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A DEFINING MOMENT IN MY LIFE

I traveled from the site of the Allied invasion at Normandy to the horror of Jewish extermination camps in Poland.

It was a beautiful morning...bright blue skies, mid 70s, with a light breeze. As our tour group walked the red-brick path along the top of the cliff overlooking Omaha Beach I thought I knew what to expect. But as we passed a crop of trees and row after row of shining white crosses came into view, the sight took my breath away. Many of the soldiers buried at the Normandy American Cemetery died while landing at either Omaha or Utah Beach on D-Day. As I stared at the crosses planted in the perfectly manicured lawn, I realized I was experiencing a defining moment in my life.

My family has a long, proud history of serving in the military. I was blessed to have served in the Air Force for 20 years. My dad's three brothers served in the European and Pacific theaters during World War II. My dad was too young to enlist, but while I was growing up he made sure his brothers told me all about their service during the war. One uncle landed on the beaches of Normandy and went on to fight in the Battle of the Bulge. Another one was a B-24 engine mechanic in England. And the third was a combat medic who fought on Okinawa.

Procom's tours have given me the amazing opportunity to visit some of the places where my uncles fought and sacrificed. I visited World War II sites in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Slovakia, and Poland. I traveled from the site of the Allied invasion at Normandy to the horror of Jewish extermination camps in Poland. As we visited the various battle sites I recalled my Uncle Norm talking about his WWII experiences. He often mentioned how "lucky" he was to have survived the D-Day invasion and later the Battle of the Bulge, while his buddies died around him.

I have taken part in four different tours offered by Procom: the Beyond Band of Brothers Tour, the Third Reich Tour, the Central Europe Remembrance Tour and the War in Poland Tour. Their staff is exceptional: the tour managers have been extremely knowledgeable; the in-country tour guides make you feel like you were there when it happened. The amazing travel consultants who work in Lexington, KY do a great job answering all my questions (no matter how silly) and preparing me for each trip. Nothing less than five star service all the way. I look forward to taking two tours in 2017: the Eastern Front Tour to Russia and the American Civil War Tour with my grandson. In 2018 I plan to take the Patriot Tour.

TIMOTHY MILLER Phoenix, AZ

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Cover: A German fallschirmjäger, photographed in Italy in 1944, where the Allies struggled to break through the Gustav Line to liberate Rome. See story page 52.

Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-585-2188-08; Photo: Roisgen

WWII History (ISSN 1539-5456) is published six times yearly in February, April, June, August, October, and December by Sovereign Media, 6731 Whittier Ave., Suite A-100, McLean, VA 22101. (703) 964-0361. Periodical postage paid at McLean, VA, and additional mailing offices. *WWII History*, Volume 17, Number 4 © 2018 by Sovereign Media Company, Inc., all rights reserved. Copyrights to stories and illustrations are the property of their creators. The contents of this publication may not be reproduced in whole or in part without consent of the copyright owner. ***Subscription services, back issues, and information:*** **(800) 219-1187** *or* write to ***WWII History*** **Circulation, WWII History, P.O. Box 1644, Williamsport, PA 17703.** Single copies: $5.99, plus $3 for postage. Yearly subscription in U.S.A.: $24.95; Canada and Overseas: $38.95 (U.S.). Editorial Office: Send editorial mail to *WWII History*, 6731 Whittier Ave., Suite A-100, McLean, VA 22101. *WWII History* welcomes editorial submissions but assumes no responsibility for the loss or damage of unsolicited material. Material to be returned should be accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope. We suggest that you send a self-addressed, stamped envelope for a copy of our author's guidelines. **POSTMASTER: Send address changes to WWII History, P.O. Box 1644, Williamsport, PA 17703.**

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WWII HISTORY

Volume 17 ■ Number 4

Naomi Parker Fraley, the real "Rosie the Riveter," has died at the age of 96.

SHE WAS JUST 20 YEARS OLD, WEARING COVERALLS, HER HAIR IN A POLKA-DOT bandanna, operating a lathe on the floor of the machine shop at the Alameda Naval Air Station in California when the photographer snapped the photograph that became a poster that became a legend. Forever known as "Rosie the Riveter," the tough woman flexing her muscle beneath the declaration "We Can Do It!" is simply a part of American history, an image of a nation newly embroiled in World War II and its determined optimism to see the thing through to victory.

One of many American women who went to work in factories and assembly plants across the United States during the war as men signed up for duty with the armed forces, Naomi Parker Fraley had recently come to the Bay Area of California, and, along with her sister Ada, had taken a job at Alameda working on the machine shop floor. Other than the quick stop and flash of the photographer's bulb, March 24, 1942, was probably an ordinary day.

Fraley passed away in January at the age of 96. According to her family, the real Rosie saw the photograph again more than 60 years after it was taken, at a 2011 event for female former war workers held at the Rosie the Riveter/World War II Home Front National Historical Park in Richmond, California. The family says that she instantly recognized it as one that had been taken that day long ago, but the caption incorrectly identified the young worker as someone else.

A bit of controversy, a case of mistaken identity, loomed. For some years, the inspiring likeness was believed to have been that of another woman, Geraldine Hoff Doyle, who also thought she had recognized herself in the photo sometime earlier. The story that Doyle, who died in 2010, was the young woman pictured was accepted by the media, widely circulated, and dutifully perpetuated in the National Park Service display. According to the *New York Times,* Fraley wrote a letter to the Park Service hoping to correct the error and received a response requesting that she render any possible assistance to obtain "the true identity of the woman in the photograph."

Meanwhile, other incarnations of Rosie the Riveter had surfaced. During the war years Norman Rockwell painted his own rendition of the icon for a *Saturday Evening Post* cover, while Kay Kyser's band immortalized her in song. Through the years, though, the lasting reminder of women contributing to the war effort has come to reside with the famous poster, originally meant only for temporary display at Westinghouse Electric Company facilities. The painting that has become synonymous with Rosie was completed in 1943 by artist J. Howard Miller of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and in the 70+ years of its existence it has come to grace t-shirts, coffee mugs, and other everyday items, as well as becoming a symbol for the feminist movement.

The credit for righting the persistent but unintentional mistaken identity of the Rosie model goes to Professor James J. Kimble of Seton Hall University, who researched the history of the poster for six years. In 2015, he came across the original photograph with its 1942 date and a caption reading, "Pretty Naomi Parker looks like she might catch her nose in the turret lathe she is operating."

That same year, Kimble visited Mrs. Fraley and her sister at their home in Cottonwood, California, and she showed him a copy of the photo that she had kept since the 1940s. Kimble has no doubt that Fraley is the woman in the photo, but the tie-in to the classic poster is not quite complete. Miller left no record of the circumstances surrounding his work that would definitively link the two.

However, for Kimble and other observers the circumstantial evidence is good enough. Aside from the other clues, the time frame fits with the photo dated March 1942, publication of it in July 1942 in *The Pittsburgh Press* where Miller lived, and the poster reaching the walls of Westinghouse the following February.

—Michael E. Haskew

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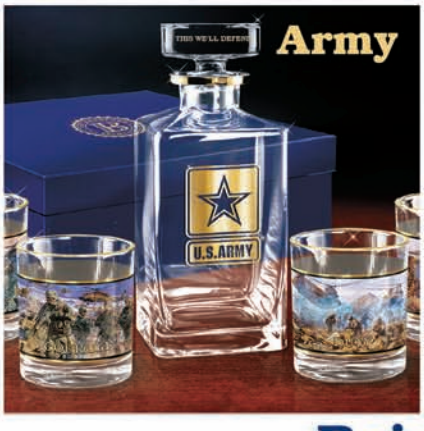

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By Michael D. Hull

Alamy

The Republic P-47 Thunderbolt was a heavy aircraft powered by a large radial engine. It was capable of absorbing severe punishment and bringing its pilot home.

The Famed Jug

The Republic P-47 Thunderbolt proved itself an outstanding warplane in multiple roles.

LOSSES WERE HIGH AND MORALE LOW WHEN THE U.S. EIGHTH AIR FORCE intensified its heavy bomber missions over Nazi-occupied Europe in late 1942.

As the Americans persisted with their daylight offensive, complementing the Royal Air Force's nightly raids, the air crews were eager and gallant, but misgivings mounted. The major threat came from the German fighter force, with its experienced pilots and rugged planes ready to maul the Boeing B-17 Flying Fortress and Consolidated B-24 Liberator formations.

Some planners had promised that the fabled Flying Fortress with its 10 machine guns could easily hold its own against enemy interference, but this proved to be a pipe dream. Effective escorts were desperately needed.

The first U.S. bombardment groups were accompanied to targets in France by RAF Supermarine Spitfires, but their limited range precluded them from longer forays. There was a clamor in the USAAF high echelons for the rapid development of a fighter that could stay with the bombers and fend off the Luftwaffe's predatory Messerschmitt Me-109s and Focke Wulf FW-190s, but help was on the way.

It came from Republic Aviation Corp. of Farmingdale, Long Island, following a conference in June 1940 at which Army Air Corps leaders explained the urgent need for a high-performance fighter that could compare with European planes. One of the attendees, Republic's brilliant, Russian-born chief designer, Alexander "Sasha" Kartveli, began work on the back of an envelope, and then he and his team drafted blueprints for an improved version of the former Seversky Aircraft Corp.'s disappointing P-43 Lancer fighter.

The result was the P-47 Thunderbolt, a big single-seat fighter powered by a 2,300-horsepower Pratt & Whitney radial engine, with a top speed of 428 miles an hour, a range of 1,000 miles, and a ceiling of about 42,000 feet. It mounted six or eight .50-caliber machine guns and could carry up to 2,500 pounds of bombs or rockets. The P-47 would prove to be one of the most effective and widely used Allied fighters of World War II.

A prototype, XP-47B, flew for the first time on May 6, 1941. In addition to the Farmingdale plant, production lines were established in Evansville, Indiana, and Buffalo, New York. Many teething problems were encountered in getting the new planes operational, and the XP-47B crashed on August 8, 1942. But deliveries of P-47B models to Army Air Forces squadrons began on March 18, 1942. The early P-47s were called "razorbacks" because of their raised rear fuselage leading to the framed cockpit hood. Several hundred of the planes went to British, Soviet, and Free French fighter units under the Lend Lease Program. The RAF used Thunderbolts extensively in North Africa, India, and Burma.

The first P-47s to see service under American colors were received in June 1942 by the Army Air Forces' 56th Fighter Group, which, by January 1943, had joined the Eighth Air Force in Britain. It was reinforced by the 78th Fighter Group, and they began operational sorties on the following April 13. They flew their first escort mission on May 4, 1943, when the 56th Fighter Group accompanied B-17s to Antwerp.

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ABOVE: Ground crewmen prepare the P-47 Thunderbolt fighters of the 78th Fighter Group at Duxford, United Kingdom, where the group was based in 1944.
BELOW: This P-47D flies off the deck of the escort carrier USS *Manila Bay* to attack an approaching formation of Japanese Aichi Val dive bombers east of the island of Saipan in the Marianas.

National Archives

Initial encounters with German fighters showed that, while the Thunderbolt was lacking in performance and maneuverability, it was rugged and could out-dive any other fighter. It was the first USAAF fighter to provide the sorely needed protection to the Eighth Air Force B-17 and B-24 streams.

Colonel Edward W. Anderson's 4th Fighter Group, based at the Debden RAF station near Saffron Walden, Essex, was equipped with the new planes in March 1943. Formed the previous September from the 71st, 121st, and 133rd Eagle Squadrons of the RAF, the group's experienced pilots, who had been blooded in graceful Spitfires, were less than enthusiastic when they climbed into the bulky Thunderbolts. The P-47 weighed almost three times as much as the British fighter, and the Eagles had doubts about its firepower—eight machine guns compared with the Spitfire's four 20mm cannons.

Enemy kills came slowly, but the P-47 scored its first aerial victory south of Dieppe on April 15, 1943, and the American fliers came to appreciate the plane's qualities. In fact, they soon fell in love with it. The Thunderbolt was nicknamed the "Jug" because it was thought to resemble a container for homemade whiskey.

Major (later Lt. Col.) James A. Goodson, who had joined the RAF in 1940 and downed a total of 14 German planes, said, "The P-47, in spite of its weight and size, was an amazing aircraft, and we continued to build up our score, almost in spite of ourselves."

At Debden, Goodson checked out Captain Don Blakeslee on the Thunderbolt. Blakeslee, a bold natural flier who had piloted Spitfires with the RAF and the Eagle Squadrons since May 1941, was not impressed. "Of course, he didn't like it," Goodson observed. "It was daunting to haul seven tons of plane around the sky after the finger-tip touch needed for the Spit." After his initial flight, Blakeslee griped to Flight Cmdr. James E. "Johnny" Johnson, the RAF's leading British-born ace of the war, that the bulky, low-slung P-47 seemed reluctant to leave the ground and anxious to get back on it. It was the largest and heaviest piston-engine fighter ever to have served with the USAAF.

RAF pilots who looked over the plane shuddered and politely informed their American comrades that they were about to die. The largest single-engine fighter of the war was considered too slow and unresponsive to survive in the sky against Luftwaffe Me-109s and FW1-190s. The men of the 4th Fighter Group and other units had to be convinced otherwise by their commanders.

During a P-47 sortie over Belgium on April 15, 1943, Blakeslee blasted an FW-190 and sent it flaming into a suburb of Ostend. At the debriefing, Major Goodson told him, "I told you the Jug could out-dive them." Blakeslee grudgingly conceded, "Well, it damn well ought to be able to dive; it sure as hell can't climb."

Blakeslee went on to down three more FW-190s but was twice badly shot up. He eventually led the 4th Fighter Group and emerged as one of the outstanding U.S. flight leaders of the European war. In the air continually for three years, he logged more than 1,000 combat hours during 500 sorties and was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross twice.

Despite its weight and size, the P-47 proved to be a highly effective fighter that performed sterling service through the rest of the war. It was a devastating dive bomber and more than satisfactory in dogfights. Many USAAF aces in the European Theater racked up high scores in Thunderbolts. The plane could absorb considerable damage and still bring its pilot home.

Colonel Francis S. "Gabby" Gabreski of the 56th Fighter Group, who shot down 31 enemy planes while flying P-47s, reported that one of his comrades took five direct 20mm cannon hits in his right wing but still managed to return to base. During one sortie, Blakeslee's Thunderbolt was hit by 68 cannon shells. Yet, he returned to England, escorted by Major Goodson.

Gabreski, also a veteran of RAF Spitfire squadrons, praised the P-47's roomy cockpit, "nice" handling, and "truly spectacular" dive

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Wikimedia/Tennessee Museum of Aviation/Kogo

Housed at the Tennessee Museum of Aviation in Sevierville, Tennessee, this gleaming P47D-40-RA is nicknamed *Wicked Rabbit*. The P-47, beloved by its pilots, is an iconic fighter aircraft of World War II.

performance. He and the other pilots loved and trusted the plane. One flier who preferred the Thunderbolt to the sleek, elegant North American P-51 Mustang remarked, "When flying the Jug, I always felt as if I was in my mother's arms."

Lieutenant Will Burgsteiner of the 359th Fighter Group wrote in his diary, "We never realized we loved the old barrel and her eight guns so much." Boyish Captain Marvin Bledsoe of the 350th Fighter Squadron, based at Raydon, Suffolk, rhapsodized, "How I loved to fly that airplane.... I felt a surge of pride that I was a member of a combat fighter squadron and was flying the most powerful fighter ship in the world.... The P-47 Thunderbolt was the hottest American fighter plane. The more I flew the Thunderbolt, the more I liked it."

A veteran of the Normandy invasion and Operation Market Garden, Bledsoe flew 70 combat sorties in his P-47 named *Little Princess,* was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross and the Air Medal with oakleaf clusters, and published a memoir, *Thunderbolt,* in 1982.

Among many other fliers who were impressed with the P-47 was Luftwaffe ace and Battle of Britain veteran General Adolf Galland. After flying a captured Thunderbolt, he reported that the cockpit was big enough to walk around in. A standing joke during the war was that the best way to take evasive action in a P-47 was to undo the straps and run around the cockpit. The plane's attributes included a low internal noise level, little vibration, prompt control response, and an efficient cockpit heating system, which, unlike the Spitfire, kept the windshield clear of frost when diving.

One distinction of the P-47 was that it probably gathered more nicknames than any other Allied plane of the war. Besides the Jug, it was affectionately known by its pilots and ground crews as "Big Ugly," "Bucket of Bolts," "Cast-Iron Beast," "Repulsive Scatterbolt," "Seven-Ton Milk Bottle," "T-Bolt," and "Thunder Mug."

Although the P-47 was a force to be reckoned with in the air, it was sluggish in a climb and difficult to handle in takeoffs and landings. Lieutenant Harold Rosser, who flew the plane in the China-Burma-India Theater before his unit received twin-boom Lockheed P-38 Lightnings, reported, "The P-47 had no nose wheel, and instead of leaning forward to take off, it held back, leaning on its tail wheel, its tilted-up nose obstructing our forward view until it gained speed. Not until it reached a speed of 60 miles an hour did the tail come up, and until it did, we could not see the runway in front of us. The opposite was true when landing. To compensate for the blind spot, we 'essed' when we taxied, turning from side to side, looking to the front between turns."

Limited pilot vision was a drawback in the early Thunderbolt variants, but this was improved when a clear-view teardrop cockpit was introduced with the P-47D model. This gave the pilot all-around visibility.

While its pilots loved and trusted the Thunderbolt, some USAAF officers in Europe thought that it used up too much runway to take off, was difficult to pull out of a dive, and that its landing gear was weak. In the Pacific Theater, however, few doubts were voiced. General George C. Kenney, the able, Canadian-born commander of the Fifth Air Force, was impressed by the performance of the plane and requested that more of his fighter groups be equipped with it.

The Thunderbolt made a significant contribution to the downfall of the Luftwaffe, the destruction of the Third Reich's transportation system, and the eventual defeat of the German and Japanese Armies. A total of 15,579 P-47s were built, more than any other USAAF fighter, and they equipped 40 percent of overseas fighter groups in 1944 and 1945. The only American fighter that surpassed the Thunderbolt in all-around performance was the lighter P-51 Mustang, generally regarded as the best single-seat, piston-engine fighter of the war. As Colonel Gabreski observed, however, the P-51 fell short of the Thunderbolt in dive bombing and could not withstand the kind of punishment it absorbed routinely.

With double the range of the P-47s, Mustangs eventually took over escort duties for the Eighth Air Force bomber streams. The Thunderbolt pilots had acquitted themselves heroically, but even when fitted with disposable fuel tanks the planes lacked the necessary range. The final push for P-51s was accelerated by a disastrous B-17 mission on October 14, 1943. On that "Black Thursday," 291 unescorted B-17s attacked the ball-bearing plant at Schweinfurt for the second time. They inflicted considerable damage, but 60 Fortresses were destroyed and 140 damaged. A further 88 Eighth Air Force planes had gone down in the previous week, and the losses were intolerable.

The first mission escorted by Mustangs was mounted on December 5, 1943, and they then routinely accompanied B-17s and Liberators to Berlin and back. By the end of the European war, all but one of the Eighth Air Force fighter groups were equipped with Mustangs.

The arrival of the P-51s changed the tide of the air war in Europe, but the P-47 pilots remained fiercely loyal to their corpulent Jugs and insisted that they were superior. Improved Thunderbolt variants continued to render gallant service on all fronts, from northwestern Europe to North Africa and from Italy to the Pacific. They were based in Australia from late 1943, and P-47Ns escorted Boeing B-29 Superfortress heavy bombers of the Twentieth Air Force on long over-water missions.

The last of a dozen variants of the famous Thunderbolt, the P-47N was built solely for deployment in the Pacific Theater. A total of 1,816 were deployed. The P-47Ns specialized in bombing and strafing Japanese shipping,

Both: National Archives

ABOVE: The success of rocket-firing British Hawker Typhoon aircraft resulted in experimentation with the P-47 and wing-mounted rockets. These tube-fired M8 rockets were replaced with the HVAR (High Velocity Aerial Rocket) fired from underwing pylons.
BELOW: This P-47 was originally assigned to the 56th Fighter Group of the U.S. Eighth Air Force in Europe. It was flown by Lieutenant Roach Stewart, Jr., until it was lost in August 1944.

rail lines, and airfields.

During the big Marine-Army invasion of Saipan in mid-June 1944, Thunderbolts of the Seventh Air Force's 19th and 73rd Fighter Squadrons supported Navy planes in blasting Japanese caves and other strongpoints with napalm. They also flew in support of U.S. and Allied troops in many other Pacific actions, including the reconquest of New Guinea, the Philippines campaign, and the invasions of Guam, Tinian, Iwo Jima, and Okinawa.

The RAF used Thunderbolts for training in England and Egypt, and they were widely deployed for strafing, reconnaissance, and "rhubarb" sorties in the Far East. While several squadrons in India and Burma converted from Hawker Hurricanes, RAF P-47s armed with 500-pound bombs, rockets, and napalm specialized in low-level assaults on Japanese troop concentrations and their long supply lines. They covered British-Australian landings in Burma and continued to harass the retreating enemy during the last year of the war. A total of 830 Thunderbolts were used exclusively against the Japanese during the bitter Burma campaign.

RAF Thunderbolts in the Far East bore white recognition bands to prevent confusion with Japanese Nakajima Ki-84 Hayate fighters, which closely resembled them. USAAF Thunderbolts, meanwhile, escorted Allied C-46, C-47, and C-54 transport planes flying over the Himalayan "Hump" from India to China.

It was in the European Theater, before, during, and after the momentous invasion of Normandy by the British, American, and Canadian Armies on Tuesday, June 6, 1944, that P-47s found a new role and came into their own with a vengeance. Along with 10 Eighth Air Force fighter groups and the RAF's deadly Hawker Typhoons and Tempests, Thunderbolts took off daily from English airfields to sweep across the English Channel and pound German tanks, convoys, airfields, supply dumps, trains, and communication lines with bombs, rockets, and machine-gun fire. After the Allied troops broke out from their beachheads, the planes operated from hastily laid airstrips in France.

As long as weather conditions permitted, the Thunderbolts, Typhoons, and Tempests kept up the pressure as the Allied armies pushed across France, Belgium, Holland, and into Germany. They cheered the embattled riflemen in the foxholes and terrified their opponents. Over the front lines of northwestern Europe in 1944-1945, the P-47 proved itself a fearsome weapon. The effect of it firing eight .5-inch Colt-Browning machine guns in its wings was described by one observer as being like "driving a five-ton truck straight at a wall at 60 miles an hour."

Thunderbolts were the frontline workhorses of General Hoyt S. Vandenburg's Ninth Air Force, history's largest tactical air command, which had been reformed in the fall of 1943 after operations in North Africa, Sicily, and Italy, to support ground units in Normandy. It boasted 3,500 aircraft.

By May 1944, 13 of the Ninth Air Force's fighter groups had been equipped with P-47Ds, tailored for their critical role as low-level strafers and bombers. They had upgraded engines and propellers, and racks were fitted beneath their wings to carry 500-pound bombs and, later, rocket projectiles. After the Normandy landings, the Ninth Air Force followed the example of the RAF's "cab rank" tactics with Typhoons. U.S. Army tank crews with VHF radio sets were able to summon bomb-carrying Thunderbolts to attack specific targets.

With an overall loss rate of only 0.7 percent, the P-47s destroyed or damaged 6,000 enemy tanks and armored cars, 68,000 trucks, 9,000 locomotives, 86,000 pieces of rolling stock, and 60,000 horse-drawn vehicles. Flying 545,575 sorties and logging an estimated 1.35 million combat hours, they shot down 3,752 enemy planes with the loss of 824 in aerial battles. By August 1945, Thunderbolts had flown on every front and destroyed more than 7,000 German and Japanese aircraft in the air and on the ground.

The most aerial victories in the European Theater were scored by Colonel Hubert A. "Hub" Zemke's 56th "Wolfpack" Fighter Group. His P-47s racked up 665.5 kills, and he himself was credited with 17.75 enemy planes destroyed in the air and 8.5 on the ground. The

Continued on page 74

By Tim Miller

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of Ron Leidelmeyer

Henry Kissinger's World War II

After emigrating to the United States with his family, he enlisted in the U.S. Army.

IN NOVEMBER 1944, A YOUNG AMERICAN SOLDIER WROTE BACK TO HIS PARENTS in the Washington Heights neighborhood of Manhattan. Six years earlier, he and his family had fled Germany for the United States, only weeks before Kristallnacht, the infamous Night of Broken Glass.

Now here he was, having returned to the place where, had they stayed, he and his family may well have already perished. "So I am back where I wanted to be," the young man wrote. "I think of the cruelty and barbarism those people out there in the ruins showed when they were on top. And then I feel proud and happy to be able to enter here as a free American soldier."

Long before his stint as yet another Harvard intellectual; long before he was thought to be the inspiration for Stanley Kubrick's Dr. Strangelove; long before his advisory roles in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations and support for Nelson Rockefeller's bids for the presidency; and long before he became President Richard Nixon's Secretary of State and, by turns, was either one of the most admired men in the country, or condemned as a war criminal—Henry Kissinger was a recent immigrant serving in the United States Army. But it was his experience in the war—without which he may have merely ended up as an accountant—that made him.

As he later wrote, "High office teaches decision making, not substance. It consumes intellectual capital; it does not create it. Most high officials leave office with the perceptions and insights with which they entered; they learn how to make decisions but not what decisions to make." The man who became so respected or reviled, and who was said to be "musically attuned to history," became so by witnessing history, including the Holocaust, firsthand.

Born in 1923 in the Bavarian town of Fürth, Kissinger later dismissed the notion that life in the crumbling world of Weimar amid the temporal triumph of Nazism affected his childhood much before the moment he and his family left for America. "I wasn't concerned with the international system," he said. "I was concerned with the standing of the football [soccer] team of the town in which I lived."

The year of hyperinflation in 1923, left the German mark amazingly worthless (one trillionth the value of a prewar mark). It was also the year of Hitler's failed beer hall putsch. The combination of inflation, depression, and the need for a scapegoat for the country's woes, a scapegoat whose wealth and cultural influence far outstretched the small percentage they made in the population, all found their way to Fürth as well. Hitler visited the city in 1925, with Der Stürmer editor Julius Streicher alongside him. According to the odious newspaper, the city was a "citadel of the Jews" and where the future Führer lamented how Germans had become "slaves of Jewry."

On March 9, 1933, the Nazi party in the city held a torchlight parade, where the 12,000 or so who gathered watched the Nazi flag raised outside the Rathaus and heard a speech which

Stephen F. Austin State University/Robertson Collection

ABOVE: Henry Kissinger, future U.S. Secretary of State, was assigned to Company G, 335th Infantry Regiment, 84th Division while serving in the U.S. Army at Camp Claiborne, Louisiana. TOP: Newly liberated Polish prisoners of the Nazi concentration camp at Hanover-Ahlem queue up to receive rations of soup from American soldiers.

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United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of Vernon Tott

Their faces scarred with the horror of their experience, former prisoners of the Nazi concentration camp at Hanover-Ahlem pose outside the infirmary that has been established to provide medical care.

declared, "Today marks the beginning of the great clean-up of Bavaria.... Even Fürth, which was once red and totally jewified, will once again be made into a clean and honest German town."

On May 10-11, 1934, as across all of Germany, whether in cities or universities, a bonfire of subversive books lit up the Fürth sky, while the previous April, Kissinger's father, as well as any Jews in the Civil Service, were fired from their jobs and Jewish children were forbidden to attend non-Jewish schools.

Many of Kissinger's relatives had already left Germany by 1938, dispersing to Palestine and Sweden, as well as the United States. In October 1937, a cousin of Kissinger's mother, living in Westchester County, New York, pledged to financially support the family should they emigrate, and seven long months later, in May 1938, approval from everyone—from U.S. officials down to the mayor of Fürth—had been secured. Passports were issued. Leaving behind nearly everything they owned, including most of their savings, as well as his mother's ailing father, by late August Kissinger and his family sailed for England, and finally for New York City, and not a moment too soon.

Thanks to the meticulous records kept by the Nazis, the fate of the Jews of Fürth, as of many cities and villages, is known with great accuracy. The city's Jewish population was nearly 2,000 in 1933. Of those who did not emigrate, only 40 survived the war. The number of dead among Kissinger's relatives as a result of the war, in Fürth and elsewhere, is estimated between 30 and 60.

Kissinger and his family landed in the United States at an inopportune moment, amid the so-called "Roosevelt Recession" in which, beginning in the middle of 1937, the national unemployment rate had slowly risen to nearly 20 percent. In the year when the most popular movie was Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs,* America was still in the grips of the Depression, which Germany had already climbed out of. As H.G. Wells's War of the Worlds radio broadcast sent people into a panic that October, the theories of American eugenicists were also still in vogue. Irish Christians, suspicious as ever of how successful Jewish immigrants and businessmen had become, derided the "Jew Deal," while a poll conducted in 1939 by *Fortune* magazine found that nearly 90 percent of Catholics and Protestants (and 26 percent of Jews) would have voted "no" on letting in European refugees beyond the number currently allowed by law. Even Franklin Roosevelt, asked specifically about the fate of Europe's Jews after Kristallnacht, was clear: "We have the quota system."

The fear of a "Jewish menace" and an "alien menace" led to widespread support for the self-styled "American Hitler," William Dudley Pelley, as well as the Catholic priest Charles E. Coughlin, whose weekly radio show attracted more than 30 million listeners. Coughlin was especially unapologetic in his anti-Semitism, and his National Union for Social Justice (an Orwellian name if ever there was one) was happy to publish the fraudulent Protocols of the Elders of Zion to prove his point. Beyond even Coughlin were groups like the Christian Front and the Christian Mobilizers, and the Freunde des Neuen Deutschland, or the German-American Bund, America's largest pro-Nazi organization, headquartered in New York City in the Yorkville neighborhood on the Upper East Side.

Yet not too far north, in the neighborhood of Washington Heights, such a large Jewish community flourished, especially made up of German-Jewish refugees, that it was dubbed the Fourth Reich. It was here that the Kissingers set to assimilating, with Henry now learning baseball and batting averages, and with English being learned at home mostly from the radio. Despite the existence of American anti-Semitism, it was clearly of a different stripe, and overall America clearly offered a different life. As Kissinger remembered later: "When I was a boy it was a dream, an incredible place where tolerance was natural and personal freedom unchallenged.... Seeing a group of boys [walking down the street], I began to cross to the other side to avoid being beaten up. And then I remembered where I was."

Attending George Washington High School, Kissinger's options were either to learn English quickly or fall behind. While he had learned enough English back in Germany to at least read it, sounding and becoming American was the problem. He also began attending high school at night, after he took a job at a shaving brush factory during the day to help make money for the family. Yet he flourished, and it was not long before he had the time and command of the language to read Dostoevsky in English.

While admitting that his future lay in America, and while planning to attend the City College of New York and become an accountant, the gulf that separated him from Americans in general was still not lost on Kissinger. For while they certainly were not blind to social injustice, there was still a sense of ease and materialism and superficiality that he did not understand. "The American trait I dislike the most," he wrote, "is their casual approach to life. No one thinks ahead further than the next minute, no one has the courage to look life squarely in the eye, difficult [things] are always avoided. No youth of my age has any kind of spiritual problem that he seriously concerns himself with."

While there may be some accuracy here, these words also clearly reflect a personal experience of upheaval and change few of his peers could fathom. And so it is not such a surprise that anyone, let alone a teenager already in flux, and one who admitted that "95 percent of my previous

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ideas have suffered shipwreck" should feel isolated and alone. But with the entry of the United States into World War II that was about to change.

News of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor came while Kissinger was at an (American) football game, back when the New York Giants and Brooklyn Dodgers were also the names of football teams. "I didn't know where Pearl Harbor was," he admitted. At the time, however, Kissinger was both too young to be conscripted and not yet a naturalized citizen. By the end of 1942, the conscription age was lowered to 18, and after three months of basic training at Camp Croft, South Carolina, he became a naturalized citizen. Like others of the nearly 10,000 German-Jewish refugees who served America in the war, part of his oath included renouncing his allegiance "particularly to Germany, of whom I have heretofore been subject."

The only segregation remaining in the armed services at the time was between whites and African Americans, and so Kissinger was thrown into the mix with young men he would likely have never encountered in Washington Heights. If, as the writer Irving Howe put it, the variety of New York City was "the embodiment of that alien world which every boy raised in a Jewish immigrant home has been taught ... to look upon with suspicion," how much more so was the U.S. Army?

Yet, Kissinger quickly made his mark and made friends, and it was more the daily regimen of Army life—and not any prejudice experienced there—that led to the later loss of his Jewish faith. As the phrase went, "Eating ham for Uncle Sam" became the rule of the day, especially when Kissinger was selected to be part of the Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP), which sent the smartest Army recruits to colleges all across the country for technical training and accelerated college courses. In early 1944, however, the program was cancelled, and all the "quiz kids" were scattered throughout the Army, Kissinger landing in G Company, 2nd Battalion, 335th Infantry Regiment. Having succeeded in the ASTP, Kissinger nevertheless blended right in with G Company as well, young men mostly from the Midwest. "I found that I liked these people very much," he said. "The significant thing about the army is that it made me feel like an American." The other men took to him as well, and when he was made the company's education officer, he gave weekly lectures about the state of the war and troop movements.

By September of that year, Kissinger and his fellow soldiers were sailing for Europe; in early November they crossed from England and landed on Omaha Beach, still littered with the debris from D-Day. Barely three weeks later, surely a testament to the British and American soldiers who had come before them, G Company was already in Germany. This was where Kissinger wrote back to his parents, not wanting to miss the moment where he could begin with the words, "Somewhere in Germany."

National Archives

ABOVE: Five emaciated and ill Jewish prisoners, recently liberated from Hanover-Ahlem concentration camp, reveal the level of mistreatment they received at the hands of their Nazi captors. BELOW: Henry Kissinger stands at right with other American soldiers as they befriend a group of German children during World War II.

Stephen F. Austin State University/Robertson Collection

"Somewhere" soon became the Battle of the Bulge, and Kissinger's letters home about the mud in Germany that "crept into your hair, your food, your teeth, your clothes and sometimes your mind," soon became complaints about the ice and drinking water out of mud holes and tank tracks. He described the firing of German machine guns "like a curtain tearing," and it was around this time, amid a company that suffered proportionally high casualties, that he was promoted to special agent in charge of the regimental Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) team. Kissinger took to this work immediately, rounding up and evacuating German civilians "considered unreliable," and poring through mail and paperwork left behind. In one town, where he described people living "in houses with cardboard in place of windows, with quagmires instead of streets," he could nevertheless also remark, "Germany now knows what it means to wander and to be forced to leave places dear to one's heart.... It is tragic no matter how [much] you hate the Germans." He also added: "They are not mistreated. We are no Gestapo."

By March 1945, however, with the 84th Division now in the city of Krefeld, many of whose civilians still remained, the difficulties of prioritizing the work of an occupying force, which would consume thousands of minds in the years to come, began to show itself. Was it, for instance, the job of Kissinger and others to restore relative order and local administration of the town, or (still with VE-Day unknown and in the future) was it necessary to put such goals aside in favor of finding and arresting career Nazis and separating them from those who had passively gone along? For a time, the latter became a priority, which also meant assessing the full sympathies of the local population to the Nazi regime, many of whom could not be detained but had nevertheless lived with Nazi propaganda for so long.

As Kissinger wrote in a CIC report, "For twelve years the Nazis have had a stranglehold on those in public office. Officialdom and Nazism have, as a result, become almost synonymous in the public mind. It becomes the duty therefore of the occupying authorities to clean the city administration of these cliques of Nazis." Such a job was ideal for Kissinger, who could speak the language, and whose psychological insight into the enemy was already keenly perceptive.

Kissinger's Jewishness also came into play: his dog tag identified his religion, and if captured he undoubtedly would have been killed immediately, as had happened to German-Jewish interrogators taken in early 1945. Kissinger would also have been aware that, of the 800 or so Jews that had lived in Krefeld before the war, only four remained, the rest having emigrated or been rounded up. And it was on April 10, 1945, that he came to witness what nothing, not his childhood experiences of anti-Semitism in Fürth, not his knowledge of the nightmare of history, not the hell of battle and the closeness of death, could have prepared him for. Even the words of his Rabbi in 1942, who had also fled Fürth for Washington Heights, describing "unimaginable mass murders" carried out against Jews, could have meant much to seeing it firsthand.

While a labor rather than a death camp, and with only a handful of barracks, when Kissinger and the rest of the 84th came upon the concen-

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tration camp at Ahlem, they found hell in miniature. Perhaps at the now more well-known camps it was possible to even get lost or awed by the scope of death and destruction; this was not possible at Ahlem, located only a few miles west of Hanover, where every detail was near at hand. By January of that year, some 600 out of a total of 800 prisoners were still alive, and in early April all but 200 or so were force marched to Bergen-Belsen. Those who stayed behind were too sick to make the journey, and they would have been murdered and the complex destroyed but for the swift advance of the Americans. We only know Kissinger was there thanks to a fellow soldier, Vernon Tott, who long after the war published the photos he took at Ahlen. Only then did Kissinger admit to "one of the most horrifying experiences of my life."

Images that have become so familiar by now lay before these men in the flesh, close enough to touch, as indeed many of them were: emaciated corpses everywhere, indoors and out, stacks and piles of them, and a mass grave holding hundreds more. Tott remembered a young man they came upon in one of the barracks: "[T]here was a boy, about fifteen years old, who was lying in his own vomit, urine and stool. When he looked at me, I could see he was crying for help.... Our troop had just come through six months of bloody battle but what we were seeing here made us sick to our stomachs and some even cried."

Another recalled: "The war will probably fade from memory, but those were the most pathetic human beings I have ever seen or hope to see in my whole life." They also found "huge bull whips as well as some cat-o-nine tails," and indeed one of the survivors mentioned how the SS guards frequently beat them: "They seemed to like to hit us."

Soon after the liberation of Ahlem, Kissinger wrote a never published reflection called The Eternal Jew, repurposing the title of a Nazi propaganda film to make a different point entirely. In part, it reads: "The concentration camp of Ahlem was built on a hillside overlooking Hannover. Barbed wire surrounded it. And as our jeep travelled down the street skeletons in striped suits lined the road. There was a tunnel in the side of the hill where the inmates worked 20 hours a day in semi-darkness.

"I stopped the jeep. Cloth seemed to fall from the bodies, the head was held up by a stick that once might have been a throat. Poles hang from the sides where arms should be, poles are the legs. 'What's your name?' And the man's eyes cloud and he takes off his hat in anticipation of a blow. 'Folek ... Folek Sama.' 'Don't take off your hat, you are free now.'

Associated Press

Kissinger sits with President Lyndon B. Johnson at the White House in Washington, D.C., in 1968. After World War II, Kissinger went on to a long and distinguished diplomatic career.

"And as I say it, I look over the camp. I see huts, I observe the empty faces, the dead eyes. You are free now. I, with my pressed uniform, I haven't lived in filth and squalor, I haven't been beaten and kicked. What kind of freedom can I offer? I see my friend enter one of the huts and come out with tears in his eyes: 'Don't go in there. We had to kick to tell the dead from the living.'

"That is humanity in the 20th century. People reach such a stupor of suffering that life and death, animation or immobility can't be differentiated anymore ... Folek Sama, your foot had been crushed so that you can't run away, your face is 40, your body is ageless, yet all your certificate reads is 16. And I stand there with my clean clothes and make a speech to you and your comrades.

"Folek Sama, humanity stands accused in you. I, Joe Smith, human dignity, everybody has failed you. You should be preserved in cement up here on the hillside for future generation[s] to look upon and take stock. Human dignity, objective values have stopped at this barbed wire.... As long as conscience exists as a conception in this world you will personify it. Nothing done for you will ever restore you. You are eternal in this respect."

Kissinger remained in Germany until 1947, long after he could have returned home. Writing back to his family in the United States who wished to see him, he said, "I agreed that no matter what happened, no matter who weakened, we would stay to do in our little way what we could to make all previous sacrifices meaningful. We would stay just long enough to do that. Continuing to work with CIC (also in the ranks was author J.D. Salinger), he helped both transition intelligence focus to the Soviet Communist threat and continuing to round up fugitive Nazis and make more pragmatic judgments about other Germans who also remained.

"We have not come here for revenge," one of Kissinger's secretaries recalled him saying, and indeed the complexity of these events lies in a small anecdote. One of the SS guards at Ahlem was Otto Harder, and while he did serve time in prison after the war, it is disturbing that his Wikipedia page today is more about his career as a professional soccer player.

It was "shocking incongruities" like these that faced Kissinger then, and which seem to have defined his life ever since. And whether in Ahlem, or slowly along the way during his time in the army, Kissinger lost his religious faith. On the one hand he did make the familiar point, "There was also the argument that in a world where one's relatives are burnt to death, there could be no God." But the experience of absolute horror carried with it the knowledge that, one might say, the world has to go on, not every perpetrator will be punished, not every murdered man or woman will be avenged, and life from then on will be compromised somehow.

Such realities also seemed to preclude anything like the God he had believed in as a child. These words he wrote to his parents must indeed have shocked them. "To me there is not only right and wrong but many shades in between.... The real tragedies in life are not in choices between right and wrong. Only the most callous of persons choose what they know to be wrong. Real tragedy comes [illegible] in a dilemma of evaluating what is right.... Real dilemmas are difficulties of the soul, provoking agonies, which you in your world of black and white can't even begin to comprehend."

Yet he also made time to visit Fürth, making sure his grandfather's grave there was the "best kept in the cemetery." He also took in a soccer game at the old stadium. "Fürth lost and the referee got beaten up, which was standard practice," he wrote. "The German police couldn't rescue him, so the American military police came up and recused the referee, and one guy sitting down next to me got up and yelled, 'So that's the democracy you guys are bringing us!'"

To have sat in the very stadium he had once been forbidden by law to enter and to know that in part his actions had made such a day possible, indeed possible enough to tell a funny story from his old hometown, provided him with some satisfaction. "I am usually not smug or self-satisfied," Kissinger wrote, "but in Fürth yes."

Author Tim Miller last wrote for WWII History *on the spy network in occupied Paris. He resides in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.*

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By Jim Campbell

National Archives

Caught in the War

The Willamette Bearcats, a college football team, found themselves in the midst of upheaval after Pearl Harbor.

BECAUSE IT WAS SUCH A LONG AND CATACLYSMIC EVENT, WORLD WAR II STILL resonates with so many of us. Books, magazines, movies, television, and other media continue to document the details. However, some stories are missed or glossed over, or simply forgotten.

A football team and a group of boosters and followers from a college in the Pacific Northwest would never forget what happened a day after their December 1941 game in Hawaii.

Willamette University is located in Oregon's capital city of Salem, along the banks of the Willamette River. It was founded nearly 175 years ago, "the oldest university in the West." The school had a highly respected football program under head coach Roy "Spec" Keene. Keene was able to arrange for the Bearcats to play in a Shrine Bowl game against the University of Hawaii in Honolulu on Saturday, December 6, 1941. Willamette was given a $5,000 guarantee—enough to cover the expenses of the trip and still realize a modest profit for the athletic department.

The team knew in advance that it would be going to the islands. Coach Keene was no dummy. He used the trip to Hawaii as a means of recruiting players who perhaps would have been able to play at larger, better known colleges and universities. While recruiting in 1941 was not nearly as complex and competitive as it has become today, players were quite aware of the trip.

Ken Jacobson of the Bearcats said, "We knew what was at stake. We played a little tentatively the week before we were to set sail. It was like we were playing not to get hurt. No one wanted to miss the trip, and we had more trouble than we should have in beating Whitman [College], 28-0."

The Willamette team and party boarded the Matson Line's passenger ship *Lurline* on November 27 after a train trip—a first for many of the players—to San Francisco.

Also aboard the *Lurline* was the San Jose State football team, set to play the University of Hawaii at a later date. That game was never played, an early casualty of World War II.

The Bearcats, victors by large scores in seven of their prior eight games, losing only to the University of Idaho (a member of the Pacific Coast Conference, forerunner of today's PAC-12), would lose the game to the Rainbow Warriors 20-6 on that balmy December Saturday in 1941, but a larger story was unfolding.

As the Willamette Bearcats were sailing west for their island date, a Japanese naval task force under Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto was sailing easterly and stealthily toward a like destination, the Hawaiian island of Oahu, more specifically Pearl Harbor.

Along with the Bearcats, Wayne Hadley and Shirley McKay, whom Hadley would marry in November 1942, were with the Willamette party that sailed in 1941.

They checked into the exclusive Moana Hotel. Hadley explained that Willamette was not being spendthrift. He said, "You have to remember that this was long before all those high-rises you now see. The only hotels of Waikiki were the Moana and the Royal Hawaiian. That was it, not much choice."

Willamette University Archive and Special Collections

TOP: Smoke and flames billow from the stricken battleship USS *West Virginia* in Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.
ABOVE: The Willamette University football team was caught up in the tragic events of the day while in Hawaii to play a football game.

After the *Lurline* docked to an elaborate aloha reception of colorful flowered leis and welcoming kisses from University of Hawaii coeds, the host Shriners conducted a tour of Honolulu and took the team and boosters out a pass to Pali Mountain and the Punchbowl.

Wally Olson, a center for Willamette's "Car-

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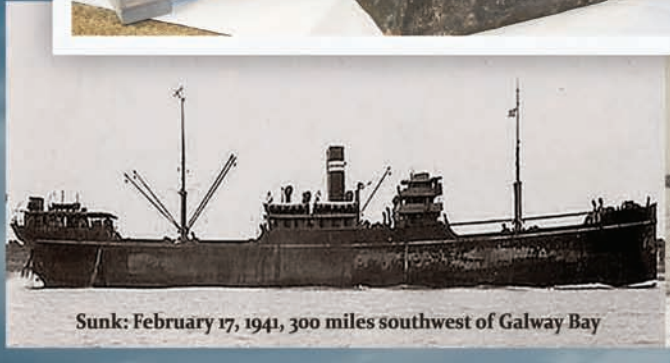
Sunk: February 17, 1941, 300 miles southwest of Galway Bay


German Submarine U-5

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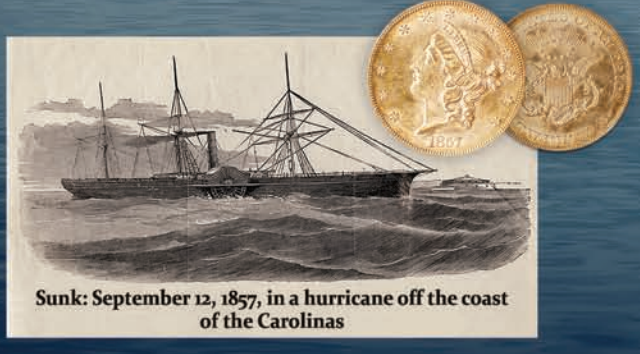
Sunk: September 12, 1857, in a hurricane off the coast of the Carolinas

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Members of the Willamette and San Jose State University football teams and other passengers wave to friends and family on the docks at San Francisco as the steamer SS *Lurline* pulls away on November 27, 1941.

dinal & Old Gold," was not so sure the trip would come off as advertised until actually arriving in the islands. He said, "We expected the trip to be canceled—because of war tensions—right up until we actually set sail, but once we got underway and landed we never thought a sneak attack would occur; the place was just so beautiful and serene. And who would attack such a heavily fortified place? The Army and Navy were everywhere. You couldn't take two steps in any direction and not see a soldier or sailor."

Apparently, Admiral Husband E. Kimmel and General Walter C. Short, the Navy and Army commanders in Hawaii, shared Olson's feelings of false security. While it was felt that the Japanese could or would attack—there had been much radio chatter and even intercepted coded messages from the Japanese—it was the general consensus that the more likely targets were the Philippines or Malaya.

Earl Hampton, a Bearcats fullback, remembers that the game was played at Honolulu Stadium before a crowd of 26,000, about one-tenth of Honolulu's population at the time. "It was a hard fought game. They were bigger than we were, but we played well for about three quarters. We actually scored first, but then they pulled away in the final quarter. Several of our guys were still suffering from seasickness. Remember none of us had ever sailed on an ocean-going vessel. It was freezing when we left Salem; when we got to Honolulu, it was 85 degrees. We still had our sea legs and just ran outta gas."

Marshall Barbour's impression of the game was mostly one man, Nolle Smith, known as "the fastest man in the islands." Smith, a slim but swift, 160-pound halfback, could really run, according to Barbour. He said, "He was quick and shifty. We saw a lot of him, from the rear, all day."

Tackle George Constable echoed Barbour,

"You ask what I remember most from the game—simple, seeing the back of Nolle Smith's jersey all afternoon.

"But Ted Ogdahl made the play of the day. If ESPN had existed, it would have made the top 10. He tackled Smith from behind after a long chase. Still don't know how he did it. He was not a sprinter, though he was a much better than average halfback.

Ogdahl later coached the Cardinal & Old Gold for 20 successful years, 1952-1971.

The mercurial Smith also impressed center Pat White, "I thought I had him [Smith] once. I was covering him on a flat pass. He was up in the air, both feet off of the ground, and I drove my old leather helmet right into him, thinking I really nailed him. Funny, I felt the collision more than he did. Al Walden, Chuck Furno, and Ogdahl were our best backs—they were very good football players. But Nolle Smith and his team were just better than the ol' Cardinal & Old Gold that day."

White recalled the next fateful day. "We were up early on Sunday the 7th to take a scheduled bus tour of the island and then picnic on the North Shore with a group of U of H coeds. But the bus never showed. Some Army MPs herded us back to the hotel."

Halfback Furno had similar recollections. "The Army and the Navy were just about everywhere around our hotel, telling us where to go and what to do, but we didn't know what all the hustle and bustle was about at first."

Hadley and McKay were also waiting for the bus that never came. Hadley said, "We began to hear stories that the bus wasn't coming, just that it wasn't coming—no explanation. So, Shirley and I decided take a walk down to Waikiki Beach for a swim. We began to see offshore splashes and airbursts, but like so many others, we thought it part of Navy maneuvers. Shirley remarked 'how realistic' they looked. Neither of us realized we were eyewitnesses to the start of World War II for the United States. Mostly, we just heard the noise—planes flying, bombs dropping, explosions. Pearl was only about eight miles away. It was a sight we'll never forget."

Constable had a much different perspective on the early Sunday morning attack. "We were on the roof of the Moana watching what we thought were pretty authentic maneuvers. We heard shells exploding, saw splashes in the water, but were kind of oblivious as to what was really happening. Ironically, I had a Kodak box camera in my room, but I wasn't going to go down to get it just to take snapshots of 'practice runs.'"

White remembered what happened once it was evident that the Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor was under attack. "Coach Keene quickly 'volunteered' our services to the Army. We were all issued rifles. Even though we were mostly rural kids from Oregon, we hadn't had much experience with guns. We were given the most basic of instruction, nothing too detailed about the use of the weapons, which were from World War I."

"Mush [Barbour's nickname] and I went down to Waikiki Beach to string barbed wire. We dug some trenches, too. It wasn't too far-fetched to think that a Japanese landing force was set to invade. Later machine-gun emplacements were set up. Some of us protected them. Still later we went with some others to stand guard at the Punahou School up in the hills. The Army Corps of Engineers had taken over the school as their headquarters and used it as an ammo depot."

While White and Barbour were pulling guard duty that Sunday evening at Punahou, White recalled a scary incident. "We were standing guard at a water tower, and our relief, two other Bearcats, came down the hill early. We had expected them to come up the hill. Mush and I both thought that Jap paratroops had landed and we were about to be 'duck soup.' We might have shot them, or at least shot at them, had we not recognized them in the flashlight beams. I guess, like everyone else, we had itchy trigger fingers."

Olson also saw splashes while eating breakfast at the Moana. His waiter told him what he saw were "just whale spouts." Olson said, "We were just farm boys and lumberjacks, but after about dozen eruptions in the water we knew that something was up and it wasn't good. There couldn't be that many whales out there."

Glenn Nordquist was a 200-pound freshman tackle for the Bearcats. He said, "When I was a teenager, I decided that I would study for the ministry, but then I had some success as a high school football player and thought that that was for me. That's what I wanted to do. Coach Keene's pitch of a trip to Hawaii sealed the deal for me. But I would soon learn differently. While walking guard at Punahou at night, I had a very long and personal talk with the Lord, and I knew what I had to do. After returning to Willamette and finishing my freshman year, I transferred to Bob Jones University in Greenville, South Carolina. I graduated, went to seminary, and became a pastor."

In his ministry throughout the Northwest, Nordquist, later a prison chaplain in Florida, made an unlikely acquaintance. He was surprised to find that he was on the same program at a youth rally at a small Oregon Baptist church as Captain Mitsuo Fuchida, the pilot who led the first wave of the attack on Pearl Harbor. Fuchida had converted to Christianity not long after the war was over and was on a speaking tour of the United States.

Hampton related a close call during the attack. "I was out on the street when I heard and saw a big explosion about two blocks away. I figured it was one of the Japanese dive bombers dropping his last bomb before leaving the attack. Believe me, I knew then and there that we were in a real shootin' war!"

The uncertainty of what was actually happening as the United States was pulled into World War II led to some odd situations. Ogdahl recalled a night of guard duty. "We were all a little trigger happy, even those who had little or no experience with firearms. There were lots of coconut trees around the school, and occasionally a coconut would drop and make 'clunking' noise. We couldn't be sure what it was, but we were ready to shoot first and ask questions later, as they say in the old Western movies. Luckily, no one was shot, but it was a little scary."

The Willamette party stayed on Oahu for 10 days doing what they could to support the war effort. The players continued to walk guard around the clock, six hours on, four hours off. The relatively few women of the party helped by assisting nurses at the Tripler Army Hospital in caring for wounded and burn victims.

Shirley McKay was one of those assisting. She said, "We helped with a group of children who were wounded by stray shrapnel walking to Sunday School. We fed them, read to them. We did what we could to ease their fears and comfort them."

Later, while sailing back to San Francisco, the Willamette women also helped with the wounded. Shirley recalled a young sailor who had lost an arm. "He said that he was a baseball pitcher and wondered how he was going to pitch with one arm—it was heartbreaking, but just one of many sad stories." Ms. McKay was the daughter of state senator Douglas McKay, later Oregon governor and President Dwight Eisenhower's Secretary of the Interior.

Coach Keene was in a quandary. How do I get my team and the rest of our group back to the States? After scrambling for a solution, the answer came in the form of a luxury ocean liner, the *President Coolidge*. The ship sailed into Honolulu with refugees from the Philippines. There wasn't much room. The ship already had 400 more passengers than the intended 800 capacity. Keene used his considerable powers of persuasion to wrangle space for his Bearcats and the rest of the group. In exchange for accommodations in steerage, the Willamette group would attend to the 150 wounded servicemen, mostly serious burn victims and amputees, being evacuated to the mainland. The *Coolidge* set sail on December 19.

The men and women of Willamette did what they could. Both assisted in the care of the wounded. The men helped out by moving them. The women continued to assist the overworked nurses in changing dressings or sometimes just providing a sympathetic ear or writing a letter home to assure worried families that their boys had at least survived the initial attack.

Goodman, who made Little All-America that fateful season, was a versatile athlete, lettering also in baseball, basketball, and track and field. He echoed the concerns of the other players when he said, "We were in steerage, which is below the water level. We heard of ships being torpedoed by Japanese submarines and knew that we wouldn't have much of a chance if we were hit by one. For that reason, after about two days out, many of us took to sleeping out on the open deck rather than going below.

"When we started out from Honolulu, we were accompanied by destroyer escorts. As we got closer to San Francisco actual destroyers guided us in the open waters. Another tactic, one that led to a longer and more apprehensive voyage, was that the ship would change course about every 15 minutes—zigzagging to

make ourselves less of a target for the enemy subs as the shipping lanes narrowed as we neared San Francisco."

Jacobson recalled, "As we got closer to port, we could pick up radio. There were broadcast reports of Japanese submarines sinking ships in the Pacific. On the last night out before reaching port, I don't think any of us slept much, if at all."

McKay recalled sighting the California coast. "We were still several miles out to sea, but we could see land. California never looked so good. We were all elated, not to mention thankful. I'm not sure how it started, but we all started singing a popular song of the time, 'California Here I Come.' I know we were off key, but to us we were as good as the Andrews Sisters. As we sailed under the Golden Gate Bridge, a special feeling came over all of us. I'll never forget it."

Perhaps not all the crowd that gathered at the dock were there to welcome the Willamette team and followers, but a welcoming group of about 1,000 was on hand, waving and cheering as the *President Coolidge* docked. Of course, family, friends, and well wishers from Salem, Oregon, were there. Joy, relief, and gratitude were just some of the emotions that were expressed as loved ones returned safely. The ship's arrival on December 25 made it a special and unique Christmas Day.

The celebration continued on the train trip back to Salem. Illustrative of the spirit of the times, all 28 members of the Bearcats team enlisted in the armed service shortly after arrival back home. Only Bob Reader, killed in action, did not survive the war.

The president of Willamette, Carl Knopf, received a letter from Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox commending the Cardinal & Old Gold players for their service during and after the Pearl Harbor attack.

In 1997, the Bearcats team of 1941 was inducted en masse into the Willamette University Athletics Hall of Fame. Ted Ogdahl, Marvin Goodman, coach "Spec" Keene, and assistant coach Dick Weisgerber were inducted previously on an individual basis.

Also included in the team's induction were Wayne and Shirley McKay Hadley.

Marvin Goodman's wife, Gloria, related the thoughts of her husband and undoubtedly others. "Marvin, and I'm sure other players and members of the Willamette party, wondered how many of the soldiers and sailors who watched them play on Saturday were casualties of the Pearl Harbor attack on Sunday."

Author Jim Campbell is contributing to WWII History *for the first time. He resides in Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania.*

Back to BATAAN

BY NATHAN N. PREFER

CLEARING THE JAPANESE FROM THE PENINSULA ON THE ISLAND OF LUZON PROVED A DIFFICULT TASK AFTER GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR RETURNED TO THE PHILIPPINES.

TROOPS OF THE IMPERIAL JAPANESE ARMY soon followed. Hong Kong fell on Christmas Day. In China, Shanghai fell the first day. Guam was occupied on December 10. Two months later, Singapore, the British "Gibraltar of the Pacific," fell to the Japanese. The United States Marine garrison on Wake Island repulsed the first Japanese attempt to seize that tiny atoll in the middle of the Pacific, but it, too, finally fell on December 22.

For reasons never satisfactorily explained, the Japanese caught the United States Army Air Forces units in the Philippines on the ground late on December 8. That airstrike effectively removed General Douglas MacArthur's air assets from the campaign, although those remaining fought to the end with great courage and skill against an overwhelming force. With air superiority now assured, the Imperial Japanese Army landed troops on Bataan Island on December 8. More troops were landed at Aparri and Vigan on December 10. These landings on northern Luzon were weakly opposed, the untrained and ill-prepared Philippine Army units simply unable to handle the onrushing Japanese.

From the Palau Islands additional landings were made on December 12 at Legaspi. The island of Mindanao was invaded, also from the Palaus, on December 20. Jolo Island was invaded Christmas Eve. The main Japanese landings in the Philippines also came Christmas Eve at Lingayen Gulf on Luzon between San Fernando and San Fabian. These new troops—43,110 men of the 14th Army—quickly made contact with those coming from north of Luzon and pushed away the Filipino troops protecting the gulf beaches. The American and Philippine forces on Luzon were now faced with enemy troops advancing from the north and south. General MacArthur's earlier plan to defend Luzon at the beaches was no longer viable.

This was quickly realized, and as early as December 12 MacArthur had advised Philippine President Manuel Quezon to be prepared to move the seat of government to Bataan and evacuate the capital city of Manila. Unwilling to concede his home to the

In this detailed painting by artist Rick Reeves titled *Avengers of Bataan,* soldiers of the U.S. 38th Infantry Division advance toward Japanese positions while under heavy fire during the bloody battle for Zig Zag Pass.

Naval History and Heritage Command

THE HORRIFIC DETAILS OF THE EVENTS FOLLOWING THE SURRENDER ARE WELL KNOWN. THE BATAAN DEATH MARCH AND THE BRUTAL CONDITIONS OF THE PRISONER OF WAR CAMPS AND "HELL-SHIPS" TO JAPAN ARE WELL DOCUMENTED. BATAAN ITSELF REMAINED LARGELY IGNORED BY THE JAPANESE ONCE THE AMERICAN AND FILIPINO FORCES SURRENDERED THROUGHOUT THE ISLANDS.

enemy, MacArthur delayed issuing the order, but the continued advance of the Japanese from both directions and the lack of effective air or naval support forced his hand. By December 23, the decision was made and the necessary orders issued. General MacArthur's headquarters issued the order, "WPO-3 in in effect."

War Plan Orange 3 was one of several prewar plans dealing with potential enemies of the United States in the event war broke out. Each potential enemy was given a different color, and the plans were numbered accordingly. The Orange War Plans were directed at Japan, and WPO-3 covered the defense of the Philippines. It assumed that Japan would attack without a declaration of war and with less than 48 hours warning. Such conditions would make it impossible for the United States to send reinforcements to the Philippines before the Japanese struck. The defense, therefore, would have to be conducted by the American and Filipino forces already in the islands until the United States could force a path to send reinforcements. The Philippine island of Luzon was expected to be the main Japanese objective. Its wide plains already supported many military airfields, and Manila harbor was ideal for both naval and merchant shipping.

Under WPO-3, the mission of the Filipino garrison was to hold the entrance to Manila Bay and deny its use to the Japanese until relieved by forces from the United States. They were to immediately establish themselves on the Bataan Peninsula after moving all their supplies, equipment, and ammunition to the peninsula. General MacArthur had initially ignored this plan and tried to hold as much of Luzon as he could, only to find that he could hold none of it outside Bataan and the several fortified islands in Manila Bay, including Corregidor. But his delay had disrupted his own schedule. The last minute rush to move troops, supplies, and equipment into Bataan left far too much behind.

The defense of Bataan began on January 7, 1942, when Maj. Gen. Jonathan Wainwright assumed command of the West Sector of the Bataan Defense Force. Later renamed the I Philippine Corps, General Wainwright's corps shared the responsibility for Bataan with Maj. Gen. George M. Parker, Jr., whose II Philippine Corps held the eastern sector of the defenses. Once all the units were in position, General MacArthur reported to Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshal in Washington, "I am on my main battle line awaiting general attack." The Japanese soon obliged General MacArthur and for the next four months pounded his troops with air, artillery, tank, and infantry attacks. Because of the lack of sufficient supplies, particularly food, the troops became steadily weaker, sicker, and less able to hold their defenses. By April there were 12,000 patients in the understaffed and underequipped hospitals, many lying out in the open, there being insufficient facilities to house them.

General Wainwright had assumed command when General MacArthur was ordered to Australia to command the growing American buildup there. He now commanded all forces in the Philippines from the fortified island of Corregidor in Manila Bay. Things on Bataan were deteriorating rapidly. The Japanese had broken

through the last defensive line. There were no combat-viable units left to Maj. Gen. Edward P. King, Jr., who now commanded on Bataan. Despite orders to counterattack, General King decided to surrender to prevent any more deaths among his troops. General Wainwright, under specific orders from MacArthur not to surrender, objected. Having no other reasonable choice, King surrendered the 78,000 men of the Bataan Defense Force on April 9, 1942. The first Battle of Bataan had ended.

The horrific details of the events following the surrender are well known. The Bataan Death March and the brutal conditions of the prisoner of war camps and "hell-ships" to Japan are well documented. Bataan itself remained largely ignored by the Japanese once the American and Filipino forces surrendered throughout the islands. Having opened Manila Bay and Manila itself, both of which became major supply points for their advances farther south and east, Bataan had no importance to them.

Not so General MacArthur. Upon arrival in Australia, he had made his famous declaration concerning the Philippines: "I shall return." No sooner had he settled in Australia than he began to plan and organize that return. It would be a long and bloody road. The years 1942, 1943, and early 1944 were spent struggling up the New Guinea coast, seizing the Solomon Islands, the Admiralty Islands, Hollandia, Biak, Sansapor, and many other heavily contested battlefields from the now retreating Japanese. It was not until October 20, 1944, that MacArthur was able to make good his promise, when under his command Lt. Gen. Walter Krueger's Sixth U.S. Army landed on Leyte in the central Philippines. That bloody and difficult struggle lasted for three months, but MacArthur was already planning his return to Luzon and, of course, to Bataan.

General MacArthur's plans for recovering Luzon changed many times because of the evolving military situation in the Pacific. However, he had always planned for the main invasion force to land at Lingayen Gulf, over the same beaches the Japanese had invaded the island in 1941. General Krueger's Sixth U.S. Army would land its X and XXIV Corps there once they had been relieved by Lt. Gen. Robert L. Eichelberger's Eighth U.S. Army on Leyte. Lingayen Gulf provided direct access to General MacArthur's main objectives on Luzon, the Central Plains, and the Manila Bay region. Subsidiary landings were to be made at several other sites on the island, many of them identical to those used by the Japanese. Not all of these would actually be executed due to changing military circumstances.

One of those changing circumstances was the unexpectedly fierce Japanese defense of Manila. MacArthur expected that the Japanese would, as he himself had done, declare Manila an "open city" and abandon it. Although the senior Japanese commander in the Philippines, General Tomoyuki Yamashita, planned to do exactly that, his subordinate senior naval commander decided otherwise and conducted a brutal, bloody, and tragic battle for the city. This delay placed a great strain logistically on the Sixth U.S. Army, since until Manila Bay was available its supplies, equipment, and reinforcements had to come across the invasion beaches and through a smaller base at Nasugbu Bay, which had just been seized by the 11th Airborne Division.

By the conclusion of the battle for Manila, the XIV Corps had cleared the eastern shore of Manila Bay. But to ensure the security of Manila harbor it would be necessary to occupy the Bataan Peninsula, which formed the bay's western shore. Although Maj. Gen. Charles P. Hall's XI Corps had landed recently northwest of Bataan, it had not yet advanced into the peninsula. General Krueger asked MacArthur what his plans were for Bataan.

MacArthur had originally thought that General Yamashita would withdraw his forces into Bataan and make his stand there. However, Yamashita did not follow MacArthur's plans. His orders were to hold as long as possible to occupy American forces that might otherwise be used to invade the home islands of Japan. Yamashita saw Bataan as a trap in which his troops could be penned, releasing most of the American forces for other objectives. Instead, he left behind delaying forces and withdrew slowly into the deep recesses of the mountainous interior of Luzon, where he would hold out with significant forces until the end of the war.

Unaware of General Yamashita's views on Bataan, General MacArthur instructed his staff to capture Bataan as soon as possible. With his XIV Corps still heavily involved in clearing Manila and that shore, Krueger gave the Bataan assignment to the XI Corps. Its commander, Maj. Gen. Charles Philip Hall, was born in Sardis, Mississippi, and attended the University of Mississippi before graduating from West Point in 1911. Commissioned in the infantry, he served with the 2nd Division in France during World War I, where he earned a Distinguished Service Cross and several Silver Stars. Wounded in action, Hall returned and between the wars graduated from the Command and General Staff School and the Army War College. At the outbreak of World War II, Brig. Gen. Hall was with the 3rd Infantry Division. After briefly commanding the 93rd Infantry Division, he was promoted to command of the XI Corps in 1942.

General Hall's XI Corps consisted of the 38th Infantry Division reinforced with the 34th Infantry Regimental Combat Team from the veteran 24th Infantry Division. Originally prepared to land at Vigan, 100 miles north of Lingayen Gulf, the operation had been cancelled in fear of a strong Japanese air reaction from For-

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ABOVE: During the liberation of the Philippines on January 29, 1945, American troops are welcomed by the townspeople in the village of San Marcelino on the Bataan Peninsula. The land campaign to wrest the Philippines from Japanese control began in the autumn of 1944. OPPOSITE: In this April 3, 1942, photo, Japanese soldiers move forward on foot and aboard vehicles during their victorious onslaught in the Philippines. The Japanese occupation of the Philippines was completed with the surrender of American and Filipino troops on the Bataan Peninsula and the island of Corregidor.

mosa. Intelligence that Filipino guerrillas had already taken control of much of that area reduced the threat of a flank attack against the Lingayen beachhead. Instead, XI Corps was ordered to land on the Zambales coast of Luzon northwest of Bataan. The plan was for XI Corps to cut off any Japanese attempt to withdraw significant forces into Bataan. A secondary mission was to secure airfields in the San Antonio-San Marcelino area for Allied use. Third, XI Corps was to strike the right rear of a large Japanese force, known as the Kembu Group, which was still delaying the XIV Corps clearance of Manila Bay.

Intelligence reports placed some 13,000 Japanese troops in and around Bataan. About 8,000 of these were within the peninsula itself, the remainder protecting the northern approaches. In fact, there were only about 4,000 troops in Bataan. These were the understrength 39th Infantry Regiment, 10th Division. This unit had been ordered to Leyte, but before it could leave Luzon, Leyte had fallen to the Americans. General Yamashita had then diverted the regiment to Bataan. Commanded by Colonel Sanenobu Nagayoshi, the two infantry battalions were reinforced by two provisional infantry companies, a platoon of light tanks, a reinforced artillery battery, and smaller Army and Navy base defense detachments. Known to the Japanese as the Nagayoshi Detachment, it was nominally under the command of the Kembu Group, which had ordered it to withdraw from Bataan. Unfortunately, XI Corps cut its withdrawal route before Colonel Nagayoshi could exit the Bataan peninsula.

Nagayoshi had no choice but to prepare to defend himself. He assigned his 3rd Battalion, 39th Infantry with the tanks and most of the artillery, to block Route 7, which ran along the base of the Bataan Peninsula. One provisional company garrisoned Olongapo, a former American base. A company of the 2nd Battalion, 39th Infantry, defended San Marcelino Airfield, while the rest of the detachment held scattered outposts along the eastern, western, and southern shores of Bataan. Coming at the Japanese were some 40,000 American troops of the XI Corps, including 5,500 Army Air Forces engineers preparing to restore San Marcelino airstrip. Covered by elements of the Seventh U.S. Fleet and Fifth Army Air Force planes, the XI Corps landed on January 29 with no bombardment, having learned from Filipino guerillas that there were no Japanese defenders in the area. Indeed, the first waves of assault troops were greeted by cheering and waving Filipinos who quickly lent a hand unloading supplies.

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American artillerymen fire their heavy 155mm "Long Tom" cannons at Japanese positions in support the 38th Infantry Division on the Bataan Peninsula.

Major General Henry Lawrence Cullem Jones had commanded the 38th Infantry Division since April 1942. A native of Brokenbow, Nebraska, he had been commissioned into the cavalry after graduating from the University of Nebraska. He had attended the Command and General Staff College, the Army War College, and the Field Artillery School before assuming command of the division, which was formed from the National Guards of Indiana, Kentucky, and West Virginia. Although the 149th Infantry Regiment of the division had participated in repelling a Japanese airborne counterattack on Leyte, this was the first combat action for the full division.

Even as the Filipinos helped unload the transport ships, General Jones ordered Colonel Winfred G. Skelton's 149th Regiment to rush inland and seize San Marcelino Airfield. This they did, only to find Filipino guerrillas under Captain Ramon Magsaysay already in possession of the field. Nearby, the 34th Regimental Combat Team, under Colonel William W. Jenna, reinforced by the 24th Infantry Division's Reconnaissance Troop, also rushed forward along Route 7 to the north shore of Subic Bay, reaching it before nightfall. No serious Japanese opposition was encountered. Indeed, the only casualty during the day was one enlisted man of Company F, 151st Infantry Regiment, who was gored by one of the ill-tempered Filipino carabaos.

But the Japanese knew the Americans were there. Second Lieutenant Hiroshi Abe, commanding a platoon of 37mm antitank guns posted at Kalaklan Point, reported to Major Horonori Ogawa, commanding the 3rd Battalion, 39th Infantry, that he could see about 40 ships following two American destroyers that appeared to be scouting Subic Bay.

The next day a reinforced 2nd Battalion, 151st Infantry Regiment landed on Grande Island at the entrance to Subic Bay. Lt. Col. L. Robert Mottern's men were pleased to find no Japanese in occupation, and they quickly secured Fort Wint, a prewar American coast defense position. Subic Bay was now secured for American base development. So far XI Corps had had an easy time, the worst difficulty being poor beach conditions that delayed some unloading.

The objective now became cutting off and clearing Bataan, then making physical contact with XIV Corps. General Hall ordered the 38th Infantry Division, less Colonel Ralf C. Paddock's 151st Infantry Regimental Combat Team kept in corps reserve, to pass through the 34th Infantry Regimental Combat Team at Olongapo and drive east along Route 7 using two regiments in mutually supporting advance routes. General Jones selected Colonel Robert L. Stilwell's 152nd Infantry to move east along Route 7, while two battalions of Colonel Skelton's 149th Infantry were to support the main effort along a rough trail that was believed to parallel Route 7 on higher ground. Jones expected that any opposition found along Route 7 would be bypassed by

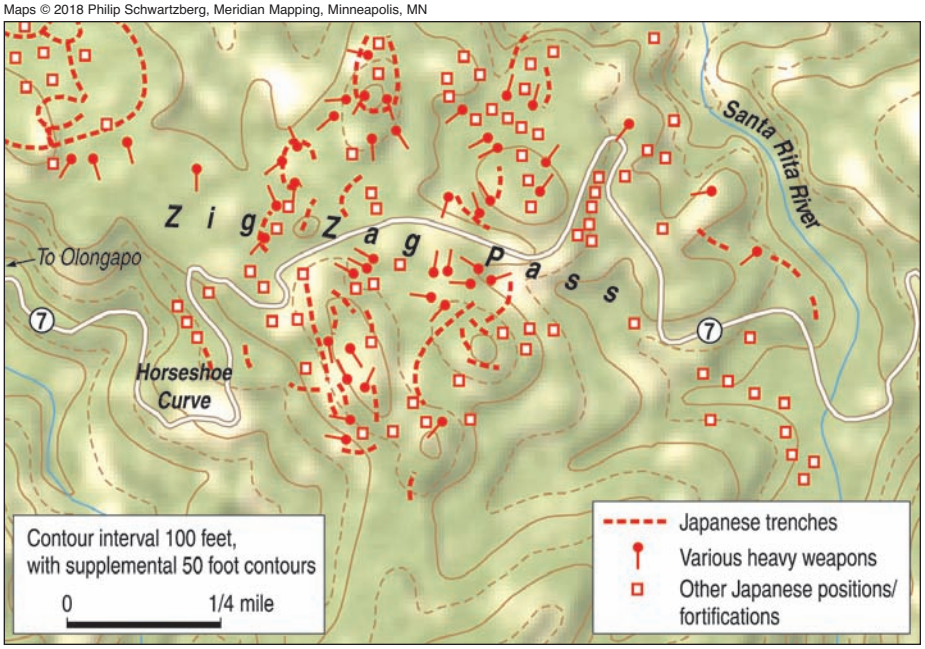
Colonel Skelton's men, forcing the Japanese to withdraw rather than be outflanked. Although Jones set no timetable for the operation, Hall expected that Route 7 would be cleared around February 5.

Despite warnings from Filipino guerrillas under Lt. Col. Gyles Merrill that there were up to 5,000 Japanese armed with machine guns, artillery, tanks, antitank guns, and mortars well dug in along Route 7, the XI Corps staff seems to have largely discounted that intelligence. The 152nd Infantry's own estimate of the opposition indicated only 900 Japanese in front of it as it began its drive along Route 7. In fact, Colonel Nagayoshi had three times that many men dug in and ready for the approaching Americans.

Lieutenant Colonel Edward M. Postlethwait, from Kansas City, Missouri, and the West Point Class of 1937, led the advance with his 3rd Battalion, 34th Infantry Regiment. The advance seized Subic Town without opposition. Then the attached 24th Division Reconnaissance Troop took the lead, followed by the 3rd Battalion in trucks, in turn followed by Lt. Col. Charles E. Oglesby's 1st Battalion, 34th Infantry. The terrain was difficult, with many twists and turns along the road that offered a defender many options for an ambush. This was not ignored by Major Ogawa, and he placed Lieutenant Abe's 2nd Platoon, 3rd Battalion, 39th Infantry in position for just such an ambush near Kalaklan Point.

Armed with two antitank guns and 600 rounds of ammunition, Abe set up near a lighthouse on a projecting spit of rocks. Reinforced with a light machine gun squad under Sergeant Tadashi Ogaki and a second machine gun from the regiment's 10th Company, Abe also had a few engineers under Sergeant Isoo Miyake, who prepared the road for demolition. Extensive trenches and other field fortifications protected the Japanese from the expected American attack. To the Japanese, the ambush site was known as the 'Waters Edge Position." Unfortunately, the guns were sited against an expected landing at Olongapo and, being well dug in, could not fire on Route 7.

Supported by Lt. Col. Thomas Long's 63rd Field Artillery Battalion with 105mm howitzers, the 24th Division Reconnaissance Troop moved forward, followed by Company I, 34th Infantry under 1st Lt. Paul J. Cain. As the Americans advanced, friendly artillery fire fell in front of them. No artillery observer had been assigned to the advance, and so calls quickly went back to Colonel Long's battalion to cease fire. But in the early moments Lieutenant Cain did not know whose artillery was firing, so he



The strong Japanese defensive positions at Zig Zag Pass took full advantage of the rugged jungle terrain. The defenders contested every yard along the American route of advance.

dismounted his men and sent 2nd Lt. John W. McFayden's 3rd Platoon forward to investigate. Seeing the Americans preparing to attack, the Japanese opened fire.

First Lieutenant Richard V. Collopy's 24th Division Reconnaissance Troop immediately returned fire with machine guns and antitank guns mounted on jeeps. Meanwhile, Cain deployed his platoons to clear a cemetery and knock out the enemy machine guns. Unsure of what they had walked into, Cain also called for support. Colonel Postlethwait sent up the 1st Platoon, 603rd Tank Company and the regimental cannon company, the latter with self-propelled 75mm guns. Second Lieutenant Kenneth E. Yeoman's 2nd Platoon, supported by the cannon company guns, cleared the machine guns and advanced toward a bridge. To prevent this, the Japanese engineers blew a hole in the road leading to the bridge, but their effort failed to halt the Americans. Engineers of Company C, 3rd Engineer Combat Battalion, a part of the combat team, rushed forward and placed steel matting over the hole, much to the amazement of the Japanese, who reported the incident as the engineers building a bridge over the hole so easily that even "tanks started forward on the steel plates as if nothing had happened." The battle cost the Americans three men killed and three wounded. Japanese losses were 14 killed.

At this point the 38th Infantry Division was to pass through the 34th Regimental Combat Team and assume the advance. Accordingly, on January 31, the 152nd Infantry assumed the lead along Route 7 while the 149th Infantry turned left and began to follow the trail that paralleled the road. General Hall expected the job to be done by February 5, despite repeated warnings from Colonel Merrill that the Japanese had dug in deep at a place along Route 7 known as Zig Zag Pass.

Zig Zag Pass lay along Route 7 in rough terrain. Colonel Nagayoshi had deployed his men in strong mutually supporting positions for three miles along the road. Here the route twists violently through the pass, following a line of least terrain resistance that animals might have originated. The jungle is particularly thick in the area, so thick that five steps off the highway an indi-

Both: National Archives

An American airman kicks a packet of supplies out the cargo door of a transport aircraft during the 38th Division offensive on the Bataan Peninsula. The difficult terrain required resupply by air, particularly during the struggle for control of Zig Zag Pass.

vidual vanishes from sight. Foxholes linked by tunnels and trenches covered the Japanese positions. Log and dirt pillboxes housed the heavy weapons. All defenses were well camouflaged. Mortars and machine guns were generously supplied with ammunition. Artillery was scattered to avoid American counterbattery fire, but this prevented Nagayoshi from concentrating his own artillery fire.

Early on January 31, the 152nd Infantry moved past Olongapo to a point where Route 7 began its climb into the mountains. Opposed only by scattered rifle fire and long-range machine-gun fire, the advance approached Zig Zag Pass. The following day the attack continued against increasing enemy opposition. Another problem surfaced. So difficult was the terrain and so twisted the road that Colonel Stilwell and his staff had difficulty locating where they were on the already inaccurate maps used by corps and division. Again due to the terrain, the Americans' radios often failed to function or could not reach far. To further hinder communications, the radio code used by the 38th Infantry Division was susceptible to garbling, making successful communications even more difficult. It happened that division and corps believed that the 152nd Infantry had reached and passed a position known as Horseshoe Curve on February 1, when in fact the 152nd Infantry had yet to reach that position. General Hall was less than pleased with their progress.

Lieutenant Colonel Delbert D. Cornwell's 1st Battalion, 152nd Infantry hit the Japanese defenses early. Enemy fire from well-concealed positions on heights overlooking the road halted the advance and forced individual platoons and companies to search out the enemy in almost impossible terrain. As the 1st Battalion moved into the pass, the 3rd Battalion, under Major Harold B. Mangold, came under fire from the rear. Again, the Americans had to disperse and search out cleverly hidden enemy positions. Little progress was made during the day.

After dark a group of soldiers personally chosen by Major Oawa and led by 2nd Lt. Shozo Nakano of the 9th Company launched a series of squad-sized night attacks. Each squad was reinforced with a light machine gun, a heavy machine gun, and a mortar. Their mission was simply to create havoc in the American rear, shooting up tents, vehicles, supply depots, and artillery positions. Armed additionally with Molotov cocktails, bottles filled with gasoline and given a makeshift fuse, they spread confusion and terror among the novice Americans. "That night being our first in the pass, we dug in about six inches. When the first rounds started falling, you could hear mess kits, shovels—everybody using anything to dig in deeper," remembered Pfc. Halbert Smith of C Company. Lieutenant Nakano's attacks caused several casualties in the 2nd Battalion, including the death of the executive officer, Major Shirley N. Duer. Three men were killed, five wounded, and one was missing.

From postwar studies it appears that one company of the 152nd Infantry did manage to reach the Horseshoe Curve on Route 7 during February 1-2, 1945. But they were forced to withdraw when support could not reach them. The Japanese position was already being officially described as a "hornet's nest." The 1st Battalion spent the day trying to identify the Japanese positions and find an approach to them. All three battalions suffered casualties from the repeated Japanese night attacks. By dawn of February 2, the regiment had suffered 12 men killed and 48 wounded, while two were missing. And this was only the first day.

The regiment planned to sweep both sides of Route 7 on February 2, which it believed would smash the way past the enemy defenses and clear Zig Zag Pass. But before this could be put into motion the 3rd Battalion, 152nd Infantry came under fire from a previously undisclosed enemy position to the north. They soon found these defenses strong and were unable to make any progress against them. As it happened, the battalion had attacked the center of Colonel Nagoyoshi's defenses. Because the Japanese had dug in along a line parallel to the road, the 3rd Battalion was forced to the southeast, while the 2nd Battalion, alongside, encountered almost no opposition.

The 1st Battalion remained stymied against the Horseshoe defenses. Again, at dark the positions of the leading battalions of the 38th Infantry Division were reported differently than the positions recorded at headquarters. General Jones believed that all three of his battalions were at or within the Horseshoe position, while in fact only the 1st Battalion, 152nd Infantry was at that point. February 2 had cost the regiment five killed, 26 wounded, and one man missing. The regiment reported that it was only sure of killing 12 enemy soldiers so far in the battle. They had, however, captured a Japanese map giving the entire layout of Colonel Nagoyoshi's defenses.

General Hall had come up front and visited the regiment about noon on February 2. He found the battalions only beginning their attack and was dissatisfied with the manner in which the attack was being conducted. One battalion commander, when asked by General Hall, admitted he had no idea where the enemy was and had only one patrol looking for them. Another had no answer when asked why he had started his attack so late. General Hall advised General Jones that the 38th Infantry Division's progress was the worst he had ever seen. Despite the fact that he viewed only one regiment of the division and that the regiment he observed was in only its second day of combat, Hall made his displeasure known to Jones.

General Jones, who had himself been up front with the leading patrols, was equally unhappy, particularly with the performance of the 3rd Battalion. He relieved Colonel Stillwell and replaced him with the regiment's executive officer, Lt. Col. Jesse E. McIntosh. The situation of the 149th Infantry Regiment was little better. Although not strongly opposed deep in the jungles, the regiment reported itself at a location that aerial observers said was at least three miles in advance of where it actually was. Further, artillery fired in support of the regiment landed so far away, based on Colonel Skelton's reports, that he could hear it but not see it. Radio communications soon failed. In effect, Jones had lost contact with the regiment.

Unsure if the relief would have the desired effect on the 152nd Infantry, General Hall also ordered up the 34th Infantry Regimental Combat Team. The combat team would operate under the direct control of the XI Corps, not the 38th Infantry Division, an unusual command structure. Colonel McIntosh's 152nd Infantry was now to follow behind the 34th Infantry Regiment and mop up bypassed pockets of resistance. When Jones requested the use of the division reserve, Colonel Mottern's 2nd Battalion, 151st Infantry, Hall grew angry and told him he had more than enough troops to clear Zig Zag Pass. Hall, still believing that only a handful of Japanese manned an outpost line of resistance, left Jones, in effect, a regimental commander.

Colonel Jenna's 34th Infantry Regiment came up on February 3 and passed through the 152nd Infantry under mortar and artillery fire. The attack made some progress, but the Horseshoe still defied the Americans. Behind the 34th Infantry, the battalions of the 152nd Infantry sent out patrols, which knocked out several enemy strongpoints.

The attack of February 4 did better, but at dark the Americans had to surrender much of the ground gained to settle into defensible positions. As a result, the actual ground gained was not great. General Jones complained that the demand by General Hall for speed did not allow him sufficient time to make artillery adjustments to clear the way for his troops. That would have been news to the Japanese. Communications Sergeant Tamotsu Nagai of the Heavy Machine Gun Company returned to a forward position after visiting another. He was shocked by the devastation that had hit the area since he had departed. He asked Private Nagaharu Kobayashi, a machine gunner, what had happened. It was explained that when the guns had opened fire American artillery had replied with such force that it had cleared the hill of all trees and most of the vegetation.

Although the 34th Infantry was a veteran regiment that had made an outstanding name for itself, including a Presidential Unit Citation for the 1st Battalion during the Leyte campaign, most of the men who had been with the regiment were no longer present. Including the former regimental commander, some 78 percent of the men who had landed with the regiment on Leyte were now gone, dead, wounded, missing, or ill. It had made more progress than the 152nd Infantry, but it had not, as General Hall expected, broken through. Realizing that divided command was dangerous in such a situation, Hall reattached the 34th Infantry to the 38th Division. But the attack of February 3 did finally convince Hall that his XI Corps was facing a strong Japanese defense at Zig Zag Pass.

A pair of American soldiers occupy a foxhole with a .30-caliber machine gun at the ready while other members of their squad approach. The sluggish advance against the Japanese on the Bataan Peninsula took its toll on the U.S. troops, while the enemy often fought to the death.

General Jones wanted to reduce the Japanese defenses with a methodical and simultaneous attack by battalions of his 152nd Infantry Regiment. The 34th Infantry Regiment would concentrate on the Horseshoe area and reduce it. Because it was so difficult to direct artillery support in the terrain and jungle, Jones limited artillery support to east of the Santa Rita River (also called Jadjad River). This slowed the response time to requests for artillery support.

Colonel Jenna objected to the placement of his regiment between the battalions of the 152nd Infantry Regiment. Instead, he recommended that his regiment take the south side of Route 7 and Colonel McIntosh's regiment take the north side. General Jones denied his request, fully realizing that his methods were much slower than the quick results General Hall was continuing to demand. Jones actually wanted to pull the two regiments back, pound the Japanese positions for two days with artillery, mortar, and air support, and then launch a full two-regiment attack, but the delay would not be agreeable to General Hall, so Jones went ahead with the deliberate attack.

February 5 began promisingly with advances by both regiments. But then the Japanese mortars and artillery opened fire, causing several casualties, and a withdrawal was made again. Colonel Jenna requested that the artillery pound the enemy for a day or two before another attack, buying into Jones's ideal plan, but under pressure from XI Corps Jones ignored the suggestion. In two days of battle, Colonel Jenna had lost more than 325 battle casualties and another 25 as nonbattle losses, more than it had lost in 78 days of combat on Leyte. The regiment was no longer combat effective, and Hall ordered Jones to replace it with his own 151st Infantry Regiment.

The 1st Battalion, 152nd Infantry made good progress on February 5, clearing a ridge held by the Japanese. Enemy opposition stiffened in the afternoon, but progress continued until nightfall, when the battalion occupied abandoned Japanese defenses. But just as the Americans were settling in for the night, Japanese troops armed with rifles and machine guns began to

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The townspeople of Balanga on the Bataan Peninsula turn out to greet soldiers of the 149th Infantry Regiment, 38th Division, steadily advancing against the Japanese. The circumstances of this trek, following the route of the infamous Death March of 1942, were quite different from the earlier tragic event that claimed many American and Filipino lives.

spring up out of some of the concealed holes and open fire. Confusion reigned as the Americans and Japanese were closely intermingled. Supporting fire could not be used, and the men of the 152nd Infantry could not even fire in their own defense since that risked hitting friendly forces all around them. The only way to escape was to withdraw, which the battalion did until they reached the lines of the 3rd Battalion, 34th Infantry. Nine men had been killed and 33 wounded. Company C had lost all its officers, and Company B had but one officer left. By the morning of February 6, no progress had been made in Zig Zag Pass for four days.

There was some good news on February 6. Colonel Skelton reported that his 149th Infantry had reached Dinalupihan and made contact with XIV Corps. The earlier loss of communications had in fact resulted in progress being made. Although recalled three times by General Jones, Skelton had never received those orders. Conversely, Skelton had twice asked Jones for new orders, received no response, and continued his originally assigned mission. As a result, one of the main objectives of XI Corps had been accomplished. The Japanese had been sealed off within the Bataan Peninsula.

Meanwhile, General Hall's dissatisfaction with the 38th Infantry Division had reached the breaking point. The fault lay, he believed, with General Jones' leadership. On February 6, Hall again went up front to observe operations. He found no attack, but the infantry waiting for an air strike, then a scheduled artillery bombardment, before moving forward. When Jones replied to Hall's inquiry that he expected the artillery fire to last most of the day, Hall ordered him to cease the artillery and get the 152nd Infantry moving forward. It was apparently on his way back that General Hall decided a new commander was necessary. He ordered General Jones relieved and replaced him temporarily with the assistant division commander, Brig. Gen. Roy W. Easley. The next day Brig. Gen. William C. Chase was brought over from the 1st Cavalry Division to assume permanent command.

The command change did little to improve ,the battle for Zig Zag Pass. February 7 and 8 were marked by the same halting advances due to Japanese mortar and artillery fire. But unlike General Jones, who had only one regiment under his command, General Chase was soon able to employ all three regiments of the 38th Infantry Division. The 149th Infantry attacked from the east, behind the Japanese. The 151st and 152nd Infantry Regiments attacked together into the pass. Aircraft now flying from San Marcelino Airfield dropped napalm and bombs on reported Japanese positions. Corps and division artillery battalions were moved up and used extensively. Still, the Japanese resisted with their usual ferocity and determination, holding on for another week under an increasing weight of American firepower.

It was not until February 15 that the 149th Infantry and the 152nd Infantry joined hands from their respective sides of Zig Zag Pass. By that time the Japanese had lost almost 2,400 officers and men killed. The 300 survivors retreated deeper into Bataan with Colonel Nagayoshi and held out there, starving and being hunted by Filipino guerrillas. The 38th Infantry Division and the attached 34th Regimental Combat Team had lost 1,400 casualties, including 250 killed, during the battle for Zig Zag Pass.

General Hall still had to clear the Bataan Peninsula. He sent the 1st Infantry Regimental Combat Team, 6th Infantry Division, under the command of Brig. Gen. William Spence, artillery commander of the 38th Infantry Division, down the east side of the peninsula, while the 151st Regimental Combat Team cleared the west side. Opposition consisted of isolated groups of Japanese that were quickly overcome. Colonel Nagayoshi had fewer than 1,200 troops dispersed throughout the peninsula, most at Bagac on the west coast road.

Opposed by guns from Corregidor in the bay, the Americans were able to advance steadily. Small groups of Japanese soldiers were eliminated. During a visit to General Spence's headquarters on February 15, General MacArthur's party advanced past the leading patrols and was nearly wiped out when Fifth Air Force planes requested permission to bomb and strafe his column, believing they had spotted a retreating Japanese force.

Joined by the 149th Infantry and other elements of the 38th Infantry Division, the American forces cleared Bataan during the rest of February. Only stragglers and abandoned positions were found. For a cost of 50 killed and 100 wounded, XI Corps killed an additional 200 Japanese and secured Manila Bay. Colonel Nagayoshi and his remaining 1,000 men holed up in the thickly jungled slopes of Mount Natib, ironically the site of an early Japanese breakthrough during the first Battle for Bataan in 1942. Most of them would die of starvation. In September 1945, Colonel Nagayoshi and the remaining 250 men of his original force of 4,000, surrendered to American military police in a local village.

The 38th Infantry Division continued its war, participating in the seizure of the fortified islands in Manila Bay, then relieving the 6th Infantry Division in the Montalban sector during which they seized Mount Pinatubo, Woodpecker Ridge, the Shimbu Line, Wawa Dam, and Sugar Loaf Hill. By June the division was ordered to clear southern Luzon, mopping up when the war ended.

Nathan N. Prefer is the author of several books and articles on World War II. His latest book is titled Leyte 1944, The Soldier's Battle. *He received his Ph.D. in Military History from the City University of New York and is a former Marine Corps Reservist. Dr. Prefer is now retired and resides in Fort Myers, Florida.*

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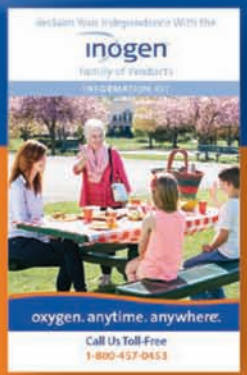

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ACROSS EUROPE WITH THE 101st AIRBORNE

BY CONNIE KENNEDY

National Archives

"Oui." It was one of the few words Norwood Thomas knew in French, and it served him well on the morning of June 6, 1944. After he assisted in the clearing of Causeway No. 1, which led off Utah Beach in Normandy, Norwood spotted a pub in the town of Pouppeville and decided that "the war was over."

Thomas and another soldier went in for a drink to celebrate, and the French bartender asked in broken English if the American forces were in St.-Mere-Eglise. They answered, "'Oui!" and received a shot of brandy. The bartender asked about another French town, and the soldiers again replied, "Oui!" and another shot was poured. This continued for eight or more towns with the soldiers replying, "Oui!" The "Oui" festival ended abruptly when a lieutenant entered and ordered the men to move out.

Some 2½ years earlier, Norwood had been working at an auto shop in Durham, North Carolina, when he heard about the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on the radio. "I was a typical kid, ignorant of politics," said Norwood, just 19 years old at the time of the attack. "But all I knew then was that I wanted to bomb them back to eternity."

Norwood Thomas

ABOVE: Norwood Thomas posed for this photograph in the uniform of an Army paratrooper. LEFT: Loaded with full combat gear, these paratroopers board a Douglas C-47 transport plane in preparation for a jump. Norwood Thomas enlisted in the U.S. Army on March 16, 1942, and was assigned to the 82nd Airborne Division.

Norwood believed that the war would last only two weeks. "I had no idea of how much our resources lacked militarily speaking at the time of the war," he said. "We had just come out of the Great Depression where I had nothing, so looking back, it shouldn't have been a surprise. But it was." The United States had no shortage of men willing to fight as recruiting centers were bursting at the doors and lines were down the block. "Kids lied about their age just to get a chance to fight," Norwood remembered.

On March 16, 1942, Norwood enlisted in the Army. He was later assigned to the 82nd Infantry Division. Since he had worked in the auto shop, he was assigned to the signal company and worked in the motor pool. In October 1942, the 82nd Infantry Division became the first airborne division in the U.S. Army. The 82nd Airborne Division was then split into two divisions, and Norwood, along with half the men, was assigned to the newly created 101st Airborne Division. During training at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, two officers from Fort Benning, Georgia, arrived on base and asked for volunteers to be paratroopers. Norwood, anxious to do something new and earn extra pay, raised his hand. He joined a group of about 150 men in a physical endurance test.

"They ran us until our tongues hung out," said Norwood. "I swear mine was by my belt buckle when we finally stopped." The survivors of the exercise fell back into formation and were asked again who wanted to be a paratrooper. Norwood raised his hand

PARATROOPER NORWOOD THOMAS SURVIVED D-DAY, OPERATION MARKET GARDEN, AND THE FIGHTING IN GERMANY WITH THE FAMED SCREAMING EAGLES.

Both: National Archives

ABOVE: Paratroopers of the 101st Airborne Division check their equipment before boarding a transport plane for the jump into Normandy. Norwood Thomas was transferred from the 82nd Airborne to the 101st prior to D-Day. BELOW: Exhausted American soldiers stop at a roadside café to rest during their advance in Normandy. Note that their unit patches have been obliterated by an army censor. Norwood Thomas also found an open bar in Normandy and went inside for refreshment.

and dropped to do push ups. "Men were dropping out, and those who could keep going, did," he said. Approximately 16 men remained and were sent off to Fort Benning to complete the five-week Jump School.

Airborne training was arduous. Jump School consisted of physical training, parachute education, tower jumps, and five active jumps to receive the coveted jump wings. Active jumps were live from an airplane at regulation altitude. The training was difficult. "It was like they didn't want just anyone there," recalled Norwood. "They were very hard on us because we had to be good. We had to be great."

Norwood completed his program successfully and proudly wore his jump wings and bloused his pant legs into his boots before heading back to Fort Bragg to join the 101st. Paratroopers were identified by the bloused pant legs tucked into their boots as they were the only units allowed to do this to their uniforms. He was assigned to division artillery headquarters with 25 paratroopers and 125 glider men. Norwood became a division radio operator. After attending signal code school, he was part of a communications network to direct fire during combat. A benefit of training at Fort Bragg was its location close to his family home. He was able to visit during weekend leave.

Training continued throughout the next year and a half. "Soldiers trained hard without equipment," said Norwood. "They would do training exercises with a rifle that had been given to the soldiers only for that day, turning in the rifle at the end of each training [session] during those months. The word 'TANK' was painted on the side of a truck to simulate combat in a training exercise."

In September 1943, the 101st Airborne Division deployed to England. Norwood boarded the transport RMS *Strathnaver* and endured an inglorious start to his wartime experience. "The ship broke down three times" he said. "We had to stop in Newfoundland for repairs, only to strike a large rock when leaving the harbor." The men were then placed on another ship to complete the journey to England. It took 45 days to get there.

The division artillery headquarters was billeted in a large mansion at Benham Commons. The men slept 12 to a room while other soldiers lived in stables or other rustic buildings on the property. A regular day for Norwood was a five-mile run, calisthenics, and classes on weapons, field tactics, and first aid. Once a month the men would complete a three- or four-day training exercise simulating battle conditions. "The 101st was a well-oiled machine, and we were ready to fight." Norwood said.

After days of studying maps and sand tables and continuing jump preparation, the order came that D-Day was to take place on June 5, 1944. The men moved from Benham Commons to a makeshift airfield and set up camp to await the jump. There, the men ate like kings. They dined on steaks, pork chops, real mashed potatoes, fresh eggs, and vanilla ice cream. "Oh, I ate! It was good!" said Norwood. Due to stormy weather over the English Channel, the initial jump was postponed. Many anxiously returned to their tents and sleeplessly wondered if the order would come again the next day. It did, so the men gorged themselves again on all of the abundant food.

Norwood equipped himself with a .30-caliber M-1 carbine, 12 clips of ammunition, and three days of K-rations. His radio equipment would be attached to the airplane's fuselage and dropped separately. Once he finalized his equipment, he waited for the order to load up.

Trucks arrived during the day on June 5 and dumped piles of prepacked parachutes onto the ground. The men picked a parachute and

loaded up. As Norwood was putting on his chute, he noticed General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Commander Allied Expeditionary Force, approaching. Eisenhower had come to the airfield to wish the men well. He stopped in front of Norwood and asked, "Were you issued a parachute by serial number as you were with the rifles?" Norwood replied, "No sir. The chutes were dumped off of that truck over there."

Eisenhower thanked Norwood and continued down the line, talking with the men. For Norwood, this was a great moment. "It was good to see him there with us."

At 10:30 PM, Norwood boarded his plane and saw Brig. Gen. Anthony McAuliffe, the division's artillery commander, settling in. Once the plane took off, some men got sick, some slept, and some prayed. "I didn't smoke, and I didn't take the pill they were passing out to help with air sickness," said Norwood. "I was wide awake because I wanted to be wide awake."

The flight was pretty smooth until the plane reached the Cotentin Peninsula and began taking German antiaircraft fire. Norwood was in position number four for the jump. He heard the Jump Master order, "Stand up, hook up." Each man rose when they heard the order, "Sound off for equipment check." They checked the parachute harness and ring that connected to the stack line of the man in front of them. The stick filled with shouts and, in turn, Norwood said, "Number four, ok!" During training, the paratroopers were instructed to count 1,000, 2,000, 3,000 while jumping as the parachute would inflate after the word "3,000." On D-Day, the men were permitted to say "Bill Lee" instead to honor the former commanding general of the 101st.

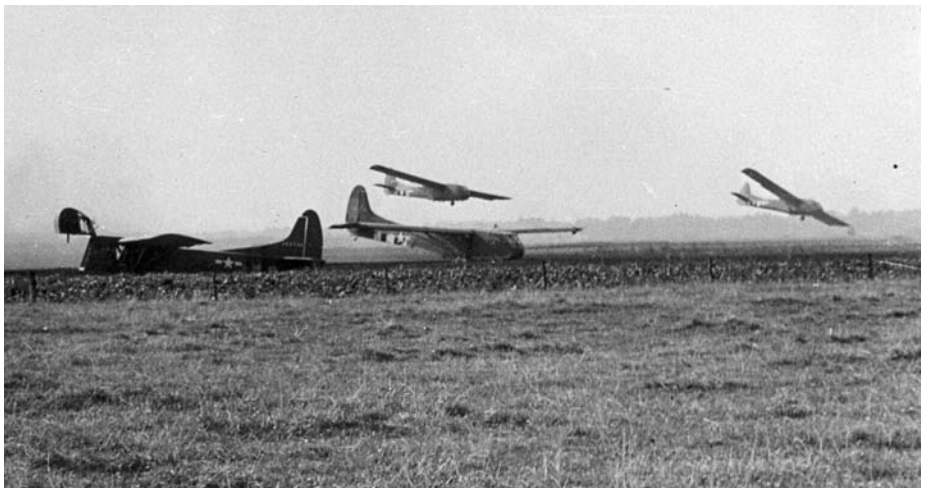
Norwood jumped from an estimated altitude of 400 feet, swayed two times, and landed in a field at 1:23 AM near the French village of Brucheville. He landed in Drop Zone C, two miles south of the town of St.-Marie-du-Mont and cut himself free from the parachute. He saved a piece of it and tucked it into his uniform pocket.

Norwood never saw the fires burning from the town of St.-Mere-Eglise as he landed just south of the town. He could not find a familiar face from the 101st in the field where he landed. He looked for soldiers to help set up division artillery headquarters. He ran into a pathfinder, who pointed his rifle to Norwood's chest and challenged him. The pathfinder believed the 101st was being held in reserve in England. He highly doubted Norwood's explanation that he was a paratrooper with the 101st. After a heated exchange, the pathfinder escorted Norwood to his lieutenant to verify whether Norwood had told the truth. Norwood walked in front of the pathfinder until they reached the lieutenant, and then he told the officer his name, unit, and rank. The lieutenant verified that the 101st did indeed jump into Normandy that morning. The pathfinder escorted Norwood back to his landing site, and they parted ways.

Shortly afterward, Norwood saw his first familiar face. Julian Necikowski, a radio operator who had trained with Norwood, passed by. Norwood asked him to help find radio equipment, and Julian stated that he was ordered to secure the landing area for gliders and had to continue on to complete his mission in time.

Norwood next came across some members of the 3rd Battalion, 501st Parachute Infantry Regiment in the early morning of June 6. The unit had been ordered to clear Causeway No. 1 leading off of Utah Beach so that the infantry arriving that morning could move inland. Norwood was ordered to join the mission, and so he took three rounds of ammunition and his rifle to begin the work. He shot at many German soldiers that morning, most within 100 yards. "I did not feel like I was shooting at a human" he recalled. "I felt like he was an object." Norwood also thought to shoot at the insulators on telephone poles to interfere with

Both: National Archives



ABOVE: On September 18, 1944, the second day of Operation Market Garden, the primary Allied airborne traffic consisted of gliders carrying troops and equipment. In this photo a serial of gliders is coming to rest at Landing Zone W. BELOW: Paratroopers of the 101st Airborne Division, who have recently jumped into Holland during Operation Market Garden in September 1944, inspect the wreckage of a glider that has crashed on landing.

German communications, thanks to his knowledge of radio communications. They made a popping sound when shot. Causeway No. 1 was cleared successfully by 10 AM.

Norwood then received orders to continue to Heisville to establish division artillery headquarters. He found his radio equipment in a field the next day when he used a homing device. Half drunk from the multiple shots of brandy at the French pub in Poupeville, he made his way across the Norman countryside, climbed through hedgerows, and walked in roadside ditches. Later in the day, Norwood reunite until two weeks later. The fighting was hard, but Norwood was not wounded. He focused on the fight and had a strong desire "to kill anyone in enemy uniform." He had no remorse for killing Germans because of what they had done to "our guys." He was indifferent to the enemy and said he would have felt the same way had he fought in the Pacific against the Japanese. Killing was part of the job, and he wanted to do the job, win, and go home.

"I always had a feeling I would make it back home alive," Norwood stated. "Even with war all around me the thought never crossed my

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Officers greet one another after the raising of the siege of Bastogne during the Battle of the Bulge. Bastogne was a vital crossroads town that was held against the Germans at a crucial period during the battle. Norwood Thomas spent several days in a hospital in the town before returning to combat.

and some men took a quick rest. He opened a K-ration from his pack and noticed it was dated 1934 and contained a can of dried eggs with meat, dry biscuits, a small fruit bar, a packet of Nescafe coffee, and three or four lumps of sugar. The freeze-dried coffee fascinated Norwood since he had never seen it before. He was also astounded that the meal he was eating was 10 years old.

Over the next few weeks, Norwood joined with more of his unit. The 17 headquarters personnel who had jumped on D-Day did not fully mind that I would not be going home." He worked feverishly with the messages that were constantly sent during those first weeks after the invasion. He knew his job well but was never aware of the messages' interpretations as he specialized in code. While the 101st fought through the French countryside into Carentan, a small Norman town that was heavily defended by crack German airborne troops, Norwood remained in Heisville delivering and sending coded messages for air strikes. After Carentan was secure, Norwood boarded an LST (Landing Ship, Tank) with the rest of the division and returned to England for rest and further training. Prior to jumping into Normandy, the men had been told they would fight for three days and then be pulled from the front lines. The anticipated three days in Normandy had stretched into six weeks.

While back in England, replacements for the casualties sustained in France arrived. "We had more than two years to prepare," recalled Norwood. "There was no time for those replacements to even come close [to the combat prowess of experienced troopers]." But the division needed new men, so Norwood accepted them. All too anxious to go to war, the replacements would ask questions about what combat was like and what the men had seen. They would find out for themselves in mid-September 1944.

In July, a few alerts had come and gone for additional jumps into France, but they never materialized, so the men continued their training. Norwood took leave and visited the coast of England a few times and even took a 10-day trip to Scotland. In early September 1944, the men received orders to return to the fight. Operation Market Garden was the brain child of British Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery, who planned to drop Allied airborne forces into occupied Holland where they would secure roadways and bridges. This would create an armored thrust over the Rhine River, leading to the end of the war by Christmas. It was a risky mission, but General Eisenhower agreed to it.

Norwood, along with the rest of the 101st Airborne, 82nd Airborne, and British 1st Airborne Divisions, dropped into Holland on September 17, 1944. The division artillery headquarters had learned a valuable lesson from D-Day in that it took too long for the unit to regroup since the men jumped from several different planes. For Operation Market Garden, the entire staff, including Norwood, would ride a glider into Holland. On the glider that day, Norwood reveled in the difference between D-Day and Market Garden. First, it was a daylight insertion instead of at night as D-Day had been. Second, it was a gorgeous and quiet day. "You wouldn't know that there was a war going on when we landed," said Norwood. "It was quiet. Everything went as it was planned."

Arduous battles would continue through Holland and in the town of Son, where Norwood and another paratrooper named Bolton were given a bazooka and ordered to take out a German infantry unit approaching the Wilhelmina Canal. After Norwood and Bolton were settled on the northern bank of the canal,

they could see the Germans approach and that they had tanks. Norwood also noticed that there was another small group of 101st paratroopers on the southern bank. Norwood and Bolton began to fire on the Germans, and the enemy tanks began to shoot in their direction. A paratrooper from the southern bank saw that a tank was firing on them, climbed up, and dropped a grenade inside the enemy armored vehicle. Fire from a second German tank quickly downed the heroic paratrooper. The German infantry retreated after the first tank's destruction and Norwood returned to his radio operator duties.

The men had been told that if Operation Market Garden was successful, the war would be over by Christmas. Planning for proper winter gear had been slow. In Mourmelon, France, some men were still wearing their summer uniforms from Normandy. By December, Norwood turned in his equipment and waited for a new rifle. Before the new rifle was issued, the 101st and 82nd, the only reserve forces in the area, were rushed to Belgium. It was dark, so Norwood scrambled for any supplies he could find, procuring another rifle. They drove with the trucks' headlights on (they were usually kept off for blackout conditions) and as fast as they could go, headed out for the next mission. On the way to the town of Werbomont, their orders were changed to proceed to the crossroads village of Bastogne. Norwood had never heard of it but saw a road sign and read, "Bastonga," mispronouncing the name of the town that he would never forget.

Norwood Thomas

Hitler had ordered a large offensive against the Allied forces in the West, and the ensuing fight became known as the Battle of the Bulge. Control of Bastogne, the center of a wheel with six roads leading from it, was key to the outcome. The 101st Division received orders to hold the town against repeated German assaults. They rushed to Bastogne as German forces surrounded the town. Norwood was fortunate enough to be billeted in an old Belgian Army barracks, but continuous German artillery bombardment and probing attacks took their toll.

Norwood Thomas

ABOVE: Norwood Thomas steps away from the spot where he safely landed during a parachute jump at the age of 88, his first since D-Day. Since that time he has jumped on several other occasions, setting a record with Skydive Suffolk in October 2017 at age 95. LEFT: During a return trip to Normandy, Norwood Thomas stands in front of the bar in Pouppeville, France, where he stopped on D-Day. The building has since been converted into a residence.

Norwood was injured in mid-December when German artillery fire struck the Jeep in which he was riding. The vehicle skidded off the road and flipped. When Norwood awoke, he was looking up at a nun. "I had no memory of how I got there; I just saw her face," he recalled. He had injured his back but suffered no broken bones. He was in bed at Bastogne's makeshift hospital for three or four days before he was released. Soon after his return, General McAuliffe, acting commander of the 101st in the absence of General Maxwell Taylor, was given an ultimatum by the Germans to surrender or face annihilation. His response was profound and exhilarating to the men in Bastogne; "NUTS!" Norwood still chuckles about that response to this day. He remembers McAuliffe as an eloquent man.

The Germans, in return, bombed McAuliffe's headquarters, causing Norwood to hastily dig a foxhole. "It was miserable," he reflected. "Just the cold was enough, let alone what was happening all around us. I swore then that I would never live somewhere where it snows. I never wanted to see another snowflake for as long as I lived."

Finally, the weather broke, and supplies reached the men, greatly boosting their morale. Elements of General George S. Patton's Third Army raised the siege of Bastogne on the day after Christmas 1944. Norwood saw the Third Army commander once his army entered Bastogne. "I can see him now and still feel the disgust. Rescue doesn't exist in my vocabulary. We didn't need to be rescued," Norwood said. "Patton brought relief to the men in Bastonge, but not rescue."

From Bastogne, the 101st was sent to Hagenau, France, where Norwood established communications. He ensured that communications from the front lines to division headquarters were intact. By the spring of 1945, Norwood was in Germany, and he could not help but notice the work ethic of the German people. "We would bomb their buildings one day, and the next the townspeople were out at daybreak, cleaning it up. Throughout France and Holland, I hadn't seen that," he remembered.

In April, Norwood was just outside Munich, Germany, when he heard that President Franklin D. Roosevelt had died. "I wondered who was going to lead now that he was gone," Norwood reflected. "I felt like FDR was a great man, and I still think he was the greatest president our country has ever had."

Norwood saw firsthand the horrors of a concentration camp as the 101st assisted in its liberation. He does not recall the name of the camp but speculates that it was Dachau.

Continued on page 74

A Douglas A-24 Banshee dive bomber begins a steep dive during training exercises. The 27th Bomb Group flew worn-out Banshees during its service. Note the dive brakes.

BY SAM McGOWAN

HOSTAGE to MISFORTUNE

The 27th Bombardment Group persevered in combat in the Pacific, much of the time flying worn-out A-24 dive bombers.

IN MAY 1942, the 27th Bombardment Group transferred from Batchelor, Australia, to Hunter Field outside Savannah, Georgia. It was a transfer without men or equipment to the same base from which the group had departed in October 1941 for the Philippine island of Manila. A relatively new unit, the 27th had been formed in February 1940 with personnel from the veteran 3rd Bombardment Group. Both units were based at Hunter and were the U.S. Army Air Corp's only combat groups with a ground attack mission.

While the 3rd, which had formerly been designated as the 3rd Attack Group, operated Douglas A-20 twin-engine light bombers, the 27th reequipped with single-engine Douglas A-24 Banshee dive bombers based on the success of the German Junkers Ju-87 Stuka in Europe. The A-24 was basically the same airplane as the Navy's Douglas SBD Dauntless, except that it was not designed for carrier operations and lacked a tailhook. The rear tire was pneumatic rather than solid as were the tailwheel tires on Navy and Marine aircraft.

The men of the 27th arrived in Manila on November 20 as part of a reinforcement the Army had codenamed Plum. The 27th was one of four Air Corps units that left Hawaii on the transport SS *Coolidge* along with SS *Winfield Scott* on November 6, escorted by the cruiser USS *Louisville.* Although the United States was not at war, tension with Japan led to the crossing being made under blackout conditions. The other units on the ship were the 5th Air Base Group, headed for Mindanao, and the 21st and 34th Pursuit Squadrons from the 35th Pursuit Group, whose headquarters left in a later convoy.

As soon as the group arrived in Manila, its commander, Major Reginald Vance, was moved to the headquarters of the Far East Air Force as chief of intelligence. The assistant group commander, Major John H. Davies, nicknamed "Big Jim," was given command. He was told that the 27th's A-24s would be arriving by ship in mid-December.

Since they had no airplanes, the 27th Group set up a temporary facility at Fort McKinley, the Army post adjacent to Nichols Field. Since it was temporary, they threw up some tents on the parade ground. Once their airplanes arrived, they would move the airfield at San Marcelino on Subic Bay at the head of the Bataan Peninsula. It was a primitive field that backed up to the mountains and was surrounded by brush and trees. Major Davies sent a detachment to work on the strip and start constructing quarters, wooden frames over which tents could be stretched. The rest of the group remained at Fort McKinley with nothing to do. They were finally put to work filling sandbags for revetments at Neilson Field.

It is likely that it was during this assignment that Major Davies and other officers in the group became acquainted with a local civilian pilot by the name of Paul I. Gunn. Gunn was a retired U.S. Navy pilot who was running the fledgling Philippines Airlines from its hangar at Neilson. Davies would later state that Gunn "joined the group in December," but he was only speaking figuratively because until early April 1942 his role was as commander of all air transport in Australia.

Sometime after its arrival, the group was given four nearly worn-out Douglas B-18s so the crews could get in flying time and start becoming familiar with the area. Since the B-18s were twin-engine airplanes and the pilots had been flying single-engine A-24s, the flights were somewhat hairy. Officially, the B-18s belonged to the 19th Bombardment

National Archives

Group, which required one of their pilots to be on all flights. They flew back and forth between Neilson and their new bases at San Marcelino and Clark Field, which lay some distance north of Manila.

Far East Air Force commander Maj. Gen. Lewis Brereton made it clear that war could break out at any moment. On December 6, Philippines time, Colonel Harold George, commander of V Fighter Command, told the pursuit pilots at Nichols Field in no uncertain terms that war with Japan could start at any moment. He also advised the young pilots that they were in a desperate situation, although it was not quite suicidal. The fighter pilots were already standing strip alert by their airplanes, and at least one squadron had been launched to intercept a formation of unidentified airplanes that was picked up on radar by the new site that had just been installed at Iba on Luzon's west coast.

Since the 27th's airplanes were yet to arrive, the group had no mission. Davies had been informed that the A-24s were en route, but until then there was nothing they could do except work on their new base at San Marcelino and help out around Fort McKinley and Neilson Field. On Sunday, December 7, 1941, the group's officers hosted a dinner at the Manila Hotel for General Brereton. Although Brereton attended the party, he had other things on his mind. He had been told by Admiral William P. Purnell, the senior naval officer in the Philippines, and Brig. Gen. Richard Sutherland, MacArthur's chief of staff, that the Navy and War Departments feared that war was imminent. After leaving the party, which continued until 2 AM, Brereton called his staff together and placed all the airfields on alert.

The Japanese attack came on December 8, Philippines time. Word of the attack on Pearl Harbor reached Manila in the wee hours of the morning, but no specific orders came from Washington for any military action against the Japanese on Formosa. As a safety measure, the 19th Bombardment Group ordered all of the B-17s bombers from the two squadrons at Clark to take off so they would not be caught on the ground by a surprise air attack. Two pursuit squadrons were launched; one from Clark was sent north to attempt to intercept a formation of Japanese bombers that eventually attacked Baguio in the northern mountains, while another came up from Nichols to provide air cover over Clark.

Later in the morning, Brereton received authorization for the B-17s to attack Formosa, and a recall order was sent for them to return to Clark to refuel and arm. The 20th Pursuit Squadron, which had been sent north to Rosales earlier in the morning, returned to Clark to refuel. The squadron was lined up at the end of the runway and beginning to take off when Japanese bombs began falling. Four of the Curtiss P-40 fighters were already airborne, but the rest of the squadron was caught in the bottom pattern.

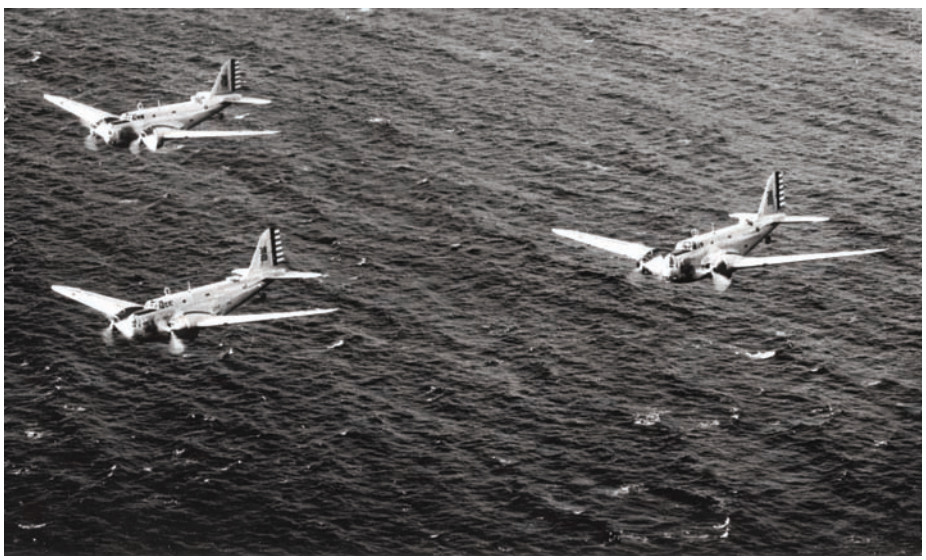
The two squadrons of B-17s were still refueling and rearming. Although they escaped bomb damage, strafing Japanese fighters destroyed or damaged all but three of the B-17s. The Far East Air Force (FEAF) was not wiped out on the ground at Clark, but half its bomber force and most of a squadron of P-40s were. A number of other P-40s were lost that day due to engine problems and fuel starvation. Over the next week FEAF would continue suffering major losses. The majority were due to operational causes rather than enemy action.

The 27th played no part in the air battles in the Philippines simply because they had no planes. Some men served with antiaircraft batteries, and one contingent of 12 of the most experienced pilots was sent to Clark to reinforce the pursuit squadrons that had been moved there. However, those pilots were assigned to ground duty when they arrived.

On December 17, word reached FEAF headquarters that the convoy that had been bringing the 27th's airplanes had been diverted to Australia. Eighteen P-40s were also on the same ship. Major Davies was authorized to take three airplanes from the pool of C-39s and B-18s that had been assigned to Nichols Field and go to

Dana Bell Collection

ABOVE: This Seversky P-35 fighter plane has nosed over during a landing at Clark Field in the Philippines. Like other types flown by the 27th Bomb Group, the P-35 was obsolete during World War II and outclassed by Japanese fighter types. BEOW: A flight of B-18 bombers wings its way over open water. The 27th Bombardment Group flew B-18s while it was stationed in Australia.



Wikimedia

Australia to pick them up. He personally picked 20 pilots and met with them that afternoon at the 27th headquarters at Fort McKinley. They gathered around a table laid with maps, on which Davies outlined the route south to Australia and the proposed return route through the Netherlands East Indies. He advised his men to take no more than 30 pounds of belongings with them and ordered them to tell no one where they were going.

At 8:15 that evening, the group left Fort McKinley for Nichols Field in four sedans. The route took them through the village of Baclaran, which had recently been bombed. Dozens of Filipinos had been killed, along with a number of animals, and the stench from rotting bodies was appalling. They spent several hours in a bombed-out barracks then were awakened at 3 AM to go to the field. They learned that Captain Grant Mahony, a veteran pursuit pilot who had already made a name for himself, was going with them.

After arriving in Darwin, Australia, Major Davies made arrangements for the three transports to fly back to the Philippines with loads of badly needed .50-caliber ammunition. It was not until December 23 that transportation to Townsville and on to Brisbane was arranged for them on a Quantas Airways flying boat. They finally landed on the Brisbane River on Christmas Eve. They were taken by taxi to the Lennon Hotel, where they found beds with fresh linens and decent food.

Davies and his men expected to find their airplanes unloaded, assembled, and ready to go back to the Philippines. What they actually found was a state of confusion. No U.S. military organization existed in Brisbane, and there were no teams of mechanics to assemble the airplanes. The 18 P-40s that had come over were offloaded from the ship and the crates unceremoniously stacked on the docks. No one even knew they were there until several days later when Captain Gunn located them on the docks.

On Christmas Day, Gunn left Manila in one of his Beechcraft planes with a load of FEAF staff officers. General Brereton and his senior staff had left the day before in a Consolidated PBY Catalina flying boat. Two more Beechcraft planes left Manila on New Year's Eve and January 2, carrying pursuit pilots who had been selected for evacuation.

At some point Gunn became involved with the 27th Group pilots and more or less adopted them as his own. For the next four months he spent a good part of his time with them when he was not flying transport missions. There were no mechanics in the 27th Group party, but Gunn, a former U.S. Navy enlisted pilot, had been an aircraft mechanic before pilot training. He had left his wife and four children behind in Manila and they were later interned by the Japanese.

National Archives

TOP: Major General Lewis Brereton was the U.S. Far East Air Force commander during the early days of World War II in the Pacific. ABOVE: Paul "Pappy" Gunn was a civilian pilot and veteran of the U.S. Navy when war broke out. He made substantial contributions to the American war effort in the Pacific.

When Davies and his men finally found them, their A-24s were in deplorable condition. Some of the most critical parts had not been shipped, particularly about half the trigger motors required to operate the forward-firing machine guns. General Brereton recorded in his diary that the Army was aware of the missing trigger motors and sent them out on a couple of B-17s, but the bombers were halted in Hawaii.

It turned out that some, if not all, of the 52 planes had originally been built for the Navy. Their bomb shackles were not fitted to carry Army bombs. It was evidently at this point that Gunn became a part of Davies' team. His mechanical expertise and former Navy background were put to work improvising to make parts function until the proper ones could be delivered. According to Davies, Gunn designed the needed parts and took them to local machine and electrical shops to have them manufactured.

Due to the condition of the planes, the planned reinforcement of the Philippines never took place. The FEAF headquarters arrived in Australia a couple of days after the men from the 27th and began trying to achieve some semblance of order. A few days after he arrived in Darwin, General Brereton moved his headquarters to Java since it was where the Allies expected the Japanese to strike next. Davies was placed in charge of a training section that included pilots who had come out of the Philippines as instructors to train P-40 and A-24 pilots.

New arrivals from the States had little experience beyond flight school. Due to the lack of qualified pilots, only one squadron, the 91st Bombardment Squadron, was manned in time to participate in the disastrous Java campaign. No gunners or mechanics had come from the Philippines, so men were picked from those showing up in Australia. The group started out at Amberly Field then moved to Archerfield, both near Brisbane, before moving northwestward to Batchelor Field near Darwin.

In mid-January, Lieutenant Gerald Keenan, in charge of the pursuit training program, requested some of the A-24s be made available to allow the newly arrived fighter pilots, few of whom had any flight time in high-performance aircraft, to gain some experience in a more powerful but lower performance plane before they started flying P-40s.

The accident rate among the new arrivals was atrocious. Why Keenan's request was not granted is inexplicable. In his denial of the request to convert the squadron, Lt. Gen. George Brett, the senior U.S. officer in the theater, stated that he did not understand why the A-24s were being declared obsolescent. In reality, there was good reason for the declaration as the Banshees were hardly suitable for combat. They were not equipped with self-sealing fuel tanks, which meant that hits in the tanks would result in gasoline leaks that were likely to turn them into flaming coffins. While the P-40s were brand new, with zero time engines, the A-24s had been shipped with engines that were already in need of overhaul. Consequently, they consumed copious amounts of lubricating oil and were incapable of producing full combat power. They had no armor plate, and the gunners in the rear seats were mostly novices. The dive bomber pilots had started referring to them as "Blue Rock Clay Pigeons," after the clay

Dana Bell Collection

This fighter plane of the U.S. Far East Air Force was damaged during an accident on the ground. Spare parts and repair facilities were at a premium in order to keep American planes flying.

pigeons used in aearial gunnery practice.

In mid-February, several A-24s from the 91st Bombardment Squadron moved to Malang on Java. The first deployment consisted of only three airplanes that had just arrived the previous evening. They were led by Captain Edward Backus, an experienced pilot who had spent seven years flying with the airlines. He led the flight through rough weather and found the field at Timor, but the antiaircraft gunners opened up on them. Two of the planes were so badly damaged that they had to return to Darwin for repairs. Backus continued on to Java alone. Eventually, seven A-24s reached their new base at Malang.

On February 19, two A-24 crews made the first dive bombing attack ever attempted by Army pilots and the first with the SBD/A-24. Japanese forces had landed on Bali the day before. Several attacks had been made on Japanese ships by B-17s and LB-40s with little success. There was no bomb handling equipment for A-24s at Malang, and the bombs had to be loaded by hand, a slow process. When an air raid siren sounded, two pilots, Captain Harry Galusha and Lieutenant Julius Summers, whose planes had already been loaded, were told to take off and remain near the field until all was clear. Radio personnel on the airfield overheard the two pilots' conversation.

"Shall we go over to Bali and take a look around?" asked Galusha. "You're the one with a wife and kids—let's go," was the reply. As they neared the island under the concealment of clouds, they spotted a transport and destroyer and peeled off from 11,000 feet. They released their bombs at 3,000 feet, and both observed hits. Fortunately, they caught the Japanese off guard and received little flak and saw no fighters. They headed back to Malang and wondered how their mission without orders would be received. As it turned out, a PBY reported that both ships had been sunk, and nothing was ever said. In fact, they were both recommended for decorations, which were presented by General Brereton when he visited Malang just before the evacuation of Allied air power from Java. The sinking report turned out to be erroneous, but both ships did receive damage from the bombs.

The following day FEAF sent out what should probably be considered the first truly coordinated U.S. Army air attack of World War II. Until this time the dive bombers had only flown one attack mission, and it had not been ordered. The February 20 mission against the ships off of Bali was planned primarily as a dive bombing attack by the seven A-24s of the 91st Bombardment Squadron. Three LB-30s from the 11th Bombardment Squadron, 7th Bombardment Group would provide additional tonnage. Sixteen 17th Pursuit Squadron P-40s would escort the bombers. The mission got underway at 6:15 AM, when the LB-30s took off from Jagjakarta and headed east toward Malang to join the A-24s and P-40s.

The fighters met the bombers over Malang. The formation proceeded toward Bali with the dive bombers at 12,000 feet, the LB-30s at 13,500, and the fighters at 14,000. Immediately after landing the Japanese had captured the airfield at Den Pasar and sent in fighters to protect the invasion fleet. As the American formation approached, an estimated 30 enemy Mitsubishi Zero fighters were scrambled. The Zeros were climbing as the A-24s rolled over into their dives, and the bomber pilots saw the P-40s screaming down to tear into them. Thanks to the fighters, the A-24 and LB-30 crews dropped their bombs unmolested by the Zeros, although antiaircraft fire claimed two of the dive bombers.

THE 27th BOMB GROUP FLEW IN DEFENSE OF BATAAN

The headquarters of the 27th Group did not formally transfer to Australia until February or early March. Except for Davies and the 20 pilots he had brought from Manila in December, most of the group's 1,200 men had remained on Luzon. After Davies departed, the executive officer, Major J.W. Sewell, took command. On Christmas Eve, the group was notified to move to Bataan.

Two days earlier the group's three squadrons had been reassigned to various airstrips to serve as aerodrome troops, refueling and rearming aircraft from the pursuit groups. The 16th Squadron went south to Lipa, while the 17th and 19th moved north to San Bernadino and San Marcelino. A detachment served at Neilson Field, where they were subjected to daily strafing by Japanese fighters. As Japanese ground troops advanced, General MacArthur decided to declare Manila an "open city" and retreat to the Bataan Peninsula in accordance with prewar plans. Although confusion reigned throughout the region, one squadron and the headquarters section managed to assemble as an intact group in the vicinity of the village of Limay, while the other two squadrons were a few miles away at Cabcaben.

Once the 27th moved to Bataan, its days as an air unit were over. Major Sewell took charge of training the men to fight as infantry. For the next three months they fought on Bataan. Six pilots were evacuated to Australia by submarine. Except for them and the original group that flew out with Davies, all the others either died on Bataan or became prisoners of the Japanese when General Edward King surrendered his command on April 9, 1942. All of the survivors became part of the Bataan Death March to Cabanatuan Prison north of Clark Field. By that time the Army Air Forces had officially transferred the 27th Group to Australia.

Lieutenant Richard Launder managed to safely ditch about eight miles from the occupied beaches. He and his gunner, Corporal I.W. Leninicka, made their way back to Malang on foot, by bicycle, and by boat. The dive-bombing attack was successful. The five A-24s that returned from the mission reported 10 hits on four ships. Launder reported two more on what he thought was a cruiser. The LB-30 crews also claimed three direct hits and one waterline hit on a ship that was reported as a cruiser. The P-40s shot down three Zeros and claimed another destroyed on the ground in a strafing attack on the airfield, but they lost four planes during the battle and a fifth cracked up on landing due to battle damage. That pilot survived. Two of the four pilots were rescued, but the other two were lost, including the 17th Pursuit Squadron commander.

By February 24, the Allied high command had realized the situation in Java was hopeless and had decided to begin withdrawing. The senior U.S. commanders in Asia at the time, Generals Brett and Brereton, both believed the best route to attack Japan was through China from India. At the same time, Japanese troops had captured Rabaul in the northern Solomons and were threatening Australia. In the end, Brett would go to Australia and Brereton to India. On that day, Brereton dissolved his FEAF headquarters and departed on an LB-30 for Calcutta. He took with him several of the more competent combat leaders, including Captain Grant Mahony, who had just been given command of the 17th Pursuit, and the 91st Bombardment Squadron Commander, Major Edward Backus. Captain Harry Galusha, who had returned from the unauthorized mission to Bali expecting to be disciplined, was given command of the squadron.

On February 27, three A-24s attacked a Japanese convoy off Java. The naval Battle of the Java Sea erupted beneath them as they proceeded toward the enemy. The three Banshees were all that remained of 11 that had been sent out from Darwin several days before. A fourth was still intact at Malang but had hydraulic problems and could not go on the mission. The squadron commander, Captain Galusha, looked for an aircraft carrier but could not see one, so he elected to go for the transports instead. The pilots returned to report that they had sunk three Japanese transports, but their escorting P-40s only saw one go down.

When they got back to Malang, the pilots found the airfield nearly deserted. Only their own maintenance men and two officers from the 19th Bombardment Group remained. They were supposed to fly their three airplanes out, but one had been shot up so badly that it could not be flown. The next morning, the two A-24s flew across the mountains to Jogjakarta while the rest of the squadron went by ground transport. Fifteen Banshees started for Java. Seven actually got into combat. Eleven of the 15 returned to Darwin.

After the retreat from Java, Davies, promoted to lieutenant colonel, remained at Batchelor Field with the group, which had 29 operational A-24s. About half the shipment of 52 was given to the Royal Australian Air Force. On February 25, while FEAF was engaged in operations in Java, the 3rd Bombardment Group arrived at Brisbane. Although the group had operated Douglas A-20s at its previous station at Hunter Field in Savannah, for some reason its planes were not shipped to Australia. The 3rd found itself grounded. For a month the 3rd had no airplanes and no mission.

National Archives

A flight of Douglas A-24 Banshee dive bombers shows its age in this photo. Although these planes managed to get airborne, many of the A-24s supplied to the 27th Bombardment Group were worn out.

On March 25, 1942, the 27th Bombardment Group appeared at Charter Towers Field, where the 3rd had been sent after it arrived in Brisbane. The 27th consisted of 42 officers, 62 enlisted men, and the 29 A-24s just moved back from the Northwest Territories. The move was the result of a special order from General Brett in Australia, assigning the men and planes of the 27th to the recently arrived 3rd Bombardment Group.

Combining the two groups was met with some temporary resentment on the part of the men of the 3rd. The orders reassigned Colonel Davies to command of the 3rd. Its former commander, Lieutenant James Strickland, was reduced to executive officer but promoted to captain. Davies did not take official command of the group until April 2. During the interim something happened that changed the fortunes of the group and breathed new life into the U.S. bombardment role in the Southwest Pacific.

Gunn had been promoted to major and was the commanding officer of the Far East Air Force Air Transport Command. Shortly after the 27th arrived at Charter Towers, Gunn was on a flight to Melbourne when he happened to spot a ramp full of twin-engine bombers. When he got on the ground, he found a young sergeant named Jack Evans, who told him that the airplanes, which turned out to be North American B-25 Mitchell medium bombers, had recently arrived from the States and had been intended for the Netherlands East Indies Air Force (NEIAF), which had been practically destroyed on Sumatra and Java.

Since the NEIAF was virtually nonexistent, the airplanes were sitting idle. Gunn decided immediately to get them for the 27th Group. He jumped in his Beechcraft and headed north. During the flight he hatched a plan to confiscate the bombers. When he reached Charters Towers, he went to Jim Davies's office and told him about the B-25s.

Davies convinced Brig. Gen. Eugene Eubank of V Bomber Command to write an order authorizing him to go to Melbourne to pick up "the group's" B-25s. The next day Davies took a group of pilots, including Gunn, to Melbourne on the morning mail plane. They returned to Charters Towers with the B-25s. Sergeant Evans returned with them and became Pappy Gunn's sidekick.

Dana Bell Collection

ABOVE: Three pilots, left to right, Captain Harry Galusha, Captain Floyd Rogers, and Major Raymond Wilkins, provided leadership for the 27th Bombardment Group during its service in World War II. TOP: A Curtiss P-40 Tomahawk fighter sits near a runway in the Philippines. Although inferior to the Japanese Mitsubishi Zero, the rugged P-40 was the most advanced American fighter type in service in the Pacific in the early days of the war.

On April 2, Davies assumed command of the 3rd Bombardment Group. He immediately summoned the officers to his headquarters and made some reassignments. Captain Floyd Rogers was given command of the 8th Bombardment Squadron, which would be equipped with A-24s. Captain Herman Lowery was given the 13th Bombardment Squadron, which would receive the purloined B-25s being made combat-ready by Pappy Gunn. Gunn was also affected by the changes; he was relieved of his position as commander of the 21st Transport Squadron and the Air Transport Command and reassigned to the 3rd Group as a maintenance officer. Captain Ron Hubbard took command of the 90th Bombardment Squadron, which also would receive B-25s, while Lieutenant Don Hall retained command of the 89th, destined to equip with A-20s once they arrived in Australia.

Captain Floyd Rogers was not present at the meeting with Colonel Davies. On the morning of March 31, he had been ordered to take his squadron north to Port Moresby, New Guinea, where Royal Australian Air Force No. 75 Squadron had recently arrived with P-40s to defend against Japanese attack.

On the afternoon of March 31, Rogers led 14 A-24s off the strip at Charters Towers and headed north for New Guinea, where they would be the first American combat aircraft to operate from the forward facilities. By the time the formation reached Jackson Field, they were down to eight planes, and two of those collided on the ground after landing and had to be repaired. Four had turned back due to excessive oil consumption by their worn-out engines, and two more mired in the mud at their refueling stop.

Shortly after their arrival, Rogers came down with dengue fever and was sent back to Australia. Lieutenant Bob Ruegg took his place at the head of the squadron. On April 1, Ruegg led five dive bombers on the first mission against Lae—a sixth plane blew a gasket on takeoff and aborted.

The fighters went ahead of the A-24s and reported that Lae was socked in, so they diverted to hit Salamaua instead. They dropped five bombs on the airstrip and then strafed the buildings and some vehicles.

The following morning, Ruegg led another strike against Lae. Two more A-24s had come up from Australia, and the sixth airplane had been repaired so he had eight in the formation. This time the airfield at Lae was in the clear, and they dropped their bombs on either side of the runway. The escorting fighters reported that two planes and two buildings were destroyed by the exploding 500-pound bombs.

Fighters from the Tainan Wing, one of the most famous of the Japanese air wings, intercepted the formation. Three American fighters were shot down along with one A-24 flown by Lieutenant Henry Schwartz. A second A-24 suffered major damage, but the pilot, Lieutenant Jim Holcomb, managed to land safely at Moresby. Ruegg was later awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for operations from Port Moresby. The wording on the citation attributes his missions during that period to B-25s. The planes were actually A-24s.

A few days after the 8th Bomb Squadron began operating out of Port Moresby, the first B-25s arrived. They were sent on a mission against the airfield at Gasmata on New Britain in conjunction with a raid on Rabaul by B-17s and B-26s. The Gasmata raid was successful, and the following day Davies, Gunn, and Lieutenant James MacAfee were called to Melbourne. Expecting to be arrested for the theft of the Dutch B-25s, Davies and Gunn were surprised to learn that they were going to Mindanao. The mission, which became known as the Royce Raid because its commander was Brig. Gen. Ralph Royce, was to bring relief to the men fighting on Bataan and allow a supply convoy to get through. Unfortunately, the commander on Bataan surrendered on April 9, the day before the mission departed, and Japanese forces captured Cebu the following day. Consequently, the mission turned into an attack on the Cebu waterfront and on the port at Davao.

The 8th Bomb Squadron remained in New Guinea through April and flew missions as often as possible against Lae and Salamaua. Because the A-24s were so slow, they suffered heavy losses at the hands of the Tainan Wing pilots. By the end of April, only 14 operational A-24s remained. Fortunately, more Dutch B-25s became available, and the 3rd Group depended on them until they started receiving airplanes from the States. The group suffered a devastating blow on May 14, when six B-25s from the 13th Bombardment Squadron were intercepted by Zeros. All but one of the B-25s and their crews were lost, including the squadron commander, Captain Herman Lowery.

By early July, the 8th had equipped with A-20s. When a Japanese invasion force was sighted off Buna, it was ordered to Moresby with 14 A-20s and 12 B-25s. On the afternoon of July 21, General Brett ordered all available aircraft out on missions against the enemy landing force at Buna. Twelve A-24s under Captain Floyd Rogers led the attack. As they and their escorting P-39s—led by Captain Tommy Lynch—approached Buna, they were intercepted by two dozen Zeros, and a dogfight broke out. Two P-39s and two A-24s were lost; the Japanese fighters disrupted the A-24 attack, and only a few hits were scored on a couple of supply dumps and two barges. A second attack the following day did not include A-24s.

July 29 was a disastrous day for the 8th Bombardment Squadron and the end of the combat career of the A-24 in the Southwest Pacific. Two days earlier Allied intelligence picked up word that a Japanese convoy had left Rabaul headed for Buna with reinforcements and supplies. At dawn, Captain Rogers and seven A-24 crews prepared their airplanes for a dive bombing attack against the ships. Colonel Davies briefed Rogers to concentrate his attack on the Japanese transports. The B-25s would follow up with an attack on the remaining supply ships.

At 7 AM, the seven A-24s took off. They were joined a half hour later over the mountains by 12 P-39s led by Captain Lynch. The formation ran into clouds as they neared the target area, and Rogers radioed Lynch that he was going to have to drop beneath them to acquire the target. Lynch replied that he would bring six of his P-39s down to stay with them while the other five stayed at altitude to provide top cover. During the descent the fighters lost contact with the dive bombers; when the A-24s broke out, their escort was nowhere to be seen.

An umbrella of two dozen Zeros—the feared Tainan Wing—was in place over the convoy. Famed Japanese ace Saburo Sakai was part of the enemy force. Sakai had also been on the mission that accounted for the five B-25s two months before. Now he and his comrades were presented with what he later referred to as "a sumptuous feast" when they spotted the unescorted dive bombers. Within minutes Sakai and his squadron mates downed six of the seven unfortunate A-24s, including Captain Rogers'. Only one crew escaped the slaughter, and the pilot, Lieutenant Raymond Wilkins, would spend the next year avenging his lost comrades. The North Carolina native rose to command the 8th Bomb Squadron and was promoted to the rank of major. He had arrived in Australia in December 1941, in the same convoy that brought the 27th's A-24s, and had joined the group immediately when Major Davies was rounding up pilots.

On November 2, 1943, Major Wilkins led his 8th Bombardment Squadron into Rabaul's Simpson Harbor in one of the most devastating attacks of the war. His B-25 was hit by flak as he was making a run on a destroyer that was protecting the entrance to the harbor. In spite of damage to his airplane, Wilkins continued the attack and hit the destroyer with two bombs, which blew it apart. More fire struck the bomber as Wilkins pulled up after the bomb run, and his B-25 went into the sea. Wilkins was awarded a posthumous Medal of Honor for his actions that day. At the time of his death, he was the longest serving U.S. pilot in the Pacific.

The loss of the six A-24s and their crews at Buna caused Colonel Davies to remove the remaining Banshees from combat. Even before the disastrous mission, Davies and the other former 27th Group pilots had come to the conclusion that they were dangerous. The Blue Rock Clay Pigeon moniker was an indication of how they felt about the dive bombers. They had been used in spite of their drawbacks for the simple reason that until B-25s and A-20s began arriving they were the only light or medium bombers available. Although they were just as fast as the B-17s that were operating in the theater at the time, the single .30-caliber machine gun in the rear cockpit offered minimal defense against fighter attack, and then only from the rear. The two forward-firing .50-caliber machine guns mounted in front of the pilot were of little use against fighters, especially while they were still carrying a load of bombs.

The removal of the A-24 from combat operations after the July 29 losses brought the story of the 27th Bombardment Group to a close, although many of the pilots would go on to make history with the 3rd Group, which was commonly known as the 3rd Attack Group.

On May 4, 1942, the 27th Group officially returned to Hunter Field, although the move was strictly paperwork since its personnel in Australia were still fighting with the 3rd Group. A new 27th Bombardment Group was formed at Hunter, this time with A-20s. In November 1942, it moved to North Africa, where it converted to the North American A-36, the dive bomber version of the soon-to-be-famous North American P-51 Mustang, and became part of General Jimmy Doolittle's Twelfth Air Force. In January 1944, the group converted to P-40s and became a fighter group. Six months later the 27th transitioned into Republic P-47 Thunderbolts, which it operated until the end of the war.

National Archives

This North American B-25 Mitchell medium bomber has been modified for an anti-ship role with four heavy .50-caliber machine guns in its nose. This up-gunned version of the bomber was an innovation of Paul "Pappy" Gunn.

The officers and men of the 27th who transferred to the 3rd Bombardment Group, including those who joined the group in Australia, were known for their aggressiveness. Some, such as Captain Herman Lowery, were lost in combat. Others died in aircraft accidents. At the end of July 1942, Maj. Gen. George C. Kenney arrived in Australia to take the position of chief of staff for air on MacArthur's staff. Kenney was an expert on attack aviation and had previously

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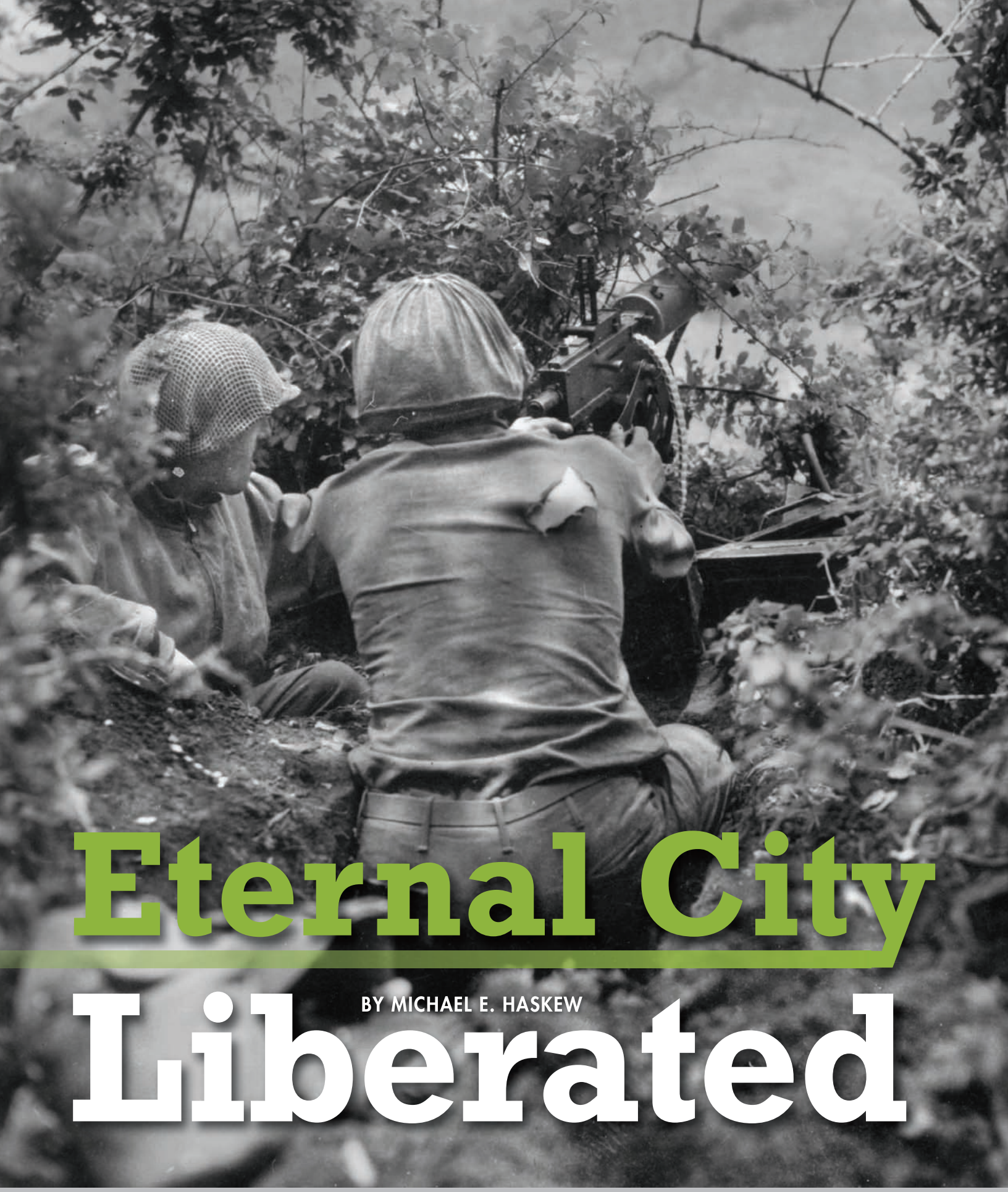

Eternal City Liberated

BY MICHAEL E. HASKEW

ROME WAS THE FIRST AXIS CAPITAL TO FALL TO THE ALLIES, BUT ITS LIBERATION WAS ECLIPSED BY THE NORMANDY INVASION.

National Archives

ITALY WAS UNFORGIVING. GERMAN RESISTANCE TO ALLIED OPERATIONS had been brutal since the Salerno landings in the autumn of 1943, and by the following spring frustration had mounted upon frustration.

The Allied VI Corps remained bottled up at the Anzio beachhead. Elsewhere, repeated pounding at the Winter Line, a formidable series of German fortifications that, along with the Bernhard and Hitler Lines, were collectively known as the Gustav Line, had brought high casualties with no headway against the strong enemy positions at Cassino. Two regiments of the 36th Infantry Division had been cut to pieces trying to cross the Rapido River. And perhaps worst of all, time was running out for the Mediterranean Theater in terms of priorities. The invasion of Normandy was coming, and once it occurred the Italian campaign would devolve into a sideshow—no less deadly than the fighting in Western Europe, but still a sideshow. Replacement troops and supplies would be scarce.

By the spring of 1944, it was time for an all-out, concerted effort to break the stalemate at Anzio, crack the Winter Line, and capture Rome, the Eternal City and the first Axis capital within the reach, if not yet the grasp, of Allied forces. British General Harold Alexander, commander of the 15th Army Group and later all Allied armies in Italy, put forth his plan to do just that.

Operation Diadem called for the Polish II Corps to capture the heights of Monte Cassino, site of a ruined Benedictine Abbey where the Germans occupied a seemingly impregnable defensive position. Additionally, the British XIII Corps was to make the decisive push across the Rapido River and through the town of Cassino before assailing the Hitler Line fortifications. The French Expeditionary Corps was expected to slug its way across the Aurunci Mountains, while the rest of U.S. General Mark Clark's Fifth Army would protect the left flank of the Eighth Army, under British General Oliver Leese (famed Eighth Army commander General Bernard Law Montgomery had departed the Mediterranean Theater in early 1944 for England, where he participated in the planning for the D-Day landings), during the drive toward Rome. The VI Corps, which had languished at Anzio since January, was to break out of its beachhead, seize Highway 6 by capturing the town of Valmontone, and cut off the retreat of General Heinrich von Vietinghoff's German Tenth Army.

An American crew fires a .30-caliber machine gun at a German patrol spotted on a hill west of the Italian town of Fondi. This photo was taken on May 24, 1944, during the Allied Fifth Army offensive in the spring of 1944.

When the details of Diadem were unveiled, Clark was immediately taken aback. It was clear that his Fifth Army was being assigned a subordinate role to that of the Eighth, which consisted primarily of British and Commonwealth troops. The Fifth Army front at Cassino was reduced to 12 miles, while the Eighth was to operate on a line extending across the Apennine Mountains to Cassino.

Clark was determined that his Fifth Army, primarily American troops, capture the Eternal City, and his desire to enter Rome in triumph was at odds with Alexander's objective of trapping and destroying all German forces in southern Italy. However, a recent conversation with Prime Minister Winston Churchill had a profound effect on Alexander. Churchill's words still rang in his ears. "I wish you would explain to me why this passage by Cassino, Monastery Hill, etc., all on a front of two or three miles, is the only place which you must keep butting at. About five or six divisions have been worn out going into those jaws."

Operation Diadem was conceived to increase pressure on the Germans by attacking at multiple points. Alexander probably reasoned that several divisions of the Fifth Army had been roughly handled during eight months of fighting since the landings at Salerno the previous September. The Eighth Army front had been relatively quiet for a while, and though some Eighth Army troops had previously been transferred to Cassino the remainder were fresh, relatively speaking. Their deployment might produce the necessary breakthrough.

Hot under the collar, Clark cornered Alexander two weeks before the scheduled launch of Diadem and voiced his objections to the proposed Fifth Army role. Alexander, whose relations with his American counterparts were far better than those of most British senior commanders, placated Clark to a degree, allowing him significant latitude in the tactical deployment of Fifth Army units.

National Archives

The opening artillery salvos of Operation Diadem took the Germans by surprise. Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, the German theater commander, had underestimated the strength of the Allied units he faced along the Gustav Line. He was also distracted by the possibility of a second Allied amphibious landing like Anzio along the Tyrrhenian coast north of Rome. However, once again proving their resilience, the Germans mounted a ferocious defense, and the going became rough.

At 11:45 PM on May 11, 1944, the British 4th and Indian 8th Divisions put boats into the swift current of the Rapido and immediately came under intense small-arms fire. A shallow bridgehead was established, but efforts to put more substantial spans across the stream in the 4th Division sector were abandoned. Although the Indian engineers did put two pontoon bridges across, only about half the objectives set for the first two hours of the offensive were achieved. However, after the Fifth Army had experienced numerous setbacks, the Eighth was finally across the Rapido in strength. Reinforcements were hurriedly sent across the river.

During the advance of the 8th Punjab Regiment, Sepoy Kamal Ram earned the Victoria Cross when he voluntarily assaulted two of four machine-gun positions to his unit's front and flanks. Ram destroyed the position on the far right and then silenced the next. With the help of a havildar, he captured a third position, killing or taking prisoner every German soldier in his path. On May 13, Temporary Captain Richard Wakeford of the 4th Battalion, Hampshire Regiment earned the Victoria Cross, capturing 20 Germans and killing several more while armed with only a pistol and supported only by his orderly. Wakeford was wounded in the face and both arms but reached his objective, allowing his unit to continue its advance.

The Fifth Army's initial thrust on the night of May 11 was spearheaded by the 351st Infantry Regiment, 88th Division with intense artillery support. The 351st's objective was the town of Santa Maria Infante and the surrounding high ground. To its right, the 350th Regiment was attacking toward Monte Damiano. During its first 45 minutes of advance, the 350th encountered little resistance, but near the village of Ventosa the Germans stiffened and the objective was not taken for several hours.

Near Monte Damiano, Staff Sergeant Charles W. Shea, leading a platoon that was pinned down by German machine-gun fire, crept forward alone and flipped grenades into the enemy position. Four Germans surrendered, and Shea moved on to a second machine-gun nest. He captured two enemy soldiers and scampered toward a third machine gun. Ignoring enemy fire, he killed the three Germans in that position. Shea's singlehanded assault earned him the Medal of Honor and cleared the way for his battalion to capture the summit of Monte Damiano and beat back German counterattacks.

The 351st Infantry, in combat for the first time, ran into trouble in a vicious firefight with the German 94th Infantry Division. One company lost 89 men, about half its combat strength. Another 90 troops were cut off and nearly overrun at Tame, a cluster of houses 400 yards from Santa Maria Infante. Concentrated artillery fire saved these troops temporarily.

Just after sundown on the 12th, a group of German soldiers approached the position shouting, "Kamerad!" The Americans came forward to accept the supposed surrender only to find themselves surrounded, victims of a German ruse. All of the Americans were captured, except five men who pretended to be lying dead in their foxholes.

Elements of the 85th Division encountered equally heavy German fire while attempting to capture an S-shaped ridge near Santa Maria Infante. Assaulting high ground on the left of the 88th Division, these troops took heavy casualties and made little headway. First Lieutenant Robert T. Waugh of the 339th Infantry received the Medal of Honor for taking on six German bunkers. Waugh threw white phosphorous grenades into the first bunker and gunned down a group of Germans as they retreated. He then proceeded bunker to bunker and repeated the process.

Along the II Corps line, American gains were negligible. Combined with the limited British gains on the Rapido, the first 24 hours of Operation Diadem appeared to have achieved little.

The French Expeditionary Corps, under General Alphonse Juin, had fortuitously been tasked with the advance across the Aurunci Mountains. So confident were the Germans that the difficulty of the terrain would dissuade any assault rather easily, they had placed relatively few troops in this area of the Gustav Line. The Algerian and Moroccan soldiers of Juin's command were quite familiar with such rugged

country. The Moroccans were generally known as Goumiers, basically professional soldiers enlisted from the Berber tribes inhabiting the Atlas Mountains of their North African country. They were fierce warriors who typically gave no quarter.

The 2nd Moroccan Division encountered stiff opposition in its battle for the heights of Monte Majo as the thinly stretched defenders of General Fridolin von Senger und Etterlin's 71st Infantry Division fought desperately. Before sunrise on May 13, the Moroccans, under General Andre Dody, renewed their attack against the Monte Majo complex. They quickly took Cerasola Hill, Hill 739, and Monte Garofano, scooping up 150 prisoners as they moved forward. German counterattacks slowed the advance on the left flank, but the effective employment of massed artillery paved the way for the Moroccans to sustain their offensive.

The Germans expended their only ready reserve in the vicinity, a battalion of panzergrenadiers, and rapidly it appeared that the entire Monte Majo area might be in jeopardy. A flurry of German radio traffic indicated the gravity of the situation. One intercepted message read, "Feuci has fallen. Accelerate the general withdrawal."

Within hours of jumping off, the French troops had occupied Monte Majo and raised their tricolor flag on its summit. The threat to the Germans at the Gustav Line was painfully obvious. The 71st Infantry Division had been split in two, opening the left flank of the XIV Panzer Corps to attack. The potential existed for a continuing advance across the ridges running to the northwest. The French were also positioned to attack the German right flank in the Liri Valley, providing a decisive boost to the elements of the Eighth Army just beyond the Rapido. The French might also knife into the Liri Valley and trap many of the Gustav Line defenders.

While Kesselring scrambled to reinforce the 71st Division, the British managed to throw a third bridge across the Rapido and expand their bridgehead up to 2,500 yards. Renewed attacks by elements of the American 85th and 88th Divisions were held up by entrenched defenders on high ground at Hill 109 and Hill 131, but after dark they were surprised when a follow-up advance encountered only sporadic small-arms fire. The Germans were pulling out.

Meanwhile, the French moved forward toward the coveted Liri Valley. Allied air attacks continued to disrupt German communications, seriously hampering German efforts to stabilize the defensive line. Santa Maria Infante fell to the 351st Infantry on the afternoon of May 14. The next day, troops of the 85th Division captured a key road junction beyond the Gustav Line, outflanking German troops defending Highway 7. Although these two efforts had cost General Geoffrey Keyes' U.S. II Corps and the French Expeditionary Corps more than 3,000 casualties, the strongest defenses of the Gustav Line had been compromised.

On May 15, the Eighth Army succeeded in breaking through the Gustav Line in the Liri Valley. On the 16th, Private Francis Arthur Jefferson of the 2nd Battalion, Lancashire Fusiliers grabbed a PIAT antitank weapon and destroyed a German tank that was leading a counterattack. He approached a second tank, clutching his reloaded weapon, but the armored vehicle withdrew before he could come within range. The effort bought time for British armor to arrive and complete the rout of the German attack, while Jefferson later received the Victoria Cross.

The Eighth Army advance on May 15 facilitated a joint attack against Cassino by the 78th Division and the Polish II Corps intended to cut Highway 6 and capture Monte Cassino at long last. Swiftly, the German positions at Cassino became untenable, and the 1st Parachute Division was pulled out of the ruined abbey.

Hesitation at the highest levels of the German command, including Kesselring and Hitler in far-off Berlin, contributed to the rapid collapse of the Gustav Line. General Walter Hartmann, the acting commander of the XIV Panzer Corps, realized that substantial reinforcements would be necessary to contain the Allied breakthrough at three separate points. The failure of German intelligence to accurately assess the strength of the Allied armies confronting the Gustav Line, coupled with the threat of another amphibious landing in the vicinity of Rome, kept Kesselring off balance. Such a slow response ultimately doomed the Germans' defensive positions south of Rome.

Alexander sensed an opportunity to breach the Hitler Line while the Germans were still reeling and unable to coordinate their remaining defenses. He urged both General Leese and the Eighth Army and General Clark and the Fifth Army to move quickly. Attacks by the 78th Division and the 1st Canadian Division on May 18-19 ground to a halt partially due to stiff German resistance and partially due to the lack of good roads in the area.

The formidable Hitler Line defenses included nine reinforced Panther tank turrets mounting 75mm high-velocity cannons with 360-degree traverse mounted above living quarters for the crews. These, in turn, were protected by outlying antitank gun, machine-gun, and mortar emplacements. In addition, veterans of the earlier battles around Cassino were determined to fight on with grim purpose.

General Juin's French Expeditionary Corps and General Keyes' II Corps maintained the Fifth Army offensive. The 351st Infantry Regiment, 88th Division, in the van of the II Corps advance, encountered self-propelled guns and infantry of the XIV Panzer Corps on the Itri-Pico Road,

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ABOVE: Algerian soldiers of the French Expeditionary Force played a critical role in the drive that led to the fall of Rome. Here a squad fires its Model 1924 M29 light machine gun against German positions at Castelnuovo on May 16, 1944. OPPOSITE: Allied tanks move through the ruins of the town of Castelforte, Italy, on February 13, 1944, two days after Operation Diadem began.

National Archives

Canadian troops march along a dirt road toward new positions in the valley of the Liri River.

slowing its advance until additional infantry and artillery support could be deployed. The 85th Division rolled along the coastal highway in two columns and into the western foothills of the Aurunci Mountains. The French pressed into the town of Esperia on May 18.

Realizing that the right wing of the Tenth Army was about to be trapped, Kesselring reinforced Vietinghoff with the 29th Panzergrenadier Division and issued orders for a pivoting maneuver anchored on the town of Pico to escape the noose. American forces advancing rapidly on Highway 7 outflanked German positions near the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea. General Fridolin von Senger und Etterlin, who had rejoined his XIV Panzer Corps command, could only deploy a rear guard to cover a labored withdrawal from the vulnerable positions.

Clark urged Keyes to drive up the coast road as fast as possible to finally link up with the VI Corps, which would hopefully be fighting its way inland from the Anzio beachhead. Meanwhile, Leese was completing preparations for an Eighth Army frontal attack on the Hitler Line. Following the capture of Monte Cassino, the Polish II Corps had advanced four miles by the 19th and was poised to attack the town of Piedmonte San Germano at the southern end of the Hitler Line. The I Canadian Corps was positioned for the primary thrust at Pontecorvo with assistance from the 78th Division at Aquino. The 8th Indian and 6th Armoured Divisions moved into positions to exploit any gains.

On May 20, the first penetration of the Hitler Line occurred when the French hit the Germans hard. Supported by tanks, the 3rd Algerian Division battered the 26th Panzer Division and entered Pico. The defense of Pico, the critical pivot site for withdrawal from the coast, had compelled Vietinghoff to bring elements of the 15th and 90th Panzergrenadier Divisions out of the Liri Valley. Therefore, they were not available to defend against the frontal attack of the Eighth Army. Even worse, the Germans were not in a favorable position to oppose Keyes as the II Corps raced hell-for-leather toward Anzio and the linkup with VI Corps.

The Canadian 1st Division launched Operation Chesterfield on May 23, hitting Pontecorvo at 8:10 AM. A day of hard fighting in rain and fog brought victory for the Canadians, who breached the Hitler Line northeast of the town. At the same time, the Germans refused to budge from Aquino and continued clinging to Highway 6, the best road in the Liri Valley. They captured 540 Germans, but the Canadians had suffered more than 500 casualties themselves at Pontecorvo. On the 24th, the Canadians bridged the Melfa River, reaching within five miles of their common goal with the French, the town of Ceprano. The battered Germans pulled out of Aquino on the 25th.

The towns of Fondi and Terracina were the keys to the Hitler Line in the II Corps sector. The 3rd Battalion, 349th Infantry moved rapidly and secured Fondi after the battalion commander, Lt. Col. Walter B. Yeager, left a small force south of Fondi and led a platoon of tanks along with the bulk of the battalion's infantry into the neighboring hills. Yeager hit the weakened German positions along Highway 7 and then skirted northward to cut the enemy's east-west communication lines. Troops of the 350th Infantry Regiment killed 40 Germans and captured 65 more at Monte Alto, ranging far ahead of supporting units on their flanks. The regiment's supply line across treacherous mountainous terrain was kept open for 48 hours until two other regiments of the 88th Division drew close on the right and the French joined up to consolidate the front.

Following an abortive seaborne effort to take Terracina, troops of the 337th and 338th Infantry Regiments, 85th Division fought for two days to capture the town. American troops also moved to cut Highway 7 and prevent the Germans from retreating. However, sensing that time was running out, the garrison evacuated on the night of May 23.

For the Germans, the situation in southern Italy was unraveling at a dizzying pace. The II Corps was in position to advance smartly up Highway 7 to a junction with the VI Corps at Anzio, while the Eighth Army was through the Hitler Line and well into the Liri Valley. The French Expeditionary Corps threatened to complete the encirclement of elements of two German armies, the Fourteenth and the Tenth. Its advance toward the town of Frosinone, astride Highway 6, might potentially split the German armies in two.

On May 25, Vietinghoff ordered a general withdrawal of German troops along the southern front. The LI Mountain Corps vacated its positions opposing the Eighth Army, retreating northward along numerous routes parallel to Highway 6. The XIV Panzer Corps withdrew northeast of Pico to the Sacco River Valley.

During four months of agony, the VI Corps had suffered and bled in the perimeter of the Anzio beachhead. Its strength had grown from two divisions to seven, but the beachhead was constantly under the watchful eyes of Germans in the Alban Hills. Any appreciable movement during daylight hours was sure to bring down

a torrent of accurate enemy artillery fire. Some Allied soldiers remember an absolute inability to move about during the day and the necessity of feeding the men under cover of darkness. The identities of replacements put into the line were often known only vaguely to their noncommissioned officers.

"We didn't get to know replacements," one sergeant remembered. "When they came in, we hardly knew their names. We rarely saw their faces since we didn't move around in daylight."

Although the high hopes with which the Anzio landings, Operation Shingle, had been launched in January were only a distant memory by the spring of 1944, a good measure of the scant resources available in the Mediterranean Theater had been allocated to the beachhead in preparation for the opportune time to launch a breakout effort. With the forceful General Lucian Truscott in command of VI Corps following the relief of General John P. Lucas, Alexander expected success.

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ABOVE: An American M10, open-turreted tank destroyer has opened fire on a German position at the Galleria di Mont Orso tunnel, where two enemy battalions have been trapped inside. An American soldier is ready to fire his .30-caliber machine gun if the Germans emerge to fight. LEFT: The village of Santa Maria Infante was destroyed during heavy fighting on May 17, 1944.

Clark had ordered Truscott to prepare for any of four eventual axes of attack. The one that aligned with Alexander's plan, Operation Buffalo, was to strike northeast through Cisterna to Valmontone, cutting Highway 6 and hopefully trapping a large number of German troops to the south. The capture of Rome would be a secondary consideration when compared to the opportunity to cripple enemy forces in Italy. Alexander had originally advocated a movement to the north, through the natural barrier of the Alban Hills and on to Rome, but the prospect of cutting off large numbers of German troops appeared to be of greater benefit. Since the two options for the offensive were at least 20 miles apart, Alexander did not believe they could be accomplished simultaneously.

Clark, however, had his eyes firmly fixed on Rome. He doubted that the seizure of Highway 6 would accomplish much in slowing a German withdrawal over numerous secondary roads around Valmontone. Clark also thought that moving on Valmontone was designed primarily to relieve pressure on the Eighth Army in the Liri Valley. Still, if Clark could make contact with the VI Corps, then an energized Truscott might advance rapidly northward through the Alban Hills and take Rome. Clark desperately wanted to burnish American prestige with the capture of the Eternal City, and time was of the essence. Rome had to fall before Operation Overlord, the invasion of Normandy, took place on June 6, 1944, and once and for all relegated the Mediterranean to a backwater.

Clark believed, not without reason, that an enemy force anchored on the Alban Hills posed a threat to any Fifth Army movement eastward. He stressed that the Alban Hills should be secured before a drive to Valmontone. Logically, if the Alban Hills, the last natural barrier south of Rome, could be taken, then Rome itself would swiftly fall. The VI Corps, therefore, would be the spearhead of Fifth Army's drive to take the Italian capital. Aside from several practical reasons for Clark to favor a direct move on Rome, the city had been the focal point of the entire Italian campaign. For months, Alexander had voiced his preference for a drive to Valmontone. However, he had refrained from issuing a direct order.

"Clark, like many other Allied commanders and the British Prime Minister himself, regarded the city as the 'great prize' of the entire spring offensive—indeed of the whole Italian campaign," wrote historian Sidney T. Mathews. "He had told Truscott that it was the 'only worthwhile objective' for the VI Corps. Clark had only an incidental interest in the military value of the Italian capital—its airfields and its role as a communications hub ('All roads lead to Rome'). He wanted Rome because of the prestige associated with capturing it and the success such a feat would symbolize. In recompense for all the frustrations of the winter stalemate in the south of Italy and for the fact that, in Clark's opinion, the Fifth Army had borne the brunt of the fighting, Clark felt his men deserved the honor. Allied strategy, which had exaggerated the value of Rome out of proportion to its military importance, must be taken into account in explaining the emphasis Clark put on taking the city. Capturing Rome would represent to the people in the United States tangible evidence of American success in Italy, a dramatic event which could be more easily grasped by the American public than the destruction of large numbers of the enemy. Clark also wanted Rome in the shortest possible time because he suspected that Alexander wished the Eighth Army to share in the triumph."

On the night of May 22, the British 1st Division initiated the breakout from the Anzio

beachhead with a diversionary attack along the Anzio-Albano Road. In the early morning hours of the 23rd, Combat Commands A and B of the U.S. 1st Armored Division launched the main attack. The two commands crossed the rail line to Rome and drove a mile into the defenses of the German 362nd Infantry Division on the first day. They had also reached their first objective, a low ridge north of the beachhead. They had lost 35 dead, 137 wounded, and one missing. Three soldiers, Technical Sergeant Ernest H. Dervishian, Staff Sergeant George J. Hall, and 2nd Lt. Thomas W. Fowler, received the Medal of Honor for gallantry on May 23.

At 6:30 AM, the 3rd Infantry Division launched an attack on Cisterna. Major Michael Paulick led a force assigned to cover a gap between the 15th Infantry Regiment and the 1st Special Service Force. Paulick lost two tanks and a tank destroyer to German fire from a group of houses 600 yards beyond a bridge over the Cisterna Canal. He directed three tanks on a wide arc into the enemy rear, and their accurate fire routed the Germans. Paulick then moved to within half a mile of Highway 7 against only light resistance.

After dark, a three-man regimental patrol observed about 60 German soldiers in a wooded area near a road junction. The Americans slipped away and passed the word up the line. In the ambush that followed, the German force was decimated with 20 killed and 37 captured.

Two battalions of the 15th Infantry Regiment worked their way toward the town of Cisterna. The 7th Infantry encountered difficulties with mines and stiff German resistance. The 30th Infantry also had trouble with mines and made sluggish progress. The 3rd Division had lost 107 dead, 642 wounded, 812 missing, and 65 taken prisoner in the first 24 hours of the fight. There had been no decisive breakthrough against German positions, but Clark and Truscott were encouraged that the day's gains were significant and would facilitate the capture of Cisterna.

The 3rd Division surrounded Cisterna on May 24, but an attack against the town's north flank was unsuccessful. Supported by tanks, troops of the 7th Regiment fought their way into Cisterna the following morning. The situation was in doubt until late in the afternoon when a machine-gun crew reached an advantageous position and drove away the Germans managing a troublesome antitank gun. A company of infantry followed a tank into the courtyard of the town hall, and the survivors of the German 955th Infantry Regiment, their commander among them, were rounded up. The 1st Special Service Force occupied Monte Arrestino, poised to resume the drive toward Highway 6 and Valmontone, some 10 miles away. Troops of the 3rd Division were also positioned to move northwest and occupy the town of Cori.

Near daybreak on May 25, combat engineers of the 36th Division moved south from Anzio across the Mussolini Canal and made contact with an 85th Division task force. After 125 miserable and frustrating days, the VI Corps was no longer isolated. Now, it was the left flank of the Fifth Army.

General Eberhard von Mackensen, commander of the German 14th Army, saw little prospect for success in staving off the 3rd Division drive for Valmontone. Laborers were busy working to complete as many strongpoints as possible along the Caesar Line, which extended from the Tyrrhenian coast between Anzio and Rome nearly to Valmontone, but the reality of the situation dictated that a protracted defense there would be difficult.

Despite the VI Corps progress toward Valmontone, Clark remined unconvinced that the effort was really worthwhile. Late on the

The coordinated Allied Operation Diadem offensive finally broke the stalemate along the Gustav Line, while the languishing Allied troops at Anzio mustered the strength to break out of their beachhead where landings had been stymied in January 1944.

afternoon of May 24, he had gone so far as to ask Truscott if he had considered shifting the direction of his main attack toward Rome. He later commented that Alexander's directive for the drive to Valmontone had been "based upon the false premise that if Highway 6 were cut at Valmontone a German army would be annihilated."

By the following day, Clark issued orders to change the VI Corps axis of attack to the northwest and Rome. The 3rd Division and the 1st Special Service Force were to continue toward Valmontone, but the balance of the Fifth Army, the 34th, 36th, 45th, 85th, and 88th Divisions, was heading for the Eternal City.

"Truscott was dumbfounded," recorded the official history of the U.S. Army. "There was as yet no indication, he protested, that the enemy had significantly weakened his defenses in the Alban Hills. That was, he insisted, the only condition that would justify modifying Buffalo. Nor, unlike Clark, did Truscott have evidence of an important enemy build-up in the Valmontone area.... This was no time, the corps commander argued, to shift the main effort of his attack to the northwest ... where the enemy was still strong. The offensive should continue instead with 'maximum power into the Valmontone Gap to insure destruction of the German Army.'"

Like a good soldier, Truscott made arrangements to change his front. Other high-level commanders, both British and American, were shocked by Clark's decision. One of them remarked that Clark "overnight threw away the chance of destroying the right wing of von Vietinghoff's Tenth Army for the honour of entering Rome first."

At 11 AM on May 26, the 34th and 45th Divisions swung northwest toward Rome. Clark reassured Alexander that the tremendous success the Valmontone drive had enjoyed would allow both offensive efforts to continue in sufficient strength. Kesselring was initially confused as to whether the new offensive had become the focus for the Fifth Army or a diversionary effort supporting the Valmontone thrust. By the 28th, he was convinced that it was primary when the presence of the 1st Armored Division rolling toward the Alban Hills was confirmed.

German resistance took its toll, slowing Clark's dash for Rome. On the evening of the 29th, coordinated Fifth Army armor and infantry attacks had succeeded in capturing the railroad station at Campoleone, but the tanks had begun to outpace the infantry, leaving numerous machine-gun nests and pockets of resistance to be dealt with by the infantrymen.

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An abandoned German weapons carrier lies smashed along a roadside as soldiers of the British Eighth Army search for German snipers in Acquino on May 27, 1944.

In the costly limited advance 1st Armored Division alone had suffered 21 killed, 107 wounded, and five missing. Thirty-seven tanks had been lost to mines, antitank guns, and squads of enemy soldiers with shoulder-fired panzerfaust antitank weapons.

While Kesselring may have been unconvinced that the objective of the new Fifth Army push was actually Rome, Mackensen had seen something like it looming. He chose to strengthen the unfinished Caesar Line. Early on the 29th, elements of the 34th Division attacked German positions in the Caesar Line at Villa Crocetta and Gennaro Hill. Accurate enemy mortar and small-arms fire preceded a strong counterattack that pushed the Americans out of both positions. Giving ground where necessary, the Germans, experts in defensive combat, stood their ground at the most defensible positions in the Caesar Line, guarding the Alban Hills.

While Clark upbraided Truscott for allowing the Germans to consolidate their positions in the Caesar Line, the rest of the Fifth Army made steady progress. The 85th Division was astride the Anzio beachhead, while the French Expeditionary Corps had advanced from the Lepini Mountains toward Valmontone. Nevertheless, Clark, bristling at the possible wait for the Eighth Army to come up for a joint attack, prepared to resume his hammering against the Caesar Line.

The wait probably would have stretched longer than Clark could bear. The Eighth Army encountered stiff German resistance along Highway 6. A 120-foot bridge across the Liri River collapsed, delaying the 5th Canadian Armoured Division for a full day. On May 30, the 1st Canadian Infantry Division, spearhead of the Eighth Army, was near the village of Frosinone, a distant 25 miles southeast of Valmontone. A wide flanking movement by the 8th Indian Division had finally dislodged the Germans from the town of Arce, while the 78th Division moved northwest along routes parallel to Highway 6, expecting to pull even with the Canadians attacking Frosinone.

While his run for Rome appeared throttled temporarily, Clark's situation was about to improve. On the night of May 27, patrols of the 36th Division had probed the heights of Monte Artemisio, just beyond the town of Velletri. Surprisingly, there had been no contact with German troops on the mountain, although the Hermann Göring Division and the 362nd Division were to have closed the gap in the Caesar Line. Neither could do more than establish a few outposts in the area.

Aware of the dangerous gap, Kesselring voiced his displeasure, and Mackensen reassured his boss that the problem had been handled. Troops from the tired 715th Division and the Hermann Göring Division were ordered to Monte Artemisio, and Mackensen, preoccupied with the threat to his northern flank between Lariano and Valmontone, assumed the gap was closed. But before the German troops arrived,

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A self-propelled M7 "Priest" assault weapon mounting a 105mm howitzer pauses along a road near the town of Cori, south of Rome, as American soldiers stream past toward the Eternal City.

two regiments of the 36th Division were climbing the mountain.

Large numbers of American troops moved quietly through the gap on the night of May 30. Few Germans were encountered, and most of the enemy soldiers died with slit throats. One American related, "Sentries were crawled upon and jumped from the rear. The thumb and the index finger held the German's nose and the other three fingers of the left hand were placed over the mouth, jerking the head full back, exposing the jugular. Holding the knife in the right hand, the blade was quickly inserted between the vein and the neck bone. As it was pushed through the skin and behind the jugular and air pipes, the knife came out under the chin. The guard bled to death without a sound except bubbles of blood."

With the 36th Division atop Monte Artemisio and its trailing ridgeline, American artillery observers enjoyed a spectacular vantage point to direct fire against the Fourteenth Army supply lines to Valmontone and Lariano. Mackensen directed his troops to retake the position at all costs. "In a situation of this kind, corps boundaries no longer have any meaning," he rasped.

Mackensen's response was already doomed. When he informed Kesselring, the field marshal erupted, sacking Mackensen. General Joachim Lemelsen took command of the imperiled Fourteenth Army.

Clark seized the opportunity to shift the main responsibility for the drive on Rome to the II Corps near Valmontone and poised to advance along Highway 6. Clark requested exclusive use of that key road between Valmontone and Rome, and Alexander agreed. Fifth Army's three corps could now advance on the Eternal City using both Highways 6 and 7.

The American artillery fire directed from the observers on Monte Artemisio made Highway 6 a shooting gallery. The Germans were compelled to withdraw from Valmontone, which fell to the 3rd Division early on June 2. Kesselring considered making a stand with the XIV Panzer Corps, but the failure to hold Valmontone made the prospect for success unlikely. That night, Vietinghoff ordered the Tenth Army to break contact with the Eighth Army, which had renewed its attacks in the Frosinone area. Kesselring came to the painful conclusion that Rome would be lost.

The Tenth Army withdrawal was an orderly affair, partially vindicating Clark's assertion that taking Valmontone and cutting Highway 6 would not have trapped large numbers of German troops. Still, had Eighth Army pushed up the Liri Valley more aggressively in combination with the Fifth Army thrust to cut Highway 6, the result might have been a resounding victory.

The VI Corps battle at the Caesar Line in front of the Alban Hills had been costly, in many respects more so than the breakout from the Anzio beachhead. Clark was irked by the slow progress of the 34th and 45th Divisions. However, the 36th Division's progress threatened to encircle the German troops occupying the Caesar Line. Kesselring ordered a general withdrawal northward as Clark's VI and II Corps prepared for the final drive into Rome.

On the morning of June 3, Kesselring declared Rome an open city. Hitler decreed that the destruction that had taken place during the retreat from Naples in the autumn of 1943 would not occur again. His directive to Kesselring stated that Rome "because of its status as a place of culture must not become the scene of combat operations." Clark also made known his "most urgent desire that Fifth Army troops protect both public and private property in the city of Rome."

Both sides were wary, but every effort was made to spare the city, with its great works of art and ruins that harkened back to the glory of ancient Rome. Vatican City was assured that its neutrality would be respected. The Germans refrained from major troop movements or demolitions of power or water supply centers. Each side's tactical commanders were given latitude in situations that required action due to military necessity.

At dawn on June 3, the II and VI Corps began their race for the Eternal City. Both made good progress as the German Fourteenth Army pulled back through the Alban Hills and across the Tiber River. The Eighth Army continued attacking. The 1st Canadian Infantry Division and the 6th South African Armoured Division pounded the 26th Panzer Division near Acuto, forcing the Germans to withdraw under cover of darkness.

Clark's immediate concern was securing the Tiber bridges, across which his advancing divisions could rapidly pursue the retiring Germans north of Rome. Unaware that the Germans had been instructed not to destroy the bridges, Clark ordered mobile task forces to rush into the city and take control of them as soon as possible.

From multiple points, elements of the 1st Special Service Force, the 3rd Division, and the 88th Division troops of the II Corps entered Rome on June 4. Several ad hoc task forces encountered resistance from concealed antitank guns and even a few German tanks, but by 11 PM all bridges across the Tiber in the II Corps sector were secured intact.

The first VI Corp units to enter Rome were the 2nd Battalion of the 6th Armored Infantry Regiment and a company of the 13th Armored Regiment on the afternoon of June 4. These were followed that evening by the 1st Armored

Division, which held the bridges across the Tiber in its zone, and the 36th Division. Commanding the 36th Division, General Fred Walker accompanied his infantry into the darkened city and across the Tiber bridges, already in the hands of his armored troops. "As we moved along the dark streets," recalled Walker, "we could hear the people at all the windows of the high buildings clapping their hands."

Five American divisions and the U.S.-Canadian 1st Special Service Force had finally liberated Rome. Rather than halting, they had moved on to harass the Germans on the morning of June 5 along a 20-mile front from the mouth of the Tiber southwest of Rome northeast to its confluence with the Aniene River.

Columns of Fifth Army troops and vehicles streamed through the streets of Rome after daybreak. Finally, the citizenry emerged from their shuttered homes and hiding places, and a tremendous celebration began. Strangers embraced amid a sense of both joy and relief. Clark arrived in Rome late on the afternoon of the 4th and posed for a photo opportunity. The following day, he called his corps commanders and staff officers together at the city hall atop the famed Capitoline Hill. The officers surveyed the continuing scene of wild celebration. Each one of them, though, realized that the moment was fleeting. The commencement of Operation Overlord was just hours away.

Operation Diadem had broken the back of the stubborn German defenses in southern Italy. In a little more than three weeks, the Fifth and Eighth Armies had driven the enemy from the Gustav Line, linked up with the Anzio beachhead, and captured Rome. The price had been high. Allied casualties totaled nearly 44,000, while the Germans had suffered more than 38,000 killed, wounded, or missing plus 15,600 taken prisoner.

When Alexander received news of Clark's decision to redirect the bulk of VI Corps from Valmontone toward the Alban Hills, he had accepted the development, realizing that he could do little to change the situation. He did comment later on what might have been a lost opportunity. "If he [Clark] had succeeded in carrying out my plan the disaster to the enemy would have been much greater; indeed, most of the German forces would have been destroyed," Alexander reflected. "True, the battle ended in a decisive victory for us, but it was not as complete as might have been.... I can only assume that the immediate lure of Rome for its publicity value persuaded Mark Clark to switch the direction of his advance."

In a note of supreme irony, historian Sidney T. Mathews asserts that for several days at the end of May German forces were too weak to contest a drive to Valmontone by VI Corps, even by a secondary effort. Had Clark continued northeastward as Alexander ordered and cut Highway 6, Fifth Army would probably have reached Rome more quickly than by bludgeoning directly at the Caesar Line and then benefiting from the gap discovered by the 36th Division patrols.

German Army Group C had been battered and beaten, but it had not been destroyed or surrendered. The fighting in Italy continued for months. Inevitably, after a splash of headlines celebrating the fall of Rome, the eyes of the world turned to Normandy. June 6, 1944, dawned the longest day on the coast of France, and the campaign in Italy slipped toward twilight.

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National Archives

American soldiers, among the first Allied troops to enter Rome, sprint past a burning German tank to take up positions along a city street. An American tank, providing fire support as the infantrymen clear houses, is seen in the distance at right.

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BY MICHAEL D. HULL

Filling th

LEFT: Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, prime minister of Portugal, was in a precarious position guarding his country's neutrality in World War II, particularly in regard to the Azores. ABOVE: The busy airfield on Santa Maria Island in the Azores accommodated Allied aircraft that were capable of conducting antisubmarine operations against the Nazi U-boat menace.

A generally overlooked factor of World War II has been the influence, sometimes highly significant, of nations that remained neutral.

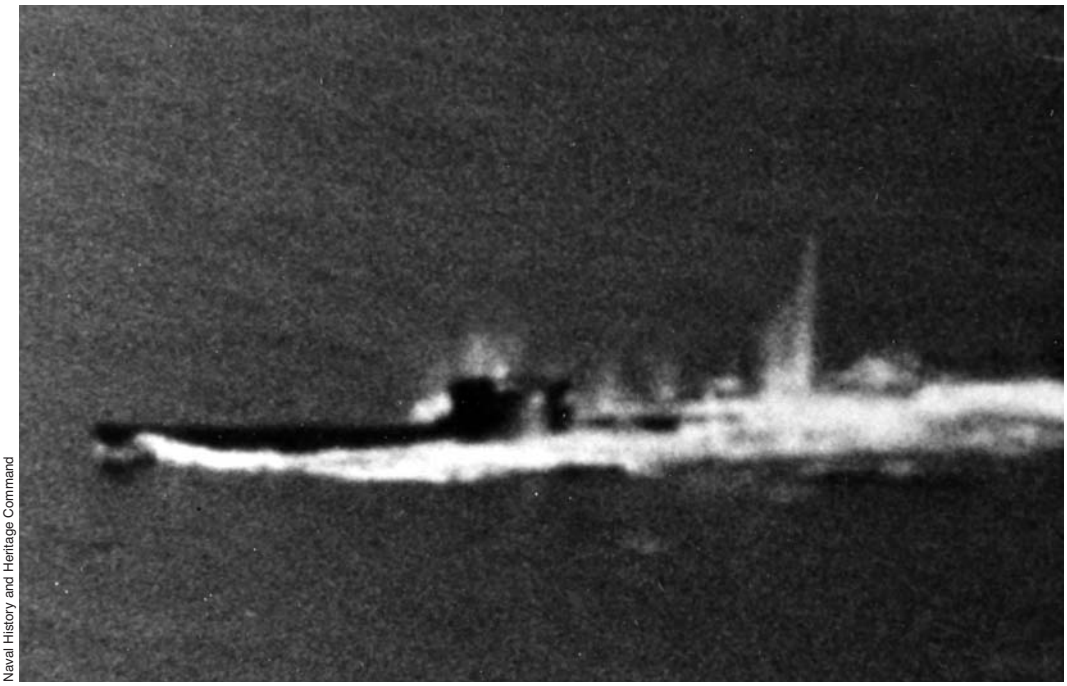
Among them were Spain, Sweden, Ireland, and Switzerland. Another was Portugal, a proud yet peaceful buffer amid dictatorships and tyrannical regimes and a lifeline and haven for thousands of desperate refugees from all over Nazi-occupied Europe. Its historic capital, Lisbon, was the chief distribution port for International Red Cross Committee relief supplies to prisoner of war and internment camps, the main link for civilian flights between Great Britain and the United States, and a hotbed of espionage.

Portugal's prime minister, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, walked a perilous diplomatic tightrope as he guided unharmed his tiny nation and its far-flung colonies for the duration of the 1939-1945 global conflict. Although he harbored sympathies for the Allied cause and was threatened with a German invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, and although Nazi planners dreamed of placing U-boat bases along Portugal's long Atlantic coast, the ascetic, reclusive premier managed deftly to maintain strict neutrality and keep his people out of the war.

Nevertheless, one of Portugal's possessions—a nine-island, 910-square-mile archipelago in the mid-Atlantic—was a strategically vital and hotly contested area in World War II. No shots were fired there in anger, yet the Azores Islands came to play an important role in helping the Allies defeat the Axis powers and restore peace. Each global power—Britain, the United States, and Germany—plotted and schemed to gain use of the Azores, 800 miles west of the Portuguese coast.

The three powers each wanted the Azores and had their own ideas on how to achieve their aim. Each side suspected the other's plans, and each had the same goal in mind—to occupy the neutral islands by

In this photo taken in 1943, a German U-boat has been caught on the surface of the Atlantic near the Azores while under attack by Allied aircraft. The Azores bases proved valuable assets in fighting the Nazis during the Battle of the Atlantic.



Naval History and Heritage Command

e Black Hole

OPERATION ALACRITY NEUTRALIZED THE THREAT OF U-BOAT BASES BEING ESTABLISHED IN THE AZORES TO THREATEN ALLIED SHIPPING.

diplomacy, intimidation, or armed invasion.

The Germans sought the Azores to give their navy a commanding position in the Atlantic and a simpler way to defeat Britain than by an English Channel crossing. But the German high command was too preoccupied with other objectives, and Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler tended to pay scant attention to maritime affairs.

American President Franklin D. Roosevelt favored immediate action against the scenic, peaceful Portuguese islands, and General William J. "Wild Bill" Donovan, his vigorous, outspoken chief of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), planned a private, covert intrusion there. He suggested that the islanders be encouraged to rise up "spontaneously" in a concerted revolt against Portuguese authority. But the OSS plan was based on wishful thinking and ignorance, for the Azoreans were loyal Portuguese citizens and had never shown any evidence that they wanted independence. They always insisted, "*Sou Portugues das Ilhas*" ("I'm Portuguese first, then from the islands").

Far off the mark in its premises, the OSS assumed that Salazar was "a dangerous fascist, a good friend of [Italian dictator Benito] Mussolini, and in league with the enemy," and that the Portuguese leader would welcome a German occupation of the Azores. The harebrained OSS idea was mercifully squelched by able American diplomat George F. Kennan and the British ambassador to Portugal.

Early in the war, the British established air bases in Labrador, Greenland, and Iceland to furnish protection for convoys in the North Atlantic, where German U-boats preyed. But farther south, air cover was far out of reach for the central and southern ocean routes. With the liberation of continental Europe as the ultimate Allied objective, the entire Atlantic had to be made safe for the convoys carrying men and matériel to England. Failure to gain use of the Portuguese islands left a giant "black hole" in the Azores gap—a perilous gauntlet for the convoys to run.

For Hitler's Germany, the Azores represented an ideal base for both U-boat operations and airfields needed for his "Projekt Amerika," an ambitious bomb and rocket campaign against the U.S. East Coast. Reichsmarshal Hermann Göring, head of the Luftwaffe, had authorized work on an intercontinental Messerschmitt "Amerika-bomber" that would carry a 3,000-pound bombload to New York. But the outbreak of war interrupted development. The concept failed to materialize, and the Luftwaffe lacked operational long-range, strategic bombers for the duration of the 1939-1945 war.

Britain and America, meanwhile, sought to use the Portuguese archipelago for air bases to shield the convoy lifelines in the central Atlantic, where Nazi submarine packs prowled freely and sank thousands of tons of vital shipping from 1941 to mid-1943.

This was the second time since the fall of France and the Battle of Britain in the summer of 1940 that the fate of Western civilization hung by a thread. German submarines were sinking three Allied merchant ships for every one built.

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, who feared the U-boat menace above everything else, wanted an air base in the archipelago before the Germans got there first. If that happened, the Battle of the Atlantic could be lost. But Churchill realized that all diplomatic

To stay out the war, Prime Minister Salazar wanted neither side to use any of his territory as a base for offensive operations. His regime was a right-wing dictatorship, but Salazar, the mildest of European dictators, detested the Nazis and also feared communism.

The Royal Air Force command staging post at Lagens Field in the Azores coordinated Allied air operations in the region. National Archives

channels would have to be explored before there was any consideration of an armed entry into neutral territory. This was not the British way of doing things, and such an incursion would cause great embarrassment to the Allies.

Yet, gaining entry to the sprawling group of islands—Flores, Corvo, Terceira, Sao Jorge, Pico, Faial, Graciosa, Sao Miguel, and Santa Maria—was to prove a formidable diplomatic undertaking for the Allies. Vulnerable Portugal, whose troops had fought alongside the British on the Western Front in World War I, had no desire to become embroiled in another—and much wider—conflict. As one Lisbon official commented, "When an elephant sneezes, a mouse dies of pneumonia."

To stay out the war, Prime Minister Salazar wanted neither side to use any of his territory as a base for offensive operations. His regime was a right-wing dictatorship, but Salazar, the mildest of European dictators, detested the Nazis and also feared communism. While many in the Portuguese upper classes admired Hitler's new Germany and were influenced by it, the working people were sympathetic to the Allied cause.

In March 1939, Portugal and Spain, once bitter enemies, signed the Pacto Iberico, a treaty of friendship and nonaggression, and Salazar made an important early move that would benefit the Allies. He influenced the Spanish leader, Generalissimo Francisco Franco, to resist Hitler's blandishments to join the Axis camp. When World War II broke out on September 1, 1939, with the German invasion of Poland, Spain and Portugal both declared their neutrality. Salazar's foreign policy comprised two main elements: Iberian solidarity and the 1373 Treaty of Windsor signed by England and Portugal, the world's longest standing alliance. The two countries had close economic ties.

The Portuguese admired Britain most of all the European nations, and while Salazar's attitude toward Hitler and the Third Reich was reserved, his sympathy for Churchill and his people was friendly and unwavering. When Britain and France were forced to declare war on September 3, 1939, Salazar predicted that Britain would stand undefeated.

To be ready for any eventuality, Premier Salazar doubled the size of the Portuguese Army in 1940-1941 from 40,000 to 80,000 men. Because of the perceived threat to the Azores, 40,000 troops were stationed there, and this proved to be a diplomatic triumph for the shrewd Salazar. The Allies were sure that this had been done to defend against a possible German assault, while the enemy viewed

Naval History and Heritage Command

Constructed on Terciera Island in the Azores, Lagens Field, shown here in 1943, was the tactical hub for Allied aircraft deployment in the area of the Atlantic where a treacherous gap had once existed, allowing German U-boats to prowl almost at will in their hunt for Allied convoys.

the garrison's aim as resisting a British or American landing.

Meanwhile, the strategic importance of the Azores was studied in 1941 by both Hitler and President Roosevelt, who had been making a number of moves to support the British while his own country was still neutral. Hitler gave instructions to prepare for Operation Felix, the occupation of the Azores and also the Spanish Canary Islands and Portugal's Cape Verde Islands, both west of the African coast, to prevent possible Allied landings. Roosevelt promised Churchill that he would dispatch an occupying force to the Azores, as in the case of Iceland, if Britain could arrange an invitation from Portugal. Both leaders feared a Nazi thrust through the Iberian Peninsula and the seizure of Gibraltar, the British bastion guarding entry to the Mediterranean Sea.

In May 1941, the American president pressed for action to take over the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands to forestall what he imagined might be a German move into Spain and Portugal "at any moment." FDR wanted a landing force of 50,000 men ready within a month. But when his advisers reported that a sufficient number of ships could not be found in such a short time, FDR "let himself be argued out of the thing," according to Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau. Nothing came of it. There was no German threat to Gibraltar and no need, at that time, for an invitation from Lisbon.

But the Allied leaders and planners continued to study the strategic importance of the Azores and how they might gain a foothold there. While on their way to the Trident Conference in Washington in May 1943, the British chiefs of staff—General Alan Brooke, Chief of the Imperial General Staff; Admiral Sir Dudley Pound; and Air Chief Marshal Sir Charles Portal—drafted a detailed report for consideration by Churchill and Roosevelt. Use of "the Portuguese Atlantic Islands would be of outstanding value in shortening the war by convincing the enemy he has lost the Battle of the Atlantic," they wrote. And, said the British military chiefs, the "protection of convoys in the central Atlantic is essential to sustain Allied operations in the Mediterranean and to keep the buildup for [Operation] Overlord [the planned liberation of Europe] on schedule."

The U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff endorsed the report and presented it to FDR and Churchill to adopt as official policy.

The prime minister cabled his War Cabinet in London that he and FDR were discussing a combined front to pressure Salazar and that they would present him with an ultimatum to allow an Allied occupation of the islands. If diplomacy failed, they would use force. The British and Americans approached the Azores question differently. Churchill's cabinet advocated waiting to see if ongoing negotiations failed, while the Americans were characteristically impatient.

Admiral Ernest J. King, the irascible U.S. Navy commander in chief who was more concerned with operations in the Pacific Theater than in Europe, suggested that the British seize the islands and build an antisubmarine base there. Roosevelt recommended sending to the Azores an army division, 400 antiaircraft guns, 14 fighter squadrons, and 10,000 men to build an air base. Meanwhile, the U.S. State Department, "accustomed to sneezing whenever the Pentagon caught cold," vacillated.

Churchill was pleased with the proposals, but his War Cabinet was horrified and convinced him to calm Washington down. Additional restraint was exerted by Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden on Churchill and by General George C. Marshall, U.S. Army chief of staff, on FDR. Some headway had been made by this time with Salazar, who was about to agree to British bases in the Azores. He wanted to keep the Americans out of the picture for two reasons: first, that once in the Azores, they would stay; second, how to explain it to Germany, with which he was trading.

Persisting with diplomatic maneuver and ever mindful of history, Churchill rose in the House of Commons on October 12, 1943, to announce that he had invoked the treaty signed by King Edward III and King Fernando and Queen Eleanor of Portugal in 1373 to authorize an operation to protect the Azores. Relishing every moment of the historic event, the prime minister took puckish pleasure in springing on a surprised Parliament an ancient treaty that few even knew existed.

"As this soaked in," Churchill reported, "there was something like a gasp. I do not suppose any such continuity of relations between two powers has ever been, or will ever be, set forth in the ordinary day-to-day work of British diplomacy." He noted that the 1373 accord had been reinforced in various forms by treaties in 1386, 1643, 1654, 1660, 1661, 1703, 1815, 1899, 1904, and 1914.

Churchill told the Commons that Salazar's government had accepted the British request for "certain facilities in the Azores which will enable better protection to be provided for merchant shipping in the Atlantic." The agreement, said the British leader, "is of a temporary nature only, and in no way prejudices the maintenance of Portuguese sovereignty over Portuguese territory." On that evening of October 12, 1943, the Lisbon newspapers carried the full text of Churchill's statement along with an explanation by the Portuguese government that the Azores accord would not compromise the nation's neutrality.

Churchill dubbed the occupation of the Atlantic islands Operation Alacrity.

Premier Salazar had acted outwardly neutral to justify his refusal to grant the Germans submarine bases in the Azores, while continuing to trade with them. Because of a Royal Navy blockade, Nazi Germany had to obtain tungsten—a metal necessary to harden steel and for use in lamp filaments—on the European continent. Portugal, Spain, and Sweden were the only suppliers that could ship the metal overland to Germany. The Portuguese production of tungsten was by far the most important—3,000 tons a year.

To the dismay of the Allies, Salazar insisted that trade with Germany was necessary to maintain his country's neutrality and not damage its poor economy or antagonize the Nazis. Like Spain's wily Franco, he was careful not to provoke the ruthless and unstable Hitler, who had harbored designs on the Iberian Peninsula early in the war.

A Nazi occupation of Portugal would mean U-boats sneaking out unhindered from bases on its Atlantic coast, and this was a consequence too calamitous for Churchill to contemplate. "The U-boat attack was our worst evil," he said later. "It would have been wise for the Germans to stake all upon it." When Salazar had consulted with Britain early in the war on what was expected of him, Churchill agreed to help modernize the Portuguese Army. But he urged Salazar to stay out of the war.

Throughout the war, the Allies found Salazar difficult to deal with. The only son of a small landowner in the scenic province of Beira Alta, he was educated in a seminary and at the historic University of Coimbra before becoming an economist and professor. He served as finance minister of Portugal and was elected prime minister in 1932. He became a virtual dictator. A bachelor and lifelong supporter of the Catholic Church, "the little gray man" lived an austere life. A British diplomat observed that he "lived the plainest of lives, indifferent and indeed hostile to any ostentation, luxury, or personal gain."

Urbane British Foreign Secretary Eden was driven to despair many times while dealing with Salazar and spoke of "conduct incomprehensible in an ally." Yet the Portuguese leader was in an unenviable position. His chief concern was to maintain a pose of proper diplomatic behavior and not give the Germans an excuse to invade his vulnerable, strategic territory. Although the Azores occupation made Portugal a co-belligerent, an outward veneer of neutrality was maintained. When 11 American planes were obliged to land at Lisbon in January 1943, they were impounded and their crews interned.

Salazar also had to be wary of his Spanish neighbor, for, at the beginning of the war, Franco had signed the Anti-Comintern pact aligning Spain with the Axis powers.

Convinced that the fascist nations would win the war, Franco had warned Salazar that any Allied landing on Portuguese territory would be considered an act of aggression and that Spain would be forced to take steps in her own defense. The Portuguese premier needed to be careful, for if the Nazis did not invade his country, then their Spanish supernumeraries might arrive instead. At a meeting in Seville in February 1942, the shrewd Salazar convinced Franco to remain neutral and start thinking about the possibility that the Allies could prevail. The Anglo-American invasion of North Africa on November 8, 1942, assured Franco that his Portuguese counterpart was on the right track.

In the meantime, the British War Cabinet feared that even if Spain ostensibly remained cordial to Portugal, Franco would be hard pressed to deny Hitler the right to send his forces through the Pyrenees and into Gibraltar and Portugal. As it turned out, Franco emerged as one of the unsung heroes of World War II. He was the only national leader on the European continent to stand face to face with Hitler and reject his proposals. If he had not done so, German armies would have invaded Iberia, the Mediterranean would have been closed, and the German general staff would not have gone ahead with the June 1941 invasion of Russia, which proved to be the Nazis' undoing.

The Allied-Portuguese treaty of October 1943 was the wedge that allowed the construction of the Lajes airfield on the island of Terceira in the Azores. At the first Quebec Conference on August 13-24, 1943, Churchill and Roosevelt had agreed that British units should enter the islands with the consent of Portugal, followed by the Americans two

National Archives

Santa Maria airfield on Santa Maria Island in the Azores was a scene of heavy activity as Allied aircraft took the offensive against German U-boats in the Atlantic.

weeks later. Portugal had signed an official agreement giving Britain the use of Azores bases on August 18.

Early in October 1943, a combined British task force led by Air Vice Marshal G.R. Bromet sailed from Liverpool to the Azores. Three small convoys were comprised of the troop carrier HMT *Franconia,* three escorting destroyers, the escort aircraft carrier HMS *Fencer,* anti-submarine trawlers, and landing craft. The force carried 3,000 officers and men drawn from the Royal Engineers, the Royal Air Force, and the Royal Navy. After a week of sailing through rough weather while eluding U-boats, the so-called 247th Air Group disembarked at Angra do Heroisma to start work on the Lajes air base.

Immediately after landing in Terceira, work started on building a 6,000-foot-long runway that would serve RAF Coastal Command four-engine Boeing B-17 bombers and heavy transport planes. The British airmen, sappers, and sailors were helped by local laborers. The landing strip was finished quickly, blessed by a local Roman Catholic priest, and ceremonially opened by the governor of Terceira. Air Vice Marshal Bromet moved three squadrons of Coastal Command B-17s and Lockheed Hudson twin-engine medium bombers into Lajes, and air patrols from the islands started.

The Azores gap was closed, the Atlantic was no longer a graveyard for Allied ships, and German U-boat losses mounted dramatically. British, Canadian, and American naval units—now aided by antisubmarine patrol bombers based in the Azores—had turned the tide in the long, costly Battle of the Atlantic. The director of the U.S. Bureau of Yards and Docks' Atlantic Division reported, "Suffice it to say that with the inauguration of the Azores patrols, shipping losses fell off to such an extent as to become almost negligible; at the same time, the men concerned wanted for little."

A U.S. Navy report said later, "Allied acquisition of the Azores as a base was a decisive blow against German submarine warfare."

Twenty-three U-boats were sunk in October 1943, and in November and December only nine merchant ships were lost out of 2,468 that sailed in 64 North Atlantic convoys. At the same time, 25 more German submarines went to the bottom. Admiral Karl Dönitz called off his wolfpack strategy and ordered the remaining U-boats to disperse more widely.

In January 1944, officers and men of the U.S. 96th Naval Construction Battalion (Seabees) and the U.S. 928th Engineer Aviation Regiment landed on the island of Terceira.

When a U-boat intercepted the Portuguese merchant steamer *Serpa Pinto* in the mid-Atlantic on May 26, 1944, Prime Minister Salazar considered clamping an embargo on tungsten shipments to Germany. He was also under intense diplomatic pressure regarding the exports from the Allies, particularly Brazil, which charged that tungsten sent to Germany was contributing to casualties among its 25,000-man expeditionary force fighting with General Mark W. Clark's U.S. Fifth Army in the Italian campaign. Salazar relented and agreed in June 1944 to halt all tungsten shipments to Germany. It was a hard decision that meant the loss of two million pounds in revenue and 100,000 jobs for his impoverished country.

Meanwhile, the facilities in the Azores were expanded and improved, and agreement was reached in November 1944 for construction of a U.S. air base on Santa Maria Island. By now, with the archipelago a "shining Allied beacon in the Atlantic," neutral Portugal was playing a key role in the war against tyranny. Besides hunting down U-boats, British and American patrol bombers from the Azores shepherded to England convoys of U.S. and Canadian troops, weapons, and matériel crucial to the liberation of Europe.

Nevertheless, Salazar's Portugal maintained its neutrality until the end of the war. It was one of two nonbelligerent countries (Ireland was the other) that flew flags at half mast after Hitler's suicide in April 1945.

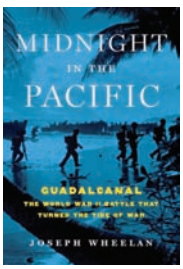
Author Michael D. Hull has written frequently for WWII History *on a variety of topics. He resides in Enfield, Connecticut.*

By Christopher Miskimon

Operation Shoestring

The bloody six-month-long ordeal at Guadalcanal resulted in America's first victory on land in World War II.

THE NIGHT OF OCTOBER 26, 1942, WAS A HELLISH TIME FOR THE SOLDIERS AND Marines on Guadalcanal, and it was about to get worse. The jungle in front of Marine Sergeant Mitchell Paige's heavy machine-gun section contained 2,000 Japanese troops bent on piercing the thin line of American defenders and advancing north to Henderson Field, the airstrip providing the much needed airpower the Marines required to stay in the fight.



Paige had been in the corps for six years, enlisting at 18. He spent time in China, the Philippines, and Cuba before the war and was now considered an "Old Breed" Marine. Tonight, staring out into the dark and foreboding jungle, he could only wait for the coming fight. At 2 AM the waiting was over. Gunfire broke out all along the line as a "seemingly endless wall" of Japanese emerged from shadow and charged up the hill toward the American positions. Paige ordered his machine guns to open up, adding to the swirling melee of the battle.

Within moments the enemy was upon them; Paige saw one of his gunners bayoneted so savagely he was lifted into the air. Others clashed with the enemy, falling on each other with swords and bayonets. A corporal was knocked to the ground and then saw a Japanese officer standing over him, a sword in his hands. He used his rifle to block the repeated attacks but it soon broke apart. As the enemy prepared to kill him, the corporal lashed out and kicked his opponent in the throat, killing him.

Despite the hand-to-hand combat the attack was beaten back, but another came an hour later. This time the enemy captured one spur of the ridge the Marines held. Paige saw a group of Japanese soldiers advancing on the company command post behind his position. He fired an entire 250-round belt into them, piling up bodies. As Paige reloaded and kept up his fire, steam hissed from the water jacket of his Browning .30-caliber. Soon he found he was alone, so he went to an adjacent company and borrowed a fresh machine gun and crew. They advanced into the enemy, who were using captured machine guns to enfilade the American line.

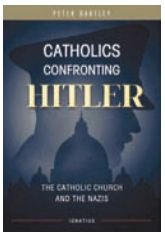
Paige spoke Japanese and shouted orders to stand up and hurry. Thirty Japanese rose from the tall kunai grass, and Paige mowed them down. Afterward, he led a few Marines in a charge down the hill, cradling his machine gun despite its overheated water jacket. When this second attack broke, the Japanese retreated, leaving 298 bodies on the ground. Much like John Basilone earlier in the Guadalcanal fighting, Paige held his position and repulsed a fierce attack that threatened the vital airfield. Both men would be awarded the Medal of Honor for their actions, Paige for his service on what would forever be known as Bloody Ridge.

The Battle of Guadalcanal was America's first great victory on land during World War II, but it was a hard-fought action where the suffering was not just in battle. The Marines nicknamed it Operation Shoestring due to its hasty planning and logistical difficulties. Supply shortages, disease, and climate all added to the ordeal. The two forces battered at each other with all they could muster until the Japanese finally quit the fight. The battle was also fought in the air and seas around the island, making it a true joint military effort. This harrowing campaign is recalled in both the misery and courage of the participants in ***Midnight in the Pacific: Guadalcanal—The World War II Battle That Turned the Tide of War*** (Joseph Wheelen, Da Capo Press, Boston, 2017, 400 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $28.00, hardcover).

A Marine on Guadalcanal waits for "chow call" while manning a trench near the front lines. INSET: Sergeant Mitchell Paige was later promoted to second lieutenant.

The author combines accounts of the land, sea, and air battles

fought on and around Guadalcanal to show the true scope of the fighting. It is well researched and uses accounts by high-ranking officers and private soldiers alike to provide a thorough retelling of what the fighting was like. His prose is readable and clear, allowing the reader to advance through the pages with ease. He deftly switches from ground battles to naval engagements and aerial dogfights while keeping a sense of the overall story and maintaining a chronological narrative. It is an impressive chronicle of one of the critical campaigns of the war.



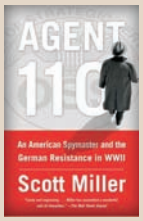
Catholics Confronting Hitler: The Catholic Church and the Nazis (Peter Bartley, Ignatius Press, San Francisco, 2016, 291 pp., bibliography, index, $17.95, softcover)

World War II affected Europe's religious life in significant ways. The Third Reich sought to suppress religion and even replace it as the ideology of the people. The Catholic Church went through great difficulty during this period. Many of its churches were closed, and thousands of bishops and priests were shot or sent to concentration camps such as Dachau. After the war the Catholic Church was criticized for not resisting the Nazis sufficiently and has even faced accusations of complicity. This book argues that the church resisted the Reich as well as possible given the Nazi monopoly on force. The church hierarchy up to the level of the Pope did what it could to fight back, including cooperating with Protestants and Jews. The author presents a cogent argument and gives examples of Catholic resistance from across Europe. Many of these Catholics paid a high price for adherence to their faith, and this work documents these incidents in the effort to present a positive view of the church's wartime struggle under Hitler's Nazi regime.

The Second World Wars: How the First Global Conflict Was Fought and Won (Victor Davis Hanson, Basic Books, New York, 2017, 720 pp., maps, photographs, notes bibliography, index, $40.00, hardcover)

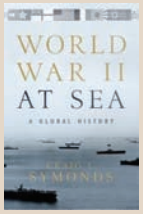
Tanks rolling across the fields of France, artillery crashing across the sands of Egypt, torpedoes crashing into freighters in the North Atlantic, infantry fighting at close quarters in the Burmese jungle, and bombers raining ruin upon cities characterized World War II as a truly a global conflict, the first ever fought across such a wide variety of landscapes and distances. The youth of the combatant nations fought each other with new weapons, some of which were not yet well understood. When it ended, more than 50 million were dead, and entire nations lay in ruin.

New and Noteworthy



Agent 110: An American Spymaster and the German Resistance in World War II (Scott Miller, Simon and Schuster, 2017, $28.00, hardcover) Allen Dulles slipped into Switzerland before the Germans sealed the border. There, he found evidence of the nascent German resistance movement against the Third Reich.

So Long for Now: A Sailor's Letters from the USS Franklin (Jerry L. Rogers, University of Oklahoma Press, 2017, $29.95, hardcover) Elden Rogers was one of 800 men who died aboard the aircraft carrier *Franklin* on March 19, 1945. This book reconstructs his life through his letters and those of his family.



World War II at Sea: A Global History (Craig L. Symonds, Oxford University Press, 2017, $34.95, hardcover) This acclaimed naval historian ties together naval battles from across the globe into a coherent narrative of the war at sea.

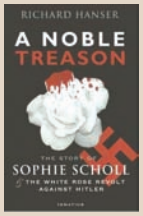
Neglected Skies: The Demise of British Naval Power in the Far East, 1922-42 (Angus Britts, Naval Institute Press, 2017, $34.95, hardcover) This work chronicles the gradual deterioration of British naval strength before World War II and how this affected the fighting with the Japanese in 1941-42.

The Falaise Gap Battles: Normandy 1944 (Simon Forty and Leo Marriott, Casemate Publishers, 2017, $16.95, softcover) This book compares wartime and modern photographs to create a picture of the famous battle to trap the German Army in France. It highlights units as well as phases of the operation.

Slybirds: A Photographic History of the 353rd Fighter Group During the Second World War (Graham Cross, Fighting High Publishing, 2017, $49.95, hardcover) This unit took part in all the major aerial battles over Europe from mid-1943 on. A thorough search of the photographic archives was used to create this coffee table book.

Panther (Thomas Anderson, Osprey Publishing, 2017, $30.00, hardcover) The Panther tank was arguably the best German tank of the war. This book covers its development, design, and service.

Objective Saint-Lo: 7 June 1944–18 July 1944 (Georges Bernage, Pen and Sword, 2017, $39.95, hardcover) This is day-by-day account of the famous battle during the Normandy campaign. It covers both the American and German points of view.



A Noble Treason: The Story of Sophie Scholl and the White Rose Revolt Against Hitler (Richard Hanser, Ignatius Press, 2017, $17.95, softcover) Sophie and her friends formed a resistance group to the Nazis at the University of Munich. Eventually they paid a heavy price for their convictions.

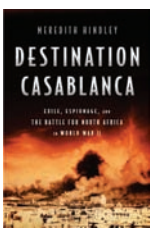
Pearl Harbor's Hidden Heroes (Colonel Charles A. Jones, Createspace, 2017, $25.95, softcover) Eighteen men were awarded the Medal of Honor for their actions in Hawaii during World War II. This work tells their stories.

The author is an eminent historian who brings the disparate campaigns of the war together into a coherent narrative, showing how these widely spread efforts came together into an interconnected war with direction and purpose. He also makes a case that the war's outcome was never truly in doubt and successfully argues the Axis was prepared to win limited conflicts along their borders but could never achieve victory in a global war. There is even an effective connection made between World War II and the previous 3,000 years of military history, an association the author is superbly placed to make.

Patton: The Madness Behind the Genius (Jim Sudmeier, Createspace, North Charleston, SC, 2017, 235 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index, $17.95, softcover)

George Patton is an enduring figure in American military history. He is often revered for his aggressive spirit, unrelenting drive, and single-minded pursuit of victory. He had a reputation as a hard man, stern with his troops and inflexible toward his enemy. Patton was famous as the man who drove the U.S. Army to victory in North Africa, advanced across Sicily, and finally drove the Germans across France and back into Germany in 1944-1945. He was also the man who led troops against protesting veterans in the 1930s, slapped a soldier suffering from fatigue, and spent a year on the sidelines for that act. Despite the endurance of his reputation, it is also a tale of a temperamental and complex man.

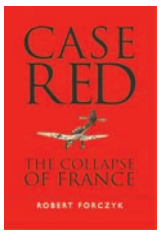
This book delves into Patton's mental state, which the author, a scholar and scientist, argues was fragile and unstable. There are numerous examples to back this assertion, pointing toward Patton's cruelty, his ego, and his superiority complex. Various events in his life are analyzed, from successes at Bastogne and North Africa to his failures such as the Hammelburg Raid. The end result is a balanced look at the man, highlighting his virtues but giving equal attention to his failings. It neither glorifies him nor attempts to destroy him.



Destination Casablanca: Exile, Espionage and the Battle for North Africa in World War II (Meredith Hindley, Public Affairs Books, New York, 2017, 512 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $30.00, hardcover)

American troops came ashore in French Morocco on November 8, 1942. Three days later they were in control of the entire country, including the valuable port city of Casablanca. That location was famous for the then recent Hollywood movie starring Humphrey Bogart. The city itself was in fact a den of spies and intrigue, not too different from the film's core theme, though its details were inaccurate. Casablanca was filled with European refugees, Jews in particular, trying to flee the conquering Germans. It also held scores of Nazi spies, which gave rise to a gathering of Allied spies and resistance operatives as well. After its seizure by the Americans, however, it became a critical logistics hub for operations in the region. It also was the location of the famous Allied conference in which Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Persident Franklin D. Roosevelt demanded the unconditional surrender of the Axis powers.

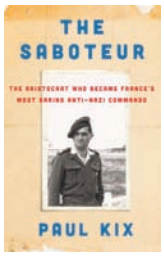
The book is full of the personalities who populated the city at various times in its wartime history, from world leaders down to local citizens and expatriates. The city played a major role in the war in North Africa and further on into Sicily and Italy. The author states her case effectively, explaining the city's importance to the reader with in-depth research and prose that weaves the various personal accounts together. Casablanca receives scant attention in most accounts of the war; this work reveals its vital role in the Allied prosecution of the war.



Case Red: The Collapse of France (Robert Forczyk, Osprey Publishing, Oxford, UK, 2017, 464 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index, $40.00, hardcover)

Case Yellow, the German plan for the offensive against France, Holland, and Belgium in May 1940, is widely known. It resulted in the evacuation of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) from continental Europe in early June 1940, along with a number of French soldiers, all of them taken to Britain. This was not the end of the fighting in France, however. There were weeks of a follow-on operation, Case Red, in which the Wehrmacht went on to conquer metropolitan France in hard fighting. The Germans had to pierce the Weygand Line, a much harder fight than the breakthrough at Sedan. A second BEF was actually sent to France, but it could not be effectively used before the Germans achieved their final and decisive breakthrough. This led to a second evacuation from a number of remaining ports, which succeeded in taking 200,000 to safety. Meanwhile, the French leadership debated whether they should flee to North Africa or England—or surrender.

This book is a detailed look at the last three weeks of the fall of France. Most histories give little space to this period, perhaps a few paragraphs or even a chapter. Here, the entire work is dedicated to enlightening the reader about how France actually collapsed. This was a time of tough fighting, much of which puts paid to the common perception that the Nazi invasion was entirely one sided. It is full of detail from both sides, showing how generals and field soldiers struggled against one another in personal ways during a dark time for France, England, and all of Europe.



The Saboteur: The Aristocrat Who Became France's Most Daring Anti-Nazi Commando (Paul Kix, HarperCollins, New York, 2017, 320 pp., photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $$27.99, hardcover)

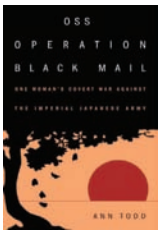
Robert de la Rochefoucauld was the product of his family's extensive wealth and position. He grew up in remarkable chateaux and attended the finest schools. It was clear his life would be one of comfort and relative ease. Then the Nazis came, conquered and occupied his country, and imprisoned his father. Robert avoided capture and went to England, where he joined the Special Operations Executive, known notoriously as the "Ministry of Ungentlemanly Warfare." He learned to kill, pick locks, open safes, and plant bombs. With these newfound skills, he returned to his homeland and created resistance cells, taking the fight to the Nazis with all the fervor he could muster. Eventually caught, his German captors tortured him for months but never broke him. He escaped execution twice, once only moments before an SS squad shot him and the other by leaping from a moving truck. He survived the war and passed away in 2012.

To research this book the author covered five countries, interviewed dozens of people, including Robert's surviving relatives, and read thousands of pages of documents and books in four languages. The book reads almost as a spy novel, with engaging prose and a fast pace. It tells the story of a man who could have sat out the war in relative luxury and allowed others to liberate his nation. Instead, he leaped into the war effort and did all he could for France and its people.

The Desert Air Force in World War II: Air Power in the Western Desert 1940-1942 (Ken Delve, Pen and Sword Books, South Yorkshire, UK, 2017, maps, photographs, appendices, $39.95, hardcover)

The war in North Africa is generally seen as one of tanks in the desert maneuvering across sandy plains, raising enormous clouds of dust, and fighting swirling battles around the odd town or oasis. The skies above the desert were a battlefield of their own, however, as Allied and Axis planes dueled and bombed. The 1st Tactical Air Force, which would become known as the Desert Air Force, was the Commonwealth organization that did its best to scour enemy aircraft from the air, strike enemy combat troops, and disrupt the enemy's logistics networks. It was composed of British, South African, and Australian squadrons that were later joined by a few American units in 1942. Their story is a lesser known yet vital part of the war in North Africa.

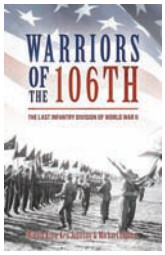
This work is an overall look at the Desert Air Force. Its aircraft and weapons are covered in detail with many drawings and photographs. The airfields, operations, and aircrews are also given detailed attention. The notable offensive and defensive battles are explained as well. There are also a large number of appendices providing extensive background information, giving the reader a good general view of an air force that deserves more attention than it usually receives.



OSS Operation Black Mail: One Woman's Covert War Against the Imperial Japanese Army (Ann Todd, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2017, 280 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $27.95, hardcover)

The OSS fought on all fronts during World War II. Elizabeth McIntosh spent her war in the China-Burma-India Theater, engaging in psychological warfare against the Japanese Army. She spread false news reports, propaganda, and fake orders to demoralize and mislead the enemy. Elizabeth once ordered the death of a Japanese courier so a fake surrender order could be planted on him. She also obtained letters written by Japanese soldiers and their families and altered them to frustrate and distress the recipients. The young agent created thousands of radio scripts, pamphlets, and rumors, targeting the enemy in personal and biting ways. Along the way she met Ho Chi Minh and another OSS agent, Julia Child. Propaganda was her weapon, and Elizabeth was an expert in its use.

This is a fascinating look at the use of implacable and harsh psychological operations against a mortal enemy, conducted without restraint or remorse. The author delves into Elizabeth's story in a way that makes it seem almost fictional, but the book is obviously well researched. Her subject is a real-life hero who is still acknowledged for her skill and work by the present day intelligence community. It is a tribute to the accomplishments of a legendary American spy who started in the OSS and continued her career in the postwar CIA.



Warriors of the 106th: The Last Infantry Division of World War II (Martin King, Ken Johnson, and Michael Collins, Casemate Publishers, Havertown, PA, 2017, 336 pp., maps, photographs, appendix, bibliography, index, $32.95, hardcover)

On December 16, 1944, the German Army began its last great offensive of World War II. It rolled into the forested Ardennes region, beginning the action that would soon be known as the Battle of the Bulge. Directly in the path of the Nazi onslaught was the green U.S. 106th Infantry Division. The unit had only recently arrived in theater and was placed in the Ardennes because it was a quiet sector. Two of the division's regiments were overrun around the town of Schonburg, resulting in the capture of 6,800 men. They went into POW camps, where they went through a different kind of ordeal. One of those prisoners was Kurt Vonnegut, who would later use his experiences in his famous book *Slaughterhouse Five*. The rest of the division fought on. Many joined the defense of St. Vith, while others fought behind the lines until they could link up with other Americans. After the Bulge the 106th carryied the fight into Germany and ended the war on occupation duty. It spent 63 days in combat.

The 106th is a famous division because of the Bulge, but much of its story is unknown, placed in shadow by the surrender and St. Vith. This book goes into detail about the unit's experiences, including numerous personal accounts by its veterans. They give the reader a frontline look at both battlefields and POW camps. The work adds measurably to the body of knowledge on the Ardennes and the European Theater. □

Simulation Gaming

BY JOSEPH LUSTER

CHECK OUT TWO UP-AND-COMERS THAT TAKE WWII'S KEY BATTLES AND EXPLORE THEM WITH THEIR OWN UNIQUE TWIST.

ENLISTED

PUBLISHER GAIJIN ENTERTAINMENT • **GENRE** MMO/SHOOTER • **SYSTEM** PC • **AVAILABLE** NOW (ALPHA)

Countless shooters have attempted to capture the essence of World War II in their campaigns, and each has gone about it in a slightly different way. The straight-up massively-multiplayer angle has certainly been attempted, but it's still rare to see that level of ambition coupled with historical subject matter. This is set to change with *Enlisted,* an upcoming squad-based shooter with a focus on some of the war's most important battles on a massive scale.

Using the Dagor Engine—which is Gaijin Entertainment's own technology previously implemented in games like popular flight and ground vehicle combat MMO *War Thunder*—*Enlisted* promises dynamic skies and water and other huge, detailed spaces. Rather than honing in on vehicles like *War Thunder,* however, *Enlisted* is all about the soldiers at the heart of the conflict. If everything goes according to plan, the devs behind the project should have around 120 to 150 soldiers participating in a single battle. While this doesn't necessarily mean there will be that many players—participants will be able to lead their own squad of AI-controlled soldiers—it does provide a sense of the scale being attempted here.

One of the aspects that sets *Enlisted* apart from your average WWII shooter, however, is its attempt at expanding the goals typically associated with combat. Many similarly styled games go for straightforward competition that pits one side against the other in score- or kill-based contests. *Enlisted* wants to skew its goals more toward experiencing a day in a soldier's boots. Thus, the actual scenarios and goals will be more in line with the type of objectives soldiers had in actual warfare. Exactly what those individual objectives are remains to be completely seen, but hopefully the team at Darkflow Software continues to approach the WWII shooter from a novel perspective.

As for the level of historical accuracy involved, it seems as if the folks behind *Enlisted* are willing to go about as far as they can while still making sure it's actually fun to play. Recreating real battles is the focal point, but they don't want to get too bogged down in the realism involved with the battlefield itself. That means you can look forward to showdowns that are rooted in, but not too closely glued to, the way they went down in the history books. You'll be an integral part of a unit carrying out a crucial objective, but there will be a balance between speed and dynamism that leans closer to arcade thrills than simulation-style activities.

At the time of this writing, *Enlisted* still has its work cut out for it. The team is gathering crowdfunding for what will likely be a free-to-play final product, and that type of infrastructure takes a very specific approach to development. We'll check back in once the game is out of Alpha and see what type of historical battles made it through to the relatively-final cut.

HELL LET LOOSE

PUBLISHER BLACK MATTER • **GENRE** SHOOTER • **SYSTEM** PC • **AVAILABLE** Q2 2018

Speaking of historical accuracy, that's one of the chief goals of a new game called *Hell Let Loose.* Developed by a small independent team and powered by Unreal Engine 4, this teamwork-based shooter emphasizes communication and playing roles within the platoon for maximum effectiveness. As a result, survival becomes the name of the game along with a focus on historically accurate tactics, armor, weapons, and logistics.

The first theater of war to be featured in *Hell Let Loose* takes players to the Norman countryside in the early stages of 1944's Operation Overlord. One of the most attractive features is the sheer scale captured in this and other maps that are currently in the works. According to the devs at Black Matter, it takes approximately 15 minutes to cross the Norman countryside map on foot. The surroundings include a mix of small villages, dense woodland, winding canals, and open countryside, offering up a bunch of different strategic possibilities along the way.

The battles themselves will be waged with more than 16 true-to-life rifles, machine guns, and pistols, all of which come with their own realistic limitations. From jamming to overheating and other aspects of weapon limitations, the goal is to get as close to mimicking real issues without making said limitations too overbearing or annoying. All said, there are currently 14 playable roles that come equipped with their own unique weapons and other combat-ready items such as mines, mortars, and antitank measures.

Beyond settings and weapons, *Hell Let Loose* is split up into three key levels of warfare: Strategic, Operational, and Tactical. The first involves taking on the role of Commander and deciding on adaptive strategies for your ground forces. Call upon reinforcements and supplies and send in outside strikes to properly respond to the ever-changing field of battle. Operational duties consist of establishing supply lines to bolster forces, and Tactical roles include setting up observation posts and garrisons before settling on the appropriate course of action for each situation.

Hell Let Loose is another WWII shooter with great ambitions. With two teams of 50 players each facing off against one another on the battlefield, the creation of this small team has a great deal of potential bubbling at its core. Black Matter is comprised of self-proclaimed World War II enthusiasts working on a game they want to play themselves, so we'll see how that pans out when *Hell Let Loose* hits Steam Early Access in Q2 2018. □

Hostage

Continued from page 51

commanded the 3rd Attack Group. The group became, perhaps, his favorite. But Kenney also realized that the men who had fought in the Philippines and Java were worn out, both physically and emotionally. In August, Colonel Davies wrote a letter to Kenney pointing out how the 27th veterans had fought courageously since the beginning of the war and should be sent home.

When General Arnold came to Australia in September, Kenney brought up the subject of the men who had been in the war since the beginning and recommended that they be replaced as soon as possible. Arnold agreed and told Kenney that he could use the veterans in training units back in the States. In October, 18 officers and two enlisted men who had been part of the 27th left Australia in a B-24 transport bound for the United States.

Just before the 27th veterans left for the United States, they were shocked to learn that a Filipino sailboat had arrived in Australia carrying two men, one of whom was Lieutenant Damon "Rocky" Gause, who had been with the 17th Bombardment Squadron. Gause had fought on Bataan but refused to surrender and swam the two miles through shark-infested waters to the island of Corregidor. When Corregidor surrendered, Gause again refused to surrender and managed to make his way to the mainland, where he was hidden for two months by friendly Filipinos.

Gause met up with an infantry officer, Captain William Osborne, who had managed to escape from Bataan and was also being hidden. They purchased a motorized sailboat from some Filipinos and set sail for Australia after first stocking up with supplies from a dump that was being guarded by a single unfortunate Japanese soldier. After a 3,200-mile journey that took them through the Southern Philippines, past Borneo, the Celebes, and Java they finally landed in northern Australia. After their arrival, they were flown to Brisbane, where they reported to General MacArthur.

Still wearing the same ragged and filthy clothes they had on when they landed and barefoot, they walked into the general's office, saluted, and said, "Lieutenant Gause reporting from Corregidor." Gause, who was killed later in Europe where he flew fighters, said that MacArthur's words were, "I'll be damned."

Author Sam McGowan is a pilot and veteran of the Vietnam War. He resides in Missouri City, Texas.

Ordnance

Continued from page 13

conservative, gentlemanly Zemke was described as the "fightingest" fighter commander in Europe because he regularly led his pilots into action. He also was an innovative tactician. Both he and the gallant Colonel Gabreski, the third-ranking American air ace of all time, ended the war in German prison camps.

The production of Thunderbolts ended in November 1945. P-47Ds and P-47Ns remained in service with the USAAF and when it became the U.S. Air Force in September 1947, and a few flew with Air National Guard squadrons before being phased out in 1955. P-47s also operated with the air forces of Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Dominica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Iran, Italy, Mexico, Nationalist China, Peru, Turkey, and Yugoslavia.

When the Korean War broke out on June 25, 1950, Defense Department planners decided that piston-engine fighters were sorely needed for ground support. They tried to find enough P-47s for the task, but the planes, which had perfected such tactics in World War II, were almost out of inventory. A few Thunderbolts saw action in Korea, but the Air Force had no choice but to rely mainly on P-51s and the new breed of jet fighters.

Thunderbolts were featured on the screen in an acclaimed documentary and a Hollywood feature film. On direct orders from General Henry "Hap" Arnold, commander of the Army Air Forces, directors William Wyler and John Sturges went to Corsica in 1944 and spent nine months creating a documentary film, *Thunderbolt*. It focused on the 57th Fighter Group as it fought in Italy, supporting Allied ground troops on the Gustav Line and raiding the northern port of Spezia. Cameras mounted in a converted North American B-25 Mitchell medium bomber were used to photograph the P-47 raids, and Lieutenant Colonel Wyler's unit was awarded a citation and four battle stars. The film was released in October 1945, and hailed as "brilliant."

P-47 fighter group actions in the Normandy campaign were vividly depicted in the rousing 1948 Warner Brothers release, *Fighter Squadron*. Directed by Raoul Walsh and laden with combat footage, it starred Edmond O'Brien, Robert Stack, Henry Hull, and Shepperd Strudwick, with a young Rock Hudson making his film debut in a bit part.

Author Michael D. Hull is a frequent contributor to WWII History *on a variety of subjects. He resides in Enfield, Connecticut.*

Norwood Thomas

Continued from page 43

"Soldiers had been assigned to organize the people who were very ill and find transport to get them better medical attention," he said. "I had read about the camps in the *Stars and Stripes,* but we didn't get many details on what was really happening there."

The Allied forces continued to push eastward, and Norwood stayed in Munich with artillery headquarters while the 101st moved onto Berchtesgaden, the home for many of Hitler's elite and the Führer's personal retreat called the Eagle's Nest.

The 101st raced against the French 2nd Armored Division and the 7th Infantry Regiment, 3rd Division for the honor of securing the Eagle's Nest. The 7th Infantry won the race, but the 101st occupied the buildings and celebrated there for three days. After climbing the mountain to reach the Eagle's Nest, Norwood took no souvenirs, but he remembered how lovely it was there, looking out on the Bavarian Alps from Hitler's own armchair.

Germany surrendered on May 8, 1945, and the soldiers quickly thought of going home. To do so, a soldier needed 85 points for service completed, according to the system used to determine who went home first. Points were awarded for months in service, months overseas, campaigns, and medals received. Norwood initially had 82 points and waited for five more to be added to his total. He was in the second wave to be sent home, departing from Marseille, France, aboard the transport USS *Worcester Victory.* He brought home the piece of his D-Day parachute, a Nazi flag he took from a German headquarters, Germany money, and a prized Luger pistol he had taken from a German captain at a roadblock in Briquebec, France.

After a two-week voyage, Norwood touched American soil in Massachusetts a day before Thanksgiving 1945, more than two years after he had left for war. He had multiple Thanksgivings that year, one in Massachusetts, one in Fort Bragg where he was discharged from the 101st, and one at home.

Two weeks after his return from the war, Norwood met Mozelle, a young girl with movie star looks whom he later told that she was going to be his wife. She said that was not possible, but he pursued her. After five months, she said "Yes" to his proposal. Norwood went back to his old job at the auto repair shop but just could not settle back into civilian life. He found it hard to be around men who had not fought for their country and could not get along with them.

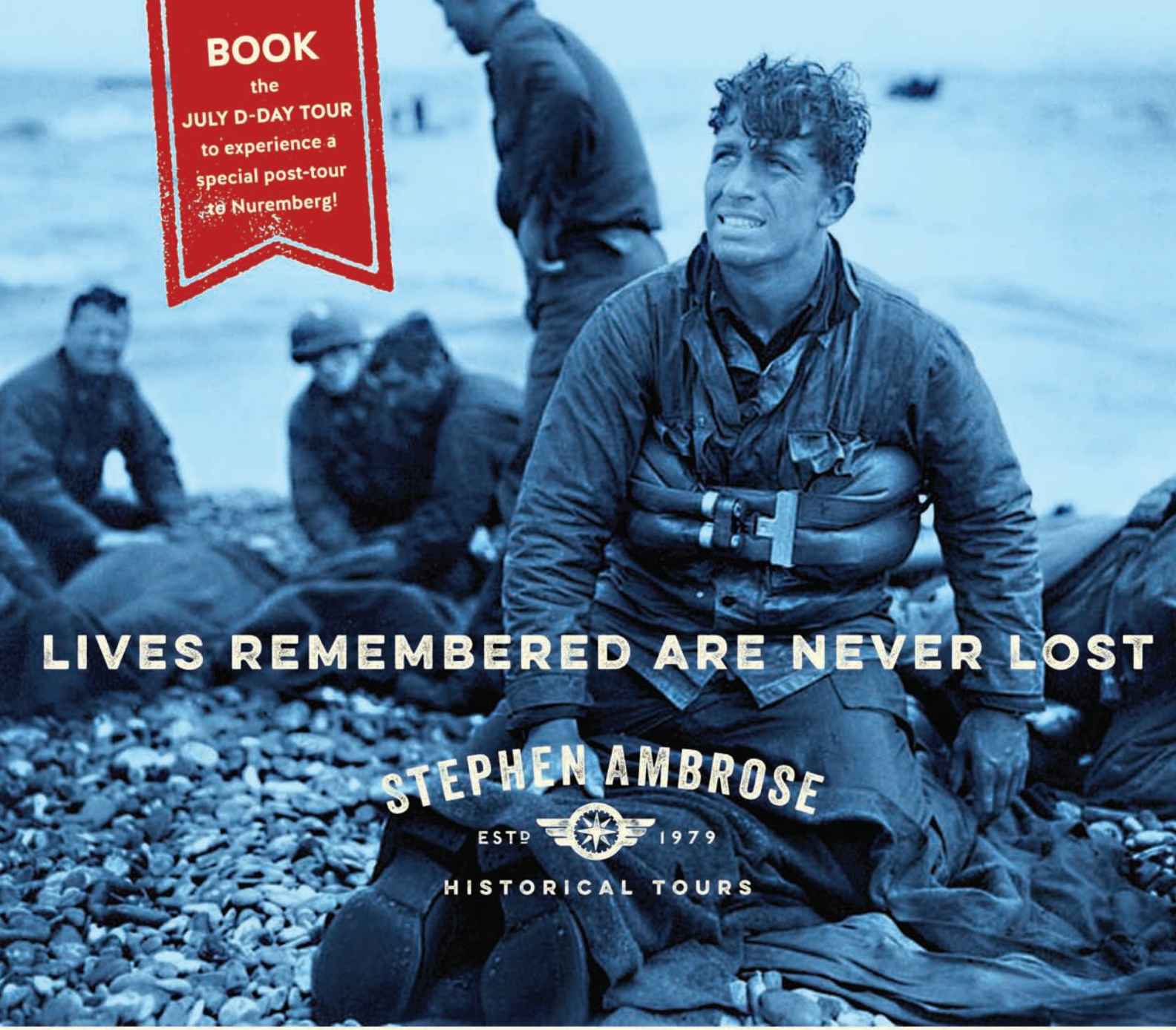
"My wife helped me with the anger I had toward men who didn't fight. It was just a hard time," Norwood remembered. He began what he calls "a gypsy life," changing jobs many times and getting into construction. They moved around a lot and had three children, but Norwood never found a job that was "normal" to him. After he thought about it, he realized that his "normal" was military life, and so he reenlisted in 1959. He served in Korea, Turkey, Thailand, and in the United States as a radio operator and later a chief instructor at a signal school. He retired and settled in Virginia Beach, Virginia. He has volunteered with the DAV (Disabled American Veterans) for many years. "Patriotism is less now than what it was prior to World War II," he observed. "It is important to tell these stories so we and our soldiers can become more effective in securing our country. I am glad I was able to serve."

On his 90th birthday, Norwood completed a tandem jump to reconnect with his past. "Being a paratrooper is something I am proud of," he said. "It's different jumping tandem, but at least no one is shooting at you." He jumped again in Virginia for the 71st Anniversary of D-Day and has returned to Europe three times, in 1966, in 1994 for the 50th Anniversary of D-Day, and in 2014 for the 70th Anniversary. During the 70th Anniversary visit, he was invited by the mayor of a town to stay in his personal residence as a guest of honor. He was also awarded the French Legion of Honor for his participation in the liberation of the country.

During the 1994 visit, Norwood was walking in Pouppeville and saw a familiar building. It was the bar where he was given shots of brandy on D-Day. He went in to have a drink and met a man who asked about his service. Norwood told him his D-Day story, and the man said, "My father was in this bar on D-Day. Will you please come to our home so you can meet him?" Norwood obliged and met the man, who remembered two American soldiers coming into the bar on D-Day.

The bar was no longer there in 2014, but Norwood remembered where the man lived, so he paid him a visit. The father had since passed away, but with the help of an interpreter, Norwood explained who he was to the man who answered the door. It was the son, whom he had met 20 years earlier.

Connie Kennedy is a Tour Director for Stephen Ambrose Historical Tours. She is a life-long World War II enthusiast and volunteer with Honor Tours. She is the wife of Brent and mother of two children, Finn and Fallon.



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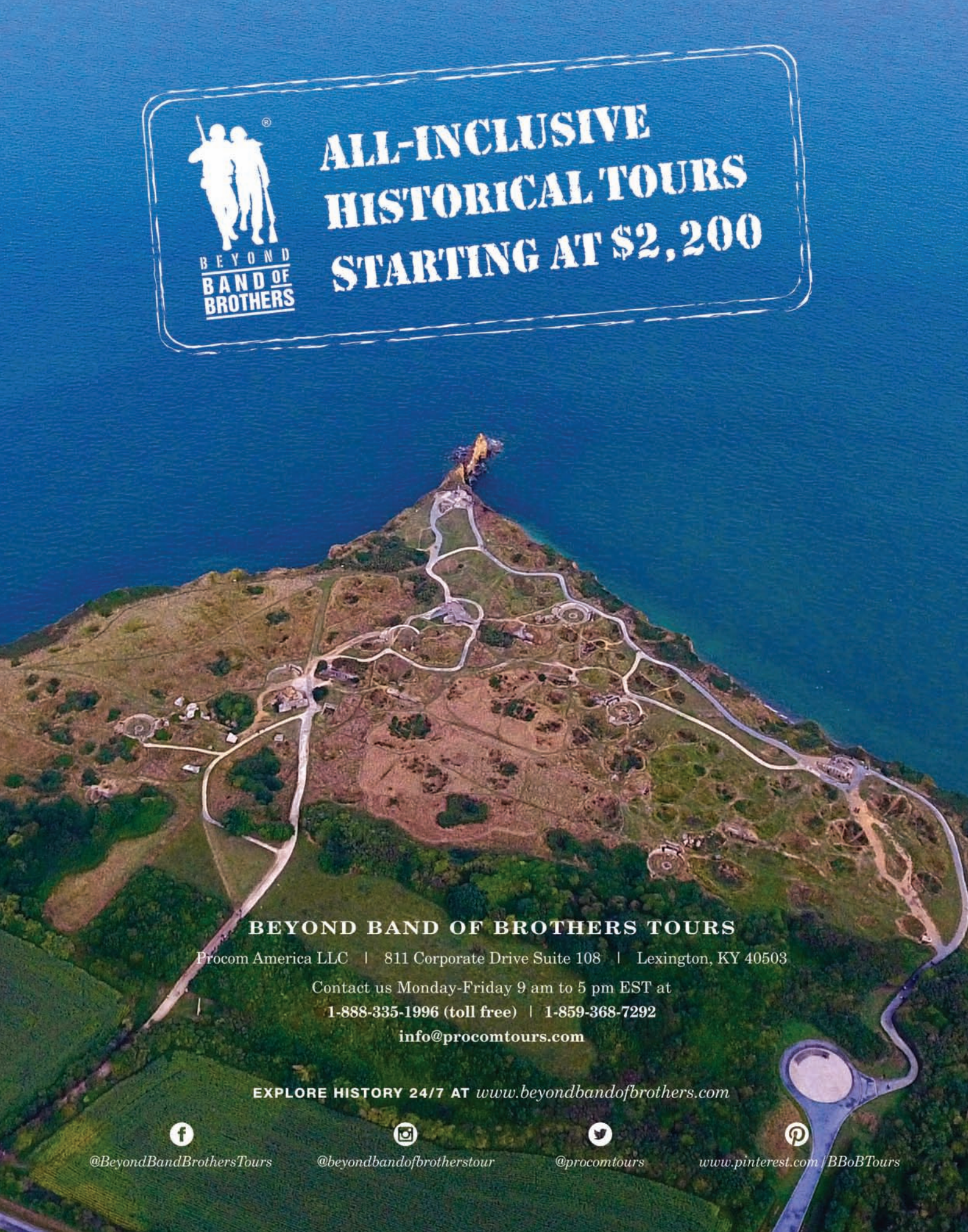
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