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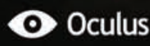

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Cover: Germans swarm around American vehicles destroyed during the opening hours of the Battle of the Bulge. See story page 40. Photo: National Archives.

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Editorial

Japanese researchers hope to repatriate the bones of Americans killed in action and buried on Saipan.

MANY VESTIGES OF WORLD WAR II IN THE PACIFIC LINGER, DENYING THE ravages of time.

The battleship USS *Missouri,* where the war ended nearly 70 years ago, remains as a floating monument and museum at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. Not far away, the rusting hulk of the battleship USS *Arizona,* sunk during the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor that plunged the United States into World War II, rests in its shallow grave. Nearby, craters left by Japanese bombs, bullet holes from machine guns, and damaged concrete walls remind visitors of that violent day so long ago.

On other islands, rusting tanks, long abandoned guns, the wreckage of aircraft that plunged into jungles, and the remains of honeycombed caves that the defenders of Iwo Jima lived and died in remain as mute testimony to the ferocity of the fighting. A Japanese ghost fleet, sunk during American air raids, lies submerged in the harbor of Truk atoll in the Caroline Islands. Most of these vessels still hold their cargoes of fuel, ammunition, and weapons.

From time to time the remains of Japanese and American fighting men have been recovered. The repatriation of skeletal remains or their ceremonial cremation and interment have been the subject of widespread media coverage.

Today, on the island of Saipan in the Marianas, the scene of savage fighting during the summer of 1944, a race against time is underway. Members of Kuentai-USA, a nonprofit organization that searches Pacific islands for the remains of Japanese war dead, has been consulting archives in the United States recently. The Japanese are looking for clues, information, evidence, anything that might point them toward the graves of American soldiers who died on Saipan during the war, were buried there, and then through the confusion and shuffle that followed the fighting were forgotten. These are a handful of the thousands of U.S. soldiers, sailors, and Marines listed as missing in action.

Usan Kurata, the 58-year-old founder of Kuenti-USA and a journalist by trade, told the Associated Press recently, "This is urgent." Kurata and others from the organization were searching through records at the New York State Military Museum when the interview was conducted. Kurata told the wire service that the members of Kuenti-USA believe returning the remains of the missing Americans of Saipan to their families is the right thing to do. Kuenti, a Japanese organization, has previously used maps and photographs that were taken in 1944 and appeared in *Life* magazine to locate a mass grave holding 800 Japanese dead.

Why the urgency now? A Russian real estate developer has announced plans to construct a condominium development on Saipan in close proximity to the beach where a number of Americans lost their lives on July 7, 1944, defending against the largest Japanese banzai attack of World War II. On that night, more than 3,000 Japanese troops attacked positions held by the 105th Infantry Regiment, 27th Division, a New York National Guard unit, and more than 900 Americans were killed or wounded.

Since 2011, Kuenti personnel have found the remains of two American dead near the proposed construction site, and they have reason to believe that as many as 16 others are buried in the area. According to the Pentagon, 20 American casualties remain missing on Saipan, and a spokesperson for the U.S. Joint POW-MIA Accounting Command (JPAC) has promised that a recovery team will be sent to Saipan if a probable burial site is threatened by commercial development. There are also strict building guidelines that developers are required to follow.

So many years after the life and death struggle for Saipan and other Pacific islands, the effort to locate the missing, both American and Japanese, continues. Hopefully, reforms and renewed accountability in JPAC and the Defense POW-MIA Office will bring additional energy to the ongoing search.

Michael E. Haskew

WWII HISTORY

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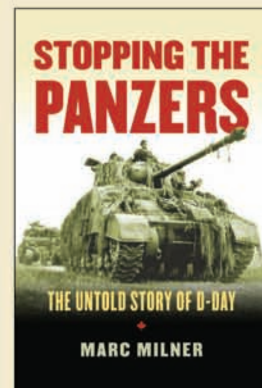

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By Duane Schultz

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Commando Kelly's War

A hero in combat, Charles Kelly battled demons after World War II came to an end.

HE KILLED 40 GERMANS IN LESS THAN AN HOUR. ON THE SECOND DAY HE earned the Medal of Honor for killing more. Commando Kelly did it by becoming a one-man army, holding back scores of German soldiers who surrounded the house where he was trapped with 30 other GIs. He used every weapon he could find—three Browning Automatic Rifles (BARs), a Thompson submachine gun, a Springfield rifle dating from World War I, a carbine, and an M-1 rifle.

"I was fond of guns," Kelly said. Then he used an antitank gun, a phosphorous grenade, an incendiary grenade, and even threw 60mm mortar shells out of an upper story window to kill more Germans.

After all that, while still under fire, he went downstairs to the kitchen, grabbed four eggs, broke them into his empty C-ration can, and swallowed them raw. He reached for a bottle of champagne and took a drink, then put it down and shot a German sniper up in a tree. Kelly watched him hit the ground. Then he swigged some more champagne. He said it tasted like soda pop.

It was September 14, 1943, in the house of the mayor of the village of Altavilla, 20 miles from Salerno in Italy. What 22-year-old Private Charles Kelly did that day made him famous, the first soldier in the European Theater to be awarded the Medal of Honor. He also earned two Silver Stars and medals of valor from Italy and Great Britain, but he never placed a lot of value on any of them. "These medals will just be a lot of brass after the war, and I'll just be another ex-soldier," he said.

He was right about that. The cheering stopped, and the glory did not last.

Charles E. Kelly was born on September 23, 1920, one of nine children who grew up in an old wooden building in an alley in a rundown neighborhood in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The house had no running water, electricity, or toilet, and all nine children bunked in the attic. One reporter called it a "decrepit shack." Charles dropped out of school and went to work at an early age. He joined the Army in 1942, and it soon became apparent that he was not going to be a very good soldier when it came to discipline and obeying orders. He went AWOL once—some sources say twice—and as punishment spent time in the stockade. He liked to brag that nobody ever gave him a Good Conduct Medal.

Once in combat, however, Kelly never got into trouble. He was part of the 36th Division, a Texas National Guard outfit that saw its first action only a few days before Altavilla. Known as the T-Patchers, the division earned the distinction of leading the first invasion of the European continent when it came ashore at Salerno on September 9, 1943.

After the beachhead was established, the Germans counterattacked and recaptured Altavilla. The commanding officer of the 36th Division ordered two battalions forward to retake the town. Private Kelly volunteered to crawl nearly two miles under almost constant German fire to report on the enemy defenses established on a hill just outside of town. Kelly then led a three-man patrol to wipe out a German machine-gun nest that was holding up the advance. He killed the machine gunners with his BAR and confronted up to 70 more German soldiers who were closing in. According to the reports of the other GIs present, Kelly killed at least 40.

Sergeant Charles E. Kelly, a recipient of the Medal of Honor for bravery in action against German troops in Italy, sits with several weapons of different makes and calibers, similar to those used during the heroic action in which he killed at least 40 German soldiers.

By the end of the day, he was sent to the house of Altavilla's mayor, located in the central square, to help defend the town. When the Germans attacked the next morning, Kelly stood at a second-floor window at the rear of the house and began to fire

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every weapon he could find.

He started with the Browning. "I worked my BAR so steadily that when I put the next load of cartridges into it, it wouldn't work anymore," he recalled. "I laid it against a bed and went back to get another BAR, but when I came back the bed was on fire. That first gun was so hot that it touched off the sheets and blankets. I worked the new BAR until the steel of the barrel turned reddish-purple with heat and it became warped. I couldn't find another BAR, so I went upstairs and scouted around until I found a Tommy gun with a full magazine. Then I went to the window and gunned for some more Germans."

After the Tommy gun, he found a bazooka and six shells and fired away. Each time the weapon went off, the house shook on its foundation. Then Kelly threw an incendiary grenade, which exploded on the roof of the building from which the Germans were shooting, setting it on fire. Next, he tossed a 60mm mortar shell out the window. It exploded in the middle of a group of five enemy soldiers who were trying to sneak up to the rear of the house, killing them all.

He fired a carbine, but it got too hot to handle, and he had to put it down. "Your mind gets single-tracked in a fight like that," he wrote later, "and all I could think of was the problem of finding another weapon as fast as I used one up, so I could keep on blazing away." After shooting a while longer with an old rifle, he glanced down into the courtyard and noticed a 37mm antitank gun. Kelly raced down the stairs, loaded a shell, and took aim at a church steeple the Germans were using an observation post.

"I didn't know how to fire it, but I kept on fumbling around, pulling this and jerking that,

National Archives

An American medic provides a drink of water to a wounded German prisoner somewhere in Italy. "Commando" Kelly was a one-man destructive force in combat against the Germans, and this soldier may have been one of the casualties he inflicted on the enemy.

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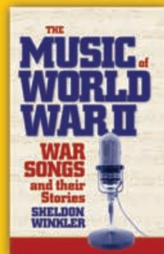

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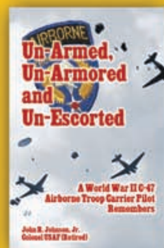

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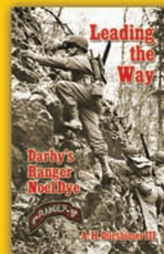

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until I got hold of a handle and it went off. Not knowing anything about it, I had my chin too close to it, and the recoil knocked me kicking." He went back to the house and spotted another Browning, nestled in the hands of a dead soldier. He pried it loose, loaded it, and kept firing until it got so hot it started to smoke.

That night, the GIs got orders to pull back. Kelly volunteered to stay behind to give them covering fire as they made their way back to American lines. Shortly thereafter, he was promoted to corporal, then sergeant. He fought in several more major battles, including the ill-fated and costly attempt by the 36th Division to cross the Rapido River. An article about his exploits at Altavilla appeared in the Army newspaper *Stars and Stripes*, referring to him as "Commando Kelly." He was approved for the Medal of Honor, and it was awarded on March 11, 1944.

When he returned to the United States a month later, the celebrations began. "Commando Kelly Day" was proclaimed in his home town of Pittsburgh. Adulation and acclaim followed him on a 60-day nationwide war bond tour. "I'll be glad when it's over," he said. "You sure are like a monkey in a cage when you're on a spot like this."

The trip was hectic, traveling from one city to the next, night after night. "Five speeches a day," he said, "sell War Bonds and say nice things about the 37-millimeter gun. And they give you six bucks a day for expenses. But we were in trouble in the war and had to build morale. They needed heroes, that's all."

National Archives

Sergeant Kelly posed for this photograph in full combat dress near the front lines in Italy. Kelly endured personal tragedy in civilian life, losing his first wife to cancer and a home to foreclosure.

The money rolled in. Twentieth-Century Fox paid Kelly $25,000 for his life story to be the basis for a movie, an amount equivalent to $325,000 today. *The Saturday Evening Post* paid him $15,000 for an article on his exploits. Job offers and business opportunities mounted from all around the country. Whatever he wanted he could have had.

Commando Kelly was wealthy beyond his wildest dreams and had opportunities few people would ever have, but it turned out that he was much better at war than peace. Once the celebrations were over, his life sped downhill. The money went first. He spent liberally, even during his war bond tour, treating people to drinks and meals. He flew home to see his family every weekend, paying for the trips himself. He bought furniture for his mother and lavished cash on his brothers. In a 1957 interview with journalist Mike Wallace, Kelly said, "If I have something, I always want to give it to somebody else. I'll give anybody the shirt off my back."

On March 11, 1945, one year after he received the Medal of Honor, Kelly married Mae Francis Boish, a cashier in a restaurant. They bought a house in Pittsburgh and a gas station to operate

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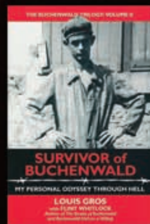

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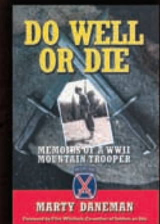

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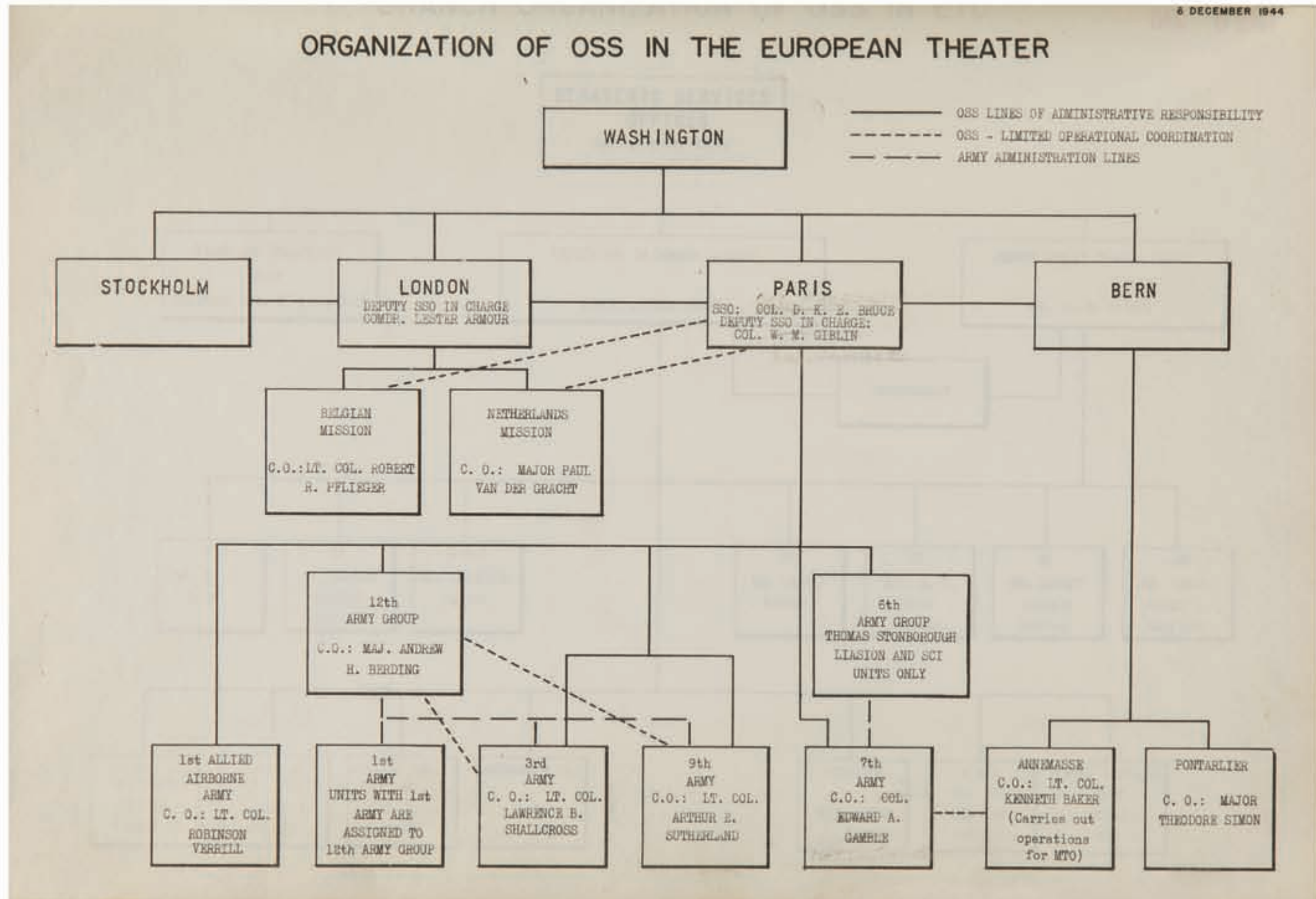

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but sold the station at a loss two years later. Kelly had gotten increasingly restless going to work at the same place and doing the same thing every day. He could not take it.

Kelly was not alone in finding it hard to adjust to civilian life after the war. "The shooting war may be over," General Omar Bradley said," but the suffering isn't." More than two million veterans did not have jobs as late as 1947, two years after the end of the war. Their rate of unemployment was three times higher than those who had not gone to war. Often their family lives were in shambles as well. American veterans of World War II had the world's highest divorce rate; more than twice as many filed for divorce in the first two years after the war than did nonveterans.

Millions of returning servicemen suffered from severe psychological problems of the type now categorized as PTSD (post traumatic stress disorder). By 1946, more than 10,000 veterans each month were being treated at Veterans Administration (VA) hospitals for neuropsychiatric problems (NP). By the following year, fully half the patients in VA hospitals had been diagnosed as experiencing NP symptoms. Thousands of cases went untreated because it was considered a sign of weakness to admit to psychological problems. The men were too

National Archives

"Commando" Kelly receives the Medal of Honor from Lieutenant General Mark Clark, commander of the U.S. Fifth Army in Italy.

ashamed to talk about their depression and anxiety, to seek help, or even to confide in their families. But in most cases their loved ones knew something was wrong. They saw how much the men had changed.

A daughter of one World War II veteran remembered how "my parents fought constantly; my father drank constantly. He was seldom happy. Everyone who knew my father before the war said he was never the same." Another child of a veteran said that her mother had "got engaged to one man, then a different man came home."

Many veterans were disillusioned, fearful, lonely, and bitter. One man wrote that he felt as if he was "floating in a vacuum of neglect, idleness, and distress." Veterans often felt they had lost the best years of their lives, years they would never get back. For others, the nightmares never stopped.

Commando Kelly was one of those who kept his feelings inside. There is no record that he sought help or even expressed the need for it, but he was clearly having difficulties adjusting to civilian life. In 1950, his wife was diagnosed with uterine cancer. She died the following year at the age of 25. Kelly rarely left her side during her illness, caring for her and their two children. That same year, a bank foreclosed on their house. Kelly's sister Virginia said, "He went out of control after that and was never the same again."

Kelly took a series of odd jobs as a bodyguard, security guard, construction worker, and house painter, never keeping one for long. In 1952 there was a reprieve of sorts when he was asked to travel the country campaigning for

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General Dwight D. Eisenhower, the former supreme Allied commander in Europe, who was running for president. At a stop in Louisville, Kentucky, a woman named Betty Gaskins walked up to him, held up a nickel, and said that if he gave her another nickel she would have a dime (the cost of a telephone call) and would be able to call him. Six weeks later they were married.

The new family, with his two children and one of hers from a previous marriage, settled in Pittsburgh, but Kelly again had a hard time finding and keeping a job. They had to pawn her wedding ring to pay bills. They moved to her hometown of Louisville, where her uncle hired Kelly for his construction company, but they had so little money they had to take a small apartment in public housing for a monthly rent of $23. Kelly had to live at a construction site 50 miles away because he could not afford the gas for the commute. In 1956, he lost that job. The family had grown to six children, and he had no way to support them.

"When you're in combat," Kelly said in an interview that year, "you have a job to do, you know how to do it, and you know you can do it. But these years have been rough. Your hands are tied. You have a thing to do, but you can't do it. You go in and ask a man for a job. It's a job you never had before, and you're asking for it, but you don't know if you can do it. And you get so many 'No's.'

"Then there's your family. You give the kids cereal in the morning, and they ask you for more, and there isn't any more. When you tell them, you don't feel like much of a man."

The story of Kelly's plight became public; newspapers throughout the country ran stories about him. Donations of money, furniture, and clothing poured in, along with more than 100 job offers. Kelly accepted a job in St. Louis, Missouri, as a buyer for a scrap iron company. The owner arranged financial assistance so Kelly could buy an eight-bedroom house for his family. The house was worth $25,000 (equivalent to more than $200,000 today), but Kelly quit before the family even had a chance to move in.

The governor of Kentucky, A.B. "Happy" Chandler, arranged a job for Kelly as an inspector in the State Highway Department; the monthly pay was $340. He kept that position for five years until one day in April 1961, when he called his wife to say that he was going to Cuba to fight Fidel Castro. He promised to set up a trust fund for her and the children but added that she should not try to find him.

Kelly never went home again. For 15 years neither Betty nor the children had any idea of his whereabouts. Betty divorced him and raised the children on her own. "We got the short end of the stick of what we had of our dad," his daughter later said. Kelly drank more heavily, took whatever temporary work he could find, and moved around from California to Texas to the East Coast. In Washington, D.C., he was in a traffic accident, struck by a car and hospitalized for almost a year with a skull fracture and broken legs.

In 1984, after 40 years of heavy drinking and hard living, Commando Kelly died alone in a Pittsburgh VA hospital, where he was being treated for kidney and liver failure. He had taken the bus there and told the admitting clerk that he had no living relatives, even though five of his brothers were nearby. He chose to die alone. He deliberately pulled the tubes from his body that were helping him stay alive. He was 64 years old. No one knows what happened to his medals.

Duane Schultz is a psychologist who has written a dozen military history books including Into the Fire: The Most Fateful Mission of World War II *and* Crossing the Rapido: A Tragedy of World War II. *His most recent book is* The Fate of War: Fredericksburg, 1862. *He is currently working on a book on the Marine Raiders of World War II.*

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By Jon Diamond

National Archives

Arisaka Rifles in the Ranks

The Japanese armed forces issued Arisaka rifles in great numbers before and during World War II.

AS MILITARISM GREW IN JAPAN IN THE EARLY 1930S, CONSCRIPTION BEGAN AT the age of 19, and the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) cadet entered military service. After harsh and rigorous training with other cadets from his geographical district in the home islands, the new soldier was designated to a specific class ranking dependent on his capabilities.

Officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) began to indoctrinate the Japanese fighting élan into their conscripts through close combat training with an inordinate amount of time spent on bayonet fighting and hand-to-hand combat. Training units seldom conducted combined arms operations since the military dictum was that infantry would win decisively by closing with the enemy with bayonet assaults. Above all, the new IJA infantryman would be imbued with a combination of obedience to the emperor and a moral essence to strictly adhere to a superior's orders and the warrior code, Bushido, while refusing to disgrace himself and his family by surrendering to the enemy.

With bayonets fixed, Japanese infantrymen charge a Chinese position following an artillery bombardment. These soldiers are carrying the ubiquitous Arisaka rifle that equipped the Japanese armed forces throughout World War II.

Thus, the Japanese soldier was well known for his disregard for death. Bushido contributed significantly to a soldier's supreme sacrifice, which demonstrated the qualities of honor, courage, and moral purity. His personal infantry weapon, the Arisaka rifle, would give him the means to exhibit these traits.

Much has been written that the Japanese infantry weapons of World War II were poorly designed and manufactured and ineffective in combat. During the 1930s, the Japanese high command falsely believed that an army based on the Bushido code would not be hampered by Japan's inadequate industrial base because it required neither state-of-the-art mechanization nor a cumbersome logistical tail. A reliance on material goods, necessitating an extensive supply network, was viewed by the dominating forces within the Japanese high command as a modern evil that could destroy the fighting spirit of the IJA.

The IJA high command consistently resisted weapons modernization, fearing that it would lead to the infantry's abandonment of tradition of hand-to-hand combat to win the decisive victory. Thus, the general staff approved the design of the infantryman's weapons based on close-order combat, where he was programmed to always advance, keeping the enemy unnerved and off balance.

To illustrate, advancing infantrymen, after crossing the Salween River in Burma in early 1942, attacked at night in the purest martial style, that is, with fixed bayonets and unloaded rifles, in an attempt to intimidate the enemy. The IJA high command's apparent decision to continue recommending usage of the Arisaka series of bolt-action rifles was really no different from that of other belligerent countries; the German and British Armies used their older Mauser Gewehr 98 and Short Magazine Lee-Enfield (SMLE) rifle designs, respectively, throughout the war. In the end, the Japanese rifles were rugged and reliable and earned the admiration of the Japanese infantryman under most circumstances.

The Japanese Army had built a lean, infantry-heavy force configured to win an early victory by advancing quickly, penetrating or flanking when possible, and trusting the superior Japanese warrior spirit to vanquish the foe swiftly. Attesting to this military precept, Japanese arms manufactureres never developed a semi-automatic rifle to match the American M1 Garand, nor did

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TOP: The Arisaka Type 99 rifle was a common sight during the fighting in the Pacific in World War II. BOTTOM: The Type 99 is the Type 44 cavalry carbine, a variant of the Arisaka rifle for cavalry that was fitted with a folding bayonet.

they or the IJA hold submachine guns in high value. Light artillery was useful for keeping the enemy's heads down, but unlikely to kill in the jungle locales of Malaya, the Philippines, Burma, and New Guinea.

In Europe, artillery and automatic fire dominated the battlefield. In the jungle, marksmanship mattered. An unaimed bullet was likely to damage only vegetation. Among short-range weapons, the light machine gun and grenade were most valued; however, at longer distances, every Japanese infantryman was indoctrinated in the use and maintenance of his rifle. Ultimately, a Japanese soldier could always rely on dispatching his enemy with a sword bayonet attached to his Arisaka rifle

According to historian Michael Haskew, "The Imperial Japanese Army fielded two prominent bolt-action rifles during World War II, the Arisaka [Meiji] Type 38 and Type 99. These were identified according to the 38th year of the Meiji period and the year 2099 of the Japanese calendar, respectively. Colonel Nariakira Arisaka [who died in 1915] headed the commission to develop modern shoulder arms for the Japanese military, and both rifles are commonly known as Arisakas."

After battling the Chinese in 1894, the Japanese discovered that their rifles were markedly inferior to their enemy's Mannlicher Gewehr 88. Colonel Arisaka designed the Type 38 rifle in the late 1890s to serve as a substitute for the outdated and expensive to produce Murata rifle. The Arisaka Type 38 6.5mm (1905) was known to the Japanese soldier as the *sanpachiju* and was a five-shot weapon that used an internal box magazine loaded with 6.5mm cartridges via brass or steel stripper clips. It had a bolt-action system patented by Mauser. It was a reliable weapon with a weight of nine pounds (empty), relatively light for its length of over four feet (50.25 inches), which was greater in length than either the future M-1 Garand or Model 1903 Springfield rifle used by American infantry.

The Type 38 rifle had an unusually long barrel to gain acceptable accuracy, and at 31.4 inches it produced little recoil. Its production dated back the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, and it remained continuously manufactured until 1945, during which time over three million were made. Thus, like many other belligerents, the Japanese utilized rifles that were previously used during World War I.

Although a sturdy weapon, at just over 50 inches, the Arisaka Type 38 6.5mm (1905) rifle was a bit too long for the typical height of a Japanese infantryman. In fact, many had difficulty reaching the bolt when the butt was at the shoulder in a firing position, making it difficult for the diminutive Japanese soldier to aim and rapidly fire in the jungle. Although light at nine pounds, this weight, in addition to its length, would make the weapon somewhat unsuitable in jungle conditions. However, because of its accuracy and the punishing entry and exit wounds the tumbling 6.5mm bullet would produce in its flight, it was deemed good for close-quarters in the jungle. The Arisaka Type 38 6.5mm rifle was also made in a short version with an overall length to 44.5 inches and weighing less at 8.5 pounds. Some of these Type 38 shorts were issued to infantry, particularly later in the war, but most went to soldiers of supporting arms and logistic services. It was also popular for jungle fighting, principally because of its shorter overall length.

A more practical carbine was needed by the Japanese cavalry after the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. One was swiftly designed with identical specifications to the longer Arisaka Type 38 6.5mm rifle; however, it was only 38.25 inches long and weighed 8.8 pounds. Even though the cavalry started using this modification, the need for a specific weapon for mounted troops was soon evident. Thus, an Arisaka Type 44 (1911) cavalry bolt-action carbine, which fired the 6.5mm cartridge, was manufactured. It was actually the same as the earlier Type 38 carbine model, except for having a folding bayonet that was permanently attached to the weapon to allow the cavalryman to fix it while mounted. It had the same overall length of just over 38 inches and a weight of just over 8.8 pounds, but now the cavalryman would no longer have to ride with his bayonet secured to his belt. The biggest drawback was the excessive muzzle weight, making it difficult to aim, thereby diminishing the weapon's accuracy.

Due to its more compact design, the Arisaka Type 44 (1911) cavalry bolt-action carbine was the weapon of choice for troops destined for the jungle, a place where long-range shooting was all but unnecessary and its shorter length made it easier to handle. High manufacturing costs terminated the production of this rifle in 1942.

For sniping, a 2.5x Tokia telescopic scope was mounted on the left side of the receiver behind the magazine breach on the Type 38 rifle. Developed in 1937, this was referred to as the Type 97 sniper rifle and used a smaller 6.5mm cartridge. However, the performance of this gun for long-range marksmanship left a lot to be desired. It was the result of a development program that extended over 10 years and essentially produced only an Arisaka Type 38 rifle with an added telescopic sight. The sight was mounted so low above the action that the bolt lever had to be lengthened and angled downward, while the sight was offset to the left so that the shooter could still operate the bolt and use the ammunition charger.

With the Type 97's reduced performance as a marksman's weapon, the Japanese infantry-sniper doctrine adapted to the weapon's deficiencies and focused on its snipers perfecting camouflage and concealment. The Type 97 sniper rifle's low muzzle flash and smokeless propellant were effective in medium-range sniper action where firing positions would be less conspicuous. A sniper version of the Arisaka Type 99 7.7mm rifle was issued in 1942 and was fitted with either a 2.5x or 4x Tokia telescope, but this gun did not get its own designation.

It was also noted during the conflict with China that the Type 38 rifle and its 6.5mm

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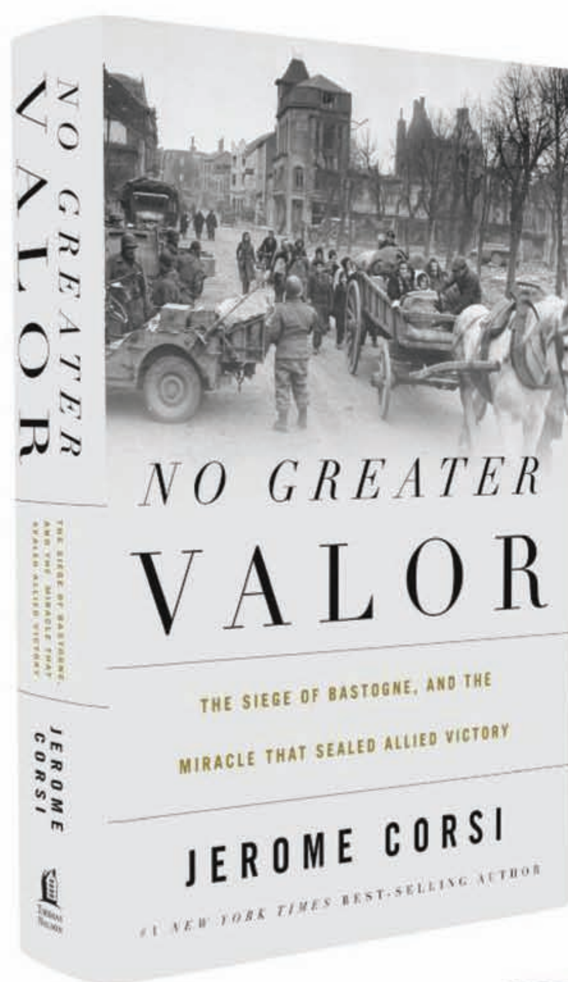

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The extended length of the Arisaka rifle was an issue for Japanese infantrymen who were fighting in confined spaces, and in this photo the relative length of the rifle to the height of the soldier who carried it is readily apparent. These troops are rushing through the streets of Shanghai during fighting in October 1937.

ammunition were no longer adequate. Combat experience on the Asian mainland during the 1930s dictated that a higher caliber infantry rifle was needed. The heavier 7.92mm German ammunition used by some Chinese soldiers was more effective than the 6.5mm standard of the Japanese. From a pragmatic ballistic standpoint, the 6.5mm Arisaka rifle did not have the same range or stopping power as the British 0.303-inch or American 0.30-inch rounds. Thus, the decision to change the standard round from the 6.5mm semi-rimmed to a more powerful 7.7mm rimless cartridge necessitated production of a new rifle. Initially, Japanese industry was incapable of producing a weapon that could withstand the shock of firing the heavier 7.7mm round; however, after several different design trials the Army adopted both a new 7.7mm cartridge and a rifle that had a more forceful recoil but was as efficient with its cartridges as the rifles fired by Chinese forces.

The new gun, designated the Arisaka Type 99 7.7mm rifle, was initially produced in 1938 in two lengths. The earlier prototype had a slightly longer barrel and was heavier. A second prototype design for a gun to use the new 7.7mm cartridge was completed in 1939. This model was shorter (44 inches) and lighter (8.25 pounds) than the Arisaka Type 38. The Type 99 design was finally accepted for widespread use. The longer rifle was for infantry and the shorter for cavalry, engineers, and other specialty troops. However, only a few thousand longer Type 99 rifles were produced, and by 1940 it was decided to issue only the shorter rifle to all troops, even though the longer model remained in service.

Apart from being fitted with a forward-folding monopod, the Type 99 was identical in construction and operation to the Type 38 Arisaka rifle. However, because the Type 99 and the older Type 38 rifles were used simultaneously, this complicated logistics in that quartermasters had to now distribute two different types of ammunition for nearly identical weapons. The Type 99 rifle had a chrome-plated bore to prolong barrel life, stand up to the harsher climates of the tropics, and facilitate cleaning.

A variant of the Arisaka Type 99 7.7mm rifle was fitted with a bipod as well as an antiaircraft sight to shoot at attacking aircraft from trenches, although the latter was mainly a morale booster since it was very unlikely to down a speedy World War II aircraft. By 1943, with the war going poorly and home factories experiencing shortages of raw materials, a revised Type 99 went into production. This version had a lower grade steel in the barrel, and some miscellaneous items such as a sliding bolt cover and a sling swivel were removed. A carbine model of the Arisaka Type 99 was also

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produced, but this particular weapon had too much recoil.

Both the Arisaka Type 38 6.5mm and Type 99 7.7mm rifles could be used as grenade launchers. There were basically two types of grenade launchers, one called the cup and the other the spigot. Either could be attached to the Type 38 or Type 99, and they were heavily influenced by Western designs, notably those of the United States and Germany. Japanese grenades were often attached to finned adapters to provide stability in flight. The Japanese infantryman still favored the non-rifle-based 50mm barreled Type 89 grenade discharger, which came into service in 1929 and acquired the misnomer of "knee mortar" because of its curved baseplate. The Type 89 grenade discharger could send a grenade much farther than either a soldier hurling it or launching it from his Arisaka rifle.

Ammunition for both Arisaka rifles was stored in glued cardboard boxes or pouches. These contained three brass or steel clips of five 6.5 or 7.7mm rounds, clearly noted on the outer labels of the boxes. Ammunition types were ball, tracer, or armor piercing, each color coded.

Japanese infantrymen saw themselves as modern *ashigaru*, or lightly armed peasant warriors. For them, Japanese doctrine stressed that the bayonet was the soldier's most essential weapon. It was 20 inches long and was almost always fixed rather than carried, as its weight helped to balance the long-barreled Arisaka Type 38 rifle. Japanese infantrymen were such great believers in the value of the bayonet that even light machine gunners had their bayonets fixed in battle, even when not engaged in actual hand-to-hand combat.

The bayonet, or *juken*, that was produced to fit the developing Arisaka rifle at the end of the 19th century was designated the Meiji 30 (1897) infantry bayonet. The bayonet was as important to the infantryman as the sword was to the samurai warrior. Every soldier was issued one, whether or not he used a rifle. To the lowly private, his bayonet was his own "officer's sword."

The Japanese bayonet was never shortened during the Pacific conflict, while, for example, the British abandoned their sword bayonet. The bayonet remained 20 inches in length until 1945. The design and quality of the bayonet deteriorated from 1943 onward. Although its official designation was Type 30, there were many variations in the design principally due to lower manufacturing costs. The infantryman also referred to his bayonet as his *gonbo-ken* or burdock sword due to its similar appearance to the leaf architecture of the plant of that name. Those leaves can grow up to 500mm in size, and their tapering appearance is similar to a sword.

The classic sword bayonet that equipped the Arisaka Type 99 rifle is easily identified by the pronounced hook of its guard.

Japanese infantrymen were given frequent and rigorous instruction in the art of using the bayonet on an Arisaka rifle. The bayonet was fixed using a crossguard loop and a lock stud, both located on the pommel of the Type 30. To prevent reflection, blades were frequently covered with mud before combat operations, although many American veterans of the Pacific war reported seeing the flashing of the bayonet steel during a banzai charge.

Unfortunately, the brutality and savagery of some Japanese soldiers was evident when enemy wounded or prisoners were tied to trees for bayonet practice. This atrocity was verified in China and Malaya.

It has been estimated that during approximately 40 years of production over 10 million Arisaka rifles were manufactured. A 16-petal chrysanthemum on the barrel indicated that the rifle was the property of the emperor. If a rifle were to be sold, demilled, or surrendered, the chrysanthemum was usually ground off.

Both types of Arisaka rifles made before and during the war were of good quality. They were as reliable and rugged as any five-shot bolt-action rifle used by Japan's Western counterparts. During the last years of the Pacific War, due to a lack of quality materials and bombing of the home islands incapacitating factory production, the weapons' overall quality deteriorated. Since sufficient numbers of the Type 99 rifle were never produced, the Type 38 remained in service until 1945.

Jon Diamond practices medicine and writes from Hershey, Pennsylvania. He has contributed several articles to WWII History. *His latest book,* Stilwell and the Chindits: The Allied Campaign in Northern Burma 1943-1944, *will be released by Pen & Sword in November 2014.*

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By Susan L. Brinson

All: National Archives

The FCC and Japan's Surrender

The Federal Communications Commission played a largely unknown role in the end of World War II.

GEORGE STERLING RECEIVED A TELETYPE MESSAGE FROM THE WAR Department just after 5:15 AM on August 15, 1945. Less than 45 minutes later, Sterling, chief of the Federal Communications Commission's Radio Intelligence Division (RID), handed a message to the RID's teletype (TWX) operator to send to the monitoring station in San Leandro, California. "Send following message at once in clear."

At virtually the same moment across the country in San Leandro, where it was 3:00 AM, the teletype machine began typing. "Send following message at once in clear." The monitoring officer's jaw dropped as the message continued.

Not long thereafter, the Portland and Santa Ana monitoring stations received a different TWX message from the boss. "San Leandro will send important message to Japs. Listen … for any station that may acknowledge."

Was World War II finally ending?

August 15, 1945, was an important date in United States history. Volumes have been written about the Japanese surrender to the Allied powers on that date and the formal ceremony held 18 days later aboard the battleship USS *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay. But how did the United States and Japan make contact with each other to arrange the logistics of surrender? Virtually every known story focuses on the fits and starts of V-J Day, on the hesitations that occurred as the Japanese struggled to accept surrender, the roles that Sweden and Switzerland played as the diplomatic connections between the warring countries, and the worldwide celebrations that the end of World War II produced. The full story of how the Japanese and the Allies finally contacted each other has yet to be told. This is the story of the little-known Radio Intelligence Division of the Federal Communications Commission and how it played a key role in establishing initial contact between General Douglas MacArthur and the Japanese in order to formalize surrender and arrange the ceremony aboard the *Missouri*.

The RID was formed on July 1, 1942, to monitor and locate enemy transmissions that threatened the United States, but it had been performing these duties for more than 30 years. Since a law was passed in 1910 to govern radio frequencies, the government had been monitoring the airwaves for illegal uses. During the 1930s, FCC engineers developed the technology and became proficient at tracking and capturing illegal transmissions, primarily among bootleggers and racetrack gamblers.

Protecting the United States from illegal transmissions required a safety net of monitoring stations throughout the country. Twelve primary and 90 secondary monitoring stations were established throughout the United States and its territories to accomplish that mission. After the start of World War II in 1939 and the United States' increasing attention to domestic defense, its engineers were formed into the National Defense Office of the FCC and increasingly concentrated on transmissions coming from Germany, Italy, and their sympathetic allies. Sterling's engineers proved their usefulness at locating clandestine messages when they intercepted and located a German spy operating from the German Embassy in Washington, D.C., two days after Pearl Harbor. By August 1945, RID officers had traveled all over South America looking for clandestine transmissions by German spies and on many occasions had helped the Army or Navy locate their

A representative of the Japanese government signs the instrument of surrender ending World War II in the Pacific. The Federal Communications Commission played an intriguing role in delivering the news of Japan's intent to surrender.

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When the U.S. entered the war in December 1941 after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, monitoring officers (MOs) at the western primary stations turned their attention to Japanese transmitters. Four stations in particular, located in Portland, Oregon; San Leandro and Santa Ana, California; and Honolulu, Hawaii, focused on finding and intercepting clandestine Japanese messages, absorbing Japanese Kana code, learning the frequencies over which the Japanese were most likely to transmit and the call signs they were likely to use, and otherwise focusing on understanding the "radio-operating characteristics of every type of radio-telegraph communications" that the Japanese used. Occasionally, the MOs would listen to and transcribe Japanese radio broadcasts, but these tasks were the exceptions to the rule; monitoring broadcasts officially was the responsibility of the FCC's Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service (FBIS). Instead, the RID's monitoring officers became highly skilled at discerning the difference between normal and unusual Japanese transmissions and particularly in intercepting and copying Japanese traffic in Kana code directly into Romaji (a system of writing Japanese using letters of the Latin alphabet).

Thus, when the RID was officially formed in June 1942, it was already well schooled in the practice of "maintaining a continual policing of the entire radio spectrum to insure against clandestine radio activity." Information the RID stations collected was often turned over to several other entities, including the Army, Navy, War Department, State Department, FBI, War Communications Board, U.S. Weather Bureau, and U.S. Coast Guard. The RID's massive data collection was written into several manuals "showing full particulars of all Japanese Naval and Military [networks]" as well as an additional "manual of authorized occupancy of all frequencies above 30,000 kcs." The RID played an important role in protecting the home front and helping the United States fight World War II. Few other people knew Japanese transmissions better than the RID monitoring officers and their boss, George Sterling.

Although its specific missions were secret, the RID itself was public knowledge during the war. Newspapers and magazines often carried stories about the division's accomplishments. Several articles were published in the *Christian Science Monitor,* the *Radio News,* and especially the *New York Times* that explained how the RID worked and described some of its exploits. Hollywood further promoted the division in 1944 when MGM produced a 20-minute film titled *Patrolling the Ether,* in which a RID investigator is murdered by a German spy caught transmitting from a cemetery. The German spy ring eventually is captured while transmitting from a moving automobile. While overly dramatic (RID men neither carried pistols routinely, nor were they murdered), it nonetheless accurately reported RID monitoring stations, technology, and methods, with the goal of "harnessing radio to help fight the global war."

George Sterling served as chief of the Federal Communications Commission's Radio Intelligence Division during the exchange of communications that occurred prior to Japan's surrender in 1945. This photo was taken when Sterling was appointed head of the FCC in 1948.

By mid-summer 1945, the western primary stations devoted increased attention to monitoring Japanese transmissions from all sources. Since V-E Day, and especially the bombing of both Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the western MOs hoped the Pacific War would end soon, too. They started paying particularly close attention to Japanese broadcasts from the Domei News Agency, which was controlled by Japan's Ministry of Communications. Although monitoring such broadcasts actually was the responsibility of the FBIS, the RID maintained its own surveillance as well. Thus it was at 1:50 PM Eastern War Time (EWT) on August 10 when the Portland monitoring office reported to Sterling that Domei announced that the Japanese were "ready to accept the terms enumerated in the joint declaration which was issued at Potsdam."

Any information about the anticipated end of World War II was top news, so celebrations broke out around the world when the story was reported to the public the next day, August 11. Almost immediately, announcements of Japan's surrender were rescinded, and the world began a roller coaster ride of trying to determine whether the war was over or not. RID MOs continued to transmit so many transcribed Japanese broadcasts that Sterling, on the afternoon of August 13, admonished them to "refrain from transmitting" intercepts of broadcast messages, in part because it was the responsibility of the FBIS. More importantly, given the difficulties the United States encountered with making official contact with the Japanese and the growing worldwide tension regarding exactly when the surrender would occur, Sterling did not want his monitoring officers to contribute to the confusion.

Sterling, however, informed the western monitoring stations that he had "assigned a special task to [Portland] to keep [him] informed on Jap situation." The Portland monitoring station took the lead on monitoring Japanese broadcasts. Sterling further told the other western monitoring stations that "any significant calls that appear to originate from Jap stations that appear to be unanswered should be reported [to him]."

Less than 12 hours after the Portland office received its assignment from Sterling, Monitoring Office Landsburg began sending updates to the boss. At 1:20 AM EWT on August 14, Landsburg notified Sterling that Domei announced the "Japanese government started deliberations upon" the terms of surrender. Thirty minutes later, Landsburg telexed "FLASH!!! Learned Imperial message accepting Potsdam proclamation forthcoming."

The western MOs waited for the expected announcement, but the airwaves remained silent on that score. Meanwhile, U.S. newspapers ran story after story about the anticipated Japanese surrender. The *Washington Post,* in particular, reported that the Japanese foreign minister visited the emperor on August 13, and cited the FCC as its source. Remembering Sterling's admonition from just the day before, the MO at the San Leandro station assured Sterling that "no information [being reported in the news] is coming from here."

By now the demand for current information was so high a San Francisco area reporter contacted the San Leandro station about doing an interview. Sterling initially gave permission but almost immediately rescinded it. The information the reporter sought was in the FBIS area of expertise. "Permission will be given after present crisis if then desired," Sterling wrote to the San Leandro station. "You are instructed to refer all telephone calls to the supervisor of the western area which are received from representatives of government agencies, the press and public requesting information on radio

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communications pertaining to the current negotiations between the Allies and the Japanese." Sterling was determined that the monitoring officers under his leadership would not be responsible for leaking information.

As tension around the world grew, Sterling tapped into the detailed information on which the RID's outstanding reputation was built. He asked Landsburg which Japanese frequencies were likely to be active at 11 PM EWT. Landsburg responded using the J-codes assigned to Japanese stations: "JUP/JUD 13065/15880 kc … JZJ/JLT3 11800/15225 kc. These are the only frequencies we have knowledge of that will be active at [11 PM EWT]. However on especially important announcements Japs have been known to put all their [trans]mitters on the air." Within 12 hours of this message, the western MOs would participate in establishing direct contact between General Douglas MacArthur and the Japanese.

In the early morning hours of August 15, 1945, in a sultry Washington, D.C., one of the FCC's telex machines started receiving a message at 5:16 AM. The telex was from the War Department in Washington. More specifically, it was from General Frank Stoner, head of the Army Communications Service in the Office of the Chief Signal Officer. Stoner instructed the FCC to have the "person of highest authority … have the following message transmitted in the clear in any or all means available if possible …. Request you have the following operational priority message transmitted by every practical means at once."

In less than 45 minutes, at 6 AM EWT, George Sterling relayed Stoner's message to the San Leandro monitoring station. The message started with detailed instructions from Sterling: "Send following message at once in clear on three channels … signing your regular FCC call. At conclusion advise [the Honolulu monitoring station] to relay message using same procedure signing their regular call … At conclusion listen for reply to message from any Jap stations that may call you for verification or to transmit traffic. Make contact if possible to insure delivery of this message."

The message that was received from Stoner, and which Sterling now directed the San Leandro monitoring station to transmit in plain English, started:

"Send in clear 15 August 1945

From Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers

To the Japanese Emperor

To the Japanese Imperial Government

To the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters"

A technician mans a communications position, monitoring radio transmissions between distant points.

The message was from General Douglas MacArthur, who had been appointed supreme commander for the Allied powers only hours earlier. It took 20 minutes for the entire message to transmit to San Leandro. The MO whose jaw initially dropped as he read the message immediately acknowledged its receipt and followed up by asking for clarifications.

"Shall [Honolulu] use his 4 [letter] call also?" "Yes," Sterling responded. "You are authorized to advise him re[garding] the transmission of this message in plain English." A few minutes later, the MO further inquired, "See no call for [San Leandro] 4 letter [call sign] … Will you check this please?" Sterling responded, "You shall use the call 'KFCA.'"

The MO began transmitting MacArthur's message immediately:

"From Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers

To the Japanese Emperor

To the Japanese Imperial Government

To the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters

I have been designated as the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers…. And empowered to arrange directly with the Japanese authorities for the cessation of hostilities at the earliest practicable date. It is desired that a radio station in the Tokyo area be officially designated for continuous use in handling radio communications between this headquarters and your headquarters. Your reply to this message should give call signs, frequencies, and station designation. It is desired that the radio communication with my headquarters in Manila be handled in English text. Pending designation by you of a station in the Tokyo area for use as above indicated, station JUM … on frequency 13705 … kilocycles will be used for this purpose and … Manila will reply on 15965 kilocycles. Upon receipt of this message acknowledge. /Signed/MacArthur"

Sterling waited for over three hours for any Japanese to respond. He heard nothing.

Sterling took action. At 8:41 AM EWT he instructed the MO to send the message again: "Commencing at [9 AM EWT] transmit for one hour at fifteen minute intervals McArthur's [sic] message. Transmit at speed of twenty wpm good hand keying." Only a minute later, Sterling sent an additional message to the Santa Ana and Portland monitoring stations, informing them that San Leandro would "send important message to Japs at [9 AM EWT]. Listen at conclusion of message combing all bands for any station that may acknowledge or call [San Leandro]. Print any transmission intercepted for benefit of [San Leandro]."

The MO again sent the message, and again they waited.

Back in Washington, D.C., the teletype machine suddenly started transmitting a message from San Leandro. Had the Japanese responded?

No. It was the MO informing Sterling that "12 Naval District request identification on call 'KFCA.' Am I authorized to say if FCC?" Before Sterling could reply, the MO quickly followed up with "Skip it please. [He] hung up. Thanks anyway."

A few minutes later, another message started

Here's to the HEROES of the 110th Infantry Regiment, 28th Infantry Division - and to the 103rd B Engineers and 707th Tank Battalion who FEARLESSLY fought by their side

Outnumbered ten to one, they held off elements of Hitler's army from 16 to 19 December 1944, allowing the 101st Airborne Division to reach Bastogne before German forces could seize the key road junction.

During this time, the division's other regiments were able to pull back and regroup as the 110th, ordered to "Hold at all costs", fought off an assault by General Manteuffel's Fifth Panzer Army's XLVII Panzer Corps - the 26th Volksgrenadier and 2nd Panzer Divisions, and Panzer Lehr Division - until its 1st and 3rd Battalions were overcome.

We will NEVER forget your sacrifice.

Hold To The Last Round - Courtesy of James Dietz

K Company and 103B Engineers, 110th Infantry Regiment, 28th Infantry Division, defending Hosingen, Luxembourg, during the Battle of the Bulge, 16-18 December 1944.

Your HEROIC actions will live on FOREVER in the stories we have told.

Robert F. Phillips, author of *To Save Bastogne*; 1983
Richard Anderson, co-author of *Hitler's Last Gamble*; 1994
Allyn R. Vannoy and Jay Karamales, co-authors of *Against the Panzers*; 1996
John C. McManus, author of *Alamo in the Ardennes*; 2008
Alice M. Flynn, author of *Unforgettable: The Biography of Capt. Thomas J. Flynn*; 2011
Leo Barron, co-author of *No Silent Night*; 2012
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coming from San Leandro. Had the Japanese answered the transmission?

Again, no. The MO was aggravated by the Honolulu monitoring officer, whom he instructed "to send that message only once. He is sending it again now and I am unable to make this broadcast at [9:30 EWT] due to [frequency use] of both of us."

"Let it go [until] he's done," Sterling responded.

The MO allowed, "[He'll] probably have better chance of Japs getting it from [Honolulu] but you said for him to only send it once. That's the reason I mentioned it. Also fact that I can't make this … schedule."

A few minutes later, Sterling inquired, "any indication of reply to broadcast?"

"Not yet," came the response. "There's so many Japs on these channels [that I] can't read any single one of them."

And again a few minutes later came a message from the MO, "Haven't heard any Japs using English yet. [They're] all Kana [code]."

Suddenly, on August 15 at 8:51 AM EWT, the Santa Ana monitoring station transmitted "Jap just acknowledge message. Said [use] JNU3 13475 kc in few minutes for your official message. Adcock [direction finder] being secured until further notice."

The RID had gotten through to the Japanese. Sterling relayed the frequency information to the War Department, after which the RID no longer transmitted on MacArthur's behalf.

Over the next 36 hours, however, the RID continued to monitor the transmissions between MacArthur and the Japanese as they arranged for their emissaries to meet. At 10:35 AM EWT on August 16, the Washington RID office received a message from the Portland station. The Japanese government had just sent a lengthy message to MacArthur in which the Japanese announced they were "in receipt of message of the United States government transmitted to us through the Swiss government and of a message from General MacArthur received by the Tokio [sic] radio graph office and desire to make the following communication [that] his majesty the Imperor [sic] issued an imperial order at 1600 oclock on August 16th to the entire armed forces to cease hostilities immediately."

The Japanese further asked MacArthur to communicate with them on "Tokio [sic] station call sign JNP frequency 13740 … language English … in order to make sure that we have received without fail all communication sent by General MacArthur, we beg him to repeat" his message on the same frequency.

Ninety minutes later, at 11:37 AM EWT, another message arrived from the Portland station containing additional information transmitted from the Japanese to MacArthur. This transmission included detailed information about the route that Japanese military leaders would take to arrive in Manchuria, China, and "the South."

Less than an hour later, at 12:30 PM EWT, Landsburg at the Portland station transmitted the contents of a Domei broadcast to Sterling. "FLASH. The Imperial headquarters are endeavouring [sic] to transmit the Imperial order to every branch of the forces but before it took full effect a part of the Japanese air forces is reported to have made attack on the Allied bases and fleets in the south. While the Imperial headquarters are trying their best to prevent the reoccurrence of such incidents, the Allied fleets and convoys are again requested not to approach Japanese home waters until cease arrangements are made."

The next morning, at 9:53 AM EWT, the Portland office transmitted a long transcription of a Domei broadcast regarding Japan's surrender. "As enunciated in Imperial [message, the] Potsdam declaration was accepted 'because war situation has developed not necessarily in Japans advantage while general trends of world have all turned against her interests.'" The Domei asserted that the "Japanese people [should] not take an attitude [sic] that Japan would not have been defeated" if the military had used different strategies, if some countries had remained neutral, or the atomic bomb had not been dropped.

At 4:15 PM EWT on August 16, 1945, Sterling ordered the San Leandro and Portland monitoring officers to "discontinue copying coded material from Japan. Also cease copying point to point traffic between MacArthur and Japan and vice versa. Make certain that no one on your staff is making such copy." Thirty-three minutes later, both stations acknowledged receipt of Sterling's directive and bowed out of their role in the Japanese surrender.

As the excitement of V-J Day and the end of the war swelled, news media became interested in the FCC's role in the surrender. The *New York Times* was one of the first to publish the story, on page one of its August 16 edition. "Two messages addressed to Tokyo asked first, for the establishment of radio communications between Tokyo and the Manila headquarters …." They got the story right, but did not name the Radio Intelligence Division or the men who actually transmitted MacArthur's message. Three days later the *New York Times* again reported that "on Wednesday [August 15] General MacArthur sent his first messages to Japan ordering establishment of radio facilities," but, again, the report did not include the RID. The *Portland Oregonian* asked Landsburg at the Portland station for information about the Domei broadcast in which the Japanese accepted the Potsdam Declaration.

Landsburg asked Sterling's permission to provide the information and reminded the chief that the "Domei [broadcast] in question was picked up by both RID and FBIS at same time." The answer probably was not what Landsburg wanted to hear. "Since interception of Domei was an FBIS … show and RID was being used as a backstop … it is only ethical that [FBIS] personnel names be mentioned." In any case, the *Oregonian* wanted to know who heard the first broadcast that the Japanese were surrendering, as opposed to who heard the first response to MacArthur's message.

The request may have encouraged Sterling to pinpoint information, however. On August 17, he queried the West Coast monitoring stations asking who made first contact with the Japanese following the MacArthur message. Specifically, he wanted to know "what U.S. station either military or commercial made first contact?" The western monitoring stations combed their records of transmissions made during those tense hours. Ninety minutes later, the MO in San Leandro responded. "Have no available record of U.S. contact with Jap stations prior to" Santa Ana at 8:51 AM EWT on the 15th. A day later, the Portland station confirmed the information. "No record of contact before" Santa Ana at 8:51 AM EWT. As far as George Sterling and the monitoring officers were concerned, the first direct contact to establish the logistics of surrender between the Japanese and the United States occurred through the RID.

With the end of World War II, the RID was dismantled in 1946 and its responsibilities largely transferred to the newly formed CIA. George Sterling was appointed as an FCC commissioner in 1948 and served until 1954. Sterling published reminiscences about his RID experiences but never mentioned the MacArthur transmissions. He died in Baltimore in 1990 at the age of 96. Former members of the RID created a webpage at fccrid.org regarding the division in 2008, but it does not appear as if anything has been added since its creation. Nothing is known about Landsburg or any of the other monitoring officers who participated in establishing contact between MacArthur and the Japanese on August 15, 1945. Indeed, their story has never been fully told. Until now.

Susan L. Brinson, Ph.D., teaches in the school of journalism at Auburn University in Auburn, Alabama.

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By James R. Hedtke

All: National Archives

Air Disaster at Freckleton

A quiet English town was the scene of a tragic air mishap in the summer of 1944.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 23, 1944, WAS A DAY OF TRIUMPH FOR THE ALLIES IN THEIR struggle against the Axis powers. On the Eastern Front in Europe, Soviet forces cut off 12 divisions of the German Sixth Army in Romania and compelled the Romanian government to capitulate to the Red Army. On the Western Front, the liberation of Paris was under way as units of the French 2nd Armored Division entered the suburbs of the city and U.S. troops attacked the City of Light from east. In the Pacific Theater, American forces overcame the last Japanese resistance on the island of Noemfoor. On the diplomatic scene, Allied representatives met at Dumbarton Oaks to discuss postwar security and the creation of a new international organization, the United Nations.

Tragedy would also strike the Allies on this date. An American Consolidated B-24 Liberator bomber on a test flight crashed into an English village and killed 61 people, including 38 school children. The village lost almost an entire generation of children. This crash was the single largest air disaster suffered by the Allies in World War II.

When dawn broke on the small village of Freckleton in northwest England on August 23, there were no omens to warn the 900 inhabitants of the tragedy that was to befall them that morning. The village had escaped the direct ravages of the German Blitz, but many of its young men had joined the struggle against fascism and oppression. The war also impacted Freckleton in another way. In August 1942, the American Eighth Air Force established Base Air Depot 2 (BAD 2) in the adjacent village of Warton. BAD 2 assembled, repaired, and refurbished aircraft for the Mighty Eighth's air war against Germany. During the war, BAD 2 processed and delivered 10,068 aircraft to operational units. There were more than10,500 American soldiers stationed at BAD 2, and locals called Freckleton "Little America."

The morning of August 23 seemed quite ordinary in the Freckleton area. Servicemen on the day shift at BAD 2 repaired and refurbished a variety of planes, including North American P-51 Mustang fighters and B-24s. Inhabitants of the village ate their breakfasts as they prepared for another work day. Students anxiously awaited their second day of school after the summer recess, while teachers reviewed their lesson plans. Patrons at the Sad Sack Café, a local eatery, discussed the war in Europe and the anticipated liberation of Paris. Even the weather forecast was mundane and typically British. It called for "some early sunshine and light cloud followed by rain showers later in the morning."

On the morning of August 23, 1st Lt. John Bloemendal had double duty at BAD 2. The experienced, athletic, and handsome pilot from Minnesota served as both a test pilot and officer of the day. At 8 AM, Bloemendal drove down to the operation shack for a test flight. He selected two B-24s for test flights and assigned himself to fly the *Classy Chassis II*. The B-24H-20 Liberator, serial number 42-50291, had been assigned to the 486th Bomb Group, 832nd Bomb Squadron, and made bombing runs against airfields and coastal defenses in France. The Mighty Eighth had sent the *Classy Chassis II* to BAD 2 for repair and refurbishment. Bloemendal was an experienced test pilot who averaged about 4.5 hours of flight time each day. He had logged almost 110 hours at the controls of B-24Hs and was well aware of the plane's eccentricities, especially the shift of gravity in this model from the tail to the nose of the aircraft.

Rescue workers and townspeople survey the wreckage of an American Consolidated B-24 Liberator bomber that crashed into a school in the English village of Freckleton on August 23, 1944.

Test flight operations had scheduled the *Classy Chassis II* for an 8:30 AM takeoff that Bloemendal scrubbed when he was needed immediately at another part of the base in his capacity as

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World Leading Expert Unveils Exciting News for People with Memory Loss

JFK Award Winner, Dr. Meir Shinitsky Uncovers Shocking New Nutrient that Restores Mental Clarity, Improves Focus and Impaired Memory

Dr. Meir Shinitzky, Ph.D. a former visiting professor at Duke University and a recipient of the prestigious J.F. Kennedy Prize

BY STEVEN WUZUBIA
HEALTH CORRESPONDENT;

Clearwater, Florida: Dr. Meir Shinitzky, Ph.D., is a former visiting professor at Duke University, recipient of the prestigious J.F. Kennedy Prize and author of more than 200 international scientific papers on human body cells. But now he's come up with what the medical world considers his greatest accomplishment-- A vital compound. so powerful, it's reported to repair… even regrow damaged brain cells. In layman's terms -- Bring back your memory power. And leave you feeling more focused and clear-headed than you have in years!

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Workers attempt to clear debris and recover the bodies of scores of adult teachers, schoolchildren, and café patrons following the crash. All members of the crew of the bomber were also killed.

officer of the day. Bloemendal rescheduled the test flight for 10:30 AM. This delay sealed the fate of John Bloemendal and the village of Freckleton.

Shortly after 10 AM, Bloemendal returned to the operations shack and was ready to take the *Classy Chassis II* up for a test flight. Bloemendal gathered his crew of Sergeants Jimmie Parr and Gordon Kinney, and they headed to the aircraft to perform preflight inspection. Lieutenant Peter Manassero, from San Mateo, California, commanded the second B-24 scheduled for a test flight that morning.

At 10:30, the control tower at the Warton airfield cleared both B-24s for takeoff. Once airborne, the two Liberators headed northward at an altitude of approximately 1,500 feet. Both pilots were standing by on VHF radio when Bloemendal called Manassero's attention to a cloud formation toward the south-southeast. Manassero recalled that the formation was "a very impressive sight and looked like a thunderhead."

At approximately the same time that the two pilots were discussing the cloud formation, General Isaac Ott, commander of BAD 1 at Burtonwood, telephoned BAD 2 headquarters and informed the base executive officer, Lt. Col. William Britton, about the storm. Ott also ordered Britton to recall "any of Warton's airborne craft to the ground at once." Britton relayed Ott's orders to Warton's control tower, and the two B-24s were instructed to immediately return to the base.

By 10:40, weather conditions in the Freckleton/Warton area had seriously deteriorated. Heavy rain began to fall as lightning streaks illuminated the darkened sky. The cloud ceiling was 400 feet, and visibility was less than 300 yards. Wind gusts hit 60 to 70 miles per hour, uprooting trees and overturning chicken coops in the Freckleton area.

At Holy Trinity School, teachers and students observed the dismal darkness descend on the village. The pounding rain was overshadowed by the gusting winds, the roar of thunder, and lightning bolts slicing through the sky. Five years old at the time, Ruby Whittle (nee Currell) remembers, "It went very, very dark. There was thunder and lightning, and all sorts of crashes and bangs overhead. I remember the teacher putting on the classroom lights and she began reading to us."

At 10:41, the Warton control tower cleared Bloemendal to land, and the *Classy Chassis II* began its approach to the airfield. Manassero, in the second B-24, was following about 100 yards off the right wing of the *Classy Chassis II*. As both planes dropped down to 500 feet and lowered their landing gear, the pilots encountered heavy rain and zero visibility. Seeing how treacherous the weather conditions had become, Manassero radioed Bloemendal that he was going to abort his landing and head northward out of the storm. Bloemendal answered, "Roger," and then tried to abort his landing as well.

It was too late. As Bloemendal and his small crew tried to retract the landing gear and pull the aircraft out of its approach to the runway, disaster struck the *Classy Chassis II*. Bloemendal tightly gripped the controls and ordered Jimmie Parr to give him maximum speed to gain altitude. As Bloemendal banked the B-24 to the right, the violent turbulence and wind gusts that accompanied the thunderstorm grabbed hold of the Liberator.

Out of control with its wings nearly vertical to the ground, the 25-ton aircraft with 2,793 gallons of 100 octane aviation fuel aboard careened into the village of Freckleton at 10:47 AM. The *Classy Chassis II* first clipped some trees and then cartwheeled down Lytham Road. The Liberator partially damaged three houses and demolished the Sad Sack Café. The impact of the crash immediately killed John Bloemendal, Jimmie Parr, and Gordon Kinney.

The *Classy Chassis II* completely obliterated the Sad Sack Cafe. Allan and Rachel Whittle were the proprietors of the eatery and lived there with their 15-year-old daughter. The café was in a converted garage and was a popular respite for the personnel of BAD 2 as well as the British Royal Air Force (RAF) airmen stationed down the road in Kirkham. It was a place where American and British servicemen could go to get away from the everyday drudgery of base life and the less than tasty morsels served at the mess hall.

There was only a small contingent of customers inside the Sad Sack at 10:45 AM on August 23. The rain kept many American and British servicemen from making the trek from their bases to the snack bar. The Whittles and their small staff of three were serving breakfast, coffee, and tea when the crash occurred. The firestorm that consumed the Sad Sack killed 18 of the 20 people in the building, including the Whittles, the wait staff, four RAF airmen, seven American GIs, and one local patron. Only RAF sergeants Bill Bone and Ray Brooke survived the inferno.

Sergeant Bone recalled that as he approached the counter for service "That was it. I found myself completely in the open, no building. The skin from my hands was hanging down from my nails. Ray and I progressed from the area through the grace of God." American servicemen who rushed from BAD 2 at the time of the crash rescued Bone and Brooke and took them to the base hospital. Over the next five years, Brooke would undergo almost 50 operations, while Bone would endure 18 surgeries to reconstruct his badly burned body.

The B-24's momentum slid it across the road, and its nose turret slammed into the infants' wing of Holy Trinity School. The whole area erupted into a fireball and instantaneously engulfed the school rooms containing 41 four- to six-year-olds and their two teachers, Jennie Hall and Louisa Hulme. For many of the students, it was their first week of school. Twenty-one-year-old Miss Hall was just in her second day of teaching at Holy Trinity. Miss Hulme was scheduled to retire the following week.

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ABOVE: The shrouded body of one of the victims of the Freckleton air disaster is removed from the crash site by somber workers during recovery operations. Investigations into the cause of the crash of the American B-24 bomber produced conflicting results. RIGHT: Several men attempt to lift a large section of the *Classy Chassis II* during recovery operations that followed the plane's crash.

The bomber's flaming fuel quickly enveloped the classrooms, trapping the 41 students and their two teachers in a ring of fire. In a matter of minutes, Freckleton lost a generation of children. Thirty-four of the students immediately perished in the inferno. Rescuers from BAD 2 and the school's headmaster, Mr. Billington, were able to pull seven children and the two teachers from the burning rubble. Four of the children and the two teachers later succumbed to their injuries at the base hospital. Of the 43 people in the infants' wing at the time of the crash, only three children survived. Ruby Whittle, George Carey, and David Madden. All three would endure years of painful surgeries on their terribly burned bodies.

The devastation in the infants' wing was complete. Seven of the young victims were either first or second cousins to each other. Ironically, three of the children were evacuees from the London area. They had come to Freckleton as part of Operation Rivulet. The British government had instituted this program to move children to safe havens out of the range of German V-1 rocket attacks. Only two children from Freckleton, Ruby Whittle and George Carey (David Madden was from Brighton, England), escaped the infants' wing holocaust. For years to come, the local school was missing an entire grade level.

The older students in the rooms north and south of the infants' wing fared much better than the younger children. There were no deaths among the older children, and rescue workers quickly led them to safety while extinguishing the flames in the rest of the school building. Most of the survivors, however, suffered the loss of siblings, cousins, neighbors, and friends and still feel the loss of their loved ones today.

A communal service was held for the victims on the afternoon of August 26. The American military provided coffins for the deceased and covered all final expenses. GIs dug the communal grave in Holy Trinity Cemetery. Personnel from BAD 2 served as the honor guard for the funeral procession and as pallbearers for the children's coffins. The funeral itself consisted of a procession through the village, services at Holy Trinity Church, and burial in the church's cemetery.

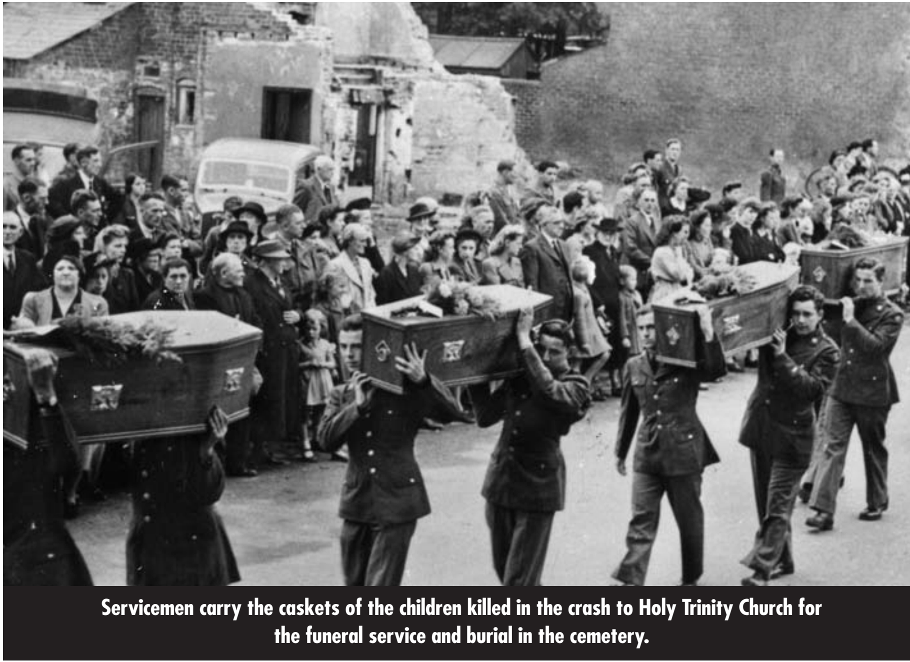
The procession of caskets began at the burned-out school and proceeded to Holy Trinity Church. BAD 2 officials assigned two servicemen as pallbearers to carry each child's coffin. The exception to the rule was Warrant Officer Painter Alexander. He stood 6-8, and because of his height there was no other serviceman to pair with him. Alexander, alone, bore the weight of Judy Garner's coffin in the procession. Almost two years later, Alexander married Judy Garner's mother, Jane, at a ceremony in Holy Trinity Church. Identical wreaths of flowers adorned the top of each coffin and covered the plate bearing the name of the child in the casket.

The procession wound its way to the entrance of Holy Trinity Church. The structure was too small to fit all the caskets inside, so the American servicemen brought in only the caskets of Miss Hall and one child. The name of the child remained anonymous and served as a symbolic remembrance of the other young victims who perished in the inferno. Since the seating capacity was 250 people, only the immediate families of the deceased and important dignitaries were allowed inside the church for the liturgical service. The Reverend J.W. Broadbent, vicar of the parish, conducted the service, and Dr. W.M. Askwith, Episcopal bishop of Blackburn, delivered the homily.

At the conclusion of the service, the American servicemen lifted the tiny caskets and carried them through an honor guard formed by the personnel from BAD 2. The line of caskets and mourners processed the short distance from the church to the cemetery. More than 500 floral tributes adorned the mounds of dirt surrounding the gravesite. As the pallbearers approached the communal grave excavated in the shape of a T, they set their caskets down on the edge of the hole. Servicemen in the grave then took the children's caskets and laid them to rest in the short arm of the T. The adult victims of the crash were later placed in the trunk of the T.

The United States Army Air Forces (USAAF) conducted separate services at BAD 2 for the 10 American airmen killed in the crash. Their remains were buried at the Cambridge American Cemetery just west of Cambridge, England. After the conclusion of the war, families of nine of the servicemen repatriated their loved ones to cemeteries in the United States. John Bloemendal's wife, Margaret, brought her husband's remains back home and buried him in Elmhurst Cemetery in the couple's hometown of St. Paul, Minnesota.

The USAAF appointed Major Charles Himes to oversee the investigation of the crash. Himes was stationed at BAD 2 and was the chief test pilot at the base. He was familiar with the air-



Servicemen carry the caskets of the children killed in the crash to Holy Trinity Church for the funeral service and burial in the cemetery.

field, the weather conditions of the area, the intricacies of flying a B-24H, and had witnessed the violent thunderstorm on the morning of August 23. He also knew John Bloemendal well and had flown several missions with him.

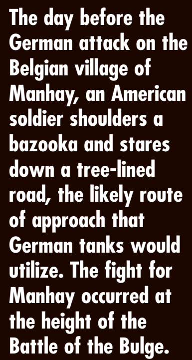
Major Himes launched his investigation on the afternoon of August 23. Over the next three days, Himes gathered information from the crash site, interviews with eyewitnesses and base personnel, and from base records. On August 26, he completed his investigation and issued an accident report along with his recommendations. Himes' summary report was brief and stated, "The cause of the accident is unknown." The investigators could not find any evidence of mechanical failure or weather-related causes in the badly mangled wreckage of the *Classy Chassis II*. There were few eyewitnesses to the crash, and their testimony was contradictory. For example, one witness said the plane was already on fire when it crashed into Freckleton while two others said the fire did not erupt until the plane smashed into the ground. The report also stated, "It is the opinion of the Accident Investigation Committee that the crash resulted from the pilot's error in judgment of the violence of the storm."

Based on its findings, the Accident Investigating Committee made a singular recommendation to USAAF Headquarters that "all pilots who are gaining most of their flying experience in England (subsequent to flying school) be emphatically warned about entering thunderstorms or flying under thunder heads." Nowhere in the report is there any mention that perhaps Lt. Col. Britton and the Warton control tower should have advised Bloemendal about the severity of the local weather conditions and ordered him not to land at Warton. Given the weather conditions, Britton and the control tower should have advised Bloemendal to fly northward toward Scotland and avoid the heavy weather around Freckleton. Himes's report appears to be incomplete and inaccurate in placing singular blame for the accident on the shoulders of Lieutenant Bloemendal.

Seventy years have passed since that fateful August morning. The story of the Freckleton air disaster has been swept into the footnotes of the history of World War II. Two memorials stand sentinel to the legacy of this little-known tragedy. One is in the village of Freckleton in Holy Trinity Cemetery. It commemorates the final resting place of the crash victims. The other memorial is at the Mighty Eighth Heritage Museum in Pooler, Georgia, where a 25-foot by 25-foot square garden contains a stone monument to the victims of the Freckleton disaster and the heroism of the men from BAD 2.

It is important remember the 61 victims of the Freckleton air disaster. The tragedy demonstrates the capricious and cruel nature of war. The sacrifice and loss of life were part of the price of the freedom and liberty enjoyed today by free citizens. Though their lives abruptly ended, their legacy never will.

James R. Hedtke is a professor of history and political science at Cabrini College in Radnor, Pennsylvania. His research areas include the American presidency, the Civil War, and terrorism. He has authored three books, including his latest work The Freckleton, England Air Disaster.



The day before the German attack on the Belgian village of Manhay, an American soldier shoulders a bazooka and stares down a tree-lined road, the likely route of approach that German tanks would utilize. The fight for Manhay occurred at the height of the Battle of the Bulge.

Melee for the Manhay-

AMERICAN AND GERMAN TROOPS BATTLED FOR CONTROL OF TWO KEY BELGIAN TOWNS DURING THE BATTLE OF THE BULGE, DECEMBER 24-27, 1944.

The young men of Companies H and I of 3rd Battalion, 517th Parachute Regiment (PIR) were about to move out for their assault on the crossroad town of Manhay, Belgium. The paratroopers started at 1 AM from their assembly area a mile northwest of Vaux Chavanne and hiked the two miles through dense underbrush and deep snow to a small wood line 1,000 yards northeast of Manhay.

It was getting close to 2 AM, and the men were waiting with the usual mixed emotions before an attack. Some huddled together for a little warmth; smoking was not allowed, movement was restricted, and so the men waited silently like ghosts in the moonlit snow under the shadows of the trees. Some of the men probably were replaying how this moment in their lives was first set into motion.

The severe winters of the Ardennes region usually start with harsh and heavy rains and thick fog in November and that turn into deep snowfalls in December. The clay soil is solid when frozen but turns quickly into slippery and sticky mire during rainfall. The northern sector of the German offensive in the heavily wooded Ardennes, which began on December 16, 1944, was a range of low, relatively open plains with some wooded areas and prominent ridgelines intermingled. The numerous small river crossings made cross-country travel with armor nearly impossible. To make any appreciable movement an army had to rely on the roads.

Towns and villages that were at the intersections of these vital roads were important points for defense and attack for each of the armies involved in the great series of actions that came to be known as the Battle of the Bulge. These small crossroads became vital points for control of the flow of men and matériel during the German drive toward the Meuse River and then, it was hoped, on to Antwerp, the great Belgian seaport. They also were vital to the Americans in defense to deprive the enemy of their routes of advance and supply.

The objective of the German offensive was to capture Antwerp, denying the Allies a major port of entry for men and supplies and to drive a wedge between the American and British armies advancing toward the heartland of Germany. If successful, Hitler believed that the defeat might actually be such a catastrophic blow to the Allied effort that a separate peace might be negotiated in the West. Then the Führer intended to turn all his military might and attention toward the defeat of the marauding Soviet Red Army in the East.

Although the plan was deemed a sure failure by most German generals, Hitler believed in the desperate gamble and overruled his top commanders. The German war machine assembled in the Ardennes was indeed powerful but lacked fuel and other basic supplies, while some units were short of manpower.

The battle-hardened Sixth Panzer Army was assigned to the northern sector of the German offensive. However, after initial success in the attack the army was running out of the precious fuel and supplies to keep going. The mostly untried American infantry divisions that fell back during the first stages of the assault were quickly bolstered by more experienced units with better support. The 1st SS Panzer Division slammed into the American 30th Infantry Division several days after the initial assault. The 30th was an old adversary that previously tore the SS Division apart during the battles in northern France after the D-Day landings in June 1944 and forced it to reorganize for the Ardennes offensive.

History was repeating itself, for the 30th Division stopped the 1st SS in its northwesterly drive during the Bulge, and in the ensuing battles would again hammer the German division into near annihilation. The 12th SS and 9th SS, support divisions of the 1st SS, were slow in their advance and eventually became embroiled in bloody battles against an unmoving Allied line. Soon, other German SS and regular army units of the Fifth Panzer Army that were supposed to be preparing defensive positions were forced to attack strengthening American positions along the Salm, Orthe, and Lesse Rivers. This left the entire northern shoulder of the German offensive weakened and exposed to counterattacks.

By December 24, the majority of the German advance in the north was forced to proceed on foot as supplies dwindled. The German command was sending in fresh units to bolster the northern sector and to attempt to take vital high ground occupied by the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division. The 82nd was, in turn, being reinforced by elements of other units, including the now exhausted troops that had fallen back after their stubborn but failed defense of the town of St. Vith, Belgium.

This pieced-together force was holding a fragile and scattered line along the Salm River, stretching about 30 miles roughly southwest to northeast and with vulnera-

Grandménil

BY KIRK A. FREEMAN

All Photos: National Archives

ble flanks. The American command decided that a strong armor-supported defense at the crossroads town of Manhay would deprive the Germans of that important hub and protect a wobbling flank of the line the 82nd Airborne was building. Elements of the 7th Armored Division and the remnants of the hard-hit 106th Infantry Division were ordered to dig in and hold Manhay and strengthen the high ground west and north of the town.

In the early morning hours of December 24, 1944, the 2nd SS Panzer Division Das Reich arrived in the southeastern portion of the Manhay-Grandménil sector in the middle of the northern shoulder of the bulge. The division finally received fuel for its tanks on the 22nd and was moving into position to attack. To the right of the 2nd SS were the 9th and 1st SS and their support units. To the left was the 560th Volksgrenadier Division. Immediately, the 3rd and 4th Panzergrenadier Regiments (Deutschland and Der Führer, respectively) from the 2nd SS Panzer Division, both with armored support, moved up the road leading north into Manhay. The remaining German armor was stationed in the rear, hidden in heavily wooded areas with conserved fuel for a quick and decisive attack or defense when needed.

The American defense of Manhay on the 24th never really had much support due to poor communication between the numerous unit commanders. Units could rarely make radio contact with their headquarters or one another. Additionally, high-ranking officers from some units refused to take orders from other officers of different divisions or corps as it went against their idea of the proper chain of command. The American command and communication failures were setting the stage for a military blunder that the Germans were, without knowing it, about to exploit at Manhay.

The town of Manhay in the Luxembourg Provence of Belgium was one of those small crossroads towns that were so vital to the German armies in the area. Through this small, ancient town passed the northbound road to Liege, while eastern and western roads linked points along which other German forces were advancing in their northwestern push toward Antwerp. Over 1,000 people lived in Manhay in 1944, but that all changed when the Germans overwhelmed the American forces in their initial assault to the east. For over a week retreating Allied soldiers were seen moving through the town. Those residents who did not flee soon found themselves in a combat zone.

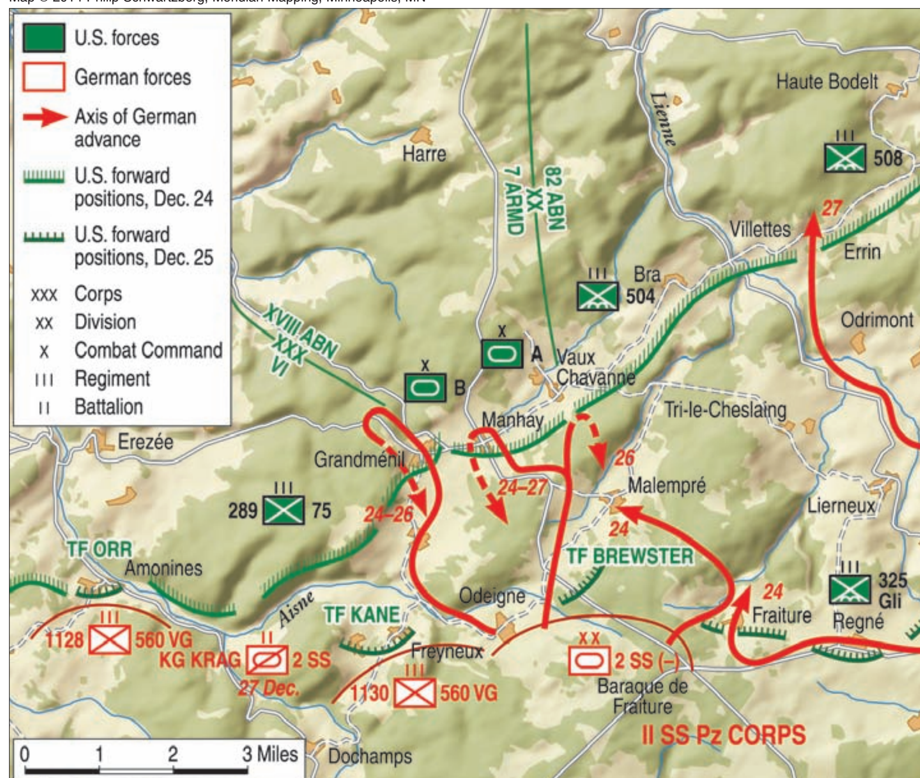
On the morning of December 24, the exhausted and war-weary soldiers of Combat Command A, 7th Armored Division entered the sleepy town of Manhay and immediately urged the remaining residents to get out before it was too late. Many people rushed to nearby villages only to find that those residents were evacuating also. Then, toward the end of the day the Americans received a short message via radio giving them strict orders to keep the civilians in their homes. The American command, after long debate, decided to withdraw from this area under cover of darkness and take up a stronger defensive position on the higher ridges north of the village. Only a small scouting outpost was to remain behind to keep a lookout for any approaching enemy columns while the rest of the command removed to the new defensive line.

From the southern road the 2nd SS Panzer Division Das Reich was nearing its objective of Manhay. The 2nd SS Panzer Division was an elite combat unit originally formed in 1939. It served with distinction in the invasions of France and the Low Countries, the Balkans, and the Soviet Union. The 2nd was brought back to France to be refitted as a heavy armored division and to rebuild its depleted manpower after the Allies landed in Normandy in 1944. Even though it did not complete its refurbishing, the division moved north and fought almost continually, inflicting and receiving heavy losses. Now the division was moving forward once more to take on an old adversaries in a last-ditch effort that many of the soldiers believed was in vain. With that said, they considered it their sworn duty to achieve victory or die trying; they would not back down easily.

As a result of the heavy fighting on the flanks with American infantry and armor, other German units were draining men and matériel from the 2nd. Only two battalions made from elements of the two regiments of Der Führer and Deutschland were available to make up the attacking force. A bright moon was visible in the freezing night. The soldiers of both sides were visible as dark spots against the white, snow-covered ground, and their large vehicles appeared as clear targets. Just as Combat Command A started to move out of town, the SS soldiers and their tank columns arrived and immediately attacked.

Artillery and mortar fire poured into Manhay from both sides. The Germans aimed to eliminate the American armored column. Stuck in their homes, the citizens of Manhay were stunned by the ferocity of the artillery, mortar, and small-arms fire. Civilians fled their homes from one side of the town as the Das Reich soldiers entered the other. Both civilians and soldiers were now hit in the exchange. The

Map © 2014 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN



American troops and armored vehicles of Combat Command A, 7th Armored Division battled elements of German SS divisions for control of the key towns of Manhay and Grandménil as the Germans attempted to advance toward the Belgian seaport of Antwerp during the Battle of the Bulge.

roads became choked with wrecked vehicles, panic-stricken civilians, retreating soldiers, and the dead and wounded. In a short time the town of Manhay was in German hands. Casualties were heavy.

As the Americans retreated from Manhay, the remnants of Combat Command A moved westward barely a mile down the road to Grandménil. The American commander, Lt. Col. Walter B. Richardson, spotted two M10 tank destroyers of C Company, 629th Battalion, and ordered them quickly into defensive positions. Without infantry support their situation quickly became untenable. After a brief exchange of fire, both the Americans and Germans lost two tanks, and the German advance continued. As the Americans were pushed out of Grandménil, an artillery barrage ordered by Richardson started to fall on the road leading west from the town. The Americans used the artillery cover to retreat toward the town of Erezée about 4.4 miles farther west. Attacking German armor followed into Grandménil but halted due to the American artillery fire and waited for infantry support. The German advance lost precious time in the process. It took more than an hour for the infantry to come up and to establish a defensive perimeter before pushing on.

ABOVE: On December 23, 1944, Belgian civilians flee after being warned that a battle for the village of Manhay was looming. Many of these Belgians have bicycles ready to speed their retreat to safety. LEFT: On December 27, 1944, an M4 Sherman medium tank advances toward Manhay and possible contact with German forces in the vicinity.

Meanwhile, Richardson came across soldiers of the 75th Infantry Division as his command retreated toward Erezée and ordered them to set up an ambush along the road. The Americans used the time to dig in and wait. Once their infantry arrived, the Germans renewed their attack. At the front of their column were several American Sherman tanks captured earlier at Manhay and Grandménil and pressed into service by the Germans. This ploy is debated as either being due to the lack of time to siphon all the fuel from the Shermans into German tanks or a clever tactical ruse to confuse the situation.

As the German spearhead thundered westward, the men of the 75th first saw the Sherman tanks coming toward them. Thinking they might be American, the mostly green soldiers of the 75th held their fire until the armor was right on top of them. In the ensuing melee, one of the Sherman tanks was taken out by a bazooka. As daylight approached, the German assault pulled back to Grandménil and Manhay to await reinforcements.

Throughout the evening of December 24, the 2nd SS Panzer Division moved into the Grandménil-Manhay sector. The 4th Regiment Der Führer defended Grandménil, and the 3rd Regiment Deutschland occupied positions in and around Manhay. According to one SS soldier, someone found a piano in a house that night and tried to play a few Christmas carols, but after a pitiful attempt to sing everyone realized they were not in a festive mood.

The dawning of Christmas Day 1944 in the Grandménil and Manhay sector was not a peaceful one. With the clear day, Allied aircraft were free to strafe, bomb, and gather intelligence on the Germans at will. At Manhay several Lockheed P-38 Lightning fighter-bombers strafed and bombed the town, destroying German armor. In the treeline just over a half mile northeast of town, the war-weary men of the 2nd Battalion, 424th Regiment and a battalion from the 7th Armored Division moved into place. The exhausted infantrymen of the 424th had been in nearly continuous combat since the initial German assault at St. Vith on December 16. Christmas Eve was the first day they were allowed any appreciable rest, and men found floors in warm houses to sleep on until they were kicked awake with the warning that the Germans were at Manhay. On Christmas morning the tired American troops were digging foxholes in the woods northeast of Manhay, awaiting their slow-moving armored support, and officers were being quickly briefed about their attack that evening on Manhay.

Meanwhile, at Grandménil, the cruelty of war continued. The morning after the action with the German spearhead, the men of K Company, 75th Infantry Division moved into Grandménil. Halfway into town they were greeted with heavy machine-gun fire from the other side of the village. When German tanks began arriving the company quickly pulled out of town. Once more American artillery fire started to fall on the town. After the barrage, Companies I, K, and L assaulted and briefly occupied part of Grandménil until once again they were forced to pull out.

The towns of Grandménil and Manhay were now under almost constant American artillery bombardment and air attacks. All morning U.S. soldiers and equipment moved into position between Grandménil and Erezée and awaited the order to launch a heavy counterattack. Along with the 75th Infantry Division, the

289th Regimental Combat Team and elements of the U.S. 3rd Armored Division reached the area. That morning the 1st Battalion, Combat Command B, 33rd Armored Regiment occupied a position with the infantry just west of Grandménil while waiting for more reinforcements. Around 10 AM, Companies D and F, 36th Infantry Regiment; A Company, 33rd Armored Regiment with light Stuart tanks; Companies F and I with medium Sherman tanks; and the 2nd Platoon, D Company, 23rd Combat Engineer Battalion arrived to bolster the assault force. The American attack was set for dusk. Meanwhile, artillery rounds continued falling on the Germans in both towns.

At Manhay, the 2nd Battalion, 424th Infantry Regiment started its assault across open ground in the fading light. The German machine gunners allowed the attack to approach to within about 50 yards of the town and then laid down a deadly hail of bullets that snaked across the American advance through a field. Instinctively, the men of the 424th sought cover, and all forward movement stopped. As the winter darkness gathered, flares lit the sky for the gunners to find targets. The attackers were ordered to withdraw almost immediately, but the order did not reach most of the men who had advanced closest to the town. As American artillery fire resumed, these men were subjected to friendly fire. Small groups fell back to a sunken road that split the open plain north of Manhay. They quickly gathered the wounded for the medics to attend before moving farther back to safety. During its brief attack the 2nd Battalion suffered nearly 35 percent casualties.

Later that night, the Germans started to withdraw the majority of their soldiers from Manhay. Their tanks were nearly out of fuel, and ammunition was running low. German commanders decided to try another push in a new location while they still had the capabilities to attack. One SS pioneer officer with the Deutschland Regiment wrote in his journal about the American Christmas Day attack and subsequent shelling: "Our guns in an orgy of spendthrift recklessness reply with eight rounds—then cease fire." Within days only a small detachment of German defenders remained in Manhay with a few tanks in support.

After heavy preliminary artillery bombardment, the main attack at Grandménil finally gained a toehold in the town. Then the fighting became house to house. Many of the houses were aflame, and the forms of the soldiers and tanks could clearly be seen by all in the hellish landscape. At 10 PM, American tank columns started pushing toward the town with an infantry company in support, but the American armor was soon in trouble from German antitank fire, while heavy weapons fire also bogged the supporting infantry down. In one American tank column, eight of the 10 tanks were destroyed or disabled before getting into the village itself. All through Christmas night and into the next morning the struggle for the town continued. One German tank sat in a pit for cover and proved impossible to dislodge. That tank crew took out any American armor foolish enough to get in its sights. To make matters worse for the Americans, the tenacious panzergrenadiers were not showing any signs of leaving. Both sides took heavy casualties in the house-to-house fighting.

Soldiers of the 7th Armored Division stand atop a camouflaged M4 Sherman medium tank and scan the horizon for the presence of German forces near Manhay.

The Americans had not slept in over 40 hours, and exhaustion eroded their combat effectiveness. After a series of attacks and counterattacks neither side gained the upper hand. An order for the Americans to withdraw was sent early in the afternoon, and the troops started pulling out around 1:30 PM. The artillery again opened fire on the town around 3 PM. The weary Americans moved into Grandménil once again, but this time it was much quieter. Only a handful of Germans remained; the majority of the enemy forces had used the time to retreat. Others, trapped by the artillery fire, made a break toward Manhay. The Americans cut them down with small-arms fire and mortars as they crossed the open fields and the nearby road.

For the rest of the day and into the night the Americans fought to retake the town. For the next two days, German snipers and small mortar teams kept the Americans busy. Both sides occasionally lobbed shells at one another as well.

With Grandménil in American hands, the men of the 75th Division started digging foxholes east of the town, setting up a defensive perimeter. Soon, however, they found they were digging in an unmarked American minefield. Their task was quickly abandoned and the perimeter moved closer to the village. The ensuing days were spent rounding up German survivors in the town, collecting the wounded and dead, and dodging the occasional mortar round.

Before the Christmas Day attacks on Manhay and Grandménil, the Germans decided that they could not get to Liege through those villages; the cost would be too great. On December 27, the Germans tried to push through Sadzot, a small village southwest of Manhay-Grandménil. That attack led to a series of blunders on both sides and a vicious fight that ended with an American victory. The Germans pulled the majority of their forces out of the Manhay-Grandménil sector in preparation for the failed Sadzot attack.

American commanders were unaware of the purpose of the German withdrawal and brought in the 3rd Battalion, 517th Parachute Regimental Combat Team. The 517th was among the elite forces of World War II. The men were mostly hand picked, all airborne qualified, young, intelligent, and in top physical shape. They were veterans of the Italian campaign and Operation Dragoon, the Allied invasion of southern France. The 517th was an independent unit attached at various times to the 17th, 82nd, and 13th Airborne Divisions.

ABOVE: Destroyed and abandoned vehicles litter the field of combat around the Belgian town of Manhay. The town itself sustained heavy damage during the Battle of the Bulge as American troops maintained control of the area, including vital roads that led westward toward the River Meuse and the port of Antwerp. TOP: Following their deployment in combat against the 2nd SS Panzer Division at Manhay, veteran American troops of the 30th Infantry Division tramp through the December snow toward the village of St. Vith, where they fought with distinction during the Battle of the Bulge.

When the orders were received to deploy for action during the Battle of the Bulge, the 517th was in Soissons, France, getting much needed rest after 94 continuous days in combat during Operation Dragoon. It rained almost continually in the little time the men were at Soissons, and it was raining on the night of December 21 as they were loaded on trucks. The fortunate men rode in trucks with canvas covers. Others were exposed to the elements as they were driven through the night in the cold rain, sleet, and then snow as they moved closer to the northern shoulder of the bulge. The following day, men of the 1st Battalion were driven right into an artillery barrage and unloaded in a desperate battle near the towns of Soy and Hotton. The 2nd and 3rd Battalions were sent farther north to bolster gaps in the American lines and hold near Werbomont, south of Liege.

Company G, 3rd Battalion was detailed to guard the American headquarters at Harze. Companies H and I went into action accompanied by one platoon of the 596th Engineers and a section of the regimental demolitions platoon. On the night of December 26, the attack force moved to the treeline just northeast of Manhay and waited. At 2 AM, the American artillery was to commence a 10-minute barrage. The troopers would move closer to the town and wait as a short secondary barrage started five minutes later. Once that barrage lifted the men were to mount a classic charge into the town with fixed bayonets. In all, more than 5,000 artillery rounds would drop in the vicinity of Manhay during that short time.

After the first barrage lifted, the men moved into the open field north of Manhay. When the second barrage came over, the fire of at least one artillery battery was short, the rounds landing on the men of 1st Platoon, I Company with devastating effect. First Lieutenant Floyd A. Stott was killed along with 12 others under his command, and at least 20 men were wounded. The rattled troops could not stay to take care of their friends; they had to advance as fast as they could into the town. Men from H Company had to pass through the carnage with comrades pleading for help, but the officers were shouting for everyone to keep moving.

The Americans rushed into the town and immediately started tossing white phosphorous grenades through cellar doors, into rooms, and other places where the enemy might be hiding. Within half an hour the town was in the paratroopers' control. About 50 Germans were killed and 29 taken prisoner. Several German tanks were also destroyed by bazooka fire. Many buildings lay in ruins, and some were ablaze. As the Americans rounded up prisoners, a German Tiger tank started moving from the town to the woods south of Manhay. The Americans had believed it was out of action and overlooked it during their attack. The tank, however, rumbled off to a safe distance without attacking.

Around 4 AM, a minor German counterattack against the 517th defenses proved ineffective; it was not heavily pressed, nor repeated. Small German infantry teams remained in the woods and continued to periodically fire antitank guns, mortars, or small arms into the town while they prepared to try the alternative route through Sadzot. Meanwhile, the Tiger that had rumbled off earlier stayed in the area for a few more days and occasionally fired down the streets at the men as they scurried about. For years, the old veterans jokingly recalled, "You never walked in Manhay, you ran!"

On the day Manhay was captured, three American P-38 planes flew over. Thinking the town was still in German hands, the pilots strafed and bombed the paratroopers, killing one man and tearing the arm off another before flying back to their base. The battle for Manhay was finally over.

Although the battles for Manhay and Grandménil were relatively small engagements compared to others, the men on both sides who were there fought with determination and great will power. Memories of the fighting at these two little crossroads towns would remain with them for the rest of their lives.

Raised in rural Madison County, Iowa, Kirk Freeman worked for years as an archaeologist, historian, and museum curator. He is a graduate of Iowa State University and also holds a master's degree in history from the University of Houston-Clear Lake. He currently lives in Iowa.

BY MICHAEL E. HASKEW

NAZI War Machine

WITH THE END of World War I, the German Army had not been defeated in the field. Surrender had come due to depleted resources and war weariness at home. When the proud German soldiers returned to their country from war-torn France and Belgium, they were welcomed as heroes.

The bitter terms of the Versailles Treaty placed the vast majority of blame for the Great War on Germany, sowing the seeds of the Nazi rise to power and the coming of another even more terrible world war. Through the upheaval of the interwar years, the German Army, known as the Heer, survived, and its leaders embarked on a clandestine effort to circumvent the terms of the Versailles Treaty that, among other things, had limited its fighting strength to 100,000 men.

The command structure of the Heer embodied a long tradition of competence and efficiency. On the eve of World War II, Oberkommando des Heeres (OKH) served as the primary organization through which the Army general staff executed its plans. Although the general staff had been recognized as the officer corps with the most effective grasp of strategy and tactics, Hitler diluted its command efficiency and power base, relegating OKH to a distinctly subordinate role. At the top of a new command structure, Hitler installed himself as supreme military commander. He further created another senior military organization, Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (OKW).

Hitler maintained control of both the OKW and the OKH, and there were dissident elements within the general staff—officers who grudgingly came to recognize that the general staff and OKH had been reduced from executive roles that shaped and influenced strategic German military operations to simply carrying out the orders of the Führer as they were handed down from Hitler to OKW.

Many officers who remained associated with the general staff performed their duties with the understanding that opposition to Hitler had to be kept quiet. From the beginning of the Nazi era, senior officers of the general staff opposed the Führer. In turn, Hitler mistrusted the general staff virtually to a man. That mistrust was well founded.

During the 1930s, those officers who had questioned Hitler's judgment lost credibility as Germany reclaimed territory forfeited following World War I, reoccupied the Rhineland, annexed Austria and Sudetenland, and then occupied all of Czechoslovakia without firing a shot while Great Britain and France pursued a policy of appeasement. The popularity of the Führer had reached such heights that open opposition was hazardous to an officer's career and might even subject the dissident to harsh punishment. Despite the inherent risk, some officers were convinced that the most effective form of opposition to Hitler might actually come from within.

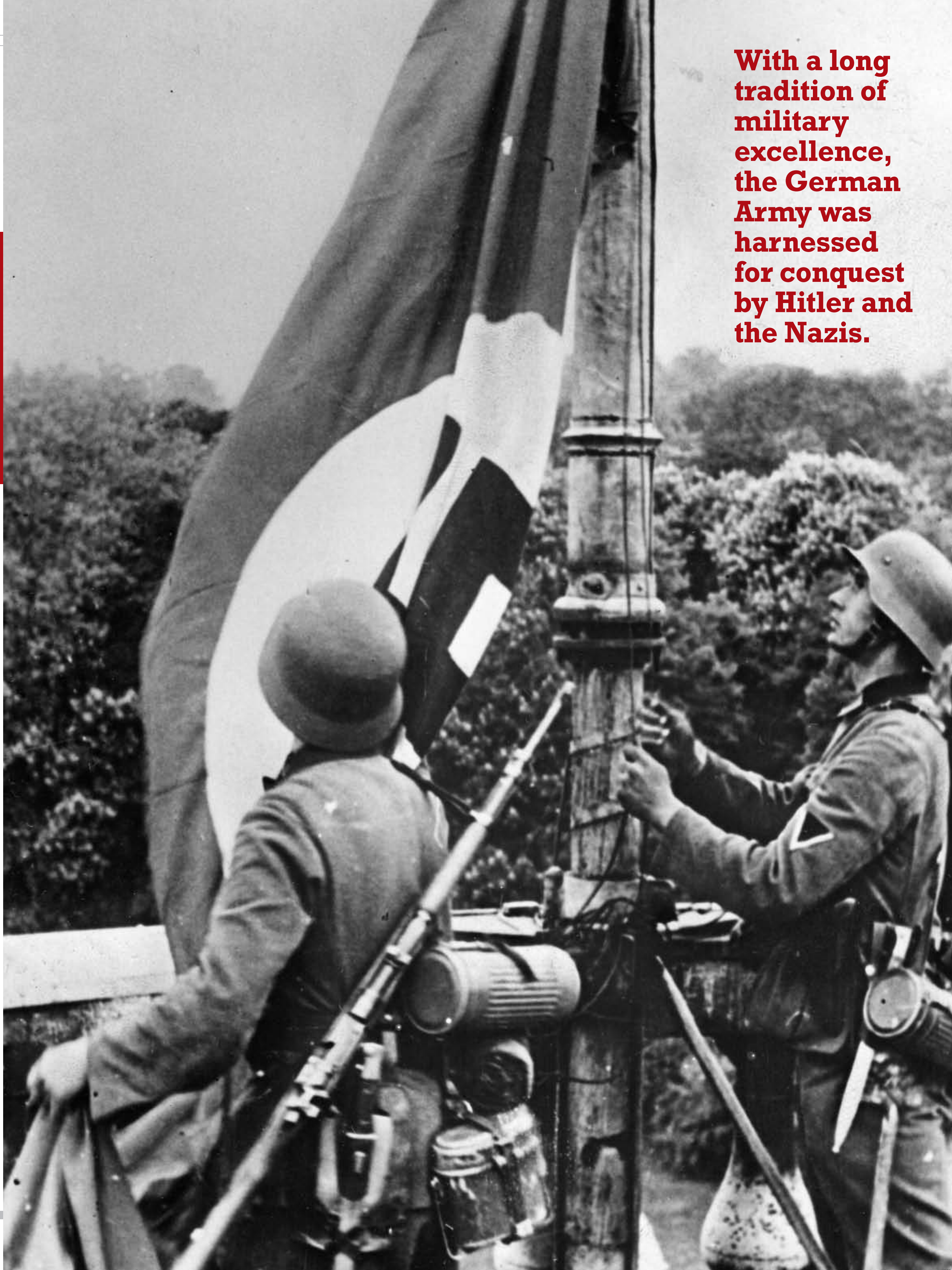
One such officer was Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, who led the Abwehr, the Intelligence branch of OKW, beginning in 1935. Canaris's career is a paradox in that while he was charged with safeguarding the Third Reich against enemy espionage he was also a member of the domestic opposition to the Führer.

Canaris opposed Hitler's policy of expansion, quietly intervened to save Jews and prisoners of war from execution, persuaded Spanish dictator Francisco Franco not to allow German troops to cross Spanish territory in an attempt to capture the British fortress at Gibraltar, conspired with high-ranking officers of Army Group C on the Eastern Front to assassinate Hitler, and was arrested following the July 20, 1944, attempt to kill the Führer. He eventually paid with his own life on the gallows on April 9, 1945.

Although a substantial opposition to Hitler existed, senior officers of the Heer witnessed the Führer's spectacular early successes, and most of them were willing participants in the Nazi plan of conquest. As they became aware of Hitler's intent to plunge Europe into its second major war in 25 years, some weakly argued that Germany could not possibly be militarily or economically prepared to wage war until 1942. Hitler's timetable, however, was accelerated. The invasion of Poland took place on September 1, 1939.

These officers had taken a personal oath to Adolf Hitler and believed themselves obligated to perform their duties based on the Führer Principle, which stated, "The Führer's word is above all written law." Rooted in Social Dar-

German soldiers raise the Nazi flag in Belgium. The invasion of France and the Low Countries on May 10, 1940, resulted in the swift conquest of those nations. The might of Nazi arms was well illustrated with the magnificent assault by German glider troops on Fort Eben Emael on the Belgian-Dutch frontier.



With a long tradition of military excellence, the German Army was harnessed for conquest by Hitler and the Nazis.

winism, the Führer Principle was not uniquely Nazi. However, it did find robust application during the 12 years of the Third Reich. Some high-ranking Nazis who stood trial at Nuremburg after the war actually asserted the doctrine in their own defense.

Following the Blomberg and Frisch scandals in the late 1930s, which removed two of the last impediments to Hitler's assumption of full control of the German armed forces, the Führer appointed Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel as commander in chief of OKW. Keitel was a career Army officer who had previously served as chief of the Armed Forces Office.

Keitel had been appointed by his former friend, Defense Minister Werner von Blomberg. A veteran of World War I who had been wounded in action and then risen through the ranks of the interwar Reichswehr, he had been alienated from Blomberg, who failed to press Keitel's idea of a unified command structure for all of the German armed forces. Hitler, however, seemed to be moving toward such a command structure, and Keitel was cooperative.

As the chief of OKW, Keitel structured the organization with an Economics Section under Maj. Gen. Georg Thomas, an Intelligence Section under Canaris, and an Operations Section led by Col. Gen. Alfred Jodl. As time passed, Keitel became devoted to Hitler. He supported the Führer with blind obedience and was quoted at Nuremberg as saying that the Führer Principle was paramount in "all areas and it is completely natural that it had a special application in reference to the military."

Keitel did attempt to stand up to Hitler as plans for Operation Barbarossa, the invasion of the Soviet Union, were being formulated. He objected that the plan was too ambitious. Hitler was enraged. When Keitel offered to resign, Hitler declined, saying that only he, as supreme commander of the German armed forces, could decide when and if the head of OKW should step aside. From that time on, Keitel was a slavish servant to the Führer, so much so that some officers whispered a joke that he should be referred to as "Lakeitel" or "Lackey."

As World War II dragged on, Hitler exploited his relationship with Keitel, issuing orders such as the "Night and Fog" directive of December 1941, mandating that enemies of the Nazi state were to "disappear" without a trace, and decrees for the killing of prisoners and the immediate execution of Communist Party commissars if captured.

Weeks before the invasion of the Soviet Union, Hitler declared that the war in the East was to be one of annihilation. Keitel issued the Barbarossa Decree, sanctioning the ruthless suppression of Partisan activities and authorizing units of the Heer to use extreme measures in the process. Further, officers were directed to use harsh measures against the local populations when attacks against German forces occurred if the actual parties could not be located. Officers were given the power to execute hostile persons without trial or formal adherence to any law or legal process.

Heer officers were assured that they were authorized to exercise such authority without fear of prosecution for actions that would normally be violations of German law. Generals and senior commanders who protested summary executions and acts of brutality committed by both Army and Waffen SS (armed SS) personnel were often relieved of duty.

Each of these orders originated with Hitler. However, their implementation rested with Wilhelm Keitel, and the signatures on the actual paper orders belonged to Keitel as well.

While Keitel had considered himself a loyal officer of the Heer, he fatally linked that loyalty to Adolf Hitler. Therefore, he undermined the effectiveness of the Army general staff and OKH. Keitel left an indelible stain on the honor of the Heer and its officer corps. He was hanged as a war criminal.

In the spring of 1940, the German armed forces, or Wehrmacht, moved against the Scandinavian countries of Norway and Denmark. Historically, such an operation would have been planned by the Army general staff and executed through OKH. However, Operation Weserübung (Weser Exercise) was controlled from the outset by OKW. Soon afterward, OKW issued orders to move an entire division of the Heer from Norway to Finland, establishing a new theater of war for the armed forces that was completely outside the control of the general staff or OKH.

When the invasion of the Soviet Union commenced on June 22, 1941, Hitler interfered with operations from the beginning. He accomplished this through orders issued by OKW. Just as he had done in France weeks earlier, ordering his ground troops to halt and allowing thousands of British and French soldiers to escape from Dunkirk, he grew restless as German forces neared the Soviet capital of Moscow.

Hitler diverted troops of Field Marshal Fedor von Bock's Army Group Center to the north and south of the Soviet capital, rendering Bock's planned armored offensive to capture Moscow impossible to execute and depriving Bock of the initiative to potentially win the war in the East.

From the autumn of 1940 until the end of the war, the Feldheer (Field Army) in the West, also known as the Westheer, was under the control of Oberfelshaber West, or OB West, which answered directly to OKW. OB West was responsible for the implementation of orders issued by Hitler and transmitted through OKW.

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The OB West area of operations included the coastal defenses of the Atlantic Wall and the occupied territories of the Low Countries. At the end of the war, the remnants of OB West command were located in Bavaria.

Hitler's continuing suspicions of the general staff and the high-ranking commanders whose careers were traced to the officer elite of the Junker class, is evidenced by the Führer's replacement of the commander of OB West no fewer than six times. Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt was appointed and then sacked on three occasions. He commanded OB West from October 1940 to April 1941 and was replaced by Field Marshal Erwin von Witzleben from May 1941 to March 1942. Rundstedt was reinstated and commanded OB West from March 1942 to July 1944 and was followed by Field Marshal Günther von Kluge from early July to mid-August of that year. Field Marshal Walther Model held the post for two weeks in August and September 1944, and Rundstedt again commanded OB West from September 1944 until March 1945. The final commander of OB West was Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, who served for the remaining weeks of the war.

"Hitler's distrust of the generals caused him to interfere extensively in the conduct of operations," wrote author Walter Goerlitz in *History of the German General Staff*. "The policy … which left the subordinate commander freedom for individual decisions within the framework of general directives, and which had become an essential part of Germany's traditional military method, was particularly in place in those great Russian spaces. Hitler, however, a victim of the illusion that he could move armies around as though they were battalions on parade, now adopted the practice of leaving commanders virtually no latitude at all. There was already a severe difference of opinion between General Staff and Supreme War Lord as to the real objectives of the campaign. Hitler … introduced into it a further element of disastrous uncertainty."

The German soldier was, without question, part of a great war machine, trained, organized, and intended for conquest. Quite a small percentage of those who wore the uniform of the Heer were officers.

While the Heer grew exponentially during the 1930s, the character of its officer corps evolved markedly. The tradition of Prussian and then German aristocratic senior commanders began to fade for several reasons, including Hitler's mistrust of the elite old-line officers, the expansion itself which demanded larger numbers of officers to lead growing military units, and the indoctrination of Nazi ideology throughout the ranks of the Heer, which eventually subordinated itself to the Führer. As the war progressed, individuals who might not otherwise have been able to achieve officer rank did actually do so, either based on merit, heroism on the battlefield, or due to attrition as casualties mounted.

Officers of the Heer were grouped into three classifications based upon experience and particularly the circumstances under which the individual had risen to officer rank. Prior to the outbreak of World War II, the reserve officer corps consisted primarily of noncommissioned officers who had served with distinction and were commissioned as reserve officers when they were discharged from active duty or men who had been conscripted and carried out their duties capably during their first year of service, showing promise as officers. A sufficient level of education was required for the second group, and such qualified reservists were designated as officer cadets, who received extensive training as infantry platoon leaders during their second year of service. Reservists were required to participate in yearly training exercises.

The other two groups of officers were within the framework of the standing Heer or had retired from it. General staff corps officers included those who were considered capable of high command and were chosen for specialized training to fill such roles. The regular officers were active with the Heer and held various command and staff positions throughout the hierarchy. As the war progressed, the number of regular officers was increased via the recall of many who had retired prior to 1939 and the permanent commissioning of some noncommissioned officers promoted in the field.

The requirement for manpower led to conscripts being retained for service following the end of their initial required enlistment period. A few of these men volunteered or were recognized as having the necessary qualities to become reserve officers. These conscripts were trained as officers, received reserve commissions, and pledged to serve through the end of the war.

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ABOVE: Adolf Hitler walks with a group of officers prior to a meeting at his headquarters in East Prussia. Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, appointed commander in chief of OKW during the late 1930s, walks beside Hitler. OPPOSITE: German troops rush past burning houses as they sweep through a Russian village during the early days of Operation Barbarossa, the invasion of the Soviet Union that commenced on June 22, 1941. In an ironic twist, the Soviets allowed German infantry and armored units to train secretly inside the Soviet Union during the interwar years, violating of the Treaty of Versailles.

During wartime, soldiers were regularly promoted to officer rank following a few months of specific training based on their combat experience and leadership capabilities. The standard training period for officer candidates remained lengthy, up to 20 months. Some officer candidates received credit for active duty regardless of combat experience because of the increasing need for field officers as casualty rates climbed.

The officer corps of the Heer was divided into four sections based on rank, one consisting of junior officers such as lieutenants,

Bundesarchiv Bild 146-2000-001-06; Photo: Unknown

CONTINUALLY FAVORING OFFENSIVE ACTION, THE TRAINING REGIMEN OF THE HEER STRESSED THE CONCEPT OF LEADING FROM THE FRONT. IN DOING SO, IT PAID A TERRIBLE PRICE.

another of all captains, and a third of field grade officers that included majors, lieutenant colonels, and colonels. The fourth group encompassed all general officers, who, along with lower ranking officers of the general staff, were distinguished easily by wide red stripes running the length of their uniform trousers.

Although the elite status of the German officer corps was eroded somewhat during the Nazi era, the prewar life of an officer included good pay, accommodations, and food. Officers were given a uniform allowance upon commissioning but afterward were required to purchase their own uniforms.

While wartime training periods were frequently shortened due to the need for officers in combat zones, the standard regular officer training regimen included 10 months of basic infantry and noncommissioned officer schooling under the direction of the Ersatzheer (Replacement Army), seven months in the field to include affiliation with an actively serving unit, training in an appropriate staff setting or combat arms school, and three months of advanced, specialized training in infantry, armor, artillery, or support branches. The training curriculum for reserve officer candidates was similar, although it involved more extensive supervision by the Ersatzheer.

Continually favoring offensive action, the training regimen of the Heer stressed the concept of leading from the front. In doing so, it paid a terrible price. By the end of World War II, at least 80 German generals had been killed in action, while dozens more had suffered wounds. From September 1939 through March 1942, more than 16,000 German officers died, the majority of them in action on the Eastern Front.

The noncommissioned officer was the backbone of the Army in the field and included career soldiers or those identified from the ranks of draftees who completed training and chose to apply for noncommissioned officer rank. The latter were designated as a reserve component to differentiate them from those who had chosen a military career rather than been conscripted. Divided into two groups, senior and junior, noncommissioned officers were distinguished as one or the other by the presence of a cord worn on the soldier's sidearm. Junior noncommissioned officers did not wear cords.

Young men over 16 years of age were allowed to apply for noncommissioned officer training and to enter the Army at the age of 17, while those active soldiers who applied for noncommissioned officer training were required to have served at least a year from the date of their conscription. Service terms of four years and six months or of 12 years were initially available depending upon the age of the soldier, and training included four months of basic instruction followed by six months of specific training for infantry, artillery, armor, mountain troops, or other service.

Late in the war, the training regimen was modified, accelerating the basic period to take place within an active arm of the Heer rather than in a school setting. This was followed by five months as a squad commander or possibly a shorter period for other specialized assignments. Eventually, the exigencies of war reduced

the training of some noncommissioned officers to less than three months, particularly for soldiers who had already served for long periods and experienced combat.

The Landser, or ordinary German foot soldier, was usually a conscript who received his notification to report for service from the local civil police organization. Volunteers did receive one major benefit, a choice of their branch of service. The conscript reported for registration and underwent two physical examinations to determine his fitness for service. Assignment to a specific unit or an order to return home until called to active duty then followed. The call-up was usually communicated by mail and included orders for reporting along with instructions for transportation.

During World War II, soldiers were assigned to a unit within the Ersatzheer before moving on to the Feldheer. Training consisted of 16 weeks of physical fitness and basic command and fire and maneuver techniques. The soldier became familiar with a variety of weapons and was knowledgeable in field operations up to the platoon level. Harsh training and discipline were hallmarks of the Heer during World War II, and both OKW and the general staff approved of strict rules and regulations. As the war progressed, such measures were considered vital to maintaining discipline in the ranks and ensuring that soldiers would obey orders. Offenses such as disobedience or desertion were punishable by immediate execution. At times even officers who were perceived to have failed in their duties were summarily shot.

The training was rigorous, continuing a proven track that had been effective during the years of the interwar Reichswehr and the clandestine buildup of the German military. Lengthy forced marches with full combat loads, live fire drills, and relentless rounds of conditioning exercises resulted in some soldiers dying from sheer exhaustion. Injuries were common. The typical day lasted from sunrise until well after dark. Although the Heer was one of the most highly mechanized armies in the world, only about 20 percent of it was motorized during World War II. Soldiers who entered the artillery or supply branches were trained to care for their unit's horses.

Infantry training was a requirement for all personnel regardless of intent to serve in other branches of the Heer. Basic artillery school, for example, included an additional three months of training once the compulsory infantry course was completed.

Published in 1945, the U.S. Army technical manual on the German military organization notes the opening clause of the Military Service Law issued by Hitler on May 21, 1935. "Military service is honorary service to the German people. Every German is liable to military service. In time of war, in addition to liability to military service, every German man and every German woman is liable to service to the Fatherland."

From 1935 on, German men were subject to military service from their 18th birthday until the end of the month of March following their 45th birthday. Later, the age of conscription was extended from age 17 to 61, and during the last days of the Third Reich boys as young as 12 were defending the smoldering ruins of Berlin. Individuals deemed somewhat short of immediately fit for service were classified in one of several reserve components and subject to activation at any time.

Certain classes, such as Jews, were excluded from service. However, as the need for manpower increased the standards for physical fitness were lowered. Even convicts serving prison terms were pressed into the ranks, and convalescing soldiers who might have previously been furloughed were returned to their units.

During the course of World War II, the strength of the Heer approached 10 million men at its peak. Between 1939 and 1945, the Heer suffered more than 4.2 million dead and nearly 400,000 taken prisoner, bearing by far the heaviest burden of the fight for Nazi Germany. The combat prowess of the German soldier in World War II was grudgingly acknowledged by his adversaries, and historians have noted that as a whole the Heer acquitted itself with tremendous courage in the face of a continually deteriorating strategic and tactical situation after 1942. Although some Heer units are known to have committed atrocities against prisoners and civilians, most common soldiers served with honor.

In his acclaimed book *Frontsoldaten,* Stephen G. Fritz comments, "As perpetrators, whether out of conviction or not, these common men existed as part of a great destructive machine, ready and willing to kill and destroy in order to achieve the goals of a murderous regime. In the role of victims, they lived daily with the physical hardships, the psychological burdens, and the often crushing anxieties of death and killing that constitute the everyday life of all combat soldiers."

For all his ineptitude as a military strategist, particularly his strategic blunders committed in 1940 and later, Hitler was the catalyst for the growth and development of a fighting machine which was, up to that time, the most formidable in the world. The Heer was the premiere component of that machine, fighting across fronts that extended from the Caucasus to the desert of North Africa and from the English Channel to the Arctic Circle.

When the Feldheer deployed for combat, its strategic perspective was divided into theaters both large and small, created on the same basic principle of separating the frontline units and combat commands from support and administrative units to their rear. Division or corps formations were placed before the enemy on the strategic map with reserves drawn up to provide reinforcements. The frontline troops and reserves were grouped in an area designated as the combat zone. Directly behind, in the communications zone, were the rear areas of individual armies, while the rear area of an entire army group was still farther back. Collectively, the combat and communications zones were known as a theater of operations.

BELOW: German Army recruits march in somewhat ragged ranks during a military drill in 1933. Eventually, military service became mandatory for German males ages 18 to 45. OPPOSITE: The Nazis began indoctrinating children to their ideology and in service to the militaristic state at an early age. In this photo, boys of the Hitler Youth listen to an instructor on the proper use of the compass during an orienteering exercise. By the time World War II broke out, the Hitler Youth had produced thousands of young, fanatical Nazi soldiers.

Bundesarchiv Bild 102-02482A; Photo: Georg Pahl

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During one of Hitler's last public appearances, he presents the German cross to a 12-year-old boy for heroism in action against the Soviets approaching the capital of Berlin. OPPOSITE: A column of German PzKpfw. III tanks rolls down a dirt road in Tunisia. Battle groups such as Kampfgruppe Fullriede proved effective in the field with armor, artillery, and infantry working in concert. Although intended as temporary combat formations, they often endured extended periods on the front lines.

Behind the theater of operations was the occupied territory, or zone of military administration, which included ground under the control of the Heer ranging in size from a few square miles to an entire country. The German homeland was farthest from the combat front and divided into military districts that maintained direct communication with the Feldheer and the Ersatzheer to facilitate the transportation of supplies and troops to the front lines. The theater concept proved flexible and easily adapted to the size and strength of the forces available.

The organizational structure of the Feldheer changed continually during World War II as divisions, corps, and armies were realigned among commands, transferred from one operational area to another, or refitted as replacement troops to fill the depleted ranks of units that had taken combat losses. At times, some Heer units were so depleted that they retained their designation as divisions or regiments although their effective strength was far below the standard level.

The largest operational unit within the Feldheer was the army group, which consisted of two or more armies with organic components of infantry, armor, artillery, and often a Luftwaffe air contingent operating cooperatively. The strength of an army group was usually several hundred thousand soldiers. Those that consisted entirely of German troops were known as Heeresgruppen.

One example of the evolving composition and deployment of Feldheer forces is Heeresgruppe Nord, Army Group North, which was nominally under the control of OKH throughout World War II. Army Group North was formed in September 1939 under the command of Field Marshal Fedor von Bock. During the invasion of Poland, its organic elements included the Third and Fourth Armies with the 10th Panzer Division and the 73rd, 206th, and 208th Infantry Divisions in reserve.

In October 1939, following the Polish campaign, Army Group North was transferred to the West, redesignated Army Group B, and included the Fourth and Sixth Armies. By the time the Heer executed Case Yellow, unleashing 136 divisions for the invasion of France and the Low Countries on May 10, 1940, Bock's Army Group B included the three corps of General Georg von Kuchler's Eighteenth Army and the six corps of the Sixth Army under General Walter von Reichenau. The total strength of Army Group B included 29 divisions in the spring and summer of 1940. Of these, 23 were infantry, three panzer, two motorized infantry, and one cavalry.

In preparation for the invasion of the Soviet Union, a new Army Group North was constituted on the Eastern Front and consisted largely of units drawn from Army Group C. Under Field Marshal Wilhelm Ritter von Leeb, Army Group North advanced on Leningrad and was poised to take the city when Hitler ordered the advance halted so that its civilian population could be starved into submission by siege. In the end, the 900-day siege of Leningrad was unsuccessful and tied down large numbers of German troops. During the opening months of Operation Barbarossa, this second incarnation of Army Group North included the Eighteenth Army, Sixteenth Army, Fourth Panzer Army, and specialized units.

Army Group North was deployed on the Eastern Front for the remainder of the war, and in October 1941 included the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Armies along with the troops of the Spanish Blue Division, Fascist soldiers from Franco's Spain who volunteered to serve with the Feldheer. A year later, under the command of von Kuchler, Army Group North was augmented by the Eleventh Army. During seven months of combat along the Baltic in 1944, the army group was commanded by Field Marshal Walter Model, Col. Gen. Georg Lindemann, Col. Gen. Johannes Friessner, and Field Marshal Ferdinand Schörner.

In the waning months of the war, Army Group North operated in Prussia with the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Armies reinforced by various detachments and battle groups. Fighting in Latvia in January 1945, it was renamed Army Group Courland, while the remnants of the former Army Group Center was renamed as yet another Army Group North.

Army Group B was actually the designation of three different formations during the war. In addition to Bock's command of 300,000 troops that fought in Belgium and the Netherlands in May 1940, a second Army Group B was formed in the East prior to the Wehrmacht offensive against the Red Army in the summer of 1942. This command consisted primarily of troops of the former Army Group South and included the ill-fated Sixth Army under Field Marshal Friedrich von Paulus, which was annihilated by the Red Army during the six-month Battle of Stalingrad. After the Stalingrad debacle, this Army Group B was combined with Army Group Don to form another Army Group South.

The third incarnation of Army Group B took shape in northern Italy in 1943 under Field Marshal Erwin Rommel. The army group was transferred to France after D-Day, and command passed to Field Marshal Günther von Kluge and later to Field Marshal Model. Elements of Army Group B participated in the fighting in Normandy, Operation Market Garden, the Allied airborne and ground offensive in the Netherlands in the autumn of 1944, and the Ardennes offensive, which is popularly known as the Battle of the Bulge.

While in Italy, Army Group B included at various times the German Second Army, the Italian Eighth Army, the Hungarian Second Army, and for a time the II SS Panzer Corps. Its composition on the Western Front included Panzer Group West, the First Army, Seventh Army, Fifteenth Army, the Fifth and Sixth Panzer Armies, and the First Parachute Army.

Axis army groups that included German formations along with those of other nations, particularly the Italian Army in North Africa and the Romanian and Hungarian Armies on the Eastern Front, were often designated as Armeegruppen. Prior to 1943, the term Armeegruppe was more loosely defined and included reinforced formations or even large groupings of particular divisions. Later, when Axis forces of more than one nation operated cooperatively, the headquarters of the German component of the Armeegruppe was usually in overall command.

A standard army-sized unit within the Heer numbered from 60,000 to 100,000 troops formed in one or more corps and including attached specialized units. An army corps consisted of one or more divisions along with attached units, reserves, and any additional support troops assigned. Corps headquarters served as "bridge" command structure between the strategic direction of armies and the tactical deployment of smaller units such as divisions or battle groups. The corps generally consisted of 40,000 to 60,000 soldiers including both combat and support troops.

The composition of Feldheer divisions during World War II depended on their type and purpose. Infantry divisions were comprised of different units than panzer divisions. Therefore, an infantry division most often consisted of up to four regiments along with attached units totaling of 10,000 to 20,000 men. Its headquarters provided tactical field direction for fighting regiments under its command.

Activated in October 1934, during the early phase of the Heer's growth under the Nazi regime, the 1st Infantry Division traced its beginning to the prewar Reichswehr and was originally known by a series of euphemistic names to camouflage its true purpose as an infantry formation, which violated the terms of the Versailles Treaty. A "Wave One" unit, the 1st Division included soldiers who were called up in the first wave of German military conscription prior to World War II.

The 1st Division participated in the Polish campaign as a component of the XXVI Corps and Third Army commanded by General von Küchler. The division transferred to France briefly and then returned to the Eastern Front for the rest of the war. Participating in the advance of the Eighteenth Army on Leningrad, the division fought in the area of Lake Ladoga and transferred to the First Panzer Army in the winter of 1943. Later operating with the Third and Fourth Armies, the 1st Division fought the Soviet Red Army in the vicinity of Königsberg in East Prussia until the end of the war.

The exigencies of combat influenced the composition of the 1st Division significantly. During the Polish campaign, it consisted of three infantry regiments, the 1st, 22nd, and 43rd, an artillery regiment with an attached battalion, machine-gun, antitank, pioneer, reconnaissance, signals, and medical battalions. By 1944, the division included Füsilier Regiment 22, which combined the capabilities of heavy infantry and reconnaissance troops; Grenadier Regiments 22 and 43, comprised of ordinary foot soldiers; Artillery Regiment 1 with an additional artillery battalion; and various support formations. From its inception through the end of the war, the 1st Division was led by no fewer than 12 different commanders.

National Archives

Below the division level, the regiment consisted of 2,000 to 6,000 soldiers, who engaged in direct combat with the enemy and deployed organic units along with attached formations as necessary. At times, the regiment included independent battalions or abteilungen. In theory, the 500- to 1,000-man abteilung was the smallest unit in the Heer that was capable of sustained combat operations without the direct support of other units. An operational abteilung regularly included infantry, artillery, armor, and pioneer formations, along with heavy weapons support such as machine-gun and mortar units, to accomplish an assigned tactical mission.

The 100- to 200-man company served at the tactical level and usually included four or five platoons, which were the primary combat formations of the Heer infantry. Each platoon was initially divided into squads of 13 soldiers. Later, when the 13-man configuration proved unwieldy on the battlefield, the size of the squad was decreased to 10 men. Although Hitler controlled the highest levels of command through OKW, subordinate commanders in the field were often allowed considerable independence. Junior officers and noncommissioned officers of the Heer gained a reputation for independent combat initiative.

Combat operations often involved the formation of self-contained units known as battle groups, or kampfgruppen. These were combinations of units that provided comprehensive ground capabilities and ranged in size from corps to battalion or company level. Each kampfgruppe usually included infantry, armor, artillery, and antitank elements along with support troops such as pioneers and medical detachments.

Formed in the field and comprised of the units at hand, the kampfgruppe was often a temporary organization that bore the name of its commanding officer and was ordered to carry out a specific mission. A standard formation of Heer tactical guidelines and field operations, the kampfgruppe was somewhat similar to the combat command structure employed by the U.S. Army during World War II.

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A MEMORY OF

All photos: National Archives, except where noted.

AT about 8 AM on the morning of December 7, 1941, I stood on the third-floor deck of a red brick barracks that looked across the Schofield Barracks golf course toward the infantry barracks that housed much of the U.S. Army then stationed on the island of Oahu in the Territory of Hawaii.

The green fairways and roughs sloped down to the post proper, which seemed to be peacefully dozing on that lazy Sunday morning. I recall the sky as being mostly clear with a few lacy clouds dotting the blue bowl. From the deck, Schofield Barracks proper was directly in front, a mile or two away. Wheeler Field, the U.S. Army Air Forces pursuit base, was to the right of the barracks, perhaps three miles away. Wheeler Field was not as peaceful as Schofield.

In the sky above Schofield was a circle of aircraft. They flew counterclockwise with one side of the circle approximately above Schofield, the other side near the edge of Wheeler Field. The aircraft coming in my direction from Schofield curved around in front of me, flying perhaps a thousand feet above. I could clearly see red circles on the wingtips and the fuselages. It was a strange insignia to me.

As the aircraft curved around toward Wheeler Field some of them began a slow descent, which became steeper and steeper as they approached

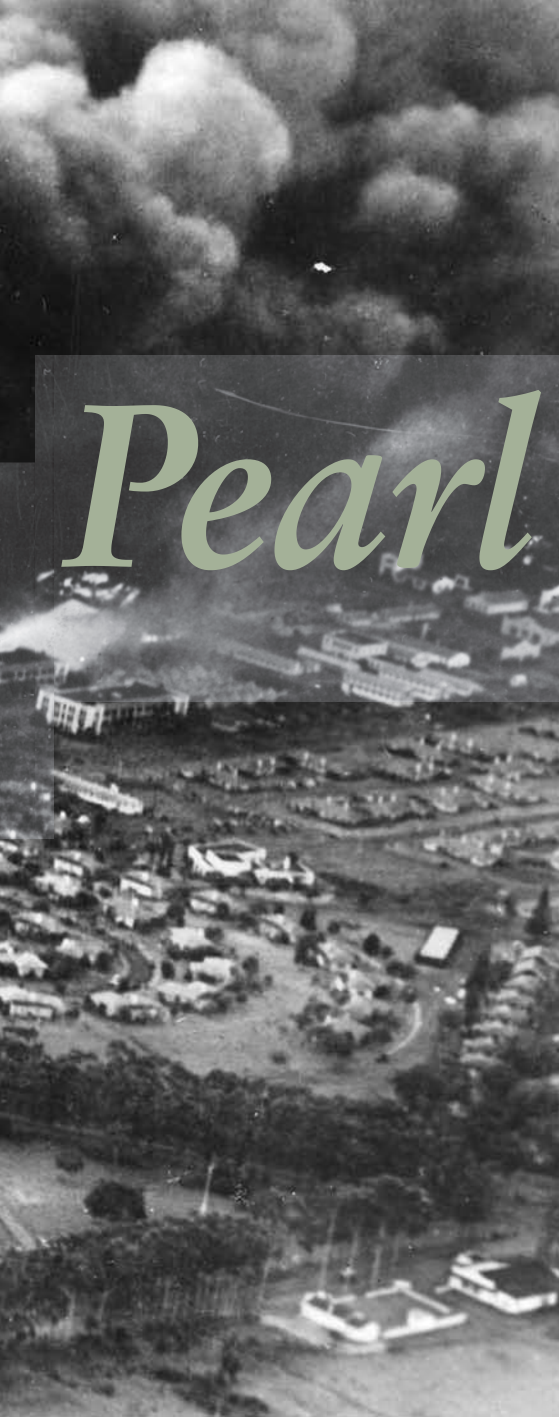
Author's Collection

Installations at Wheeler Airfield on the island of Oahu burn furiously on the morning of Sunday, December 7, 1941. In the wake of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and other military installations on the island, soldiers like John Sanford Baird, who was stationed at Wheeler, spent a long day anticipating an amphibious landing or renewal of the air attacks. INSET: The author in a photo taken sometime after the Pearl Harbor attack.

YEARS AFTER THE DATE THAT CONTINUES TO LIVE IN INFAMY, JOHN SANFORD BAIRD REMEMBERED THE ORDEAL.

Pearl Harbor

BY JOHN SANFORD BAIRD



the hangar line. I was quite familiar with the hangar line at Wheeler Field, having served there as a communications technician for a year before transferring to the 11th Tank Company at Schofield late in the spring of 1941.

Clouds of black smoke boiled up from Wheeler Field above the hangar line. From the attacking aircraft I saw objects dropping away, curving down and exploding in bursts of flame. In front of the aircraft, tiny incandescent spots slashed one by one toward the ground. I suddenly realized these pinpricks of light were tracer bullets and that each, when I knew where to look, left a delicate trace of smoke marking its path. I knew that for each tracer I saw four or five rounds I could not see were following. And I knew that most of the enlisted personnel on the ground at Wheeler lived in tents or thin-walled wooden shacks close behind the hangar line, opposite the runways and parking apron for the fighters. I knew many of these men. A few I considered friends.

Only minutes before I had been lying on my bunk reading a copy of the *Honolulu Advertiser.* Earlier I had eaten breakfast in the mess hall and then, carrying my copy of the paper, had returned to the third floor of the barracks.

My bunk was at the window end of a large squad room with some 40 other tankers. Most of the bunks were empty. Some, whose occupants had spent the night off the base, were still made up for Saturday morning inspection. Against the wall between the windows stood a row of green lockers. At the foot of each bunk was a green footlocker, a small trunk on a wooden rack that raised the locker to about waist height. Between the foot locker and the wall locker all of my earthly possessions were divided: uniforms, shoes, socks, underwear, toothbrush, razor, soap, a book or two, letters from the outside world, any money I might have had, other small odds and ends. Actually, the lockers, wall and foot, and the blanket on my bed, were all a color identified as "olive drab," adopted by the Army prior to World War I. It was a depressing color, but I had become so inured to it I no longer noticed.

Since it was after breakfast and I had no scheduled duty, I had turned on the small radio in my wall locker and, as I read, half-listened to a news broadcast that originated in Honolulu.

I slowly became aware that there was a note of urgency, a sense of excitement, in the words of the speaker. I shifted my attention. As I recall, the words I heard were: "Those are enemy planes attacking Pearl Harbor! This is not a drill! Pearl Harbor is being attacked!"

Then I became aware that I could hear what sounded like distant thunder. I left my bunk and ran out to the deck to the scene I have described.

A corporal stood beside me.

"Those are real bombs!" I said.

"No," he said. "They're sacks of flour. That's a Marine drill."

He was quite calm. I had heard that Marine Corps aircraft periodically ran simulated attacks on military installations on Oahu but had never witnessed such a drill. Just then I could see tracer bullets from one of the diving aircraft. The tiny dots of flame seemed to connect the aircraft to the ground.

"Look!" I said. "Those are real bullets. They're tracers."

"Tracer blanks," he said, still calm.

There are, of course, no such things as tracer blanks. But I did not argue the point. I returned to my bunk, found my cap, buckled my pistol belt with its empty holster about my waist, and listened for a moment to the radio announcer. Again, there was no panic in his words, but he did warn repeatedly that Pearl Harbor was under enemy attack. I believe he spoke of the rising sun insignia of Japan on the aircraft. He warned that civilians should avoid Pearl Harbor since it was both dangerous there and in the streets nearby but also that crowds of civilians were beginning to interfere with military personnel in their efforts to repel the raiders. I am not certain that I turned the radio off before I went down the back stairs.

I have, in the years since that Sunday morning, thought about that radio announcer. I do not recall his name. The thing I still find rather

ABOVE: John Sanford Baird was a gunner in an M2A4 "Mae West" light tank, and his unit mobilized as quickly as possible on the morning of December 7, 1941. BELOW: A Japanese aircraft soars high above one of the naval air stations located on Oahu.

remarkable is the lack of confusion in his words. He did not doubt the truth of what he was saying. He was certain that the U.S. Pacific Fleet in Pearl Harbor that morning was under attack by an enemy he thought was probably Japanese. He was certain that he was not witnessing a drill. He identified the insignia on the aircraft as the rising sun. I think he must have been at his microphone in an area in which he had a clear view of Pearl Harbor and was close enough to see the insignia. I think he must have been elevated somewhat above so that he was looking down at the scene he described. He knew the sounds of impact and explosions of real bombs and torpedoes.

I did not, at the time, think those thoughts. It is only in later years that these things seem significant. How could he be certain? He must have been a well informed, alert individual in the right place at the right time, if it is possible to label that time and place as right.

My .45-caliber pistol was locked in an arms rack in the basement of the barracks. At the ground floor I went through a hallway to the orderly room. The arms racks, I learned, had been unlocked. I went down to the basement floor and found my pistol, then joined a line to be issued live .45 ammunition. I loaded the pistol clips and then slipped a loaded clip into my pistol.

I was, at that time, assigned as radio operator and .30-caliber gunner of the number one tank of the 1st Platoon. Somewhere along my path I encountered the tank commander, Smith, a sergeant, a Tarheel from North Carolina. Together with the tank driver, Moder, a corporal from Kansas, we ran the 200 yards from the barracks to the tank park, an open-sided, tin-roofed, concrete-floored shed located downhill toward the edge of the golf course. Inside the long shed the company's tanks were lined up side by side. Smitty unlocked one of the twin turrets of our tank, and the driver crawled inside.

Officially the Army referred to our tanks as M2A4 light tanks, but throughout the Army they were known as Mae Wests. The twin turrets that topped the tank hull each contained a machine gun, the larger turret a .50-caliber and the smaller a .30-caliber. The tank commander occupied the .50-caliber turret. As radio operator, I crouched in the smaller turret and was responsible for the .30-caliber gun and the radio.

To start the tank engine, a radial air-cooled aircraft engine adapted to tank installation, it was necessary to wind up the starter. Smitty and I ground the inertia crank as Moder, in the driver's seat, listened to the whine of the starter. As it reached the proper pitch, Moder engaged the starter solenoid. With a cough the engine started. As was customary in prewar Hawaii, our machine guns were in turn locked up in another location, a smaller shed near the tank park. Smitty led the tank toward the arms shack. I ran over and found the door locked. The keys, I remembered, were kept in the orderly room inside the barracks in the possession of the NCO charge-of-quarters. The small group waiting for the door to open grew in size. We had just decided to force the door with a handy crowbar when another tank commander arrived with the keys. We hurriedly carried our guns to the tank and loaded them into the open turrets. Moder drove to a hastily assigned platoon deployment area next to the golf course.

During this time we could look down on Schofield and watch the undisturbed circle of aircraft. The sounds of bursting bombs continued for probably another half hour, although I did not have a watch and was not aware of the exact time of events.

Some of the Japanese raiders, evidently having exhausted their bomb supply, strafed Schofield as they saw Army personnel on the ground. Separated as we were from the main base by the golf course, those of us on the slope did not, I guess, appear to be worth an attack. However, aircraft passing overhead dropped empty brass cartridges and small metal clips that linked the cartridges together to form a belt of ammunition. All of the tankers, I think, picked up such souvenirs during the day. The Japanese characters imprinted in the bases of the spent brass were strange and incomprehensible. However, the fact that we were under attack was quite clear and convincing.

Smitty, Moder, and I worked to mount the machine guns in the turrets. We knew that there was no ammunition ready for the guns. Moder and I went back to the barracks to load single rounds of ammunition into belts. I spent most of that Sunday morning and afternoon in the basement supply room loading machine-gun belts.

The .50-caliber belts were relatively easy to load. Metal links, much like the Japanese links that were dropped down on us, and the large

caliber rounds were laid in parallel rows side by side on a loading machine. Then a levered handle was operated, forcing the cartridges into the links and forming the belt of ammunition, ready for firing.

The .30-caliber belts were much more frustrating. Unlike the Japanese metal link belts, we used cloth belts, parallel ribbons of white or green fabric stitched together at intervals just large enough to hold a cartridge. The loading machine had a feed gate in which the cartridges had to be exactly aligned. A small hand crank caused a gate to open and drop a cartridge down to the belt level. Geared also to the crank, needle-lined jaws were forced into each side of the belt and, in theory, held open a space between the lines of stitches. Another gadget shoved the cartridge into the belt opening. That was true if things worked properly, which did not happen often. The loading machine was too intricately designed to do a reliable job.

We were forced to manually examine each loaded belt to be certain that each round of ammunition was properly seated in the cloth. Then, at a rather alarming rate, we spotted rounds that had been misaligned by the machine, rounds in which the .30-caliber projectile had been driven back into the cartridge brass or bent sideways. Each of these had to be removed and a new undamaged round forced into the faulty round's place. But we worked on, not knowing when we would need the ammunition. Rumors of landings by enemy infantry on the island reached us. We worked harder.

As belts were loaded we draped these around our necks and carried them to the tank. There Smitty took each belt and stored it in the ammunition racks inside the tank. By noon there were no more enemy aircraft in the sky. We worked on through lunch. A field kitchen with a portable stove had been set up near the tanks. I never went back inside the barracks mess hall. An endless afternoon passed. My fingers were raw and torn from loading the belts.

We did not get to listen a great deal to the radio that day, but we did hear enough to understand the situation. At no point during the day did the company officers attempt to brief us. Probably the officers knew no more than we, but we knew that we were restricted to our company area. There were no passes given to anyone, and slowly those off base straggled in and changed into fatigues, the uniform of the day.

We knew from stories on the radio that Pearl Harbor was a disaster. Before a security cap was imposed we had heard of battleships capsizing or sinking in the harbor with reports of hundreds of deaths on board, in the water, and

"THE NEXT MORNING I AWOKE TO A WARTIME FUTURE. AMONG THE TANKS, WE STARED VAGUELY AT EACH OTHER. THE REALIZATION THAT THERE WAS NO WAY WE COULD AVOID THE WAR CAME OVER US. WELL, I HAD NO OTHER PLANS, ANYWAY."

A flight of Boeing B-17 Flying Fortress bombers arriving from California was caught in the midst of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Several of the planes sustained serious damage or were destroyed. This photo taken at Hickam Field shows at least two of the bombers after their landing.

ashore. Hickam Field, the bomber base, was described as being dotted with burning aircraft, as was Wheeler Field. Rumors were rampant. Reports of infantry landings were constantly repeated, but we also knew that the attacking aircraft were gone from the air above Oahu by noon.

We heard that the entire fighter force at Wheeler had been destroyed. On Saturday morning at the end of the usual apron inspection, the ground crews had started the engines and moved the fighters off the hangar line to the revetments along one edge of the field. The revetments were dirt walls about 10 or 12 feet high so that two aircraft were parked together in an area protected on three sides from attack. This protection was not perfect, but an enemy would have had to bomb or strafe separately for each two aircraft if they were in the revetments.

However, at just about noon on Saturday, a new order came to the ground crews. Move the aircraft back onto the aprons. So back they went, wingtip to wingtip. Row after row. And there they were destroyed. Later we heard that six aircraft were found that could fly after the attackers departed.

One of the Wheeler Field squadrons had moved to a temporary landing strip at a beach on the southwestern edge of Oahu to participate in live firing exercises. Since this squadron was not attacked it was assumed that the Japanese did not know its whereabouts on December 7. Some of these pilots took off that morning and challenged the attackers.

We heard all these things. We also heard that Navy personnel were trapped inside the capsized ships in the harbor. Welders were trying to cut holes in the battleships' armor.

In December, darkness came early. I was carrying a load of ammunition to the tank after dark. Just as I came to the tank park the air was filled suddenly with snapping bees (bullets) cracking viciously as they passed overhead. I was alongside a line of oil-changing pits for the tanks. Panting, I dropped to the floor of a pit oblivious to the coat of oil usually in its bottom. Afterward, in the darkness each platoon had a roll call. No one was missing or injured.

During the day a regiment of infantry from Schofield had occupied an open field across the road from the golf course. These nervous men had been startled by some noise, probably caused by a tank, and one man had evidently fired his gun. Quickly, the others had joined the firing. Fortunately for our side of the road, they were firing over our heads, but I did not leave the pit for some time. We could hear the officers and NCOs of the infantry regiment trying to control their men.

I am not certain of exactly when our parody of "Rocked in the Cradle of the Deep" began or who started it, but before the day was over, many of the enlisted men of the tank company had a song which we sang with our untrained voices, striving to hit the bass notes. It went:

General Short and Admiral Kimmel
were asleep in the deep,
so beware, bee eee eee ware!

We had evaluated our commanders and found them wanting.

Some historians have taken many hours of research and pages of text to do the same thing. Dated November 27, 1941, Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, commander of the Pacific Fleet, had received a communication from Washington. It began: "This dispatch is to be considered a war warning." The rest of the dispatch did, indeed, deal more specifically with the Japanese threat to the Philippines and in Far Eastern waters. I would have concluded, I think, that the writer of the communication was trying to warn of the imminence of war with Japan. Not so the admiral. He decided that the warning applied to the Philippines rather than Hawaii.

General Short received, in effect, the same warning. Short decided, apparently, that the message warned of sabotage threats from the Honolulu Japanese community. A sabotage alert was put in effect for the Army, although I was never personally aware of it.

Short and Kimmel had the military responsibility for their commands, and this responsibility could not be delegated or avoided. We came to that conclusion on December 7, and I have never seen reason to change my attitude.

During the day, while Moder and I loaded machine-gun belts of ammunition, the 11th Tank Company had been deployed on the edge of the golf course to the right side of the road that led downhill to Schofield. After a break for supper, which we ate from the field kitchen in our mess kits, we continued our work until after dark. It was then, as I was carrying ammunition to the tank, that I was driven into the oil change pit by the infantry fire from across the road.

Sometime around 10 PM, a verbal message came down to us at the tanks. At exactly 12:30 AM, or 0030 military time, a Curtiss P-40 fighter plane would take off for a reconnaissance flight from Wheeler Field. The aircraft would fly over our area. It would have all lights on, and we were not to shoot at it. Smitty, who was to be on guard, would wake me shortly after midnight.

It had been a long and demanding day. Rumors of enemy landings circulated through the ranks, but with my bleeding fingers I crawled under the tank and went to sleep.

I awoke to Smitty shaking me. It was nearly time. Moder and I crawled out and tried to ease our stiff muscles. Then we heard it. I looked off toward Wheeler Field.

We saw the landing lights first. The twin beams lighted the sky ahead of the P-40. Then we saw the red and green blinking lights on the wings. We could see the aircraft clearly. Gaining altitude slowly, it came closer. Then it was overhead. Thinking of the infantry in the next field I waited tensely. The aircraft was perhaps 500 feet in the air. As the plane passed over the roadway the first rifle was fired. Immediately

ABOVE: The wreckage of a Curtiss P-40 Tomahawk fighter plane lies in a heap on the runway at Wheeler Field. Many of the American fighter planes on Oahu that morning were parked wingtip to wingtip to guard against sabotage, making them easy targets for Japanese strafing and bombing. BELOW: The capsized hull of the battleship USS *Oklahoma* lies in the shallow water of Pearl Harbor. The *Oklahoma* was hit by several Japanese torpedoes, causing the ship to capsize and trapping a number of sailors below decks. Feverish efforts to rescue the trapped men were only partially successful.

the sky was filled with tracer bullets. Sick, fascinated, I could not turn away. A flame broke out from the plane's engine. As the flame grew the aircraft turned gently toward the left and began to lose altitude. Then, with a whoosh flame engulfed the fuselage. The plane rolled over and began a dive toward the ground. We saw the flash of the explosion and seconds later heard the sound. For perhaps half an hour we watched the flame burning on the side of the mountain range.

Across the road a vast silence prevailed over the infantry.

The next morning I awoke to a wartime future. Among the tanks, we stared vaguely at each other. The realization that there was no way we could avoid the war came over us.

Well, I had no other plans, anyway.

Surprise is defined as an event in which one encounters something or someone suddenly and unexpectedly. It causes one to feel wonderment or amazement. Certainly, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, caught the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Army by surprise. A surprise of the magnitude, the audacity, of the attack on Pearl Harbor also generates a great well of confusion. It seems to me, in 1997, all of 56 years after the event, that we should never have been surprised. That we should have been confused as a result of the surprise was inevitable, but we should never have been surprised.

Hundreds of thousands of words have been written about the raid on Pearl Harbor. Quite often a writer recounts what he or she was doing at the moment he or she became aware that the raid had occurred. Usually those who were present or close enough to witness the events create a narrative of what occurred and what one did and said. Quite often, as happened with the corporal with whom I had the brief encounter on the rear deck of the barracks, the first reaction is disbelief. If the corporal had been careful enough to assess the flames and the smoke rising from Wheeler Field or to watch the bombs clearly separating from the aircraft, dropping downward, and impacting with bursts of flame, he might have reached a different conclusion. He had been there, seen that. It was the Marines. They were dropping sacks of flour. The whole thing was an exercise to test whether or not our troops were ready.

I had been listening to the Honolulu radio announcer and was ready to accept his words about the attack on Pearl Harbor. The corporal had not been listening. It was an event he had seen before, and he could not shift mental gears that abruptly.

In the aftermath of the Pearl Harbor attack, U.S. Marines and soldiers stationed across Oahu were nervous and often fired at anything remotely suspicious. These troops man a sandbag gun emplacement adjacent to an airfield, their rifles and machine gun at the ready.

I do not want to judge the corporal too harshly. In the months following the attack he sought a transfer to a bombardment squadron at Hickam Field, was transferred, and was a crew member in a B-17 bomber from Hickam Field, which was deployed in the defense of Midway in June 1942. He participated in a battle not only crucial to U.S. interests, but also at a time when morale was at a low point in the United States.

My reasons for believing that we should never have been caught by surprise that Sunday morning are, of course, the various warnings our commanders had, the misinterpreted November 27 "war warning" messages to the Army and Navy commanders, the known presence of Japanese submarines near the entrance to Pearl Harbor that morning, the early warning radar detection of the approaching Japanese air attack group. In reality, neither the submarine activity nor the tracking of the approaching air attack group made its way to either the naval commander or the Army commander through the intricate channels of communication from the bottom to the top levels of the command structure. However, such a state of affairs is again the responsibility of the commanders.

The "war warning" message alone should have completely alerted our armed forces throughout the world. Instead we slept. The submarine alert and the radar intercept would have, if properly treated, given the ground forces a chance to fight off the attackers with some degree of equality. The Army's antiaircraft capability around Honolulu and Pearl Harbor was considerable but got no chance to show its strength during the first wave of the raid.

In addition to these neglected warnings, I recall other things that seem worthy of attention. Not many enlisted men bothered to read the newspapers or listen to news on the radio. I do not know now why I should have been concerned, but I must lay claim to spending a good deal of my spare time reading. Now in my 80s, I still tend to pursue this vicarious reality and shall probably continue to do so as long as my eyes permit. I did read the Honolulu newspapers regularly on Sunday mornings. What I recall from the approximately six months prior to the attack is that two or three Japanese nationals, men with families, were interviewed on their departures from Honolulu to return to Japan. I remember at least one of these men as being quoted to the effect that the Japanese government had recalled him as a reservist to active duty for a probable conflict with the United States.

I also remember a Sunday when I was still a member of a pursuit squadron at Wheeler Field. About midmorning I strolled along the hangar line, where all the fighter aircraft were lined up wing tip to wing tip, toward the northwest end of the field and the line of newly constructed revetments. Near the baseball diamond a model airplane competition was under way. Several hundred people, civilians as well as military, milled about. Single cylinder miniature engines lifted models aloft with timers busily tracking the planes' performances. Rubber-band-powered models climbed up, then floated about.

In the crowd below were many civilians with Japanese 35mm cameras. They wandered freely

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THE FALL OF BEIJING

The Japanese conquest of the Chinese city occurred well before the acknowledged beginning of World War II.

BY JIAXIN DU

MOST PEOPLE think that World War II broke out on September 1, 1939, when the Wehrmacht crossed the German-Polish border. What many people do not know is that the Second Sino-Japanese War—an important part of World War II often overlooked by Western historians—actually started two years before the German invasion of Poland, and the Japanese invasion of Manchuria happened even earlier, in 1931.

The Battle of Beiping-Tianjin, which occurred from early July to early August 1937, was the first major campaign of the Second Sino-Japanese War; it also may be considered the first battle of World War II. Although it has great symbolic meaning, little information about this battle is available in English.

Beijing was not called "Beijing" in 1937 when the Second Sino-Japanese War unofficially broke out (in fact, this eight-year long bloody war never "officially" started, but that is another story). From 1911 to 1949, this historic metropolis in the Far East had quite a few different official names, resulting from political turbulence and military conflicts in China. By July 1937, this financial center and military stronghold of the Republic of China was actually called "Beiping," which means "Northern Peace" in Chinese.

Because of its rich agriculture and highly developed industries, Manchuria was invaded first, and was one of the most important steps in Japan's grand scheme of a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." With Manchuria occupied and a puppet state called Manchukuo established, Japan would have a forward base on the Asian mainland, either for further invasion of China and Southern Asia or for attacking the Soviet Union.

When the Japanese invaded Manchuria in 1931, the Chinese military response was simply pathetic. Local warlords in Manchuria received instructions from the capital in Nanjing, or Nanking, not to escalate the conflict. Chinese calls for international sanctions against Japan were also refused by the League of Nations and the United States. The ineffectiveness and powerlessness of the League revealed in the Japanese invasion of Manchuria greatly encouraged other aggressors, namely Mussolini and Hitler.

Chinese appeasement was partly the result of the policy of "first internal pacification, then external resistance." Jieshi Jiang, better known as Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of Guomindang, the Chinese Nationalist Party, also known as the Kuomintang, and his Chinese government had diverted too much attention to fighting civil wars. These wars were mainly against the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army, since many Chinese officials thought that Mao's Communist guerrillas posed a more dangerous threat than the Imperial Japanese Army. Jiang once said, "The Japanese are a disease of the skin, while the Communists are a disease of the heart."

Another reason why the Chinese government had been constantly trying to avoid war with Japan is that Jiang and his Nationalist government knew China, wrecked from two centuries of isolationism and the bloody warlord era that followed, was not capable of confronting Japan in any way. China was desperately trying to catch up with Japan in multiple areas. With the help of Germany under the Sino-German Cooperation, significant achievements in Chinese military, heavy industry, economy, and national defense had been made by the early 1930s, but that was not enough. Ironically, a large portion of the foreign aid for the Chinese to fight Japan in the first year of the war came from Nazi Germany, Japan's ally. China needed time to prepare for full-scale war with Japan, and the Nationalist government was doing its best to earn as much as it could.

Following the invasion of Manchuria and the Battle of Rehe, the Imperial Japanese Army continued to encroach on Chinese territory, and the Chinese government was forced to sign a series of unequal treaties. On May 25, 1935, the He-Umezu Agreement was secretly reached between China and Japan. China recognized the "neutrality" of the eastern Hebei and Chahar provinces, the only geographical barrier between Japanese-controlled Manchuria and the Guomindang-controlled Northern China Plain to the south, though both provinces were already under Japanese occupation. Later that year, Japan officially established the East Hebei Anti-Communist Autonomous Council, turning the province of Hebei into a buffer state, and all Chinese forces in those areas were forced to withdraw south except for the 29th Route Army garrisoned in Beiping and Tianjin. By the end of 1936, all the areas north, east, and west of Beiping were controlled by Japan.

Since the beginning of 1936, the situation at Beiping-Tianjin had been constantly deteriorating. Tensions between the Chinese 29th Route Army and the Japanese China Garrison Army in this region

After the fall of the city, Japanese troops enter the Chinese capital of Beijing, then known as Beiping, through the gate at Chaoyangmen on August 8, 1937. These well-armed and highly disciplined soldiers had been fighting in China for some time, and the conflict on the Asian continent may indeed be considered the beginning of World War II. This photo is from the September 1, 1938, edition of the Japanese magazine *Asahi Graph*.

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ABOVE: An aerial view of the Marco Polo Bridge, a stone structure spanning the Yongding River, displays the panoramic scene of the incident between Chinese and Japanese troops in early July 1937. BELOW: At the height of the tension between the Japanese Kwantung Army and the Chinese forces stationed in the vicinity of the Marco Polo Bridge, Chinese troops of the 29th Army man hastily constructed defensive positions on July 8, 1937. OPPOSITE: Chinese troops strike heroic poses for a photographer during the Second Sino-Japanese War. Note that some of these Chinese soldiers are wearing the German coal scuttle-style helmet. German military advisers trained numerous units of the Nationalist Chinese Army.

were high. There had been numerous minor skirmishes but all ended in diplomatic negotiations.

The 29th Route Army of the Chinese National Revolutionary Army (NRA) was the only Chinese force left defending Beiping-Tianjin at the time. The Route Army was a Chinese military formation often consisting of more than one corps or many divisions. This formation type was later discarded during the war. The 29th Route Army was composed of four infantry divisions and two independent infantry brigades: the 37th Division, the 38th Division, the 132nd Division, the 143rd Division, the 39th Independent Brigade, and the 40th Independent Brigade. The Army also had the 9th Cavalry Division and the 13th Independent Cavalry Brigade, a Special Task Brigade, and the Hebei Peace Preservation Corps under its command. The total strength of the 29th Route Army was about 78,300 men. Although they were poorly equipped compared to their Japanese counterparts, the Chinese soldiers were eager for battle and determined to defend their home country. The commander of the Army was General Second Class Zheyuan Song, a legendary general of the National Revolutionary Army who joined a warlord army at the age of 13 and graduated from Suiying Military Institute in Beijing (at that time the official name of Beiping was still Beijing). Song's family was poor, and he grew up in squalor. Therefore, he was amiable to common people. Unlike many Chinese officials at the time, Song saw the Japanese as a more dangerous threat than the communists; he supported the establishment of the communists and the nationalists' Second United Front against the Japanese, and he was highly praised by both the communists and the nationalists as a war hero. When he died in 1940 at the age of 56, Song was posthumously promoted to general first class, the Army rank second only to that of generalissimo, Jiang himself, and Mao wrote a eulogy for him.

On the other side was the Japanese China Garrison Army (CGA) of the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA), formed on June 1, 1901, as part of Japan's contribution to the international coalition in China during the Boxer Rebellion. The bulk of the China Garrison Army was the infantry brigade under the command of Masakasu Kawabe, with the 1st and 2nd Regiments stationed just outside Beiping and Tianjin, respectively, as foreign garrisons under the terms of the Boxer Protocol. In addition to the Kawabe brigade, the CGA also had an artillery regiment, a cavalry unit, an engineer unit, a signal unit, and a tank unit with 17 light tanks and tankettes. The total strength of the army was about 5,600, with Lt. Gen. Kanichiro Tashiro commanding.

Shortly after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, the IJA 5th and 20th Infantry Divisions from Japanese-occupied Korea, as well as the 1st and 11th Independent Mixed Brigades of the Japanese Kwantung Army in Manchuria, reinforced the CGA, increasing the total number of Japanese troops in the vicinity of Beiping-Tianjin to approximately 80,000. The Japanese also had the support of the puppet Eastern Hebei Army. Although greatly outnumbered by the Chinese at first, these Japanese troops were well trained and well equipped; they also outgunned the Chinese with tanks and artillery and had complete air and sea supremacy.

Most of the tension in Hebei Province was focused on Marco Polo Bridge (also known as the Lugou Bridge), which was an 11-arch granite bridge across the Yongding River outside the historic town of Wanping Fortess, 15 kilometers southwest of Beiping. A modern railway bridge located to the north of Marco Polo Bridge was the choke point of the Pinghan Railway and the only available passage linking Beiping to the Guomindang-controlled Northern China Plain. The Japanese were aware of the Marco Polo Bridge's strategic value and repeatedly demanded the withdrawal of all Chinese forces stationed in the area. The Chinese refused to give up the bridge and the fortress. The Japanese made plans to purchase nearby land to construct an airfield, which the Chinese firmly rejected.

Both the Chinese and the Japanese carried out intensive military maneuvers in the Beiping-Tianjin area, and the diplomatic situation between the two greatest powers in Asia wors-

ened every day. It soon became common knowledge that no matter how appeasing the Chinese government was, a total war between China and Japan was on the verge of erupting.

On the night of July 7, 1937, the sound of gunshots shattered the "Northern Peace." Unlike other minor conflicts, this one did not end in Chinese concessions. The next morning the eight-year Second Sino-Japanese War began. The estimated casualties are between 35 and 50 million.

There have long been controversies over whether the Marco Polo Bridge Incident was an accident or a deliberately planned attack by the Japanese, since it marks the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War.

As the situation in China deteriorated, the Japanese routinely held military exercises in the vicinity of Wanping, but normally with advance notice so the local inhabitants would not be disturbed. On July 7, 1937, around 7 PM, night maneuvers were carried out by the 8th Company, 3rd Battalion, CGA 1st Infantry Regiment without prior notice, alarming the local Chinese forces.

The Chinese force guarding the Marco Polo Bridge that night was the 219th Infantry Regiment, 37th Division, 29th Route Army. According to the Chinese, the commanding officer of the 219th Regiment, Xingwen Ji, received a telephone message from the Japanese after their exercise was finished. The Japanese claimed that Private Kikujiro Shimura was missing and they suspected that he had been abducted by the Chinese. In fact, he was lost on his way back from the exercise and found his way to his unit hours later. The Japanese troops demanded permission to enter Wanping to investigate. Colonel Ji refused. Letting Japanese soldiers into Wanping at night would greatly disturb the civilians and cause panic. In addition, Colonel Ji never trusted the Japanese and knew they had fabricated several similar incidents before in order to encroach on Chinese territory. At about 5:30 AM on July 8, the Japanese began shelling the bridge and Wanping, and an assault on the Chinese position around Wanping was launched.

Japan had a different version of the story at the time. According to the announcement made by the Imperial Japanese Army in 1937, ineffectual rifle shots were fired first by the Chinese after the military exercise had ended; suspicious flashlight signals were also detected on the Chinese position. In addition, one Japanese soldier, Private Kikujiro Shimura, was reported missing. With all this happening, battalion commander Major Kiyonao Ichiki and regimental commander Colonel Renya Mutaguchi of the CGA thought that a Chinese attack was underway and ordered their troops to heightened alert. A team was sent to investigate the incident with the Chinese. However, Chinese forces had already begun shelling Japanese positions with mortars before the team arrived. The Japanese did not retaliate at first but finally returned fire at 5:30 on the morning of July 8.

The Chinese version of this story is more believable and is accepted by most historians and scholars today. However, some people still believe the incident was unintentional. Some ultra-conservative historians even believe that the incident was staged by the Chinese Communists, who hoped it would lead to a war of attrition between the Japanese and the Guomingdang, which actually did happen.

Although there are disputes over the cause of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, subsequent events are clear. At 11:40 PM on July 7, shortly after Colonel Ji refused Japanese demands to enter Wanping, Lt. Gen. Dechun Qin, acting commander of the 29th Route Army, mayor of Beiping, and chairman of the Hebei-Chahar Political Council, was contacted by Japanese military intelligence with the same demand. Qin also refused but agreed to order Chinese troops stationed at Wanping to conduct a search with attached Japanese officers. The Japanese were satisfied with the reply. The situation did not ease. Sporadic shots were exchanged, and both the Chinese and Japanese rushed reinforcements to the area. Around 5 AM the next day, the Japanese 1st Infantry Regiment launched an assault on Chinese positions around Wanping and the Marco Polo Bridge, breaking the agreement made earlier.

With little effective resistance encountered, the 7th and 8th Companies of the CGA 1st Infantry Regiment quickly breached the Chinese defensive line along the eastern shore of the Yongding River north of Wanping. The Japanese crossed the river and continued their attack on the western shore, conducting a flanking maneuver to the southwest after landing in an effort to surround Wanping. After successfully outflanking Wanping and the Marco Polo Bridge, the Japanese attacked the bridge from the rear. Colonel Xingwen Ji led the Chinese defenses with about 100 men and was ordered to hold the bridge at all costs. Much to Japanese surprise, the Chinese uncharacteristically fought with determination. By the afternoon, the Japanese had managed to occupy only the southern end of the bridge. On the morning of July 9, the reinforced Chinese retook the bridge with the help of mist and rain.

The conflict had reached a stalemate by the morning of July 9, and Chinese and Japanese officials went back to the negotiating table.

A verbal cease-fire agreement was reached that day. If the Japanese had honored their promise and the cease-fire had remained in place, the Marco Polo Bridge Incident would have ended as just one of the numerous minor skirmishes between the Chinese and Japanese in the mid-1930s. However, this incident seemed destined to escalate.The truce was broken only two hours later when the Japanese started shelling Wanping. For the next two days, the Japanese provoked four minor skirmishes, completely disregarding the cease-fire. How-

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ever, the Chinese had also violated the agreement by mobilizing reinforcements.

On July 10, the Japanese unilaterally tore up the agreement they had made a day earlier and demanded a new one. Although the Chinese agreed to the terms demanded by the Japanese and began a new round of negotiations, the CGA did not reduce its belligerence. In fact, while the Chinese were still trying to defuse the tension and localize the conflict, the Japanese had begun to mobilize the Kwantung Army.

A more formal agreement was reached on July 11 between Lt. Gen. Dechun Qin, acting commander of the 29th Route Army, and Takuro Matsui from Japanese military intelligence. According to the agreement, the Chinese acquiesced to the fact that the Japanese now had control of the eastern shore of the Yongding River. The Japanese would occupy the eastern shore while the Chinese would maintain control of the western shore. Furthermore, the agreement stipulated that the defensive position of Colonel Ji's 219th Regiment would be turned over to the Peace Preservation Corps. In exchange, the Chinese demanded that Japanese troops on the western shore be withdrawn and return to the now Japanese-controlled eastern shore. They also demanded the withdrawal of all Japanese reinforcements that moved into the vicinity of Wanping after the conflict had escalated.

However, both the Japanese and Chinese violated the terms of the agreement. The Japanese were simply using the truce as a ploy to distract the Chinese, and General Qin was trying to localize the situation and calm the Japanese down since he was only the acting commander and did not want to worsen the situation. General Zheyuan Song, the commander in chief, was already on his way back to his post from a vacation.

There had been conflicting opinions within the Japanese government over the topic of Japanese aggression in China. The Imperial Japanese Army General Staff Office, the Army Ministry of Japan, the Kwantung Army, and the civil government all had different visions for the China Incident. Complicating the situation, the Japanese Army itself lacked a central authority to decide what policy to follow.

On July 11, the day the agreement was reached between Qin and Matsui, Japanese War Minister Hajime Sugiyama proposed preliminary measures for the mobilization of the Imperial Japanese Army and the establishment of a Temporary China Area Aviation Division to reinforce the Japanese China Garrison Army, which had only 5,600 men. The cabinet approved his proposal partly because a rejection might cause the powerful war minister's resentment and thus the collapse of the Konoye Cabinet, which was only 37 days old.

Japanese militarists promised that even if a war broke out the feeble Chinese Army would pose no threat. Generals in Tokyo even assured the emperor that China would be defeated within three months.

On the Chinese side, General Zheyuan Song finally returned to Tianjin on July 11 carrying an order from Generalissimo Jiang to defend Chinese soil at all costs. Although many senior officers suggested a preemptive strike before the arrival of Japanese reinforcements, Song had something else in mind.

Like many Chinese generals at the time, Song had a strong ideal of warlordism and tended to analyze the situation from a more political point of view rather than purely military. Despite the superficial unification of China under the rule of the central Nationalist government, warlordism in China did not end. Although the warlords had submitted to the central government and claimed allegiance, there were still conflicts between the former cliques and warlord armies. Since both he and his 29th Route Army were remnants of the Northwestern Army (one of the many military factions founded during the Warlord Era), Song knew well that he could never rely on the central Nationalist government and its elite German-trained divisions to reinforce him. He also had no confidence in the other former warlord armies around him. It was likely that he would have to fight the Japanese by himself.

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ABOVE: After the fighting at the Marco Polo Bridge, Chinese soldiers of the 29th Army set up makeshift defenses in the streets of Beijing (Beiping). BELOW: Soldiers of a Japanese rifle company take up positions along a railroad track near Beijing in August 1937. OPPOSITE: Japanese soldiers occupy an observation post on high ground north of Beijing and watch the bombardment of Chinese positions in the valley below. The highly trained Japanese Kwantung Army, acting initially without sanction from Tokyo, fought to take control of vast areas of China during the 1930s.

National Archives

This time Generalissimo Jiang did not follow his usual policy of "first internal pacification, then external resistance." In contrast, he told Song to hold his ground against foreign invaders at all costs. Song suspected, with a good deal of justification, that this might be Jiang's plan to allow the Japanese to crush his army. Jiang had long wanted to solve the warlord problem and had destroyed several other former warlords using similar methods. Song knew that the ill-equipped 29th was no match for the Japanese if a full-scale war broke out. He might win a few battles but not the entire campaign. In the end, his army would be utterly crushed. An army is the most important organ to a warlord, and without the 29th Zheyuan Song would become nothing more than a puppet in the high command of the NRA.

Song vetoed a preemptive attack, still believing that it was possible to make peace with the Japanese, even by giving away certain territories. Sadly, things did not go his way, and his hesitation only made the situation worse.

On July 12, Lt. Gen. Kanichiro Tashiro, commander of the CGA, suddenly fell ill. He was replaced by Lt. Gen. Kiyoshi Katsuki, one of the many old China hands in the IJA.

On July 14, the Japanese shelled Wanping.

On July 15, a plan for a major offensive against Beiping-Tianjin was finalized. Since Japanese troops already controlled the areas north, east, and west of Beiping, this offensive was focused on the southern flank. Doing so would cut Beiping off from the rest of the Guomindang-controlled areas in the south and encircle the Chinese forces. General Katsuki ordered all his troops to be in position by July 20. Later that day, Lt. Gen. Kanichiro Tashiro, former commander of the CGA, died of a heart attack, becoming the first Japanese general to die in the Second Sino-Japanese War.

On July 17, Jiang made his famous Lushan Statement, unofficially declaring war on Japan. On the same day, Song held negotiations with the new Japanese commander, Kiyoshi Katsuki, while officials from the two sides were also meeting in Nanjing. The 1st Independent Mixed Brigade of the Kwantung Army reinforced the CGA.

On July 18, the 20th Division reinforced the CGA, and the following day the negotiations between Song and Katsuki ended in failure. The 11th Independent Mixed Brigade reinforced the CGA, and on July 20, the Japanese shelled Wanping again, wounding Colonel Xinwen Ji.

On July 25, with the arrival of new supplies, the Japanese launched another offensive. The 77th Regiment of the CGA 20th Division and the 226th Regiment of the NRA 38th Division clashed in Langfang, a small city between Beiping and Tianjin.

Japanese forces occupied Langfang the following day along with all the transportation hubs along the railroad linking Beiping and Tianjin, severing connections between the cities. In the evening, the 1st Regiment of the CGA attempted an assault on the Guangan Gate in Beipin but was repelled by the Chinese. An ultimatum was issued to Song demanding the withdrawal of all Chinese troops in Beiping within 24 hours (the deadline was later extended to July 28), or Japanese troops would "act freely."

After negotiations with the Chinese had failed, conservatives in the Japanese government were still trying to ameliorate the situation. However, their efforts ended in vain on July 29, with the Tongzhou Incident. A unit of the Japanese collaborationist Eastern Hebei Army defected to the Chinese in the town of Tongzhou, murdering many Japanese officers and civilians in the process.

Early on the morning of July 27, units of the CGA 2nd Regiment laid siege to the 1st Battalion, 2nd Regiment, NRA 39th Independent Brigade guarding Tongzhou. During the battle, disputes broke out between the Japanese forces and the collaborationist Eastern Hebei Army, and this led to the bloody Tongzhou Incident. Japanese forces also conquered many other Chinese positions outside Beiping. Chinese troops that managed to break out retreated to Nanyuan barracks, a military stronghold south of Beiping and headquarters of the 29th Route Army.

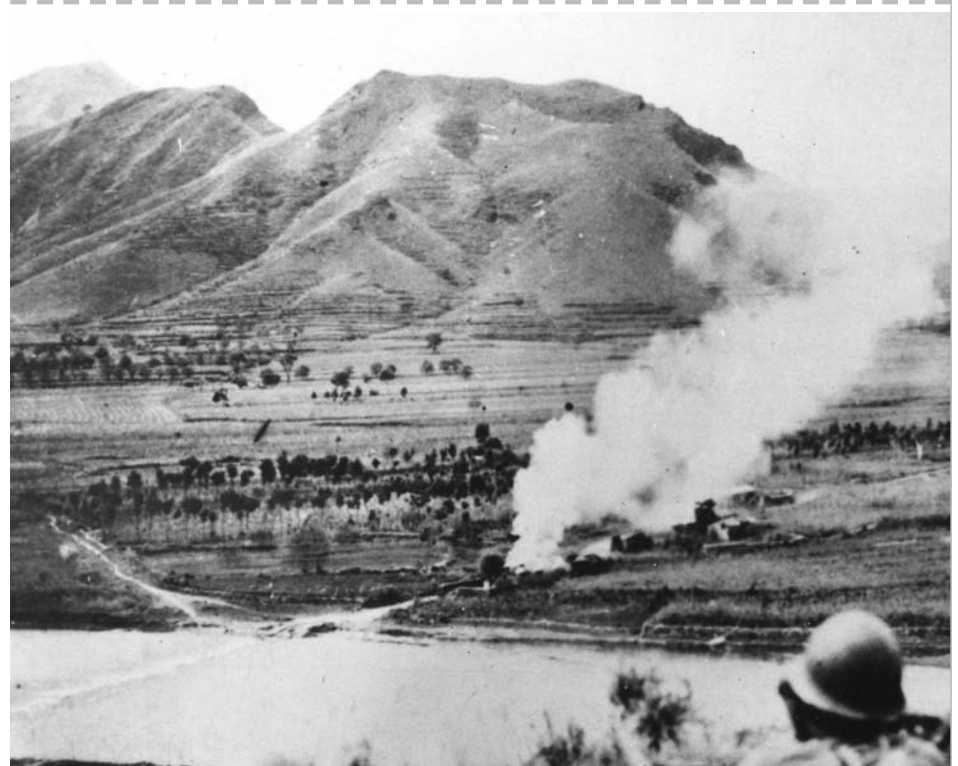
Finally acknowledging that war was inevitable, Song rebuffed the ultimatum issued by the Japanese and ordered all units of the 29th Route Army mobilized. Song also requested assistance from Generalissimo Jiang and other former warlords in the area, but just as he had expected no reinforcements ever arrived.

The Japanese launched their major offensive against Beiping at dawn on July 28. Katsuki's plan was to attack from the south with the IJA 20th Division and the CGA 1st Regiment; the two independent brigades from the Kwantung Army were deployed north of Beiping, containing Chinese forces in that area.

The offensive was concentrated on Nanyuan barracks with a secondary attack on Beiyuan north of Beiping. Backed by close artillery support, the 20th Division and the 1st Regiment mounted a frontal assault on Nanyuan.

The fighting for Nanyuan was the bloodiest and most intense of the entire Battle of Beiping-Tianjin. Soldiers from both sides fought with

"Many of us had never touched a gun before. I saw a Japanese in the distance and I fired, didn't even aim. God knew where the bullet had gone."



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ullstein bild / The Granger Collection, New York

great determination, and positions changed hands several times.

With information provided by Chinese traitor Yuguio Pan, the Chinese troop deployment and plans for counteroffensives were at Katsuki's fingertips. Katsuki's first targets were two regiments of Dengyu Zhao's 132nd Division still on their way to Nanyuan. With the help of Yugui Pan, the Japanese launched a successful ambush near Tuanhe and completely destroyed the Chinese regiments. Zhao led the third regiment to rescue the rest of his division only to be repelled by the Japanese.

The Nanyuan barracks was surrounded by a brick wall, and the first line of Chinese defense was set right outside it. At dawn on July 28, Japanese artillery turned the brick wall into debris and soldiers from the 3rd Battalion, CGA 1st Infantry Regiment under the command of Ichiki charged into the weakest spot of the Chinese line, where student soldiers were positioned.

The regiment included 1,700 students from local universities and high schools, who were receiving military training at the time. Mostly teenagers, they had been given their rifles a few hours earlier. The Japanese, thinking that they could capture the barracks easily, were greatly surprised by their opponents' dogged determination later in the fight.

Japanese soldiers encountered little initial resistance as they charged toward Chinese positions. However, the attack did not go the way the Japanese had planned. Ichiki's men encountered a minefield in front of the Chinese position, slowing them considerably.

Ichiki later recalled in his First Anniversary Symposium of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in 1938, "There was great confusion at the time. The artillery coordinator beside me was dumbfounded. He kept shouting into his telephone, 'Too close! Too close!' He thought the explosion [of the mines] was our own artillery hitting too close."

However, the mines did not stop the Japanese. With unbelievable stubbornness, Ichiki's men managed to break through, rushing into the Chinese positions. The Chinese students, driven by great patriotism and nationalism, were as determined as the Japanese.

Jiecheng Ruan, a student from Zhicheng High School, was a student soldier at the time. Seventy years later, he remembered every detail of that day: "Each student received an old rifle with 200 rounds, four grenades, and a big saber. Everyone in the 29th had a big-saber.... Many of us had never touched a gun before.... I saw a Japanese in the distance and I fired, didn't even aim. God knew where the bullet had gone."

As the Japanese poured into Chinese trenches, a hand-to-hand melee broke out between the opposing forces. The students fought desperately but were no match for the Japanese soldiers, who were masters of close combat. Although the Chinese managed to hold their positions with great determination, the cost was devastating. The student-soldiers lost 10 of their number for every Japanese soldier killed or wounded. The tremendous sacrifice of the Chinese students stopped the Japanese only for a few hours.

A little surprised at the failure of Ichiki's first assault, Lt. Gen. Bunzaburo Kawagishi took over the assault with his newly arrived IJA 20th Division and sent the CGA 1st Regiment north to cut off Nanyuan from Beiping. Kawagishi mounted his second assault at 8 AM, just after Dengyu Zhao and his regiment returned to Nanyuan from their unsuccessful rescue mission. The second assault was more organized, cautious and, with close air support, much more furious. The Chinese forces lacked antiaircraft weapons and suffered heavy casualties from Japanese bombers. Kawagishi noted this weakness and intensified the air attacks.

With their communication system destroyed, the Chinese now found themselves in absolute disarray. Some Chinese soldiers tried in vain to shoot down Japanese aircraft with their rifles but were killed by the strafing Japanese fighters. Japanese forces breached the Chinese defenses in many sections, and chaotic firefights and hand-to-hand combat soon followed. During the fighting, Magoshiro Okabe, a famous Japanese war correspondent from the *Asahi Shimbun* newspaper was killed. He was the first Japanese war correspondent killed in the Second Sino-Japanese War and the first nonmilitary person to be enshrined at the Yasukuni Shrine.

Meanwhile, the CGA 1st Regiment had maneuvered to the vicinity of Dahongmen. Traitor Pan was certain that Dahongmen was where the Chinese forces in Nanyuan would assemble after retreating; this was confirmed by another Chinese traitor. The CGA 2nd Regiment was also sent into this area. The Japanese had decided to lay an ambush.

Back in Nanyuan, the Chinese repulsed the second Japanese assault after a furious battle but suffered heavy casualties. The regiment of student soldiers had dwindled to 800. At 1 PM, Dengyu Zhao, the commander in chief of the Chinese forces in Nanyuan, received the order from Song to break out and retreat to Beiping.

Later that day, a column of Chinese soldiers was ambushed by the Japanese near Dahongmen, and the one-sided battle soon turned into a massacre.

Lieutenant General Dengyu Zhao, commander of the NRA 132nd Division and Lt. Gen. Linge Tong, deputy commander of the NRA 29th Army, were both killed in the battle. According to Japanese wartime archives, Japanese soldiers found Zhao's body sitting on the back seat of his bullet-riddled car after the battle, with fatal wounds to his chest and forehead. Tong was killed leading his men in an attempt to fight their way out of the ambush. Fewer than 2,000 of the 7,000 men in the Chinese garrison in Nanyuan made their way back to Beiping.

The book *History of the Continental War,* published by Japanese Army Pictorial in 1941, contains a vivid description of the aftermath of

the Battle of Nanyuan. "The Battle of Nanyuan had finally come to an end; our sacrifice was tremendous, but we finally conquered the enemy fortification in the afternoon [of 28 July]. The wind had stopped, the soldiers bathed in the sunlight. Ragged clouds adorned the empty sky, while countless bodies of the dead dotted the ground. This was a nightmare under bright daylight."

On July 28, a column of Chinese soldiers from the 219th Regiment was marching toward the Marco Polo Bridge. Just a few weeks earlier they had fired the first shots of the Second Sino-Japanese War on Marco Polo Bridge, and now they were eager to take it back from the Japanese. Just when the soldiers were preparing for their counterattack, an officer from the 110th Brigade arrived with a simple order: "Attack cancelled. The 219th will turn back immediately and retreat." Many were shocked by this order since they had no idea what had happened at Nanyuan.

On the same day, a brigade of the NRA 38th Division pushed back the Japanese in the Langfang area; units of the NRA 37th Division also launched a counterattack on Fengtai but were repulsed by the Japanese. The two independent brigades from the Japanese Kwantung Army in the north conquered the towns of Shahe and Qinghe.

With the stronghold of Nanyuan and two of his best generals lost, General Song acknowledged that the battle was as good as lost and any further resistance would be futile. The Generalissimo also noted the gravity of the situation and ordered Song to withdraw. By nightfall, Song abandoned Beiping and withdrew the bulk of his army to Baoding. The 27th Independent Brigade of the NRA 132nd Division was the only Chinese unit left in the city to maintain public order. Zizhong Zhang, mayor of Tianjin and commander of the 38th Division, was left in Beiping to take charge of political affairs and the aftermath of the fighting. His secret mission was to negotiate with the Japanese, buying time for Song to safely assemble his army.

Zhang's mission would surely make him a target of public criticism, and he, a resolute patriot, would be misunderstood as having defected to the Japanese. Dechun Qin later wrote in his book *Zizhong Zhang and I* that Zhang bade farewell to him in tears that night, saying, "You and Mr. Song will become heroes, but I am going to be blamed as a traitor from now on!"

At 8 AM on July 29, the 11th Independent Mixed Brigade of the Kwantung Army attacked Chinese positions near Huangsi and Beiyuan. The Hebei Peace Preservation Corps defending Huangsi withdrew at 6 PM. The 39th Independent Brigade defending Beiyuan was disarmed by the Japanese two days later. Beiping soon fell to the Japanese. General Masakazu Kawabe, commander of the CGA Brigade, entered the city on August 8 in a military parade in which the citizens of Beiping were forced to celebrate.

At dawn on July 29, the IJA 5th Division and Japanese marines attacked Tianjin and the port of Tanggu, defended by Chinese units of the 38th Division. The Chinese soldiers and many local volunteers fought gallantly. They even managed to capture the Tianjin Station from the Japanese. The 38th Division mounted a series of counterattacks on the Japanese headquarters at Haiguangsi and the Dongjuzi airport. However, the Japanese were able to repulse the Chinese counterattacks with artillery and air support. After heavy fighting, Tianjin fell to the Japanese on July 30.

On July 31, the 27th Independent Brigade managed to break out of Beiping to Chahar and returned to the NRA 143rd Division. That same day, Japanese forces finally conquered the entirety of Beiping-Tianjin by capturing the last Chinese positions near Dahuichang.

The Battle of Beiping-Tianjin had ended, but a full-scale war had now erupted between China and Japan.

Strong malevolence still exists between China and Japan, and the people of these countries are still living in the shadow of one of the greatest calamities in human history.

Author Jiaxin Du is a first-time contributor to WWII History. *He resides in Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada.*

Japanese soldiers stand atop the ruins of a brick wall and deliver a rousing banzai cheer after the capture of Beijing. The city fell at the end of July 1937, and the Japanese invaders were emboldened to seek new conquests on the Asian mainland. OPPOSITE: Attached during the retreat from Beijing, dead of the Chinese 29th Army and their destroyed vehicles litter a road outside the city. Onlookers have stopped their cars in the distance.

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Greeting *the* Lib

The civilians of Normandy celebrated their liberation from the hated Germans

5

erators

with American troops. BY KEVIN M. HYMEL

THE Germans were gone. After more than four years of occupation, the soldiers of the Wehrmacht had been evicted from France's Normandy region by the American and British armies. Now, as the Americans pushed south through the small towns and hedgerows, the local citizens emerged from their hiding places to cheer their liberators. They tossed flowers, waved flags, and—most importantly—poured wine.

Each liberation day was a glorious experience for every French citizen, one they would never forget. The enemy who stole their food, enforced curfews, rounded up dissidents, and denied them their freedom had been forced out and replaced by Americans, who shared their food, brought back French rule and befriended the residents they encountered. "Vive les Américains!" □

1. Two grateful villagers kiss an American lieutenant.
2. American cavalrymen offer food to two elderly French women near Periers.
3. French civilians bring out chairs for troops of the 82nd and 101st Airborne Divisions to enjoy.
4. American soldiers and local French in St. Lo toast France's liberation.
5. In Isigny, two French women and a boy help American soldiers read French.
6. The mayor of Barneville, wearing a beret, greets an American sergeant while jubilant residents wave flowers.
7. A GI examines a Frenchman's World War I medals while the Frenchman offers a chain to the American's cigarette.

The Weather War

BY ERIC NIDEROST

Efforts to gather critical weather data evolved into a high stakes game of cat and mouse between the Germans and the Allies.

WEATHER HAS LONG PLAYED A VITAL ROLE IN HUMAN HISTORY. KUBLAI Khan's attempted conquest of Japan was foiled when his invasion fleet was destroyed by a typhoon. Napoleon's Grand Armee perished during his ill-fated Russian campaign, laid low by the sweltering heat of summer and the frigid cold of winter. Even at Waterloo, torrential rains turned the battlefield into a quagmire and contributed to his final defeat.

But the weather became even more important during the 20th century thanks to the invention of the airplane, tank, and modern ship. Bombers and other aircraft might be grounded by bad weather or their targets obscured by fog or clouds. Land offensives also depended on accurate predictions of the weather, and at sea convoys bearing vital supplies needed reliable forecasts to deliver their cargoes.

Meteorologists of the 1940s lacked such modern devices as satellite imagery, depending instead on barometers and other traditional, time-honored tools. Even so, weathermen could make fairly accurate predictions up to 72 hours in advance.

When the war began in 1939, the Germans found themselves at a disadvantage when it came to gathering and interpreting weather data. European weather forms in the Arctic regions of the Northern Hemisphere, finally drifting west to east. Germany had no colonies in the region that it could use as reporting stations.

Greenland, Jan Mayen Island, and the Svelbard Archipelago were examples of prime weather-reporting locations, but they were owned by then-neutral Denmark and Norway. In the early months of the war, Scandinavia's neutrality actually helped the Germans. In Greenland, for example, the island's weather stations regularly transmitted information in plain international code. The meteorologists on Norway's Jan Mayen Island did the same.

But that all changed when Hitler invaded Denmark and Norway on April 9, 1940.

ABOVE: **German soldiers operating clandestine weather station Edelweiss II on Greenland surrender to American troops in October 1944. German and Allied military and meteorological contingents played a deadly game of cat and mouse as both sides attempted to gather weather information in the Arctic.**

LEFT: **In this sketch by U.S. Coast Guard artist Norman Thomas, U.S. Army troops and Coast Guardsmen scan the coastline of Greenland before landing there in search of Germans operating in the area. These Americans were under the auspices of the U.S. Navy's Greenland Patrol Expeditionary Force.**

Both: National Archives

National Archives

The bulk of a large glacier extends from the shore of Spitsbergen Island, a Norwegian possession. Norwegian ski troops made an abortive attempt to drive the Germans from the island; however, by the time they reached a German base camp on Spitsbergen, the enemy had largely evacuated.

When their home countries were occupied, the island colonies were forced to fend for themselves. Most chose resistance—even if passive—as a better option than collaboration with the Nazis. The German conquest of their homelands meant that most Danes and Norwegians overseas began to cooperate with the British and Americans.

By the summer of 1940, the Germans found themselves on the horns of a dilemma. They had triumphed in Scandinavia, but that very success jeopardized future operations. Appalled at the brutal subjugation of their countries, Danish and Norwegian weathermen overseas now gave their information to the Allies. Casting about for a solution to an ever growing problem, the Germans turned to Admiral Karl Dönitz and his submarines. Two German U-boats were assigned full-time duties as weather-reporting stations from August 1940 to January 1941.

Dönitz himself chafed at these tasks, believing that gathering meteorological data, however crucial, was secondary to sinking enemy ships. The commitment seemed small on paper, but due to turnovers, transits, and refits six submarines were actually part of the program. Dönitz began the war with 57 submarines, and only 27 were oceangoing, long-range Type VIIs. Originally, plans called for 300 U-boats to prowl the Atlantic, but the war came too soon for these projections to become reality. The admiral hated the idea of his precious U-boats being used in such a "pedestrian" manner.

German U-boats finally ended their full-time commitment in January 1941, much to Dönitz's relief. However, they still occasionally gathered weather data while on other missions. As time went on, U-boats also ferried weather personnel to and from weather station sites, transported equipment, and carried base supplies.

The German Luftwaffe also conducted weather reconnaissance patrols that ranged as far as Greenland. Wetterkundungsstaffel 5 (Weather Squadron 5), operating out of Trondheim and Banak, Norway, made regular twice-daily flights across the frigid Arctic seas. The squadron used specially configured Heinkel He-111s, Junkers Ju-88s and Ju-52s, and Dornier Do-17s, all sporting the squadron's distinctive "flying frog" emblem as nose art.

Weather Squadron 5 had to deal with Arctic conditions, including temperature extremes, icing, and engine problems. Allied antiaircraft defenses at Spitsbergen and elsewhere also took a toll, as did Allied fighters. But in the end, weather gathering by air was too unreliable. Ironically, missions were often cancelled because aircraft were grounded due to bad weather.

The Germans decided to send weather ships, "fishing" trawlers presumably able to escape Allied detection while at the same time supplying vital meteorological data, into North Atlantic waters. The weather trawler program was not merely a failure but an unmitigated disaster. In fact, a case can be made that it was one of the major contributors to Germany's defeat.

Unfortunately for the Nazis, the British were monitoring weather ship transmissions to such an extent the element of surprise was lost. One by one the weather trawlers were captured or sunk, relentlessly pursued by the British Royal Navy. The Royal Navy expended much time, effort, and matériel taking these weather ships, but not just because they were transmitting meteorological data. The weather trawlers carried Enigma cypher machines, devices that transmitted and received messages in the secret German Enigma code.

Each captured weather trawler provided cryptographic items, rotors and the like, that helped the British crack the Enigma code. The Germans never fully understood that their weather missions compromised Enigma, but they did finally come to realize that the trawlers were too vulnerable to enemy action. It became more and more clear that only land-based stations could provide the accurate weather data needed to form useful predictions.

On the debit side, all possible sites were in Allied or anti-Nazi hands in 1940, making the German task that much more difficult. But these possible weather station sites were also very remote, desolate areas infamous for their cold temperature extremes and natural hazards. Humans had to deal with such dangers as polar bear attacks. In such isolated areas, it might just be possible to establish bases that would escape detection.

Poring over a map, it was clear Jan Mayen Island, Spitsbergen, and Greenland were among the best locations for gathering and sending weather data. All were in the Arctic regions where European weather fronts form, and all were remote enough to give the Germans at least a hope of success. In addition, weather stations were already in place. If the German Navy, the Kriegsmarine, acted swiftly, it might establish bases before the British could effect countermeasures.

Jan Mayen Island is a barren rock only 34 miles long, its most notable feature the snow covered, 7,470-foot Beerenberg volcano. Owned by Norway, it has no natural resources but is ideal for weather reporting. In 1940, Jan Mayen was inhabited by four Norwegian meteorologists who faithfully transmitted weather data to the homeland. They were shocked and appalled by the German invasion, which they heard over their radio.

The meteorologists immediately ceased transmitting to Norway and began sending reports to the British. They also requested British help because it was feared the Germans might attempt a physical occupation of the island. British authorities acted with alacrity, dispatching the free Norwegian gunboat *Fridtjof Nansen* with a crew of 68 men to help the meteorologists and garrison the island against the Germans.

The *Fridtjof Nansen* arrived in October 1940, only to run aground on one of Jan Mayen's underwater reefs. The ship was a total loss, tem-

porarily marooning the Norwegians with the weather station personnel they had come to support. Winter was coming on with its storms and near total darkness. In light of these changing circumstances, it was decided to temporarily abandon Jan Mayen to the elements.

The now stranded garrison radioed British authorities and then settled down to await rescue. The food situation was a problem, but luckily polar bears prowled the area in their constant search for seals. Two or three of the giant animals were shot and added to the larder. By the time the rescue ship appeared, the seas were rough with white-foamed water crashing against the island rocks. It took 10 trips to shuttle the stranded Norwegians to the rescue ship over treacherous water.

The four original meteorologists were the last to abandon the island, but before they departed they destroyed their radio equipment and anything else that might be of value to the Germans. The British intended to reoccupy Jan Mayen in the spring.

The Germans soon noticed that the island had gone silent. There was no radio traffic coming from Jan Mayen. They dispatched reconnaissance aircraft from Norway, which confirmed that the island was uninhabited. The German Abwehr (intelligence service) took an immediate interest in the situation.

Conventional wisdom held that no one in his right mind would mount an expedition to Jan Mayen so close to the coming of winter, but if the Germans acted with dispatch they might land a team before the really bad weather and darkness set it. It was a risk, but a calculated one, and would reap rich rewards in weather data.

A weather troop was immediately formed called the Sonderkommando "Graf Finkenstein," named after its aristocratic leader, Ulrich, Graf (Count) von Finkenstein. The expedition was an interservice one and slightly confusing in composition, overlapping authority, and duties, which was typical of the Nazis in this period. The teams would be transported by the fishing trawler *Hinrich Freese*, captained by Lieutenant Wilhelm Kracke and crewed by 13 civilian sailors.

The *Hinrich Freese* departed Trondheim, Norway, on November 12, 1940. Apart from the crew, there were three distinct units aboard. First, there was a Luftwaffe weather troop, three men under Lieutenant Harald Bruhn. Next, there were two "Abwehr-funker" Intelligence Service radiomen who transmitted weather reports back to Europe. Finally, there was the Sonderkommando "Graf Finkenstein," a party consisting of the count, turncoat Dane Kurt Carlis Hansen, and three other men.

Unfortunately for the Germans, the British were taking no chances with Jan Mayen, which they codenamed Island X. The Royal Navy, determined that it must be kept out of German hands at all costs, kept a close eye on the island and its approaches. With stormy seas and the fast approach of winter, the patrols were tedious and often dangerous, but British perseverance was soon rewarded.

The *Hinrich Freese* arrived at Jan Mayen on November 16, 1940, without incident, but its luck was not to hold. The light cruiser HMS *Naiad* caught the German trawler before it could land its weather team and equipment. *Hinrich Freese* tried to run, and *Naiad* gave chase. There are two versions of what happened next. One says the German skipper tried to maneuver his ship though the treacherous rocks but failed in the attempt. Most accounts maintain the Germans deliberately wrecked the ship to avoid its imminent capture.

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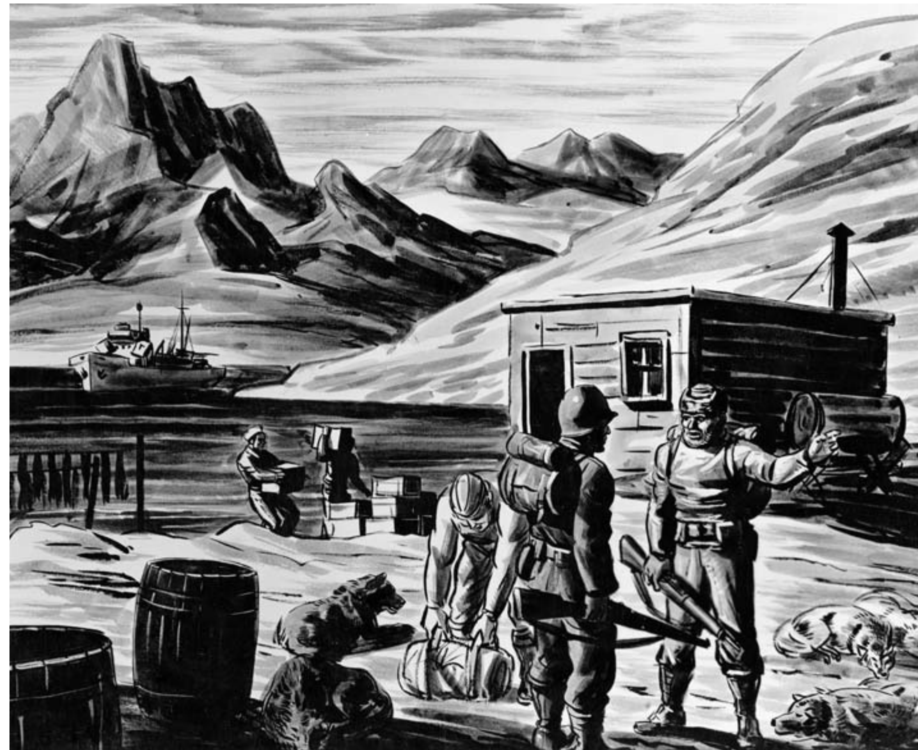


The harsh, unforgiving Arctic climate of Greenland took its toll on the men of both sides who tried to gather weather data there. In this sketch, U.S. Coast Guardsmen bring supplies to a base camp on Greenland, while the ship that has delivered the vital materiel lies at anchor in a secluded bay.

In any case, *Hinrich Freese* smashed into the lava rocks, the impact shuddering the vessel from stem to stern. The lifeboats were launched with great difficulty because the heavy surf kept pushing them against the sides of the sinking German trawler. Huge waves engulfed the lifeboats, swamping them and forcing the survivors into the frigid sea. Two drowned, but the rest—soggy, exhausted, and freezing—made it ashore, only to be picked up by a British landing party.

The Allies returned to Jan Mayen on March 10, 1941, when the free Norwegian ship *Veslekari* arrived with 12 Norwegian meteorologists. As time went on, a small garrison was added to the island's population, together with some antiaircraft guns. The latter were needed because the Germans began conducting air raids on the weather station.

Jan Mayen Island is only about 600 miles west of Norway, easily within reach of long-range German bombers. Four-engine Focke-Wulf Fw-200 Condor bombers visited frequently for a time but inflicted little significant damage. This was no milk run for Luftwaffe air crews; the weather could turn bad, and Allied antiaircraft guns were a danger. On August 7, 1941, a Focke-Wulf 200 crashed on one of the island's mountainsides, lost in heavy fog.

All nine crew members were killed, and pieces of wreckage remain to this day. In 1950, the wreckage of another German plane was found on the southwest side of the island. By the end of 1941, the Germans had given up any idea of taking the island, though nuisance bombing raids continued sporadically.

Spitsbergen was another area of interest for the Germans in their never-ending quest to establish weather stations. It is a large island,

some 280 miles long and from 25 to 140 miles wide. Spitsbergen is part of the Svalbard Archipelago and is owned by Norway. It assumed an even greater importance after Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941.

Aside from its strategic location for weather gathering, Spitsbergen had valuable coal deposits. Some of the island's coal mines were operated by Norwegian concerns while others were controlled by the Russians. Preliminary investigations ruled out Spitsbergen as an Allied naval base due to the hazards of seasonal ice.

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill was behind a plan that called for bold and decisive action. The island's entire population would be evacuated, with the Russians repatriated to the Soviet Union and the Norwegians to Britain. Both Moscow and the Norwegian government in exile readily agreed to the scheme.

The mission, code-named Operation Gauntlet, sailed on August 19, 1941, arriving a few days later. The British effort included Canadian troops and the Royal Navy's Force K under Rear Admiral Philip Vian. The troops were carried by the liner *Empress of Canada,* escorted by Vian's flagship, the cruiser HMS *Nigeria,* the cruiser HMS *Aurora*, three destroyers, and several smaller support ships.

At the time it was not known whether the Germans had occupied the island. They had not, and the local Norwegian and Russian inhabitants were more than cooperative. The miners were evacuated, and demolition teams fanned out to destroy the mines and excess fuel stocks. While the demolition continued, radio stations on the island continued to broadcast as if all was well, even sending false weather reports of heavy fog to deter German reconnaissance aircraft. Only when the mission was completed were the radio stations destroyed.

No fewer than 1,955 Russians and 765 Norwegians were evacuated from Spitsbergen. The operation was a success, but once again, as with Jan Mayen Island, the Germans attempted to exploit the vacuum that was created by an Allied withdrawal. It took them a few days to catch on, but once they realized what was happening they moved swiftly. A 10-man Luftwaffe meteorological team was landed on the northeast corner of the island and a landing strip carved out of the barren soil.

Throughout October 1941, the Luftwaffe shuttled in nearly four tons of supplies. By November 11, several German weather stations were in full operation. Station Banso passed the winter of 1941-1942 in Adventdalen near Longyearbyen, and Station Knospe transmitted near Krossfjord.

The Allies were not going to let the Nazis seize control of the island without a fight, however. It was frustrating, but they did have to wait until the harsh Arctic winter had passed. For the next six months, the German weather stations were left unmolested.

National Archives

American soldiers examine a German parachute kit abandoned by the occupants of a radio station recently manned by soldiers gathering weather information. The Germans had evacuated the site shortly before the Americans arrived. Note the large dog at left that has accompanied the American troops.

In May 1942, the ships *Isbjorn* and *Selis* arrived at Spitsbergen carrying around 80 free Norwegian ski troops to root out the Germans and establish Allied control. The ships sailed up the Gronfjord (Green Fjord) successfully and anchored to unload supplies. On the night of May 14, they were attacked by Fw-200s and badly damaged. One of the ships sank, and the other was set ablaze.

Fourteen Norwegians were killed in the air raid, but the others successfully abandoned ship and managed to reach shore after plunging into subfreezing water and clambering onto nearby ice floes. According to a contemporary *Time* magazine account, they got to shore at Barentsburg, but their expedition was a shambles. Their radio was gone. They were encumbered by wounded and had only managed to salvage 15 skis, a few rifles, and a single broken lamp.

Luckily they managed to flag down a Consolidated PBY Catalina flying boat from the British Coastal Command by using their salvaged lamp. Their message was received, and on June 2 the British arrived with reinforcements and supplies. The Norwegian ski troops now scoured the island for the elusive German stations, and according to one report there was a skirmish with one German killed. For the most part, however, the German weather stations simply shut down and melted away. The weather teams were evacuated by submarine.

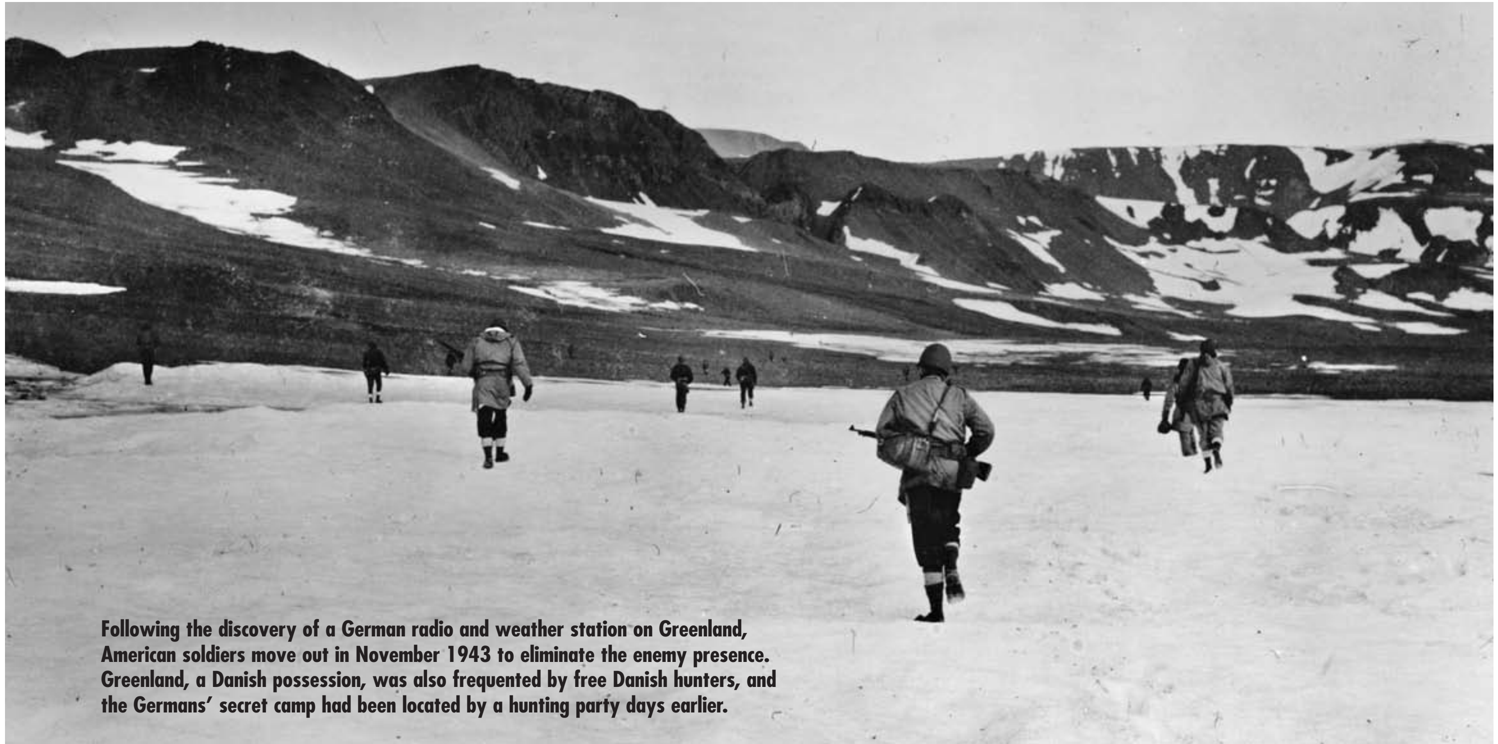
Although the Germans were gone from Spitsbergen, they left an automated weather station behind that successfully transmitted meteorological data throughout the summer of 1942. By this time free Norwegian troops were in complete control of Spitsbergen. Allied island defenses included machine guns and some 3-inch artillery.

The Germans stubbornly refused to throw in the towel, though by this time, late 1942 and early 1943, the tide of war was turning against them. In October 1942, the Kriegsmarine landed a six-man team in the north at Krossfjord, which they dubbed station Nussbaum. The Norwegians were never able to locate this will-o'-the-wisp station.

In the late summer of 1943, Adolf Hitler decided to mount a major raid against Spitsbergen, though militarily the operation made little sense. North Africa was lost, and the German summer offensive at Kursk was a failure. Frustrated by these events, Hitler perhaps sought solace in a cheap and easy victory.

In any case, the raid on Spitsbergen, codenamed Zitronella or Sizilien, was overkill from the beginning. The Zitronella operation included some of the most powerful surface vessels in the German fleet, the battleship *Tir-*

National Archives



Following the discovery of a German radio and weather station on Greenland, American soldiers move out in November 1943 to eliminate the enemy presence. Greenland, a Danish possession, was also frequented by free Danish hunters, and the Germans' secret camp had been located by a hunting party days earlier.

pitz, cruiser *Scharnhorst*, and nine destroyers. A battalion of German soldiers served as a landing party. The free Norwegian garrison of 100 or so men could hardly be expected to stand up against such an armada.

The German fleet arrived at Spitsbergen on September 6, 1943, taking the Norwegians by surprise. *Tirpitz* leveled its 15-inch guns at Longyearbyen and Barentsberg, setting fire to the towns and killing some of the garrison. *Scharnhorst* and the other German ships added their firepower to the barrage. The Norwegian 3-inch guns were quickly suppressed, allowing the German troops to come ashore.

The Norwegians fought bravely but were overwhelmed. Nine Norwegian soldiers were killed and 41 taken prisoner. Many of the garrison, however, escaped into the interior and were never taken. The Zitronella operation was the first and last time the *Tirpitz* fired its guns in anger. German fire coordination had been poor, and at one point the mighty *Tirpitz* was actually lobbing 15-inch shells at its own men!

Once the Germans secured the island, they set about destroying all Allied facilities, including the all-important weather station. For all its might, the German fleet was forced to withdraw after a few days. Their position was simply too exposed and untenable. After the Germans withdrew, the Allies rebuilt all facilities and reoccupied the island. The Nazis would never again come in such force, but the cat and mouse landing and withdrawing of weather teams would continue.

Greenland is the largest island in the world, encompassing 827,000 square miles. Around 80 percent of the land is buried in thick glaciers, and only the southwestern coast is relatively congenial to civilization. In 1940, the population was only around 20,000 souls, mainly native Eskimo, but also Danes and some Norwegians. Greenland was a colony of Denmark, administered by a handful of Danish civil servants.

In 1940, this great expanse of mountains, glaciers, and fjords was governed by a Dane named Eske Brun. After the German invasion of his homeland, he assumed, rightly so, that Denmark would be under Hitler's control and would be forced to act according to Nazi wishes. He could still communicate with Copenhagen but could not fully trust any directives coming from home. There was nothing left to do but to make Greenland an "independent" nation for the duration of the war.

Brun was particularly worried about Greenland's east coast, 1,600 miles of desolate wilderness. The Germans might attempt to establish weather stations or even military bases there, and Brun would be helpless to stop them. He consulted the Americans, who were still officially neutral but clearly did not want a German foothold in North America.

The Americans advised that virtually all of eastern Greenland's scant population be evacuated to the south. That way, intruders would be spotted more readily. Brun agreed, but suppose the Germans did come? Who would detect their presence? Brun formed the North East Greenland Sledge Patrol, a handful of Eskimos, Danes, and Norwegians who would keep the coast under strict surveillance.

The sledge patrollers, about 15 men in all, had their headquarters in the isolated village of Eskimoness. Before the war most of them had been solitary hunters or trappers, and they were thoroughly familiar with the icy wilderness. As the name implies, patrols were by sledge and dog team. Their range was from 70 to 77 degrees north—about 500 miles.

Even before the Sledge Patrol was formed, the United States began to take an active interest in Greenland. Dr. Henrik de Kauffmann, Danish ambassador to the United States, met with President Franklin Roosevelt the day after the Germans invaded his country. Roosevelt welcomed Kauffmann and immediately invoked the Monroe Doctrine. Though still neutral, the United States would not tolerate any outside foreign presence in North America.

As time went on, Greenland became a protectorate of the United States for the duration of the war. But would the Germans make a move? The question was answered in the fall of 1940 when the Norwegian supply ship *Veslekari,* carrying Danish and Norwegian hunters and 50 armed pro-German collaborationists, was caught by the free Norwegian warship *Fridtjof Nansen.* Their original mission was to seize the weather station at Myggbukta and send meteorological reports to the Luftwaffe, which probably would have succeeded but for the *Fridtjof*

Both: National Archives

ABOVE: The Coast Guard cutter USS *Northland* lies at anchor in the Arctic. *Northland* landed a 12-man shore party that surprised three Germans setting up radio equipment on Greenland. RIGHT: Dr. Rolf Sensse was left behind by other members of a German weather information-gathering party on Sabine Island and later captured.

Nansen's timely intervention.

In June and July 1941, the U.S. Greenland Patrol was organized under the direction of Admiral Harold Stark, Chief of Naval Operations. The Greenland Patrol was ordered to support the U.S. Army in the latter's efforts to construct air bases in Greenland. But above all it was to "defend Greenland and specifically prevent German operations in Northeast Greenland."

The patrol was placed under Commander Edward "Iceberg" Smith, something of a legend in the U.S. Coast Guard and a seasoned veteran of Arctic climes. Smith commented that his mission was "a little bit of everything" but that the "Coast Guard was used to that."

In September 1941, the Sledge Patrol reported that strangers were seen at the entrance of Franz Joseph Fjord. Now on full alert, the U.S. Coast Guard Cutter *Northland* discovered a Norwegian fishing trawler named *Buskoe* some 300 miles south of the earlier sightings. The crew was questioned and finally admitted having landed a party with a radio transmitter.

After a diligent search, the *Northland* dispatched a 12-man shore party under Lieutenant Leroy McCluskey to investigate a suspicious hunter's shack. Rifles at the ready, the shore party surrounded the shack to make sure none inside could escape. Once his men were in place, McCluskey kicked open the door and rushed in with gun drawn.

Three startled Germans were inside, and they offered no resistance. The hut contained radio equipment, but the Germans seemed almost relieved they were captured. They offered McCluskey a cup of coffee and started a fire to heat it. The sharp-eyed lieutenant saw this was a ruse, an attempt to burn their code book before the Americans could seize it. McCluskey rescued the book just in time.

The *Buskoe* is often cited as the first American naval capture of World War II. Technically, the claim is inaccurate since the United States was neutral and Pearl Harbor was some three months in the future. In fact, the Germans and their Norwegian cohorts were taken into custody not as prisoners of war but as "illegal immigrants."

The Germans made their boldest, and for a time most successful, Greenland foray in 1943. In August, the German trawler *Sachen* sailed with a weather team to Sabine Island on Hansa Bay, near Greenland's coast and only about 70 miles from the Sledge Patrol base at Eskimoness. The expedition was led by Lieutenant Herman Ritter, an Austrian who was not a Nazi and was said to have little enthusiasm for the mission. Ritter was also uncomfortable that the Sledge Patrol headquarters was so near—at least by Greenland wilderness standards.

The German weather party, code-named Holzauge, successfully established a station and then hunkered down for the winter. In the spring Sledge Patroller Marius Jensen and two Eskimos approached Sabine Island and were surprised to discover tracks in the snow. Men with heeled boots had passed there! These had to be strangers, and a short time later Jensen and his companions spotted a hut that looked inhabited.

Its occupants had fled and could still be seen as tiny specks in the distance, and when Jensen entered the abandoned hut his eyes were drawn to a jacket. It had swastika insignia. The Ger-

mans had landed. Jensen managed to get back to Eskimoness and spread the alarm.

It occurred to Governor Brun that the sledge patrollers were civilians and they might get into a firefight with the Germans. If captured, they might be executed by the Nazis as "partisans" or "bandits." To make them legal combatants, Brun formally made the patrol the Greenland Army.

Its leader, Ib Poulsen, became a captain, and others received various ranks. Thus, these 15 or so men became World War II's smallest official army. But the men had little time to savor their newly found status. The Germans launched a surprise raid on Eskimoness and burned it to the ground. The few patrollers who were there at the time managed to escape, but the destruction of the base was an Allied setback.

On their way back to their Sabine Island base, the Germans encountered Sledge Patroller Eli Knudsen and machine gunned him to death. Ritter had wanted him alive. Later, two more sledge patrollers were captured. One of the prisoners, Marius Jensen, found Ritter alone and turned the tables on the German, capturing him and marching him 300 miles south to American custody.

In the meantime, American bombers located the Sabine Island weather station and reduced it to rubble. The trawler *Sachen* was destroyed in the same raid. The *Sachen* crew and its weather team abandoned the wrecked weather station and hid until evacuated by flying boat a month later. One team member, Rudolf Sensse, was left behind and was later taken prisoner by a shore patrol from the *Northland*.

By 1944, the tide of war had turned against Germany, and its resources were dwindling. But weather reporting was still so important that the Nazis continued to send furtive expeditions to the Arctic. In July, the *Northland* had located and destroyed a German weather station at Cape Sussie. Later, *Northland* discovered the German trawler *Coberg* trapped in the ice and gutted by fire.

Clutching at straws in a wild effort to stave off defeat, the Germans planned three additional weather stations in the Arctic. The first expedition was headed by a Lieutenant Weiss and romantically code-named Edelweiss. The second, under Lieutenant (and Ph.D.) Karl Schmid, was labeled Goldschmid. A third effort, code-named Haudegen, was sent by submarine *U-307* to Spitsbergen.

Weather expedition Edelweiss was aboard the trawler *Kehdingen* when it was caught by the ubiquitous cutter *Northland*. After a 7½-hour chase the German trawler was stuck in the ice and scuttled. Its officers and crew were taken into custody.

Eckhart Dege, LandmarkScout

Germans manning their weather station in the Norwegian Svalbard Island group were forgotten by their superiors and left alone at their base for several months after World War II in Europe ended in May 1945. On September 4, 1945, the Germans surrendered to the captain of a Norwegian hunting vessel, the last German troops to surrender after hostilities officially ended.

The U.S. Coast Guard now had newer and more powerful weapons at its disposal, including a new class of icebreaking cutter. The USS *Eastwind* was one of these, and it responded to a report of suspicious activity on Greenland's Little Koldewey Island. A specially trained landing force, unique in Coast Guard history, was aboard and quickly went ashore to investigate. The Americans surprised and captured the 12-man Goldschmid weather party without a shot fired.

The *Eastwind* followed up this success by locating and capturing the ship that had originally landed the Goldschmid team. The German trawler *Externsteine* surrendered after *Eastwind* fired some warning shots. *Externsteine* was the only German surface vessel captured at sea by U.S. forces in World War II.

Weather Station Haudegen was a cluster of huts that was lavish by Arctic standards. The facilities included a seven-bunk dormitory and a library of 20 volumes. The German personnel—a mixture of technicians and soldiers—heard of the German surrender by radio on May 7, 1945. For the next few months there was a strange interlude as the Germans continued to broadcast weather data but in plain transmissions without code. They finally surrendered to a Norwegian ship in September 1945, the last German unit to capitulate in World War II.

The weather war had a curious Canadian postscript four decades after the German surrender. It began on October 22, 1943, when the German submarine *U-537* arrived at Martin Bay in Northern Labrador. Meteorologist Dr. Kurt Sommermeyer and his assistant were aboard, and their principal mission was to set up an automated weather station.

Every effort was made to keep the installation secret. There was a chance it might be discovered by Allied forces, so every effort was made to throw such visitors off the track. It was marked with the legend "Canadian Weather Service," and the ground was littered with American cigarette butts.

Dr. Sommermeyer made sure the station was working properly, and then the Germans left for Europe. Unfortunately, Wetter-Funkgerat (WFL) No. 26, also called Weather Station Kurt, was only operational for a few days. Kurt stopped transmitting, perhaps because of faulty batteries or some other problem.

Weather Station Kurt was forgotten until the 1980s. Sommermeyer had passed away by this time, but his papers were intact, giving a researcher clues as to the station's whereabouts. The station was relocated in 1981, complete with canisters, tripod, mast, and dry cell batteries. Weather Station Kurt is now on display at the Canadian War Museum, a tangible reminder of a fascinating episode in World War II history.

Eric Niderost is a frequent contributor to WWII History. *He writes from California, where he is also a college professor.*

Photo courtesy of the archives of Mainichi Shimbun

This photo depicts a rare glimpse of an imperial conference of the Japanese government, including top advisers to Emperor Hirohito, held in January 1938, at the height of Japan's expansionist fervor.

Recipe for War

Japan's fateful path to World War II was fraught with dissension, intrigue, and doubt.

ONE MORNING IN EARLY JANUARY 1882, JAPAN TOOK ITS FIRST unknowing step toward eventual world war. On that day Mutsuhito, the emperor of Japan, handed a document known as the Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors to Army Minister, Oyama Iwao. The rescript was essentially a code of conduct for the Japanese military, of which Mutsuhito was the nominal head. It called upon the members of the Army and Navy to give him their loyalty and look to him as their commander. Unfortunately, what the rescript and eight years later the Meiji Constitution declined to specify was the subordination of the military to the civilian government. This oversight would lead down a path to war by 1941.

This trail was by no means a certain one, however. Even today, many see Japan's decision to go to war against the United States as an almost unilateral one, with only some Army-Navy tension and a grimly prophesying Admiral Yamamoto expressing any dissent. The actual road was much rougher, and the discussions were not one sided. This argument for Japan's dangerous journey to Pearl Harbor is well put in ***Japan 1941: Countdown to Infamy*** (Eri Hotta, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2013, 320 pp., photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $27.95, hardcover).

The author asserts the Japanese leadership did not succumb to pride and confidently expect victory over the United States and the British Empire. Rather, most if not all of Japan's leaders knew they were starting a war they would most likely lose. They went forward anyway due to a combination of circumstances that left them believing they had no other choice. The Japanese political system made war an easier decision than peace. The military had dual roles relating to both the government and emperor, creating a situation ripe for intrigue and political maneuvering. Even within the military there were bitter rivalries between the Army and the Navy over the direction the nation was going.

During the few years prior to Pearl Harbor, Japan was struggling to find a way in an increasingly difficult world situation. The war in China had bogged down and there did not seem to be a way out of it. As an island nation dependent on imported resources, Japan had designs on becoming a regional power to secure its economy and long-term prosperity. This imperial ambition was being resisted by the United States in economic terms and by the Soviet Union in a series of border clashes, which culminated in Japanese defeat in 1939. The ruling elite were still bent on expansion despite the fact it was creating turmoil with Western powers. While Japanese leaders often spoke of peace, their actions were increasingly provocative.

This seeming rift between word and action was further widened when Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yosuke aligned his country with the Axis powers. Educated in the United States, Matsuoka also courted favor with Josef Stalin and the Soviet Union to some degree. Despite many of Japan's leaders speaking openly of a desire for peace, the nation was publicly aligning itself with aggressive Fascist regimes abroad. To America and other Western nations, this effectively destroyed any basis for trust in the Japanese government, making war even more likely.

Japan also had cultural biases that increased the certainty of war. There were preexisting

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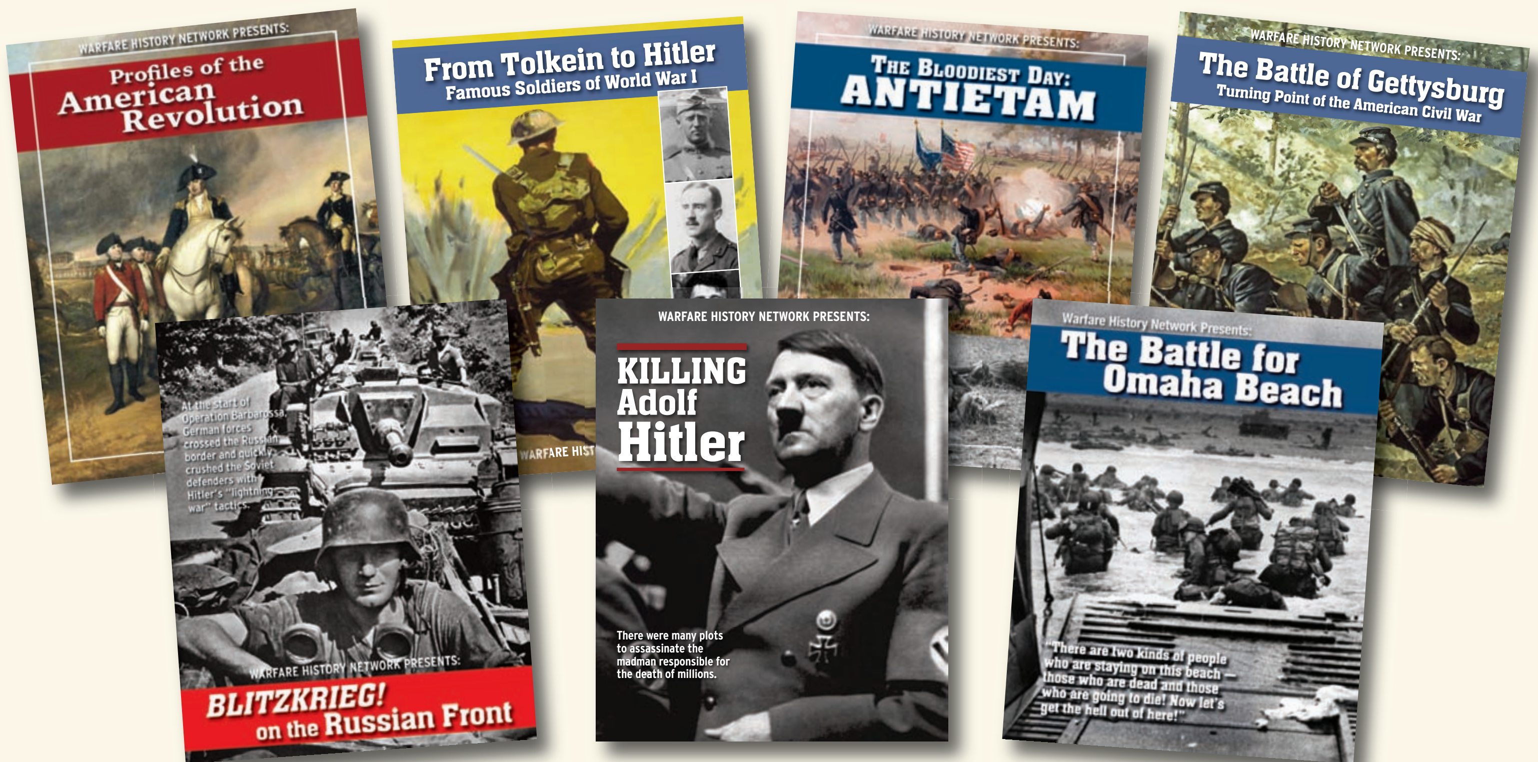

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NEW AND NOTEWORTHY

Joe Rochefort's War: The Odyssey of the Codebreaker Who Outwitted Yamamoto at Midway (Elliot Carlson, Naval Institute Press, 2013, $26.95, hardcover) Rochefort was haunted by his failure to predict the attack on Pearl Harbor. Pushing forward against criticism, six months later he correctly deduced the attack on Midway.

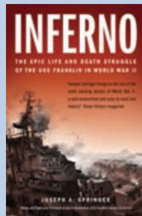
The Seeds of Disaster: The Development of French Army Doctrine 1919-39 (Robert A. Doughty, Stackpole Books, $18.95, softcover) This prize-winning work reveals how the French military drew the wrong conclusions from World War I, leaving it ripe for defeat two decades later. Its flawed doctrine is examined along with lessons learned.

Kamikaze Destroyer: USS Hugh W. Hadley DD774 (Jeffrey Veesenmeyer, Meriam Press, 2014, $19.95 softcover, $4.99 PDF on disk) The destroyer USS *Hadley* was on radar picket duty near Okinawa in May 1945. Thirty crewmen died during a kamikaze attack, but the ship shot down 23 planes.

Tigers in the Ardennes: The 501st Heavy SS Tank Battalion in the Battle of the Bulge (Gregory A. Walden, Schiffer Publishing, 2015, $35.00, hardcover) The Ardennes offensive was the sunset of the German panzer force. This battalion was one of the few Tiger tank-equipped units to fight there.

Stopping the Panzers: The Untold Story of D-Day (Marc Milner, University Press of Kansas, 2014, $34.95, softcover) The Allies planned for a German armored threat on D-Day. This work covers the Canadian plans to address the panzers, as well as their fight against the 1st SS Panzer Corps.

Islam and Nazi Germany's War (David Motadel, Harvard University Press, 2014, $35.00, hardcover) Germany fought in Islamic areas of North Africa, the Soviet Union, and the Balkans. German troops worked with and tried to use the local populace to their advantage.



Last Man Standing: The 1st Marine Regiment on Peleliu, September 15-21, 1944 (Dick Camp, Zenith Press, 2014, $18.99, hardcover) Peleliu was one of the Marine Corps' toughest battles. This recounts one regiment's part in the fighting.

Inferno: The Epic Life and Death Struggle of the USS Franklin in World War II (Joseph Springer, Zenith Press, 2014, $19.99, softcover) On March 19, 1945, a single kamikaze struck the carrier USS *Franklin,* causing more than 1,000 casualties. The ship's epic fight to survive is told through the words of the survivors.

Spearheading D-Day: American Special Units in Normandy (Jonathan Gawne, Casemate Publishers, 2011, $34.95, softcover) This book is a softcover reprint of a volume covering the engineers, frogmen, and naval demolition crews, among others, who supported the D-Day landings. Extensive information on tactics, uniforms, and equipment is included.

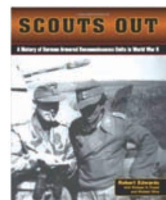
notions of honor, pride and face-saving. These combined to make it difficult for many Japanese leaders, especially those in the military, to back down from perceived insults or threats. While theirs was certainly not the only culture to possess such values, in Japan these qualities were especially acute. In 1941 the Japanese people, like others throughout history, went to war in large part because they simply were unable to not go to war. That even national leaders are subject to the frailties of the human ego is shown well in this book. Rather than the war criminals and villains of common understanding, Japan's leaders, even including the much criticized Tojo, were really just men filled with doubts and fears, blinded by their own cultural biases, and unwilling to step down. They were willing to take an enormous gamble with their nation and people, but it was a gamble they lost.

The author is a scholar specializing in Asian Studies and history. This book is the product of extensive research in an area where few others have chosen to go. The result is a new look at Japan's road to war with the United States, a subject of which even most students of the war have only a most basic understanding. This book delves into the political landscape of the era to provide better comprehension of how Japan brought itself to the waters off Hawaii in December 1941.

The German Aces Speak II: WWII through the Eyes of Four More of the Luftwaffe's Most Important Commanders (Colin D. Heaton and Anne-Marie Lewis, Zenith Press, Minneapolis, MN, 2014, 304 pp., photographs, bibliography, index, $30.00, hardcover)

The feats of Germany's ace pilots are fairly well known in general terms, even if their names are not always familiar to most. This pair of authors' second volume on German aces goes into fascinating detail on the experiences of four of the Reich's top air warriors. The text covers not only their combat service, but also descriptions of their daily lives while off duty, what they did after the war, and what they thought about fighting for men such as Adolf Hitler.

Johannes Steinhoff fought his enemies 543 times during 976 missions, downing 176 enemy planes. Like his fellow aces in this book, he served in the postwar German Air Force and retired with a chest full of medals, several of them from his former opponents. Colonel Erich Hartmann had 352 kills and spent 10 years as a prisoner of the Soviets after the war. Dietrich Hrabak flew more than 1,000 missions and gave credit for a disputed kill to the other pilot. His motto was, "Hit first, hit hard, and bring your men home alive." Gunther Rall shot down 275 enemy planes on both fronts, losing his thumb in a dogfight with American P-47 Thunderbolts in May 1944. Shot down eight times himself, he was captured by the Americans. It is notable that all four men survived the de-Nazification process and went on to serve NATO in the German Air Force. It is their wartime exploits that speak the loudest despite the wrongness of the cause they served. Detailed and easy to read, this book will entertain expert aviation enthusiasts and novices alike.



Scouts Out: A History of German Armored Reconnaissance Units in World War II (Robert Edwards with Michael H. Pruett and

Michael Olive, Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, PA, 2013, 518 pp., maps, charts, diagrams, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, $49.95, hardcover)

Reconnaissance is a vital aspect of warfare. Knowing what the enemy is planning, where it is, and what it is preparing to do can easily spell the difference between victory and defeat. The German Army understood this and incorporated scouting units into its new panzer divisions as mobile warfare doctrine was developed. The increased mobility conferred by mechanization made accurate reconnaissance even more important as the far-ranging columns could easily outstrip supporting units. When the Germans formed their scouting units, they decided to equip them with more than motorcycles and light cars or trucks. They assumed their scouts would have to fight to gain the information they sought and issued armored cars and half-tracks, armed with machine guns, light cannons, and 75mm field guns. This gave them a formidable punch and reduced the reliability on stealth. This occasionally meant the reconnaissance units could get in over their heads or were used as fighting formations when nothing better was available.

The story of the armored reconnaissance units is well told here. The book takes the reader through the entire range of the scouts' story from the development of their doctrine to how the units were organized, trained, and equipped. Numerous tables and charts, many of them from original manuals, spell out how armored scouting forces were put together and used. Hundreds of original photographs show how the soldiers lived and fought day to day. Their uniforms and insignia are shown in many color plates. The history of each major armored reconnaissance unit is given in detail. Students of armored warfare, reenactors, and wargamers can all find something to interest them.

Hitler's War: World War II as Portrayed by Signal *the International Nazi Propaganda Magazine* (Jeremy Harwood, Zenith Press, Minneapolis, MN, 2014, 224 pp., maps, photographs, index, $25.00, hardcover)

Signal magazine was the German Army's propaganda publication. It began appearing biweekly in April 1940, just as Nazi forces were invading Denmark and Norway. As German fortunes waxed across Europe, the circulation of *Signal* grew to 2.5 million copies. During and after 1943, however, those fortunes waned, and the situation became increasingly grim. Ger-

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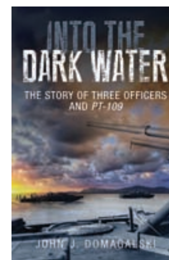
many faced defeat, but one would have had a hard time telling that by reading *Signal*. The magazine continued as if the nation were not in mortal peril. Early in the war readers would peruse articles and imagery showing the seemingly inexorable advance of the Wehrmacht. Later, when there were no victories to exhibit, the tone changed. While there were still no admissions of defeat, readers were now seeing patriotic exhortations to fight heroically. Articles showed pictures of life at home, wives, mothers and children who were worth fighting for and protecting. The last edition of the magazine was published in March 1945, shortly before the war ended.

Signal is widely known as a propaganda tool, but now a reader can see, translated into English, exactly how it was used to shape opinion and knowledge of the war for the average German soldier and civilian. The author has chosen a range of articles from the magazine's pages which provide insight, from photo essays of action-packed air attacks by Stuka dive bombers to a racially charged article showing Arab and African soldiers labeled as "Defenders of French Culture." This book shows the evolution of the magazine and places it in context with the rest of the War in Europe.

The Cover-up at Omaha Beach: D-Day, the US Rangers, and the Untold Story of Maisy Battery (Gary Sterne, Skyhorse Publishing, New York, 2014, 336 pp., maps, photographs, index, $24.95, hardcover)

One of the controversies of the D-Day invasion was the attack on Pointe du Hoc. A select force of U.S. Army Rangers was to scale the cliffs leading up to a German artillery battery and silence the guns so they could not be used against either the invasion fleet or the landing beaches. In the event, the Americans stormed up to cliffs in a perilous assault that proved initially pointless. The gun emplacements were empty. The Rangers pushed on and three days later captured another German battery near the village of Maisy. This well-built position included bunkers, trenches, and even a hospital. Few people today know of it.

The author, a collector of military memorabilia, only learned of it when he bought a pair of American uniform trousers. In the pocket was a map showing the location of the battery no one knew was there. He went to it and found an overgrown field. Searching it, he found the entrance to a bunker. From there, Mr. Sterne eventually bought the property and began excavating it until he had unearthed the entire complex. Eventually, he restored it complete with German howitzers and opened it as a historical site. During this time he researched the battery, curious as to why it was unknown and unmentioned in most histories of the Normandy fighting. Using records from numerous sources and interviews with surviving veterans, Mr. Sterne pieced together what he believes happened and why he thinks the Rangers were sent to Pointe du Hoc and not told about Maisy. While one might worry the book is little more than a way to draw attention to the author's years long project, he makes his arguments forcefully and includes extensive detail in making his case. Even if one does not agree with the assertions made in this work, it is a fascinating account of a largely unknown battle.



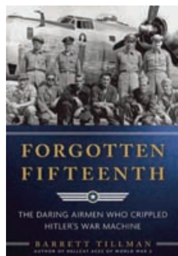
Into the Dark Water: The Story of Three Officers and PT-109 (John J. Domagalski, Casemate Publishing, Havertown, PA, 2014, 280 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $29.95, hardcover)

Despite its diminutive size, *PT-109* is one of the most famous vessels in U.S. Navy history. This patrol torpedo boat was the one that carried future President John F. Kennedy to fame when it was sunk in action, cut in half by a Japanese destroyer. An expert swimmer, Kennedy was left to rescue his shipmates. Their ordeal and rescue, well known as it is, deserves to be told again, and it is recounted here in detail along with Kennedy's time as *PT-109*'s commander before its date with destiny.

There is more to *PT-109* than Kennedy, however. Before his arrival, two other men captained the torpedo boat, Bryant Larson and Rollin Westholm. They led the crew through numerous fights in the waters near Guadalcanal. Most missions were carried out at night, darkness providing a modicum of protection for the tiny craft. The PT boats dueled with the Japanese destroyers that prowled the area. As the enemy learned how to fight the PTs, it used aircraft to spot the luminescence of their wakes at night and positioned artillery-toting barges to ambush them. It was a game of hide-and-seek with the highest stakes.

The author is a Pacific War historian specializing in the Guadalcanal fighting. His account of one ship and its three commanding officers not only sheds light on *PT-109*, but also on the service of torpedo boat crews in general. It took daring and initiative to command such

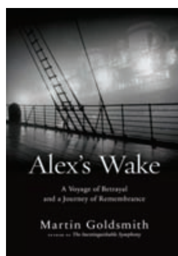
a tiny warship aggressively, and this book conveys their audacity in full measure.



Forgotten Fifteenth: The Daring Airmen Who Crippled Hitler's War Machine (Barrett Tillman, Regnery History Publishing, Washington, D.C., 2014, 336 pp., notes, bibliography, index, $29.95, hardcover)

The U.S. Fifteenth Air Force fought in southeastern Europe, in many ways the backwater of the European Theater. While the Eighth Air Force hit Germany, the Fifteenth took the battle to the factories and oil refineries out of range of the England-based bombers. These targets were vital to the Axis war effort, and the Germans knew it, covering them with a thick layer of defenses including both fighters and antiaircraft guns. The pilots and aircrews of the Fifteenth fought through these defenses to hit the Nazi war machine where it could least afford it.

Author Barrett Tillman is well known for his writing on military aviation. Fans of his prior books and new readers alike will enjoy what they find here. The writing is clear and easy to follow, creating a vivid account of a hard working yet often ignored unit that contributed much to the Allied victory.



Alex's Wake: A Voyage of Betrayal and a Journey of Remembrance (Martin Goldsmith, Da Capo Press, Philadelphia, PA, 2014, 352 pp., photographs, bibliography, index, $25.99, hardcover)

One of the saddest tales of World War II is the voyage of the ship *St. Louis*. In May 1939, the liner set sail across the Atlantic with 937 Jews fleeing persecution in Germany and Eastern Europe. They hoped to disembark first in Cuba before eventually moving on to the United States and elsewhere. Unfortunately, a changing political situation in Cuba resulted in their being barred from setting foot there. The ship then turned toward the United States and Canada, but each time was refused permission to land its passengers. Finally the *St. Louis* returned to France. During the war many of the refugees died in concentration camps.

Two of these passengers were Alex and Helmut Goldschmidt. Alex's grandson, the author, retraced their voyage recently in an effort to understand and deal with the unjust fate of his ancestors. This book recounts both their experiences and his personal journey. □

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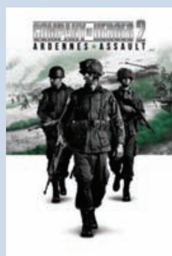

COMPANY OF HEROES 2: ARDENNES ASSAULT

PUBLISHER SEGA • **GENRE** STRATEGY • **PLATFORM** PC • **AVAILABLE** NOVEMBER 18

Folks who enjoyed the previous *Company of Heroes 2* expansion, *The Western Front Armies*, can look forward to something more on the solo side of things. If *Western Front* was more than enough multiplayer for you, *Company of Heroes 2: Ardennes Assault* is getting ready to deliver a purely single-player standalone expansion that focuses on one of history's bloodiest battles.

As you probably guessed, *Ardennes Assault* puts the spotlight on the Battle of the Bulge, with players taking control of U.S. forces in the pivotal World War II battle. True to the title, you'll be tasked with repelling the German Oberkommando West forces while contending with the harsh environment of the densely forested Ardennes region of Western Europe. Tactical and navigational challenges will be more present than ever over the course of 18 new single-player scenarios using the armies added to the previous expansion.

One of the most intriguing aspects with the most long-term ramifications is the way troops remain persistent throughout the campaign. Upgrades and Veterancy carry over from mission to mission, so decisions made at any point in the game will continue to reverberate as you progress. It's a concept similar to the progression system in developer Relic Entertainment's own *Warhammer 40,000: Dawn of War II*, and while the threat of losing a substantial amount of your limited soldiers for good looms heavily, it makes the proceedings carry that much more weight.

HEARTS OF IRON IV

PUBLISHER PARADOX INTERACTIVE • **GENRE** STRATEGY • **PLATFORM** PC, MAC, LINUX • **AVAILABLE** Q1 2015

Considering the fact that grand strategy game *Hearts of Iron III* came out back in 2009, the wait for the proper numbered sequel has been a long one. Of course, expansions have dotted the landscape since the release of *III*—including *Semper Fi* (2010), *For the Motherland* (2011), and *Their Finest Hour* (2012)—and now *Hearts of Iron IV* is beginning to rear its head on the horizon.

Currently set for the first quarter of 2015, *Hearts of Iron IV* promises better artificial intelligence and accessibility. Sandbox-style gameplay will take the place of the more rigid style of forced linear progression found in previous entries, but fans can still look forward to a strategy game that strives for the most authentic World War II experience. In addition to battles between historical figures carried out on land, sea, and air—complete with armies, vehicles, and freshly discovered weapons of mass destruction that are all accurate to the period—*Hearts of Iron IV* flexes the other parts of your strategy-minded brain with trade tactics and thoughtful diplomacy. Hopefully the extra time spent will be reflected in a final game that's as enjoyably demanding as its predecessor.

WORLD OF WARSHIPS

PUBLISHER WARGAMING.NET • **GENRE** MMO, ACTION • **PLATFORM** PC • **AVAILABLE** TBA

Wargaming.net's grasp on what makes their brand of online combat games fun continues to get firmer, as evidenced by some of the recent brewings behind the scenes of *World of Warships*. As you might expect, *Warships* takes the formula that made outings like *World of Tanks* and *World of Warplanes* lasting successes and expands upon them, this time with gameplay based on the principles of a real fleet.

While simplifying things for maximum enjoyment is key, *Warships* aims to find a balance between a realistic depiction of fleet combat and an overall mechanic that makes it easy to understand what bests what in the tumultuous open waters. It all comes down to a rock-paper-scissors style of balance, with some ships being more effective against others. Agile Destroyers hunt down and take out Battleships, Battleships search for Cruisers, Cruisers target Destroyers, and Aircraft Carriers hang back because all warships tend to have an advantage over them.

Like *Tanks* and *Warplanes*, players are going to need to experiment with the various vessels in *World of Warships* to learn which one suits them best. The developers recently tackled a slew of questions from their players, and it's reassuring to see how deep they went into the minutiae of the game while answering them. Perhaps it's also a testament to the dedication of the fanbase and what they want to see in the final product, because some of their questions are mind-bogglingly specific.

One such query brought up the possibility of reenacting some real-life nation vs. nation battles within *World of Warships*. According to Interaction QA Specialist Vladimir Mordovin, it presents a unique challenge to the team in myriad ways, from considering every little balance detail to maintaining accurate ship specifications. While the hurdles are there, it's certainly something they would like to explore at some point. Even without that, it looks like Wargaming.net could have another title on their hands that will be tough to put down for quite some time after it blazes through its alpha phase. □

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You deserve a factual look at . . .

ISIS, Hamas and the Black Flag of Global Jihad

How dangerous is global jihad to the U.S., Israel and the rest of the world—and how should we deal with this threat?

Terrorist groups ISIS (the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria), Hamas, al Qaeda and Boko Haram have in common their disdain for Western values, their murderous disregard for human life and their goals of conquering vast lands in the name of Islam. Because they consider jihad a divine mission, they refuse to surrender or negotiate peace.

What are the facts?

ISIS, the latest, most brutal and militarily successful Islamist terror group, grew as an offshoot of al Qaeda in Syria. The group now controls huge swaths of territory in Syria and Iraq, massive stores of armaments, some 15,000 soldiers and billions of dollars in assets. ISIS's avowed goal is to create an Islamic caliphate—empire—consisting of land it perceives to belong to Islam, including most of the Middle East, North Africa and Spain. In recent months ISIS has slaughtered—in many cases beheaded—thousands of innocent Christians, Yazidis and Shiite Muslims, whom the group considers apostates to Islam. ISIS's bloody conquest has been virtually unimpeded by Syrian and Iraqi armies and ignored by Western nations, despite the group's warning to the U.S. that "we will drown you in blood." Indeed, U.S. intelligence affirms that ISIS's long-term goal is to attack America and the West.

"We will drown you in blood."
- ISIS Internet Video

"We love death like our enemies love life."
- Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh

Likewise, Hamas, a terrorist Palestinian splinter group of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, has killed hundreds of innocent Israelis through suicide bombs and launched more than 13,000 rockets aimed at Israeli civilians from Gaza. It has also abducted and murdered Israeli children. Since Hamas violently seized control of Gaza in 2007, it has ruled with an iron Islamist hand, imposing strict *sharia* religious law, crushing civil rights and driving Christian Arabs out by the thousands. Hamas's charter states its goal is to conquer the entire Holy Land and kill all its Jews. Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh has proclaimed that "we love death like our enemies love life." No wonder then, that the group readily sacrificed thousands of its own people by using them as human shields in its war on Israel.

Other Islamist terror groups, such as al Qaeda, with cells throughout the Middle East and Africa, and Boko Haram in Nigeria, use equally bloodthirsty tactics in their jihad to expel foreign influences from "Muslim lands" and create a worldwide caliphate. Al Qaeda, of course, engineered the 9/11 attacks, the 2005 London subway bombings and hundreds of other terrorist acts, killing thousands of innocent civilians. Boko Haram has distinguished itself by murdering some 5,000 citizens, including 2,000 in 2014 alone, kidnapping 300 Christian schoolgirls and driving 650,000 Nigerians from their homes.

What Can Be Done? Islamist terror groups are clearly ascendant, increasing their carnage and influence daily and increasingly threatening Middle Eastern nations, Western Europe, and the U.S. Indeed, American Secretary of State Kerry called ISIS a force of "ugly, savage, inexplicable, nihilistic and valueless evil." Likewise, British Prime Minister David Cameron has called Hamas's intentional attacks on Israeli civilians "barbaric." Comparable adjectives have been used to describe the ruthless and fanatical brutality of al Qaeda and Boko Haram.

While most of the world's nations agree that the global Islamist jihad must be stopped, its perpetrators have implacably refused to surrender or negotiate a peace. All remain unconditionally committed to the defeat of Islam's "infidel" enemies and colonizing their lands. Even Hamas in its recent conflict with Israel broke all 11 ceasefire agreements, rendering peace talks impossible and subjecting Palestinian citizens to more suffering.

While no Western nation seeks another war in the Middle East or Africa, we must ask how long these terrorist aggressors should be permitted to kill and expel civilian populations and conquer others' territories. Indeed, since these groups show no signs of relenting their murderous terror campaigns, responsible Western nations, led by the United States, should consider urgent action for stopping them. While Israel is helping to fight Hamas—in fact is *compelled* to do so since Hamas attacks its citizens daily—Israel cannot hold back the jihadi tide by itself. It needs the unalloyed support of the West for its fight. But even more, the world needs Western nations to *defeat* the global jihad . . . before these terror groups swallow more territory, enslave more people and strike our homeland once again.

Global jihadi groups—ISIS, Hamas, al Qaeda and Boko Haram—share the same oppressive Islamist ideology, the same drive to conquer others' lands and people, the same barbaric tactics and disrespect for human life, and they raise the same increasingly dire threat to the U.S. and our allies. Isn't it time for a U.S.-led coalition to oppose the black flag of jihad with moral determination, courage and all necessary force?

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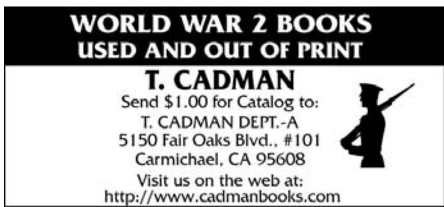

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war machine

Continued from page 53

During the retreat of Axis forces across North Africa following their defeat at El Alamein in the autumn of 1942, German and Italian troops were pushed across hundreds of miles of desert. With Allied forces advancing from east and west, Axis troops under Generals Erwin Rommel and Hans-Jürgen von Arnim were in danger of being cut off from one another during their fighting withdrawal toward the Tunisian coast. Several kampfgruppe were dispatched to hold vital mountain passes against the advancing Allies.

One such battle group was Kampfgruppe Fullriede, formed in February 1943 under the command of Lt. Col. Fritz Fullriede. Defending the Fondouk passes along a front of 65 kilometers, Fullriede had 12 infantry companies, nine German and three Italian, 14 Italian field guns, three small German artillery pieces, and the 334th Armored Car Battalion, which fielded several light antiaircraft guns and two 88mm cannons originally intended for antiaircraft use but deadly in an antitank role. Augmented by a platoon of special forces from the famed Brandenburg Regiment, Kampfgruppe Fullriede launched a successful counterattack against U.S. forces that had previously driven his forward elements from defensive positions and captured a nearby village.

Further reinforced by the 190th Reconnaissance Battalion, Fullriede deployed a pair of self-propelled 75mm guns and cleared another mountain pass. Holding these routes open for days with little replenishment of supplies or reinforcements, Kampfgruppe Fullriede was retired on April 9, 1943, after nearly two months of steady combat.

The combat formations of the Feldheer proved adept at swift movement and exploitation of breakthroughs in enemy lines during offensive operations, particularly the Blitzkrieg, which combined air, armor, infantry, and artillery in the swift conquest of Poland, vast territory of the Soviet Union, and much of Western Europe from 1939 to 1941.

Once on the defensive, the Feldheer was resilient, its tactical commanders resourceful, and its soldiers battle hardened and grimly determined to defend the Fatherland.

Michael E. Haskew is the editor of WWII History *magazine. He is the author of numerous books on World War II and other history related topics. His latest book,* West Point 1915: Eisenhower, Bradley, and the Class the Stars Fell On, *is now available.*

pearl harbor

Continued from page 59

about, photographing the models and also, I am certain, the military aircraft, the hangars, the parking aprons, the administration buildings. I feel certain that many of these photos found their way to Japan—and probably within a short time.

I am not accustomed to seeing spies in every corner and under every bed. But they do exist, and I think the military installations on Oahu in 1940 and 1941 were easy targets.

In the 1920s and 1930s, as I recall, an almost universal attitude among Americans about the Japanese people was that the Japanese were copiers of American technology. The Japanese, it was believed, were unable to develop concepts, to invent new devices such as cameras or airplanes or automobiles or refrigerators or battleships or aircraft carriers, but they were quite adept at copying these things. None of their copies, we were convinced, were as good as our originals.

It made little difference to us that the cameras we used, the better ones, came mostly from Germany. We thought of them as ours. We considered our airplanes to be the best in the world in 1940. We thought the P-40 to be the most advanced fighter aircraft in the air, able to outperform any other aircraft it might encounter. We thought our aircraft carriers to be unequaled in any other Navy and our battleships superior to any others. We considered the American culture, if such there is, superior to any other in the world and, specifically, it was infinitely superior to Japanese culture, and you could include the Chinese and other Asians in that category as well.

On Thursday, December 4, 1941, Senator Owen Brewster said in a public speech, "The United States Navy can defeat the Japanese Navy at any place and at any time." Among famous last words, these must be the least famous. Certainly, December 7, 1941, was one of the worst defeats the United States has suffered.

We soon learned that the Japanese Army and Navy fought fanatically wherever we encountered them. They were taught that to surrender was to destroy their honor. But we did not know those things on December 7, 1941.

I recall once telling a friend fatuously that the Japanese nation had committed national suicide on the day they attacked Pearl Harbor.

John Sanford Baird passed away some time ago. This story is published through the cooperation of his son, John Scott Baird of New York City.

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