf and jurisdiction, it must be independent of every other government agency, report directly to the president, liaise with the State, War, Navy, and Treasury Departments, and take responsibility for all foreign intelligence operations and intelligence analysis. In time of war, it should work closely with the U.S. armed forces, and in theaters of war, its

operatives should be under the operational control of the military commanders in each area. Knowing that many officials have only limited time, Donovan kept his letter and memorandum short, dividing the latter into brief and easily memorized points that he hoped would lodge in the brains of busy men and convert them to his way of thinking.

Primary Source

A) George C. Marshall, "For the Common Defense," Extract from *Final Biennial Report to the Secretary of War*, 1 September 1945

Our present national policies require us to: Maintain occupation forces in Europe and the Pacific; prepare for a possible contribution of forces to a world security organization; maintain national security while the world remains unstable and later on a more permanent or stable basis.

These policies require manpower. Yet at the same time it is the policy of the nation to completely demobilize the wartime army as rapidly as possible. Unless hundreds of thousands of men of the wartime forces are to remain in service at home and overseas, more permanent decisions must be made.

The War Department recommends that the occupation forces and the U.S. complement in the International security force be composed as much as possible of volunteers. This can be accomplished by establishing now a new permanent basis for the regular military establishment. If this recommendation and those which I will now discuss in detail for establishing a peacetime security policy are now adopted by the Congress, demobilization can proceed uninterrupted until all men now in temporary service have returned to their homes.

FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE

To fulfill its responsibility for protecting this Nation against foreign enemies, the Army must project its planning beyond the immediate future. In this connection I feel that I have a duty, a responsibility, to present publicly at this time my conception, from a military point of view, of what is required to prevent another international catastrophe.

For years men have been concerned with individual security. Modern nations have given considerable study and effort to the establishment of social security systems for those unable or unwise enough to provide for themselves. But effective insurance against the disasters which have slaughtered millions of people and leveled their homes is long overdue.

We finish each bloody war with a feeling of acute revulsion against this savage form of human behavior, and yet on each occasion we confuse military preparedness with the causes of war and then drift almost deliberately into another catastrophe. . . .

We must start, I think, with a correction of the tragic misunderstanding that a security policy is a war policy. War has been defined by a people who have thought a lot about it—the Germans. They have started most of the recent ones. The German soldier-philosopher Clausewitz described war as a special violent form of political action. Frederic of Prussia, who left Germany the belligerent legacy which has now destroyed her, viewed war as a device to enforce his will whether he was right or wrong. He held that with an invincible offensive military force he could win any political argument. This is the doctrine Hitler carried to the verge of complete success. It is the doctrine of Japan. It is a criminal doctrine, and like other forms of crime, it has cropped up again and again since man began to live with his neighbors in communities and nations. There has long been an effort to outlaw war for exactly the same reason that man has outlawed murder. But the law prohibiting murder does not of itself prevent murder. It must be enforced. The enforcing power, however, must be maintained on a strictly democratic basis. There must not be a large standing army subject to the behest of a group of schemers. The citizen-soldier is the guarantee against such a misuse of power.

In order to establish an international system for preventing wars, peace-loving peoples of the world are demonstrating an eagerness to send their representatives to such conferences as those at Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco with the fervent hope that they may find a practical solution. Yet, until it is proved that such a solution has been found to prevent wars, a rich nation which lays down its arms as we have done after every war in our history, will court disaster. The existence of the complex and fearful instruments of destruction now available make this a simple truth which is, in my opinion, undebatable.

So far as their ability to defend themselves and their institutions was concerned, the great democracies were sick nations when Hitler openly massed his forces to impose his will on the world. As sick as any was the United States of America. We had no field army. There were the bare skeletons of three and one-half divisions scattered in small pieces over the entire United States. It was impossible to train even these few combat troops as divisions because motor transportation and other facilities were lacking and funds for adequate maneuvers were not appropriated. The Air Forces consisted of a few partially equipped squadrons serving continental United States, Panama, Hawaii, and the Philippines; their planes were largely obsolescent and could hardly have survived a single day of modern aerial combat. We lacked modern arms and equipment. When President Roosevelt proclaimed, on 8 September 1939, that a limited emergency existed for the United States we were, in terms of available strength, not even a third-rate military power. Some colleagues had been informing the world and evidently convinc-

ing the Japanese that the young men of America would refuse to fight in defense of their country.

The German armies swept over Europe at the very moment we sought to avoid war by assuring ourselves that there could be no war. The security of the United States of America was saved by sea distance, by Allies, and by the errors of a prepared enemy. For probably the last time in the history of warfare those ocean distances were a vital factor in our defense. We may elect again to depend on others and the whim and error of potential enemies, but if we do we will be carrying the treasure and freedom of this great Nation in a paper bag.

Returning from France after the last war, with General Pershing [commander-in-chief of the American Expeditionary Force in World War I], I participated in his endeavors to persuade the Nation to establish and maintain a sound defense policy. Had his recommendations been accepted, they might have saved this country the hundreds of billions of dollars and the more than a million casualties it has cost us again to restore the peace. We might even have been spared this present world tragedy. . . .

Twice in recent history the factories and farms and people of the United States have foiled aggressor nations; conspirators against the peace would not give us a third opportunity.

Between Germany and America in 1914 and again in 1939 stood Great Britain and the USSR, France, Poland, and the other countries of Europe. Because the technique of destruction had not progressed to its present peak, these nations had to be eliminated and the Atlantic Ocean crossed by ships before our factories could be brought within the range of the enemy guns. At the close of the German war in Europe they were just on the outer fringes of the range of fire from an enemy in Europe. [German Field Marshal Hermann] Goering stated after his capture that it was a certainty that the eastern Americas would have been under rocket bombardment had Germany remained undefeated for two more years. The first attacks would have started much sooner. The technique of war has brought the United States, its homes and factories into the front line of world conflict. They escaped destructive bombardment in the second World War. They would not in a third.

It no longer appears practical to continue what we once conceived as hemispheric defense as a satisfactory basis for our security. We are now concerned with the peace of the entire world. And the peace can only be maintained by the strong.

What then must we do to remain strong and still not bankrupt ourselves on military expenditures to maintain a prohibitively expensive professional army even if one could be recruited? President Washington answered that question in recommendations to the first Congress to convene under the United States Constitution. He proposed a program for the

peacetime training of a citizen army. At that time the conception of a large professional Regular Army was considered dangerous to the liberties of the Nation. It is still so today. But the determining factor in solving this problem will inevitably be the relation between the maintenance of military power and the cost in annual appropriations. No system, even if actually adopted in the near future, can survive the political pressure to reduce the military budget if the costs are high—and professional armies are very costly.

There is now another disadvantage to a large professional standing army. Wars in the twentieth century are fought with the total resources, economic, scientific, and human of entire nations. Every specialized field of human knowledge is employed. Modern war requires the skill and knowledge of the individuals of a nation.

Obviously we cannot all put on uniforms and stand ready to repel invasion. The greatest energy in peacetime of any successful nation must be devoted to productive and gainful labor. But all Americans can, in the next generations, prepare themselves to serve their country in maintaining the peace or against the tragic hour when peace is broken, if such a misfortune again overtakes us. This is what is meant by *Universal Military Training*. It is not universal military *service*—the actual induction of men into the combatant forces. Such forces would be composed during peacetime of volunteers. The trainees would be in separate organizations maintained for training purposes only. Once trained, young men would be freed from further connection with the Army unless they chose, as they now may, to enroll in the National Guard or an organized reserve unit, or to volunteer for service in the small professional army. When the Nation is in jeopardy they could be called, just as men are now called, by a committee of local neighbors, in an order of priority and under such conditions as directed at that time by the Congress.

The concept of universal military training is not founded, as some may believe, on the principle of a mass Army. The Army has been accused of rigidly holding to this doctrine in the face of modern developments. Nothing, I think, could be farther from the fact, as the record of the mobilization for this war demonstrates. Earlier in this report I explained how we had allocated manpower to exploit American technology. Out of our entire military mobilization of 14,000,000 men, the number of infantry troops was less than 1,500,000 Army and Marine.

The remainder of our armed forces, sea, air, and ground, was largely fighting a war of machinery. Counting those engaged in war production there were probably 75 to 80,000,000 Americans directly involved in prosecution of the war. To technological warfare we devoted 98 percent of our entire effort.

Nor is it proposed now to abandon this formula which has been so amazingly successful. The harnessing of the basic

power of the universe will further spur our efforts to use brain for brawn in safeguarding the United States of America.

However, technology does not eliminate the need for men in war. The Air Forces, which were the highest developed technologically of any of our armed forces in this war, required millions of men to do their job. Every B-29 that winged over Japan was dependent on the efforts of 12 officers and 73 men in the immediate combat area alone. . . .

This war has made it clear that the security of the Nation, when challenged by an armed enemy, requires the services of virtually all able-bodied male citizens within the effective military group.

In war the Nation cannot depend on the numbers of men willing to volunteer for active service; nor can our security in peace.

In another national emergency, the existence of a substantial portion of the Nation's young manpower already trained or in process of training, would make it possible to fill out immediately the peacetime ranks of the Navy, the Regular Army, the National Guard, and the Organized Reserve. As a result our Armed Forces would be ready for almost immediately deployment to counter initial hostile moves, ready to prevent an enemy from gaining footholds from which he could launch destructive attack against our industries and our homes. By this method we would establish, for the generations to come, a national military policy: (1) which is entirely within the financial capabilities of our peacetime economy and is absolutely democratic in its nature, and (2) which places the military world and therefore the political world on notice that this vast power, linked to our tremendous resources, wealth, and production, is immediately available. There can be no question that all the nations of the world will respect our views accordingly, creating at least a probability of peace on earth and of good will among men rather than disaster upon disaster in a tormented world where the very processes of civilization itself are constantly threatened. . . .

The terms of the final peace settlement will provide a basis for determining the strength of the regular or permanent postwar military forces of the United States, air, ground, and naval, but they cannot, in my opinion, alter the necessity for a system of Universal Military Training.

The yardstick by which the size of the permanent force must be measured is maximum security with minimum cost in men, matériel, and maintenance. So far as they can foresee world conditions a decade from now, War Department planners, who have taken every conceivable factor into consideration, believe that our position will be sound if we set up machinery which will permit the mobilization of an Army of 4,000,000 men within a period of 1 year following any international crisis resulting in a national emergency for the United States.

The Regular Army must be comprised largely of a strategic force, heavy in air power, partially deployed in the Pacific and the Caribbean ready to protect the Nation against a sudden hostile thrust and immediately available for emergency action wherever required. It is obvious that another war would start with a lightning attack to take us unaware. The pace of the attack would be at supersonic speeds of rocket weapons closely followed by a striking force which would seek to exploit the initial and critical advantage. We must be sufficiently prepared against such a threat to hold the enemy at a distance until we can rapidly mobilize our strength. The Regular Army, and the National Guard, must be prepared to meet such a crisis.

Another mission of the Regular Army is to provide the security garrisons for the outlying bases. We quickly lost the Philippines, Guam, and Wake Islands at the beginning of this war and are still expending lives and wealth in recovering them.

The third mission of the permanent Army is to furnish the overhead, the higher headquarters which must keep the machine and the plans up to date for whatever national emergency we may face in the future. This overhead includes the War Department, the War College, the service schools, and the headquarters of the military area into which continental United States is subdivided to facilitate decentralized command and coordination of the peacetime military machine. This was about all we had on the eve of this war, planners and a small number of men who had little to handle in practice but sound ideas on how to employ the wartime hosts that would be gathered in the storm. Had it not been for the time the British Empire and the Soviets bought us, those plans and ideas would have been of little use.

The fourth and probably the most important mission of the Regular Army is to provide the knowledge, the expert personnel, and the installations for training the citizen-soldier upon whom, in my view, the future peace of the world largely depends. . . .

Only by universal military training can full vigor and life be instilled into the Reserve system. It creates a pool of well-trained men and officers from which the National Guard and the Organized Reserve can draw volunteers; it provides opportunities for the Guard and Reserve units to participate in corps and Army maneuvers, which are vital preparations to success in military campaigns. Without these trained men and officers, without such opportunities to develop skill through actual practice in realistic maneuvers, neither the Regular Army, the National Guard, nor the Reserve can hope to bring efficiency to their vital missions. . . .

An unbroken period of 1 year's training appears essential to the success of a sound security plan based on the concept of a citizen army.

It is possible to train individual soldiers as replacements for veteran divisions and air groups as we now do in a comparatively short period of time. The training of the unit itself cannot be accomplished at best in less than a year; air units require even more time. The principle is identical to that of coaching a football team. A halfback can quickly learn how to run with the ball, but it takes time and much practice and long hours of team scrimmage before he is proficient at carrying the ball through an opposing team. So it is with an army division or combat air group. Men learn to fire a rifle or machine gun quickly, but it takes long hours of scrimmage, which the army calls maneuver, before the firing of the rifle is coordinated with the activities of more than 14,000 other men on the team.

All men who might someday have to fight for their Nation must have this team training. The seasoned soldiers of our present superb divisions will have lived beyond the age of military usefulness. The situation will be similar in the peacetime army to that which obtained when we began to mobilize for this war and all men had to have at least a year of unit training before we had divisions even fit for shipment overseas.

The training program would be according to the standards which have made the American soldier in this war the equal of the finest fighting men. It would be kept abreast of technical developments and the resulting modification of tactics. . . .

The peacetime army must not only be prepared for immediate mobilization of an effective war army, but it must have in reserve the weapons needed for the first months of the fighting and clear-cut plans for immediately producing the tremendous additional quantities of matériel necessary in total war. We must never again face a great national crisis with ammunition lacking to serve our guns, few guns to fire, and no decisive procedures for procuring vital arms in sufficient quantities.

The necessity for continuous research into the military ramifications of man's scientific advance is now clear to all and it should not be too difficult to obtain the necessary appropriations for this purpose in peacetime. There is, however, always much reluctance to expenditure of funds for improvement of war-making instruments, particularly where there is no peacetime usefulness in the product.

The development of combat airplanes is closely allied with development of civil aeronautics; the prototypes of many of our present transport planes and those soon to come were originally bombers. Many of the aeronautical principles that helped give this Nation the greatest air force in the world grew out of commercial development and our production know-how at the start of this war was partially the fruit of peacetime commercial enterprise. Since many vital types of weapons have no commercial counterpart, the peacetime development of these weapons has been grossly neglected. Antiair-

craft weapons are a good example. The highly efficient anti-aircraft of today did not materialize until long after the fighting began. The consequent cost in time, life, and money of this failure to spend the necessary sums on such activity in peacetime has been appalling.

There is another phase of scientific research which I think has been somewhat ignored—the development of expeditious methods for the mass production of war matériel. This is of great importance since it determines how quickly we can mobilize our resources if war comes and how large and costly our reserve stocks of war matériel must be. Serious thought and planning along this line can save millions of tax dollars.

We can be certain that the next war, if there is one, will be even more total than this one. The nature of war is such that once it now begins it can end only as this one is ending, in the destruction of the vanquished, and it should be assumed that another reconversion from peace to war production will take place initially under enemy distant bombardment. Industrial mobilization plans must be founded on these assumptions and so organized that they will meet them and any other situation that may develop. Yet they must in no way retard or inhibit the course of peacetime production.

If this Nation is to remain great it must bear in mind now and in the future that war is not the choice of those who wish passionately for peace. It is the choice of those who are willing to resort to violence for political advantage. We can fortify ourselves against disaster, I am convinced, by the measures I have here outlined. In these protections we can face the future with a reasonable hope for the best and with quiet assurance that even though the worst may come, we are prepared for it.

Source: George C. Marshall, General Marshall's Report: The Winning of the War in Europe and the Pacific: Biennial Report of the Chief of Staff of the United States Army July 1, 1943 to June 30, 1945, to the Secretary of War (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1945), pp. 116–123.

Primary Source

B) William J. Donovan to Harold D. Smith, Director, Bureau of the Budget, 25 August 1945

It is our estimate . . . the effectiveness of OSS as a War Agency will end as of January 1, or at latest February 1946, at which time liquidation should be completed. At that point I wish to return to private life. Therefore, in considering the disposition to be made of the assets created by OSS, I speak as a private citizen concerned with the future of his country.

In our government today there is no permanent agency to take over the functions which OSS will have then ceased to perform. These functions while carried on as incident to the

war are in reality essential in the effective discharge by this nation of its responsibilities in the organization and maintenance of the peace.

Since last November I have pointed out the immediate necessity of setting up such an agency to take over valuable assets created by OSS. Among these assets was establishment for the first time in our nation's history of a foreign secret intelligence service which reported information as seen through American eyes. As an integral and inseparable part of this service there is a group of specialists to analyze and evaluate the material for presentation to those who determine national policy.

It is not easy to set up a modern intelligence system. It is more difficult to do so in time of peace than in time of war.

It is important therefore that it be done before the War Agency has disappeared so that profit may be made of its experience and "know how" in deciding how the new agency may best be conducted.

I have already submitted a plan for the establishment of a centralized system. However, the discussion of that proposal indicated the need of an agreement upon certain fundamental principles before a detailed plan is formulated. If those concerned could agree upon the principles with which such a system should be established, acceptance of a common plan would be more easily achieved.

Accordingly, I attach a statement of principles, the soundness of which I believe has been established by study and by practical experience.

Principles—The Soundness of Which It Is Believed Has Been Established by Our Own Experience and First-Hand Study of the Systems of Other Nations—Which Should Govern the Establishment of a Centralized United States Foreign Intelligence System.

The formulation of a national policy both in its political and military aspects is influenced and determined by knowledge (or ignorance) of the aims, capabilities, intentions, and policies of other nations.

All major powers except the United States have had for a long time past permanent world-wide intelligence services, reporting directly to the highest echelons of their governments. Prior to the present war, the United States had no foreign secret intelligence service. It never has had and does not now have a coordinated intelligence system.

The defects and dangers of this situation have been generally recognized. Adherence to the following would remedy this defect in peace as well as war so that American policy could be based upon information obtained through its own sources on foreign intentions, capabilities, and developments as seen and interpreted by Americans.

1. That each department of Government should have its own intelligence bureau for the collection and

processing of such informational material as it finds necessary in the actual performance of its functions and duties. Such a bureau should be under the sole control of the department head and should not be encroached upon or impaired by the functions granted any other governmental intelligence agency.

Because secret intelligence covers all fields and because of possible embarrassment, no executive department should be permitted to engage in secret intelligence but in a proper case call upon the central agency for service.

2. That in addition to the intelligence unit for each department there should be established a national centralized foreign intelligence agency which should have the authority:
 - A. To serve all departments of the Government.
 - B. To procure and obtain political, economic, psychological, sociological, military and other information which may bear upon the national interest and which has been collected by the different Governmental departments or agencies
 - C. To collect when necessary supplemental information either at its own instance or at the request of any Governmental departments or agencies.
 - D. To integrate, analyze, process, and disseminate, to authorized Governmental agencies and officials, intelligence in the form of strategic interpretive studies.
3. That such an agency should be prohibited from carrying on clandestine activities within the United States and should be forbidden the exercise of any police functions at home or abroad.
4. That since the nature of its work requires it to have status, it should be independent of any department of the government (since it is obliged to serve all and must be free of the natural bias of an operating department). It should be under a director, appointed by the President, and be administered under Presidential direction, or in the event of a General Manager being appointed, should be established in the Executive Office of the President, under his direction.
5. That subject to the approval of the President or the General Manager the policy of such a service should be determined by the Director with the advice and assistance of a Board on which the Secretaries of State, War, Navy, and Treasury should be represented.
6. That this agency, as the sole agency for secret intelligence, should be authorized, in the foreign field only, to carry on services such as espionage, counter-espionage, and those special operations (including morale and psychological) designed to anticipate and

counter any attempted penetration and subversion of our national security by enemy action.

7. That such a service have an independent budget granted directly by the Congress.
8. That such a service should have its own system of codes and should be furnished facilities by departments of Government proper and necessary for the performance of its duties.
9. That such a service should include in its staff specialties (within Governmental departments, civil and military, and in private life) professionally trained in analysis of information and possessing a high degree of linguistic, regional, or functional competence, to analyze, coordinate and evaluate incoming information, to make special intelligence reports, and to provide guidance for the collecting branches of the agency.
10. That in time of war or unlimited national emergency, all programs of such agency in areas of actual and projected military operations shall be coordinated with military plans, and shall be subject to the approval of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, or if there be consolidation of the armed services, under the supreme commander. Parts of such programs which are to be executed in the theater of military operations shall be subject to control of the military commander.

Source: "General Donovan's Letter to the Director of the Bureau of Budget, Harold D. Smith," *Counterintelligence*

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