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Cover: A soldier of the Waffen-SS poses with a Bergmann MP-28 somewhere in the Soviet Union in 1941. See story on the Waffen-SS on page 16. Photo: Bundesarchiv Bild 101III-Melters-074-14; Photo: Melters

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Editorial

Rosie the Riveter's Roots Are Preserved at Willow Run

WHEN HOLLYWOOD PRODUCERS VISITED THE MASSIVE WILLOW RUN AIRCRAFT production facility, a legend was born. Just a few miles west of Detroit, Michigan, in Ypsilanti Township, the Willow Run plant was the brainchild of auto magnate Henry Ford. Its scale was like nothing previously seen, and the massive facility featured an assembly line that stretched a mile.

Although it was considered at first to be something of a boondoggle, when Willow Run hit its stride as many as 40,000 people worked there, some living in nearby government housing. At peak production from 1943 to 1945, these workers turned out a Consolidated B-24 Liberator heavy bomber every hour, and by the end of World War II nearly 8,700 of the big, four-engine war winners had rolled out the doors.

As remarkable as the production numbers themselves is the story of a large number of the workers who have become legendary. The exigencies of war meant that women were assuming roles in the workplace that had previously been reserved for men. On the floor at Willow Run, hundreds of women were busy during a daily shift, hammering, bolting, and riveting the planes together. Looking for a worker to feature in an upcoming film, the Hollywood producers saw these women, and the phenomenon of Rosie the Riveter, symbol of America's wartime commitment and icon of a changing workplace, developed.

Posters emblazoned with Rosie sprang up across the country, and the slogan "We Can Do It!" became well known lexicon. Willow Run was only one of many locations where women proved their abilities in the workplace and broke through gender barriers, reshaping life in the United States in ways still felt today.

Willow Run actually functioned until 2010, when General Motors closed the plant in anticipation of the construction of a new vehicle research center. As the wrecking ball began to swing, an effort to preserve a portion of Willow Run as the Yankee Air Museum has gained momentum. Its purpose is simply to maintain a small, 150,000-square foot portion of the Willow Run plant because of its historical significance and in tribute to the thousands of "Rosies" who changed America.

"It should be taken care of so that everybody, our children, our grandchildren, our great grandchildren, can enjoy it as the years go by," former Willow Run employee Loraine Osborne told the Associated Press. "It was really important to get those planes out so they could save people's lives."

The task before those involved in the Save The Bomber Plant campaign was to raise $8 million for the preservation effort. As time was literally running out, donors came forward with enough money to allow the preservationists to make a formal offer to purchase a portion of the plant. When General Motors filed bankruptcy several years ago, much of the corporation's real estate holdings were placed with the Revitalizing Auto Communities Environmental Response Trust (RACER), which graciously allowed several extensions in the fundraising effort and ultimately cooperated with the preservationists.

Bruce Rasher, the redevelopment manager for RACER, told the Associated Press, "Our mutual goal remains to see the former hangar redeveloped as the future home of the museum, an outcome the community clearly supports."

Thanks to a concerted effort, a significant piece of American history will be preserved. Thousands of workers on the home front during World War II provided the planes, tanks, guns, and bombs that defeated the Axis. The countless Rosies that contributed to that effort deserve a lasting tribute.

Michael E. Haskew

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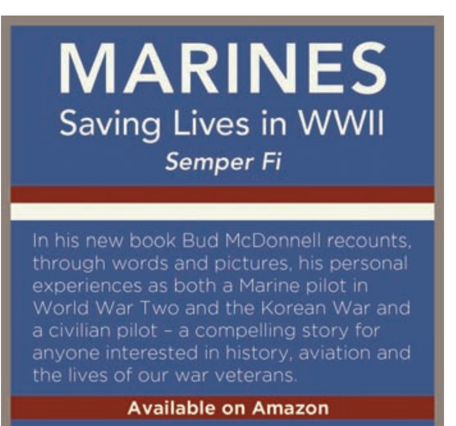

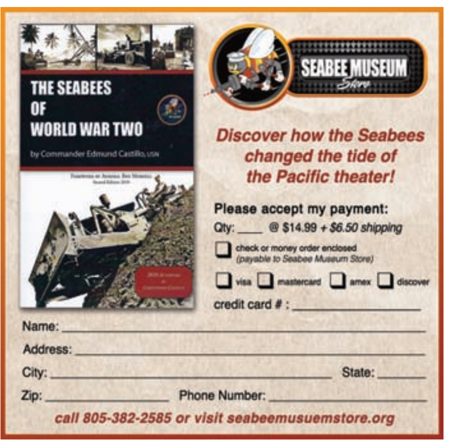

By Robert F. Dorr

National Archives

Helldiver Men

U.S. Navy dive-bomber crews flew the Curtiss SB2C Helldiver late in World War II.

IT SENT JAPANESE WARSHIPS TO THE BOTTOM OF THE OCEAN. IT PULVERIZED fortifications on Japan's home islands. The Curtiss SB2C Helldiver dive-bomber left a trail of wreckage in its wake, the debris and detritus of a devastated foe. Yet, the Helldiver is remembered today mostly as an unpopular latecomer to the war, a less than stellar performer built by an aircraft company in decline.

A round, blue tube squatting on a tiny tailwheel carrying a pilot and radioman-gunner in tandem behind a 1,900-horsepower Wright R-2600 radial engine, the Helldiver with its 49-foot, 9-inch wing span, was dubbed the "Son of a Bitch Second Class," the "Beast," and worse by many a pilot who paid more heed to the rumor mill in the ready room than to the performance gauges on his instrument panel. In fact, the plane was neither as bad as its critics said or as good as its manufacturer hoped.

The engineer running the Helldiver design team was not planemaker Curtiss-Wright's iconic Don R. Berlin, who designed the P-40 Warhawk, but the company's Raymond C. Blaylock. The Helldiver's career began with problems. The prototype XSB2C-1 made its maiden flight on December 18, 1940, but the prototype was destroyed just days later. Curtiss rebuilt the aircraft, and it flew again in October 1941 but crashed a second time after a month. After production moved to Columbus, Ohio, from Buffalo, New York, the first production Helldiver flew in June 1942.

From the start, the blue warplane garnered a reputation for poor stability, structural flaws, and poor handling. Britain rejected the Helldiver after receiving 26 examples. Lengthening the fuselage by one foot and redesigning the fin fixed the aerodynamic problems, and the stability and structural issues were exaggerated—yet more than one Helldiver broke in half when making a hard tailhook landing on a wooden carrier deck.

After several variations in armament appeared with early Helldivers, the Navy settled on two forward-firing, 20mm cannons in the wing (introduced on the SB2C-1C model) plus the enlisted crewmember's swivel-mounted twin .30-caliber machine guns. The radioman-gunner could deploy his firepower only by lowering the rear deck of the fuselage immediately ahead of the vertical stabilizer.

The Helldiver offered an internal bomb bay that could accommodate a 1,000-pound bomb and be closed by hydraulically operated doors. Hardpoints under the wings accommodated additional ordnance.

Perhaps the most important change came with an improved propeller. After a 12-foot Curtiss Electric three-blade prop proved inadequate, a four-blade propeller from the same manufacturer with the same diameter and with root cuffs was introduced with the SB2C-3 model—the point at which nearly all imperfections in the design had been smoothed out. The SB2C-4 followed, introducing "cheese grate" upper and lower wing flaps that were perforated like a sieve; they enhanced stability.

Helldivers flew their first combat mission when Squadron Bombing 17, or VB-17, joined a strike force assaulting the redoubt at Rabaul, New Britain, on November 11, 1943, as part of a larger strike force.

In *Target Rabaul,* Bruce Gamble tells of the first American to lose his life on a Helldiver combat mission. "One SB2C bellied in off the carrier's bow [of USS *Bunker Hill*]. A plane guard destroyer dashed in, but only the rear gunner was recovered. Lieutenant (j.g.) Ralph L. Gunville drowned because his pockets were stuffed with extra rations for the plane's life raft in the event of a ditching."

Chuck Downey read a newspaper account of the Helldiver's combat debut in the New Jersey beach resort town of Wildwood where, in late 1943 and early 1944, the Navy was forming squadron VB-80, or Bombing 80. Some of the pilots in the new squadron (officially formed February 1, 1944) picked up SB2C-1C Helldivers at the Curtiss-Wright factory in Columbus and delivered them to Wildwood. "We knew this aircraft was meant as a replacement for the SBD Dauntless, which won glory at Midway," Downey said. "Some of the men thought the Dauntless performed better over all, even though the Helldiver was bigger and more powerful."

A Curtiss SB2C Helldiver dive bomber approaches a U.S. Navy aircraft carrier. Intended as a replacement for the heralded Douglas Dauntless, the Helldiver proved to be a rugged platform for dive bombing in the Pacific Theater.

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George Walsh, another Helldiver pilot in VB-80, initially questioned replacing a proven warplane with a new one. "Early production models of the Helldiver had a lot of defects," said Walsh. "It was rushed into production at a new factory in Columbus while engineering specifications were constantly being revised."

Continued Walsh, "The plane weighed eight tons and was a jungle of wires and hydraulic tubes. The latter operated the flaps, folding wings and landing gear. It proved difficult to land on a carrier because of the long nose. This created so many accidents that Admiral 'Jocko' Clark rejected the first Helldivers for his squadron on the [carrier] *Yorktown* and had the SBDs brought back. The 'Helldiver' designation was soon replaced. Pilots began referring to the plane as 'The Beast' and that pejorative stayed with the plane even after later models proved to be sturdy and reliable."

When radioman-gunner Jim Samar learned that he would be occupying the back seat of a Helldiver rather than a Dauntless, his initial reaction was disappointment. "Worse than that. I was crestfallen," Samar said. He, too, was a plank-owner of VB-80, which left Wildwood to go aboard the carrier USS *Ticonderoga,* made the Panama Canal transit, and stopped briefly in San Diego, where actress Maureen O'Hara, married to a VB-80 officer's brother, visited the ship. By early summer 1944, VB-80 and *Ticonderoga* were rehearsing war off the coast of Hawaii and ready to fight.

Ticonderoga joined the Allied invasion of the Philippines. For Helldiver radioman-gunner Samar, the squadron's first combat mission on November 5, 1944, proved to be the most dramatic. The target was Japanese-held Clark Field near Manila. It was the only time Samar fired at a Japanese warplane—something gunners did rarely in the final year of the war.

A Nakajima Ki-44 Hayabusa fighter, known to the Allies as an Oscar, ambushed the SB2C carrying pilot Lieutenant (j.g.) James W. Newquist and Samar. "I gave him a burst and he left," Samar said. "I saw my tracers go into his engine. I saw smoke erupt from his engine." The Oscar fell from view. No one saw whether it went down. Samar did not receive credit for an aerial victory but believes he shot the Oscar down.

Between November 5, 1944, and January 21, 1945, VB-80 launched 26 missions, 11 of which Samar flew, against Japanese targets on Luzon, Formosa (Taiwan), and French Indochina. Samar still has a logbook with cryptic entries such as "bombed shipping in Manila Bay."

Pilot Chuck Downey remembers this as the period when the front-seater in the SB2C Helldiver mastered the fine art of dive-bombing.

Robert F. Dorr Collection

ABOVE: On a routine mission from the deck of the aircraft carrier USS *Shangri-la,* this Curtiss SB2C-4 Helldiver from squadron VB-85 is flying near the coast of Japan on August 11, 1945. BELOW: On June 1, 2013, the Commemorative Air Force's Curtiss SB2C-5 Helldiver goes into the "break" on approach to an airfield at Manassas, Virginia, with pilot Ed Vesely at the controls and author Robert F. Dorr in the rear seat. This Helldiver is the only one in the world that remains in airworthy condition today

John Lackey/Fly By Photography

"You pulled the handle to open the bomb bay doors," Downey said. "You watched the Japanese ship slide under the left center section leading edge of your wing. You slowed to dive-brake deployment speed of 125 knots. You performed a split-S to the left [a half-roll, inverted, going into a descending half loop], using rudder and aileron to put into a vertical dive with a maximum speed of 350 knots."

All of this, of course, was simply the mechanics for dive-bombing. The purpose was to end up near vertical in position to drop bombs into the stack of a Japanese warship. The maneuvers were significantly more uncomfortable for rearward facing radioman-gunners like Samar and were often undertaken while antiaircraft shells were exploding nearby.

On November 13, 1944, pilots of VB-80 attacked the 5,100-ton Kuma-class light cruiser *Kiso* in Manila Bay.

Said Walsh, "We launched before dawn and each plane rose to slide into squadron formation by the light of a rose colored rising sun, which became visible over the horizon as we gained altitude. We throttled back to a slow climbing speed to conserve fuel and gain altitude. Flying west toward Manila we had to reach 14,000 feet flying over the snow capped mountains of eastern

Luzon. Our flight included 24 SB2Cs, two divisions of 12 each. The divisions included sections of three planes in 'V' formation, and I led the last section of three planes. We were loaded with 1,000-pound bombs."

Kiso was the flagship of the Japanese 5th Fleet, Vice Admiral Kiyohide Shima commanding. Dozens of carrier planes from several squadrons had some role in the attack, but Helldiver pilots Downey, Walsh, and Lieutenant (j.g.) Leslie B. Case were the ones who made direct hits with 1,000-pound bombs.

Said Walsh, "At 300 knots the thirty seconds of the two mile dive passed in what seemed to be slow motion speed as black puffs of exploding antiaircraft shells floated by, punctuated by red tracers from machine guns. The dive brakes hold the speed of the plane from approaching high velocity as it would in a free fall or power dive. The pilot is pressed forward against his shoulder straps because the aircraft is held back as if suspended from a rope. There is time to adjust the aiming point by using the elevators and ailerons as the ship grows bigger and bigger in the windscreen. That day there was no wind factor to be compensated."

"A cruiser is a narrow target," Walsh continued. "I stayed in my dive until I was confident of scoring a hit, and released the bomb. At that speed another two seconds would have made me a suicide pilot. I pulled out hard; probably 13 Gs, low over the water, and taking evasive action while I retracted the dive brakes, adjusted the throttle, blower and pitch, closed the bomb bay, and raced south toward the rendezvous. Gordon [Virgil Gordon, Walsh's radioman-gunner] reported a direct hit but I did not look back. I often wonder why. I guess my instinct was to get the hell out of there, and back to the protection of the group. We were also so low over the water all my attention was occupied in flying the plane, looking where I was headed and watching out for other possible planes in the area, including Japanese fighters."

Downey's bomb went straight down the No. 1 stack to the boiler room, detonated, and separated the stack from *Kiso*'s main hull in a messy clatter of debris. It is unclear whether Shima was aboard, but he survived the war. Some 715 Japanese sailors did not survive the attack that sent the *Kiso* to the bottom in just 13 feet of water.

Squadron VB-80 continued bombing in the Philippines and on Formosa until January 21, 1945, when *Ticonderoga* was put out of action by kamikaze attacks. No one in the Helldiver squadron was among the 144 men killed when two Japanese suicide planes slammed into the carrier, but several were severely burned.

Robert F. Dorr Collection

ABOVE: Jim Samar, a radio operator/gunner with dive bombing squadron VB-80, sits in the back seat of a Curtiss SB2C Helldiver and demonstrates taking aim with the twin mounted .30-caliber (7.62mm) machine guns installed to ward off enemy fighter planes. BELOW: This U.S. Navy Curtiss SB2C Helldiver is releasing its bomb during a training run. Note that both the pilot's and the gunner's canopies are open.

National Archives

Instead of going home with their wounded carrier, VB-80's Helldiver men transferred to the carrier USS *Hancock*.

From 1943 to 1945, some 30 Navy bombing squadrons put to sea with Helldivers. Many of the squadrons made only one combat cruise. VB-80 was typical except that it changed ships midway through the final year of the war.

By early 1945, most Helldivers in the Western Pacific were SB2C-4 models. This was the mature Helldiver lacking the poor factory workmanship and many of the minor flaws that plagued earlier versions.

Aboard *Hancock,* VB-80 began flying missions against the Japanese home islands on February 21, 1945. Now, in addition to a 1,000-pound bomb in its bay and a 500-pound bomb under each wing, many SB2C-4 Helldivers flying against targets in Japan were retrofitted to carry eight 5-inch high-velocity aircraft rockets under their wings. These were rocket-propelled unguided projectiles with explosive warheads. When attacking airfields and industrial sites in Japan, instead of going into their vertical dive-bombing mode, Helldiver crews strafed and fired rockets.

Thanks largely to the superb training of U.S. flyers, the Helldiver racked up a solid record of achievement in the final months of the war. None of this was attributable to Curtiss-Wright, a planemaker that was in constant trouble with the government. Unlike Grumman and Vought, which were responsible for most of the warplanes on the decks of the Navy's 102 aircraft carriers on VJ-Day, Curtiss seemed unable to improve aircraft assembly methods or to innovate.

Long after an investigative committee led by then-Senator Harry S. Truman of Missouri uncovered major problems at Curtiss plants, Navy leaders were acknowledging that the Helldiver was far from perfect. "When we needed the SB2C Helldiver neither we nor it was ready," said Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Air Artemus L. Gates. Pilots and radioman-gunners felt great affection for their Helldivers, but they were never as accurate in a dive as the Dauntlesses they were intended to replace and never achieved their full potential. The Helldiver was the last combat aircraft manufactured in significant numbers by Curtiss, which went out of the planemaking business in 1948.

Official records credit the Helldiver with 18,808 combat sorties in the Pacific War. Helldivers are credited with sinking or helping to sink some 301 Japanese ships of all types. Radioman-gunners are credited with shooting down 41 Japanese aircraft, a figure that is almost certainly exaggerated. Some 271 Helldivers were lost to antiaircraft fire and 18 to Japanese fighters. It might be said of the Helldiver that it only reached full maturity, and was only fully finding its way, when the war ended. Helldivers were among the hundreds of warplanes that overflew the surrender ceremony on the battleship USS *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay on September 2, 1945.

Industry turned out 7,141 Helldivers, including SBF versions assembled by Fairchild and SBWs from Canadian Car & Foundry. The versions built in the largest numbers were the SB2C-1 (978), SB2C-2 (1,112), SB2C-4 (2,045), and SB2C-5 (970). The SB2C-5 model did not see combat.

Robert F. Dorr is an Air Force veteran, a retired U.S. diplomat, and author of the book Air Force One, *a look at presidential aircraft and air travel.*

By George Davenport Jr.

All: National Archives

The Indispensable Man

General Leslie Groves played a vital role in the development of the atomic bomb.

BY THE SPRING OF 1945, THE OUTCOME OF WORLD WAR II WAS NOT IN SERIOUS doubt. What was in serious doubt was the number of casualties that would eventually be required to bring the war to a successful conclusion. The invasion of Japan was expected to result in one million or more casualties. In August, the war ended with a blinding flash and untold devastation, a flash often credited to theoretical physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer and a cadre of other noted scientists.

Without diminishing the contributions of Oppenheimer and the others, the lion's share of credit for the success of the Manhattan Project is due Lt. Gen. Leslie "Dick" Groves, the "indispensable man" in the project.

People often gravitate toward heroes with a dash of humility and modesty best represented by an "aw shucks" demeanor. This was not Dick Groves. Despite a pudgy physique, he was a man of self-assurance who made others feel inferior in his demanding presence. His aggressive nature not only drove the Manhattan Project to success but also led to his personal downfall. After World War II ended, Groves lost much of his heroic stature. He was a victim of the political war that followed the project, leaving him a forgotten hero.

By the summer of 1942, the Manhattan Project was in trouble. Scientific studies were spread among a multitude of laboratories. Not only were there few concrete results to assess but few logical next steps had been identified. The city of Oak Ridge, Tennessee, where uranium enrichment was to be conducted, had been planned but construction was not making great progress. During the previous decade, scientists had explored the concepts of nuclear fission with promising theories and laboratory experiments. However, there was no realistic plan to produce a nuclear weapon. Additionally, the country was mired in the issues of mobilization following the attack on Pearl Harbor.

The Manhattan Project had been authorized in early 1942 and assigned to the Army Corps of Engineers. This was done primarily to set up an accounting process for the efforts, not to give the military control of the work. Its original objective was to develop an atomic weapon before the Germans developed one and then to use this weapon against the Germans. The scientists did not want any military involvement, convinced they could solve all of the problems and create a single nuclear device that would end the war. The project was rudderless.

At the same time, Colonel Dick Groves was completing his basic training for the coming of his greatest responsibility. He had supervised the construction of the Pentagon and done it extremely efficiently. For his reward, he wanted a combat command in the European Theater, preferably of one of the newly formed engineering brigades. Groves knew that the road for promotion as a member of the Corps of Engineers led though combat command. He believed he had earned his opportunity.

Instead, he was ordered to take responsibility for the Manhattan Engineering District. His

ABOVE: The organizational skills of General Leslie Groves were largely responsible for the success of the Manhattan Project. TOP: The Trinity nuclear bomb test detonation on July 16, 1945, in Los Alamos, New Mexico, reveals the devastating power of atomic weaponry.

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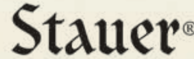

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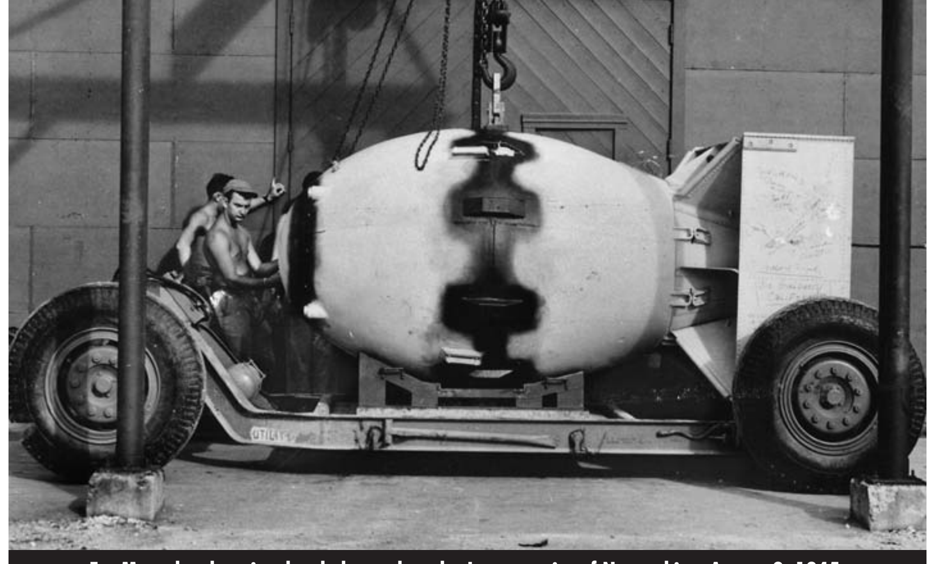

Fat Man, the plutonium bomb dropped on the Japanese city of Nagasaki on August 9, 1945, sits on its transport carriage on the island of Tinian in the Marianas.

initial role was to build the facilities needed to produce fissionable material, and it quickly expanded. His mission became the implementation of a project that many thought utterly impossible, the "Star Wars" of World War II. Results exceeded realistic probabilities, primarily through the hardheaded leadership of Groves. He led with an intensity few can comprehend, using a goal-oriented approach unavailable in today's era of political correctness. He personally chose and guided excellent subordinates. His efforts and their contributions made the project successful.

Any exceptional project leader knows what to do when faced with the mess Groves inherited in 1942—take action. Groves established clear goals for the project, developed a plan, got organized, and began to remove barriers to the success of the plan. He envisioned a 36-month project with an unlimited budget and no technical right to success.

The biggest hurdle to overcome in the short term was competing priorities. The country was mobilizing to fight wars on two fronts, starting with a level of unpreparedness that proved nearly disastrous. The U.S. military was not prepared for World War II, and mobilization was chaotic.

In mid-1942, the Manhattan Project had only relative priority, rated AA, similar to that for radar and synthetic rubber. Groves knew this priority would be inadequate for the barriers he would encounter, and he immediately focused on changing it. He went to the Office of War Production Planning, carrying a letter authorizing a AAA priority for the Manhattan Project. There were no other AAA priorities. Groves made this request without explaining the details of the project for security reasons. In effect, he was asking for a blank check. Along with a threat to resign and describing the board's intransigence in a personal letter to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Groves got his priority upgraded. However, he did not win any friends by succeeding in this manner.

The fission potential of U-235, an unstable isotope of uranium, had recently been demonstrated in a laboratory setting, but the capacity to refine enough U-235 to produce multiple bombs was questionable. The amount that would be needed was uncertain at that stage, but it was known that the rate of refining U-235 would be painfully slow.

Little U-235 is produced in refining uranium ore, but far more U-238, a more stable isotope, is produced. Unfortunately, U-238 will not sustain a chain reaction. The potential to produce fissionable plutonium from U-238 seemed more practical, but the instability of plutonium made its use in a weapon questionable. The project's early challenge was one of choice: Where should efforts be focused?

Groves chose to do both and immediately started building Oak Ridge to refine uranium ore. At the same time, he focused other efforts on the technology to produce plutonium from U-238. Soon he would also be building the city of Hanford, Washington, where plutonium would be produced.

Groves was not involved with implementing the projects on a day-to-day basis once they were staffed and launched, but he stayed current with their progress. He was given weekly status reports and was a frequent participant in barrier removal and problem solving as the two facilities were designed and built.

Oak Ridge and Hanford each proceeded in parallel with the scientific studies needed for engineering designs. The degree of rework was not insignificant, but progress was steady. With a 36-month schedule to maintain, there was no time for the traditional sequential approach. This approach starts with theoretical work, proceeds to in-depth studies and laboratory testing, and is followed by small-scale pilot plant work to prove the application. Then, and only then, engineering design can be initiated.

Instead, all of these activities were undertaken in parallel. Results of one phase were used to verify the work of other phases, not as preparation for them. However, the availability of fissionable materials, while essential, was not the only critical component of the project.

These fissionable materials had to be combined into a device that would create a sustainable nuclear reaction and the devastation that would follow. Work on this effort, both scientific studies and engineering application, was spread all over the United States. It was collected at a single site and supervised by another of Groves's subordinates. This activity would require one of his most brilliant selections, one the FBI adamantly opposed.

J. Robert Oppenheimer was one of several men considered to lead the bomb development team, but his candidacy had several limitations. Oppenheimer was a theoretician, not a scientist with practical application experience. In addition, he was not a recipient of a Nobel Prize, and the scientific community at work on the fission studies was replete with Nobel laureates. Even more significantly, he had attended a number of communist front activities. His wife and brother-in-law were members of the Communist Party, and his loyalty was suspect. The FBI would not approve his security clearance.

Despite these issues, Groves decided that Oppenheimer had the personality and skills needed to oversee the scientists who would develop the atomic bomb. Groves took personal responsibility to override the objections of the FBI and selected Oppenheimer to spearhead the effort of collecting scientists at a facility to be constructed at Los Alamos, New Mexico. Groves and Oppenheimer had dissimilar leadership styles, but Groves altered his to fit the situation, and the results were outstanding.

The scientists gathered at Los Alamos and started work. Midway in designing the bomb, tests demonstrated that the gun design for the device, developed for U-235, would not work with plutonium. In a gun device, plutonium would prematurely start a chain reaction before the material was adequately concentrated. The "fizzle" of plutonium would not produce a

nuclear explosion. Now what?

With assurance not based on much beyond a "must do" attitude, a second bomb design was initiated. This one was even more untested than the gun design. However, it would be needed if multiple bombs were to be used. The implosion device that was developed was so experimental that the desert test at Trinity Site was the first full-scale opportunity to evaluate its efficacy.

As if the overall responsibility for Oak Ridge, Hanford, and Los Alamos operations were not enough to keep Groves busy every minute of every day, he also became the leader of the bombing missions. He added wing commander responsibilities to his engineering castles.

Groves, working closely with General Henry "Hap" Arnold, chief of staff for the Army Air Forces, chose the untried Boeing B-29 Superfortress heavy bomber for the missions. The British Avro Lancaster bomber was delivering bombs in Europe similar in size to the atomic devices, but both men wanted an American bomber for an American bomb. Groves then formed the 529th Bombardment Squadron, accepted Colonel Paul Tibbets as his squadron commander, and began preparing the bombers and the squadron for the mission.

At almost the same time, another of Groves's subordinates built a separate facility on the island of Tinian in the Marianas for the 529th Squadron, one completely inaccessible to occupants of the island who were not involved in the atomic bomb deployment for security reasons. The specially configured B-29s designated for the atomic bombing missions were different from the other B-29s on the island, and questions about the unique features of these airplanes were not viewed favorably.

By the spring of 1945, the time had come to decide where to use the atomic weapons, and Groves chaired the committee that developed a list of potential targets. With one target removed by Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson for political reasons, Groves was then given operational control for the missions themselves. Using this list, he selected specific targets and the timing for the missions. Further, he began work on the longer range plan to drop a bomb each week until Japan surrendered.

In July 1945, the test of the plutonium device was an unqualified success, and project direction was clear. With the approval of President Harry S. Truman, the first device would be dropped in early August. Weekly atomic bombing would continue until ordered to cease. The diplomatic efforts to convince the Japanese to surrender were fruitless in early August and continued after the first bomb was dropped on the city of Hiroshima.

In September 1945, physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer (left) and Groves (right) survey the twisted steel remnants at the site of the Trinity atomic bomb test detonation two months earlier.

The Hiroshima bomb was made with uranium and detonated as expected on August 6. With no response to further peace overtures, the second mission commenced. Its primary target was the Kokura Arsenal, which had to be bypassed because of bad weather. Its secondary target, the city of Nagasaki, was hit with a plutonium bomb on August 9. It missed the ground zero target by several miles but still caused widespread devastation.

Following Nagasaki, Groves was instructed by Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall to halt the bombing effort. President Truman had concluded that killing more civilians would not be appropriate. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union had declared war on Japan. The combination of the awesome destructive power of the atomic bombs and the potential Soviet onslaught made Japanese Emperor Hirohito conclude that it was fruitless to continue the war. He made a radio broadcast to the people and announced his intention to surrender. The war was over.

With the unleashing of the atomic bombs, Dick Groves became an instant national hero. An August 6, 1945, press release started: "A soft-spoken General with a flair for the 'impossible' emerged today from the shadows of army-imposed anonymity to be revealed as the driving force behind a $2 billion 'calculated risk' which he directed to successful completion in three years as one of the world's greatest scientific and engineering achievements; the large scale tapping of the energy within an atom to produce a weapon of war."

Unfortunately, Groves's achievements faded into the political infighting of the postwar era. The political question was the disposition of the Manhattan Project. Should the United States give control of the weapon to a civilian agency or leave it in military control? It was a heavily debated subject, and Groves used every bit of his prestige and influence to retain control in the military. In the end, responsibility for the project was placed with the newly formed Atomic Energy Commission (AEC).

The decision to form the AEC was a close call, and Dick Groves did not accept defeat gracefully. He was a foot-dragging obstacle in the turnover of power, and the transition was anything but smooth. For Groves, the worst was yet to come.

By then a lieutenant general, Groves requested assignment to the position of chief of engineers as recognition for his contributions to the war effort. General Dwight Eisenhower, then chief of staff of the U.S. Army, declined the request. Eisenhower stated that Groves was too young for the position and that he had not served in the European Theater.

Groves's last efficiency report states: "An intelligent, aggressive, positive type of man with a fine, analytical mind and great executive ability. His effectiveness is unfortunately lessened somewhat by the fact that he often irritates associates. He has extraordinary capacity to get things done!" Clearly, this capacity to get things done was outweighed by the irritation factor and also affected the historical treatment of Groves's work.

Until recently, few books have been written about Dick Groves and his extraordinary accomplishments with the Manhattan Project. Conversely, J. Robert Oppenheimer was a sympathetic figure in the history books, someone who struggled with the moral questions about the bomb. Perhaps because of this struggle, his credits outweighed his accomplishments.

Dick Groves, on the other hand, had no such struggle. He was firmly convinced that the use of the bomb was the proper decision and never wavered from this position. He was not a man to suffer diminishment lightly. His autobiography, *Now It Can Be Told,* describes the story of the Manhattan Project with a degree of first-person authenticity that should have changed public opinion, had it been widely read. It is a fascinating story.

George Davenport, Jr., is a retired engineer, former Army officer, and 1963 graduate of the United States Military Academy. He resides in Chattanooga, Tennessee.

By Allyn Vannoy

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Evolution of Armed Evil

The Waffen-SS developed as the military arm of Hitler's private Nazi army.

IN 1933 A PORTION OF THE NAZI PARTY'S SCHUTZSTAFFEL (SS) WAS ARMED AND trained along military lines and served as an armed force. These troops were originally known as the SS-Verfügungstruppen, the name indicating that they served at the Führer's pleasure. By 1939, four regiments (Standarten) had been organized.

The Verfügungstruppen took part in the occupation of Austria and Czechoslovakia side by side with the Army (Heer). During the months preceding the outbreak of the war, they were given intensive military training and were formed into units that took part in the Polish campaign. In addition, elements of Death's Head formations (Totenkopfverbände), which served as concentration camp guards, also took to the field as combat units.

During the following winter and spring, regiments that had fought in Poland were expanded into brigades and later divisions. This purely military branch of the SS was known at first as the Bewaffnete SS (Armed SS) and later as the Waffen-SS. The regiment Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler eventually became a division of the same name; the Standarte Deutschland together with the Austrian Standarte Der Führer formed the Verfügungs Division, to which a third regiment, Langemarck, was later added, creating the division Das Reich; and the Totenkopf units were formed into the Totenkopf Division. These three divisions were to be the nucleus of the Waffen-SS in its subsequent rapid expansion.

The Waffen-SS was based on a policy of strict racial selection and emphasis on political indoctrination. The reasons for its formation were as much political as they were an opportunity to acquire the officer material that was to prove valuable to the SS later.

The SS Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler was formed during the 1930s as Hitler's personal bodyguard and later grew into a division of the Waffen-SS, the military wing of the organization. In this photo from the early days of the Leibstandarte, soldiers pass in review as their commander gives the Nazi salute.

As the war intensified, the Waffen-SS began recruiting "Nordic" peoples. In 1940, the Standarten Nordland and Westland were created to incorporate such "Germanic" volunteers into the organization. They were combined with the existing Standarte Germania to form the Wiking Division.

Subsequently, the Waffen-SS formed native "Legions" in many of the occupied territories. These were eventually converted into brigades and divisions.

A relaxation of the principles of racial selection occurred as the war turned against Germany. During 1943-1944 the SS turned more and more to recruiting all available manpower in occupied areas. While its main efforts were directed toward the incorporation of the "racial" Germans (Volksdeutsche), a scheme was devised that permitted the recruiting of foreigners of all nationalities while retaining at least some semblance of the original principles of "Nordic" superiority. Spreading foreigners thinly throughout trustworthy units soon proved insufficient to digest the mass of recruits. Consequently, divisions of foreigners were formed that received a sprinkling of regular Waffen-SS cadres. Finally, it became necessary to complement the Waffen-SS officer corps with foreigners.

Concerned with the racial aspects of their units, Waffen-SS leaders developed a naming system that dubbed a unit as foreign with an addition to its designation. Units with a high percentage of racial Germans and "Germanic" volunteers—Scandinavians, Dutch, Flemings, Walloons, and Frenchmen—such as the 11th SS-Freiwilligen Panzergrenadier Division Nordland, carried the designation "Freiwilligen." Units containing a preponderance of non-Germanic personnel, especially Slavic and Baltic peoples, such as the 15th Waffen-Grenadier Division-SS, carried the designation "Waffen-" as part of the unit name.

This organizational expansion modified the character of the Waffen-SS as an elite political formation. Nevertheless, these divisions were expected to fight to the bitter end, especially since the individual soldiers had been made to feel personally involved in war crimes, and propaganda convinced most that their treatment, either in captivity or after Germany's defeat, would compare unfavorably with that accorded other members of the armed forces.

Over time, the Waffen-SS cre-

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ated some 42 divisions and three brigades as well as a number of small, independent units. Of the divisions, seven were panzer divisions. The balance included 12 panzergrenadier divisions, six mountain divisions, 11 grenadier divisions, four cavalry divisions, and a police division. Many of the divisions, organized late in the war, were divisions in name only and never exceeded regimental strength.

The SS panzer divisions were the purest in terms of German members, as well as being the best equipped and supported of all German combat units. They formed the strongest and politically most reliable portion of the Waffen-SS.

The creation of an SS panzer division was sometimes evolutionary. Formed from Hitler's bodyguard unit, the Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler became a full infantry regiment with three battalions, an artillery battalion, and antitank, reconnaissance, and engineer attachments in 1939. After it was involved in the annexation of Bohemia and Moravia, it was redesignated the Infanterie-Regiment Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler (motorized). In mid-1939 Hitler ordered it organized as an SS division, but the Polish crisis put these plans on hold. The regiment proved itself an effective fighting unit during the campaign, though several Army generals had reservations about the high casualties it had sustained in combat.

National Archives

Members of the Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler photographed during the Nuremburg Rally in 1935.

In early 1940, the regiment was expanded to an independent motorized infantry regiment, and an assault gun battery was added. After the Western campaign, it was expanded to brigade size. Despite this, it retained the designation as a regiment. Following an outstanding performance in Greece, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler ordered it upgraded to division status. However, there was no time to refit the unit before launching Operation Barbarossa, the invasion of the Soviet Union, and so it remained the size of a reinforced brigade.

In late July 1942, severely understrength and completely exhausted from operations in Russia, the unit was pulled out of the line and sent to France to rebuild and join the newly formed SS Panzer Corps, where it was reformed as a panzergrenadier division.

Thanks to Himmler and Obergruppenführer (General) Paul Hausser, the SS Panzer Corps commander, the four SS panzergrenadier divisions—Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler, Wiking, Das Reich, and Totenkopf—were organized to include a full panzer regiment rather than only a battalion as found in Army units. This meant that the SS panzergrenadier divisions were full-strength panzer divisions in terms of their complement of tanks.

Following the capitulation of Italy, the Leibstandarte engaged in several major counterinsurgency operations against Italian partisans. During its time in Italy, the Leibstandarte was reformed as a full panzer division and designated the 1st SS Panzer Division Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler.

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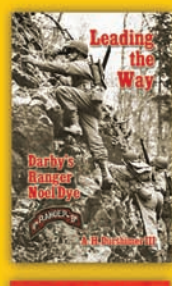

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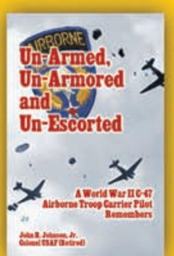

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Waffen-SS grenadier or infantry divisions were mainly recruited outside Germany. One was formed from French recruits, two in Latvia, one in Estonia, one with Ukrainians, another from Soviet prisoners, and one of Italian Fascists. The latter two each held the designation as the 29th SS Grenadier Division at different times, the former Soviet prisoners in 1944 and the Italian Fascists in 1945. All of these divisions were created from 1943 to 1945.

Ukrainians, Latvians, Estonians, and Russian turncoats who joined the SS were executed if taken prisoner by the Soviets. Those found in the hands of the Western Allies after the war were returned to the Soviets to suffer the same fate. Waffen-SS prisoners taken by the Red Army seldom survived their initial capture or lengthy imprisonment in the Soviet Union.

Six SS mountain divisions were formed from Volksdeutsche. Three were short-lived units made up of Balkan Muslims, and one, which never exceeded regimental strength, was formed from Italian Fascists.

Eleven of the 12 SS panzergrenadier divisions were created or their designations were assigned from 1943 to 1945. Nine of the divisions were formed from Volksdeutsche and non-Germans, which included Dutch, Walloons, Belgians, and Hungarians, but many were never stronger than regimental strength.

Bundesarchive Bild 101III-Zschaeckel-189-13; Photo: Friedrich Zschäckel

Command formations during the war included two SS armies, the Sixth SS Panzer Army and the Eleventh SS Army. Of the 13 SS corps, four were panzer corps, two were mountain corps, and seven were infantry corps. Seven of these corps were not created until 1944.

The Sixth SS Panzer Army was created in the autumn of 1944 in northwestern Germany as the Sixth Panzer Army to oversee the refit of panzer divisions shattered during operations in France. It played a key role in the 1944 Ardennes offensive, then in Hungary in 1945, and finally in the fight for the Austrian capital of Vienna. The Eleventh SS Army was formed in February 1945. It operated in northern Germany until the end of the war.

One Waffen-SS division was designated the SS-Panzer Grenadier-Polizei Division. This was the only unit made up of members of the police

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As World War II dragged on, Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler accepted non-Aryan formations in the Waffen-SS. In this photo, Bosnians of the 13th Waffen-SS Mountain Division "Handschar" photographed in May 1944.

that had been incorporated into the Waffen-SS. In addition, the 35th SS Police Grenadier Division was organized from German policemen in early 1945, although it only reached regimental strength.

In principle, the SS was to accept no new members after 1933, except from selected graduates of the Hitler Youth. However, the creation of the Waffen-SS and its rapid growth caused the partial suspension of this rule. However, service in the Waffen-SS did not necessarily include membership in the SS proper.

Prior to the war, suitable SS candidates were singled out while still in the Hitler Youth (HJ). Boys who had proved themselves, often under SS leadership, in the HJ patrol service were often tabbed for later SS service. If the candidate satisfied SS requirements in political reliability, racial purity, and physique, he was accepted as a candidate at the age of 18. At the annual Nazi Party Congress in September, candidates were accepted, received SS certificates, and were enrolled in the SS.

Service in the Waffen-SS was officially voluntary. The Waffen-SS claimed priority over all other branches of the armed forces in the selection of recruits. Eventually, to meet the high rate of casualties and the expansion of Waffen-SS field divisions, service in the Waffen-SS became compulsory for all members of the SS, and the voluntary transfer of personnel from any other branch of the armed forces was permitted. From 1943, pressure was exerted on members of the Hitler Youth to volunteer for the Waffen-SS. Later, entire Army, Navy, and Air Force units were taken over by the Waffen-SS, given SS training, and incorporated into field units. Waffen-SS enlistment drives in Germany were nearly continuous. Waffen-SS recruitment was regionally organized and controlled.

The decision to enlist "Germanic" and "non-Germanic" foreigners in the Waffen-SS was based more on propaganda value than on the fighting ability of these volunteers.

In Scandinavia and the occupied countries of Western Europe, recruiting was undertaken largely by the local Nazi parties. In the Baltic States it was conducted by the German-controlled governments, and in the Balkans by German authorities in concert with the governments. With the growing need for troops, a considerable element of compulsion entered into the recruiting campaigns. The small groups of volunteers were reorganized into regiments and battalions, either to be incorporated into existing Waffen-SS divisions or to form the basis for new divisions and brigades.

Early in 1943, the German government, in exchange for promises to deliver certain quantities of war equipment, obtained from the governments of Romania, Hungary, and Slovakia their consent to a major Waffen-SS recruiting drive among the "racial" Germans in those countries. All able-bodied men considered of German origin, including some who could scarcely speak the language, were pressured to volunteer, and many men who were already serving in the armies of these countries were transferred to the Germans. Well over 100,000 men were obtained in this manner and distributed among the Waffen-SS divisions.

The results of this recruiting were mixed at best. The 13th SS Mountain Division Handschar may have been the worst unit in the Waffen-SS. Formed in the spring of 1943 as the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Division, it initially consisted of Bosnian Muslims and Croat volunteers. When volunteers lagged, Christian members of the Croatian National Army were forced to join the division. Sent to southern France in mid-1943, the division promptly mutinied. The unit was eventually returned to Yugoslavia. In the Balkans it was involved in massacring defenseless Christian villagers and had a high rate of desertion. In October 1944, the unit was disarmed.

In 1945, the 36th SS Grenadier Division Dirlewanger was formed. Better known as the Dirlewanger Brigade, it was upgraded in name to a division in the last weeks of the war. Most of its members were men taken from concentration camps, some were Communists or political prisoners, but most were common criminals. The division eventually accepted hardened career criminals as well as Soviet and Ukrainian prisonerss, members of the Wehrmacht convicted of lesser felony offenses, and eventually all German convicts. Its commander, SS Colonel Oscar Dirlewanger, was a brutal drunkard who had once been expelled from the SS for a morals offense. The brigade was responsible for a number of atrocities, especially against Russian partisans, Poles, and Jews. The division and its commander were considered notoriously unreliable by the German Army.

For military operations, units of the Waffen-SS were usually placed under the command of the German Army. In the beginning, individual units were assigned to Army groups as needed, although an effort was made to give them independent tasks whenever possible. Emphasis was placed on the propaganda value of their employment, and many spectacular missions were assigned to them, although their importance and the difficulty of the tasks were often exaggerated.

On the Eastern Front, these units became involved in increasingly more difficult combat assignments. Gaining reputations as elite forces, divisions of the Waffen-SS began to control regular Army units in their immediate vicinity. The next step was the formation of SS corps which, under OKH command, controlled SS divisions and brigades. Soon certain SS corps held command over a small group of SS units and a much larger number of Army units. Eventually, certain SS corps commanded Army units only. When the Sixth Panzer Army was formed in the autumn of 1944, a large number of units of the German Army were for the first time designated part of an SS formation.

In theory, the influence of Himmler ceased with the subordination of Waffen-SS units to the Army. In effect, however, there was evidence that

he retained the right to approve any Army deployment of SS troops. The temporary relief of Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt as commander on the Western Front in 1944 was attributed, at least in part, to a conflict with Himmler over the deployment of Waffen-SS troops.

Waffen-SS units were deployed in all major German land campaigns except North Africa and the 1940 campaign in Norway. Beginning with the conquest of Poland, they played significant roles for the remainder of the war. At least two divisions participated in the Western offensive and Balkan operations of 1940 and 1941. One division was engaged in Finland from the beginning of Operation Barbarossa. In Russia, the number of Waffen-SS units grew from five divisions in 1942 to four corps and 13 divisions during 1944. An SS brigade participated in the garrisoning of Corsica and was later committed as a division in Italy, while another assisted in the occupation of Italy following the Fascist surrender there in 1943. To this were added a new division and a new brigade in 1944.

Two Waffen-SS corps and at least seven divisions fought at various times against partisans in Yugoslavia, and one division formed an important component of the occupation forces in Greece. Two Waffen-SS corps and six divisions were employed in Normandy and participated in the withdrawal from France. On the Western Front, one Army, at least six corps, and up to nine divisions opposed Allied forces early in 1945. Nine Waffen-SS divisions and two brigades operated in Hungary near the end of the war.

The SS increased its power over the Army dramatically in July 1944, as individual members of the Waffen-SS were attached to regular Army units to improve their reliability. Waffen-SS units were used to prevent mass desertions or unauthorized withdrawals. Waffen-SS personnel formed the nucleus of the Volksgrenadier and in some instances of Volkssturm units. Large contingents of the Luftwaffe and Kriegesmarine were pressed into the service of the Waffen-SS when it became urgent to reform badly mauled Waffen-SS units.

At the end of 1940, the Waffen-SS numbered slightly more than 150,000 men. By June 1944, it had grown to 594,000. Intended as an elite force, the Waffen-SS evolved due to the exigencies of war from the original SS concept of a military organization imbued with Nazi ideology and loyalty to Hitler into a polyglot force of decreasing combat effectiveness.

Author Allyn Vannoy has written extensively on a variety of topics related to World War II. He resides in Hillsboro, Oregon.

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War in the Jungle

Brigadier Orde Wingate's Operation Thursday ended in success but spawned controversy.

THE INTEREST IN BRIGADIER ORDE WINGATE, FOUNDER AND LEADER OF THE Commonwealth Chindits or Special Force, persists to this day, almost 70 years after his fiery death after his B-25 Mitchell bomber crashed in the hills of India.

Although his campaigns and causes ended with his death in March 1944, a posthumous attack was leveled against Wingate in a vituperative account of the Chindit leader's contributions to the war in Burma. This appeared in 1961 in Maj. Gen. S. Woodburn Kirby's *The Official History of the War Against Japan, Vol. III: The Decisive Battles*. Some have labeled this screed an "exercise in literary envy against unorthodoxy and creativity."

The animus between Wingate and Kirby went back to 1943, when the Chindit leader returned to New Delhi from Quebec and exhibited an aggressive and offensive stance in response to General Headquarters' (GHQ) near total opposition to his plans for material and personnel requests for Operation Thursday, the nascent second Chindit invasion of Burma, which had received the approval of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and the Combined Chiefs of Staff (CCS).

When Wingate flaunted his newly acquired access to Churchill, it humiliated Kirby, who was the director of staff duties at GHQ. In a complaint to Lord Louis Mountbatten, then head of Southeast Asia Command (SEAC), Wingate rashly named Kirby "as one of those who should be sacked for iniquitous and unpatriotic conduct."

Thus, Wingate became a particular enemy of Kirby, who in 1951 was appointed to write *The Official History of the War Against Japan*. Kirby "took his revenge" on Wingate's legacy with his pen, concluding his harangue with, "Although he served the Allied cause well by putting an almost forgotten army in the headlines and boosting morale, the very qualities which enabled him to win the support of the Prime Minister and the Chiefs of Staff and to create his private army in face of great difficulties reduced his value as a leader and a commander in the field."

In regard to Field Marshal William Slim's epic battle against Lt. Gen. Renya Mutaguchi's Japanese 15th Army during their Operation U-Go invasion into Assam, India, in March 1944, Kirby wrote about the temporally coincident Operation Thursday in the *Official History*: "The operations of Special Force thus did little to aid Britain's Fourteenth Army in defeating the [Imperial Japanese] 15th Army's offensive. They had indeed the reverse effect, for the need to maintain five brigades of Special Force by air within Burma aggravated the shortage of aircraft which at times hampered Fourteenth Army's conduct of the battles. Moreover, the fresh division [Imperial Japanese 53rd Division] which the Japanese brought into Burma, solely to assist in the defence of the Hukawng Valley and deal with the Chindits' interruption of their communications to Mogaung and Myitkyina, was not required in full for that pur-

A group of the famed Chindits, commanded by eccentric Brigadier Orde Wingate (above), ford a stream with their pack animals somewhere in Burma. Wingate initiated the controversial Operation Thursday as a deep penetration behind Japanese lines to disrupt enemy operations.

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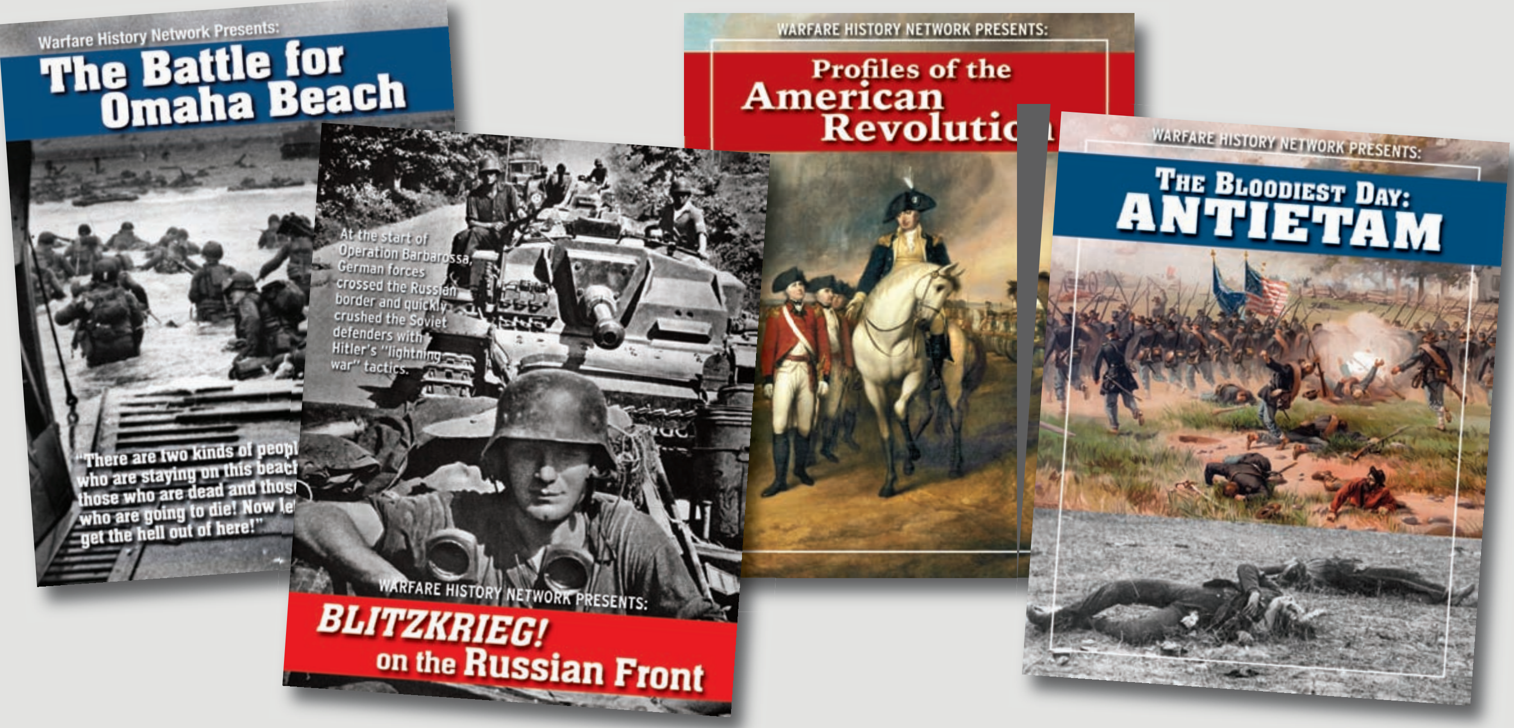

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pose and provided welcome reinforcements for the [Imperial Japanese] 15th Army." To replace the 15th Army reserve, the Japanese Burma Area Army sent Mutaguchi only the 53rd Division's 151st regiment.

Wingate's expanded attack strategy for Operation Thursday was novel but realistic. Air power would revolutionize long-range penetration (LRP), which Wingate unveiled in mid-February 1943, as Operation Longcloth, as fighter-bombers became aerial artillery and the transports and gliders provided supplies, armaments, reinforcements, and casualty evacuation with precision, enabled by state-of-the-art radio communications conducted by Royal Air Force officers and enlisted men. Wingate's Chindits would not need sea or land lines of communication. Unlike Operation Longcloth, Wingate envisioned Special Force being able to stay and fight at locales of choice rather than dispersing or having to fight their way back through an enclosing enemy.

National Archives

British soldiers, one of them shirtless, man a field gun and keep watch for enemy troop movements as a Douglas C-47 transport aircraft drops supplies by parachute.

The Chindit leader now coupled his tactical concept of movement with strategically placed proximate defended garrisons. Wingate was modernizing warfare by shaping his visions into realities in the remote and desolate Burmese theater, where an absence of roads, tremendous distances, and formidable terrain would make operations unsustainable as the Imperial Japanese Army was soon to learn in its U-Go offensive.

The Chindits' entry into Burma would be made by planes and gliders furnished by American Number 1 Air Commando led by Colonels Philip Cochran and John Alison. After the glider landing, roughly two columns of Chindits would occupy a field that would be converted into a landing strip for larger transport aircraft. Then the rest of the brigade would be brought in by the transport aircraft. Wingate envisioned that these defended areas or "strongholds" would be operational within 36 hours and ready to disrupt Japanese installations and communications in the vicinity.

This idea of a "stronghold" originated from Wingate's canceled plan to establish one in March 1943, during Operation Longcloth, in the forests of Bambwe Taung. The notion was that such a defended locale with airfields, 25-pounder field artillery, 40mm Bofors antiaircraft artillery, and an internally located water supply would enable columns to retire into it for safety and then set out on raids from its perimeter. With supply and relief, these strongholds could become virtual offensives on their own. On February 20, 1944, Wingate was to document his notion of the stronghold, which was taken from the book of Zechariah: "Turn ye to the Stronghold, ye prisoners of hope." Wingate added, "The motto of the Stronghold is 'No Surrender.'"

As early as January 16, 1944, Wingate provided evidence to Mountbatten that a Japanese move up to the Chindwin River was a preparatory stage for a forthcoming offensive against Assam. He presciently stated that the Japanese would be compelled to use the "long bad vulnerable roads of Burma" for communication and that this offensive would be "strong and damaging and that before it was overcome, [British] 11th Army Group might have to face the temporary loss of all Manipur." On March 14-15, the Japanese invaded Assam with three divisions from the north of Homalin and from the center of their Chindwin front, Operation U-Go.

Postwar opinions vary as to Wingate's tactics, and many officers who fought alongside Wingate admired him for his field accomplishments rather than indicting him solely for his eccentric behavior. The Japanese also remember the effectiveness of Wingate's planning and execution. In sharp contrast to the *Official History,* the consensus of these opinions will attest that the Chindits of Special Force greatly contributed to the eventual defeat of the Japanese 15th Army's Assam offensive, which eventually led to their total abandonment of northern Burma and consequent losses of central and southern Burma to the British in late 1944 and 1945. Senior Japanese officers, among them Mutaguchi, the commander of the Japanese 15th Army and U-Go strategist, stated that Wingate's Chindits during Operation Thursday drew off vitally needed units from the fighting at Imphal and Kohima and tipped that balance against them.

Initially in northern Burma, Mutaguchi commanded the formidable 18th Division from his divisional headquarters in Maymyo as a part of the 15th Army and was involved in the counterattack against the first Chindit assault, Operation Longcloth, in 1943. The British senior commanders in Delhi may have been derisive and willing to ignore any important outcome of Wingate's first Chindit expedition (Operation Longcloth), but Mutaguchi later conceded that it had changed his entire strategic thinking.

Mutaguchi had scrutinized Wingate's tactics and his use of the Burmese terrain and concluded, as Wingate demonstrated, that troops would be mobile with pack transport in northern and western Burma only during the dry season. Wingate had also shown that it was possible for units to attack across the main north-south grain of the rivers and mountains of Burma. The Japanese general's own revelation, along with intelligence of the British buildup at Imphal, convinced Mutaguchi that he must eventually attack Imphal and Kohima to preempt another British offensive from India in 1944.

An advance into central Assam was beyond the capabilities of the Japanese in 1943. The Japanese, mainly owing to the influence of the first Chindit operation, had come to the conclusion that they would be unable to defeat this foreseen British offensive with a defensive mind-set and that an invasion of Assam to capture the Allied bases there was their best strategy. In late summer 1943, Mutaguchi began the planning for an offensive during the dry season of early 1944. However, prior to that invasion Mutaguchi argued that the 15th Army line of defense should be moved westward to at least the Chindwin River or even possibly to the hills on the Assam-Burma border.

Upon being promoted to lead the 15th Army in March 1943, Mutaguchi maintained his headquarters in Maymyo and had under his command the 18th Division led by General Shinichi Tanaka, which faced the Chindits and Stilwell in the north; the 56th Division, facing Chiang Kai-shek's Yoke Force in the east; and the 33rd Division facing the British on the Chindwin. The 15th Army was later reinforced by the 31st Division. Elements of the 31st Divi-

sion began to arrive in Burma in June 1943, and this buildup was completed by September. It was this 31st Division that fought the British garrison at Kohima in India during the U-Go offensive in early March 1944.

Mutaguchi planned a three-division attack into India for March 1944 with the 33rd Division under General Yanagida advancing toward Imphal from the south, the 15th Division under General Yamauchi (with units of the Indian National Army recruited from Indian prisoners of war) attacking Imphal in two prongs from the east, and most significantly, the 31st Division under General Sato advancing to Dimapur, the huge supply base 11 miles long and a mile wide, which provided for the whole of the Slim's Fourteenth Army.

Mutaguchi intended that as soon as Kohima and Dimapur were captured his victorious forces, accompanied by the Indian National Army and its leader, Subhas Chandra Bose, would advance into Bengal, where the subjugated Indian populace would mount an internal insurrection against British rule and support his triumphant "March on Delhi."

Was Kirby correct in his *Official History* or did Special Force provide significant aid to Britain's Fourteenth Army in defeating the Japanese 15th Army's offensive? Mutaguchi had planned to move his tactical headquarters close to the Imphal front across the Chindwin River, but because of Operation Thursday there was a six-week delay. On April 9, 1944, a new headquarters, 33rd Army, was created and made responsible for north and central Burma, which included the area of Wingate's second expedition.

On April 11, 1944, Mutaguchi was relieved of the responsibility of looking after northern Burma and was given the single task of the Imphal/Kohima offensive. It was not until April 20 that Mutaguchi's headquarters reached the west bank of the Chindwin. Some have argued that Mutaguchi's tardy arrival in Assam was of no consequence; however, a Japanese Defense Agency postwar manual on Operation U-Go highly rated the effectiveness of Wingate's Chindits in causing this delay, which not only adversely affected the Japanese command structure in Assam but had an appreciable effect on decreasing the morale of the Japanese troops fighting the British Fourteenth Army.

Mutaguchi almost accomplished the aims of his U-Go offensive into Assam. If success had come to Mutaguchi's campaign of March-June 1944, British and American forces operating in Burma would have had all of their contact severed with the West. An incorrect logistic and supply decision by this otherwise outstanding Japanese commander along with the selfless bravery of Indian and British troops thwarted his U-Go plan. Mutaguchi's idea of commencing his offensive with only one month's rations and supplies, in anticipation of capturing the stores at Dimapur, became a significant factor in his ultimate defeat. The Japanese had no equivalent to the American and British air supply capabilities to troops on the ground in fortified positions or on the move in the jungles and hills of Burma.

The Japanese generals' reaction to Operation Thursday was discordant as their own U-Go offensive was underway. Mutaguchi initially believed that Wingate's second operation was too far into the northern Burmese interior to affect his own operations in the Imphal/Kohima area. However, his superior, General Kawabe, took the Chindit assault seriously and cobbled together a force of about 20,000 troops to confront Wingate at Indaw in the spring of 1944. Initially, this force was able to prevent Brigadier Bernard Fergusson's assault on Indaw, but it was then diverted to attack Lt. Gen. "Mad Mike" Calvert at the Chindit White City stronghold near Mawlu.

With the failure of his forces on the Assam front, Mutaguchi sacked his three divisional

generals in the course of Operation U-Go against Imphal and Kohima. After it failed, he was next to go, and on August 30, 1944, he was transferred to the general staff in Tokyo. In a postwar letter to historian A.J. Barker, Mutaguchi wrote, "On 26th March I heard on Delhi radio that General Wingate had been killed in an aeroplane crash. I realized what a loss this was to the British Army and said a prayer for the soul of this man in whom I had found my match."

As offered by historian Peter Mead, based on the responses of the Japanese officers who fought in Burma to postwar inquiries, "The airborne [Chindit] troops absorbed the greater part of the Japanese ground forces earmarked as reserve [for the Imphal offensive]....The operation of the Japanese 2nd Transportation Headquarters was completely frustrated by the airborne landings and by 16 Brigade [Fergusson at Indaw]. Neither 31st nor 15th Division [in Assam] received the additional supplies to provide for emergencies."

The resupply of these two divisions of Mutaguchi's U-Go offensive had been interdicted by Wingate's Chindits. Japanese Monograph No. 134 corroborated this but also stated that the Chindits contributed decisively to the interdiction of supplies to the Japanese 31st, 15th, and 18th Divisions. Based on statements from over 30 Japanese commanders after the war, the monograph stated, "The raiding force [Chindits] greatly affected Army operations and eventually led to the total abandonment of Northern Burma."

Just before his death in 1968, Mutaguchi wrote, "The advance into Burma of General Wingate's forces at the time of the Imphal campaign brought about serious failures in the strategy of the Japanese Army.... At first I was unable to grasp the real nature of this enemy, and my immediate reaction was to assume that this was a unit sent forward as an irritant and made the mistake of thinking it could easily be swept away. However this forward unit was part of a large corps, going under the assumed name of the 3rd Indian Division [Special Force]. There were those among the [Burma] Area Army Staff who considered that in these circumstances we should call off the Imphal campaign, but I held that while the enemy was engrossed in this airborne operation he would be paying less attention to his rear and that this was a splendid chance to put our Imphal plan into operation....

"As we expected the plan was able to take the enemy unawares. The 33rd Division made a lightning advance to the Tonzang region, and the 31st and 15th Divisions which made up our main strength were able to cross the Chindwin without the enemy's knowing.... However, after that, General Wingate's airborne campaign spread more and more widely, and the [Burma] Area Army Commander [Kawabe] picked out the 24th Independent Mixed Brigade and a part of the 2nd Division to confront Wingate's forces. The counterattack by these units on 25th and 26th March ended in failure. Then the Area Army Commander rushed the 53rd Division, the Strategic Reserve, to the Mawlu area ["White City"]. Further, the fact that we had no alternative but to use our feeble air force against these airborne forces was a very great obstacle to the execution of the Imphal campaign.... General Wingate's airborne tactics put a great obstacle in the way of our Imphal plan and were an important reason for its failure."

Major General Matsui wrote, "If Wingate decided on the timing of his operation, he was a genius of war." A letter found on the body of a dead Japanese officer, retrieved from the National Defense Archives in Tokyo, said: "How was it that we Japanese were so triumphant in the beginning and had to endure the hell of failure in the end? What happened in Burma? In coming to any conclusion we must not forget Major General Orde Wingate.... He planted

himself center stage and conducted all the fronts with his baton, which he called the Chindits. He reduced the Japanese power to wage war on four Burma fronts and so fatally affected the balance. In fulfilling this function alone, he showed himself a great general."

Wingate's brigadier and lifelong friend Derek Tulloch also cited Japanese Monograph No. 134, which praised Wingate's developments in the art of warfare: "Although it was recognized that such an extensive drive by a tactical brigade into enemy territory was made possible only by air supply, Army Group commanders failed to correct their outdated conceptions of the British/Indian forces and the Chungking Army. Their failure to conceive a counterattack plan based upon the concept of close air/ground cooperation must be considered a great mistake."

Tulloch further stated, "Wingate's object was neither to kill nor contain Japanese soldiers, but to make the Japanese command conform to his will and so prepare the way for the victory of the Allied main forces. Purely by the action of positioning his brigades for the tasks he intended to carry out, he had already weakened the Japanese thrust at one of the three decisive points where he could not effectively control the battle. The morale of both Mutaguchi and his staff was thereby lowered to an appreciable degree."

National Archives

Brigadier Orde Wingate, wearing a pith helmet, confers with Allied staff officers prior to taking off for the Chindit base at Sylhet, Assam, India.

After the war, other high-ranking Japanese officers expressed their views on various aspects of the Burma conflict. The second Wingate expedition, Operation Thursday, took the Japanese by surprise. General Numata, Chief of Staff Southern Army, which was composed mostly of troops from conquered Southeast Asian countries, admitted that there were no Japanese plans to meet this airborne assault with the construction of strongholds.

It was not until early April that the Japanese high command realized that a corps-sized, large-scale penetrating attack was underway. Until then, only local Japanese units were gathered to be hurled at the Chindits. Numata stated, "The reaction of the Japanese Army to this operation was so great that the Japanese 15th Army (the Army which included the three divisions detailed for the Imphal offensive) even thought of sparing from the force attacking Imphal a substantial force to annihilate the enemy unit and thus secure the safety of its rear. This plan was not carried out. Instead railway units and line of communication guards were collected and deployed against the British troops; while on the other hand 24 Independent Mixed Brigade, which was guarding the Moulmein area southeast of Rangoon against a possible sea landing, was ordered to proceed north at all speed. All those units were ordered to advance against the Allied airborne troops around Mawlu.... We became aware of its serious proportions only after the Japanese attacks were repulsed."

General Naka, who at the time of Operation Thursday was chief of staff of the Burma Area Army, in response to questions as to whether the airborne forces upset the Japanese operations against Slim's Fourteenth Army (Central

Continued on page 74

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ONE IN A THOUSAND Chance

BY CHRISTOPHER MISKIMON

IN MAY 1942, A JAPANESE SUBMARINE FORCE SNUCK INTO SYDNEY HARBOR IN A DARING, SUICIDAL NIGHT ATTACK.

THE YEAR 1942 was one of crisis for the Allied cause in the Pacific. Until May, almost everything had gone in favor of Imperial Japan. In that month the Japanese were stalemated at the Battle of the Coral Sea. If the Japanese Navy had succeeded in capturing Port Moresby at the southeastern tip of the island of New Guinea, Australia would have been in dire straits. In this desperate time, the threat was still serious as the Imperial fleet could return at any time.

This was a threat the Australians felt more than any. The nation was large, resource rich, and relatively wealthy while simultaneously underpopulated, poorly armed, and isolated. Australia lacked the population required to support an army capable of resisting Japan. Much of its military was spread elsewhere with a portion lost in Singapore, and many of its troops were fighting the Germans and Italians in North Africa. Vast distances separated the island nation from its most vital allies, the United Kingdom and the United States. For the citizens of Australia it seemed as if a Japanese fleet would appear over the horizon any day.

Nevertheless, the country did what it could to prepare. Some 130,000 troops remained, though most were untrained. As far as possible, likely landing beaches were fortified with barbed wire, trenches, and antiaircraft positions. A nighttime blackout was ordered for all lights within six kilometers of the coast, though curiously lighthouses were allowed exception from the order. Much as in Britain, Australians prepared to move their children to the countryside away from likely bombing sites. With England stretched to the limit, Australia began to turn to America for the support it needed, at the time a controversial move to many Australians. It would take time for the Americans to move significant strength to bolster Australia's defense, however.

In the meantime, Japan continued to threaten. Imperial forces moved into the South Pacific, slowly closing a noose around the island nation. The Japanese knew that Australia would serve as a staging ground for the eventual Allied riposte and had to be neutralized. Australia was far too large a nation for Japan to physically invade and occupy; the Imperial Army was already stretched thinly, from northern China to remote outposts dotting the Pacific. However, the Japanese could seize a few more islands, such as Samoa, Fiji, and New Caledonia, among others. Using these islands as bases they could interdict the lines of communication between America and Australia, preventing the buildup necessary for a counteroffensive.

The setback at Coral Sea and the colossal defeat at Midway in June 1942 put a damper on that scheme, but Japan did not give up easily. An effective submarine campaign might well isolate Australia. Japanese naval doctrine called for using submarines as an adjunct to their surface battle line. Squadrons of subs would range ahead of the main fleet, hitting enemy forces and reducing their strength until the main Japanese armada could secure a decisive victory. Commerce raiding was a secondary mission but ultimately necessary. Given the requirements for surface ships elsewhere, submarines were the most readily available.

Midget submarines had been used at Pearl Harbor, but their mission was essentially a failure. Of the five tiny submersibles sent to wreak havoc along with the Japanese air attack, none achieved success and one almost ruined the element of surprise for the attack when it was spotted by the coastal minesweeper USS *Condor* and sunk by the destroyer USS *Ward* in the early morning hours of December 7, 1941. Still, the idea of using them for long-distance raids against enemy ports persisted, and the Japanese Combined Fleet's commander, Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, approved their deployment for two more attacks. One strike would be made in the Indian Ocean against British ships, while the second would be directed south to Australia.

The Imperial Japanese Navy's 8th Submarine Squadron had responsibility for the midget submarines and the mother subs that carried them. Designated a Special Attack Group, the 8th was divided into two flotillas, East and West, with the Eastern Flotilla sent toward Australia. This force included six large submarines. Four of them, *I-22, I-24, I-27*, and *I-28*, were mother submarines that carried the midget subs into range of their targets. The other two, *I-21* and *I-29,* carried floatplanes to perform reconnaissance. The squadrons each had a pair of submarine tenders, seaplane tenders, and armed merchant cruisers to support the subs.

On April 16, 1942, the East Flotilla left the port of Hashirajima on Japan's Inland Sea. The group sailed to the naval base at Truk Atoll and prepared for the voyage to the target, Sydney, Australia. The Japanese plan was to launch their 46-ton midgets off the coast, close enough for them to sneak into the harbor and strike Allied naval vessels or merchant ships moored there. The crews were confident they could get into the harbor and carry out their attack, though they were less sure they could get back afterward.

Photographed after an American air raid, Japanese midget submarines lie on the muddy bottom of their drydock in the harbor of Kure, Japan. Submarines like these participated in the daring raid against Sydney Harbor in May 1942 and in the attack on Pearl Harbor that plunged the United States into World War II.

TopFoto / The Image Works

The midget subs were attached to their mother vessels and had a hatch allowing the two-man crew to enter directly from the host submarine without surfacing. Each midget was just under 80 feet long and carried a pair of 18-inch torpedoes. With their electric motors they had a range of 150 nautical miles at five knots. The lead-acid batteries powering the motor could not be recharged after disconnecting from the mother. In case the crew was unable to rendezvous with the mother vessel, each midget had a scuttling charge to prevent capture. For this mission each sub had a junior officer in command with a petty officer as a navigator, responsible for steering. The commander could stand behind the navigator, manning a periscope.

Around May 18, the submarines left Truk and set course almost due south for the east coast of Australia. About a week later, *I-29* launched its floatplane, a Yokosuka E14Y, Allied code name Glen, on a reconnaissance flight over Sydney. Arriving over the city just before dawn, the pilot and navigator surveyed the harbor and saw a large number of Allied warships moored around its various quays and docks. Their mission a success, they turned back to the *I-29*. Upon landing, however the Glen was damaged beyond immediate repair, unusable for the rest of the mission. At 1:30 the next morning, the Eastern Flotilla was ordered to make its attack on Sydney.

By May 29, five submarines had gathered some 35 miles off Sydney. As they prepared for their task, Vice Admiral Teruhisa Komatsu, commander of Submarine Squadron 1, sent a message from his flagship at Kwajelein: "In seizing this once-in-a-thousand chance, approach the enemy with the utmost confidence and calm."

Australian War Memorial

National Archives

ABOVE: One of the midget submarines that attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, ran aground and was later dragged onto a beach on Oahu. The debate concerning the success or failure of the submarine attacks that Sunday morning remains a source of some controversy. The first Japanese prisoner of war taken by Americans during World War II was the commander of one of these small craft. TOP: Midget submarine commander Lieutenant Matsuo Keiu (right) asked 2nd Lt. Muneaki Fujisawa, an assistant torpedo officer aboard the fleet submarine *I-22,* to shave his head prior to the departure of the midget submarines for their attack on Sydney Harbor in May1942.

In the Indian Ocean, the Western Flotilla was carrying out its own attack against the British anchorage of Diego Suarez. This port in Madagascar had only been in British hands a few weeks after a stiff battle to capture it from Vichy France. This attack succeeded in damaging the battleship *Ramillies,* taking her out of service for a year. A tanker, the *British Loyalty,* was sunk. Unknown to the Japanese sailors off the Australian coast, the mission at Madagascar had met with some bad luck as well. Only one of the two midget subs sent against Diego Suarez had made it into the harbor.

On May 30, the Eastern Flotilla's remaining floatplane was launched on a second reconnaissance of Sydney Harbor. The pilot, Flying Warrant Officer Susumu Ito, took off from *I-22* and successfully overflew the harbor area, confirming the presence of enemy warships, including one battleship (the "battleship" was actually the American heavy cruiser *Chicago*). The next day the mother submarines moved closer to the harbor mouth, taking position six to eight miles from it. Within their submerged hulls, the midget crews began preparations.

Aboard *I-22*, Lieutenant Matsuo Keiu and his navigator, Petty Officer First Class Tsuzuku Masao, not only prepared their submarine and equipment but their souls as well. Alongside the crew of the mother sub, they worshipped at a small Shinto shrine complete with candles. In a small ceremony, they honored the nine sailors who had died making the midget submarine attack on Pearl Harbor six months earlier. These men were known popularly as the "Nine War Gods of Pearl Harbor." A photograph of them was shown around. Next a citation from Admiral Yamamoto was read, and the group sat down to a meal together.

During the repast Matsuo asked *I-22* assistant torpedo officer, 2nd Lt. Muneaki Fujisawa, to cut his hair. The young officer agreed and shaved Matsuo's head closely. Fujikawa recalled that his young comrade seemed resigned to death on his mission. During the haircut Matsuo said aloud, "I wonder what my mother is thinking at this moment?" Tsuzuku wrote a letter to his brother telling his sibling he had been killed near Australia on May 31. Both seemed to accept their task and the probable doom that came with it. A purification ritual followed, and then a change into fresh, perfumed uniforms. Matsuo also donned a thousand-stitch belt, a sash designed to protect the wearer from harm. Finally, a tea ceremony was held, its purpose to instill a feeling of tranquility before the coming action.

Similar events were happening on the other two mother subs. On *I-27* Lieutenant Chuma Kenshi and navigator Petty Officer Omori Takeshi and on *I-24* Lieutenant Ban Katsuhisa and Petty Officer Ashibe Mamoru prepared their craft. At about 5 PM, all three crews boarded their midget subs. Charts and lists of call signs were brought aboard along with food and drink. Matsuo also brought a sword his father had given him before he left. It was wrapped in a red bag made from the sash of his

mother's wedding dress. Once ready, the telephone line connecting the two vessels was severed and the clamps connecting mother to midget released. Now the midgets sat loose in their carry racks. A small amount of compressed air was injected into the ballast tanks, and the tiny submarines floated slowly and gently from their racks, rising steadily upward. Once clear, they could start the electric engines and begin the long, slow journey to Sydney harbor.

At 5:25 PM Lieutenant Matsuo's submarine got underway. Three minutes later Chuma began moving, and Lt. Ban started at 5:40. The plan was for Chuma to enter the harbor first at 6:33, followed by Matsuo and Ban at intervals of 20 minutes. All three submarines were slowed by a strong southerly current and some unexpectedly heavy seas. By the time Chuma reached the harbor mouth, he was an hour behind schedule. Ban was two hours behind.

The Japanese aerial reconnaissance was noticed by the Australians, but curiously little was done about it. It was a dark, overcast night in Sydney, and heavy clouds hid the full moon overhead. The skies would not clear until after midnight. Despite the blackout, lights were on here and there where work crews were busy making repairs or improvements. Normal traffic continued. Ships were coming and going from the harbor, and the various ferry boats were darting about the docks delivering passengers. The Royal Navy officer in command, Rear Admiral Gerald Muirhead-Gould, was apparently aware the Japanese seemed to be up to something but chose not to call an alert.

Australian War Memorial

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ABOVE: The depot ship HMAS *Kuttabul* was serving as a floating barracks in Sydney Harbor on the night of the attack by Japanese midget submarines. A torpedo passed beneath the vessel and detonated nearby. Twenty-one men were killed in the explosion. LEFT: A second Japanese torpedo from the same midget submarine that damaged HMAS *Kuttabul* missed the cruiser USS *Chicago* by a scant four meters and slithered to the eastern side of Garden Island, where it ran aground.

At the harbor mouth, electronic indicator equipment was in place that could detect incoming or outgoing vessels; a trained operator could even tell whether the signature was of a submerged or surface vessel. If anything were detected, the sailor on duty could telephone the operations room on nearby Garden Island so the alarm could be sounded. A steel mesh torpedo net was also in place and watched by sentries. Small patrol boats were assigned to watch for intruders. Many of them were converted from civilian motor launches and equipped with machine guns and depth charge throwers. Shore batteries and antiaircraft guns were emplaced. In the harbor were over a half dozen Commonwealth warships, the American heavy cruiser *Chicago*, and some barges converted to floating barracks, along with the usual assortment of civilian ships.

Outside the harbor, Chuma lurked, searching for a way in. A ferry was steaming into the harbor, heading for the torpedo net, and the Japanese officer decided to follow in its wake. Slowly, at no more than six knots, the midget submarine trailed the ferry. Passing through the detection net, it left a discernable signature, but at the time it was not recognized as a submersible. As the ferry approached the boom and net, the midget fell behind, and Chuma decided to make for a second gap in the net. Veering off course, the tiny sub ran into the net and became stuck at 8:05. For 10 minutes the crew struggled to free the vessel to no avail.

Nearby a night watchman employed by the Maritime Services Board went about his duties, looking after some barges and pile drivers near the torpedo net's boom. James Cargill, an experienced Scottish merchant mariner, had stopped to speak to another employee when he saw something in the water at 8:15. At first he thought it was a small launch running without its lights on. He knew it should not be there, so he set out in a rowboat to investigate. Arriving alongside, he saw what looked like a pair of huge oxy-acetylene bottles with a steel frame over them, probably the midget's two torpedoes with their protective covers. He recalled, "I was convinced the mysterious object was either a mine or a submarine."

There were two patrol boats on duty near the nets, and Cargill immediately rowed away to find one. At 8:45 he contacted the HMAS *Yarroma*, commanded by 21-year-old Sub-Lieutenant H.C. Eyers, a shipping clerk before the war. The young naval officer did not believe what Cargill saw was an enemy submarine but turned his boat's searchlight on the area. They spotted the midget about 250 meters away, but Eyers announced it looked like nothing more than some wreckage.

Cargill argued, "It's not. It's moving backwards and forwards. You'd better hurry up or we'll have no bloody navy left."

The Scotsman even offered his rowboat to

Eyers for a closer look. The Navy man not only refused the offer but would not move his patrol boat closer for fear it might be a magnetic mine.

In addition to his unwillingness to take action or investigate, Eyers did not even report what he had seen until over an hour later. All he sent was a description of a "suspicious object in net." Headquarters took the matter more seriously and ordered him to investigate. Eyers still did not move his boat closer but did send one of his sailors with Cargill in his rowboat to have a closer look. The pair rowed alongside the midget sub, and Cargill used his flashlight to look it over. They could see the conning tower and periscope and the outline of the hull, part of which was about six feet out of the water.

Cargill said, "We could see … it was a submarine which had almost surfaced…. There was a light in the periscope…. By the time we got there the submarine had stopped struggling to get out of the net."

While they were inspecting the sub Eyers, back on his patrol boat, made another report stating the object was "metal with a serrated edge on top, moving with the swell."

Cargill and the sailor quickly rowed back to the *Yarroma* and told Eyers what they had seen. Another patrol boat, the 18-ton HMAS *Lolita* arrived, and Eyers ordered its commander, Warrant Officer Herbert Anderson, to move in for a closer inspection. Anderson was an experienced sailor but had not been in the Navy for long. Nevertheless, he took his boat in, stopping a mere six meters from the midget. Looking it over with his spotlight, it was obvious to him the object was a submarine. The front end stuck out of the water with the stern still under the surface. The periscope was plainly visible, and it was rotating as though the submarine's occupant were looking around. *Lolita*'s spotlight beam reflected in the periscope's lens.

Unlike Eyers, Anderson took immediate action. While he could have backed away and machine-gunned the sub, instead he turned stern-first to it and dropped three depth charges set to explode at 50 feet. None of them exploded; the water was too shallow. As Anderson pondered his next move, the Japanese crewmen must have decided the game was up. They detonated their scuttling charge, the explosion ripping a huge hole in the forward section and sending debris flying through the air. Both crewmen were killed instantly.

The *Lolita* was lifted by the bright orange blast, and chunks of the midget's quarter-inch steel hull tore through the air over it. Cargill felt the Japanese had tried to take the Australian patrol boat with them. The sound of the detonation carried across the harbor; citizens

Australian War Memorial

Two of the Japanese submarines that attacked Sydney Harbor were recovered and their crews buried with military honors. A complete submarine was put together using parts of the two recovered craft put on display at Bennelong Point, now the site of the famed Sydney Opera House.

came out of their homes to see what had happened.

As the drama of Chuma's midget was unfolding, Lieutenant Ban's submarine passed the detection threshold at 9:48. No one noticed. Ban followed a ferry through the nets. Slowly, his midget made its way into the harbor. By now Admiral Muirhead-Gould was aware something was going on and ordered a general alarm, instructing all ships to enact precautions against submarine attack. The port was also closed to outbound ships. The alarm order went out twice, at 10:27 and again at 10:36, about the time Chuma scuttled his sub. The admiral had been at dinner with Captain H.D. Bode of the *Chicago* and a few of his officers.

As Ban's midget moved deeper into the harbor, it began to have problems staying submerged and kept popping up to the surface. Aboard the *Chicago*, Electrician's Mate Art "Hank" King was the lookout on the 36-inch searchlight platform. His shift had been boring, and Hank had kept himself entertained thinking about an upcoming three-day shore leave. After a while, the duty electrician, "Moose" Clendenen, joined Hank on the platform. King remembered being amused by Moose, who had apparently never been that high on *Chicago*'s superstructure before. The man was taken by the spectacular view and kept talking about everything he saw.

Suddenly, Moose called out that he saw a submarine! Hank thought Moose had only seen a buoy a few hundred yards off *Chicago*'s stern and told him so. Moose replied that he saw the buoy and the submarine was farther to starboard and more distant than the buoy. Hank looked where Moose was directing him and, "Sure enough, I saw something resembling a small conning tower or large periscope coming up the channel at a slow rate of speed and leaving a tiny wake. Actually, its wake is what gave it away. The above water structure appeared to be black and barely discernible."

Hank immediately reported the sighting to the officer of the deck and turned on the spotlight. The deck officer authorized Hank to open the light's shutters, and in seconds the midget was illuminated. Momentarily, it disappeared below the surface and then reappeared closer to the ship, running parallel to it. One of *Chicago*'s 5-inch guns was manned, and the crew opened fire. The sub was too close, and the gun could not depress low enough to score a hit. One of the ship's quad 1.1-inch antiaircraft guns tried hitting the midget, but these shots went over it as well.

For a short time the submarine disappeared, only to break the surface again slightly ahead of the cruiser's bow. Hank turned the spotlight on it, and the gun crews poured fire into the submarine. The red tracers from the quad skipped across the water as the large 5-inch shells burst in geysers. From what the crews could tell, no hits were scored, and the midget again slipped under the water. Searchlights played across the bay trying to locate the sub. Red flares lit the smoky air.

As the Allied sailors searched, the midget changed course toward the Harbour Bridge. Ban's sub was about 200 meters north of Garden Island when a small motor launch, the *Nestor,* spotted it directly ahead and had to swerve to avoid colliding with it. Afterward, sailors aboard two corvettes docked nearby, HMAS *Geelong* and *Whylla,* spotted the sub 200 meters away. *Geelong*'s captain ordered his crew to open fire with a 20mm cannon, but they had to wait until a passing ferry cleared the zone of fire. Once the ferry was out of the way the 20mm started banging away, sending over 100 rounds at the midget. It was not enough, and Ban was able to get his sub submerged again. He set course for a position to fire his torpedoes at *Chicago*.

As Ban was setting his attack, Matsuo, also running far behind schedule, had finally reached the harbor. At about 10:52 an unarmed patrol boat, the *Lauriana,* spotted the sub's wake as it popped to the surface. Turning on their spotlight, the crew sighted its conning tower only 25 meters away. Unable to attack,

Lauriana lost sight of the midget. Another patrol boat, HMAS *Yandra,* fortunately armed, moved over and spotted Matsuo's craft. It rammed the sub but apparently struck only a glancing blow. The crew did get a good look at the sub but then lost it for a few minutes.

At 11:03, *Yandra*'s crew once again picked up the sub, this time some 600 meters away. The ship raced over, and six depth charges were heaved into the water. Each exploded at the preset depth of 30 meters, sending great plumes of foamy water into the air and shattering windows ashore. The midget was not spotted after that so *Yandra*'s crew thought their attack had sunk it.

Despite the fighting going on across the harbor, the ferry boats were still running around the bay. Admiral Muirhead-Gould had specifically told them to keep active, reasoning that more ships moving through the bay would help keep the attackers suppressed until daylight, shifting the advantage to the defenders. At 11:14 a further order was issued for all ships to turn off their lights. The lights on the docks stayed on until ordered shut off some 71 minutes later, at 12:25 AM.

Four minutes after the dockyard lights went out, Ban was ready to attack *Chicago*. His midget was at a right angle to the cruiser, leaving its long flank wide open for a shot. The distance was only about 800 meters, and the moonlight kept the warship visible even after the lights were turned off. The ship looked like it was starting to move; smoke poured from its two stacks. Ban aimed slightly ahead of *Chicago* to compensate and fired.

The first torpedo lurched from its housing, dipped slightly to a depth of six meters until its propulsion system spun up, then it stabilized at 2.4 meters at a speed of 45 knots. It should take about 40 seconds for the torpedo to impact its target. After the underwater missile left, the submarine became much lighter at the bow and surged to the surface, causing Ban to lose track of his weapon. It took several minutes to get the midget underwater again.

Meanwhile, Ban's aim had apparently been fooled by *Chicago*'s supposed movement. The torpedo soared ahead of the cruiser's bow and continued toward Garden Island. Along the way it sailed under the *K9*, a Dutch submarine, before going on to pass beneath a depot ship, the *Kuttabul*. A former ferry, *Kuttabul* was docked alongside Garden Island and served as a barracks for a number of Australian sailors.

After passing under the floating barracks, the torpedo struck the retaining wall stretching along the shoreline of Garden Island. The explosion thrust *Kuttabul* out of the water in a torrent of spray, killing 21 sailors sleeping below decks. The blast also did severe damage to *K9*. Chunks of timber from the depot ship flew in all directions; half the ship's wheel was consumed in the explosion. The concussion knocked out power and telephone service across the entire island. *Kuttabul* quickly began to settle by the stern.

Australian War Memorial

A crowd of onlookers gathers to witness the lifting of one of the Japanese midget submarines from its watery grave in Sydney Harbor. The bodies of two Japanese crewmen were found in this craft and another sub that was recovered.

Aboard the midget, Ban and Ashibe brought their craft under control again and launched their remaining torpedo. The deadly projectile raced through the dark water, missing *Chicago* by only four meters before continuing across the bay to the eastern side of Garden Island. There, it ran aground on some rocks and stopped without detonating.

As *Chicago* steamed out of the harbor, lookouts spotted a periscope alongside the ship at 2:56. The crew signaled the harbor defenses, and at 3:10 a pair of patrol boats, HMAS *Steady Hour* and *Sea Mist* were ordered to the area. The periscope had been spotted outside the torpedo net. The commanders of the two converted pleasure craft, Lieutenant Athol Townley and Lieutenant Reginald Andrew, respectively, cast off and got moving.

Townley was in overall command of the two boats as Andrew had just taken command of *Sea Mist* 11 hours earlier. Andrew was understandably unsure and only had three of his eight crewmen aboard; the rest were ashore that night. Nevertheless, he set out right away. Townley told him to set his depth charges for 15 meters, likely to ensure they would explode if dropped in shallow water. This would give precious little time for the boat to get clear, however.

Nothing happened until 3:50, when *Kanimbla,* a British armed merchant cruiser, spotted what it thought was a submarine several hundred meters to the east of its stationary position northwest of Garden Island. This was far inside the torpedo net. About an hour later, the minesweeper *Doomba* reported a submarine sighting farther east, indicating Matsuo had turned around and was heading back to the mouth of the harbor.

The Japanese sailors' luck ran out at 5 AM, when *Steady Hour* and *Sea Mist,* joined by *Yarroma,* were patrolling near Taylor's Bay on the northeast side of the harbor just inside the torpedo net. *Sea Mist* spotted a dark shape in the water, and Lieutenant Andrew moved in for a closer look. Andrew spotted the midget's conning tower jutting above the surface.

It was Andrew's first action and he was taken aback, describing it as a "shattering experience." Years later, he said, "It caught me very much off guard and I was far from ready to deal with the situation."

Despite his admission of distress at his first taste of combat, Andrew acted decisively. The submarine started submerging again. It seemed

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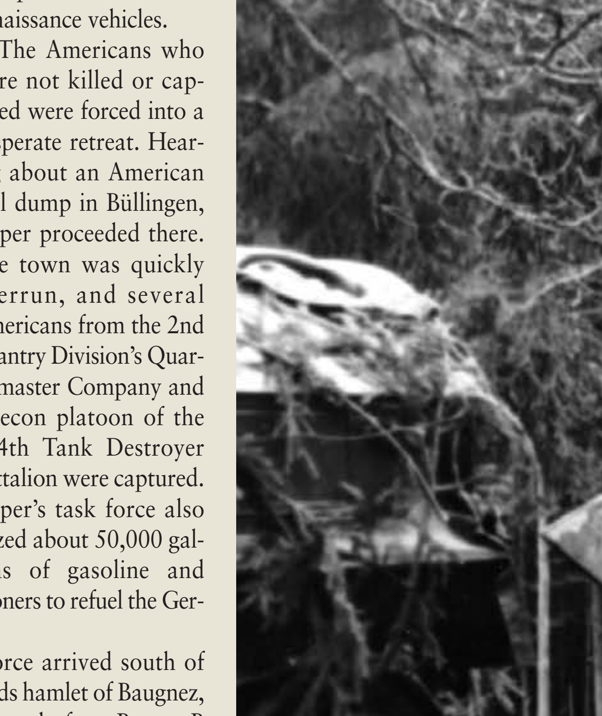
In Peiper’s Path

BY JOSH QUACKENBUSH

SS fanatic Jochen Peiper led Hitler’s desperate spearhead during the Battle of the Bulge.



DURING THE Battle of the Bulge, the largest battle America has ever fought, Hitler chose the Sixth Panzer Army for the German juggernaut’s most important role. The decisive spearhead was given to a combat group commanded by a young lieutenant colonel named Jochen Peiper. The planning for the Ardennes offensive of 1944 was conducted with such secrecy that Peiper did not receive his formal mission briefing until two days before the assault.

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The offensive was Hitler’s last desperate gamble in the West. His plan was to overrun lightly defended portions of the Allied line in the Ardennes Forest and drive across the River Meuse all the way to the Belgian port of Antwerp. The capture of the major port would effectively split the Allied armies in the West in two while disrupting supply and troop movements. The Western Allies might be compelled to sue for peace.

Although Peiper had over 100 tanks under his command, two pieces of disturbing news were brought to his attention. First, the route Hitler selected for him was, Peiper said, “not for tanks, but for bicycles.” Second, he would have to rely on capturing American gasoline along the way to help meet the demands of his thirsty Panzer IV, Panther, and Tiger tanks. Peiper’s corps commander SS Lieutenant General Hermann Priess reassured him, “If you get to the Meuse with one damned tank, Jochen, you’ll have done your job!”

When the offensive began on Saturday, December 16, 1944, Peiper’s tanks were delayed by the onrush of traffic and a minefield the Germans had laid down in retreat months earlier. It was not until Sunday that Peiper’s task force reached the town of Honsfeld, Belgium. There it surprised an array of American forces from the 394th Infantry Regiment and 32nd Calvary Squadron to the 801st and 612th Tank Destroyer Battalions. Four German tanks were knocked out, but Peiper captured 15 U.S. tank destroyers and 50 reconnaissance vehicles.

The Americans who were not killed or captured were forced into a desperate retreat. Hearing about an American fuel dump in Büllingen, Peiper proceeded there. The town was quickly overrun, and several Americans from the 2nd Infantry Division’s Quartermaster Company and a recon platoon of the 644th Tank Destroyer Battalion were captured. Peiper’s task force also seized about 50,000 gallons of gasoline and forced the American prisoners to refuel the German tanks at gunpoint.

When Peiper’s task force arrived south of Malmedy at the crossroads hamlet of Baugnez, it encountered American trucks from Battery B of the 285th Field Artillery Observation Battalion. When the German column opened fire, the Americans abandoned their vehicles in panic. As the men began to surrender, Peiper passed by in his command vehicle. Moving westward, he neared the town of Ligneuville, where General Edward Timberlake and his staff were about ready to enjoy a hot lunch at the Hôtel du Moulin. It was the headquarters for the U.S. 49th Antiaircraft Artillery Brigade, which protected Liege from V1 buzz bomb attacks. General Timberlake and his men were so surprised by the speed of Peiper’s advance that they narrowly escaped capture.

Meanwhile, at Baugnez American prisoners were being assembled in a field near the Café Bodarwé. Lieuteant Raphael Schumacker remembered escaping from the Germans with two other Americans. He heard either two pistol or rifle shots followed by machine-gun fire. The two men attempting to escape with him were killed along with many other unarmed prisoners. The SS troopers, according to sworn

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ABOVE: Smoke from his cigar curls upward as an SS officer and his detachment pause at a road sign directing traffic toward the village of Malmedy, Belgium, during the opening hours of the German Ardennes offensive that came to be known as the Battle of the Bulge. In a field near Malmedy, troops under the command of SS Colonel Jochen Peiper committed one of the most infamous battlefield atrocities of World War II. LEFT: SS Colonel Jochen Peiper was a ruthlessly efficient officer who drove his armored spearhead toward the River Meuse as rapidly as possible. OPPOSITE TOP: During the early phase of the Battle of the Bulge, advancing German SS troops overwhelmed forward American positions in the Ardennes Forest. In this photo, an American prisoner gestures toward a group of SS officers to ask if he and his fellow captives are marching in the right direction.

statements from 21 American survivors, then stepped through the bodies lying in the snow, stopping to shoot those who showed any signs of life. At least 86 Americans were killed and 25 wounded in what became known as the Malmedy Massacre.

After the war, Peiper said, "I recognize that after the battle of Normandy my unit was composed mainly of young, fanatical soldiers. A good deal of them had lost their parents, their sisters and brothers during the bombing. They had seen for themselves in Köln thousands of

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The shattered Belgian town of Stavelot is shown during the Battle of the Bulge. In the center at left is the bridge over the Ambléve River.

mangled corpses after a terror raid had passed. Their hatred for the enemy was such, I swear it, I could not always keep it under control."

By Sunday evening, Peiper was near Stavelot. He was confident of reaching the River Meuse the following day. General Courtney Hodges, commander of the U.S. First Army, had good reason to be concerned. Peiper's advancing task force was about 18 kilometers southwest of the Hotel Britannique in Spa, which served as his headquarters. Between Spa and Stavelot lay two major Allied supply depots containing one of the greatest concentrations of gasoline on the Continent. Depots No. 2 and No. 3 contained more than three million gallons of motor fuel, enough to power Peiper's panzers all the way to Antwerp.

A task force led by Major Paul Solis was sent to Stavelot to assist Captain Lloyd Sheetz of the 291st Combat Engineer Battalion in establishing roadblocks near the Ambléve River. By 3:45 AM on Monday, December 18, elements of the 526th Armored Infantry and 825th Tank Destroyer Battalions had passed near the fuel depots and arrived in Stavelot.

Captain Charles Mitchell, commander of the 526th Armored Infantry Battalion, remembers, "Major Solis, Captain Sheetz, Lieutenant Doherty, and I proceeded by jeep to Captain Sheetz's command post near the bridge crossing the Ambléve River. We discussed the situation, and Major Solis ordered my company to defend the bridge.... I was not informed, nor was I aware that the bridge was supposed to have been mined for detonation." Company C of the 202nd Engineers had quit guarding it before midnight.

At 4:30 AM on Monday, Mitchell ordered his 2nd and 3rd Platoons to proceed in their half-tracks across the Ambléve River bridge. The 2nd Platoon, under Lieutenant Harry Willyard, made its way up a hill on a road called the Vieux Chateau and established a roadblock and listening post. The men radioed Captain Mitchell with news of troop movement and the noise of armored vehicles. He then ordered them to return toward the bridge. On the way the men encountered some of Peiper's panzergrenadiers.

John Sankey, an enlisted man with the 2nd Platoon, recalled, "There was Germans standing at the buildings firing machine guns at each half-track as they went by." Two half-tracks from the 2nd Platoon were lost, but Willyard managed to lead the rest back across the bridge.

Lieutenant Doherty, commanding the 1st Platoon of A Company's 825th Tank Destroyer Battalion, sent two gun squads commanded by Sergeants Jack Armstrong and Jonas Whaley with their half-tracks across the bridge. James Hammons, who served under Whaley wrote, "Sergeant Armstrong's unit was first up the hill and we followed.... In just a few minutes as we reached the top, a flare went up from a trip wire and the Germans opened up with fire power. Our own troops back across the river began to shoot and we were caught in the crossfire. We tried to retreat but the Germans had pulled a tank or an '88 in a curve and began to shoot, hitting Sergeant Armstrong's unit, setting it on fire. We were behind them and trapped so we had to leave our unit for cover. I was handed a 30 caliber M.G. from the pedestal mount and four of us took shelter inside a tin shed. Momentarily, the German infantry came in droves and we ran into a house and upstairs by a window. The only weapon we had was the machine gun and a carbine with the barrel filled with mud. Naturally, we had to hold our fire as we were outnumbered by the Germans. We watched as they used a burp gun to kill Sergeant Armstrong and part of his crew, trying to get out of the burning unit."

Anthony Calvanese was shot in the left thigh while jumping from the half-track. Fellow squad member Bernard Gallagher was shot and fell on top of him. "He was huge," remembered Calvanese. "I had to struggle to get out." Calvanese dashed into the nearest building and propped his leg up on a chair to dress his wound. Outside he saw flames coming from his squad's half-track.

Calvanese would never forget what he saw next. "There was a German officer, he had a long trench coat on ... he's got a gun. He's pointing it directly at me." The German fired his Luger, hitting Calvanese in the left ankle.

In desperation, Calvanese looked for an escape. "I tried to go out the side window, I couldn't; there was a machine gun nest there. I didn't have a hand grenade or nothing. There was nothing I could do. So I jumped out the back window into a courtyard. I tried to get into the building down below. There were these elderly people, they wouldn't let me in. They were telling me to get away from there. I could understand that."

Calvanese was unable to put any weight on his left leg now and began to crawl for his life. "And along came this fellow, Marcel Ozer. He told me to follow him, which I did. I crawled in back of him all the way to the dairy, where they were using it as a shelter for the civilians." The Belgians tended to his wounds, hiding him from the Germans.

Enlisted men William Kenny, Jim Landgren, and Steve Howell from A Company, 526th Armored Infantry Battalion had crossed the Ambléve River to set up a machine-gun emplacement. "We heard a lot of rifle fire and machine-gun fire," remembers Kenny. "So we realized real quick that we were in a bad spot. We were between our fellows and the Germans up behind us on the hill." The trio made their way to the bank of the Ambléve River where Landgren decided to go one direction, Kenny and Howell the other.

To escape the German threat, they were

going to have to cross the river. Howell did not take to this idea so well. Kenny remembered, "I said, 'What's the matter,' and he said, 'I can't swim.' Holy gee-wiz, so can you imagine under fire like this giving instructions on how to swim." The river was frozen about a half-inch thick. "We broke through into the water and swam as far as we could, holding our breath under the ice until our air exhausted. We had to come up and break the ice again to get up to the surface, to get air again."

Kenny and Howell reunited with their battalion. Jim Landgren, who had taken the alternate route, failed to return to friendly lines and was hidden by a Belgian family and later captured.

In downtown Stavelot things were heating up for the rest of its defenders. "The Germans have a way of scaring you to death before they kill you," remembered Captain Mitchell. In the wake of a terrifying rocket and mortar assault, Peiper's infantry force began to charge toward the Ambléve River bridge. "I told the machine gun squads to wait till they got close over on [our] side of the bridge and then open up on them. Then here comes the troops across the bridge. So we could handle that, with the machine guns and my men. We stopped that, right then, and they retreated back across the bridge."

At about 8 AM, Peiper's tanks began their assault. "I listened and I heard a big rumble and I heard them tanks coming down. I knew we could not handle the tanks!" said Mitchell.

Two 76mm antitank guns under Lieutenant Doherty were moved into position to fire on the German tanks. Sergeant Martin Hauser, commanding one of the gun squads, remembered, "When them tanks started coming down off the hill they scared the hell out of everybody. Seeing them great big monsters, we did the best we could to put them out of business."

From across the river, Hauser's squad aimed its gun at the tracks of the enemy tanks, disabling two of them. "And the guys got out of the tanks. We could see them. They jumped up on the roofs of the buildings over there. So we just started peppering the building, started cutting the building down," he recalled.

Lou Celentano, who commanded the other gun squad, remembered, "We decided to cut down more of the buildings because they seemed to be hiding behind them. We really tore those buildings down. The .50-caliber [mounted on the half-track] did a heck of a job and we were shooting some 3-inch rounds into it and finally cleared it enough so that we started seeing the turrets. Eventually we got so that we had demolished the homes completely and we were able to see the tanks themselves, the entire tanks. So we concentrated on knocking out either the turret or the tracks. The tracks were the best first shot and fortunately we had two great gunners. My gunner was Corporal Roy Ables and Hauser's was Corporal Paul Lenzo. We managed to stop the first and the last tanks almost immediately.... The second tank was the one that started turning its turret toward us. And I don't know who hit the turret but he was within a few feet of being able to hit one of us when the turret was stopped and he fired, he actually fired. One shot went completely over our heads.... If he had been able to lower his gun he would have gotten me. I'm almost sure of that. When I say me I'm talking about my crew. But he wasn't able to get off another shot and that's when the turret opened up and a man started to climb out.

Celentano continued, "There was smoke coming out of it ... out of the hatch.... And by now that's when [Ben] Bodziner was on the [half-track's .50-caliber] gun, and unfortunately he froze. It was extremely cold and he had taken off his gloves. His fingers were on the trigger, but he couldn't move them. And I went up and hit him on the hands to try and wake him up. And one shot went flying. I say one shot because I don't remember whether there was anything following up on it. And it hit the man coming out of the tank. It hit him square in the center of his forehead."

With a pair of binoculars, Celentano saw the German fall from the tank. The antitank gun crews continued to load and fire the 76mm shells. Celentano remembered, "We were firing rapid fire and needed a constant supply of shells. The ammo truck was quite a distance from us and the shells we used had to be carried for quite some distance and it was here that a comic relief was added to the horrible scenario of the moment. Lives were being lost and buildings were falling to the ground. While I was giving firing directions to my crew and worrying about the tanks coming down the hill to battle us, yelling above the roar of our fire, out of the corner of my eye I saw a sight that could have been shot in a keystone [Keystone Cops] comedy film. Our ammo was being delivered to us by Jol Torre at 4 feet, 9 inches tall, and his closest friend from their first day in the 825th TD, Alex Aleskavitch. Picture about a 6 foot box weighing at least 80 pounds being carried by a 6-plus footer trying to come down to match a less than 5 footer's level. This was

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A German PzKpfw. V Panther medium tank rolls forward across a snow-covered road during the Battle of the Bulge in December 1944. The Panther mounted a high-velocity 75mm cannon and was considered one of the finest tanks of World War II.

Hollywood comedy, but I didn't stop to laugh.... I have no idea how many [shells were fired] but I know there was an awful lot of brass laying on that ground afterwards."

The shelling took its toll on the German column as witnessed by Karl Wortmann, who commanded a flakpanzer self-propelled antiaircraft vehicle in 10th Company's Panzer Regiment 1. "It had cost us several panzers and wounded, but the bridge over the Ambléve was open," he remembered. A Panther tank commanded by Eugene Zimmermann of the 1st SS Panzer Company had been selected by Peiper to lead the attack through Stavelot. In his briefing he was told an American antitank gun would contest his advance.

"Noticing a tank approaching the bridge, I alerted Sergeant Smith of the antitank squad," recalled Mitchell. "We watched as it slowly crossed the bridge," he said. "Just as it left the bridge, my antitank gun fired, but unfortunately caused no damage." Three more shots were fired at the German Panther with no effect before it overran the crew's position.

Although the Panther had an excellent combination of speed, armor, and firepower, it was the Tiger that gained the reputation as the most feared tank on the battlefield during World War II. As the enemy armor rolled into Stavelot, a Tiger tank turned on the Avenue Ferdinand Nicolay, where Sergeant Martin Hauser's gun crew was positioned.

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ABOVE: German soldiers loot an American camp that has been deserted and overrun. The Ardennes offensive was undertaken without an adequate supply of fuel, and soldiers in the background have located a number of jerry cans. OPPOSITE: The armored spearheads of Kampfgruppe Peiper came near their goal of establishing a bridgehead across the River Meuse during the Battle of the Bulge. However, pockets of determined American resistance disrupted the delicate German timetable for the advance and caused Peiper's tanks to burn precious fuel.

"At first I couldn't see him go across the bridge but I could hear him coming," remembers Hauser, "and the first thing I see when he came around the building was that big 88 sticking out there. Then they turned and faced us and we were standing there. We were on one end of the street and they were on the other end and they start firing with their machine guns and that's when we cut loose with a couple of rounds of our ammunition off our 3-inch gun and we hit him up in the turret."

Nearby, Lieutenant Doherty and his driver escaped from their jeep just before it was set ablaze by the Tiger's machine guns. Hauser remembers, "I had my half-track right behind his jeep and if they would have shot in there with an 88 they would have got both of them."

The massive Tiger backed into a building, sending bricks crashing down upon it, and Hauser witnessed the enemy crew exiting the disabled tank. Hauser and Celentano were awarded the Bronze Star for knocking out or disabling four German tanks. As reported in the newspaper *Stars and Stripes,* Doherty's platoon sergeant, Vestor Lowe, remarked, "Hitler would be damned unhappy if he knew that the two guns which caused so much trouble were commanded by an Italian and a German—Celentano and Hauser."

Peiper's column continued passing through Stavelot. "My troops did their best as they fought street by street," recalled Mitchell. Some of the men from his 3rd Platoon withdrew north on the Francorchamps road toward fuel depot No. 3, the smaller of the two depots in the region holding 1,115,000 gallons of 80-octane gasoline. Evacuation of the fuel had already begun. Fearing that German forces were going to seize the fuel, Belgian guards and men from the 3rd Platoon of Mitchell's company set a section of the depot on fire. Peiper knew nothing of these depots, and as 124,000 gallons of fuel were going up in flames his main column was advancing toward the crucial bridges of Trois Ponts, where the Ambléve meets the Salm River.

As Peiper's task force lunged for the crossings at Trois Ponts, Company C, 51st Combat Engineer Battalion detonated charges on the key bridges, sending them crashing into the Ambléve and Salm Rivers below. With the favored route now denied, Peiper's main column detoured northwest to the town of La Gleize and then southwest into the village of Cheneux. With clearing weather, Allied fighter-bombers took to the skies, and as U.S. Republic P-47 Thunderbolts and British Hawker Typhoons struck the German task force, Peiper took cover in an old concrete bunker.

The Germans returned fire with their four-barreled Wirbelwind 20mm antiaircraft guns that were mounted on type IV tank chassis. One P-47 was shot down and eight others damaged. About eight vehicles were hit during the air attack, but the major loss for Peiper was

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

precious time.

The Allied air attack delayed the German advance, providing time for A Company, 291st Engineers to prepare charges on the Neufmoulin bridge. As the lead Panther approached the bridge over the Lienne River, it was blown in their faces. With no other bridges in the vicinity capable of handling the weight of heavy German tanks, Peiper was forced back toward La Gleize. His fuel was critically low, and a number of his tanks ran out of gas. Belgian observers reported 125 German vehicles including 30 tanks passing through the town of Rahier. Peiper spent the night resting in the Chateau Froidcour just east of Stoumont.

Throughout the night of December 18, men from the 119th Infantry Regiment, 3rd Battalion settled into Stoumont. James Pendleton of Headquarters Company recalled, "We just parked our vehicles in the street, went in the buildings, and laid down. We had been on the road for two days and most of two nights. And along about ... two o'clock in the morning I was awakened by ... Lieutenant Goodman.... He came up and nudged me with his foot and he said, 'Jim you hear that noise out there?' And I said, 'Yes sir, I do. Why don't those so and so's lay down and go to sleep?' And he said, 'Those so and so's are German Royal Tigers....'"

Lieutenant Walter J. Goodman ordered Pendleton and two machine gunners from I Company to prepare a roadblock with antitank mines. Staff Sergeant Walter Kos, 1st Platoon, I Company, received orders from Captain George D. Rehkoph, "There's somebody out there running around with a lot of tanks and I want you to find them."

Kos and four others traveled by jeep to the area east of Stoumont. The driver stayed behind while the others proceeded through a wooded area on foot until they came upon the enemy from a concealed position. "They were washing up, eating, making a fire, and changing their clothes," remembers Kos. "There were 30 ... tanks there." Kos reported the findings to his company commander, who relayed them up the chain of command.

The previous night Robert Hall and two others with Headquarters Company had been ordered by Lieutenant Goodman to set up an observation post on a hilltop overlooking the east side of Stoumont. They found a small farm house, and Hall remembered, "We tried to get a little sleep and then at the break of dawn we look out and here comes the whole German Army, tanks and soldiers.... I ran down into Stoumont and I couldn't go any further because they were coming right at us. So I went into this house and went down to the cellar. There was 20 to 25 of us soldiers there. I knew they were coming now, so I went to the cellar window and looked out and I could see about 10 feet away an infantry soldier with his rifle."

Hall, who had received a Silver Star while serving in Normandy, looked around for some place to take cover. Without no other option, Hall and the others surrendered.

Meanwhile, Sergeant Kos and the men were ordered to stall the enemy's advance into Stoumont. The lieutenant in charge abandoned the platoon. "He had it planned, I think, to get the hell out," said Kos. "He knew that place was hot and I did too. We were in front for a delaying action." Over the radio Kos remembered Captain Rehkopf informing him, "Don't forget now, you're in charge.... If you get out of this, I'll make sure you have your own platoon."

For the actions that followed, Kos would be decorated with a Silver Star, undergo five back surgeries, and receive decades of psychiatric treatment.

When German tanks approached the 3rd Platoon's position, Kos helped direct the fire of two Sherman tanks from C Company, 743rd Tank Battalion. He gave the signal as soon as the lead German tank was about to come around a corner.

"So the two Shermans fired at the lead tank, knocked the track off of it and damaged the turret," said Kos. Gallantly moving through a murderous hail of machine-gun, small-arms, and tank fire, Kos continued directing fire that destroyed two enemy half-tracks. The heroic action delayed the enemy long enough for a new defensive line to be established.

When an advancing enemy tank rammed its own disabled tank off the road, Kos's position was jeopardized. He recalled, "That's when they started coming after us. We were fighting them house to house and then I got separated from the other guys."

Kos ducked into one of the houses and went upstairs. "I could see the tank and six Germans, six SS guys coming down the road," he said. "I knew that if I shot a couple of them, which I

could of, that they were going to get me anyway." When one of the SS troopers came to the front door of the house, Kos decided to escape out the back window of the second floor. The SS trooper threw a grenade into the room, and as Kos opened the window the blast sent him flying to the ground below.

Kos landed on his back hard, but with adrenaline masking the pain he ran into a nearby house. Inside about a dozen men from 3rd Platoon were hiding from the enemy. As the German tank approached, the men decided to run for it. Kos remembers. "The guys started crossing the road. The Germans were picking them off left and right. They wanted to escape. They heard about ... the massacre at Malmedy. So they figured they didn't want to get shot.... But they had that road zeroed in, I told them don't go, don't cross that road.... So they start crossing it. Jeez! They were getting shot and we tried to pull them back in. They were wounded. We couldn't, because as soon as you went out there, hell ... they were shooting and their Tiger was coming down."

The German tank stopped outside the house and an SS trooper called out in German, "You're surrounded."

Kos remembered, "We knew what the hell that meant—put your hands on your head—so we came out. They lined us up and they start marching us to the rear and they were kicking us, gave us all a whack. As they were marching us up the German troops start coming in. Everybody took a whack at us, oh with the guns and every damn thing, my neck, my back."

As German tanks in Peiper's column forced their way through the streets of Stoumont, James Pendleton of Headquarters Company placed his allotted antitank mines in the path of the oncoming enemy. He saw a German tank run over one of the mines and burst into flames.

"I had two I Company machine gunners with me," Pendleton said. "I had a guy from Hagerstown, Maryland, by the name of Red Aldrich and also a guy from Memphis, Tennessee ... we called him Memphis, that's the only nickname I knew him by."

When the Germans opened their hatches in an attempt to escape the burning tank, Aldrich and Memphis "took care of them as they crawled out…." With the onslaught of German tanks and infantry pouring into Stoumont, the men were soon forced to take cover in a storeroom with a large front window.

"A German tank rolled up and stuck the barrel of the 88 through the glass front," recalled Pendleton. "And a guy raised the turret and a German said, he had on a G.I. uniform, 'You give up, or you want me to blast you.' And I said, 'Well, I'll give up.' And the jeep was parked at a side door. So we had to come out the side door anyway and the jeep was sitting there idling. And I told the guys, I said, 'I'll drive it. You guys ride it.' The two guys that were with me, Aldrich and Garrison, they filed in the back of the jeep and I jumped in the driver's side."

Pendleton sped off in a desperate attempt to put as much distance between the jeep and the German tank as possible. He recalled, "Well this tank, he backed out and he started shooting point-blank, 88 shells at us. And I got down the road about 50 feet and there sat a German halftrack with twin mounted 20s on it. And as I passed him, he shot down on the side of me and I pulled the jeep from second gear down to high gear and that time the shell hit my right arm."

The antiaircraft shell took off about four inches of the radius and ulna bones near the elbow of Pendleton's forearm. The jeep lost control as it neared a curve in the road and flipped over, throwing its occupants through the air. Aldrich and Memphis scrambled to their feet and managed to take cover behind some bushes.

"It was humanly impossible to get out of the situation I was in after I was shot," said Pendleton. "I said, 'Lord if you won't save my body, save my soul,' and that gave me courage.... Well, I get on my feet and there was a building next door and I ran in that door. The room was full of Germans.... And a big red-headed German stuck a burp gun in my face and I grabbed it with my left hand and shoved it away and he either fired it empty or it jammed. I don't know which and when it quit I sailed out the door again. But the street was moving with tracers. You could see it, just like sheet metal moving down the street. Anyhow there was a wireman nearby by the name of Joe Duval. He was from Indiana and he stopped just a second and cut my sleeve off and tied a tourniquet on me and on he went. I stood there and I was getting weak. There was no place to go."

German vehicles and infantry continued through Stoumont. Pendleton leaned against a building to rest and gazed at the street corner where his jeep had overturned. Aldrich and Memphis were nowhere to be seen. Then from around the corner a Sherman tank appeared and fired its gun. The Sherman withdrew and

Moving into position to defend the town of Stoumont, Belgium, tanks and soldiers of the U.S. 740th Tank Battalion and paratroopers of the 82nd Airborne Division are confronted by the grim task of stemming Peiper's SS tide.

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then reappeared to fire again. It continued this strategy for some time, and finally Pendleton was able to attract the tank crew's attention by leaping out in the middle of the street.

Pendleton yelled, "Come and get me, I'm an American!" The tank fired and then withdrew again. When it returned one of the tankers yelled from an open hatch, "We can't get you in, but we can get you on the left side of the road if you could ride the barrel out. When I rev it three times you'll know I'm coming all the way."

The tank continued to maneuver from around the corner. Upon hearing the Sherman's engine rev three times, Pendleton moved to the location as instructed, and when the tank reappeared the barrel was positioned for him to grab.

"I hooked my left arm and grabbed a hold of my belt and he rode me back around the curve," says Pendleton. "I was suspended in the

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air on the opposite side of the road from where the Germans were. They sandblasted the tank.... They shot all the paint off of it." With exhaustion setting in, Pendleton's grip around the barrel loosened, and he fell to the ground, nearly being crushed by the tank that had just saved his life. The 119th Infantry Regiment's 3rd Battalion suffered 267 casualties defending Stoumont. Most of the 152 left behind to cover the battalion's withdrawal were captured.

Peiper sent a small probing force west past the hamlet of Targnon until three of the leading Panthers were destroyed. By Tuesday, December 19, his task force had advanced over 100 kilometers, farther than any other German unit. However, supply shortages, particularly fuel, were becoming critical. "We began to realize," he said, "that we had insufficient gasoline to cross the bridge west of Stoumont."

In an ironic twist of fate, that very afternoon one of Peiper's reconnaissance groups probing a secondary road from La Gleize to Spa had narrowly missed 2,226,000 gallons of gasoline. To prevent fuel depot No. 2 from falling into German hands, a minefield had hastily been laid and Headquarters Company of the U.S. 9th Armored Group had been ordered to provide a radio security net for the First Army.

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ABOVE: Two American soldiers advance down a muddy road near the Belgian village of La Gleize and glance at the smoking hulk of a German Panther medium tank that has recently been destroyed. LEFT: American artillery played a key role in blunting the initial drive by the Germans during the Battle of the Bulge. This photo was taken on December 21, 1944, during desperate fighting to support infantry positions contesting the German offensive.

When radio net officer 1st Lt. Walter R. Butts heard enemy activity in the area he requested additional support. The 110th Antiaircraft Artillery Battalion sent in two 90mm antiaircraft guns and four M-51 quadruple .50-caliber machine guns. Peiper's reconnaissance group of two armored cars, two trucks, and two self-propelled 88mm guns reached a point about a mile north of Cour, near the southern edge of the minefield. Two Germans got out of the leading armored car and walked to the minefield.

An American opened up with a .50-caliber machine gun, and the Germans immediately returned fire, killing the gunner. Then all the machine guns opened up while other Americans let loose with small arms fire.

"Jerry must have thought he hit a regiment," Butts said. "I don't know how much damage we did; we made a hell of a lot of noise. After 10 minutes, the [German] column pulled out...."

By Wednesday, December 20, Peiper faced his enemy on three fronts. Throughout the day and into the night the main concentration of his forces, spread through Stoumont, Cheneux, and La Gleize, fought off elements of the U.S. 30th Infantry, 82nd Airborne, and 3rd Armored Divisions. Three separate task forces from the 3rd Armored Division's Combat Command B were involved. Task Force Lovelady was given the important job of cutting off the Stavelot-Stoumont road to prevent supplies from getting to Peiper. Task Force Jordan made a thrust toward Stoumont and was beaten back when two American tanks leading the column were knocked out.

Task Force McGeorge attempted to advance into the northeastern outskirts of La Gleize. Charles Ley, a loader in a Sherman tank with I Company of the 33rd Armor Regiment recalled, "We were at the crest of the hill ... waiting for our armored infantry to come up.... It was so foggy down below, you couldn't see anything.... All of a sudden the Lieutenant gets on the horn and says, 'Okay fellows button up, prepare to fight.... We got up to the corner and the road turned to the right leading into the town. Our lead tank got hit and knocked out and that was the end of our push up that hill."

When the fog lifted for a short time a German knocked out another Sherman commanded by Lieutenant Wanamaker. When the Sherman advance toward La Gleize stalled, the infantry continued. "We got the daylights kicked out of us, boy we ran into an ambush," remembers Robert Kauffman who served in D Company, 36th Armored Infantry Battalion. Under the cover of darkness, the men crossed a small narrow bridge and then made their way up a hill.

Kauffman recalled, "We had just crossed over a brook, and when we heard the bolt of a machine gun being put into the firing position everybody hit the ground. All of a sudden there was firing all over the place, and they were dropping grenades in on us. Fortunately, the machine gun had been preset to fire on the bridge and that's where the fire was going, the bridge that

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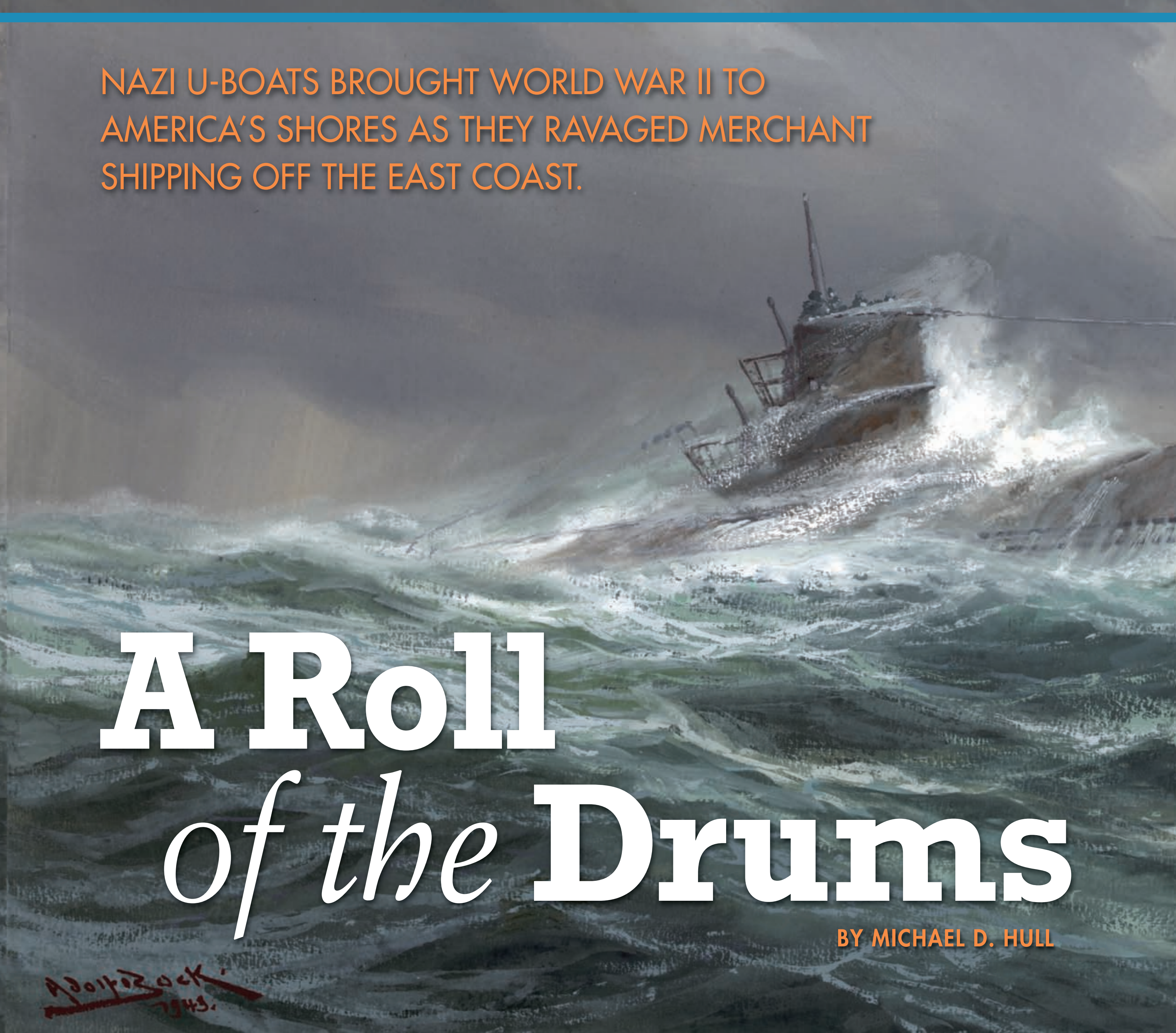
AFTER REFUELING IN the mid-Atlantic and suffering bow damage from being rammed by a tanker, a 769-ton German submarine reached its destination, the American East Coast, early on Monday, May 4, 1942.

U-333 stayed submerged off the balmy southeastern Florida shore during the daylight hours and then surfaced when evening came. Climbing one after another to the bridge for a breath of fresh air, Lt. Cmdr. Peter Cremer and his 43 crewmen rubbed their eyes in disbelief.

"We had left a blacked-out Europe behind us," reported Cremeer, one of Admiral Karl Dönitz's bold "gray wolf" submarine skippers who wreaked havoc on Allied convoys throughout World War II. "Yet here the buoys were blinking as normal, the famous lighthouse at Jupiter Inlet was sweeping its luminous cone far over the sea. We were cruising off a brightly lit coastal road with darting headlights from innumerable cars."

Laden with 14 torpedoes and mines, the Type VII submarine moved in so close to the Florida coastline, said Cremer, that "we could distinguish equally the big hotels and the cheap dives, and read the flickering neon signs…. All of this after nearly five months of war! Before this sea of light, against this footlight glare of a carefree new world, we were passing the silhouettes of ships recognizable in every detail and sharp as the outlines in a sales catalogue. Here they were formally presented to us on a plate: please help yourselves! All we had to do was press the button."

Cremer's first victim the following day was the 13,000-ton American



NAZI U-BOATS BROUGHT WORLD WAR II TO AMERICA'S SHORES AS THEY RAVAGED MERCHANT SHIPPING OFF THE EAST COAST.

A Roll *of the* Drums

BY MICHAEL D. HULL

tanker *Java Arrow,* followed by the unarmed 11,000-ton tanker *Halsey* and a smaller freighter. The U.S. submarine chaser *PC-451* pursued *U-333* without success. Meanwhile, the other U-boats nearby were enjoying an equally satisfactory second "Happy Time." The first was in 1940, when the first wolfpack operations wreaked havoc on shipping around Great Britain.

America had been at war for five months in May 1942, but her defenses still needed time to galvanize. The Pacific Fleet had been savaged at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, many warships were mothballed on the West Coast, and the Navy Department was slow to act. While the Eastern Seaboard was virtually unprotected during the first disastrous six months of 1942, the U-boats sank thousands of tons of Allied and neutral shipping from Newfoundland to the Caribbean. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill called it "a terrible massacre."

Yet, although the East Coast was vulnerable, U.S. Navy ships had been on active duty in the Atlantic long before the Pearl Harbor attack. Hewing to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's policy of "all aid short of war," the Navy Department and the British Admiralty had agreed that American ships would help escort North Atlantic convoys.

"The situation is obviously critical in the Atlantic," declared Admiral Harold R. "Betty" Stark, chief of naval operations, on April 4, 1941. Roosevelt warned on May 27, "The war is approaching the brink of the

In this painting by German artist Adolf Beck, a U-boat is buffeted by wind and waves on the surface of the Atlantic Ocean. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill once said that the only time he was truly concerned about the outcome of the war was during the height of the U-boat menace.

Library of Congress

Bundesarchiv Bild 101II-MW-4260-37; Photo: Kramer

Western Hemisphere itself. It is coming very close to home."

U.S. Navy patrol bombers flew convoy coverage from Iceland and Newfoundland, and in July a U.S. Marine Corps contingent started relieving the British garrison in Iceland.

The shooting phase of America's undeclared war began on September 4, when the destroyer USS *Greer* was attacked by a U-boat. Roosevelt denounced the "piracy" and ordered his ships to fire on any vessel that interfered with American shipping. First blood was drawn on the night of October 17, 1941, when the destroyer USS *Kearny,* escorting a slow convoy, was torpedoed. She made it back to port, but 11 of her crew were killed. Two weeks later, on October 31, the aging flushdeck destroyer USS *Reuben James,* also on convoy escort, was ripped apart by a U-boat's torpedo. The death toll was 115, and the American people were shocked. Seven merchant ships, meanwhile, were sunk while the nation was still neutral.

When Japanese carrier planes swept over Pearl Harbor on the fateful morning of Sunday, December 7, 1941, thrusting a woefully unprepared United States into World War II, the Germans were as shocked as the Americans. General Hideki Tojo, the scrawny, owlish Japanese war minister, had not informed Adolf Hitler of his expansionist war plans in the Far East or about the strike on Pearl Harbor. The German high command was caught off guard, and no one was more surprised than U-boat chief Admiral Karl Dönitz.

Hitler had barred operations off the American coast and the sinking of U.S. warships, but Grand Admiral Erich Raeder, the German Navy chief, informed Dönitz on December 8, that the restrictions had been rescinded. Dönitz was anxious to extend operations to the Western Hemisphere. When Nazi Germany declared war on the United States on December 11, he introduced two new types of submarines, the 1,100-ton Long-range Type IX and the 1,700-ton "milch cow" tender, which would replenish U-boats far from their bases. Dönitz swiftly drew up plans to renew a campaign which, like the wolfpacks and surface night attacks, had been tried out in the last year of World War I.

After more than two years of devastating attacks on British shipping since September 1939, he intended to take the war to the American East Coast. Dönitz, himself a submarine veteran of World War I, wanted such an operation to prove more destructive than the imprudent blockade of the summer of 1918, when three U-boats sank the cruiser USS *San Diego,* damaged the battleship USS *Minnesota,* sank 28 steamers, and destroyed more than 50 small, unarmed tugs, barges, yachts, and motor boats. As the U.S. official history of the naval war noted later, "Admiral [Alfred von] Tirpitz's coastal campaign of 1918 was a very faint taste of the foul dose that Admiral Dönitz administered in 1942."

Dönitz asked Hitler for permission to divert a dozen long-range U-boats from the Mediterranean area and send them against the United States. He proposed to greet America's entry into the war with "a roll of the drums." But the Führer was unwilling to weaken the German and Italian forces in the Mediterranean, so he allowed Dönitz to divert only six boats.

At the time, Dönitz had under his command 91 submarines, of which 55 were available. Sixty percent of these were in dock being refitted or repaired, which left 25. Twenty-two were at sea, so this left only three boats at hand. The frustrated Dönitz, who had told Hitler in 1939 that he could starve the hated British into submission with a fleet of 300 U-boats, never had enough of them at his disposal. But he meant to make the most of those he had.

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ABOVE: The U-boat arm of the Kriegsmarine was under the command of Admiral Karl Dönitz (above left). Captain Reinhard Hardegan (above right) became one of the most successful German submarine commanders during Operation Drumbeat.
LEFT: With their crews standing topside and officers waving to the crowd gathered along the docks, the German submarines *U-123* and *U-201* exit the port of Lorient, France in June 1941. The U-boat war patrols were extended affairs, and at times supply submarines were able to rendezvous and replenish food, water, and torpedoes.

By December 1941, Dönitz was ready to commit five long-range U-boats to the long Atlantic voyage and six-week patrols off the American coast. The boats would be on station for two weeks. He called the five captains into his office and gave them their orders. Lieutenant Heinrich Bleichrodt, Lieutenant Ulrich Folkers, Lieutenant Reinhard Hardegan, Commander Ernst Kals, and Commander Richard Zapp were told not to attack shipping unless the target was more than 10,000 tons until they reached their assigned patrol areas. They were to stay out of sight of enemy forces and to make only surprise attacks.

Dönitz was sure that the American coastal defenses were fragmentary and disorganized, and he wanted the submarine skippers to use maximum shock tactics. They broke into grins when their chief told them that he dubbed the

campaign Operation Paukenschlag, or "Kettledrum Beat." The Allies would know it as Operation Drumbeat.

The U-boats were made ready in newly built concrete pens at Lorient and in the nearby Brittany fishing port of Keroman, on the Bay of Biscay in occupied France, in December 1941. The captains were told little about their mission. Supervising the cramming of a maximum supply of ammunition, food, fuel, and 15 torpedoes aboard his *U-123,* the tall, thin Hardegan reported, "We were given an envelope that we were only supposed to open after receiving a specific radio message. We were just told to make the U-boat ready for a long trip." Additional space had to be made for a reporter from the Propaganda Ministry.

The first of five U-boats set off in the third week of December. Hardegan chose to get underway on December 23, not wanting to leave on Christmas Eve because his crewmen would probably be drunk and homesick. A large crowd gathered to cheer *U-123*'s departure on December 23. Soldiers from a nearby Army battalion presented the crew with a Christmas tree and a cake, short speeches were made, and tears were shed. Then, to the strains of the Nazi march "Sailing Against England," the U-boat slipped her mooring lines and eased down the River Scorff and into the Bay of Biscay.

Submerged at a depth of 50 meters the following day, the *U-123* crew celebrated Christmas. Lieutenant Hardegan read the Bethlehem story, carols were sung, weak punch was poured, presents from home were opened, and control room mechanic Richard Amstein played his accordion. Then the boat surfaced and headed westward. Beyond the Bay of Biscay, Hardegan made radio contact with Dönitz's headquarters at the Chateau Kernevel near Lorient and was ordered to open his envelope.

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ABOVE: Admiral Ernest J. King (above left) commanded the U.S. Fleet at the time of Operation Drumbeat and was soon named chief of naval operations. Vice Admiral Adolphus "Dolly" Andrews (above right) commanded the Eastern Sea Frontier during Operation Drumbeat and reported that his forces were inadequate for defense. BELOW: Its back broken, an oil tanker bound for Britain billows smoke as it sinks into the depths of the Atlantic Ocean. German submarines torpedoed Allied shipping at an alarming rate during Operation Drumbeat, forcing the U.S. Navy to employ new methods of antisubmarine warfare to keep the tenuous supply line to Great Britain open.

The admiral had decided that the first wave of boats would operate between the St. Lawrence River in Canada and Cape Hatteras on the North Carolina coast. The five submarines were to reach their stations and await Dönitz's final order to go into action simultaneously. Hardegan's mission was to patrol off New York City, which he had visited as a naval cadet in 1933. When the destination was announced over the *U-123* loudspeaker, Amstein reported, "A few of the crew wondered whether we would get back from there in one piece, but most of us were enthusiastic."

The U-boats approached their assigned patrol areas early in January 1942. Dönitz planned to launch Operation Drumbeat on the 12th, but on January 2, he broke his own orders and authorized New York-bound *U-123* to intercept a Greek steamer with a broken rudder drifting in thick fog 200 miles east of Newfoundland. Hardegan located the ship, but two Canadian destroyers lay in wait. The water was shallow, and the German skipper decided not to risk losing his boat. He withdrew and "felt very bad about it." The U-boat was 300 miles off course and had wasted much fuel.

Hardegan was luckier on January 12, while he was off Cape Cod, Massachusetts, and still distant from his assigned area. Sailing alone, the 9,100-ton British steamer *Cyclops* was a target too tempting to pass up, so *U-123* sank her with two torpedoes. All but two of the ship's complement of 180 escaped, but 84 froze to death in her lifeboats. By the evening of January 14, Dönitz's U-boats were on station, and Operation Drumbeat was underway.

The sinkings mounted swiftly. Commander Kals's *U-130* had dispatched the Norwegian steamer *Frisco* in the Gulf of St. Lawrence on January 13, and the Panamanian freighter *Friar Rock* in the same area eight hours later. Lieutenant Hardegan soon added to his grim score. Cruising 60 miles off Montauk Point, Long Island, on the morning of January 14, *U-123*

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surfaced and sank the 9,600-ton tanker *Norness.*

That night, Hardegan boldly edged his boat into the outer reaches of New York Bay. "We could see the cars driving along the coast road, and I could even smell the woods," reported watch officer Horst von Schroeter. Hardegan observed, "They simply weren't prepared at all.... After all, there was a war on. I found a coast that was brightly lit. At Coney Island, there was a huge Ferris wheel and roundabouts—could see it all. Ships were sailing with navigation lights. All the light ships, Sandy Hook and the Ambrose lights, were shining brightly. To me this was incomprehensible."

Unhindered and undetected close to the American coast, Dönitz's gray wolves picked off their targets at leisure. Hardegan sank the tanker *Coimbra* on January 15 and the steamer *San Jose* on January 17. Commander Zapp's *U-66* dispatched the tanker *Allan Jackson* on January 18, followed by another tanker and three freighters. On January 19, Hardegan made more attacks in broad daylight, sinking three ships and damaging another. He had made a habit of lying on the ocean bottom during daylight hours but realized that this was unnecessary because the coastal defenses were nonexistent.

Hardegan's fellow skippers continued the carnage. *U-130* sank the tanker *Alexander Hoegh* south of Cape Breton, followed by two freighters and four more tankers. Zapp's *U-66* destroyed another tanker and three freighters, and Lieutenant Bleichrodt's *U-48* dispatched the Canadian tanker *Montrolite* and three freighters. Hardegan used his last torpedo against the tanker *Malay* off Cape May, New Jersey, on January 19, but the damaged vessel made it into port. On the voyage back to France, *U-123* sank the 3,000-ton freighter *Culebra* with gunfire.

The first five U-boats to penetrate American waters returned to base after sinking 23 ships totaling 150,000 tons. Hardegan's share was nine ships totaling 50,766 tons. Admiral Dönitz was pleased and signaled *U-123,* "To the Drumbeater Hardegan. Bravo. You beat the drum well." Hardegan was awarded the coveted Knight's Cross.

Back in Lorient, the skipper was able to confirm Dönitz's belief that the American waters constituted a happy hunting ground and suggested that he step up the campaign and send minelayers. Dönitz had already dispatched more U-boats, and the sinkings continued, although he never had more than a dozen craft in action at one time along the American coast.

Although there were some sightings of periscopes and rumors of an imminent invasion by enemy ships, most Americans were still in the dark about the underwater threat close to their eastern shores. But the British were aware by the end of January 1942 that the Germans had suddenly turned their major U-boat effort west. With one exception, convoys in the western approaches to Britain were now untouched. From Enigma intelligence decrypts, the submarine-tracking room at the Admiralty in London was following the gray wolves' movements.

Information was passed to the U.S. Navy, but no serious action was taken. Blame for the woeful lack of preparedness on the Eastern Seaboard lay with Admiral Ernest J. King, commander of the U.S. Fleet and soon to be named chief of naval operations. Although he had his hands full with Japanese aggression in the Far East, he had been warned in December 1941 by Vice Admiral Adolphus "Dolly" Andrews, commander of the Eastern Sea Frontier, that "should enemy submarines operate off this coast, this command has no forces available to take adequate action against them, either offensively or defensively."

The U.S. Navy had built no subchasers and lacked an antisubmarine flotilla. Most of its destroyers and other small craft were attached to the fleets or committed to oceanic convoy protection. Like the Royal Navy in 1939, the U.S. Navy had entered the war with an acute shortage of escort vessels. President Roosevelt commented that the Navy "couldn't see any vessel under a thousand tons."

The able, 62-year-old Andrews, a battleship veteran of World War I, had been trying to

round up ships since December 7, but by early January he had available only 20 vessels and 103 aircraft, most of them obsolete, to guard the 1,500-mile coastline. His largest vessel was a 165-foot, 16-knot Coast Guard cutter, and the others were small tugs, yachts, trawlers, schooners, and motor cruisers. Admiral Andrews's fleet was officially called the Coastal Picket Patrol, but many of the enthusiastic amateurs who served in it dubbed it the "Hooligan Navy." Others called it the "Donald Duck Navy." King's response to Andrews's appeal was to dispatch minelayers to mine the approaches to New York, Boston, Chesapeake Bay, and Portland, Maine.

From the bleak Canadian coast and eventually to the balmy Caribbean, the U-boats roamed at will, sinking unescorted freighters and tankers with ease. They struck at night on the surface with both torpedoes and deck guns. Their hapless targets were virtual sitting ducks, etched sharply against the glare of New York, Atlantic City, Miami, and other coastal cities that refused to impose blackouts for fear of losing tourist trade.

The official history said later, "One of the most reprehensible failures on our part was the neglect of the local communities to dim their waterfront lights, or of military authorities to require them to do so, until three months after the submarine offensive started. When this obvious defense measure was first proposed, squawks went up all the way from Atlantic City to southern Florida that the 'tourist season would be ruined.' Miami and its luxurious suburbs threw up six miles of neon-light glow, against which the southbound shipping that hugged the reefs to avoid the Gulf Stream was silhouetted. Ships were sunk and seamen drowned in order that the citizenry might enjoy business and pleasure as usual."

Ships were sunk 30 miles or less offshore, and sometimes three or more vessels went down in a day. Passengers landing at airports in the New York-New Jersey area saw flaming wrecks from their windows, and sunbathers along Virginia Beach watched two ships go down in front of them. Burning tankers became a familiar sight off some coastal resorts, and black oil seeped onto beaches.

"Our U-boats are operating close inshore along the coast of the United States of America" boasted Admiral Dönitz to a German reporter, "so that bathers and sometimes entire coastal cities are witnesses to the drama of war, whose visual climaxes are constituted by the red glorioles of blazing tankers."

The German Propaganda Ministry was quick to report the U-boat attacks in American waters, and a photograph of the Manhattan skyscrapers taken from the conning tower of Hardegan's submarine appeared in German newspapers long before the boat returned to base.

A brutal one-sided war was being waged on America's doorstep, but the public was told a different story. Hardegan reported, "We listened to the American radio transmissions and we heard, 'We have sunk a U-boat.' We were supposed to have been sunk three times. Every time we sank a ship, we were sunk again. The Americans obviously needed this as a consolation—the idea that they had done something. But it wasn't true."

On November 17, 1941, Congress had amended the Neutrality Act of 1939, permitting merchant ships to be armed and to enter war zones. But most of the vessels sunk were unarmed. Hundreds of seamen had to stand by helplessly while their ships—many of them aged and rusting—were attacked with no means of fighting back. The vessels that were hastily armed were not much better off. One seaman reported, "That rust-pot I just came off, they must have got her out of the Smithsonian Institute [sic]. Sure, we had a gun on her. But, holy mackerel! If we'd ever of had to fire it, the whole ship would have fallen apart."

Admiral Andrews was fighting a losing battle against the offshore raiders, which were averaging three kills a day. In mid-February, he had available nine protective vessels that could make 14 knots or better and another 19 that could run at 12-14 knots. Most of the U-boats could make 18 knots. Andrews had no antisubmarine aircraft available.

The only underwater predator sunk in the Atlantic that month was *U-93*, dispatched by the Royal Navy destroyer HMS *Hesperus*. Unable to cope with the losses off their coast, the Americans neither sank nor damaged any German submarines. By the end of February, 327,000 tons of shipping had gone down, most of the vessels off the Eastern Seaboard. Dönitz was elated and was able to send more boats to take station off the United States and in the South Atlantic and the Caribbean.

The campaign in the Caribbean escalated as half a dozen U-boats and several Italian submarines marauded with alarming temerity. On February 16, Lt. Cmdr. Werner Hartenstein's *U-156* slipped into the port of Aruba in the Dutch West Indies and torpedoed a tanker,

U.S. Navy

ABOVE: Happy to have survived an attack by the German submarine *U-123* off Cape May, New Jersey, crewmen of the tanker SS *Malay* give the "V for Victory" gesture as they gather around damage inflicted on their ship. OPPOSITE: Reinhard Hardegan was one of several German U-boat commanders who terrorized the U.S. East Coast during Operation Drumbeat. In this photo crewmen of Hardegan's *U-123* engage the British freighter *Culebra* with their deck gun on January 25, 1941. The *Culebra* was sunk by the Germans, and the vessel's crew was offloaded into lifeboats and given the proper course for Bermuda.

ullstein bild / The Granger Collection, NY

ABOVE: Crewmen of a German U-boat watch a blazing tanker burn to the waterline after their torpedo attack. During Operation Drumbeat, U-boats ranged along the U.S. East Coast, attacking merchant shipping with impunity. RIGHT: Captain Johann Mohr of *U-124* is shown wearing the Knight's Cross at his throat. On a single night during Operation Drumbeat, Mohr successfully torpedoed four tankers and a steamer sailing in an unescorted convoy.

damaged two others, and shelled the harbor installations. Three days later, *U-161*, commanded by Lieutenant Albrecht Achilles, entered the harbor at Port of Spain, Trinidad, and torpedoed an American freighter and a British tanker. Both sank at anchor. Other U-boats sank shipping, mostly tankers, off Port of Spain and in the Gulf of Venezuela.

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill was alarmed at the mounting losses in American waters, and on February 6 he suggested to Harry L. Hopkins, Roosevelt's trusted special envoy, that his chief give the crisis special attention. In a letter to Churchill, Roosevelt admitted that the Americans had a lot to learn but that he hoped to have an adequate patrol system working by May 1. Admiral Sir Dudley Pound, the British First Sea Lord, meanwhile, cabled Admiral King in Washington and suggested that the proven convoy system was the only way to defeat the U-boats. The Royal Navy had learned that patrols were not effective. Pound offered to help the Americans by lending 22 armed trawlers.

Churchill and the Admiralty pressed the convoy idea, but King was unreceptive. The bluff, Anglophobic King mistrusted Churchill and the British and did not relish heeding their advice. He told Pound tartly that a convoy system was under "continuous consideration." King believed that ships sailing independently were less vulnerable than when bunched together in convoy without strong escort protection. But the British experience in World War I and in 1939-1941 had shown that a poorly escorted convoy was better than no convoy at all.

Churchill offered Roosevelt some Lend-Lease in reverse, 24 armed trawlers and 10 corvettes, with officers and crews experienced in antisubmarine warfare. "It was little enough, but the utmost we could spare," said the prime minister. Roosevelt accepted, and the Royal Navy craft were on station by the end of February. These were the first effective weapons made available to Andrews.

Eventually, under pressure from Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall, who told him, "The losses by submarines off our Atlantic seaboard and in the Caribbean now threaten our entire war effort," Admiral King relented. The losses in merchant shipping and oil continued, and they were severe. Officials in Washington calculated that the sinking of a freighter's cargo was equivalent to the loss of goods carried by four railroad trains with 75 cars each.

Although the British were preoccupied with ground actions against the Germans and Italians in the Western Desert and East Africa, and with naval operations in the North Atlantic, the Mediterranean, the North Sea, and the English Channel, Churchill and the Admiralty kept a close watch on the continuing destruction of shipping along the American coast. U-boat movements were monitored, but there was little that Admiral Andrews's motley patrol fleet could do in response. Churchill pressed the matter with Roosevelt and urged "drastic action."

Admitting that the U.S. Navy had been "slack in preparing for this submarine war," Roosevelt assured the British leader that every vessel over 80 feet long was being pressed into service, that there soon would be "a pretty good coastal patrol," and that orders had been placed for the building of 60 antisubmarine ships.

The slaughter continued in March, with the tonnage sunk equaling that of January and February combined. At this rate, Admiral Andrews estimated that the U-boats would destroy two million tons of shipping in a year. On March 11, Churchill told Hopkins that unless America could provide escorts to stop the sinking of tankers in the Caribbean, he would have to prevent or delay sailings. Twenty-three tankers had gone down in February, and the Petroleum Industry War Council warned that if the situation did not improve, America would run out of oil in six months.

National Archives

On the night of March 17, four tankers and a steamer in an unprotected convoy were torpedoed off Cape Hatteras by youthful Lt. Cmdr. Johann Mohr's *U-124*. Andrews went to Washington to plead with Admiral King for help. He asked for destroyers. The Atlantic Fleet had 73, but only two were available to

Andrews on a loan basis. King flatly refused, and Andrews agreed with Churchill that the sailing of tankers would have to be halted. After U-boats sank seven tankers in the first seven days of April, sailings were canceled. A total of 129 tankers were lost in American waters in the first five months of 1942.

The Allied situation began to improve gradually. As the great wheels of American industry turned, a "60 vessels in 60 days" escort building program was proclaimed to overcome the shortfall in antisubmarine craft; 201 minesweepers that could be drafted to escort work were completed, and a subchaser training school was established in Miami. On April 1, Admiral Andrews set up a "bucket brigade" system whereby lightly escorted convoys proceeded only by day, stopping for the night in protected anchorages. Meanwhile, antisubmarine aircraft, such as long-range Consolidated B-24 Liberator bombers and PBY Catalina seaplanes, were pressed into service.

Finally, on April 18, Andrews and Lt. Gen. Hugh A. Drum, feisty chief of the Army Eastern Defense Command, ordered a shoreline blackout and a dim-out of coastal cities. The U-boats were deprived of their sitting ducks, and ship losses along the Eastern Seaboard dropped to 23 that month. In July, there would be only three sinkings, and then none for the rest of the year.

The Americans were now able to start hitting back at Dönitz's predators. After a determined chase south of Norfolk, Virginia, the old destroyer USS *Roper* sank *U-85* with gunfire on April 14, 1942. It was the first U-boat kill of World War II by a U.S. Navy surface craft. On May 9, the Coast Guard cutter *Icarus* damaged *U-352* with depth charges in shoal water off Cape Lookout, North Carolina. The submarine, on her maiden voyage, was then scuttled by her captain. Two more U-boats were sunk in June by the cutter *Thetis* and a Martin Mariner flying boat.

May brought another dramatic turnaround in Allied fortunes. With new construction and the release of destroyers and other escorts from the U.S. Atlantic Fleet, Admiral Andrews was able to organize the first strong offshore convoys, shepherded by more than 300 patrol planes based at 19 airfields. Dönitz started shifting his wolfpacks southward, and only six merchantmen were sunk along the East Coast that month.

The gray wolves now found profitable hunting in the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico, torpedoing 41 independent vessels totaling 220,000 tons in May. Almost half of these were tankers sunk off the Passes of the Mississippi. "U-boats showed the utmost insolence in the Caribbean, their happiest hunting ground," said Navy historian Samuel Eliot Morison later. The southern onslaught was checked, however, when a complex of interlocking systems was set up to enable ships to transfer at sea from one convoy to another.

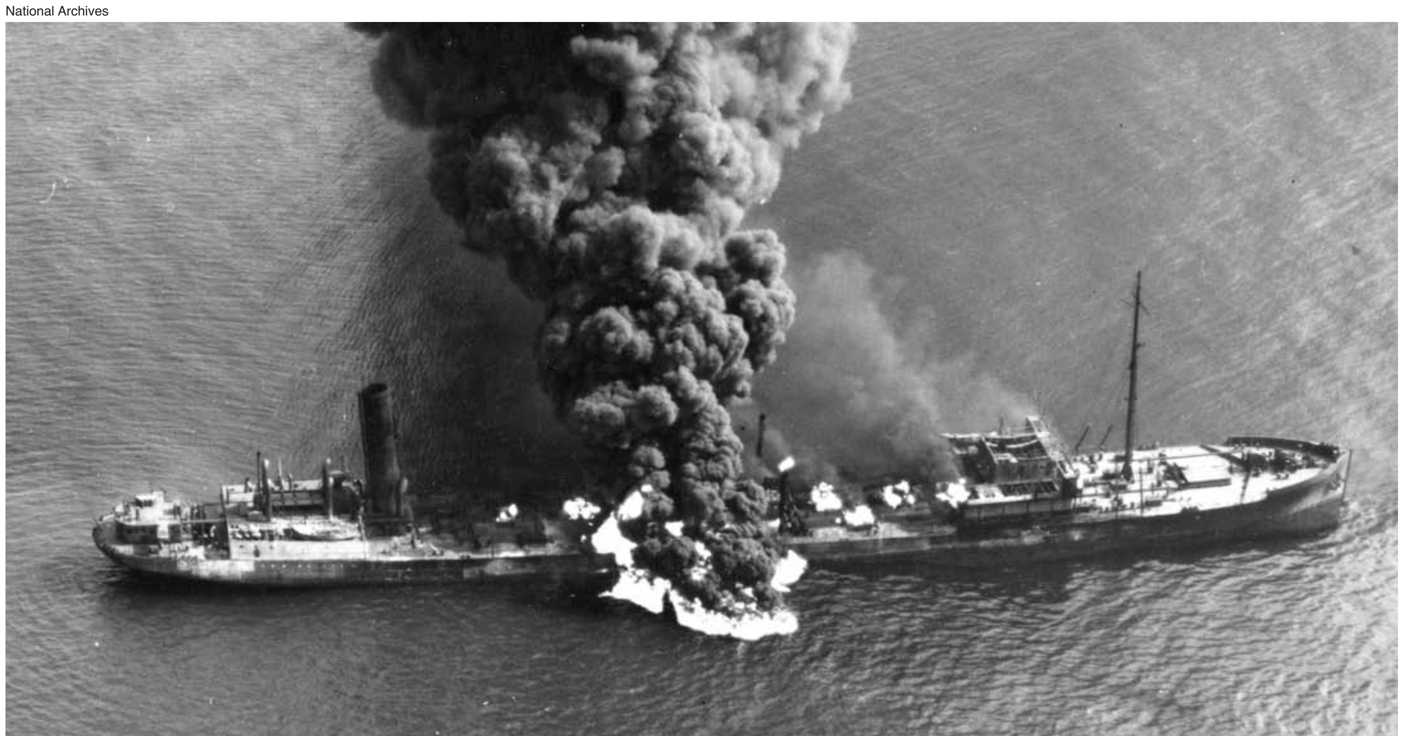
Dönitz's gray wolves then retaliated by attacking independent ships off Panama, Trinidad, Salvador, and Rio de Janeiro. The U-boat operations were lengthened by the arrival of Dönitz's 1,700-ton "milch cow" submarine tenders. The sinking of five Brazilian freighters off Salvador in August provoked Brazil into declaring war against the Axis. Escorts were drawn from the U.S. South Atlantic Fleet, and the convoy system was extended to Rio.

In the next three months, 1,400 vessels were escorted through Admiral Andrews's highly successful interlocking system, and only three were sunk. Realizing, meanwhile, that happy time in the Western Hemisphere was over, Dönitz had started shifting his U-boats back to the North Atlantic for a renewed blitz on Allied convoys.

Operation Drumbeat was a coup for Dönitz's gray wolves and an appalling episode for the Allies. During the first half of 1942, in coastal waters from Canada to the Caribbean, more than 360 merchant ships and tankers totaling about 2,250,000 gross tons went to the bottom. An estimated 5,000 lives, mostly merchant seamen, were lost.

Michael D. Hull is a frequent contributor to WWII History. *He resides in Enfield, Connecticut.*

National Archives



Torpedoed amidships off the coast of North Carolina on April 4, 1942, the freighter SS *Byron T. Benson* burns furiously and begins to settle toward the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean.

EARLY IN THE 20th century, the population of New Zealand was just under a million. According to official sources, 20 percent of New Zealand's eligible manpower served in uniform during World War I. Of that 20 percent, 100,000 served overseas, and of that 100,000 more than 60 percent became casualties. During World War I, the United States had roughly four million in uniform with 8.2 percent becoming casualties.

A generation later, the population of New Zealand was approximately 1.6 million. New Zealand men of military age (18-45) numbered roughly 355,000. Of that number, 135,000 served overseas during World War II during six long years from 1939 to 1945. This small nation also had a Home Guard of 124,000 men at its peak, many of whom had served in World War I. The majority of New Zealanders who served during World War II served in the Army (127,000). Another 6,000 served in the Navy, 24,000 in the Air Force. In addition, 9,700 New Zealand women also served in their country's armed forces. Altogether, 10,130 New Zealanders lost their lives in World War II and another 19,345 were wounded. This was quite a sacrifice for such a small nation.

Soon after New Zealand declared war on Germany in 1939, the 2nd New Zealand Division was formed and sent off to fight alongside its British counterparts in Greece, Crete, and North Africa. With the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, Japanese forces moved rapidly south, taking British strongholds such as Hong Kong and Singapore. New Zealanders and Australians alike, with most of their fighting men on the other side of the world, felt vulnerable to the new approaching threat. Many people in both countries feared an actual invasion as a result of Japan's conquests.

At the behest of British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and in agreement with Prime Minister John Curtin of Australia, President Franklin D. Roosevelt directed U.S. Army divisions to Australia in early 1942. Some of these early U.S. arrivals down under were originally trained and destined for Europe, but with Australia and New Zealand threatening to bring their forces home from battlefields in Europe and North Africa, Roosevelt redirected the U.S. troops to the Pacific. Other U.S. Army units, along with U.S. Marine Corps and Navy personnel, were sent to New Zealand. Had this not happened, Prime Minister Peter Frazer of New Zealand, like John Curtin of Australia, would have been tempted to bring New Zealand forces home.

BY BRUCE M. PETTY

The U.S. 37th Division arrived in Auckland in June 1942. That same month Lt. Gen. A.A. Vandergrift's 1st Marine Division landed in Wellington in preparation for the planned counteroffensive against the Japanese in the Solomon Islands set for August with landings on Guadalcanal. In February 1943, the 3rd Marine Division arrived in the Auckland area for a five-month stay before heading off to Bougainville in the Solomon Islands, followed by the Army's 25th Division. At the same time elements of the 2nd Marine Division that had fought in the Solomons with the 1st Marine Division rejoined the balance of their parent 2nd Marine Division in

Author's Collection

On their way to camps and weeks of intense training, elements of the U.S. 2nd Marine Division march through the streets of Wellington, New Zealand. The American Marines went on to participate in the difficult fighting against the Japanese in the Pacific after leaving an indelible impression on the people of New Zealand.

The Invasion *of* New Zealand

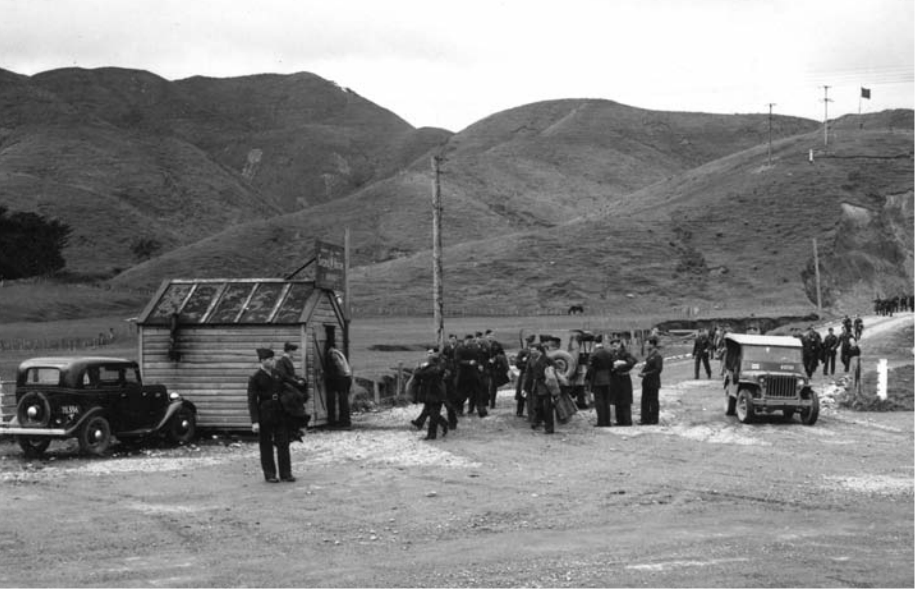
IN PREPARATION FOR AMPHIBIOUS OPERATIONS IN THE PACIFIC, U.S. MARINES TRAINED IN NEW ZEALAND.

camps around Wellington.

With U.S. entry into World War II, the Pacific became an American theater of operations. The majority of Allied forces in that theater came under U.S. command. This might sound simple enough, but it was not for those unfamiliar with the U.S. military's way of doing things. Mackenzie Gregory was a young ensign in the Australian Navy when the war broke out. He was one of the survivors when his ship, the cruiser HMAS *Canberra,* was sunk at the Battle of Savo Island along with three American heavy cruisers in August 1942.

Gregory was trained in the tradition of the British Royal Navy. Almost overnight he had to reeducate himself: "The first few times I had to change to a new course while part of a U.S. Navy task force were an absolute nightmare. It meant literally picking up the fleet formation steaming on a specific course, rotating that force [for example] through fifty degrees, and then putting it down again so that the ship maintained its relative station just as if you had not moved."

Both: National Archives



ABOVE: Marines try their version of a Maori war dance, contorting their faces in the spirit of the native tradition. RIGHT: U.S. Marines go about their business at the entrance to Camp McKay, home of the 2nd Marines during their stay in New Zealand. The post was 30 miles away from Wellington, and many Marines found lasting friendships or spouses among the people of the area. Camp Russell, the home of the 6th Marines, was located nearby.

This proved to be the situation for all Allied forces serving in the Pacific under U.S. command. Everybody had to start doing things the American way. And not having trained together before the war proved fatal in the early days, especially in the early naval battles.

An agrarian nation, New Zealand was cut off from the rest of the world in terms of foreign travelers. Tourism was not part of New Zealand's economy the way it is today. However, following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the friendly invasion of U.S. military personnel, that changed. Most New Zealanders knew about the United States in those days because of the plethora of Hollywood movies that inundated the country, movies mostly about cowboys and gangsters. Radio programs from the United States were also popular imports to New Zealand before the war. However, few Americans of that day had ever heard of New Zealand.

Robert Dunlop, who served in the 3rd New Zealand Division (the only New Zealand Army division to serve in the Pacific) before it was disbanded in late 1944, was in Fiji when U.S. Army troops first arrived there before heading off to New Zealand. He remembered that a lot of the young Americans they met in Suva did not know where Auckland was.

"These Americans didn't know anything about New Zealand," recalled Dunlop. "Some didn't even know if they had to get on a truck and drive to the other side of Fiji from Suva to get there, or get back on the boat. We had these trucks with a Kiwi bird stenciled on the door panels, and it was frequent that a Yank asked, 'Say guy, what's that chicken on your truck?'"

When elements of the 2nd Marine Division left Guadalcanal to join the rest of the division in New Zealand, they were not told where they were going when they boarded ship. Joe Wetzel, a Marine of the 2nd Marine Division, Headquarters and Service Company, 2nd Battalion, said they just assumed they were on their way to "another stinking island to fight more Japs!" However, to their pleasant and unexpected surprise, when they entered the Cook Straits and saw a modern city before them, the capital of Wellington, and some of those hardened Marines started crying. They knew then they were not going to fight on another stinking island but have some time to rest and recuperate.

Even before the Japanese entered the war, New Zealand sent troops to Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa to secure what they considered their northern frontier. When Japan attacked, holding and reinforcing those islands became even more important. The United States shared this concern, and within the first four months of America's entry into the war it had over 100,000 military personnel south of the equator to protect the sea lanes between the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. One Marine brigade was sent to Pago Pago, American Samoa, in January 1942, followed by another in March. This relieved New Zealanders of some of their concerns.

Carl Matthews of Dawson, Texas, was 16 when he enlisted in the Marine Corps before Pearl Harbor and was a member of that first Marine brigade sent to Pago Pago in January 1942. However, he came down with an undiagnosed tropical disease while there and was invalided home, missing out on Guadalcanal later that year. After recovering from the still undiagnosed illness he had acquired in Samoa, he joined the 4th Marine Division and saw combat in the Marshalls and Saipan in the Marianas. He was wounded on Saipan and invalided home for a second time.

Many U.S. Marines and sailors coming to New Zealand from Guadalcanal were sick with recurring bouts of malaria and other tropical diseases, and others suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder. By this time, most of New Zealand's young men had been gone for three years or more while parents, wives, children, and friends worried about whether they would ever see them again. Most of the U.S. military personnel coming to New Zealand were young. For many of these Americans this was their first

time away from home. A lot of them were homesick and frightened.

New Zealand families with sons of their own they had not seen, and might not see, for years took in these young American servicemen and gave them homes away from home. Today, these aging veterans consider New Zealand their second home. The 2nd Marine Division Association made this clear in the 1960s when it began having its reunions in New Zealand every fifth year. During these reunions the veterans reconnected with New Zealand families and in some cases old girlfriends.

Stan Martin spent the war years in the New Zealand Navy but was on loan to the Royal Navy throughout, routine in those days of the British Commonwealth. He became involved with the 2nd Marine Division Association and helped these veterans reconnect with those who helped make them welcome in New Zealand. He was made an honorary member of the association and attended many of their reunions both in New Zealand and the United States.

With so many New Zealand men off fighting the war, New Zealand women took over running the farms, working in factories, and doing other work that had traditionally been done by the men, just as American women were doing. There was little in the way of romance for many New Zealand women during the early war years, but that all changed with the arrival of young and seemingly exotic Americans, who came courting with flowers, boxes of chocolates, and hard-to-find nylon stockings. The Americans also introduced the population to things like doughnuts, milkshakes, and the latest dance grazes from the United States, such as the jitterbug.

Both: Author's Collection

American Marine Clifford Carrington, right, lived with the Whitehouse family of Otaki, north of Wellington, New Zealand. After losing contact with one another, Carrington found Sylvia Whitehouse in 1989, and the two were married the following year.

Relationships between New Zealand women and American men were kindled almost as soon as the men stepped off their ships. According to the official record, 1,400 war brides resulted from the American presence in New Zealand. More than a third of those war brides married men of the 2nd Marine Division. Some New Zealand war brides moved to the States after the war. Some American servicemen elected to make New Zealand their home after the war.

Joe Wetzel of Monroe, Louisiana, met and married Peggy Whiting of Elthem, a small farming community in central North Island, while in New Zealand. Wetzel survived the fighting on Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Saipan, and Tinian. Since his bride did not want to live in the United States, Wetzel decided to make New Zealand his home. He was one of four former Marines to settle in New Plymouth after the war and was the last one in that city until his death a few years ago.

Robert Clinton Libby of the 2nd Marine Division, who married a local girl before shipping off to Pacific battlefields, spent his formative years bouncing from one foster home to another until he escaped to the U.S. Marine Corps. He had no problem making New Zealand his home. As a former foster child, he had nothing to go back to in the United States.

Clifford Carrington of Chicago, Illinois, also from the 2nd Marine Division, was one of many Marines taken in by New Zealand families. The Whitehouse family of Otaki, north of Wellington, lived close to Carrington's camp at Tihati Bay. They adopted Carrington and some of his buddies. Carrington and Sylvia Whitehouse, the family's teenage daughter, developed a relationship. They lost contact during the war, and Sylvia and her family assumed that Cliff had died. However, in 1989 he made an unannounced visit to New Zealand and looked up Sylvia's number in the telephone book. The two were married in 1990.

During World War II, the number of children born out of wedlock and the number of hushed-up abortions increased in New Zealand. Some children were put up for adoption while others were raised by single mothers and stepfathers if these women married after the war, and most did. However, many of these children did not learn for years that their biological fathers were American servicemen; others probably never

Continued on page 73

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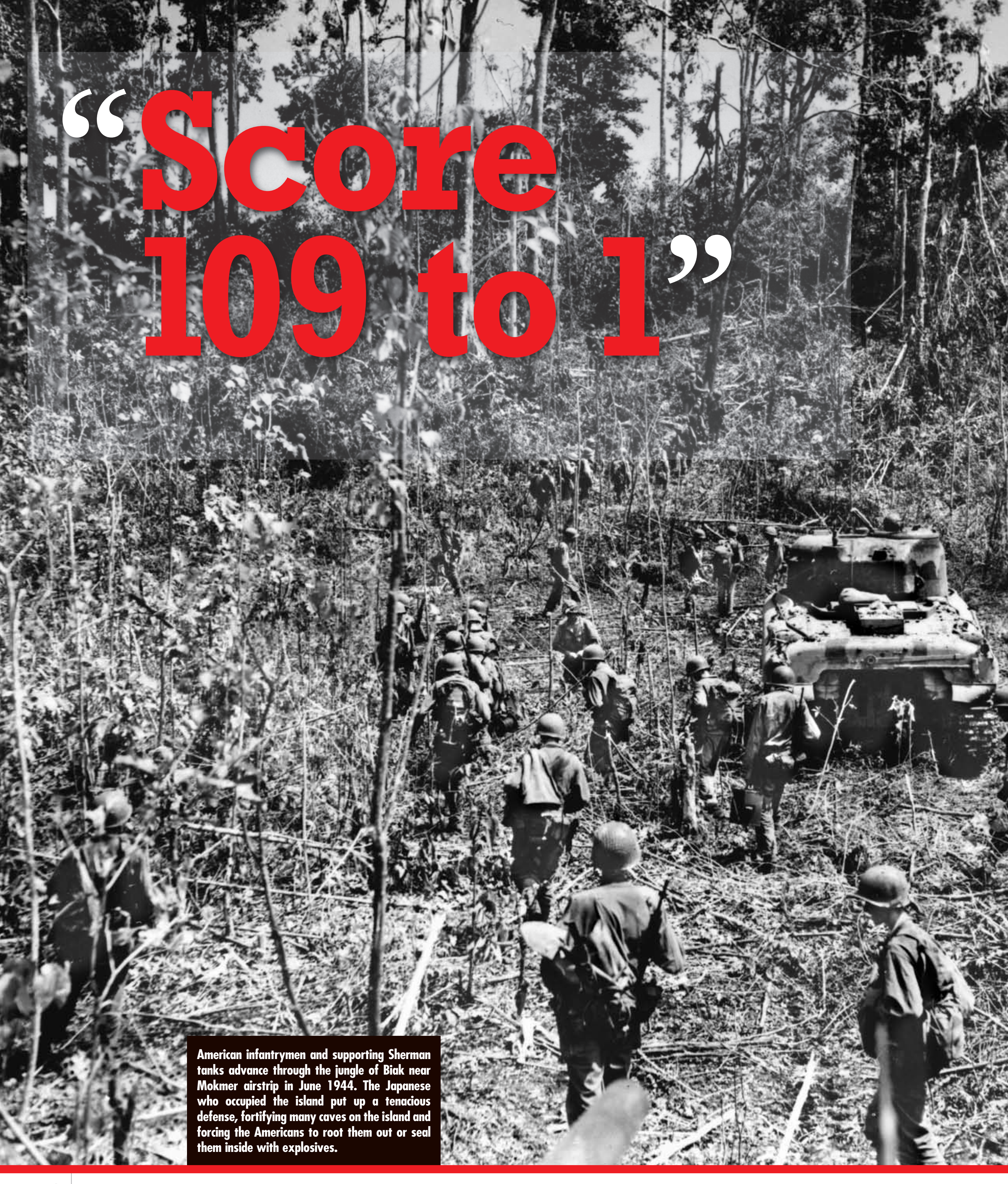
ABOVE LEFT: During eight months in New Zealand, U.S. Marine Joe Wetzel married Peggy Whiting of Elthem, a small farming community on North Island. Wetzel went on to fight at Tarawa and during other amphibious operations against the Japanese. After the war, he and Peggy made their home in New Zealand.
ABOVE RIGHT: A sales girl in the city of Auckland, New Zealand, beams as she completes a transaction for a U.S. Marine while two U.S. Navy corpsmen look on.

"Score 109 to 1"



American infantrymen and supporting Sherman tanks advance through the jungle of Biak near Mokmer airstrip in June 1944. The Japanese who occupied the island put up a tenacious defense, fortifying many caves on the island and forcing the Americans to root them out or seal them inside with explosives.

IN THE SPRING OF 1944, THE SMALL ISLAND OF BIAK—A STEPPING STONE TO THE PHILIPPINES—WAS TAKEN BY THE AMERICANS.

BY DAVID ALAN JOHNSON

"All I knew about Biak was that it was an island a degree south of the equator, one of the Schouten group lying north of Geelvink Bay toward the western end of New Guinea."

Colonel Harold Riegelman made this admission of ignorance toward the middle of June 1944, shortly after coming ashore on the island. By that time, the U.S. Army's 41st Division had been fighting its way inland from Biak's southern landing beaches for nearly three weeks. In the coming weeks and months, Colonel Riegelman would learn more about Biak than he ever could have bargained for.

The landings took place on May 27, 1944, near the town of Bosnik. Opposition from the Japanese troops occupying the island is usually described as "light," something of an understatement. Resistance was so insignificant that some senior officers speculated that the Japanese had evacuated the island. Actually, the defending Japanese troops had been caught off guard by the landings and were not prepared to make any sort of counterattack. They held their fire, reorganized, and waited for the following day to begin their resistance.

Soldiers asked why this God forsaken heap of jungle rot, coral, and caves had to be occupied. Soldiers in every army, in every era, have asked this question, but senior planners had an answer this time. Strategically, Biak had to be taken. The Japanese had built three airfields on the island—at Mokmer, Sorido, and Borokoe. Capturing these air bases would not only deprive the enemy of their use, but would also put American bombers within 800 miles of the Philippine Islands, where American troops were to land in October 1944.

But the high-level planners underestimated Japanese resistance on Biak. Enemy troop strength was thought to be about 4,400, but actually more than 11,400 Japanese were on the island—well over twice as many as estimated. Planners also thought the occupation of Biak would take about a week. They were wrong about that as well.

A coral reef just off the landing beaches created a problem that the naval planners knew something about. The reef ruled out using conventional landing craft for the landings. Instead, amphibious LVTs and DUKWs were employed. Both of these were able to cross the reef, land the troops, and return to LSTs offshore for more troops and supplies. Using amphibious vehicles might have been slightly unorthodox, but the LVTs and DUKWs did the job. All 12,000 troops—the 41st Division, along with the 162nd Regiment—as well as artillery and 12 Sherman tanks were put ashore on May 27. The landings went a lot easier than expected. But, as one officer phrased it, "the worst was yet to come."

The troops began moving toward the airfields the following morning. Patrols from the 162nd Regiment had advanced to about 200 yards of Mokmer airstrip when defending Japanese opened fire with machine guns and mortars. Limestone caves about 1,200 yards north of Mokmer airstrip constituted the key to the defense of Mokmer village. Another line of caves formed natural defenses north of the village, and a third section of caves to the west of the landing beaches, in an area known as the Parai defile, was fortified with pillboxes. These caves gave the Japanese a great advantage, allowing them to hold up the American advance toward the airfields for nearly a month.

The destroyers USS *Wilkes* and USS *Nicholson* came as close to shore as their captains thought prudent, firing 5-inch shells into the Japanese positions near Mokmer, but the Japanese relocated to the Parai defile, where they held their ground and opened a withering fire against the advancing 162nd Infantry. The destroyers came under fire from shore batteries, which damaged at least one of the ships.

"Artillery, machine-gun fire, and mortars plastered our troops," remembered Colonel Riegelman. "The forward battalion was cut off by an invisible, deadly wall of steel and lead." The advance of the 162nd had been stopped dead.

By this time, it had become clear that the airfields would not be taken until the Japanese were driven out of the caves that dominated the landing area. Dense jungle vegetation, the closeness of American troops to the target

All photos: National Archives

ABOVE: Smoke billows from the shells of the U.S. Navy destroyers ***Wilkes*** and ***Nicholson,*** providing close fire support for the American infantrymen fighting the Japanese onshore at Biak. This photo was taken on May 27, 1944, the day the U.S. troops landed on the island in the Schouten group near the western tip of New Guinea. **BELOW:** Amphibious DUKW vehicles, popularly known as Ducks, transport U.S. infantrymen from their troopship to shore on the island of Biak. The fight for Biak was intense, but the island was considered an important stepping stone for General Douglas MacArthur's return to the Philippines.

area, and especially the cover being given by the caves made it impossible for naval gunfire to rout out the enemy. The 162nd Infantry was hemmed in on three sides and under constant fire from concealed Japanese positions. The men would have to be evacuated from their position if they were not to be annihilated, and there was only one way out—the same amphibious landing craft that brought the troops ashore would have to take them off the beaches.

All available amphibious craft were pressed into service. Under cover of artillery, naval gunfire, and air support, the men were taken off the beaches during the afternoon of May 29. By nightfall, the regiment had been evacuated from Parai and landed about 500 yards away to set up a new position. It had been a near disaster, but the evacuation had succeeded.

The Japanese launched a counterattack the next morning with infantry supported by six light tanks, but Sherman medium tanks from the 603rd Tank Company were on hand to face the attack, having moved up from Bosnik to support the infantry. One soldier compared the appearance of the tanks with a scene from a Hollywood film, with the Shermans coming to the rescue of "the surrounded dogfaces" just in the nick of time.

The Japanese Type 95 tanks, equipped with 37mm cannon, could not do much damage to the Shermans, but the 75mm guns of the Shermans punched holes right through the sides of the Japanese tanks. A 37mm shell hit the turret of one of the Shermans, locking its gun in place. The driver backed into a shell hole, which elevated the front end of the tank along with its gun and allowed the gunner to bring his 75mm to bear on a Japanese tank. The Sherman knocked out the Type 95 in spite of the damage to its turret.

Stopping the Japanese tanks provided a reprieve for the 162nd Infantry. The men were having enough problems with the island itself. Jungle trails slowed forward movement to a snail's pace, while equatorial heat slowed the men just as effectively, and fresh water was scarce. The men were limited to one canteen of water per day, which everyone soon discovered was ridiculously inadequate.

The caves gave the Japanese a system of natural defenses that was much more effective than anything they could have built themselves. They allowed Japanese troops to pop out into the open, fire on unsuspecting Americans, and disappear again. Mortars and artillery were also brought into the caves, both to protect them and to keep them out of sight. The "cave defense" was brilliantly effective, much to the frustration of the men of the 41st Division. It quickly became evident that taking Biak would be a long and grim business.

The caves were not just holes in the sides of mountains. Some of them were equipped with electric lights, wooden floors, and kitchens. Some were two and three levels deep. A series of tunnels connected the caves and led to hidden exits. The Japanese "laid ambush after ambush," one soldier remembered.

The 163rd Regiment arrived on June 1 to reinforce the 41st's drive toward the airfields. Mokmer drome was captured on June 7, but the airfield was still of no use to American aircraft. Japanese troops in nearby caves kept the Army engineers from making the field operational with steady mortar and artillery fire.

Some of the smaller caves were sealed by a

sort of skip-bombing technique by Curtiss P-40 Tomahawk fighter-bombers. Closing others was going to be a long, slow process for the infantry.

The capture of Biak was progressing too slowly for General Douglas MacArthur, who had expected to have at least one of the airfields operational by this time. He decided to relieve General Horace H. Fuller of task force command. General Fuller was also commander of the 41st Division and was originally to have stayed on. However, he refused to stay since he felt that he had lost the confidence of General MacArthur. Fuller was reassigned outside the Southwest Pacific Area on June 15. The division was taken over by Brig. Gen. Jens A. Doe, who had commanded the 163rd Regiment.

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

ABOVE: Throughout the month of June, American forces battled Japanese defenders on the island of Biak. The Japanese had fortified a labyrinth of caves, and many fought to the death rather than surrender.
LEFT: Brigadier General Jens A. Doe took command of the U.S. 41st Infantry Division on Biak after the division's original commander, General Horace Fuller, was relieved of duty.

Soldiers went about the business of clearing the caves with grim determination. Some used flamethrowers, crawling within point-blank range of the entrance under the cover of rifle fire and burning out the cave interiors with long streams of fire. Sometimes the flames would hit one of the cave walls and bounce back at the Americans.

Flamethrowers were unable to reach far enough inside some of the larger caves. Satchel charges, hand grenades, and gasoline were usually employed for these. Gasoline was sometimes poured into one of the openings and then set on fire. After a few minutes, dull thuds and rumblings could be heard coming from the cave's interior—ammunition supplies were exploding, destroying the cave along with everyone inside it.

The effect of satchel charges was every bit as horrific as that of gasoline. After one cave was blown apart, a private went inside to see what was left. He came out a few minutes later, nauseated and vomiting. "My God, it looks like a scene from hell," he said. "Pieces of men all over the tunnel floor! Bodies with bellies blown open by concussion! Blood running from the ears, noses, mouths, and eyes of dead Japs! It's awful!"

In late June the Americans attacked the West Caves, north and west of Mokmer. The infantrymen used gasoline, hand grenades, and explosives to neutralize them one at a time. The deadly work took nearly 10 days and sometimes required the support of Sherman tanks. The caves were finally cleared by the end of the month. Now that they were no longer being harassed by enemy fire, the engineers were able to make Mokmer drome operational. On June 22, the airfield began landing fighters.

Colonel Riegelman had the chance to take a look around the vicinity of the West Caves and spoke with some of the men who had been engaged in the heavy fighting. He was matter of fact in his evaluation. "I saw the disabled Jap tanks, inspected a nearby mortar platoon, talked to the men, noted their drawn, bearded faces and eyes, red from lack of sleep. They did not complain."

Riegelman also made a study of the caves on Biak and divided them into four types. Type One consisted of a "cavern in a cliff" from three to five feet in depth, which was used either for a machine-gun emplacement or a storage area for food and ammunition. Type Two was larger, 20 to 30 feet high, facing the sea, with a rear opening from the landward side for access. The cave's forward opening was "usually improved" by a "concrete machine-gun port" that served to make the already formidable position even more formidable. Type Three was made up of "a series of connected open cavities four to eight feet in height and three to six feet in depth." Type Four caves were the largest, "more or less circular in shape, up to 50 yards in diameter, 15 to 60 feet deep, with sheer or steeply sloping sides." The Type Four cave might also be "the entrance to a succession of chambers and interconnecting galleries," actually a cave network with multiple entrances as much as 100 yards apart. The caves were defensive marvels, but the Americans were becoming experts at improvising methods for neutralizing them.

An artilleryman remembered that one cave was "impervious to all calibers we could bring to bear. Its entrance defied demolition." This was clearly a job for the engineers.

ABOVE: Knocked out by an American Sherman tank during one of the few armor versus armor encounters of the Pacific War, the hulk of a Japanese light tank smolders on Biak. The Japanese tanks mounted 37mm guns that were capable of inflicting only limited damage on the Shermans, while the American tanks mounted heavier 75mm guns with greater penetrating power. **BELOW:** An American M4 Sherman medium tank fires its 75mm gun at a Japanese position on Biak. The American tanks were superior to their Japanese counterparts but were often required to draw up to point-blank range to reduce fortified Japanese positions. The Shermans were also susceptible to artillery fire and anti-tank weapons.

A party of engineers arrived at the cave with what was described as "a quarter-ton trailer" carrying 850 pounds of TNT. A winch was set up, and the TNT was lowered into the cave. "I had no idea what 850 pounds of TNT would do," an observing officer admitted. "I only knew it was a lot of TNT."

Nobody else knew what the TNT would do either, but nobody was taking any chances. All troops were ordered back 100 yards from the cave entrance, and nearby Shermans were pulled back to safer ground. Everyone got down on their stomachs, flat on the ground, and waited for the explosion.

When the TNT went off, a cloud of dust and smoke billowed out of the cave, followed by the thud of hundreds of falling rocks. After the smoke cleared, the men and the Shermans were ordered back into position. The men advanced toward the cave's gaping mouth and stared into the blackness.

"The blackness stared back," said one observer. The troops sent into the cave were ordered to bayonet every Japanese soldier they could find, whether they were breathing or not.

On June 20, both Borokoe and Sorido airstrips were taken by American troops. The major objectives on Biak—the three airfields—had been captured, but there was still a sizable Japanese force on the island.

About 1,000 Japanese troops occupied the East Caves, situated close to the original landing beaches. They kept up sporadic artillery fire directed at the three air bases. Initially, the fire from these caves had been considered a nuisance. After the West Caves were cleared, the East Caves became the primary objective.

Artillery began firing at the caves shortly after Borokoe and Sorido were safely in American hands. Engineers and infantry from Mokmer moved into the area under the cover of 75mm fire from the Shermans and began clearing the caves using the same methods that had been successful against the West Caves.

Most of the caves had been neutralized by July 5. Their occupants had either been killed or had slipped away into the jungle.

Not all Japanese troops took cover in the caves and waited for the enemy to attack. On the night of June 21-22, a counterattack was attempted against the American positions near the West Caves. According to Lt. Gen. Robert Eichelberger, who had been sent to Biak to appraise the situation for General MacArthur, an attack was made by 109 Japanese officers and men against one of the 186th Regiment's outposts.

"What a racket," Eichelberger reported. "They came crowding down the moonlit trail in a mass, shouting their banzais." The 186th's position was occupied by 12 men who held their fire until the charging enemy was only a few yards away. Machine-gun fire killed many attackers. One Japanese soldier was shot trying to bayonet an American sergeant. Another jumped into a foxhole with one of the Americans and pulled the pin on a hand grenade. The grenade exploded, killing both men. Every one of the attacking Japanese was killed.

"Score 109 to 1," General Eichelberger said.

Other attacks were made all along the line that night. Each had the same result. Machine-gun fire shredded the Japanese.

"It was mass execution," one American remembered, "mass suicide of men who wanted to die." Stories began to circulate about a single squad of Americans killing nearly 200 Japanese.

None of them would surrender. They would rather die than give up. One American said, "Usually a sure sign that the Japanese knew that they were licked."

If the Japanese knew they were beaten, they were not letting it show. The next objective for the American troops, specifically the 163rd Regiment, was the Ibdi Pocket, about 4,000 yards east of Parai. The attack began in mid-June and continued until the end of July. Over 40,000 mortar and artillery shells were fired into Japanese positions during the first two weeks, but the enemy managed to put up stubborn resistance.

By July 10, American patrols reported that the constant shelling had considerably weakened the enemy. The pocket had been methodically blasted away. This was encouraging news for the men of the 163rd as they renewed their attack on July 11. Backed up by artillery, aircraft, and Sherman tanks, infantrymen used flamethrowers and bazookas against the weakened enemy positions.

Progress was slow and costly in human terms. Besides losing more killed and wounded, the Americans were coming down with debilitating illnesses such as typhus and "fevers of unknown origin."

Senior officers began looking for a way to end the fighting as quickly as possible. Poison gas was considered and discounted. "We captured a lot of it," one man said, "just the thing for these caves."

Colonel Riegelman was asked, "How about it, Chemical Officer? What do you do with those caves?" Riegelman answered, "We got a lot of Jap gas that isn't being used, sir." The conversation stopped for a moment. Nobody was sure whether the exchange was supposed to be funny, but it resumed a short while later as if nothing had happened. The joke, if it was a joke, had been dropped.

Sometime after this, the subject of the captured gas came up again. This time, there was no levity. Colonel Riegelman's commanding officer asked him, "How much Jap gas do you have?"

"Plenty, sir," the colonel replied. "We have taken great quantities, mostly poison smoke."

The officer asked Riegelman if the gas could be used against the Japanese and explained that his staff disagreed with his intent to do so if possible.

Riegelman responded, "Sir, in my opinion the staff is right, and I believe you'd be relieved in 24 hours after you used gas. In the end that would cost us more in time and casualties than if we keep on as we are."

Riegelman did not explain exactly what he meant by "casualties." He was probably referring to the officers who would face punishment if they elected to use poison gas. He returned to his tent and went to bed. "I never thought I should see the day when I would oppose the use of gas against the Jap, especially his own gas," he reflected. "Yet I could not think I had been wrong in this."

After retreating from a barrage of Japanese hand grenades, American combat engineers return to the mouth of a fortified Japanese cave on Biak. Often the engineers used satchel charges to seal the entrances to the many caves on the island, trapping the enemy occupants inside.

The American forces on Biak kept up their offensive through the month of July, in spite of the heat and the jungle diseases. All organized resistance on Biak ended in mid-July, although mopping-up operations continued until July 25. The island was declared secure on August 20.

Nearly 500 Americans were killed on Biak and more than 2,400 wounded, while another 1,000 were incapacitated by diseases. Japanese casualties were up to 6,100 killed, 450 captured, and an unknown number wounded.

Among the dead was Colonel Naoyuki Kuzume, the Japanese commander. No one is exactly certain what happened to Colonel Kuzume. Some reports claim that he committed ritual suicide after the failed counterattack on June 21-22. Others say that he was killed in action afterward or that he committed suicide toward the end of the campaign.

In his narrative of the Biak campaign, naval historian Admiral Samuel Eliot Morison had nothing but praise for Colonel Kuzume and his defense of the island. "Realizing the hopelessness of his position, this brave and resourceful officer caused his regimental colors to be burned during the night of 21-22 June. Whether he then took his own life or was killed in action is not known, but his death marked the end of a well-directed and stubborn defense."

Not everyone agreed that the defense of Biak was admirable, no matter how stubborn it might have been. "Biak was a battle that gave a terrifying glimpse into the soul of mankind," wrote another observer. "For all man's vaunted civilization and culture, he still retreats into the caves when deadly danger threatens. Under the thin veneer of civilization lurks the caveman—a human animal at bay."

The Biak operation was a success, which was all that mattered to the military planners. Morison wrote, "MacArthur's prompt and vigorous invasion of Biak proved to be a serious embarrassment to the enemy on the eve of the Battle of the Philippine Sea. That alone made the operation worthwhile; but, in addition, Biak became an important Allied air base for the subsequent liberation of the Philippines."

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The Big Three in

BY MICHAEL D. HULL

WORLD WAR II made a disparate trio of allies—British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, Soviet Marshal Josef Stalin, and American President Franklin D. Roosevelt—military as well as political leaders in turn.

They were guilty of monumental strategic mistakes in 1941, showed considerable resilience in 1942, and won great victories in 1943. But the "Big Three" had not yet all met together to plan the future course of the war and consider the shape of the postwar world. So, when Churchill and Roosevelt met for discussions at the palatial Chateau Frontenac in Quebec on August 17-24, 1943, they realized the need to include Stalin in their next round of talks.

On August 18, during their first Quebec conference code named Quadrant, the British and American leaders telegraphed the Soviet dictator, "We fully understand strong reasons which lead you to remain on battlefronts where your presence has been so fruitful of victory. Nevertheless, we wish to emphasize once more importance of a meeting between all 3 of us." They suggested a conference in Fairbanks, Alaska, which was less than 600 miles from eastern Soviet territory.

Replying to Roosevelt alone, Stalin agreed that such a meeting "would positively be expedient," and conceded, "I do not have any objections to the presence of Mr. Churchill at this meeting." But he suggested as a site Archangel in northern Russia or Astrakhan in the south. The wily, ruthless Stalin was seemingly reluctant to travel far and abandon his people then battling the German armies on the Eastern Front, but in fact he seldom left the Kremlin and paid only one brief visit to a war front, in August 1943.

Churchill, who had flown to Moscow in August 1942 and who made numerous perilous missions throughout the war, became frustrated by the Soviet leader's backpedaling. Telegraphing his war cabinet from Quebec, the prime minister complained about the "bearishness of Soviet Russia" and the fact that Stalin had "studiously ignored our offer to make a long and hazardous journey in order to bring about a tripartite meeting."

By mid-September 1943, the idea of Tehran, a city in mountainous north-central Iran, had been raised as a site for the talks. It was outside Russia, but close enough for Stalin to get back quickly to Moscow if needed. Churchill was ready to go anywhere, but Roosevelt balked. Citing restrictions placed on him by the Constitution, he feared that the difficulty of reaching Tehran by air would seriously hamper his vital legislative business with Congress.

Averell Harriman, Roosevelt's able ambassador to the Soviet Union, pressured Stalin to no avail. The southeastern Iraq port of Basra was suggested as a compromise. Roosevelt would not have to cross the mountains, and secure links could be set up between there and the Soviet Union. But Stalin insisted that the telegraph line between Tehran and Moscow, guarded by Red Army troops, was essential to his conduct of the Eastern Front campaigns.

Eventually, the Americans came around and Tehran was agreed upon as the venue for the conference. Code named Eureka, it was scheduled for November 28 to December 6, 1943. Churchill and Roosevelt, meanwhile, agreed on a preliminary meeting in Cairo, code named Sextant.

Traveling respectively in the aging 31,988-ton battlecruiser HMS *Renown* and the new 45,000-ton battleship USS *Iowa,* the British and American chiefs and their military staffs converged on the Egyptian capital. Joined by Chinese President Chiang Kai-shek and his stylish wife, Churchill and FDR held two lengthy meetings on November 23-26 at Cairo's spacious Mena House Hotel, near the Pyramids and the River Nile. It was agreed that the British would conduct an amphibious offensive in the Bay of Bengal to coincide with a Chinese intervention in northern Burma and that Japan should be stripped of all Far Eastern territory it had seized since 1914.

General Alan Brooke, the shrewd British Chief of the Imperial General Staff, noted that the Chinese leader looked like "a cross between a pine marten and a ferret" and had "no grasp of war in its larger aspects," while Madame Chiang Kai-shek had "a queer character in which sex and politics seemed to predominate." The likelihood of

Soviet Premier Josef Stalin, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill met in the Iranian capital of Tehran in late 1943. Among the topics of discussion was the opening of a second front in Western Europe.

Library of Congress

Tehran

ROOSEVELT, CHURCHILL, AND STALIN HAD A PIVOTAL MEETING IN THE IRANIAN CAPITAL IN LATE 1943.

Turkey joining the war on the Allies' side was discussed in Cairo, while FDR informed Churchill that he was considering naming General Dwight D. Eisenhower to command the planned invasion of northern France. But the British and the Americans left Cairo early on Sunday, November 28, without having decided how to deal with Stalin.

The jaunty, optimistic Roosevelt, however, was sure that he had a better chance of gaining the confidence of "Uncle Joe" than Churchill. In March 1942, he had written to the prime minister, "I know you will not mind my being brutally frank when I tell you that I think I can handle Stalin personally better than either your Foreign Office or my State Department. Stalin hates the guts of all your top people. He thinks he likes me better, and I hope he will continue to do so."

Somewhat naive about foreign relations, FDR told William Bullitt, his former ambassador to Moscow, "I have just a hunch that Stalin doesn't want anything but security for his country, and I think that if I give him everything I possibly can and ask nothing from him in return, noblesse oblige, he won't try to annex anything and will work for a world of democracy and peace."

Flying to Tehran early on Sunday, November 28, 1943, in a converted four-engine Avro York transport named *Ascalon,* Churchill—then feverish and not in his best health—confided some misgivings to his doctor, Lord Charles Moran. The Americans wanted a quick invasion of France, he said, and might throw away "shining, gleaming opportunities in the Mediterranean." The Allied campaign in Italy was flagging and allowing the Germans to draw their breath. As for Stalin, one of Churchill's aides had warned, "To make friends with Stalin would be equivalent to making friends with a python." The prime minister foresaw a difficult time in Tehran.

The arrival there for the most significant and far-reaching top-level Allied talks of the war was not encouraging. Churchill's daughter, Sarah, a section officer in the Women's Auxiliary Air Force, described the slow ride through narrow, crowded streets to the British legation as "spine-chilling." She said, "Anyone could have shot my father at point-blank range or just dropped a nice little grenade into our laps." She found the ramshackle legation, guarded by 350 men of the East Kent ("Buffs") Regiment, "cold and cheerless." Olive Christopher, one of Churchill's administrative aides, observed, "Tehran itself we all thought was the most filthy place. All the drains are open and run through the streets.… It took a week to get the smell of Tehran out of our clothes."

Both: National Archives

ABOVE: During a ceremony at the Soviet embassy in Tehran, Josef Stalin is presented the Sword of Stalingrad by the British delegation to the Big Three conference. Prime Minister Winston Churchill is visible to the left of the sword. BELOW: The fact that Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia had conspired to invade and partition Poland in 1939 was conveniently ignored during discussions of the future of Poland following the coming Allied victory in World War II at the Tehran Conference in 1943. In this photo, German and Soviet soldiers share a ride during operations in 1939.

President Roosevelt landed in Tehran on the afternoon of Saturday, November 27, after a 1,300-mile flight from Cairo. He had planned to take up quarters in the American legation, but Marshal Stalin invited him to stay in the Soviet legation, across the road from the British. Shortly after the president had settled in, Stalin walked over and they chatted informally for an hour. The two heads of state were amiable, and this did not bode well for Churchill.

Products of the late 19th century, the three leaders meeting in Tehran were physically resilient and, though amateur diplomats, each unique in the political forum of his own country in the first half of the 20th century. Roosevelt and Stalin were, respectively, seven and five years younger than Churchill.

Cherubic, pugnacious, and the most scholarly of the three, the British prime minister was a parliamentary maverick, staunch imperialist, prolific writer, and the only one with combat experience and a happy marriage. He ate and drank copiously, was seldom without a Havana cigar, and never exercised. His bulldog courage and resounding oratory had inspired his people when they stood alone against the Axis powers in 1939-1941. His trademark V for victory sign became a universal symbol of freedom.

The handsome, idealistic Roosevelt was a well-to-do upstate New York patrician who stubbornly overcame crippling poliomyelitis and whose bold leadership helped his country mobilize against the Great Depression and then gird for war. He and Churchill enjoyed a unique relationship, but he was suspicious of the British and their sprawling empire. Roosevelt watched his diet, collected postage stamps, and swam regularly. He could be both charming and devious, and, like Churchill, was intensely interested in naval affairs. His trademarks were a Navy cape and a long cigarette holder.

Short, paunchy, and mustached, Stalin was a coarse Georgian peasant and former seminary student who used the apparatus of the Communist Party to reach the pinnacle of political power in the Soviet Union. He ruthlessly liquidated all in the party, government, and armed forces who might oppose his dictatorship. He had black teeth and yellow eyes, and, like Churchill, avoided exercise. Stalin drank wine, toyed with a pipe supplied by the London firm of Alfred Dunhill (which provided Churchill with cigars), and, like FDR, was a chain smoker.

At their private meeting on the afternoon of November 28, Roosevelt told Stalin, "I am glad to see you. I have tried for a long time to bring this about." The Soviet leader admitted that he was partly responsible for the delay, being "very occupied with military matters." Accompanied by their interpreters, the two chiefs discussed the Eastern Front and the global situation and agreed that France should be punished for collaborating with Germany. Both overlooked Stalin's eager alliance with Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler in 1939-1941. Roosevelt advised Stalin not to discuss the question of India with Churchill and made it clear that he had ideas about the conduct of the war and its aftermath that differed from those of the British leader.

Sensing that Roosevelt wanted to appear independent of Churchill's influence, Stalin proceeded to encourage it. He started by proposing that FDR should chair all sessions. On leaving the meeting, Roosevelt said he appreciated the opportunity to meet the Soviet leader in "infor-

mal and different circumstances."

At 4 PM on November 28, the three Allied leaders and their aides sat in the conference room of the Soviet Embassy for their first plenary session. The meeting represented "the greatest concentration of power that the world had ever seen," Churchill reported. For him, the Tehran talks were the last time he was able to confer with FDR and Stalin on equal terms. In more than four years of war, British manpower and resources had been severely strained.

Churchill pointed out that the three men held the future of mankind in their hands, and Stalin agreed, "History has given us a great opportunity. Now let us get down to business." General Alan Brooke said of the Sunday afternoon session, "This was the first occasion during the war when Stalin, Roosevelt, and Winston sat around a table to discuss the war we were waging together. I found it quite enthralling looking at their faces and trying to estimate what lay behind." He decided that Stalin, unlike many other World War II leaders, possessed "a military brain of the highest caliber." Alan Brooke said later, "Never once in any of his statements did he make any strategic error, nor did he ever fail to appreciate all the implications of a situation with a quick and unerring eye."

Taking the chair, President Roosevelt announced that the three chiefs would talk "with complete frankness on all sides, with nothing that was said to be made public." He was confident of the success of the talks, that the three nations would cooperate in prosecuting the war, and that they would "also remain in close touch for generations to come."

Roosevelt reported on operations in the Pacific Theater and stressed the American effort to keep China in the war, which did not interest Churchill and was opposed by Stalin. The Soviet dictator had excluded Chiang Kai-shek from the Tehran conference.

Turning to the European Theater, Roosevelt explained that a shortage of sea transport, particularly landing craft, had prevented the setting of a date for Operation Overlord. At Quebec, he and Churchill had tentatively agreed on May 1, 1944, as the date for the invasion. Stalin and General George C. Marshall, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, had pressed for a second front as early as 1942. Stalin wanted pressure taken off his armies on the Eastern Front, while Marshall, though a brilliant organizer, was a flawed strategist. The necessary manpower, shipping, and other resources were simply not available in 1942 or even in 1943.

Churchill, who reported experiencing nightmares of Allied bodies piled high on French beaches in a premature invasion as shown in the ill-fated Dieppe raid, advocated an assault against the Balkans, the "soft underbelly of Europe." For this, he was accused by Stalin and others of stalling and lacking conviction in Overlord.

Harry Hopkins, the frail but tireless international security surrogate for both FDR and Churchill, vigorously opposed operations in the Balkans. The prime minister wanted Overlord launched only under the most favorable circumstances. He had served in the Western Front trenches during World War I when a generation of British manhood was sacrificed, and he knew that his country could not endure another such bloodbath.

During the first plenary session in Tehran, Stalin promised that once Germany was conquered he would help Britain and America defeat Japan. He dismissed Italy and the Balkans as bases for launching assaults against Germany and agreed, "Northern France is still the best." He thus threw his support behind the U.S. Chiefs of Staff, much to their delight.

Churchill stated that the North African and Italian campaigns were clearly secondary, but the best that could be managed in 1943. With the fall of Rome, he said, Allied troops would be available for use in a planned invasion of southern France, code named Operation Anvil. Interested only in the invasion of northern France, Stalin maintained that the dispersal of Allied forces in the Mediterranean area would not aid Overlord. He wanted the Normandy assault launched, and soon. Churchill returned to the question of drawing Turkey into the war, but FDR and Stalin offered no encouragement, and the session ended.

On the evening of November 28, Roosevelt hosted Churchill and Stalin at dinner in his quarters. The Soviet dictator argued that France deserved no special treatment, "had no right to retain her empire," and should not play a significant role in the affairs of the postwar world. Roosevelt concurred in part, with only Churchill defending the nation and voicing his hope for a "flourishing and lively France." Stalin then said that Germany, once defeated, must be kept weak so that she could never again plunge the world into war. Churchill suggested disarmament measures, but the Soviet leader dismissed them as inadequate and said he had no faith in the reformation of the German people.

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Chinese leader Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, seated left, joins President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Madame Chiang during their conference in Cairo, immediately before the meeting of the Big Three at Tehran. Military officers behind the national leaders include U.S. General Brehon Somervell, U.S. General Joseph Stillwell, U.S. General Dwight D. Eisenhower, British Field Marshal Sir John Dill, and British Lord Louis Mountbatten.

Then arose the question of Poland, the invasion of which had precipitated the war. Stalin said he thought the Poles should have the Oder River for their western frontier, while Churchill proposed the Curzon Line as the postwar Soviet-Polish border, with Poland receiving territorial compensation from Germany. Named after Lord George Curzon, the British foreign secretary in 1920, the line was advocated at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference as the eastern boundary of Poland. When Roosevelt suggested international control of the approaches to the Baltic Sea, the Soviet leader declared curtly, "The Baltic states had, by an expression of the

will of the people, voted to join the Soviet Union, and this question was not therefore one for discussion."

After FDR went to bed, Churchill and Stalin again discussed postwar Germany. The latter suggested restraints on German industry, while the British leader said he believed that the German people could be re-educated within a generation. Stalin was pessimistic, but history would prove Churchill right. The prime minister stressed the British intention to reestablish a strong and independent Poland, and Stalin insisted that he did not want Poland but would be satisfied with some German territory. On that note, they parted for the evening.

Churchill asked for a private meeting with Roosevelt on the morning of November 29, but it was refused because the president did not want to arouse Soviet suspicions. Instead, Roosevelt continued to meet privately with Stalin. The prime minister had become the odd man out at Tehran, but he stood firm while his patience and customary good humor were under siege.

Roosevelt was determined to establish a personal bond with Stalin, who had initially appeared "correct, stiff, solemn, not smiling, nothing to get hold of," so he made a point of teasing Churchill during the conference. "Winston is cranky this morning," Roosevelt whispered to Stalin at one point. "He got up on the wrong side of the bed." When FDR needled the prime minister about his cigars, habits, and British attitudes, Stalin smiled. Roosevelt continued until Stalin was laughing and Churchill scowling. The prime minister had been forewarned, but he failed to see any humor in Roosevelt's remarks. The president persisted until it ceased to be amusing, but he claimed later that teasing Churchill made his relations with Stalin more personal.

On the afternoon of November 29, in their second private meeting, Roosevelt presented to Stalin his idea of an executive committee—the United Nations Organization—to maintain world order after the war. It would comprise the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the Commonwealth, China, two European countries, a South American nation, and countries in the Middle East and Far East. "The Four Policemen"—America, Britain, Russia, and China—would deal with any threat to peace. Stalin opposed the inclusion of China.

The conference's second plenary session was convened later on the afternoon of November 29. The British and American military advisers were present, and Marshal Stalin was accompanied by his hard-bitten, stammering foreign minister, Vyacheslav Molotov, and incompetent Marshal Klimentii Voroshilov. Alan Brooke and Marshall reported on a morning meeting of the military staffs and briefed the Big Three on preparations for the invasion of Normandy. Stalin asked who would command Operation Overlord, but Roosevelt replied that no one had been chosen. "Nothing should be done to distract attention from that operation," urged the

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ABOVE: At the conclusion of the Tehran Conference, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill approved President Franklin D. Roosevelt's choice of General Dwight Eisenhower to lead the Allied invasion of Normandy in 1944. Roosevelt then flew to Tunis to inform Eisenhower of his selection. OPPOSITE: Allied landing craft and transports along the beaches of Normandy unload men and materiel during the opening of the second front in Western Europe. During the weeks after D-Day, thousands of troops and tons of supplies poured into France.

Soviet leader, adding that the date should be set and also an invasion of southern France mounted.

Churchill called for a strong Allied offensive in central Italy and increased aid to the Balkans, both aimed at pinning down German forces and thus aiding Overlord. He assured Stalin that Britain had no territorial ambitions in the Balkans. Stalin continually interrupted Churchill and asked if the British really believed in Overlord or were just trying to placate the Soviets. Growing impatient with the sneering dictator, the prime minister replied that such a venture had been his country's intention since before the French collapse in 1940. If conditions were right, said Churchill, "it was the duty of the British government to hurl every scrap of strength across the Channel."

At 3:30 PM on November 29, the British delegation went to the Soviet Embassy to watch Churchill present the Sword of Stalingrad to Stalin. Forged in England, the ornate silver, gold, and crystal ceremonial sword represented a tribute to "the steel-hearted people of Stalingrad" and the climactic victory there, one of the turning points of 1942. After a speech, the prime minister gave the sword to Stalin in the name of King George VI. Stalin kissed it and handed it over to Marshal Voroshilov, who promptly dropped it out of its scabbard. General Alan Brooke reported that it was finally given to the commander of the Soviet honor guard and "marched off securely."

That evening, Stalin hosted Churchill and FDR at dinner. The Soviet leader taunted the prime minister over his dogged argument during the afternoon talks; stout opposition was a new experience for the dictator. He inferred several times that Churchill "nursed a secret affection for Germany and desired to see a soft peace." Stalin, who had liquidated millions of his own people in the 1930s, advocated that 50,000 German military officers be shot, and the humane Churchill was outraged. He protested "the cold-blooded execution of soldiers who had fought for their country." While agreeing that war criminals would have to stand trial, he added, "I would rather be taken out into the garden here and now and be shot myself than sully my own and my country's honor by such infamy."

Churchill's anger was not abated when Roosevelt tried to ease the tension by joking that only 49,000 officers needed to be executed. Although Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden hinted that Stalin and FDR were not being serious, Churchill left the dinner table and did not return until the Soviet leader clapped him on the shoulders and assured him that it had been a joke.

The talks resumed. Stalin admitted that his Red Army had fought poorly against the gallant, outnumbered Finns in the winter of 1939-1940, and that it had been woefully unready when the Germans invaded Russia on June 22, 1941. The dictator was to blame for this because he had purged 10,000 senior officers of the Red Army in 1938. Stalin said he favored increases in British strength in the Gibraltar area and suggested that America and Britain install more friendly governments in Spain and Portugal. When Churchill inquired about Soviet territorial ambitions, the marshal replied, "There is no need to speak at the present time about any Soviet desires, but when the time comes, we will speak."

On the following day, Tuesday, November 30, the prime minister—disturbed by Roosevelt's refusal to confer with him privately—sought out Stalin to explain his stance on the delayed second front. He wanted to dispose of any idea that "Churchill and the British staffs mean to stop Overlord if they can, because they want to invade the Balkans instead." He outlined British preparations for the massive cross-Channel assault and offensives in Italy and insisted that

Mediterranean operations would draw German strength away from the north. Stressing the shortage of ships and landing craft, Churchill said he wanted some U.S. naval units detached from the Pacific Theater. But, he noted, "the Americans are very touchy about the Pacific."

Stalin told the prime minister that the morale of the Red Army was greatly dependent on Overlord and that once he knew the date, heavy blows would be inflicted on the Germans. At a lunch meeting that day, Roosevelt briefed his Allied colleagues on military recommendations. The Italian offensive would be continued to the northern Pisa-Rimini line, he said, and Overlord and the invasion of southern France would jump off in May 1944. Stalin was pleased. Churchill ended the session by voicing hope that the nations governing the postwar world would have satisfied their territorial aims in order to ensure peace.

At the afternoon plenary session on November 30, General Alan Brooke confirmed that the British and American staffs had agreed to launch Overlord and Anvil in May 1944. Churchill promised to keep the Soviets informed of Anglo-American plans, but Stalin did not make a similar pledge. He did, however, vow to start a simultaneous offensive from the east to pin down German forces and prevent their transfer to France. Roosevelt endorsed Churchill's call for coordinating Allied plans, but Stalin was again silent. The president said he would name the Overlord commander within a few days after consulting Churchill. Eisenhower was appointed the following month.

Prime Minister Churchill turned 69 on November 30, so Roosevelt and Stalin were invited to a birthday dinner party that evening in the British legation, which had first been thoroughly searched by Soviet agents. After three days of grueling and sometimes acrimonious discussion, it was a cheery interlude of good humor made memorable to Churchill. Elegant table crystal and silver gleamed, and candles were lighted on a birthday cake as the prime minister sat flanked by FDR and Stalin. Glasses were raised in many toasts.

Stalin toasted Churchill as his "great friend," the latter toasted "Stalin the great," and Roosevelt graciously toasted Sarah Churchill. When her father said during one of his toasts that "England is getting pinker," Stalin replied, "It is a sign of good health." This triggered a roar of laughter. Stalin toasted FDR for his commitment to democracy and paid tribute to American industry, while Churchill said he admired the president's bold actions in 1933, which "prevented a revolution in the United States." Just before the party wound up at 2 AM, Roosevelt proposed the loyal toast saying, "We have proved here at Tehran that the varying ideals of our nations can come together in a harmonious whole, moving unitedly for the common good of ourselves and of the world…. We can see in the sky, for the first time, that traditional symbol of hope, the rainbow."

The three leaders gathered for a lunch conference on December 1. Churchill again pressed the enlistment of Turkey in the Allied war effort, but FDR and Hopkins tried to dampen his enthusiasm while Stalin said little. That afternoon, Roosevelt and Stalin huddled privately for the last time, and the Big Three and their aides sat for their final session in the evening. The fates of Poland and postwar Germany were again discussed.

Roosevelt proposed that Germany be broken up into five self-governing states, Churchill suggested that Prussia be separated from the rest of Germany, and Stalin advocated a thorough dismembering of the country. He feared a rebuilt Germany and wanted an international group formed to make sure that she remained neutralized. The perceptive Churchill asked Stalin if he "contemplated a Europe composed of little states, disjointed, separated, and weak," and the marshal answered, "Not Europe, but Germany." Roosevelt seemed to approve. Stalin wanted Germany to cease to exist as a political entity, with the Soviet Union filling the vacuum and dominating central Europe.

Churchill returned to the question of Poland, seeking a frontier formula he could present to the exiled Polish government in London. Poland would have the Curzon Line and the Oder River as frontiers, together with part of East Prussia, and Stalin agreed, providing that the Soviet Union gained northern East Prussia. Then he would accept the Curzon Line as the Soviet-Polish border.

The three leaders agreed on a resounding declaration that left many issues vague but heralded the founding of the United Nations as a postwar watchdog. They declared themselves committed to "the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance," though history would show that Stalin's definition of such evils

Continued on page 74

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In this famous photograph, General Eisenhower speaks to members of the 101st Airborne Division shortly before they board their transport planes to launch the D-Day invasion.

Fox Company's Airborne Saga

The troopers of F Company, 506th Parachute Infantry Regiment, 101st Airborne Division fought their way across Western Europe.

CORPORAL MANNING HANEY SAT ATOP A DIKE NEAR RANDWIJK, HOLLAND, ON October 7, 1944, manning a .50-caliber machine gun. The young paratrooper had found the gun earlier and set it up, thinking it might come in handy. From the dike he could cover a large field of fire, which interlocked with several .30-caliber weapons nearby.

A Kentucky native, Haney frequently wore a raccoon skin cap under his helmet or instead of the helmet when he could get away with it. The machine gun soon proved its worth when German troops advanced against his company's position. Pressing the butterfly triggers, he sent round after round of thumb-sized bullets sailing into the enemy group, turning the attack back almost as it started. The Germans returned the next night, this time with mortars. Haney opened fire again, but this time his efforts drew the response of every German soldier in range. Still, he kept up a brisk fire, tearing into the enemy until a direct mortar hit on his position killed him. Haney was just one of several casualties that day for Fox Company, 506th Parachute Infantry Regiment, a sister unit to the now famous Easy Company.

The book and subsequent miniseries *Band of Brothers* created a contemporary surge of interest in World War II, particularly in the paratroopers. Several Easy Company veterans have written their own books, and fans follow them on websites. Easy was one of three companies in its battalion and one of nine in its regiment. While the men of Easy Company did their jobs and deserve gratitude, other units performed their duties equally well. Fox Company was one such outfit. It went everywhere its sister companies went throughout the war, fought the same battles, and made the same sacrifices. Its story is told in ***Fighting Fox Company: The Battling Flank of the Band of Brothers*** (Terry Poyser and Bill Brown, Casemate Publishing, Philadelphia, PA, 2014, maps, photographs, appendices, bibliography, index, $32.95, hardcover).

In many ways, this book is familiar to any who have read Stephen Ambrose's bestseller *Band of Brothers*. The men of Fox Company were a cross-section of America. They trained at Toccoa, Georgia, after volunteering to become paratroopers. During this time they learned the basics of soldiering and parachuting before moving on to Fort Benning, Georgia, for jump training and more advanced infantry tactics. Eventually, they boarded ship for England, where their training stepped up in anticipation of the invasion of Normandy. Along the way the company bonded into the tight-knit team it had to be to survive what was coming.

On June 6, 1944, Fox Company parachuted into the Normandy countryside and entered combat for the first time. Like other airborne units, the men found themselves scattered across a wide area where they fought singly and in small groups until the company could reform days later. After several weeks of fighting, they were finally withdrawn from the front and returned to England to prepare for their next action. That battle came in September 1944, with Operation Market-Garden, the ultimately failed attempt to pierce deep into Germany and end the war before Christmas 1944. Fox Company suffered more casualties there than in Normandy, including the loss of Corporal Haney. After a miserable time in the sodden mud of Holland, it again withdrew to reconstitute.

In France the company absorbed

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Why Should the U.S. Fund the Palestinian Authority?

The Palestinians spurn peace talks with Israel and now plan to align with Hamas terrorists. Should we be sending them more than half a billion dollars a year?

Despite all efforts by U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry, the Palestinian Authority (P.A.) has rejected U.S. diplomatic efforts and a negotiated peace with Israel by unilaterally signing on to 15 international agreements. Even more alarming, the P.A. just announced a merger with the Islamic terror group Hamas. Currently the U.S. sends some $440 million dollars annually in direct aid to the P.A., plus an additional $225 million in funding through the U.N. Is this the best use of American tax dollars?

What are the facts?

Since 1979, the United States has expended untold diplomatic capital to forge an Israeli-Palestinian peace. Yet every time peace has seemed at hand—including the U.S.-brokered Oslo accords in 1993, and Israel's historic Camp David offer in 2000 of a Palestinian state with a capital in East Jerusalem—the Palestinians have refused to make peace. In 2008, following the Annapolis summit, Israeli Prime Minister Olmert again offered the Palestinians a state based on 1967 borders and a capital in Jerusalem, but P.A. President Mahmoud Abbas walked away without a counter offer. In 2010, in order to bring the parties together for new peace talks, President Obama convinced Israel to enforce a moratorium on building in the Jerusalem suburbs for ten months. For eight months, P.A. President Abbas refused to take part in talks, and eventually walked out. Now the Palestinians have again effectively ended peace talks with Israel unilaterally by seeking international recognition and a unity government with the Hamas terrorist faction.

> *"If a Palestinian state were declared today, it would be neither democratic, nor peaceful nor willing to negotiate with Israel."*
>
> U.S. Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen

In addition to its diplomatic investment, the U.S. has over the decades given the Palestinian Authority more than five billion dollars in aid. Today, the United States provides more than $665 million annually in direct aid and funding through the United Nations.

Yet despite this generous diplomatic support and financial largesse, Mahmoud Abbas and Palestinian Authority officials have verbally attacked the United States and snubbed U.S. aid. In 2011, the Palestinian Authority announced a "boycott of the American consulate, its diplomats, and the American institutions in Jerusalem," adding that Americans "cannot extort the Palestinian people and humiliate it with a bit of aid." Referring to these huge U.S. financial grants, Abbas said, "This does not mean that they [the U.S.] dictate to us whatever they want."

The Palestinian Authority did indeed reject requests by the United States not to form an alliance with Hamas terrorists in 2011: President Abbas proceeded to seal that agreement anyway—though the deal later fell apart—knowing full well that it is against U.S. law for Congress to fund any organization with terrorist ties. Now Abbas has announced a new merger with Hamas, the faction that openly advocates the conquest of every inch of Palestine, cleansing it of Jews, and establishing a fundamentalist Islamic caliphate. Above all, Hamas refuses to accept the state of Israel and *condemns any efforts to negotiate peace*.

In 2011, President Abbas rejected pleas from the Obama administration and the European Union to return to negotiations with Israel and refrain from making a bid for unilateral recognition of a Palestinian state at the U.N. Instead, Abbas proceeded to the U.N. and made his request. Now he has signed documents requesting additional recognition by 15 U.N. and other international organizations.

Time to stop aid to U.S. enemies. In 2011, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton stated that "We will not deal with nor in any way fund a Palestinian government that includes Hamas unless and until Hamas has renounced violence, recognized Israel and agreed to follow the previous obligations of the Palestinian Authority." In fact, annual U.S. foreign appropriations bills expressly forbid funding for "assistance to Hamas or any entity effectively controlled by Hamas or any power-sharing government of which Hamas is a member."

Both houses of Congress have already overwhelming passed resolutions that threaten withdrawal of aid from the Palestinian Authority if it persists in efforts to circumvent direct negotiations with Israel by turning to the United Nations for recognition—which it has done—*and* if the Palestinian Authority shares power with a recalcitrant Hamas. According to the chair of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, "Despite decades of assistance totaling billions of dollars, if a Palestinian state were declared today, it would be neither democratic, nor peaceful nor willing to negotiate with Israel."

By allying with the terrorist group Hamas, abandoning peace talks with Israel, and taking its case for statehood unilaterally to international bodies, it's clear that the Palestinian Authority has no respect for the interests of the United States in the Middle East, including peace with Israel. With today's ailing economy and soaring budget deficits, isn't it time for Congress to stop spending more than half a billion American tax dollars annually supporting the rogue Palestinian Authority?

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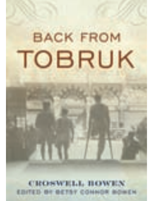
replacements, trained, and took furloughs to Paris. All that came to a halt in December with the German offensive in the Ardennes, the Battle of the Bulge. Hastily thrown into action in the defense of the key crossroads town of Bastogne, Belgium, Fox Company suffered through armored attacks, artillery bombardment, and a bitterly contested counteroffensive in January 1945. From then on the unit spent most of its time in the final Allied advance into Germany, ending its war in the Alps at Berchtesgaden.

This book's general similarities to *Band of Brothers* are admittedly apparent, as it tells the same story with a different company of the same battalion. However, this is also one of this work's strengths. The authors intentionally rely heavily on first-person accounts of Fox Company veterans to tell the story. Some battles are recounted through several participants, each with their own perspective. They went the same places as Easy Company, but Fox's war was uniquely its own. The focus is kept on the soldiers and their experiences during one of history's greatest conflicts.



Back From Tobruk, Croswell Bowen and Betsy Connor Bowen, Potomac Books, Washington, D.C., 2013, 221 pp., photographs, appendices, $29.95, hardcover)

Before America's entry into World War II, Croswell Bowen, a writer and photographer, left New York City for the deserts of North Africa. He had volunteered to go with a unit of Americans willing to act as ambulance drivers for the British Army then embroiled in bitter fighting across the sands of Egypt and Libya. A train took the men to Halifax, Nova Scotia, and a ship transported them to the war. Leaving port in November 1941, the ship's crew and passengers learned of the attack on Pearl Harbor as they sailed across the Atlantic, taking the long route around the Horn of Africa to India and eventually Egypt.

By May 1942, Cowen and his camera were on their way to the front. Training in desert warfare and a leave in Cairo ensued. Within days, he was in Tobruk, mixing with soldiers from across the Commonwealth. Tankers, infantrymen, medics, and sappers all told the young journalist of their experiences, giving him a broad look at the war he was so eager to cover. As the fighting around Tobruk continued, Cowen began to experience pains and illness, which the doctors decided was a case of "combat exhaustion." As it seemed Tobruk would fall to the enemy, he was evacuated east to Bardia and then Mersa Matruh. As the trip back to Egypt continued, Bowen shared an ambulance with a 19-year-old German prisoner. The American writer came to see this

Simulation Gaming BY JOSEPH LUSTER

It's 1960, the Nazis won World War II, but William "BJ" Blazkowicz is here to put them back in their place.

WOLFENSTEIN: THE NEW ORDER

Despite the franchise's age, *Wolfenstein* remains in the category of "new nostalgia" for some. While it has deeper origins—starting with 2D adventure game *Castle Wolfenstein,* which made its Apple II debut in 1981—the series is well known for its seminal contribution to the first-person shooter genre with 1992's *Wolfenstein 3D.* For some of us that doesn't really seem like so long ago, does it? But it still immerses the 3D aspect of the franchise in a history over 20 years old, and while that history has been a rocky one at times, it's one of the best examples of a fantasy twist on World War II video games have to offer.

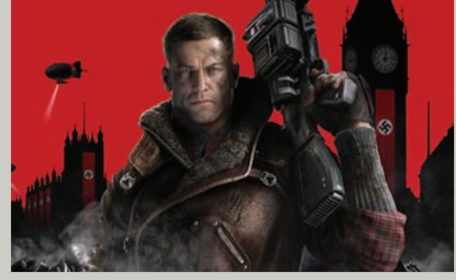
PUBLISHER
Bethesda Softworks

DEVELOPER
MachineGames

SYSTEM(S)
Xbox 360, PS3, Xbox One, PS4, PC

AVAILABLE
Now

We last saw *Wolfenstein* in the 2009 sequel to 2001's *Return to Castle Wolfenstein,* an average adventure that at best served to keep the franchise name relevant. Perhaps it was that teetering relevancy that made everyone raise their eyebrows when the latest entry, *Wolfenstein: The New Order,* was first announced. I know we wrote about it in these pages, but at that point it merely seemed like more of the same mix of Nazi villainy and mad science, with protagonist William "BJ" Blazkowicz returning to mow them down with an overloaded arsenal of weaponry.



However, there's more to *The New Order* than that, and that's all thanks to developer MachineGames. Even if the name doesn't ring a bell, the talent the company employs has a killer track record. Based in Uppsala, Sweden, MachineGames was founded in 2009 and includes key members of Starbreeze Studios, which was responsible for games like the remarkable *The Chronicles of Riddick: Escape from Butcher Bay* (2004) and *The Darkness* (2007), which adapted the comic book of the same name. That should be enough to convince those familiar to at least give *Wolfenstein* a shot, and after playing through it I can definitely say the team lived up to its reputation.

Wolfenstein: The New Order picks up after the events of *Wolfenstein,* kicking off with BJ and pilot Fergus Reid taking part in an intense Allied raid against a Nazi fortress and weapons laboratory. It's July 1946 so it's safe to say the war is still going strong, thanks in no small part to the Nazi development of advanced technologies that helped them turn the tide against the Allies. Leading the forces of evil is General Wilhelm "Deathshead" Strasse, and BJ is determined to put an end to him and snuff out this ever-expanding war once and for all.

The setup makes it seem like *The New Order* is going to be the repeat historical fantasy action we expected, with our hero infiltrating fortresses and taking out Nazis in rote fashion. The opening moments have a few nods to *Wolfenstein* to let the player know where things stand—passageways hide behind paintings and, from the very beginning, those familiar difficulty levels can be selected, including the easy "Can I play, Daddy?" setting—but the game doesn't even truly start until the raid goes absolutely sideways, leaving BJ and the rest of his squad hung out to dry and, in BJ's case, left for dead with a critical head injury.

BJ's condition lands him in a Polish asylum in a vegetative state. Head nurse Anya Oliwa takes him under her care, but it appears even this quasi-hell won't last forever. Nazis are removing patients bit by bit, and when the asylum is eventually shut down, they hastily decide to wipe everyone out. This is where BJ kicks back into action, performs a daring escape,

enemy as a man much like himself.

In time Cowen returned to America and tried to publish his memoir of North Africa without success. Apparently, his portrayal of a German soldier as just another person caught up in the war was not a characterization wartime America wanted, so Cowen went on with his life as a writer. As attitudes have softened with the intervening decades, his daughter Betsy believed the time had come to share this account of one man's experience of war and how it affected him.

Unsung Eagles: True Stories of America's Citizen Airmen in the Skies of World War II, Lt. Col. (Ret.) Jay A. Stout, Casemate Publishers, Havertown, PA, 2013, 288 pp., photographs, index, $32.95, hardcover)

On October 25, 1942, Lieutenant Julius Jacobson, U.S. Army Air Corps, took off from Henderson Airfield on Guadalcanal. He was part of a flight of five Bell P-39 Airacobra fighters assigned to attack the Japanese light cruiser *Yura* near the island. The sleek aircraft was not the best American plane of the war, but in 1942 it was available and Jacobson found it an easy plane to fly. That would help him this day. The first four planes made their diving runs, but all of them missed the target.

Jacobson began his own dive but quickly realized his attack was ill conceived. He half rolled out of his dive and came around for another try. As he went into a near vertical dive, he discovered he was far too low. The cruiser loomed large in his sights as he released his 500-pound bomb and frantically pulled back the stick to get his plane level and away. The aircraft recovered but flew so low that his cockpit filled with condensation, clouding his vision. Luckily, the speed the P-39 built up during the dive kept enemy antiaircraft guns from finding their mark.

and discovers, much to his bewilderment, that it's now 1960. The war is over. Germany won and seized control over the majority of the world, and even the resistance has been quelled in the process. With Anya by his side, a recovering BJ helps bring that resistance back to life, and Deathshead remains at the top of his list.

Wolfenstein: The New Order uses this setup to fantastic effect, creating a detailed "What If?" world based on the concept of victorious Nazis. Their technology is even greater now, and the player is tasked with taking BJ through daring mech-assisted prison escapes, undersea U-Boat theft, and an impressive number of missions that keep things fresh from beginning to end. The shooting action itself isn't anything ground-breaking, but it's challenging and thrilling enough to keep you motivated, moving from one engaging set piece to the next.

What actually happened during the time leading to Germany's victory in the war isn't spelled out in lengthy faux-historical movies, but you can piece it all together thanks to newspaper clippings scattered around the environment. That's one of the most interesting facets of *The New Order.* Each level has a lived-in feel to it, and you can take that and run with it if you like, or just ignore the underlying facts behind the game's world and blast your way through the levels. At times *Wolfenstein's* story can get a little heavy handed—which is kind of odd coming from a game that has you dual-wielding automatic weapons within the first 10 minutes—but for the most part it's handled with admirable aplomb with a fine cast behind the characters.

The only major caveat would go to anyone looking to pick up *Wolfenstein* on a last-gen console like PlayStation 3 or Xbox 360. PC players will enjoy a hearty laugh at this, but it's the first time I've really felt the gap between those systems and the current-gen platforms. To make sure the game runs smoothly, the developer made some visual sacrifices, most notably in the textures, which take an inordinate amount of time to generate and often return to bare-bones state once you turn your back on them. It's not a deal-breaker, and *Wolfenstein* is very much worth playing on all platforms, but I think it's about time we stop kidding ourselves and work on more games focused solely on the new systems and PC.

Despite its '90s roots, *Wolfenstein: The New Order* is a refreshing shooter that doesn't attempt to squeeze in mediocre multiplayer, instead focusing all of MachineGames efforts on a stellar single-player campaign. It totally paid off, and it's nice to have BJ Blazkowicz back in an earnest outing that doesn't wink, nudge, or jab us in the arm with tired irony.

WWII HISTORY

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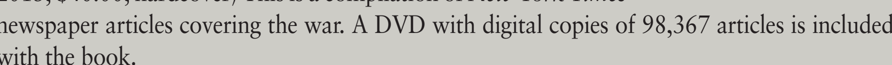
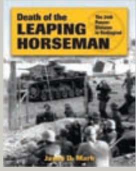
New and Noteworthy



THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPLETE WORLD WAR II 1939-1945 (Edited by Richard Overy, Black Dog and Levanthal Publishers, 2013, $40.00, hardcover) This is a compilation of *New York Times* newspaper articles covering the war. A DVD with digital copies of 98,367 articles is included with the book.

THE BATTLE OF THE BRIDGES (Frank Van Lunteren, Casemate Publishing, 2014, $32.95, hardcover) During Operation Market-Garden, the 504th Parachute Regiment fought for several bridges in Holland. This account uses participant interviews to cover the battle.

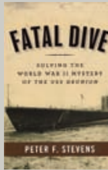


JAGDPANTHER VS. SU-100: EASTERN FRONT 1945 (David R. Higgins, Osprey Publishing, 2014, $18.95, softcover) These vehicles were successful tank destroyers of similar design. Their development, performance, and effectiveness are compared.

DEATH OF THE LEAPING HORSEMAN: THE 24TH PANZER DIVISION IN STALINGRAD (Jason D. Mark, Stackpole Books, 2014, $39.95, hardcover) This is the story of the division's role during the Stalingrad campaign. Well illustrated, this new history contains many veteran accounts.

HE GAVE THE ORDER: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF OSAMI NAGANO (F.J. Bradley, Merriam Press, 2014, $44.95, softcover) This biography reveals the life of the man who ordered the Pearl Harbor attack. His life began during the end of the Shogunate era and ended in a prison cell after World War II.

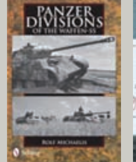
THE DEAD AND THOSE ABOUT TO DIE, D-DAY: THE BIG RED ONE AT OMAHA BEACH (John C. McManus, Penguin Books, 2014, $27.95, hardcover) The 1st Infantry Division's D-Day assault is well known, but this book includes new veteran interviews and source material to shed new light on the battle.



D-DAY IN HISTORY AND MEMORY: THE NORMANDY LANDINGS IN INTERNATIONAL REMEMBRANCE AND COMMEMORATION (Michael Dolski, Sam Edwards, and John Buckley, University of North Texas Press, 2014, $24.95, hardcover) Participants remember the invasion of Europe in various ways. Each nation's particular ceremonies and views are covered here.

FATAL DIVE (Peter Stevens, Regnery Publishing, 2014, $24.95, hardcover) The submarine USS *Grunion* disappeared in July 1942 in the North Pacific. The story of its discovery decades later is revealed along with theories on its fate.

PANZER DIVISIONS OF THE WAFFEN-SS (Rolf Michaelis, Schiffer Publishing, 2014, $45.00, hardcover) The SS raised seven armored divisions during World War II. The formation, operations, and fate of each are given attention.



WAR AT SEA: A NAVAL ATLAS 1939-1945 (Marcus Faulkner, Naval Institute Press, 2012, $35.98, hardcover) Maps of the war at sea are divided into sections on each major theater. Specific battles receive more detailed attention.

As Jacobson flew away, his flight leader called out a hit. The young pilot's bomb had struck the *Yura* in the stern. This added to damage the cruiser suffered earlier from other air attacks. Later the ship was scuttled after the crew abandoned ship. Jacobson went on to fly on the mission that shot down the bomber carrying Japanese admiral Isoroku Yamamoto in 1943.

Such stories fill the pages of this book, telling the experiences of average American airmen fighting in all theaters of the war. Each chapter covers a different flyer, providing rich detail on their lives before the war and service during it. While full of technical detail, it is written in a clear, easy to follow style, making the book fun to read.

The Fifth Field: The Story of the 96 American Soldiers Sentenced to Death and Executed in Europe and North Africa in World War II, Colonel (Ret.) French L. Maclean, Schiffer Publishing, Atglen, PA, 2013, photographs, notes, appendices, bibliography, $39.99, hardcover)

During World War II the United States Army executed 96 soldiers for various crimes, mostly murder, rape, and desertion. The best known is perhaps Private Eddie Slovik, a soldier from the 28th Division who went before a firing squad in January 1945 for desertion. He had apparently left his unit as a replacement before entering combat, was caught, and turned over for trial. Since he was the only American soldier executed for desertion since the Civil War, his case stands out.

There were many other executions. However, most of them were for far more infamous crimes than Slovik's desertion. These are relatively unknown today. The case of each soldier executed is summarized in this book to provide insight, spelling out crimes not very different from those of civilian offenders. One drunk soldier murdered an MP who had angered him. Another, also drunk, shot his British girlfriend after discovering she was seeing other men. A third raped a French woman in front of her husband.

This book is an interesting glimpse into the military justice system of the war. Most of those convicted came from rear-echelon units, in particular quartermaster outfits. Of the 96, a disproportionate number came from the 92nd Infantry Division—an all African-American unit, providing commentary on the state of race relations and justice at the time. Several appendices provide interesting information that rounds out this fascinating study of the Army dealing with crime during the largest war in its history.

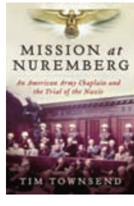
Warsaw 1944: Hitler, Himmler, and the Warsaw Uprising (Alexandra Richie, Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, New York, 2013, 738 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $40.00, hardcover)

The Warsaw Uprising is a tragedy that stands out even among the innumerable calamities of World War II. It is a microcosm of Poland's history. Centered on the northern

European Plain between Germany and Russia, bereft of geographic defenses, for centuries Poland has been fought over and conquered by its neighbors to the east and west. This came to a horrible climax in Warsaw in August 1944, as two ideological juggernauts—Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union—brought their war to the city gates. The Poles within the city, desperate to throw off the fascist yoke, rose up against the Germans, expecting the approaching Soviets to aid in their liberation.

The Soviets, however, stopped short of the city, leaving the Polish Resistance on its own. Hitler saw a chance to strike down the Poles and destroy their small home army of resistance fighters. For their part, though unassisted by the Soviets and with only token aid from the Western Allies, the Poles fought back in a heroic though ultimately futile effort and faced utter brutality from their occupiers. Horrible reprisals and petty vengeance followed.

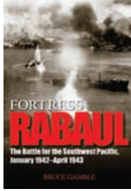
The strength of this new work on a famous battle is its rich detail and background information. The author strives to relate the big picture while telling the small stories of the combatants and their experiences, blending them in a flowing narrative. A complete picture of the Warsaw's fateful fight for its life can be gained through this book.



Fortress Rabaul: The Battle for the Southwest Pacific, January 1942-April 1943 (Bruce Gamble, Zenith Press, Minneapolis, MN, 2013, 416 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $19.99, softcover)

Without a doubt, Rabaul was Imperial Japan's greatest bastion in the Southwest Pacific. After seizing the island of New Britain in January 1942, the Japanese quickly built Rabaul into a major base supporting thousands of troops and hundreds of warplanes. It was a key supply base and defensive position in Japanese strategy and planning for the region. Eventually, the Allies chose to encircle the fortress, leaving it to wither.

This is the second volume in Bruce Gamble's trilogy on Rabaul's history. Beginning with the ill-fated Australian defense of the port in the first days of 1942, this edition carries through to the death of Japanese Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto in April 1943. The book tells of the bitter struggle of the Japanese, Australian, and American warriors who flew and sailed around this strategically vital port, locked in mortal conflict as the Japanese advance across the South Pacific was slowly blunted.



Mission at Nuremberg: An American Army Chaplain and the Trial of the Nazis (Tim Townsend, William Morrow Publishing, New York, 400 pp., photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $28.99, hardcover)

Henry Gerecke joined the U.S. Army as a chaplain in 1943 at the age of 50. Sent to England, he was assigned to tend the spiritual needs of thousands of wounded American soldiers in hospitals near London. When the war ended Gerecke was transferred with a hospital unit to Munich, Germany. Soon after, the fluent German speaker was asked to take on another harrowing assignment: acting as a chaplain for the high-ranking Nazis facing trial at nearby Nuremberg for the war crimes.

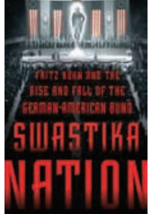
During the famous trial Gerecke tended to such infamous figures as Hermann Göring, Albert Speer, Joachim von Ribbentrop, and Wilhelm Keitel. He spent time talking to these men, once potent figures but now powerless and in fear for their lives. After their convictions he remained as they prepared for death or imprisonment. Witnessing Göring's emotional last meeting with his family left Gerecke dizzy and sweating. He was listening to a baseball game when Göring committed suicide in his cell and rushed in to see Göring's final moments. It was a difficult duty in the midst of historic events.

Capturing the Women's Army Corps: The World War II Photographs of Captain Charlotte T. McGraw (Francoise Barnes Bonnell and Ronald Kevin Bullis, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 2013, 90 pp., photographs, maps, appendix, $39.95, softcover)

The Women's Army Corps, frequently known as the WACs, was a new organization during World War II. Though women had been involved in warfare throughout human history, it was during this conflict that they began to see wide service. The WACs had one official photographer, Captain Charlotte McGraw. She traveled across the globe during the war documenting what women in uniform were doing in service to their nation. She took over 73,000 pictures, which were seen in official publications, newspapers, and magazines of the period. While some show scenes of civilians in a given theater, her prime focus is on the women themselves, both on duty and off, doing the work that earned them their place in the United States military.

Accused American War Criminal (Fiske Hanley II, Texas Tech University Press, Lubbock, 2013, 280 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, bibliography, index, $24.95, softcover)

Texan Fiske Hanley was a flight engineer aboard a Boeing B-29 Superfortress bomber during the final year of World War II. On March 27, 1945, his aircraft was shot down on its seventh bombing mission over the Japanese mainland. Eight of the crew perished; Fiske parachuted to the ground but was quickly captured by an enraged Japanese mob. This was the beginning of a harrowing five-month ordeal for the young American. As a member of a B-29 crew, he was considered a war criminal by the Japanese, a "special prisoner" rather than a prisoner of war. He was told he would be tried and executed for attacks against civilians. Confined under horrible conditions, mistreated, and starved, Fiske and his fellow prisoners endured horrible suffering until the Japanese surrender brought liberation. Though not the only story of the brutal treatment prisoners experienced under Imperial Japanese control, this firsthand account sheds a personal light on it.



Swastika Nation: Fritz Kuhn and the Rise and Fall of the German-American Bund (Arnie Bernstein, St. Martin's Press, New York, 2013, 368 pp., notes, bibliography, index, $27.99, hardcover)

The Nazi Party's rise in Germany is well documented, and literally hundreds of books exist to educate the world on the topic. There was a Nazi party in America as well, however, slowly rising from the same inauspicious beginnings as its German cousin. Taking its lead from Hitler and his followers, the American version used much of the same pomp and ceremony. Its leader, Fritz Kuhn, was a German who had come to America through Mexico in the late 1920s.

Despite the movement's dedicated inner membership, Americans opposed to the Nazis banded together and destroyed the movement, crushing its hopes. An amalgam of politicians, journalists, lawyers, and even Jewish gangsters ended the threat and sent Kuhn packing back to Germany. How it happened is a fascinating and at times humorous tale.

sydney harbor

Continued from page 33

to have the same problem staying underwater as the other subs. Andrew fired a red flare, signaling nearby ships to stay clear of the area. He then ordered *Sea Mist* ahead at full speed, directly over the descending midget. He ordered the crew to drop a depth charge. The explosion threw up a wall of water, which lifted *Sea Mist* and flung it forward.

With a loud splashing noise, the midget sub popped out of the water. It was upside down and the stern jutted out, revealing its twin screws, now turning nothing but air. The submarine began to sink again, so Andrew dropped another depth charge. The blast threw *Sea Mist* about, and one of the engines was knocked out. *Sea Mist* could now only make five knots and was unable to continue the attack. Andrew withdrew, and *Steady Hour* and *Yarroma* moved in. For over three hours they dropped depth charges. At least 16 attacks were made.

The Japanese raid accomplished little; the tiny midget subs were clearly not up to the task of effectively attacking such a large and well-defended harbor. The Australians learned some harsh lessons about their preparedness at a cost of 21 lives and some damage to the ships and facilities within the port area. Despite warnings about submarines and the scouting flights by the Japanese floatplanes, nothing had been done to increase the security of the harbor.

Further, the initial response was slow. Lieutenant Eyers's slow response to Cargill's sighting was "deplorable and inexplicable," wrote Admiral Muirhead-Gould in his official report.

In the aftermath, the hulks of the destroyed midget submarines were raised from the bay's floor. On the afternoon of Monday, June 1, divers found Matsuo's sub resting at a depth of 18 meters. The twin screws were still turning slowly, and oil leaked from the hull. The torpedoes were still in their racks, and the steel cage over them was crumpled, preventing them from being launched or removed. The torpedoes needed to be disarmed, and this made recovery risky.

The sub was not brought to the surface until June 4. Crowds lined the shore as the wreck was hauled out of the water. Some were sailors, who removed their caps out of respect for the dead men inside. The sub was in two parts, requiring a second line to be attached. The bodies of both Japanese sailors were recovered. Each had a gunshot wound to the head, indicating suicide. Matsuo still wore his thousand stitch belt, and his sword was recovered. The remains were taken to the Sydney city morgue to await burial.

The day before, Chuma's submarine was found still tangled in the net. The bow had broken off and sunk to the bottom. Divers dispatched to find it also recovered Japanese sailors' bodies. The remains of Ban's sub were discovered in November 2006 near the Northern Beaches, just a few miles northeast of Sydney Harbor.

On June 9, a funeral was held for the four Japanese sailors. They were cremated and buried with full military honors, including a salute of three volleys and Japanese naval ensigns draped across their coffins. Admiral Muirhead-Gould attended, accompanied by the Consul-General from the Swiss embassy. The event was covered by the local press, and the admiral was admonished by many at the time for allowing enemy combatants such honors of war. Muirhead-Gould defended his actions by recognizing the courage it took for anyone to attempt such a mission in a tiny submarine. It is also possible he and others in the Australian government thought the gesture might have a positive effect on Japanese treatment of Australian prisoners.

The ashes of the four sailors were later given to Tatsuo Kawai, the Japanese ambassador to Australia. He had been interned since the war began, but in August 1942 he was exchanged and sent home. Thousands of mourners greeted the ship carrying him on its arrival in Yokohama, including Matsuo's former fiancée. He had broken their engagement before he left on his one-way mission.

The Australian minister of the interior suggested displaying one of the submarines at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra. Another group asked for a sub to be displayed to raise money for the Australian Comfort Fund, which provided relief items for Australians serving abroad. A single complete submarine was assembled using parts of the two recovered craft, and it was put on display at Bennelong Point, now the location of the famous Sydney Opera House. Admission was 20 cents, and reportedly a great deal of money was raised. Eventually the sub was taken on a tour of southeastern Australia.

Even more money was made selling postcards and models of the midget submarine. Today the sub sits on display at the Australian War Memorial along with other artifacts of the fateful night when Sydney harbor became the focus of Australia's war for a brief few hours.

Christopher Miskimon is a regular contributor to WWII History. *He is an officer in the Colorado National Guard's 157th Regiment.*

peiper

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we had crossed. We were all, of course, flattened out, and then they were yelling at us to surrender. That becomes very disconcerting when the enemy starts yelling at you, and word was passed up the line that we should pull back. One of our guys crawled in the wrong direction, and he was captured. I don't know why he did that, but anyway we had to cross this little stream and there was a barbed wire fence that went ... parallel with the stream. It was too low to go under it, too high to go over it. So the guy that was behind me became impatient, and he literally pushed me over the barbed wire across to the other side of the brook."

With intense fire still coming from the Germans, Kauffman began to crawl down the hill. "I was passing guys lying there, and I was sure they were dead," said Kauffman. When he was out of the trajectory of fire, he got up. "Finally there was another guy and I ; we made it down the hill, but we couldn't use the bridge to get out of there. We had to ford the stream that the bridge ran over, and this is December you know so it was pretty chilly water. I seen a lot of the guys come through the stream, but I don't know how many got off the hill."

Fighting on three sides, Peiper's task force was considerably weakened. By Thursday, December 21, Peiper consolidated his forces to the more easily defendable hilltop village of La Gleize. Task Force McGeorge continued to press an attack on the village, making little headway. To avoid the tragedy of forcing Sherman tanks into La Gleize, where the heavy German tanks waited, the Americans relied on artillery. An intense artillery barrage blanketed the town as Peiper established his command center in the cellar of a large house.

Major Hal McCown, the commander of the 2nd Battalion, 119th Infantry Regiment, had been taken prisoner. He met with Peiper in his command and later wrote, "I have met few men who impressed me in as short a span of time as did this German officer.... He was completely confident of Germany's ability to whip the Allies. He spoke of [SS Reichsführer Heinrich] Himmler's new reserve army at quite some length, saying that it contained so many new divisions, both armored and otherwise, that our G-2s would wonder where they all came from. He did his best to find out from me of the success the V-1 and V-2 were having and told me that more secret weapons like those would be unloosed.... The German Air Force, he said, would now come forth with many new types and which—although inferior in number to the

Allies—would be superior in quality and would suffice their needs to cover their breakthrough in Belgium and Holland and later to the French coast."

At 5 AM on Friday, December 22, following a six-hour meeting with Peiper, Major McCown was taken to a cellar with four other American officers. He vividly remembered, "All that day American artillery pounded the town incessantly, even the guard detachment—consisting of 5 Germans—came down into our cellar with us, which was heavily overcrowding the tiny room. In the afternoon a 105 shell made a direct hit on the wall of our cellar, throwing the German sitting beside me halfway across the room. A hole approximately 2½ feet in diameter was knocked in the wall. Lieutenant Henley and Lieutenant Youmans of my regiment helped pull the German out from under the rubble and got him on the floor of the undamaged part of the cellar. Within a few minutes another shell landed a few feet outside the hole in the cellar wall, and shrapnel and stone flew through the room. Lieutenant Henley was killed instantly, and three Germans were wounded. One of the Germans died within about 30 minutes. We administered first aid as well as we could. For several hours then the shelling continued without appreciable letup, and the dead and wounded together with those who were unhurt were cramped close together in the unharmed half of the small cellar."

Late in the afternoon, parties of American enlisted men came to the cellar and removed the dead and wounded; the litter bearers told me that German casualties had been heavy throughout the town.

The Germans engineered the most powerful tanks of World War II, but without the fuel to run them they were useless. Between 2 and 3 AM on Sunday, December 24, Peiper and about 800 of his unwounded men walked out of La Gleize. Most of the vehicles they left behind were out of fuel.

On Christmas Day, elements of the 740th Tank Battalion recovered an unwrapped gift, a Tiger II left behind by the 3rd Company of Peiper's 501st SS Heavy Tank Battalion. It was shipped to the United States and examined at Maryland's Aberdeen Proving Grounds. The tank was later displayed at the Patton Museum in Fort Knox, Kentucky, and now rests in a warehouse at Fort Benning, Georgia.

Author Josh Quackenbush is a writer and educator residing in Cary, North Carolina. He conducted extensive research, including more than 140 interviews with veterans, to produce this story.

new zealand

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knew. Since the end of the war, many American veterans have returned to New Zealand to try to locate children they left behind. Likewise, New Zealanders have been trying to locate their American fathers. In both situations there have been heartwarming successes as well as heartbreaking failures.

Leonard S. Skinner graduated from high school in 1941 and enlisted in the Marine Corps soon after Pearl Harbor. After boot camp, he was assigned to Company K, 3rd Battalion, 2nd Marine Regiment, 2nd Marine Division. He was among those of the 2nd Division who landed on Guadalcanal with the 1st Marine Division. He fought the Japanese on neighboring islands for five weeks before returning to the main battle that raged on Guadalcanal. The campaign for control of the island concluded in February 1943. One of the relative few who did not come down with malaria, he eventually joined the rest of the 2nd Marine Division living the good life in New Zealand, that is, when they were not on maneuvers.

While camped at McKay's Crossing outside Wellington and before the division shipped out for the landings on Tarawa in the Gilbert Islands that took place in November 1943, he met and became friends with a New Zealand girl named Peggy Seerup. He spent many weekends and leaves with her family in the small town of Ohura in central North Island. They remained friends throughout the war, exchanging letters. They continued to stay in touch after the war, with many visits back and forth between the two families They had both married in their respective countries by this time. This relationship extended into second and third generations and continues to this day.

Norman Hatch, a Marine combat photographer, came to New Zealand with the 2nd Division and followed it around the country, recording its adventures on film. Along with other Marine combat photographers, he took film footage of the bloody fighting on Tarawa. After editing, the documentary film won an Academy Award the following year. Norm was never able to make it back to New Zealand, but he has stayed in touch with friends he made there during the war.

Although it may have been a memorable time for New Zealand women and American servicemen stationed in New Zealand, the home front situation was cause for concern among New Zealand fighting men both at home and overseas. It was of special concern when some of them started receiving "Dear John" letters from girlfriends and, in some cases, wives. In 1943 when some New Zealand servicemen started coming home on furlough to find the Yanks had taken over, there were a number of alcohol-fueled fights and riots. Much of the discord had to do with women and the racial attitudes of some Americans. The U.S. military was still segregated in those days, and Maori home on leave did not take kindly to some of these American attitudes.

In spite of these confrontations, few Americans who spent time in New Zealand during the war had unkind things to say about the country or its people. In fact, both New Zealand and U.S. military authorities were kept busy throughout the war years rounding up American deserters who preferred life in New Zealand to combat in the Pacific. However, according to information released to the press in those days, the number of American deserters was in the hundreds, not the thousands. When the 2nd Marine Division left for the invasion of Tarawa, only two Marines were not present and accounted for.

During one of their efforts to round up deserters, American Military Police and New Zealand civilian authorities were surprised to come across an American sailor who had jumped ship 25 years earlier. After spending so much time together, members of the 2nd Marine Division and the people of New Zealand had become so close that New Zealand newspapers printed not only the names of New Zealand casualties from the war, but also the names of Americans killed on Tarawa.

Between 1942 and 1944, there were from 50,000 to 60,000 Americans in New Zealand at any given time. When they started leaving as the war moved north, the Americans left behind more than broken hearts and adoptive families. They left over a dozen hospitals and clinics to be used by the New Zealand government as it saw fit. They also left a lot of military equipment. Even today, throughout New Zealand there are clubs dedicated to preserving and showing jeeps and other vehicles left behind during the war.

Unlike the Americans who came to New Zealand during World War II, there are few Americans today who have never heard of the island nation. The living veterans of World War II are well into their 80s and 90s. For those still standing there are few friends and comrades left with whom to share their memories.

Bruce Petty is the author of five books, four of which concern World War II in the Pacific. His latest is New Zealand in the Pacific War. *He is a resident of New Plymouth, New Zealand.*

top secret

Continued from page 27

Assam Front) or the Northern Combat Area Command (NCAC) front in the Hukawng and Mogaung River valley commanded by General Stilwell, stated: "This airborne operation had no direct effect on the Central Assam front, but it shortened our supply of reserves ... it completely cut off 18th Division's [opposing General Stilwell] supply route, thereby making impossible that division's holding operation against the enemy in North Burma."

General Numata observed, "The advance of the airborne forces did not cause any change in Japanese operational plans on either the Central Assam front or the NCAC front. Operations continued according to plan, but these airborne forces proved to be a devastating factor in cutting lines of communication. The difficulty encountered in dealing with these airborne forces was ever a source of worry to all the headquarters staffs of the Japanese Army, and contributed materially to the Japanese failure in the Imphal and Hukawng operations."

Major Kaetsu, Naka's general staff operations officer, added, "The big effect of the airborne operations was on the administrative situation of the main offensive into Assam.... The supply dump hidden in the jungle [for the Indaw-Homalin northern supply route to the Chindwin] was found by one of Bernard Fergusson's RAF officers.... While the RAF officer in a light aircraft marked out the extent of the dump with smoke flares, USAAF Mitchells and Mustangs came again and again to wipe it out.... The 31st Division Infantry Group used the northern route on its initial advance on Kohima. It carried 21 days' supplies initially. This group came through Ukruhl and cut the Kohima road to the south. The result of the northern line [Indaw-Homalin] going out and the consequent lack of food and ammunition for all of the 31st Division had a vital effect on the Kohima operation."

Mutaguchi concluded, "The airborne landings were made during the night previous to the day on which we were to begin the Imphal operation. Some staff officers in the Burma Area Army were of the opinion that the Imphal operation should be temporarily suspended, but my resolution remain unchanged, and I carried out the operation as planned.... I was therefore not immediately concerned with this airborne threat, and I devoted myself to my previous intentions. It was a matter of great regret and concern to me that Burma Area Army switched one entire division [53rd Division] to cope with the enemy airborne force, especially at a time when the provision of one regiment of 53rd Division for the Imphal front might well have ensured the success of the operation."

As Michael Calvert, one of Wingate's brigadiers for Operation Thursday, asserts, "It should be remembered that it was not the original task as laid down at Quebec for General Wingate's force to assist the British Indian forces forward from Assam. The role given was to help General Stilwell with his Chinese American forces to take Mogaung and Myitkyina and an area south in order to allow communication through to China by road and thus keep China in the war."

Thus, even though Wingate was not specifically tasked with directly assisting General Slim in Assam, his strategy of interdicting Japanese supply routes, in particular the Indaw-Homalin route to the Chindwin River, with his roving Chindit columns supported by their strongholds, enabled Special Force to indirectly tip the scales of victory toward Slim as the effects of diminishing manpower, dwindling ammunition, and starvation took their toll on Mutaguchi's troops during Operation U-Go.

According to Sir Robert Thompson, who served with Wingate during Operation Thursday as a senior RAF officer, "It has been easy enough to list the Japanese units and manpower drawn off by the Chindits which otherwise might have been used to reinforce the attack on Imphal. In total it may not seem much (probably equivalent to a division and a half) but at times it was touch and go both at Imphal and Kohima. Any extra forces or reinforcements could have tipped the scales and given Mutaguchi the victory.... If there had been no Chindit landings all the divisions in Imphal would have been in the bag, the Assam airfields would have been lost and China might have collapsed."

In conclusion, Wingate's supporters interpreted the evidence of statements by Mutaguchi and other senior Japanese officers that Operation Thursday drew off vitally needed units from the fighting in Assam and contributed to the defeat of the U-Go offensive by disrupting lines of communication and hampering distribution of rations to troops that possessed only a meager three-week supply. To this day, Wingate's critics counter that these Japanese officers were touting Operation Thursday as a success in order to provide an excuse for their defeat.

Jon Diamond practices medicine and lives in Hershey, Pennsylvania. He is a frequent contributor to WWII History. *His Osprey Publishing Command Series monographs on Orde Wingate (#20) and Archibald Wavell (#28) were both released in 2012.*

tehran

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differed from those of Churchill and Roosevelt. In their declaration, the Big Three parted as "friends in fact, in spirit, and in purpose."

The Tehran Conference was the most important of the Allies' top-level wartime meetings, including Yalta and Potsdam. By agreeing to the Overlord plan, with Soviet forces advancing from the east, the Big Three shaped future Europe. Soviet armies would control Eastern Europe, and the other Allies the West. The optimistic Roosevelt, who left Tehran believing that he had won Stalin over, did not see the potential dangers. While FDR and Churchill never wavered in their determination to defeat the Axis powers, only the prime minister was aware of the clouds sure to move in on the postwar horizon. The Tehran talks paved the way for the 1945 Allied victory, but other decisions made there would plague Europe for many years.

Taking off from Tehran early on Thursday, December 2, 1943, Roosevelt, Churchill, and their staffs flew over the Persian Mountains and headed southwest to Cairo for another conference. Wearing his Blitz-era siren suit and a Royal Air Force great coat, the prime minister lunched on quail and white wine aboard his Avro York, sat in the copilot's seat, and was in good spirits.

During their second meeting in the Egyptian capital, Churchill persuaded FDR to take a drive out to see the Sphinx. On the way, Roosevelt mentioned that he could not spare General Marshall to command Operation Overlord, and asked Churchill if General Eisenhower would be acceptable. Churchill said it was the president's decision but that the British would gladly support Ike. Alan Brooke had also coveted the assignment, but Churchill similarly felt that he could not be released from his Whitehall power base. The two leaders gazed silently at the Sphinx for a few minutes. "She told us nothing," Churchill reported later, "and maintained her inscrutable smile."

The president and prime minister parted on December 7. After a fruitless 15-hour discussion with Turkish President Ismet Inonu in Cairo, Churchill went on to convalesce in Marrakech. He was suffering throat pains, congestion, and a temperature of 101. Roosevelt, meanwhile, flew to Tunis, where Eisenhower met him. After they had climbed into a staff car, FDR turned to the general and said, "Well, Ike, you are going to command Overlord."

Michael D. Hull is a frequent contributor to WWII History. *He writes from his home in Enfield, Connecticut.*

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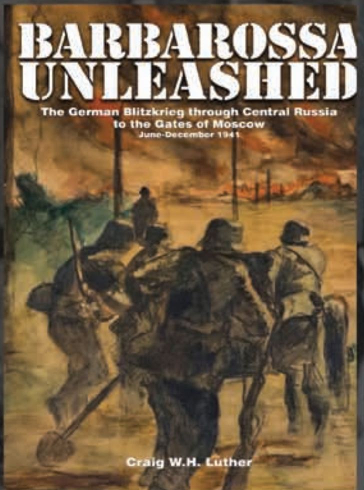

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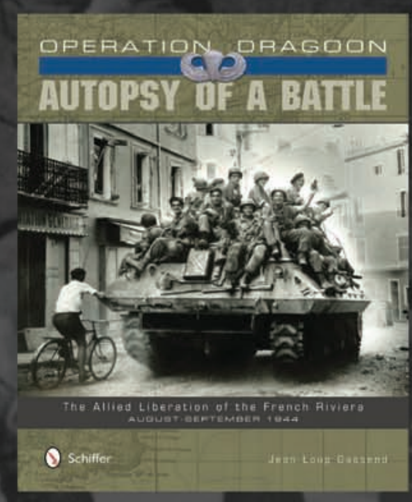

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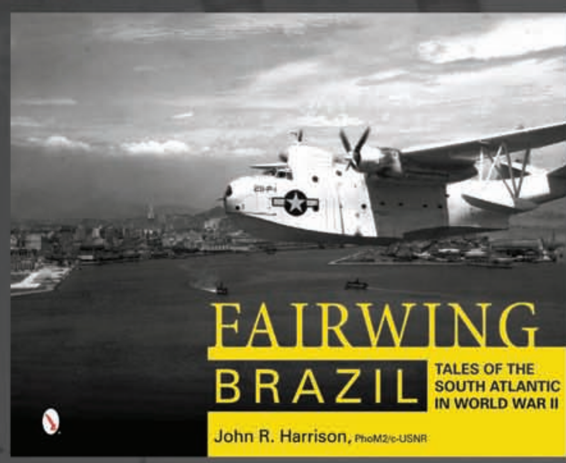

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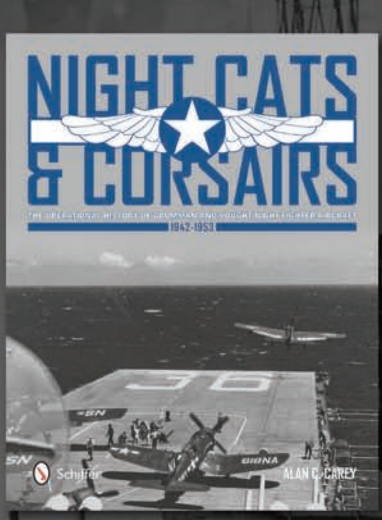

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