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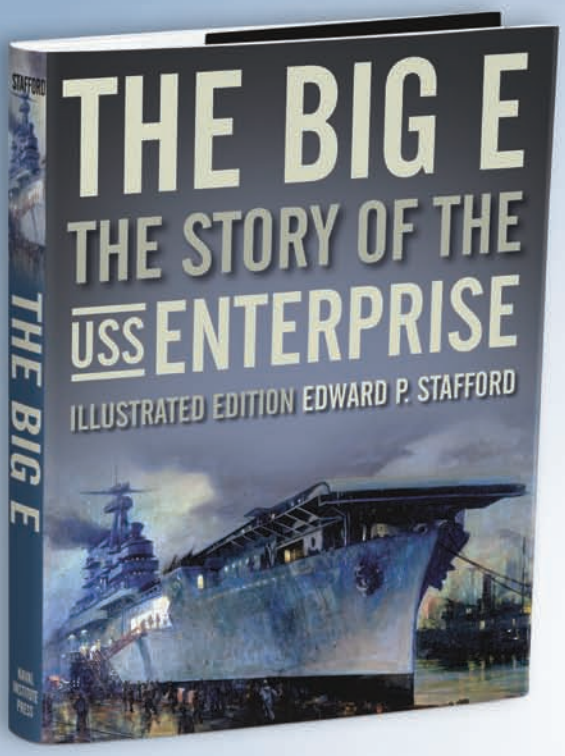

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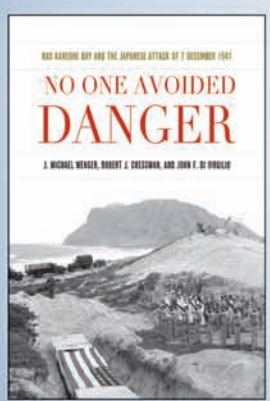

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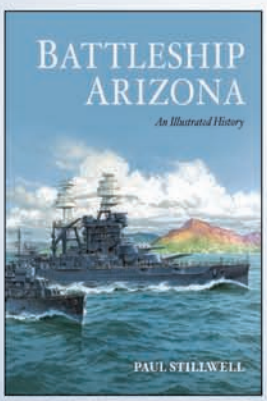

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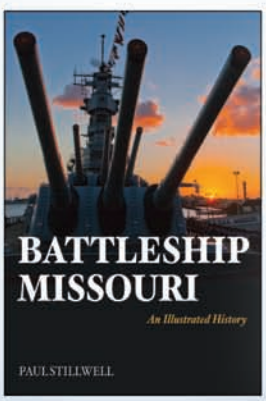

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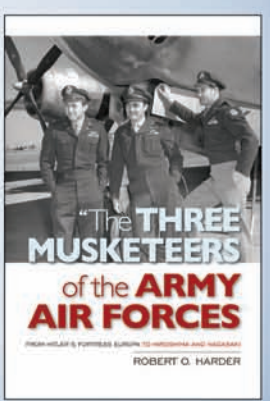

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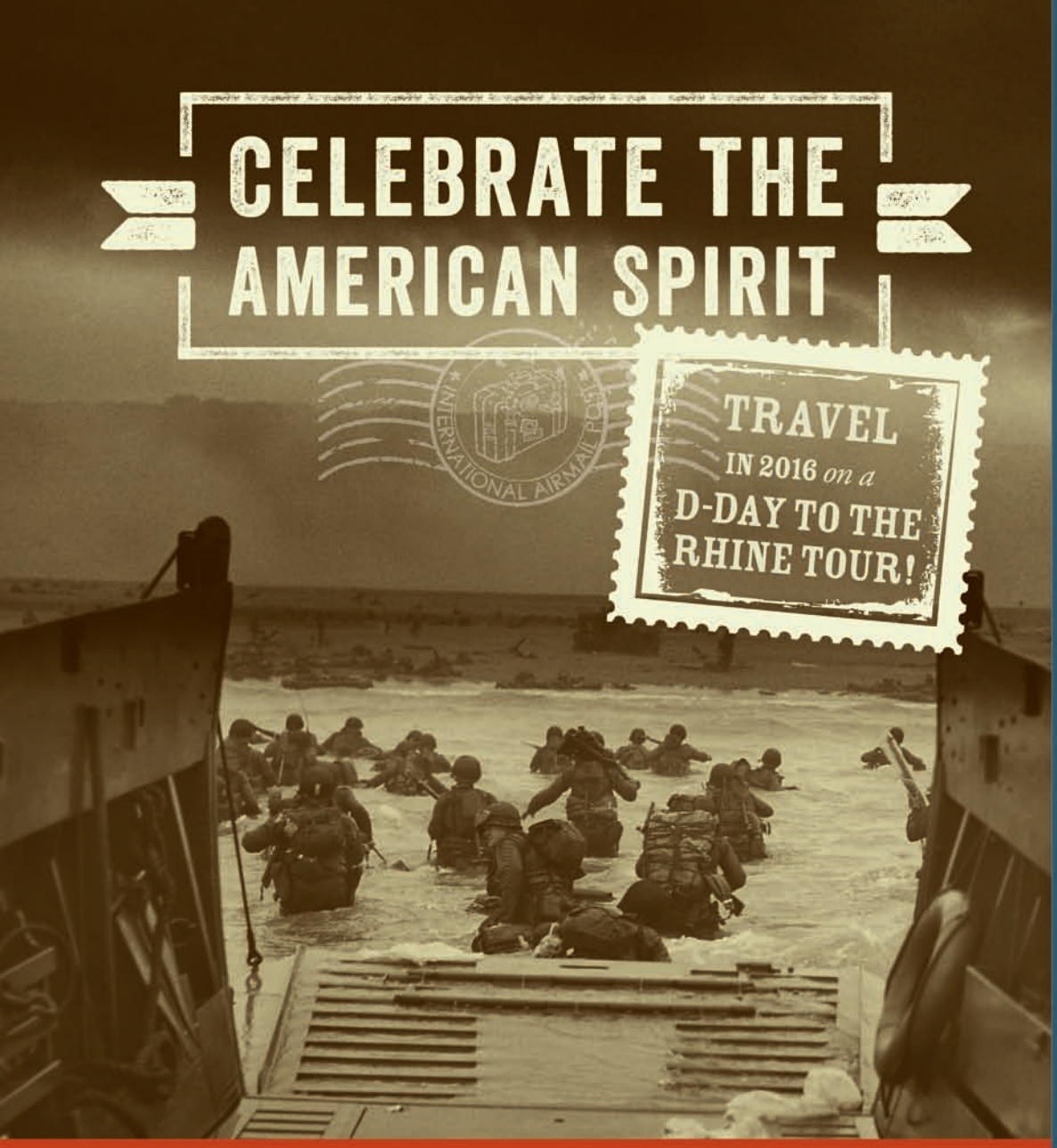

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Cover: An American rifleman of the Allied Fifth Army takes aim during fighting in the Italian town of Cisterna, Italy. See story page 36.

Photo: National Archives

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Editorial

The remains of the missing from the USS *Oklahoma* are being identified.

ON THE MORNING OF DECEMBER 7, 1941, THE BATTLESHIP USS OKLAHOMA was moored along Battleship Row at Pearl Harbor, outboard of the battleship USS *Maryland*. When Japanese Nakajima B5N "Kate" torpedo bombers swooped in without warning and loosed their deadly cargoes, the *Oklahoma* was struck by multiple torpedoes and capsized within 15 minutes, trapping more than 400 sailors and Marines below decks.

Within hours of the Japanese attack, workmen were atop the hull of the *Oklahoma,* using acetylene torches to cut through the steel and rescue as many men as possible. Sadly, most of the trapped men were lost.

The hull of the *Oklahoma* was turned upright during salvage operations in 1943, and the remains of the men previously entombed there were recovered. By then, of course, their bodies were decomposed beyond recognition, and the ability to identify the dead was limited. Eventually, the remains of 388 unknown casualties of the Pearl Harbor attack who had served aboard the *Oklahoma* were buried in 61 caskets marked with 45 grave stones at the National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific, commonly known as "the Punchbowl."

For nearly 74 years, the remains of these unknowns rested there.

In April 2015, however, the Defense POW/MIA Accounting Agency announced its plan to exhume the remains decades after the deaths of these men on that fateful Sunday morning. The agency cited advances in forensic science through DNA comparisons and assistance through genealogical information as potentially providing enough information to identify many of those interred in the graves.

Family members of roughly 85 percent of the *Oklahoma*'s crew supplied DNA samples and other records to assist in the identification process, but despite advances in technology and know-how, challenges remain, particularly due to the commingling of DNA in the common graves and the passage of so many years.

"It will take some time obviously," Michael Linnington, director of the agency, told HawaiNewsNow. "Commingled remains of so many in 61 caskets will take some time. I think we have a very strong probability of identifying certainly the majority of them." Agency estimates run as high as 80 percent concerning the rate of successful identification.

According to HawaiiNewsNow, the initial identification work was to begin at the Defense POW/MIA Accounting Agency's $85 million facility at Joint Base Pearl Harbor-Hickam in Hawaii with some additional study being completed at an agency laboratory in Omaha, Nebraska, and the Armed Forces DNA Identification Laboratory at Dover Air Force Base in Delaware. The entire project is expected to span five years before it is concluded.

The first of the caskets were exhumed in June of last year during a dignified transfer ceremony under the watchful eye of Gene Maestas, a public affairs specialist employed at the cemetery. "It really is an honor and a privilege for us to be involved in this process, providing closure for the family members who have waited close to three-quarters of a century to have the remains of their loved ones returned to them," he commented to the *Navy Times*.

Although many of the relatives and friends who knew the sailors and Marines who perished aboard the *Oklahoma* have long since passed away, family members of succeeding generations have often maintained awareness and interest in bringing the remains of their long lost loved ones home.

The initiative has achieved results, and in November 2015 a military spokesman announced to the media that seven of the servicemen previously listed as missing in action had been identified through dental records. Their identities were disclosed as the families were notified and given the option of taking custody of the remains soon after identification or waiting with the hope that more skeletal remains from the body might be identified.

For some, at least, the long road home has been traveled. May they rest in peace.

Michael E. Haskew

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By Michael D. Hull

All photos: National Archives

A Lady to the End

The aircraft carrier USS *Lexington* waged a gallant war in the Pacific against the Imperial Japanese Navy.

RESPONDING TO A NOVEMBER 27, 1941, WAR WARNING MESSAGE FROM Admiral Harold R. "Betty" Stark, chief of naval operations, America's prized handful of aircraft carriers were fortuitously absent from Pearl Harbor when Japanese planes savaged the Pacific Fleet on Sunday, December 7.

The USS *Saratoga* (CV-3) was refitting in San Diego, the USS *Enterprise* (CV-6) was returning after ferrying fighters to the Marine Corps defense force on Wake Island, the USS *Wasp* (CV-7) was serving with the Royal Navy Home Fleet in the Mediterranean, the USS *Yorktown* (CV-5) was at Norfolk, Virginia, and the USS *Lexington* (CV-2) was carrying a squadron of Vought SB2U Vindicator dive bombers to the tiny Marine garrison on Midway Island.

But the sorely needed planes were not delivered. When word came of the Pearl Harbor attack, the *Lexington*, still 400 miles southeast of Midway, turned and headed southward. She spent several days with other U.S. ships searching unsuccessfully south of Oahu for the Japanese flattops and returned to Pearl Harbor for refueling and reprovisioning.

Like her sister, the *Saratoga*, the graceful, 33,000-ton *Lexington* was originally a battlecruiser converted under a special provision of the 1922 Washington Naval Treaty. She was the fourth U.S. Navy vessel to bear the name of the Revolutionary War battle. At her christening, Rear Admiral William A. Moffett, chief of the Navy's new Bureau of Aeronautics, prophesied, "This great carrier represents a powerful instrument on the offensive. I am convinced that a bombing attack launched from such carriers, from an unknown point, at an unknown instant, with an unknown objective, cannot be warded off by defensive aircraft based on shore."

Commissioned on December 14, 1927, the *Lady Lex*, as she became affectionately known, participated with the *Saratoga* in her first fleet problem on January 23-27, 1929, when Rear Admiral Joseph M. "Bull" Reeves, the U.S. Battle Fleet's air commander, demonstrated carrier tactics with a simulated attack against the Panama Canal.

The *Lexington* was 888 feet long with a massive funnel and a flat starboard-side island towering over her teak flight deck. With turbo-electric drive propulsion, she had a top speed of 35 knots. She once steamed the 2,200 miles from San Pedro, California, to Honolulu in just over 72 hours.

Besides tubs of rapid-fire guns, the carrier mounted a main battery of 8-inch rifles that were later removed as "excess fat" and could accommodate 23 Grumman F4F Wildcat fighters, 36 Douglas SBD Dauntless dive bombers, and a dozen Douglas TBD Devastator torpedo bombers. A taut but "happy" vessel, the *Lexington* was one of the biggest and fastest warships of her day. She had a basic complement of 2,200 men, whose comfort was ensured with steaks, fresh milk, ice cream, and nightly film shows on the hangar deck. The flattop was commanded in 1930-1932 by naval aviator Ernest J. King, who rose to become the five-star chief of naval operations in World War II.

Her skipper from June 1940 onward was short, stocky Captain Frederick C. "Ted" Sherman of Port Huron, Michigan, a 1910 Annapolis graduate, World War I submarine veteran, and Navy Cross holder. He was a chain smoking disciplinarian whose ability to dock the big vessel without tugboats awed junior officers. Sherman's pet cocker spaniel, Wags, was a popular "member" of the crew.

By the time World WarII broke out in September 1939, the *Lexington* had established herself as a highly visible vessel in the Navy. Based at San Pedro, she acted as a mother hen to the Battle Fleet in exercises ranging from the Panama Canal Zone to the Aleutian Islands, and she supplied electricity to Tacoma, Washington, for three weeks in the winter of 1930 when the city's power failed. In July 1937, her aircraft played a key role in the massive two-week search for missing aviatrix Amelia Earhart around tiny Howland Island in the Central Pacific.

Leaving the harbor of San Diego, California, in October 1941, the aircraft carrier USS *Lexington*'s deck is packed with aircraft, including Brewster F2A-1 Buffalo fighters, Douglas SBD Dauntless dive bombers, and Douglas TBD Devastator torpedo bombers.

The carrier's stopover at Pearl Harbor in December 1941 was brief. On the 14th, she joined Vice Admiral Wilson Brown Jr.'s Task Force 11, also comprising three heavy cruisers, nine destroyers, and the fleet oiler *Neosho* (AO-23), and sailed southwest for the Marshall

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The aircraft carriers *Lexington* and *Saratoga* lie moored in New York harbor in 1934. The two large carriers were completed on battlecruiser hulls, and both served with distinction during World War II.

Islands to create a diversion covering Task Force 14's ill-fated attempt to relieve Wake Island. The *Lexington* was under orders to bomb Jaluit and Wotje, but she returned to Pearl Harbor without having drawn blood.

Besides the *Lexington*, Admiral Brown's group was beefed up with the *Yorktown,* a dozen cruisers, seven of them American, four British, and one Australian, and 16 U.S. destroyers for the next major operation—a February 20, 1942, attack against the big Japanese naval base at Rabaul in New Britain. On the way, the Allied ships were spotted by three enemy flying boats. Brown called off the raid, but the biggest air battle yet seen in the Pacific raged as land-based Japanese Nakajima B5N Kate and Mitsubishi G4M Betty bombers zeroed in on Task Force 11. The Americans retaliated, and the ships' antiaircraft fire, Wildcats, and Dauntlesses annihilated many of the raiders.

When 18 Japanese planes pounced on the *Lexington*, 27-year-old Lieutenant (j.g.) Edward H. "Butch" O'Hare of Lt. Cmdr. John S. Thach's Fighting Squadron 3 went into action for the first time. A natural marksman in the tradition of Davy Crockett and Sergeant Alvin C. York, the husky, dark-haired 1937 Annapolis graduate coolly shot down five Betty bombers in four minutes. Credited with saving the *Lexington*, O'Hare—the Navy's first air ace of the war—received a double promotion and was eventually awarded the Medal of Honor, Navy Cross, and two Distinguished Flying Crosses. When workers at the Grumman Aircraft Corp. plant in Bethpage, New York, learned of his initial feat, they sent him 5,000 cigarettes.

Despite their valiant efforts, the Allies were in a dire predicament in the Far East during the early months of 1942. President Franklin D. Roosevelt signaled to British Prime Minister Winston Churchill on March 9, "The Pacific situation is very grave." It was no exaggeration. Japanese forces had seized Wake, Guam, and many smaller islands; overwhelmed the British bases at Singapore and Hong Kong; sunk the Royal Navy's battleship HMS *Prince of Wales* and battlecruiser HMS *Repulse,* and attacked Malaya, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, the Gilbert Islands, Shanghai, Borneo, and Burma.

The swift eradication of scant Allied air power followed by relentless ground thrusts ensured the enemy conquests, and by May 20, 1942, about 20 million square miles of territory would be added to the Japanese Empire. As Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, shrewd commander of the Combined Fleet, had predicted, the Japanese had "run wild" and were gripped by "the victory disease." At the Imperial General Headquarters in Tokyo, euphoria fueled what Britain's Captain Basil Liddell Hart later termed "strategic overstretch." Still further aggression was charted, including an amphibious assault on Port Moresby on the western coast of New Guinea, after an overland offensive had been turned back by tough Australian troops. Subsequent attacks along the northern shore of Australia were planned.

Yamamoto, who had maintained tight security before the Pearl Harbor attack, was now so confident that he was sending orders by radio, contrary to sound military practice. But the Americans were listening in, thanks to Commander Joseph J. Rochefort and his small team of brilliant cryptanalysts toiling in their basement plotting room, Station Hypo, beneath the 14th Naval District headquarters in Pearl Harbor. They had cracked the Japanese JN25 code, and by mid-April 1942, Rochefort was able to alert Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, commander of the Pacific Fleet, to the planned enemy offensive. It was expected to start around May 3, with landings likely in New Guinea, New Britain, and the Solomon Islands.

The news presented a dilemma for the able, silver-haired Nimitz. His *Hornet* (CV-8) and *Enterprise* carrier task groups were 2,000 miles to the west with Vice Admiral William F. "Bull" Halsey, preparing to launch Lt. Col. James H. Doolittle's 16 North American B-25 Mitchell medium bombers against Japan on April 18. The USS *Saratoga* was still refitting after being hit by a Japanese torpedo, and Nimitz was left with only two flattops to counter the enemy thrust.

Admiral King nevertheless ordered Nimitz to hastily muster what forces he could, deploying the USS *Lexington* from Pearl Harbor to join big, genial Rear Admiral Frank Jack Fletcher's *Yorktown* group in the Coral Sea. General Douglas MacArthur, commander of the Southwest Pacific Area, contributed three cruisers, the Australian HMAS *Australia* and *Hobart* and the USS *Chicago* (CA-29), and a handful of destroyers, led by Rear Admiral John G. Crace of the Royal Navy.

The *Lexington* and *Yorktown* task forces rendezvoused on May 1 and paused for two days to refuel. After learning from Army Air Forces scout planes that four enemy naval groups led by Vice Admiral Shigeyoshi Inouye, Rear Admiral Arimoto Goto, and Rear Admiral Takeo Takagi had left Rabaul, Fletcher led Captain Elliott Buckmaster's *Yorktown* and his other ships into the center of the Coral Sea while the *Lexington* group, still taking on oil, remained behind. The Japanese objectives were Port Moresby and the island of Tulagi in the Solomons.

Enemy troops landed at Tulagi on May 3, and Fletcher launched three strikes by *Yorktown* Dauntlesses, Devastators, and Wildcats against them the following day. The planes sank three minesweepers and the destroyer *Kikuzuki* and damaged a destroyer, minelayer, and two troop transports in the first carrier air battle of the Pacific War. The assault revealed Fletcher's presence to the Japanese, but the major threat to him—Takagi's big fleet carriers *Zuikaku* and *Shokaku*—did not materialize. The 25,675-ton sister flattops had been delivering planes to Rabaul and were still out of range. Fletcher withdrew his force.

After rejoining the *Lexington*, he headed

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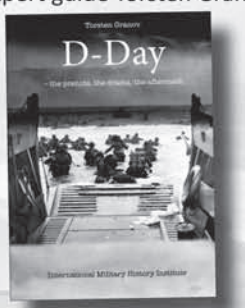

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west toward the perceived position of the enemy invasion armada in the Jomard Passage southeast of Port Moresby. The Japanese force included the light carrier *Shoho,* cruisers, destroyers, and a dozen transports. At the same time, Admiral Takagi's carriers and escorts rounded the easternmost island of the Solomons chain and also steamed westward. For most of the next two days, the opposing fleets stalked each other through fog, squalls, and heavy cloud cover. The foul weather obscured ships from both sides' scout planes, and mistakes and missed opportunities in the Coral Sea followed.

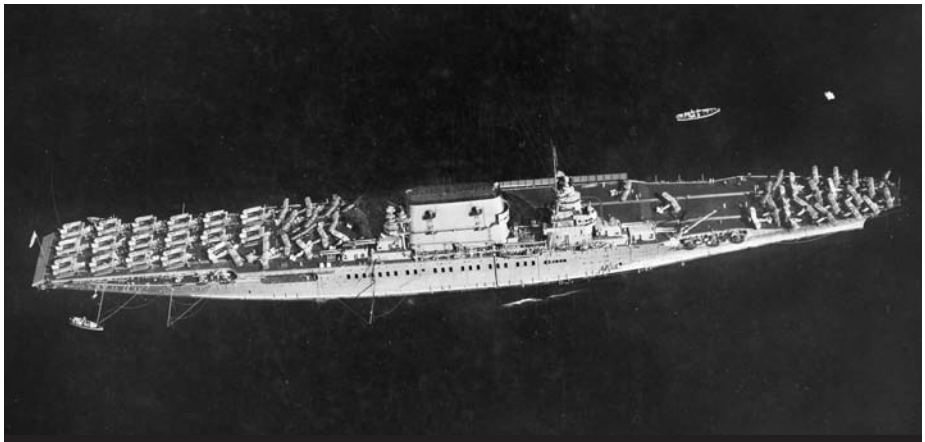
Then, at 7 AM on Thursday, May 7, a Japanese reconnaissance pilot reported what he believed to be an American carrier and cruiser southeast of New Guinea. Eager to deliver the first blow, Takagi launched a full strike. But the targets turned out to be the oiler *Neosho* and the 1,570-ton destroyer USS *Sims* (DD-409). Dive bombers and Zero fighters swooped in and blasted both vessels. The *Sims* went down with all but 16 of her crewmen, and the *Neosho* was reduced to a drifting derelict. After rescuing her crew, an American vessel delivered the coup de grace.

Later that morning, a scout plane from the *Yorktown* also turned in a false report by identifying enemy cruisers near the Jomard Passage as carriers. Nevertheless, it was now Fletcher's turn to take the offensive, and Dauntlesses and Devastators took off from the *Lexington* and the *Yorktown,* affectionately known as the "Galloping Ghost." The Americans were in luck this time.

While heading for the Jomard Passage, the *Shoho* and her covering force were sighted. The attack began at 11 AM on May 7 as three Dauntlesses from the *Lexington*'s Scouting Squadron 2, led by Lt. Cmdr. Robert E. Dixon, dived from 10,000 feet. The 11,262-ton enemy carrier maneuvered wildly while cruiser escorts put up a barrage of antiaircraft fire, but she was doomed.

Five bombs and several torpedoes tore into her, and she was burning when *Yorktown* planes arrived 15 minutes later to drop more bombs. After taking a total of 13 bombs and seven torpedoes, the stricken *Shoho* slid under the waves with 600 of her 800 crewmen. She was the first Japanese carrier to be sunk in combat. Dixon excitedly radioed one of the war's resounding battle messages: "Scratch one flattop!"

Deprived of close air support, the enemy invasion force heading for Port Moresby reversed course and steamed back toward Rabaul. The morning's errors, meanwhile, continued that afternoon. Fletcher had detached



Photographed while at anchor in 1931, the aircraft carrier USS *Lexington* carries a complement of Navy biplanes on its flight deck. By this time, biplane fighters and bombers were rapidly becoming obsolete as sleek monoplane aircraft designs were in development.

Admiral Crace's support squadron of cruisers and destroyers to block the Jomard Passage outlet, and enemy scout planes reported Crace's ships as carriers. Takagi ordered an attack, but his bombers were intercepted by fighters from the *Lexington*. The visibility was poor and the action confused.

As darkness fell over the Coral Sea on the night of May 7, scout planes from both fleets searched for their foes, resulting in one of the more bizarre incidents of the war. The *Yorktown* switched on landing lamps to aid returning aircraft, and three planes appeared, winking their signal lights. They were Japanese. A shout from a destroyer alerted the carrier, and antiaircraft guns opened up. The enemy pilots realized their mistake and zoomed away. Shortly afterward, three more Japanese planes approached, and one was shot down.

By early Friday, May 8, the American and Japanese fleets had drawn so close that a showdown was inevitable. The confused actions in the Coral Sea were about to climax in history's first carrier battle and the first in which the opposing forces never came within sight of each other. Locating each other at last, they both launched full deckloads of fighters and bombers and attacked almost simultaneously. Shortly after 9 on that fateful morning, 122 U.S. planes headed northward while 121 Japanese aircraft roared southward. The experienced enemy fliers had the advantage of intermittent cloud cover, while the Americans were exposed under cloudless skies.

Dauntlesses and Devastators from the *Yorktown* and *Lexington* scored first. When they located the Japanese striking force around 11 AM, the *Zuikaku* took cover under a convenient rain squall, so the American dive bombers went after the *Shokaku*. The poor weather prevented a coordinated attack, but three bombs found their mark, one of them dropped by Lieutenant John J. Powers, who flew so close to the enemy flattop that his SBD was consumed by the explosion. The New York-born 1934 Annapolis graduate had vowed "to get a hit if I have to lay it on their flight deck." He was awarded a posthumous Medal of Honor.

While her planes sought refuge aboard the *Zuikaku,* the *Shokaku* burned and trailed smoke, and her flight deck plates were bent so badly that she could not launch or recover aircraft. But she stayed afloat, extinguished the fires, and withdrew for repairs.

Now it was the turn of the Japanese as 69 bombers and torpedo planes of Rear Admiral Chuichi Hara's Career Division 5, guided by a Kate torpedo bomber, aimed for the American carriers. A *Lexington* radio operator picked up the approaching raiders at 10:55 AM, and both flattops hastily launched Wildcats and SBDs to fend them off. Four of the undergunned Dauntlesses were shot down, although they destroyed an equal number of the slow enemy torpedo bombers.

In ideal visibility, the Japanese swept down as the two rapidly maneuvering U.S. flattops became separated. Torpedo planes zoomed along both sides of the *Lexington*, and one was blasted apart by her antiaircraft guns. But the others pressed home the assault, and the carrier was surrounded by 11 torpedoes in a few seconds. Despite Captain Sherman's skillful evasion moves, his lengthy vessel could not escape. Within nine minutes, two torpedoes and five bombs struck the *Lexington,* and near-misses ruptured her hull plates. But she stayed afloat.

The *Yorktown* received a share of the enemy's attention when, at 11:18 AM, eight torpedoes streaked toward her. But the smaller flattop was able to avoid them with radical 30-knot maneuvering. Six minutes later, enemy dive bombers

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fell upon the *Yorktown,* and at 11:27 AM she suffered her only direct hit. An 800-pound bomb struck the flight deck 15 feet from her island and tore through three decks before exploding. The blast killed 37 crewmen and burned many others, but the resulting fires were quickly snuffed out and flight operations resumed.

When the enemy planes sped back to their carriers, the *Lexington* was taking water and listing at seven degrees. Three of her boiler rooms were partially flooded, there were fires below decks, and her two aircraft elevators were temporarily jammed. But within an hour the flames were doused and the list corrected. Flight operations were resumed, and the flattop was able to start receiving returning planes. The ship cruised at 25 knots, and her engineers told Captain Sherman that full power and speed were available if needed.

Suddenly, at 12:47 PM, a massive internal explosion shook the *Lexington* from stem to stern when ruptured fuel lines released gasoline vapors that were ignited by a generator below decks. More violent blasts followed, severing power circuits and starting more blazes inside the carrier. They spread. Her water main was broken, and firefighting was almost impossible. In the ship's forward engine rooms, the temperature rose to 160 degrees.

Shuddering and listing again, the proud *Lady Lex* was mortally wounded, and 216 of her bluejackets had perished. Yet she continued to recover planes until 2:14 PM and there were still desperate hopes that she could make it back to Pearl Harbor for repairs. Half an hour later another big blast wrecked the vessel's engineering spaces. Water pressure and steering control were lost, and the communications system disintegrated. The destroyer USS *Anderson* (DD-411) moved alongside to assist, but the fires were out of control and her efforts proved ineffective.

After the engineering spaces were cleared and the carrier lost all forward movement around 4:40 PM, Rear Admiral Aubrey W. Fitch, the task force commander, decided that there was no chance of saving the gutted *Lexington*. From his bridge, he called down to Captain Sherman and advised him to "get the men off." The skipper reluctantly gave the order to abandon ship at 5:07 PM.

The evacuation of the surviving 2,735 officers and men, along with *Chicago Tribune* reporter Stanley Johnston, followed. The operation was orderly. Some sailors lined up their shoes on the flight deck before sliding down ropes into the water, while others sat calmly eating ice cream as three destroyers closed in to pick up the survivors. About 150 wounded bluejackets in basket stretchers were lowered into whaleboats. The rescue was skillfully overseen by Admiral Thomas C. Kinkaid, commander of the *Enterprise* task group.

The USS *Lexington* burns furiously as crewmen abandon ship during the Battle of the Coral Sea. Although the *Lexington* was lost during the battle, the Japanese invasion force headed for New Guinea was turned back.

Captain Sherman and his executive officer, Commander Morton T. Seligman, made a careful inspection to be sure that no wounded men were unaccounted for and left the ship around 6:30 PM. They clambered into a whaleboat from the destroyer USS *Hammann* (DD-412) along with a Marine corporal and Sherman's dog. Admiral Fitch, who had flown his flag aboard the *Lexington*, boarded a cruiser. A month later, the *Hammann* was sunk in the climactic Battle of Midway.

The *Lexington* was an inferno as Admiral Fletcher, acting on orders from Admiral Nimitz, signaled for Task Force 17 to regroup and withdraw on a southerly course. But the carrier was a beacon to the enemy, so Fletcher summoned a destroyer to stay behind and finish her off. The USS *Phelps* (DD-360) closed in at 7:15 PM and loosed five torpedoes. Four of them exploded against her heat-reddened hull, and at 7:52 PM the *Lady Lex* rolled to port and slipped serenely beneath the waves. A tremendous underwater explosion followed that was felt 20 miles away. Fourteen miles distant, the heavy cruiser USS *New Orleans* (CA-32) "shook as though she had been hit by a torpedo," reported Commander George L. Markle, the *Lexington*'s popular Presbyterian chaplain.

The first American carrier to be sunk in the war, the *Lexington* went down in 2,000 fathoms of water about 200 miles south of Rossel Island, off the Louisade archipelago in the Solomon Sea.

Aboard ships of the receding task force, many bluejackets watched the fiery end of the *Lexington* with tears in their eyes. "There she goes," murmured one of her officers. "She didn't turn over. She is going down with her head up. Dear old Lex. A lady to the last." Captain Sherman, who went on to hold three Navy Crosses and attain flag rank, reported that his ship went down "with her colors proudly flying and the last signal flags reading, 'I am abandoning ship,' still waving at the yardarm … on an even keel, like the lady she always was." Correspondent Johnston wrote later in his eloquent book, *Queen of the Flat-Tops,* "When she was lost, hundreds of men throughout the services mourned her passing as they would a dear friend."

After the battle, Fletcher led his task force to the Tonga Islands, east of the Coral Sea, and Admiral Takagi ordered the *Zuikaku* and her escorts to return to the big Japanese base at Truk Atoll in the Caroline Islands. The battered *Zuikaku* and *Shokaku,* both stripped of their aircraft by American planes and antiaircraft fire, headed for extensive repairs. The enemy carrier force was reduced to four vessels, and this was to prove fatal a month later.

By her sacrifice, the *Lexington* had deprived the enemy of two carriers just before the Battle of Midway, which turned the tide in the Pacific naval war and sealed the fate of the Japanese

Empire. The invasion of Port Moresby was postponed until early July, and Takagi received final orders on May 10 to leave the Coral Sea area.

A heavy blow to the Americans, the loss of the *Lexington* and damage to the *Yorktown* left the U.S. Navy with only two battle-ready flattops in the Pacific, the *Enterprise* and *Hornet*. In terms of tonnage sunk, the Japanese could claim a tactical victory in the Coral Sea, but it was a strategic gain for the Americans. For the first time in six months of Allied setbacks in the Far East, a Japanese advance was turned back. Air strikes against Australia had been prevented.

Hard lessons were learned by both sides in the Coral Sea. Though more experienced in carrier operations, the Japanese missed opportunities because of shoddy communications and coordination and lacked the rapid repair techniques of their foe. The major American errors were largely due to inexperience, but the battle convinced the commanders and crews of Nimitz's fleet that they could fight on at least equal terms with the Imperial Japanese Navy.

The proud name of *Lexington*, meanwhile, lived on. Launched in 1942 and completed in 1943, the 27,200-ton, 33-knot USS *Lexington* (CV-16) was the first "short-hull" carrier and the only Essex-class flattop completed during the war that did not carry dazzle pattern camouflage. She reached Pearl Harbor in the late summer of 1943.

As part of Rear Admiral Charles A. Pownall's Task Force 50, the new *Lexington* launched air strikes against the big Japanese base at Kwajalein in the Marshall Islands that December and served as Vice Admiral Marc A. Mitscher's tactical command ship during the Battle of the Philippine Sea (the "Marianas Turkey Shoot") on June 19-20, 1944. She also took part in the actions off Hollandia, Truk, Saipan, the Bonins, Ulithi, and the Palau Islands.

Torpedoes and bombs from the *Lexington* helped to sink the Japanese 64,000-ton super battleship *Musashi* in the great Battle of Leyte Gulf on October 24-26, 1944, and she was one of five carriers damaged by kamikaze planes off Leyte. From February 16 to March 1, 1945, the *Lexington* and 10 other fleet carriers of Mitscher's powerful Task Force 58 put up strikes against enemy installations around Tokyo, on Iwo Jima, and in the Ryukyu Islands. After occupation duty in Japan, the USS *Lexington* returned to the West Coast in 1946 and was placed on reserve in April 1947.

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

By Blaine Taylor

All photos: National Archives

Drawn to the Axis

Monsignor Josef Tiso led Slovakia into an alliance with Hitler and the Nazis.

ACCORDING TO THE 1960 MEMOIRS OF HENRIETTE HOFFMANN VON SCHIRACH, Adolf Hitler called Father Josef Tiso, a monsignor in the Roman Catholic Church and premier of Fascist Slovakia, "The little parson." CBS radio broadcaster William L. Shirer described Tiso as being "almost as broad as he was tall" in his book *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*.

Dr. Paul Schmidt of the German Foreign Office recalled, "It was strange to see Hitler greeting this Catholic priest with friendliness; the short, stout Catholic dignitary stood facing a man who could hardly be called a friend of the Catholic Church, but when Tiso wanted something for Slovakia, he would have visited the devil himself. He once told us, 'When I get worked up, I eat half a pound of ham, and that soothes my nerves.'"

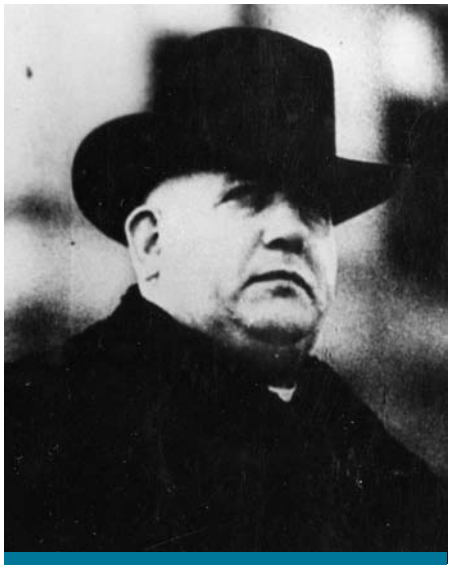
Frau von Schirach, former wife of Hitler Youth leader Baldur von Schirach, painted a vivid word portrait of the rotund little priest at home and at ease in his native Slovakia during the war: "Two thousand children were evacuated to Slovakia. While we toured the country with Tiso, the fat little clergyman told us the primitive local legends. He told the driver to stop at the ruins of a fortress where Bluebeard had 'bathed in the blood of virgins.' Tiso wanted us to remember Slovakia as a wildly romantic country."

Father Tiso was one of a trio of unusual men, two of them priests, who together helped deliver Slovakia into the fold of the Axis Pact as Nazi Germany's first ally in Central Europe, even before Italian Foreign Minister Count Galeazzo Ciano signed the Italo-German Pact of Steel on May 22, 1939, at the Reich Chancellery in Berlin.

The other priest was Father Andrej Hlinka, and the two were joined by a law professor and founder of the Hlinka Academic Guard, Vojtech Bela Tuka, the Fascist Slovakian prime minister. Both Monsignor Tiso and Professor Tuka harkened back to the initial efforts of the third man, Father Hlinka, a priest, social activist, and politician who, in 1913, founded the Slovak People's Party. In October 1918, Father Hlinka was a co-founder of the Slovak National Council and a signatory of the Declaration of the Slovak nation. The following month, he also established the Catholic Cleric Council and then recreated the Slovak People's Party, whose chairman he remained until his death.

Hlinka had originally been a strong supporter of ethnic unity within the new state of Czechoslovakia, but he grew bitter as he witnessed the influence of his Catholic Church being limited. He had long been a fighter for both independence and the Slovak language and was chief editor of the movement's newspaper for many years. One of his closest associates was Father Tiso, a chaplain in the Hungarian Army during World War I.

The Hlinka Academic Guard (HAG) was a name given to the Hlinka Academic Club in 1938 in honor of Father Andrej. Considered anti-German, the HAG was disbanded in July 1940, when the Nazis demanded that its com-



ABOVE: Father Josef Tiso led the Slovak people into the embrace of Nazi Germany. TOP: On a snowy March 15, 1939, German tanks and troops cross the border into Czechoslovakia. Hitler's occupation of the entire Czech nation was facilitated by the sellout of Allied leaders at Munich and from within by Nazi sympathizers such as Father Tiso, whose interests lay primarily with the future of Slovakia.

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mander, Jozef Kirschbaum, be ejected from Slovak political life.

There were two main factions in the People's Party. The conservatives were represented by Hlinka, and after he died by Tiso and Karol Sidor, leader of the paramilitary Hlinka Slovak People's Party, who both wanted limited independence within the Czechoslovak Republic. Tuka came to represent the radicals who wanted a total break from the Czechs. He worked with the German separatists of the Sudeten German Party and also desired close ties with Poland.

On August 4, 1933, Father Hlinka read out his Nitra Declaration on the sovereignty of the Slovak nation and met with Sudeten German Party chief Karl Hermann Frank in a joint effort to destroy the Czech state.

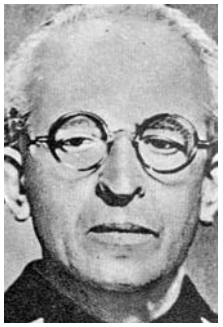
As leader of the radical wing of another right-wing group, the Hlinka Slovak People's Party, Dr. Tuka was to prove a strong ally of the more powerful and longer lasting of the three men responsible for the creation of the Slovak state, Father Tiso.

The future president of Slovakia, Father Tiso was born on October 13, 1887, at Velka-Bytec, Slovakia, then part of the old Dual Monarchy ruled by Austrian Kaiser Franz Josef I. Tiso was the son of upper middle class Slovak peasants, which for a millennium had been oppressed by the Hungarians, who viewed them as serfs. Thus, he and the pro-Hungarian Tuka were rather odd political bedfellows.

At the time of Tiso's birth, the Slovak language was banned in most public institutions and there was but a single library, as opposed to 3,000 under the later Czech Republic that he helped destroy. Initially, Tiso engaged in pro-Hungarian, anti-Slovak activities, but in 1918 he joined the Slovak Peoples Party, a conservative Catholic organization whose program was reactionary but not yet openly separatist, when the Prague Republic was formally created on October 30 of that year.

Young Tiso had attended the Hungarian high school at Nitra, where he reportedly fawned over his Magyar superiors and was thus placed in the Catholic priesthood by the local Hungarian prelate, was ordained in 1909, and the next year became secretary to the Bishop of Nitra. He also became an instructor at a girls school and then chaplain to the rich village of Banovce.

Recalling the former Czech promises made regarding Slovak autonomy in 1918, many Slovaks felt betrayed when these were not kept. Father Hlinka's People's Party highlighted their grievances, and it was thus to it that Tiso gravitated in time.



ABOVE: Slovak Prime Minister Vojtech Bela Tuka (left) and Father Andrej Hlinka were willing accomplices as Father Tiso moved Slovakia closer to the Nazi orbit. BELOW: On March 20, 1944, during observances of the fifth anniversary of the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia, Father Tiso leaves a Czech cathedral.

Father Tiso was elected to parliament at Prague in 1925, the same year as Dr. Tuka. He supported the Republic while there, but attacked the Czechs back home in his electoral district. The next year, the portly priest was named minister of health in a coalition government, working closely with Dr. Tuka.

In August 1938, Tiso delivered the eulogy at Monsignor Hlinka's funeral and, in effect, assumed the leadership of his party. The conclusion of the Munich Pact of September 30, 1938, gave Tiso the opportunity to demand more autonomy for Slovakia within what was left of the overall republic. He coerced the Czech government in Prague to grant permission to form an autonomous Slovak government in Bratislava within the jurisdiction of the Federal Republic. Tiso became prime minister of the new government in the autumn of 1938.

At the Nazi Party Congress in Nuremberg in September 1938, Hitler had trumpeted, "I want no Czechs!" In fact, he was already plotting how to seize both the capital city of Prague and its two rich provinces, Bohemia and Moravia. He contemptuously referred to what remained of the republic as "Czechia" and the "Rump Czech State." His key to destroying what had been created in 1918 was to split off from it the Independent State of Slovakia, and in this grand design both Drs. Tiso and Tuka played starring roles.

As early as October 14, 1938, Hitler sneeringly told the new Czech Foreign Minister Frantisek Chvalkovsky that the British and French guarantees of his country's frontiers were worthless. Three days later, Luftwaffe Field Marshal Hermann Göring received Slovak leaders Alexander Mach and Deputy Prime Minister Ferdinand Durcansky, and they told him that Dr. Tiso's new government wanted, in fact, to break away from Prague.

As a result, Göring noted privately, "A Czech state minus Slovakia is even more completely at our mercy. Air base for Slovakia for operations against the east very important."

On the 21st, Hitler gave orders for a military plan to be drawn up for the invasion of Czechia. As these preparations went forward, the Führer received Dr. Tuka at the Reich Chancellery. Although he was meeting a foreign leader, Tuka addressed Hitler as "My Führer," adding, "I lay the destiny of my people in your hands. My people await their complete liberation by you."

This was exactly what Hitler wanted to hear, and he told Tuka that he would help if Slovakia would move to aid itself. An overjoyed Dr. Tuka later called it "the greatest day of my life."

Prague reacted during March 9-10, 1939, when Federal President Dr. Emil Hacha dismissed Dr. Tiso's government at Bratislava. The next day, he also ordered the arrests of Tiso, Tuka, and Durcansky, proclaiming martial law throughout all of Slovakia. Hitler and Göring had been caught flat-footed, but on the 11th an angered Führer decided to force the issue and take Bohemia and Moravia by ultimatum.

Meanwhile, Hacha had replaced Monsignor Tiso with Sidor, who took office as president. During his first cabinet meeting, Karol Sidor was called upon by Nazi leaders Artur von Seyss-Inquart and Gauleiter Josef Buerckel and five German Army generals demanding that he proclaim Slovakian independence immediately, or else Hitler would wash his hands of their fate.

Meanwhile, Father Tiso had escaped from house arrest at a monastery and accepted an

Dr. Emil Hacha, president of Czechoslovakia, is escorted past an honor guard while on his way to a meeting with Adolf Hitler where he signed away the independence of the Czech nation in March 1939.

invitation from Berlin to see the Führer at once. Locked up, the prelate had telegraphed Hitler for help and had been answered. While awaiting Monsignor Tiso's arrival, Hitler had dispatched 14 German divisions to the new Czech frontier, thus vastly increasing international tension. Gauleiter Buerckel told Tiso that if he had refused the Führer's invitation two of these divisions would have crossed the border, occupied Slovakia, and then divided it between the Reich and Regent Miklos Horthy's Hungary.

At 7:40 PM on March 13, 1939, Tiso and Durcansky arrived at Hitler's sumptuous new study at the Chancellery. The Führer was flanked by High Command Chief General Wilhelm Keitel and Army Commander-in-Chief Col. Gen. Walther von Brauchitsch. Hitler bluntly told the little parson to accept Slovak independence under German military protection or else. Tiso did so, sending a Nazi-drafted telegram declaring independence and asking for Reich armed aid, which was duly granted. The next day Dr. Hacha, also summoned to Berlin, signed away under duress his country's survival, and Hitler entered Prague.

Noted the 1943 edition of *Current Biography:* "On March 18, 1939, Tiso signed a pact with Hitler in Vienna in which Nazi Germany guaranteed to protect the boundaries of Slovakia for 25 years, and in return received complete domination of the country. Slovakia, with an area of 14,386 square miles and a population of 2,450,096 has been drastically Nazified under Tiso's stewardship.

"It vies with Germany in the size of its concentration camps, in its oppression of minorities, and in its savage treatment of political opponents. Tiso has proved a willing Nazi tool, not only domestically, but also in his foreign policies."

Tiso received the Iron Cross from Hitler on October 25, 1939, and was elected president of Slovakia the following day.

Dr. Tuka, although going increasingly blind as his career unfolded, had been named by President Tiso as Minister without Portfolio on March 15, 1939, and was next elevated by his patron to prime minister on October 27, when Dr. Tiso met with Hitler outside Salzburg, Austria. Tuka then replaced Durcansky as foreign minister in July 1940. On November 15, 1941, Dr. Tuka ordered Slovakia's adherence to the Anti-Comintern Pact, and the next year he expelled his country's Jews. Ultimately, Tuka clashed with the more clerical Tiso, displaying his own Nazi tendencies and personal desire to replace Tiso as supreme leader of Slovakia.

One biographical account called Dr. Tuka "avaricious and servile, a self-willed, ambitious adventurist." Forced from office as party chairman by Father Tiso on January 12, 1943, Dr. Tuka also resigned as prime minister, ostensibly for health reasons, on September 5, 1944, then retired to an Austrian spa until the end of the war.

To emphasize the closeness of the Nazi and Slovak regimes, Dr. Tiso coined the term "*Hitler-Hlinka jedna linka*" (Hitler and Hlinka on the same track) and, indeed, they were. The new Slovak state took part in the Nazi campaigns against Poland and the Soviet Union. She was Germany's sole ally until Fascist Italy's declaration of war against the Allies on June 10, 1940, declared war herself on the USSR on June 22, 1941, and then on the United States and Great Britain on December 12, 1941. Because it ceased to exist as a state after the war, Slovakia never signed peace treaties with the victorious Allies.

After Pearl Harbor, Hitler's war and the alliance with Nazi Germany became unpopular in Slovakia because many people there had relatives in the United States. A resistance movement surfaced, and the Slovak National Rising occurred on August 29, 1944. The German Army invaded and crushed the revolt within two months.

On May 5, 1945, Dr. Tiso and his entire government fled to Austria. He found sanctuary at the Capuchin monastery at Altotting in Bavaria but was captured there by U.S. Army Intelligence agents on June 8 and deported to Bratislava, where he was tried and convicted as a war criminal.

Father Tiso spent the night before his execution in prayer with a Capuchin priest, his appeal to Czech President Edvard Benes for clemency having been denied. According to the *New York Times* edition of April 18, 1947, "Msgr. Josef Tiso walked firmly to the scaffold where he was hanged in the Bratislava jail."

Dr. Tuka had been arrested and tried the previous summer. He was convicted of crimes against humanity by a Slovak national tribunal. Two dates have been given for his execution by hanging at Bratislava, either August 20 or 28, 1946.

Karol Sidor survived the war and fled to Canada, while several other lesser Slovak Fascists also escaped both Allied and domestic postwar justice, but that is not the end of the story. The democratic Czech republic based in Prague was overthrown a second time, by domestic Communists in 1948, and this Red regime lasted for 41 years until it, too, was deposed by a popular uprising in 1989.

The "Velvet Revolution's" first president was famous Czech author and playwright Vaclev Havel, who left office on February 2, 2003. And what of Slovakia? On Valentine's Day 2003, it announced "plans to deploy a radiation, chemical, and biological protection unit to the [Persian] Gulf," according to the *Baltimore Sun.* On May 18, 2003, Slovakia voted to join the European Union as a sovereign republic once more.

Towson, Maryland, author Blaine Taylor has written 12 books on the Axis powers in World War II. Among these is Mrs. Adolf Hitler: The Eva Braun Photograph Albums, 1912-45.

Gary Kidney

The Movie That Fueled the Holocaust

Jud Suss was a despicable propaganda film that hastened the Nazi genocide against European Jewry.

ON SEPTEMBER 8, 1940, A NEW GERMAN MOVIE, *JUD SUSS*, PREMIERED AT THE Venice Film Festival. It opened to rave reviews and received the Golden Lion award. The movie was a great box office success with receipts of 6.5 million Reichsmarks and an audience of more than 20 million over the next year. A reviewer wrote, "It surpasses all expectations. No film has yet succeeded in having such an impact on wide segments of the public. Even people who rarely attend the cinema don't want to miss this film."

Despite this initial success, *Jud Suss* has become the most banned and reviled film in history. In 1945, the Allied Military Occupation banned exhibition of the film. West German courts ordered the original negative and all copies destroyed in 1954. In 1949, Veit Harlan, the director of *Jud Suss*, was charged with crimes against humanity solely for his production of the movie. Nearly 70 years after the events of the 1940s, the F.W. Murnau Foundation, chartered by the government to preserve and curate German films, has strict requirements for screenings of *Jud Suss*.

Understanding how a movie can be both good and hated requires a study of its historical context, its purpose, its content, and its effect on the audience. In all four categories, *Jud Suss* is notorious and nefarious. Yet, it is still a remarkably good movie for its time and cinematic technique. And, in that conundrum lie both the power and the sorrow of *Jud Suss*.

The historical context of *Jud Suss* is forever bound by the anti-Semitism of Nazi Germany. The Nazis had hoped that 1938's Kristallnacht would produce a surge of anti-Semitism throughout Germany, but the populace did not respond as expected. Many Germans had friends or relatives who were Jewish and found it difficult to embrace the Nazi cult of hatred for Jews. The German citizenry had been bombarded with anti-Semitic propaganda for years both by news style publications such as the *Völkischer Beobachter* and tabloid print like Julius Streicher's *Der Stürmer*. However, it was unclear whether this propaganda had convinced the people. The September 1939 conquest of Poland left Nazi leaders with a problem to resolve—the disposition of Poland's large Jewish population.

As Reich Minister of Propaganda, Dr. Joseph Goebbels wondered if films might move Germans toward acceptance of the Nazi final solution. He ordered each German film studio to make an anti-Semitic film. Director Fritz Hippler turned out *Der Ewige Jude* (*The Eternal Jew*), a documentary that relied heavily on narration. Director Erich Waschneck offered *Die Rothschilds*, a biography of the Jewish banking family that drives its propaganda message home with a concluding text scroll. However, the triumph of his vision was Veit Harlan's *Jud Suss*. This movie was different because the anti-Semitism was not blatant; it was placed subtly and insidiously within an engaging and appealing story. With quality production values, innovative cinematic techniques, a cast of well-known actors, and a story with some historical accuracy, Harlan's *Jud Suss* engaged an audience on an emotional level that neither *The Eternal Jew* nor *The Rothschilds* could achieve.

In addition to directing, Harlan was also credited with writing the screenplay along with Eberhard Wolfgang Möller and Ludwig Metzger. The leading roles were played by Ferdinand Marian, Heinrich George, and Harlan's third wife, Kristina Söderbaum. After seeing the film's final cut on August 18, 1940, Goebbels wrote in his diary: "An anti-Semitic film of the kind we could only wish for. I am happy about it."

The story of *Jud Suss* opens in 1733 as the Duchy of Württemberg celebrates the corona-

Library of Congress

ABOVE: This poster promoting the anti-Semitic Nazi propaganda film *Jud Suss* features the countenance of a demonized Jew. TOP: The Nazi propaganda film *Jud Suss* vilified German Jewry and stands today as a stark example of state-sponsored anti-Semitism. Kristina Soderbaum starred as Dorthea and Ferdinand Marian as Josef Suss Openheimer.

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This still photograph from the film depicts the trial of the villainous Oppenheimer. The defendant was found guilty and publicly hanged, while other Jews were banished as a result of their supposed criminality.

tion of Karl Alexander as grand duke. Suss Oppenheimer arrives and provides the duke with lavish presents that ensnare him in an extravagant lifestyle. Soon, Suss's gifts become large loans which the duke uses to finance such projects as a new ballet and opera. Too late, the duke realizes that he owes Suss more than can be repaid. Suss agrees to serve as finance minister to collect his due and institutes a system of taxes, duties, and tolls to do so. Of course, Suss's Jewish cronies are placed in positions of power as tax collectors, and this causes great suffering among the people.

Suss increasingly extends his power, obtains more privileges, and convinces the duke to throw open the city to all Jews, and they arrive in the thousands. During this period, Suss falls in love with the beautiful daughter of the chief minister, Dorothea Strum, but she rebuffs his advances. He orders her abduction and arrests her fiancé, who is planning a revolt against Suss. As the fiancé is tortured in the cellar, Suss brutally rapes Dorothea. Burdened with shame and grief, Dorothea drowns herself. When her body is found, a general riot ensues. Suss is arrested and condemned to death. In his trial, Suss screams, "I was only a loyal servant of my master!" but the verdict is upheld. Suss is placed in an iron cage, hauled to the top of the scaffold, and hanged in the presence of the people. Minister Strum orders the Jews from the city and hopes that this lesson will never be forgotten.

Elements of anti-Semitism and the Nazi pogrom were injected into this story, in subtle and sinister ways.

Fear of Jews was crystallized. Nazi propaganda depicted Jews as capable of insidiously disguising themselves in a culture as part of an international conspiracy to gain power and wealth for both personal gain as well as gain for the Jewish community. In an elegant cinematic dissolve, the movie portrays the Jew in disguise. Suss's beard and distinctive Jewish clothing disappear, and he appears as an elegant German citizen riding in a carriage toward Stuttgart. Suss's internationalism is portrayed in a scene where he enchants Dorothea with the extent of his travels. She asks him where he feels at home. His answer: "Everywhere!" A press release issued before the movie's Berlin premiere stated, "It is the duty of all newspapers to point out ... the message that every Jew has only his well-being and that of his racial brothers in mind, even when he pretends generous motives." Suss's gifts and loans to the duke were purposed both for his self-aggrandizement and the opportunity to allow the banned Jewish citizenry into the city.

Nazi solutions were offered and affirmed. The historical setting of the film documented that special laws for Jews, such as being excluded from the city, had been an accepted norm. Separate laws and rules applied to the Jews over a long history in Germany. When Suss's crimes were enumerated in the trial, they included "blackmail, profiteering, sexual indecency, procuring, and high treason," but in the end only one of these seemed to matter, a Jew having sex with a Christian. The historical parallel between the "old law" and the Nuremberg race laws of 1935, one of which banned sexual intercourse between Jews and Aryans, was obvious to the audience. The Nazis portrayed these laws as offering important protection from the Jewish threat, and the movie cemented that feeling.

In addition, the movie offered another solution to the Jewish problem—sending Jews elsewhere through relocation. Sturm's final address

to the people drives this point home: "May our descendants hold firmly to this law, so they can save themselves much sorrow ... and save their goods and lives ... and the blood of their children and their children's children." Sturm's message that expulsion of the Jews was the wish of the people tied Nazi anti-Semitism to the populace. It made expelling the Jews a collective decision, the wish of the mob that mourned Dorothea's body. During the years of the Third Reich, the idea of sending the Jews "away" became a slippery slope that began with exclusion and continued through expulsion and extermination. Once the idea of "away from here" was commonly accepted, different degrees of "away-ness" become moot.

With these themes as an underlying principle, *Jud Suss* gave both historical precedence and dramatic imperative to the Nationalsozialistische Rassenpolitik, the policies and politics of Nazi racial ideology.

Many sources provide ample evidence of the powerful emotional effect of the film:

The film prompted demonstrations in Berlin during November 1940, with shouts of "Drive the Jews from the Kurfürstendamm!" and "Throw the last of the Jews out of Germany!"

On September 30, 1940, Heinrich Himmler ordered all SS and police members to see the film during the coming winter.

Both: National Archives

Nazi Propaganda Minister Josef Goebbels (left) was pleased with the finished product when he viewed *Jud Suss*. Veit Harlan (right), the director of the film, was later arrested and charged with crimes against humanity.

The film was shown to SS units and Einsatzgruppen in the death camps as a Sachsenhausen survivor recalled: "Scharführer Knippler and Vickert declared that the evening before they had seen the movie *Jud Suss* and recognized now that the Jews were even worse than they had thought up to that time…. They explained to us that we must receive a warning because of that movie. All of us, almost 25 men, had to enter the barrack, man by man, and were mistreated separately by Knippler in Vickert's presence. I myself had to lay down on the table and got 10 lashes by Knippler with a strong whip."

In testimony after the war, SS Rottenführer Stefan Baretzki, a guard at Auschwitz, "admitted that the effect of showing the film was to instigate maltreatment of prisoners."

A Hamburg Hitler Youth member remembered, "I was 13 years old. I saw the movie together with my comrades. We all regarded the plot as historical truth, and I myself as well as my comrades were deeply impressed by the wickedness of the Jews."

The film incited audience violence against Jews, especially among teenagers. Some parents complained of the film's extremely powerful psychological aftereffects, but that did not deter showing the film during Youth Film Hours because it was judged as being especially valuable for youth.

Armin D. Lehmann, a Hitler Youth courier who served in Hitler's bunker during the last few days of the war, remembered seeing the film. He wrote of it in his memoir: "As a boy, I couldn't help but feel enraged over the dramatized events and sorrowful about the woman and her tragic fate."

With *Jud Suss*, Goebbels achieved what he had hoped for—an anti-Semitic film that moved people to action. As the war ended and thereafter, when the true nature of the Holocaust became

known, a new question began to emerge: Can a film be a crime? And, if so, who is responsible for that crime? For a period in the late 1940s, the answers seemed to be "yes" and "the director." Veit Harlan's denazification proceedings in Hamburg, completed in December 1947, found him *unbelastet,* "untarnished," by the past. A public outcry, organized by two groups of Nazi victims, led Hamburg's chief public prosecutor to press charges against Harlan for crimes against humanity, alleging that he had "contributed as an accessory to the commission of crimes against humanity by means of persecution based on race, and having been associated with the planning of such crimes."

The trial opened in Hamburg on March 3, 1949. Victims of Nazi persecution testified to the effects of the anti-Semitic propaganda films. They stated that *Jud Suss* had spread fear and terror among the persecuted Jews and that the perception of Jews as sketched in the film could only fuel hatred and violence. In his defense, witnesses pointed out that Harlan had helped spouses of Jews by employing them on the film. Harlan's first wife had been Jewish. In a 1945 pamphlet titled *My Attitude to National Socialism,* Harlan wrote that he was not a member of the Nazi Party. The script he filmed was less anti-Semitic than that he inherited from Möller and Metzger. He claimed that Goebbels was de facto the producer of the film. He claimed that it was well known that he had not wanted to direct the picture and did so only under threat of retaliation by Goebbels. Some thought his defense colored too much along the lines of Suss's in the movie: "I've never been anything but a faithful servant of my sovereign." Some thought the 1945 pamphlet was a revisionist history, written well after the outcome of the war was obvious and maybe even after the war had ended.

On April 23, 1949, the trial ended with Harlan's acquittal. The decision was appealed and the High Court of the British Zone decided to hear the appeal. Norbert Wollheim, a Holocaust survivor had testified against Harlan in the trial but refused to appear for the appeal. Instead, he denounced "post-National Socialist justice" for degrading "the process of cleansing post-Hitler Germany of its criminals." He felt that the Cold War imperative that the past was indeed past offered too sweeping an amnesty for people who should have been held accountable. In the appeal, the prosecution again had no success. The jury court pronounced Harlan free of all criminal liability in its decision of April 29, 1950.

Veit Harlan's relationship to the movie seemed to change over time. He was undoubt-

Bundesarchiv Bild

During a break in his postwar trial, director Veit Harlan (right) converses with the widow of actor Ferdinand Marian, who played the title role in the film. *Jud Suss* was later banned in many countries.

edly proud of its success. It served him well under Goebbels, providing him salary increases and celebration as a "professor" in 1943. It enabled him to make six more films under the Nazi regime, including *The Golden City* in 1942 and *Kolberg* in 1945, both of which featured his third wife, Kristina Söderbaum. In *The Golden City,* her character reprised a suicide by drowning, earning her the nickname "Reichswasserleiche"—literally, the most prominent water corpse in the Reich. One month after the German defeat, Harlan circulated his 32-page pamphlet titled *My Attitude to National Socialism* in an effort to distance himself from the film and his role. In the pamphlet and during his trial, Harlan blamed the anti-Semitism in the script upon the co-authors. This is in sharp contrast to a 1942 squabble between Harlan and one of the co-authors in which he claimed that the credit for the movie's script should be solely his. It is also in contrast to the payments for authorship received for the script. Harlan received 20,000 Reichsmarks, Metzger got 12,000, and Möller got 10,000.

It becomes difficult to accept Harlan's pamphlet as more than a revisionist history. After acquittal, Harlan made a dozen additional films between 1951 and 1964. However, he was never able to achieve the level of fame he had enjoyed as *Des Teufels Regisseur* (*The Devil's Director*), the title of Frank Noack's German language biography of Harlan.

Veit Harlan may have escaped criminal liability for *Jud Suss*, but he did not escape guilt. The 2008 documentary movie *Harlan: In the Shadow of Jew Süss* includes interviews with an extensive set of Harlan's family—his children, nephew, stepdaughter, and grandchildren. Though there are variances of opinion among the family members that approach melodrama, it is clear that none have been untouched by the guilt and shame of their family. Some are bitter and full of rage, some work to undo the sins of the father, and one has a political agenda to

Continued on page 72

By Robert A. Rosenthal

All photos: National Archives

FDR's Dilemma

> Politics may well have trumped strategy and cost thousands of lives.

IT WAS LATE NOVEMBER 1943, ALMOST TWO YEARS AFTER THE JAPANESE ATTACK on Pearl Harbor and America's entry into World War II. The Allied leaders, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Josef Stalin, were meeting for the first time in Tehran, the capital of Persia. The agenda was complex, but the primary topic was resolution of the strategy to defeat Nazi Germany.

Churchill advocated attacking from the Mediterranean, the soft underbelly of Europe as he called it. Stalin, on the other hand, was emphatic about giving the invasion of France priority over all Allied plans for the coming year. He desperately needed a second front to take the pressure off his diminishing army. He insisted that the Italian campaign be limited and rejected any Balkan venture. Furthermore, he promised that once Germany was defeated he would join the war against Japan. With Roosevelt and American military leaders agreeing with Stalin, it was decided that Operation Overlord, the invasion of France, would commence in the spring of 1944.

And so it did. On June 6, 1944, more than 100,000 Allied troops and 7,000 ships stormed the beaches of Normandy in the largest amphibious invasion in history.

Although it was decided in Tehran that the war in Europe was paramount and that action in the Pacific would consist of a defensive holding strategy until Hitler was defeated, there were a substantial number of men, ships, and planes in the Pacific Theater. The question was how to use them effectively and who should lead them.

There were two candidates, General Douglas MacArthur and Admiral Chester Nimitz. American naval staff, including Fleet Admiral William Leahy and Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Ernest King, convincingly argued that the vast expanse of the Pacific dictated that the war would be primarily a naval one and should be led by an admiral rather than a general. However, MacArthur and his supporters were pressuring President Roosevelt to give him command of the entire Pacific Theater. MacArthur was the second highest ranking officer in the Army and was a controversial character—beloved by his men and hated by many who thought him to be pompous, egotistical, and vain. His larger than life persona coupled with his extreme seniority made it unlikely he would be subordinate to any naval commander. Also, viewed politically, the general's considerable following posed a potential threat in future elections; perhaps MacArthur might even emerge as a presidential candidate to challenge Roosevelt himself.

Whether swayed by MacArthur's considerable charm and persuasive power or concerned about a future rival, Roosevelt overrode his command staff and created a place for MacArthur. He carved the Pacific into two theaters with MacArthur named as Supreme Commander of the Southwest Pacific Area, which encompassed Australia, the Solomon Islands, New Guinea, the Netherlands East Indies, and the Philippines. The rest of the Pacific was assigned to Nimitz with the title Commander in Chief Pacific Ocean Areas. Furthermore, each theater was considered an independent command with neither the general nor the admiral answering to the other.

This may have seemed like a good compromise at the time, but it violated a sacrosanct principle of war—unity of command. Nimitz's immediate superior was the Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Ernest King, while MacArthur answered to Chief of Staff of the Army General George Marshall. Although King and Marshall deferred to a degree to Admiral William Leahy, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, it was Roosevelt who had the final word on matters concerning the conduct of the war. So the common commander in the Pacific was effectively

General Douglas MacArthur wades ashore on the Philippine island of Leyte in October 1944. MacArthur had vowed to return to the Philippines and held sway with President Franklin D. Roosevelt when a rival strategy was put forward by Admiral Chester W. Nimitz.

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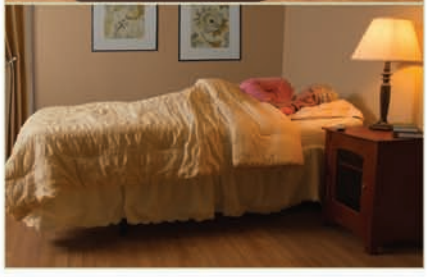

Lately there has been a lot of press about the many benefits of a good night's sleep. When you wake up rested, everything from your memory and focus to your diet and stress levels can improve. Some even believe it can help you live longer. Unfortunately, many older Americans have to choose between comfort and safety in a bed. If it's too high or too low, getting in and out of bed (particularly in the middle of the night) can be dangerous. Hospital type beds feature adjustable heights and railings, but they are hardly comfortable. Now, thanks to innovative design and superior engineering, you get the best of both. Plus, with an infinite number of positions controlled by remote control, you can pick a custom position for sleeping, reading watching TV or just relaxing with your feet up! It looks just like a regular bed... not institutional, and the mattress is luxurious and features a natural bamboo quilted cover that's anti-bacterial, deodorizing and breathable.

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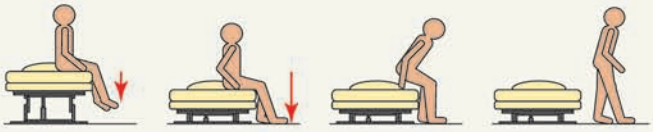

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Both: National Archives

From left to right, General Douglas MacArthur, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Admiral William Leahy, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Admiral Chester W. Nimitz confer in Hawaii before a large map of the Pacific Theater of Operations.

the president himself.

Initially, this posed no major problem, but it would have severe consequences later because MacArthur and Nimitz had two different strategies for defeating Japan. Nimitz and the Joint Chiefs advocated island hopping across the central Pacific, skipping over the Philippines, and establishing an invasion base on the island of Formosa, now known as Taiwan. Their vision was clear: secure the Marshalls and the Solomons, thereby protecting the supply routes to Australia and New Zealand, then occupy the Marianas and Formosa. An advantage of this strategy was the early ability to secure an island air base within bomber range of Japan.

MacArthur's proposed strategy was to slog through the coastal jungles of New Guinea, through the Philippines to southern China, and mount an invasion of the Japanese home islands from there. Of course, spending resources on this strategy could delay the occupation of Formosa and the bombing of Japan's home islands.

MacArthur had a strong bias and an unrelenting focus toward the Philippines. He was military adviser to the Commonwealth government of the Philippines for four years beginning in 1937, and his father had been governor general in 1900. He was also a close friend of President Manuel Quezon, who in 1942 gave MacArthur $500,000 as payment for his prewar service. It was unprecedented for an active-duty Army officer to accept such a sum, equal to approximately $7.5 million today, from a foreign government. Although this gift was known to FDR and Secretary of War Henry Stimson, it did not become public for 34 years until historian Carol Petillo unearthed it while researching her doctoral thesis in 1979—15 years after MacArthur's death.

The strategic debate was not settled by the summer of 1944, when Roosevelt sailed to Honolulu to meet personally with the two men that he had charged with running the Pacific War. Opinions differ on the reason or even the necessity of this meeting. The stated official purpose for the meeting was for Roosevelt to resolve the differences between his commanders and decide where American forces should go next in the Pacific. Some believe that his real motivation was to be photographed with his theater commanders so that voters would see him as commander in chief, as potential rival MacArthur's boss. It was, after all, an election year, and just the day before Roosevelt embarked on the heavy cruiser USS *Baltimore* for Honolulu he had been nominated for an unprecedented fourth term. This was an opportunity to show the nation that he possessed the stamina to remain commander in chief for another four years at a time when his health was increasingly under scrutiny. Within nine months he would be dead.

Whatever his primary reason, FDR was about to arbitrate between his two commanders and determine the future course of the war and thousands of American lives. The decision would depend upon who would prove to be more convincing—MacArthur or Nimitz. Roosevelt considered himself something of a naval strategist because of his seven-year term as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, so he felt fully qualified to make this decision.

MacArthur was reluctant to leave his command and resented being forced to fly to Honolulu for what he called "a political picture-taking junket." On July 26, his personal Boeing B-17 Flying Fortress named *Bataan* landed at Hickam Field an hour before the USS *Baltimore* docked, but MacArthur did not join Nimitz and the formal welcoming party at the pier. Rather, he went to the meeting in a long, open-air limousine with an elaborate motorcycle escort and accepted the welcome of cheering crowds along the route.

The meeting was held at the luxurious Waikiki Beach mansion of Christian Holmes, owner of Hawaiian Tuna Packers and heir to the Fleischman Yeast fortune. Nimitz presented his carefully prepared case using charts and statistics to show the advantages of Formosa as a main base for the final operations against Japan. From a strategic point of view, a single force moving across the Central Pacific toward Japan made good military sense. However, it was an unacceptable political decision. If Nimitz was given all the resources from the Southwest Pacific Command in order to have overwhelming superiority for a single thrust across the Central Pacific, MacArthur would be placed in a minor role for the remainder of the war. This would not play well among MacArthur's supporters and the American people. After all, shortly after fleeing Corregidor he was feted as a hero and was awarded the Medal of Honor.

MacArthur was at his best that evening. He had no notes, no prepared maps of his own, and absolute certainty that he was right. He argued that the United States had a moral obligation to liberate 17 million Filipinos before assaulting Japan. Bypassing most of the Philippines would, in his view, be militarily and politically disastrous and give truth to Japanese propaganda that we had abandoned the Filipinos and would not shed American blood to free them or any other nonwhite people. This would lead to a loss of prestige among all the peoples of the Far East and would adversely affect the United States for many years. He pointed out that the Chinese population on Formosa could not be counted on to support American forces and might, in fact, be openly hostile, whereas the Filipinos were totally loyal to the United States.

MacArthur had another reason to return to the Philippines. He was the Manila-based commander of U.S. Army forces in the Far East on December 7, 1941, when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, and despite being immediately notified of the attack and ordered by Marshall to execute existing war plans, he did nothing. Eight and a half hours after the Pearl Harbor

General MacArthur, President Roosevelt, and Admiral Nimitz met on July 26, 1944, in Pearl Harbor aboard the cruiser USS *Baltimore*. Speculation persists that Roosevelt chose MacArthur's Pacific War strategic plan over that of Admiral Nimitz for political reasons.

attack began, Japan's 11th Air Fleet achieved complete tactical surprise and destroyed 100 aircraft at Manila's Clark field—virtually the entire Far East Air Force. Two weeks later, MacArthur moved his headquarters to Corregidor Island in Manila Bay, and in March 1942, he fled to Australia in an 80-foot PT boat on Roosevelt's orders. Whether caused by his gratitude for the $500,000 gift or embarrassment for his ineptitude in Manila or guilt for abandoning his troops on Corregidor, he made a convincing case to liberate the Philippines.

By midnight, no decision had been made, and Roosevelt said that he would sleep on it. The next morning, FDR and MacArthur met privately. Some historians believe they reached a secret agreement whereby MacArthur would be allowed to recapture the Philippines but agreed to refrain from openly supporting New York Governor Thomas Dewey, Roosevelt's likely presidential opponent in the coming fall election.

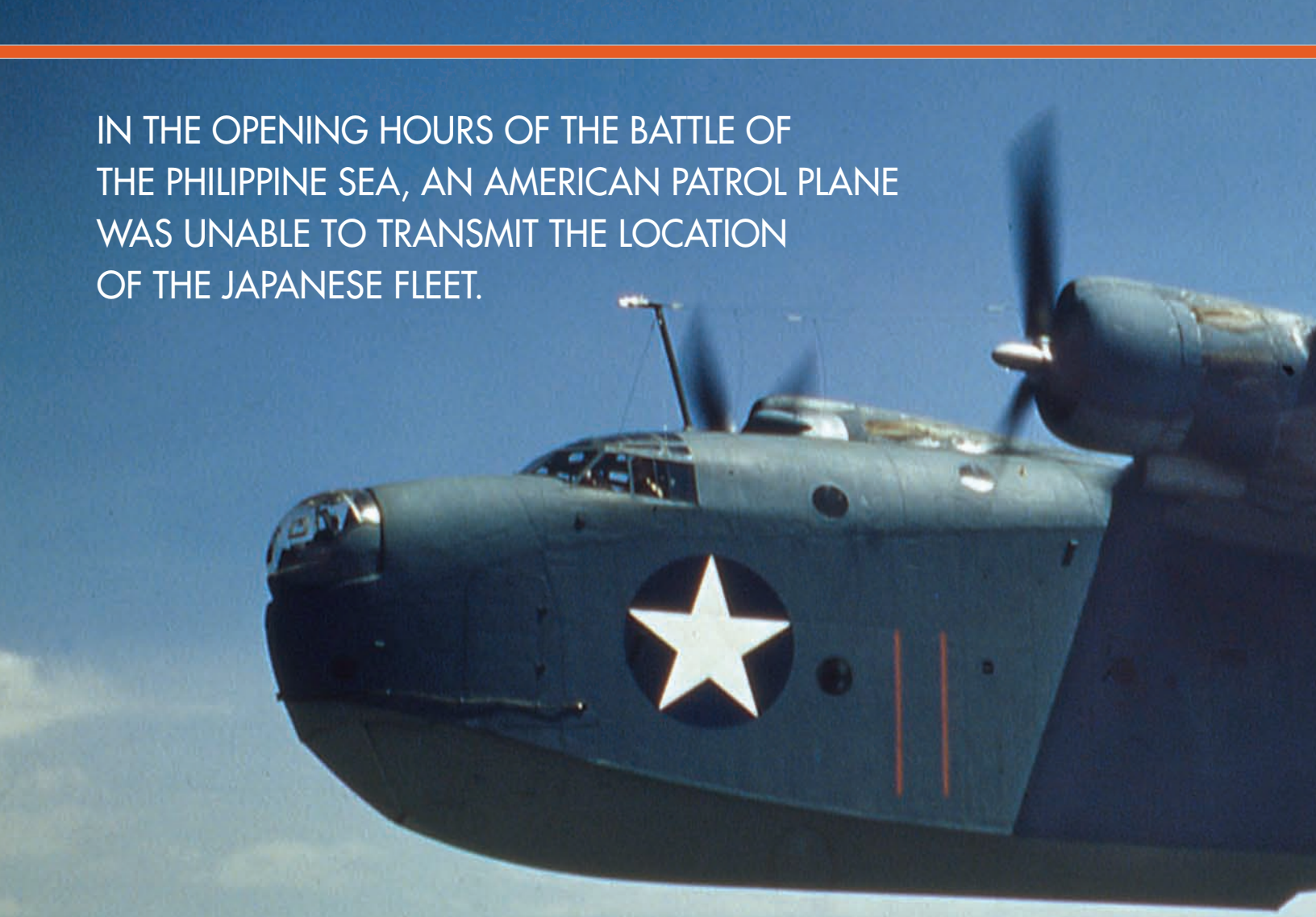
Roosevelt was well aware of MacArthur's huge following in the United States. As early as April 1943, Michigan Senator Arthur Vandenberg, along with a group of high-profile conservative Republicans, started to organize a "MacArthur for President" movement. This group included John Hamilton, former chairman of the Republican National Committee, Roy Howard of the Scripps-Howard newspaper syndicate, and Colonel Robert McCormick, owner and publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*.

Although the leading Republican nominees for president were Dewey and Wendell Willkie, who had lost to Roosevelt in 1939, MacArthur was prominently mentioned. In fact, his name was entered in the Wisconsin presidential primary election where he came in third.

Later that day, Roosevelt insisted on making a motor tour of the Oahu military bases. Nimitz

Continued on page 74

IN THE OPENING HOURS OF THE BATTLE OF THE PHILIPPINE SEA, AN AMERICAN PATROL PLANE WAS UNABLE TO TRANSMIT THE LOCATION OF THE JAPANESE FLEET.



VP-16 and Oper

A great deal has been written about the battle for Saipan, including the Battle of the Philippine Sea, remembered today as having included "The Great Marianas Turkey Shoot." However, certain events that could have turned the battle in any number of directions are often mentioned only in passing.

One of these events is the role played by one Martin PBM-3D Mariner aircraft of Navy Patrol Squadron 16 (VP-16) in locating the Japanese fleet as it sailed east for what both sides hoped might be a decisive naval battle. Admiral Raymond Spruance, in overall command of Operation Forager, the campaign for the capture of the Mariana and Palau island groups, was receiving reports from American submarines as to the movement of Japanese ships under Admiral Jizaburo Ozawa that were heading in the direction of the Marianas. However, Spruance's carrier-based planes under Admiral Marc Mitscher of Task Force 58 had limited range and little luck in pinpointing the exact location of the Japanese ships.

Likewise, Spruance, always the cautious warrior trying to think like his Japanese opponent, was concerned that Ozawa might try to draw him west while splitting his force to do an end-around and attack the U.S. transports off Saipan. That is when he ordered a number of available PBM-3D flying boats up from the Marshall Islands. His hope was that with their longer range they might locate the Japanese fleet and thus help him make his decision as to how best to meet the coming threat.

By the summer of 1944, the United States and its allies were no longer just holding the line but pushing back on all fronts. The Russians were advancing west and closing in on the German homeland. In the Southwest Pacific, General Douglas MacArthur had advanced along the north coast of Papua New Guinea and, in late May of that year, made landings on the island of Biak as part of the final effort to return to the Philippines. A week later, on June 6, Allied forces under General Dwight D. Eisenhower began the liberation of Western Europe with landings in Normandy.

As the Japanese were putting together a relief mission to stop MacArthur at Biak, Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, Commander-in-Chief Pacific Ocean Areas, gave them a right hook with Operation Forager. With the exception of Guam, the Japanese had been in control of the Marianas since 1914 during World War I, when

The Martin PBM-3D Mariner seaplane is less known than its contemporary rival the Consolidated PBY Catalina. However, Mariner squadrons such as Navy VP-16 rendered valuable service around the globe during World War II.

BY BRUCE PETTY

ation Forager

they simply sailed in and seized the islands of German Micronesia without firing a shot. Thirty years later they would have to give up those islands, but the process would be anything but bloodless. On Saipan alone, the Japanese would lose more than 40,000 of their nationals, including civilians. The Americans suffered roughly 15,000 casualties, almost a third of them killed in action.

For almost 300 years the Philippines and the islands of Micronesia had been Spanish colonial possessions. This all changed in 1898 with the war between Spain and the United States that resulted in Spain giving up the Philippines and also the island of Guam in the Marianas. Guam was taken because it was needed as a coaling station for U.S. ships sailing to the newly acquired colonial possessions in the Philippines. A year later, Spain, in need of capital, sold the rest of Spanish Micronesia to Germany. Germany's interest in the islands was economic but short lived, being forced out by the Japanese just 15 years later.

With America's entry into World War II following the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, Guam, just a few miles south of Japanese-held Saipan, fell within hours to a superior Japanese force and would not be liberated until July 1944, a month after Saipan had been secured. Although American offensive operations in the Central Pacific got off to a rather late start compared to other theaters, once they got going with landings in the Gilbert Islands there was no slowing them down. Soon the Marshall Islands fell at minimal cost compared to the bloody three days required to take Tarawa in the Gilbert Islands. As a result of these successes, Admiral Nimitz felt comfortable in advancing the date for operations in the Marianas, which both the Japanese and Americans knew would put the Allies within striking distance of the Japanese home islands. More than 500 ships—most sailing from Hawaii—and more than 127,000 men were involved in the operation to wrest Saipan, an island only 15 miles long and eight miles wide at its widest point, from the Japanese.

War came to the Japanese on Saipan when U.S. carrier planes struck in February 1944. The enemy garrison then had just over three months to prepare for a tsunami of fire and steel that would soon turn this tropical paradise into a broken and burned wasteland.

In the months before U.S. Marine and Army forces assaulted Saipan, the Japanese were mov-

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ABOVE: On June 19, 1944, the second day of the pivotal Battle of the Philippine Sea, an aircraft carrier of the U.S. Navy's Task Force 58 is shown underway while planes fly combat air patrol and conduct missions overhead. RIGHT: As Japanese forces moved toward the Philippine Sea, the submarine USS *Bowfin* was the first of the U.S. Navy's forces to sight the Japanese fleet and report its position. The Mariners of VP-16 found the enemy ships as well but could not relay the valuable information in a timely manner.

ing to evacuate some of the thousands of civilians living on the island. At the same time they were attempting to bring in more military personnel and equipment to fend off what was obviously going to be an attempt to break what the Japanese considered their outer ring of defense in the Pacific. However, by this point in the war U.S. submarines and aircraft dominated the waters and skies throughout most of the Pacific. As a result, most of the ships evacuating civilians, while at the same time attempting to reinforce island garrisons, were being sunk in record numbers.

Heavy carrier air strikes against Saipan began several days before the American landings on June 15 and continued throughout the campaign. Likewise, to prevent Japanese land-based planes from disrupting the landings, planes from Mitscher's fast carriers attacked island airfields on nearby Guam and Rota, and also those farther to the north in the Bonin and Volcano Islands.

Meanwhile, Spruance, in overall command of Operation Forager, started receiving reports of the Japanese fleet movements. The first report came from the submarine USS *Bowfin*. Even before the landings started, *Bowfin* reported a large number of Japanese ships off the northeast tip of Borneo. This was followed by another report from the submarine USS *Flying Fish*, this time of a Japanese fleet that included aircraft carriers exiting San Bernardino Strait in the Philippines. Later, the submarine USS *Sea Horse* reported another group of Japanese ships approaching from the west and slightly south of Spruance's Fifth Fleet.

These reports and Spruance's own contemplation led him to believe that the main Japanese objective was to disrupt the landings on Saipan by drawing the Fifth Fleet west, allowing Ozawa to split his forces and attack the U.S. transports under Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner, which were off the coast of the Marianas. Mitscher, on the other hand, saw the Japanese move as an opportunity for a decisive fleet engagement that had the potential of putting the Imperial Japanese Navy out of the war completely. However, Spruance's caution and focus on protecting the landings prevented Mitscher from doing what he wanted. Instead, Spruance ordered him to sail west during the day and east during the night to protect the transports still offloading men and supplies in a battle that was not going as smoothly as hoped.

Mitscher was sending out carrier aircraft to try and locate Ozawa's fleet. However, given the limited range of U.S. carrier aircraft and the vastness of the seas west of the Marianas, he was not having any success, prompting Spruance to order up from the Marshall Islands the available PBM-3Ds of Navy Patrol Squadron 16.

Patrol Squadron 16 was formed in December 1943 at Harvey Point, North Carolina. The PBM-3D Martin Mariner was a larger but less reliable cousin to the Consolidated PBY Catalina that was first developed in the early 1930s. The PBMs, unlike the PBYs, did not become operational until the early 1940s and suffered a number of problems common to a new type of aircraft. Besides design and structural issues, the underpowered Wright R-2600-22 engines were a source of constant worry to those who flew in the Mariner. Engine failures were common, and few PBMs could boast making it back to base on just one. The failure of both often resulted in the loss of all aboard. The one thing the Catalina and the Mariner had in common, however, was that they were both slow, with maximum speeds of around 200 miles per hour and a normal cruising speed of well under that. Put another way, they were both meat on the table for any fighter plane of that era.

U.S. Navy

William Sheehan was born in Oakland, California, in 1922. He wanted to enlist in the U.S. Navy right out of high school, but his mother would not sign for him until after he received his draft notice. Thinking he was better off in the Navy than in the Army, his mother readily signed on the dotted line. In October 1943, he entered the Navy and was sent to boot camp in Farragut, Idaho, probably not an ideal location for a California boy not used to cold winters.

After boot camp, Sheehan was sent to aviation mechanics school in Norman, Oklahoma, and from there to PBM School in Banana River, Florida, now better known as Cape Canaveral. He then joined VP-16 in North Carolina. The squadron's commanding officer was Lieutenant William Scarpino, and the executive officer was Lieutenant Ralph John. Sheehan's patrol plane commander was Lieutenant K.O. Hotvedt. The bureau number of the PBM-3D nicknamed

Boomerang that Sheehan would fly in for the duration of the war was 48198, a number that Sheehan remembered for more than 50 years.

After a brief period of training out of Naval Air Station Key West, Florida, VP-16 received orders in April 1944 to Naval Air Station Alameda in California for deployment to the South Pacific. From Harvey Point, North Carolina, the squadron flew to Eagle Mountain, Texas, before setting off the following day for San Diego. On the way, Lieutenant John's PBM-3D lost an engine. In spite of every effort to stay in the air on the one remaining engine, within five minutes the plane crashed with the loss of all aboard. This would not be the last time VP-16 had to either abort a flight or a plane was lost because of engine failure. On the way to Hawaii from California in May, Lieutenant R.W. Briggs and his crew had to ditch and spent almost two days in rubber life rafts before being rescued.

From Hawaii, VP-16 flew to the Marshall Islands via Palmyra Island and Canton Island, where airfields had been built before the war in anticipation of their use in case of conflict with Japan.

When the first five PBMs arrived in the waters off Saipan late on June 17, 1944, the men were based aboard the destroyer USS *Ballard* but later transferred to seaplane tender USS *Pokomoke* (AV-9). Almost immediately upon arrival they were sent out on patrol. In the early morning hours of June 19, Lieutenant Arle, flying one of the PBMs, made radar contact with 40 ships 470 miles west of Guam. However, the radio operator aboard the PBM, Chief Petty Officer Tibbets, could not make radio contact with the Fifth Fleet. He said he had a problem with what was called "skip distance," bouncing the message off the ionosphere. It was picked up in places such as Pearl Harbor and even Washington, D.C., but not by the ships off Saipan. Those who did receive the message did not forward it to Spruance. Had they done so, the history of the Battle of the Philippine Sea might well have been different.

In desperation to get the news to Spruance, the message was then sent "in the clear." Still, it was not received. As a result, Arle immediately headed back to Saipan to deliver the news in person. However, that was more than a seven-hour flight, and by that time it was too late. As a result of not receiving this information in a timely fashion, Spruance launched his fighters late, not to attack the Japanese fleet as Mitscher had hoped, but to engage carrier aircraft launched by Ozawa before they could do any damage to the ships of the Fifth Fleet.

Because of the inability to radio the contact with the Japanese fleet in a timely manner, the Americans had lost an opportunity to inflict an even greater defeat on the Japanese. It is possible that the enemy fleet might have been annihilated along with the many enemy planes that were shot down.

When the initial Japanese airstrike of the Battle of the Philippine Sea approached Task Force 58, most of the attacking planes were shot down by U.S. carrier-based Grumman F6F Hellcats or the massive antiaircraft fire thrown up by Fifth Fleet's escorting ships. The few Japanese planes to survive the ordeal either headed back to their carriers or fled to one of the Japanese-held islands in the Marianas. Even then, there were patrolling Hellcats waiting to do them no good when they attempted to land. One Japanese pilot landed on Saipan after the main airfield had fallen into American hands. His fighter was shot to pieces as he landed, but the pilot somehow managed to walk away from his wrecked plane without injury. When asked why he landed on Saipan, he said he was told that the island was still in Japanese hands. He was one of the few Japanese airmen to survive the battle.

Admiral Spruance was criticized by some for his cautionary approach to the battle that allowed Ozawa to escape with most of his fleet intact, just as some had criticized him after the Battle of Midway in June 1942, for not chasing the Japanese after they had lost four aircraft carriers. However, as any number of Pacific War historians have pointed out, regardless of the caution that Spruance displayed both at Midway and the Battle of the Philippine Sea, both were one-sided victories for the Americans.

In October 1944 during the Battle of Leyte Gulf, Admiral Spruance's good friend Admiral William F. "Bull" Halsey, mindful of the criticism leveled at Spruance for being overly cautious at both Midway and Saipan, did just the opposite and suffered criticism of his own. Upon General MacArthur's return to the Philippines with landings on the east coast of the island of Leyte, Halsey was lured away from the San Bernardino Strait to the north. Ozawa, who had lost most of his planes in combat earlier in the year, was used along with his now nearly empty carriers to lure Halsey away from his guard duties. Halsey took the bait, and as a result Vice Admiral Takeo Kurita, with his force of battleships and cruisers, came within a breath of wiping out the landings on Leyte. Guarding those landing beaches was something Spruance felt was his priority earlier in the year at Saipan, yet he was criticized for being too cautious.

VP-16 had other problems besides not being able to report the position of Ozawa's fleet. One of its planes became a casualty of the air

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Hefty Martin PBM-3D Mariner seaplanes fly in formation somewhere in the Pacific. The Mariner was easily distinguished by observers because of its bulky fuselage and unique tail section assembly.

National Archives

During the height of the Battle of the Philippine Sea, warships of the Imperial Japanese Navy maneuver violently to evade bombs and torpedoes from attacking American planes. When the battle ended, Japanese surface assets had suffered significant losses while the fleet's airpower had been annihilated.

battle, but not as a result of enemy fire. On the contrary, one of VP-16's PBMs returning from a patrol was mistaken for a Japanese Kawanishi flying boat by a group of F6F Hellcats and was attacked. Before the offending pilots had realized their mistake, one of the crew, Gilbert Person, was dead. Then on June 22, another PBM, this one piloted by Lieutenant Harry R. Flashbarth, was shot down while on a night patrol by a destroyer of Task Force 58. There were no survivors.

After most of the excitement was over, Sheehan and the crew of *Boomerang* finally arrived off Saipan on June 24, having been forced to wait in the Marshalls to have a damaged propeller replaced. Sheehan noted that at this time it was not unusual to see bodies floating in the water off the coast. If the bodies were Japanese, they were left alone. If they were American bodies they were retrieved for possible identification and a proper burial.

Toward the end of the fighting on Saipan, one of the damaged PBMs was hauled ashore at the former Japanese seaplane ramp in Tanapag on the west coast of Saipan, and Sheehan was sent ashore to guard it until it could be cannibalized for spare parts. There were still unburied Japanese bodies lying around from the fighting that had recently taken place in the area, and some diehard enemy soldiers remained active. One Japanese soldier had been hiding under a wrecked plane near the ramp. When he thought it was safe, he made a run for it but was killed by Marines before he could get very far. Sheehan refused to say what exactly the Marines did to the Japanese they captured, remarking only, "I didn't like what I saw them do, and I just won't talk about it."

One Marine that Sheehan met during his few days ashore on Saipan was Frank Zark. They became friends of sorts, even though Sheehan admitted to never seeing or hearing from Zark again after that. He remembers Zark for two reasons. Zark told him about how he had stopped a Japanese tank with his bazooka earlier in the fighting. He also remembers Zark because he said he could not sleep at night out of fear that a Japanese soldier would sneak into his foxhole and slit his throat.

On August 1, 1944, VP-16 was relieved by VP-18. VP-16 then regrouped at Ebeye Island in the Marshalls for engine overhaul and replacement and other much-needed maintenance. On August 21, the squadron was sent to Kossol Passage in the Palaus west of the Marianas. The crews conducted routine patrols until late November 1944, when they were ordered home. The pilots flew from the Palaus back to Hawaii and eventually to Alameda. However, they again were plagued by engine problems. *Boomerang*, with Lieutenant Hotvedt still at the controls, made three attempts to get home. The first two attempts resulted in turnarounds to Kaneohe Naval Air Station in Hawaii because of engine problems. When *Boomerang* was finally nursed home the plane was scrapped. Sheehan spent the rest of World War II at Alameda and was discharged in November 1945.

If remembered at all, VP-16 is probably recalled as just one of many seaplane squadrons that served in the Pacific in various roles. The fact that one of its PBM-3Ds spotted Admiral Ozawa's Japanese carrier force in the opening moments of the Battle of the Philippine Sea, well in advance of its last minute location by Fifth Fleet radar, is mentioned only in passing in most histories of the Marianas campaign. The incident remains one of many what-ifs of the Pacific War.

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.*

From the Publishers of WWII HISTORY Magazine

Battle of the Bulge

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The seizure of Cisterna was a prerequisite to the eventual Allied capture of Rome.

BY NATHAN N. PREFER

An American rifleman of the Allied Fifth Army aims his rifle at a distant target during the fighting in the Italian town of Cisterna. The capture of Cisterna was an important prerequisite to the final advance on Rome, the first Axis capital to fall to the Allies in World War II.

Key to the Eternal City

THEY had been staring at it for the past four months. That small, rubble-strewn town of Cisterna di Littoria in central Italy just inland from the ports of Anzio-Nettuno, had become their nemesis. They had fought over it before and been defeated. It had cost them two battalions of the 6615th Ranger Force (Darby's Rangers) and many others. It had been bombed, shelled, and strafed, but it was still defended tenaciously by the German Army. If anything, it symbolized the frustrations of the men of the American VI Corps.

The VI Corps, part of the Fifth U.S. Army, had come ashore in Italy at Anzio on January 22, 1944. After establishing a beachhead against minimal opposition, the troops had begun an advance inland with the objective of outflanking the German army defending the Cassino front miles to the south. There the German Tenth Army had been holding back the Fifth Army and Eighth British Army, which were attempting to clear southern Italy and capture Rome. The VI Corps mission was to compromise the German defenses of the Gustav Line and force the enemy to withdraw or surrender.

It did not work out as planned. After spending a week organizing the beachhead, the VI Corps commander ordered an advance to the Alban Hills, which overlooked the main highway in use by the Germans. But the German Army was much faster, and troops from all over northern Italy, southern Germany, and the Balkans had been rushed to the Anzio area. By the time VI Corps received orders to advance, an entirely new German army, the Fourteenth, was surrounding it. Allied intelligence failed to discover the existence of this new army before the attack was launched on January 29, 1944.

The attack centered on Cisterna, a small town that happened to be the hub of several roads running east and north, directions in which VI Corps needed to go to cut the German lines of communication and reach Rome. A railroad also ran northeast from Cisterna. The plan was for Colonel William O. Darby to infiltrate his 1st and 3rd Ranger Battalions through the German lines at night. At daybreak the remaining battalion, the 4th, would lead the 3rd Infantry Division in an attack to capture Cisterna and advance east. A few tanks from the 751st Tank Battalion and a platoon of the 601st Tank Destroyer Battalion were in reserve.

The infiltration began at 0100 hours on January 30, 1944, and soon developed into a disaster. Initially, however, it went as planned. Using a long drainage ditch, the two infiltrating Ranger battalions moved deep into the German lines. But when the ditch ended the Rangers were forced into the open along the Feminamorta-Cisterna road. Soon a German sentry gave the alarm, and within moments the two battalions were fighting for their lives. Fighting off tanks and infantry supported by machine guns, mortars, and artillery, the lightly armed Rangers were outgunned. Frantic efforts by the 4th Ranger Battalion to relieve them, even when supported by tanks and artillery, failed. When it was over later that day, some 12 Rangers had been killed, 36 wounded, and 743 captured. In attempting to reach their brother Rangers, the 4th Ranger Battalion suffered 30 killed and 58 wounded. The battle marked the end of "Darby's Rangers."

Cisterna remained unreachable by the Americans for the next four months. A ferocious German counterattack designed to destroy the British-American beachhead failed only by a thread. The American and British lines were pushed back in some places to the "Final Beachhead Line" after which evacuation or surrender would be the only choice left to VI Corps. But the Allies prevailed, despite crippling losses suffered by the 45th Infantry Division and the 1st British Infantry Division. A stalemate ensued beginning at the end of February 1944 and lasted into May.

Things had changed by May 1944. The Allies had more troops and equipment available on both the Cassino and Anzio fronts. The weather was improving, allowing Allied air power to make its presence felt. Lt. Gen. Mark Wayne Clark, commanding Fifth Army, which included VI Corps at Anzio, was ordered to implement a plan to break through the German defenses. Known as Operation Diadem, it included attacks against the Gustav Line and a breakthrough at Cassino after which the VI Corps would launch a massive attack, hoping to cut off the retreating Tenth Army.

Once again the focus of any breakout from the Anzio beachhead was Cisterna. Control of the roads and railroad leading north to Rome and east across the German lines of communication was essential to a successful breakout.

The Germans had not been idle. A major regrouping of their forces began in March with the arrival of a fresh Jäger division from the Adriatic coast. Five German divisions divided into two corps faced VI Corps at Anzio. The I Parachute Corps controlled the 4th Parachute Division, 65th Infantry Division, and 3rd Panz-

National Archives

ergrenadier Division. The LXXVI Panzer Corps included the 362nd and 715th Infantry Divisions. In all, Col. Gen. Eberhard von Mackensen's Fourteenth Army had 70,400 men facing the approximately 90,000 Allied troops at Anzio.

The VI Corps, now commanded by Lt. Gen. Lucian King Truscott, Jr., who had replaced Maj. Gen. John P. Lucas, was different as well. Of the many units that had fought at Anzio since January, most were still there. New arrivals included the veteran 34th Infantry Division and remaining elements of the 1st Armored Division. Along the British sector of the corps front, the exhausted 56th Infantry Division had been replaced by the 5th British Infantry Division. The

Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-311-0940-35; Phto: Koch

German soldiers advance past an abandoned armored vehicle during the bitter fighting around the Anzio beachhead in early 1944. The Allied amphibious landing at Anzio, south of Rome, was intended to initiate a lightning strike against the City of Light; however, the Americans failed to move with alacrity and Operation Shingle devolved into a bloody battle of attrition.

veteran 1st British Infantry Division remained, but one of its brigades was replaced due to its earlier heavy losses.

Selected for the assault force for the breakout battle were the veteran 1st Armored Division, 3rd Infantry Division, and the Canadian-American 1st Special Service Force, also known as the "Devil's Brigade." The 34th Infantry Division relieved the 3rd Infantry Division along the front lines on March 28, 1944, to allow it to train replacements and prepare for the coming battle. It would also attach one of its infantry regiments to the 1st Armored Division, which under a new table of organization was short of infantrymen for the type of battle to come. The 45th Infantry Division, 1st Special Service Force, and 36th Engineer Combat Regiment would hold the front lines and protect the flanks of the main attack. The 36th Infantry Division, which had only arrived on the beachhead on May 22, would be the corps reserve force.

Major General Ernest Nason Harmon commanded the 1st Armored Division. Born February 26, 1894, in Lowell, Massachusetts, he was commissioned in the cavalry from West Point in 1917. He served in France during World War I and in a number of prestigious staff and instructor appointments between the wars. General Harmon's decorations included the Distinguished Service Cross, two Silver Stars, the Bronze Star, and a Purple Heart. Promoted to major general in August 1942, he commanded the 2nd Armored Division until transferred to the 1st Armored Division in 1943, after seeing significant combat in North Africa and Sicily.

General Harmon had a plan for his attack that involved "snakes." One of the known main obstacles to breaking the German defenses in front of Cisterna was the existence of mines. Literally thousands of them lay buried between the American and German front lines.

Harmon's engineers came up with "snakes," 400-foot-long steel pipes filled with explosives that were towed into position by tanks and then set off by machine-gun fire, to detonate the hidden mines. Tests showed that these devices would clear a 15-foot-wide gap in any minefield. Enemy mines buried as deep as five feet were detonated. The problem was that the long pipes were unwieldy and could not be towed for any great distance. Harmon left the decision to use or not use them up to two subordinate commanders. Colonel Maurice W. Daniel, leading Combat Command A (CCA), decided to use them. Brig. Gen. Frank Allen, Jr., commanding Combat Command B (CCB), held his in reserve in anticipation of stronger minefields farther along his route near the railroad running northwest from Cisterna

Attacking Cisterna directly was the veteran 3rd Infantry Division. Its commander, Maj. Gen. John Wilson "Iron Mike" O'Daniel, was born in Newark, Delaware, on February 15, 1894, and served in the Delaware National Guard before graduating from Delaware College. Commissioned in the infantry in 1917, he served in France during World War I. General O'Daniel had been the assistant commander of the 3rd Division before assuming command in February 1944, when General Truscott was promoted to VI Corps command. Among his decorations were the Distinguished Service Cross, two Silver Stars, four Bronze Stars, two Air Medals, and a Purple Heart. General O'Daniel planned to use all three of his infantry regiments abreast to seize Cisterna.

The attack began with a diversionary thrust by the 1st and 5th British Infantry Divisions on the beachhead's left flank. Preceded by a heavy artillery barrage, the two British divisions attacked during the night of May 22, 1944, against the I Parachute Corps, in an effort to draw German attention to that area of the beachhead. The British kept up their diversionary attack for 24 hours before returning to their starting positions.

The first direct blow at Cisterna came by chance. The diversionary attack was to be supported by a heavy artillery barrage and air support by some 60 fighter bombers of XII Tactical Air Command. But heavy overcast obscured the German front lines, and the aircraft moved to the secondary target, Cisterna. The town was left burning and battered.

With the 135th Infantry Regiment, 34th Division attached, the 1st Armored Division attacked an hour after first light on May 23, 1944. CCA, attacking west of Le Mole Creek, found the terrain fairly even and slightly rising at first but soon came upon a series of creeks and draws that slowed progress. The snakes cleared not only the minefields, but when used close enough to German strongpoints knocked the defenders unconscious or so dazed them as to make them unable to resist. Daniel's tanks rolled forward, leaving the infantry to mop up

bypassed enemy positions. By noon, CCA was approaching the railroad.

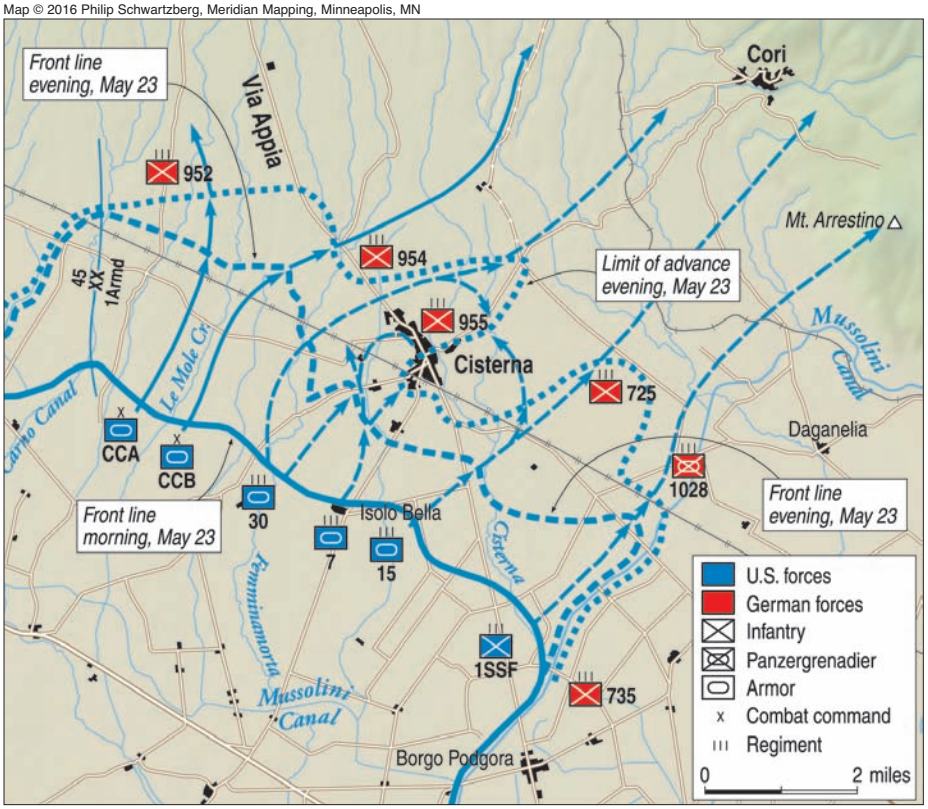
Attacking to the east of Le Mole Creek, General Allen's CCB had less luck. Like CCA, CCB included a battalion of medium tanks, two battalions of infantry, a battalion of light tanks, and two companies of tank destroyers as the assault force. A battalion of infantry and a battalion of medium tanks were kept in reserve. But Allen had opted not to use the snakes. To further complicate his situation, friendly minefields had not been properly marked due largely to confusion when the 34th Division had relieved the 3rd Division.

Within minutes of beginning its advance, Company D, 13th Armored Regiment was out of the fight, and Company E had to assume the assault mission. To help replace the heavy losses, a platoon of Company B, 701st Tank Destroyer Battalion was added to the assault force. The 3rd Battalion, 6th Armored Infantry, however, followed the tank tracks through the minefields and managed to maintain the advance while behind them Company C, 16th Armored Engineer Battalion cleared the mines by hand. Continuing forward, CCB brushed aside moderate resistance and reached the railroad by midday.

A hasty German counterattack, probably by the 3rd Panzergrenadier Division, against the flank of the attack forced American infantry to give ground. But a strong artillery barrage and an appearance by Combat Command Reserve (CCR) under Colonel Hamilton H. Howze repulsed this attempt to stall the American breakout.

It was during these attacks that Technical Sergeant Ernest H. Dervishian of the attached 135th Infantry distinguished himself. He and four members of his platoon found themselves well in advance of the supporting armor. Enemy artillery and sniper fire covered the area as the Richmond, Virginia, native led his men toward a railroad embankment. Spotting several enemy soldiers in a nearby dugout, Sergeant Dervishian ordered his men to provide covering fire. He attacked the Germans with his M-1 carbine, forcing their surrender. His men then captured 15 more enemy soldiers in nearby dugouts.

After sending his prisoners to the rear, Dervishian saw nine Germans fleeing across a ridge. His fire wounded three of the enemy, and the sergeant dashed forward alone to capture the rest. Four more men arrived, and Dervishian sent them to protect his flank. These new men were driven back by heavy enemy machine-gun fire. One of his men was killed and another wounded. German grenades began falling nearby. Ordering his men to withdraw,



ABOVE: Elements of the U.S. 1st Armored Division spearheaded the first of several ground advances on the town of Cisterna that began in the early morning hours of May 23, 1944. BELOW: British forces also participated in the Allied movement against the town of Cisterna. In this photo, men of Company D, 1st Battalion, 5th Infantry Division, known as the Green Howards, lie low in a captured German communications trench on May 22, 1944.

Imperial War Museum

Dervishian attacked the gun alone, captured it, and then turned it on a second enemy machine gun. Seeing movement in a nearby dugout, Dervishian grabbed a German machine pistol and began firing both machine gun and machine pistol at the two different enemy positions. Quickly, five German soldiers in each of the two positions surrendered. Turning over the prisoners to his men, Dervishian continued on alone, knocking out a third enemy machine gun before returning to his platoon. For his leadership and gallantry on May 23, 1944, Sergeant

Dervishian was promoted to second lieutenant and awarded the Medal of Honor.

Not far away, Staff Sergeant George J. Hall, also of the attached 135th Infantry Regiment, was with his company as it advanced across the level terrain. Three enemy machine guns and several snipers opened fire, pinning the Americans to the ground. Volunteering, he crawled forward through this murderous fire until he reached a position within hand grenade range of the first enemy gun. Tossing four grenades in quick succession, he knocked out the gun and crew. Four prisoners were ordered to crawl to American lines while Hall continued on alone. Seizing a supply of German grenades found in the machine-gun position, he repeated his exploit at the next enemy post, all the while under direct machine-gun and sniper fire. After five of their comrades fell to Hall's borrowed grenades, the remaining five Germans surrendered. Sending his prisoners back, Sergeant Hall began an advance on the third enemy gun. As he did so an enemy artillery barrage hit the area, severing his right leg.

Although suffering excruciating pain, he tried to crawl the 75 yards back to his company. The pain was unbearable. "I lay there and rested a while and gathered my wits," he said later. "I was still under fire and I knew I'd have to do something. I studied it for a while and then pulled my sheath knife and cut through two tendons that were holding my right leg on. I was able to crawl after that."

With two enemy guns knocked out, Hall's company was now able to maneuver and knock out the remaining gun. Sergeant Hall died several days after the action and received a posthumous Medal of Honor.

The enemy minefields continued to present a problem, however. When two infantry platoons supporting the armored attack became disorganized, 2nd Lt. Thomas W. Fowler, a tank platoon commander, stepped forward and earned the Medal of Honor. The officer from Wichita Falls, Texas, took charge and reorganized the tank-infantry assault. He then made a personal reconnaissance through the minefield, clearing a path as he went. Subsequently, he returned to the infantrymen and led them through the field a squad at a time.

Under enemy small arms fire he then went ahead alone to find a route for the infantrymen to their objective and led several tanks through the same minefield. When the two infantry platoons came to their objective, Fowler led the attack, personally capturing several Germans. Seeing a dangerous gap between his unit and its neighbors, he again led the way and placed the infantry in a better tactical position. Returning to his tanks under heavy mortar, small arms, and artillery fire, he brought them forward.

Both: National Archives

Private First Class Patrick Kessler (left) received a posthumous Medal of Honor for heroic actions on the battlefield during the fight for Cisterna. Pfc. Henry Schauer, right, silenced several German snipers, knocked out two machine-gun positions, and killed the crew of an armored vehicle. He also received the Medal of Honor for his actions.

German tanks counterattacked, hitting one of Fowler's tanks and setting it afire. Without regard for his personal safety, Fowler tried to rescue the crew of the burning vehicle. Only when the enemy tanks were about to overrun him did he retreat a short distance, where he began treating at least nine wounded infantrymen. Fowler was later killed in action and was awarded a posthumous Medal of Honor.

In total, 11 Medals of Honor would be awarded to American soldiers who made the Anzio beachhead breakout possible. At the end of the first day, the 1st Armored Division had achieved its initial objective at a cost of 35 killed, 137 wounded, and one missing in action. The attack had pierced the German main line of resistance and pushed the 362nd Infantry Division back a mile. The penetration threatened the junction between the Fourteenth Army's I Parachute and LXXVI Panzer Corps.

In the four months since it landed at Anzio on January 22, 1944, the 3rd Infantry Division had suffered 1,074 killed, 4,302 wounded, and 919 missing by the time of the May attack. An additional 6,455 men had been lost due to nonbattle causes. General O'Daniel's plan of attack placed the 30th Infantry Regiment on the left, the 7th Infantry Regiment in the center, and the 15th Infantry Regiment on the right. The idea was that the center regiment would hold the Germans at Cisterna in place while the two flanking regiments encircled the town. They would be facing the 955th Infantry Regiment of the 362nd Infantry Division and elements of the 715th Infantry Division. Reinforcing the front was the 1028th Panzergrenadier Regiment. Intelligence estimated the division faced four enemy battalions on the front lines with three more in reserve. As in the 1st Armored Division's zone, mines would be a serious threat.

Colonel Richard G. Thomas, commanding the 15th Infantry Regiment, had an additional problem. His orders required him to wheel inward after bypassing Cisterna to complete the planned encirclement. But that would turn him away from his right flank neighbor, the 1st Special Service Force. To avoid leaving a dangerous gap that might be exploited by the enemy, he created a special task force commanded by Major Michael Paulick around Company A, a platoon of medium and light tanks from the 751st Tank Battalion, and a section from the 601st Tank Destroyer Battalion. Reinforced with machine guns, mortars, and engineers, this task force was to cross the Cisterna Canal and drive east to cut Highway 7, blocking any enemy interference with the main attack.

Like General Harmon, General O'Daniel was anxious to find some way to reduce his casualties in the attack. The 3rd Infantry Division came up with the "battle sled," an open-topped narrow steel tube mounted on flat runners and wide enough to carry one infantryman in a prone position. The battle sled served as protection against shell fragments and small-arms fire and was used to transport infantrymen through enemy fire in what were perceived as portable foxholes. A battle sled team of 60 men had been organized in each of the division's three regiments. Five tanks towed 12 sleds. Unfortunately, this experiment came to naught when drainage ditches forced the infantry to continue the advance on foot.

The attack of the 30th Infantry hit strong resistance from the beginning. Colonel Lionel C. McGarr's regiment faced small arms fire, self-propelled guns, and artillery even before it crossed the line of departure. Yet the attack made progress. The 2nd and 3rd Battalions bypassed enemy strongpoints to maintain the momentum of the advance. Company I actually reached its objective at Ponte Rotto ahead of schedule. But it was pinned down by both enemy and friendly fire. American artillery hit the area, and the company had lost radio contact with the rear.

After about 30 minutes Staff Sergeant Cleo A. Toothman, a squad leader, heard one of his men, Pfc. John Dutko, yell, "Toothman, I'm going to get that 88 with my heater!" Toothman added, "He always called his BAR a 'heater.'" Pfc. Dutko then raced 500 yards through heavy fire as machine-gun bullets followed him in the dirt. The German 88mm gun also fired, but he kept moving. Diving into a convenient shell hole, Dutko took a short rest. He jumped out of the hole and again raced for the enemy gun.

This time Pfc. Charles R. Kelley followed

him. Dutko meanwhile raced ahead so that only one enemy machine gun could track him. He attacked this gun with grenades and knocked it out. Then he stood erect and began walking toward the 88mm gun, firing his BAR from the hip. After killing the five-man crew, Dutko wheeled around and killed the crew of a second machine gun. The third gun, however, opened fire. Dutko was wounded but managed to kill the crew of the third machine gun before falling dead across the position. Dutko received a posthumous Medal of Honor.

Company E also ran into trouble near Ponte Rotto. Enemy machine-gun fire cut down four men and pinned down the rest. "Pfc. Patrick L. Kessler, an antitank grenadier in my platoon," recalled Pfc. Nicholas Rusinko, "ran 50 yards through a hail of machine-gun fire to a point where three of us were huddled in a ditch and suggested that we form an assault team to knock out the gun, which we instantly agreed to. Using us as a base of fire, Pfc. Kessler climbed out of the ditch and began to crawl toward the machine-gun position. He succeeded in making his way about 50 yards forward before the Krauts spotted him and fired directly at him. Bullets struck so close to him that Kessler was almost obscured by the dust. Later I learned that he had been lightly wounded."

Charging like a broken-field runner, Kessler got to within two yards of the enemy position, kneeled down, and shot the gun crew with his Springfield M1903 bolt-action rifle. As he sent prisoners to the rear two more enemy guns and several riflemen opened fire on the company from about 175 yards away. Ten men who had stood up after Kessler knocked out the first gun were cut down. Kessler crawled to a nearby BAR man, acquired his weapon, and began crawling through a minefield toward the enemy.

Private Alan C. Smith saw what happened next. "Just as he crawled out of the minefield, Pfc. Kessler occupied a position in a ditch about 50 yards from the Kraut strongpoint and engaged in a duel with the two machine guns. Throughout this action, the German artillery and mortar fire kept coming in. Pfc. Kessler had fired about four magazines into the Krauts when an artillery shell landed almost directly on top of him. For a moment we all thought that his number was up, yet when the smoke had cleared away, Pfc. Kessler had risen to his feet and was walking toward the machine guns, firing his BAR from his hip as he advanced."

After knocking out the two guns and taking 13 prisoners, Kessler was escorting the prisoners to the rear when two enemy snipers opened fire on him. His prisoners made a break for it, but before they could get far Kessler fired a BAR burst on either side of them, halting the escape attempt. With his prisoners under control, Kessler opened fire on the snipers, both of whom quickly surrendered to him. Kessler was later killed and received a posthumous Medal of Honor.

The 7th Infantry struggled. Enemy artillery fire delayed its start for 20 minutes. Tanks were lost to mines. General O'Daniel ordered additional smoke cover and supporting artillery, and soon the 7th Infantry began to make progress. Small German tank-led counterattacks also slowed the advance, but these were soon driven back. The 7th Infantry's

Both: National Archives

ABOVE: Initially held in reserve during the push for Cisterna, American soldiers of the 36th Infantry Division move toward the front lines. The 36th Division is well known for its heroic participation in the Italian Campaign, particularly the disastrous crossing of the Rapido River in January 1944. BELOW: Crewmen of a damaged M4 Sherman medium tank belonging to the U.S. 1st Armored Division await the attachment of towing equipment from a recovery vehicle in the background of this photo. The tank was immobilized during the fighting around Cisterna in May 1944.

George Silk / Getty Images \ The LIFE Picture Collection

Veterans of the landings and subsequent fighting at Anzio, soldiers of the U.S. 3rd Infantry Division pause at the corner of a house in Cisterna as the lead man takes aim with his rifle at a German sniper some distance away.

frontal attack on Cisterna ground forward slowly, halted by an enemy strongpoint near a locale known as Isola Bella. An attempt to bypass the strongpoint failed, and a frontal attack cost several more casualties. In attacking beyond Isola Bella, Company K lost two commanders killed in the space of a few hours. The Germans had the advantage of higher ground and prepared defenses.

The 15th Infantry Regiment was to bypass Cisterna on the southeast and seize Highway 7 and the railroad. The plan called for two battalions to attack with a third in reserve. Resistance was stronger than expected and the ground to cover more extensive, so all three battalions were soon attacking while Major Paulick's task force struggled to maintain contact with the 1st Special Service Force. During the attack, Company L, which began the assault with 150 men, found only about 40 available for duty at the end of the first three hours. The survivors were attached to Company I.

Infantrymen carried forward on the battle sleds were able to make some progress supported by the tanks that had pulled them. Company E, low on ammunition after struggling forward, launched a successful bayonet attack that cleared a German strongpoint. Company G bypassed some resistance and began to clean out the small town of Fosso de Cisterna, capturing more than 100 of the enemy. Meanwhile, Task Force Paulick pushed ahead against strong opposition and friendly mines, losing a company commander, two medium tanks, a light tank, and a tank destroyer before securing its objective.

Staff Sergeant Joseph M. Brown remembered the advance, and in particular Pfc. Henry Schauer, calling him "the best BAR-man I have ever seen."

When the task force was halted by enemy resistance, Pfc. Schauer climbed out of a ditch and walked slowly toward the enemy. Four German snipers made Schauer their prime target. With one burst from his BAR he killed two snipers at 170 yards; he then took out the two others with individual bursts from his BAR. Running to catch up with his buddies, he spotted a fifth sniper whom he dispatched on the run. When two German machine guns opened up on the group, everyone hit the ground except Schauer.

Second Lieutenant James M. Dorsey, Jr., remembered, "The man acted as though nothing could kill him. He assumed the kneeling position on the bank of a ditch. Bullets from both machine guns swept about him, miraculously missing him by inches. Fragments from enemy shells, which burst no more than 15 yards from him, hit the ground all around him. He permitted none of this fire to ruffle his composure. Pfc. Schauer engaged the first machine gun, the one 60 yards away, opening up on it with a full clip of ammunition. In one long burst of fire he killed the gunner and the man alongside him. He put a new magazine in his BAR, fired two short bursts, and killed the two remaining Germans who ran to man the weapon."

In similar fashion, Schauer knocked out the second gun. The following day he took on an enemy armored vehicle and machine gun, killing the entire crew while standing fully exposed to its fire. For his heroics Schauer, of Scobey, Montana, was awarded the Medal of Honor and promoted to technical sergeant.

While the main attack went in against Cisterna, the neighboring 45th Infantry Division launched an attack to protect the corps' left flank. Here the success of the advance threatened the rear of the 3rd Panzergrenadier Division, which in turn protected the flank of the I Parachute Corps. This caused the German command to launch a tank-supported counterattack. General Truscott rushed up a battalion from the 1st Armored Division, and the situation was soon stabilized. On the right flank of the attack, the 1st Special Service Force had reached Highway 7 and the railroad. This greatly aided the 15th Infantry's advance to the

same objectives. But here, too, a tank-supported counterattack threatened to penetrate the thin lines of the Devil's Brigade. Reinforcements were rushed forward and a slight withdrawal made before the threat was neutralized.

The Germans quickly realized they were in considerable difficulty. They had few reserves, and the ferocity of the attack made it clear that this was the long-awaited breakout from the Anzio beachhead. General Traugott Herr, commanding LXXVI Panzer Corps, requested permission to withdraw. General von Mackensen, commanding Fourteenth Army, refused to make the decision and referred the withdrawal request to Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, the highly capable German commander in Italy.

Kesselring refused the request. He feared that a withdrawal would expose a gap between his Tenth and Fourteenth Armies that the Allies would exploit. Instead he suggested to von Mackensen that he commit his reserves at Cisterna to halt the American advance. But General von Mackensen was unwilling to do that because he believed that the main attack would come not at Cisterna, but in the Aprilia-Albano sector of his front. This would put the Allies on the Alban Hills, a perfect blocking position to halt any retreat of the Tenth Army from the Cassino front. In fact, General Clark was considering doing just that, but for the moment the main Allied thrust was aimed in fact at Cisterna.

Both: National Archives

ABOVE: Their hands in the air, German prisoners sprint past an American Stuart light tank in this photo, which bears stark evidence of the destruction wrought at Cisterna. When the battle for control of the town was over, its buildings were shattered. BELOW: These German soldiers fought the Allies in Cisterna until their ammunition was exhausted. This photo was taken immediately after their capture as they were being searched for hidden weapons and their equipment confiscated. It was said that these Germans sniped at the attackers incessantly.

At the front the 362nd Infantry Division had committed all its reserves against the attacks of the 1st Armored and 3rd Infantry Divisions. So had the 715th Infantry Division. Each division had already lost nearly half its strength. By nightfall on the second day of the Allied offensive, Kesselring realized that the Fourteenth Army could not hold the beachhead. He began suggesting to Col. Gen. Heinrich Gottfried von Vietinghoff, commanding the Tenth Army on the Cassino Front, that he consider his withdrawal options. That same night, May 23, von Mackensen ordered his I Parachute Corps to withdraw to a secondary defensive line.

Although it took some time, the decision by the German commanders that the Anzio beachhead could no longer be contained soon made itself felt at the front. Although the Germans still stoutly defended what positions they needed to cover their withdrawal, they were, in fact, now retreating. By midday on May 24, CCB of the 1st Armored had crossed Highway 7, cutting one of two major routes of withdrawal for the Germans. Cisterna was nearly cut off. General Allen then went after the remaining route of German withdrawal. This road, the Cori Road, was attacked by Lt. Col. Frank F. Carr's battalion of light tanks. Colonel Daniel's CCA continued to push the remnants of the 362nd Infantry Division past the Mole Canal.

Colonel Carr's battalion moved quickly to accomplish its task. Difficulty in crossing a railroad embankment, minefields, and long-range artillery fire delayed the advance. Traffic congestion contributed as well, as other tanks of CCB clogged the same access roads. It was two hours before Carr could assemble at Highway 7 and begin his assault, but once underway with the 91st Field Artillery Battalion in support, the advance moved swiftly. Overrunning enemy tanks and antitank guns unprepared for the American attack, the battalion began to encircle Cisterna. Supported from a distance by an armored infantry battalion and some medium tanks, the light tank battalion had all but trapped the German defenders.

But the job of taking Cisterna still rested with General O'Daniel's 3rd Infantry Division. The heaviest fighting on May 24 and 25 was in the 7th Infantry Regiment's sector. The 1st Battalion was brought forward from reserve and sent in to clear the ruins. Initially the advance was lightly opposed, but around 0930 Company C encountered heavy resistance near the railroad tracks. Additional enemy forces controlled the

Continued on page 73

Last Act in the Dutch East Indies

THE CAPTURE OF JAVA BY THE JAPANESE WAS THE CULMINATION OF A LONG SERIES OF DISASTERS FOR THE ALLIED NATIONS IN THE PACIFIC.

BY ARNOLD BLUMBERG

Immediately after the Japanese attack on the United States Naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941, the Japanese realized that the oil reserves needed to carry on their new war against the Western powers were not as adequate as first thought. This unacceptable situation transformed the capture of the Dutch East Indies (DEI) and its oil, at first planned as a desirable strategic objective, into a vital ingredient for Japanese national survival.

To defend the coveted DEI black gold, the island of Java, at 53,589 square miles the 13th largest island on Earth, would become the prime geographic shield for the Japanese. Defensively, this land—sporting a forested northern coastline, a rocky cliff strewn southern coast, and a wooded volcanic mountainous interior—would provide Japan with a buffer against Allied attempts to retake the DEI. Offensively, it pointed like a dagger at Australia in such a way, concurrent with the conquest of New Guinea, that the commonwealth would at the least become isolated and at best open to Japanese invasion.

To conquer Java, the Japanese planned three simultaneous operations intended to improve their tactical position: capturing of the island of Timor to the east to cut off the Allied fighter plane transfer link with Australia; conducting an air raid on the harbor and supply bases at Darwin, Australia, to preclude any immediate reinforcement from there; and securing the island of Bali as a forward fighter base to cover the actual landings on Java.

This last item was deemed especially crucial for success in taking Java, due to the presence of a recently constructed Dutch airstrip equipped to service fighter planes located near the island's capital, Den Passar. The new airfield was only 100 miles from the major American-British-Dutch-Australian (ABDA) naval and air facilities located at Surabaya, Java. Any force of ABDA warplanes based at Den Passar could raise considerable havoc with any force trying to invade the island. Conversely, if the Japanese held Den Passar it would greatly increase their air power's reach beyond the range of their newly seized bases on northern Borneo and provide direct support for the landings on Java. Lastly, the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) would not have to risk bringing aircraft carriers into the restricted waters of the Java Sea to support an invasion of Java.

Japanese planners believed that if they could dominate the skies over Java, then its invasion and conquest would be relatively easy. So the success of their entire southern thrust and the securing of the oil of that region depended on concentrated and sustained airpower over the area.

While the Japanese clearly understood what was required to succeed in taking Java, the newly appointed ABDA commander, British General Sir Archibald Wavell, did not. To be fair, the situation he had only recently inherited became so fluid and his resources to deal with it were so limited that he never had the chance to formulate a clear and workable defense plan. His headquarters and intelligence centers were constantly under aerial attack and became swamped with garbled and conflicting combat reports from many areas of his extended zone of command. When the Japanese assault on Java came, it was so fierce and rapid that Wavell never had the time to set up a proper chain of command to deal with the incessant crises that flooded his vast area of operations.

If the supreme allied commander on the ground was out of touch with the true situation in the DEI, the top Allied military authorities in Washington and London also had only the foggiest notion of what was happening in that distant theater of war. This was clear from their January 3, 1942, order instructing Wavell to launch an all-out counteroffensive with both aerial and fleet participation. In reality, Wavell did not have enough manpower, ships, or planes to conduct a reasonably effective defense let alone a sustained attack.

Wavell's orders also admonished him not to to commit his forces piecemeal, but he really had no other choice since he never had an opportunity to concentrate his limited resources. Japanese pressure was so relentless that exhausted pilots flew six or more sorties each day against overwhelming odds. By mid-February Borneo was entirely gone, and Singapore was in the final stages of its demise. The Homei News Agency trumpeted from Tokyo, "The Japanese flag is flying on the island of Sumatra for the first time in history," as a combined amphibious and parachute assault took place there on February 14-17, 1942, near the important Palembang oil field. After Japanese troops splashed ashore on

Oil tanks on the island of Java burn furiously as a Japanese soldier looks on. The swift capture of the island completed a significant phase in the Japanese blueprint for the conquest of the Dutch East Indies.

National Archives

the 18th, Bali's coveted airstrip was in the hands of the 48th Infantry Division the next day. On the 20th Timor was taken.

The blitz against Java began on February 3, when 60 IJN warplanes roared out of Borneo and the Celebes to down 16 ABDA fighters, six Boeing B-17 Flying Fortress bombers, and 12 flying boats in aerial combat. ABDA communications throughout the area were crippled by constant air attacks that prevented Allied commanders on the ground from taking any effective action. By the 5th, U.S. General Lewis Brereton, deputy chief of ABDA's American air component, admitted that the Allied fighters trying to defend Surabaya were "practically wiped out.... The Japs now have the entire eastern half of Java and adjacent islands under continual fighter and bomber attack, menacing our fighter reinforcement route from Australia."

"Menacing" was an understatement. The rapidly crumbling ABDA defenses were in fact being plastered by 11 IJN air groups. Every reinforcing group of American Curtiss P-40 Tomahawk fighter planes trying to fly north from Darwin, Australia, to Java was decimated along the way by lethal enemy air interception.

By February 20, Java was for all intents isolated by the Japanese, and an invasion was imminent. The fall of Timor cut the Allies' air route from Australia to Java for fighter aircraft. Only multi-engine Allied planes could reach Java after Timor was lost. Further, Allied ships had to travel south and then east to avoid enemy bombers. Due to the devastating air raid on Darwin on February 19, that vital port was made temporarily unusable, and all shipping thereafter was diverted to Perth and Fremantle.

On the 20th, Wavell, who saw that the Allied effort in the DEI was doomed, proposed that the islands be completely evacuated. Originally he had hoped to hold the area after being promised the I Australian Corps, made up of the 6th and 7th Australian Infantry Divisions and totaling 12,000 combat troops. But by mid-February it was clear that I Corps, en route from the Middle East, would not reach Java in its entirety until April 1942. His suggestion to abandon the DEI was rejected by the Combined Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington and by British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. They replied to Wavell, "Every day is of utmost importance. There should be no withdrawal of troops or air forces of any nationality and no surrender."

Soon Wavell was ordered to India to assume the post of commander in chief there, thus being spared the humiliation of seeing the DEI taken by the Japanese while under his charge.

ABDA command was dissolved on February 25, and the defense of Java was handed over to the Dutch and those Allied units that could not be evacuated from the doomed island. In a late and futile attempt to create a coordinated defense of the island, the Americans, after flying their heavy bombers to Australia, placed their few remaining fighter planes and lone artillery battery under Dutch control. The British and Australians likewise put their remaining ground and air units under the Dutch. Understrength and in need of repair and resupply, the ABDA naval contingent remained under the command of Dutch Vice Admiral Conrad E.L. Helfrich.

The Dutch army on Java numbered 25,000 men in four infantry regiments, but in no way was it a modern fighting force. It was organized more as an internal constabulary than a field army. Its troops until recently had been dispersed in platoon-, company-, and few a battalion-size garrisons throughout the many islands of the colony. The regimental structure was merely an administrative entity until the start of hostilities with the Japanese. None of the company units had ever conducted maneuvers or training at the battalion, regimental, or brigade level. Nor did they have any experience in the tactics of combined arms so vital in modern warfare.

There was little artillery, and the available pieces were direct-fire, small-caliber mountain guns. There was a small experimental "mechanized force" of battalion strength containing Vickers light tanks and armored cars. The Dutch headquarters on Java was unsuited to conduct a modern war of movement since it lacked modern communications equipment, the proper tactical doctrine, officer training, and an effective chain of command to control its subordinate military formations.

The Dutch commander on Java, Lt. Gen. Hein Ter Poorten, positioned his force in four command areas: the Batavia Military District under Maj. Gen. Wijbrandus Schilling; the North Central Military District led by Maj. Gen. Jacob J. Pesman; the South Java Military District under Maj. Gen. Pierre A. Cox; and the East Java Military District falling to Maj. Gen. Gustav A. Ilgen. The lack of communications equipment and transport assured that each district contingent would be essentially a static defense force without the ability to react swiftly to enemy movement.

The other Allied ground forces on Java in February and March 1942 consisted of several diverse elements. First, there were five British "regiments" (actually battalions) of British air defense artillery (ADA), mainly armed with 40mm Bofors guns. However, only three of these units had their guns and, along with those lacking them, had been dispersed to guard airfields across the island. Those air defenders without cannons were armed to serve as infantry. Their capacity to fill that new role, one in which they had received very little training, was predictably low. A single squadron of the 3rd Hussar Tank Regiment numbering 25 Vickers light tanks was also available. The commander of all British troops on Java was Maj. Gen. Sir Hervey D.W. Sitwell. Altogether, 5,500 British military personnel were on the island when the Japanese struck.

The largest non-Dutch force on Java was the 3,000-man Australian brigade-size task group known as Blackforce (named after its commander, Lt. Col. Arthur S. Blackburn), which arrived on February 18, 1942. The most capable military contingent on the island, its backbone was the 2nd Machine Gun Battalion, 3rd Machine Gun Regiment (2/3) and the 2nd Battalion, 2nd Pioneer Regiment (2/2). Both units were part of the 7th Australian Infantry Division. The Australians, though lacking much of their authorized logistical support, constituted the one force on the island able to maneuver against a modern enemy. Most of the Australian troops were

Japanese forces landed at multiple points on the island of Java in early 1942, and the ABDA forces on the island were dispersed to the extent that their ability to lend mutual support was severely limited.

AP Photos

Dutch soldiers of the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army march toward a confrontation with the invading Japanese on Java. When enemy forces attacked, the Dutch offered stiff resistance but were compelled to retreat and eventually surrender.

veterans of the fighting in North Africa and Syria, where they had acquitted themselves well.

Blackforce, however, was critically short of communications equipment, especially radios and field telephones. This meant that units that had no time to train together (within Blackforce or attached to it) had to be thrown into the fight without adequate communications, inevitably reducing the unit's battlefield performance.

The only other Allied ground unit on the island was the American 2nd Battalion, 131st Field Artillery Regiment (2/131) of the Texas National Guard. Its 558 men crewed three artillery batteries of four 75mm guns under the command of Lt. Col. Blucher S. Tharp. This unit had been on its way to the Philippines when Pearl Harbor was attacked and had subsequently been shipped first to Australia and then to Java, arriving there on January 11. Unfortunately, the Americans, British, and Dutch all had different artillery, small arms, and machine-gun ammunition, requiring each army to handle its own supplies without being able to share with its allies. As a result, the U.S. artillery unit had only 100 rounds per gun when operations against the Japanese began.

On February 26, the 2/131 was directed to attach one battery to the Dutch defenders at Surabaya and move the rest of the unit to western Java to join Blackforce. The Americans were the only artillery supporting Blackforce and, in terms of training to conduct actual maneuver fire support, the only effective Allied field artillery on Java.

The Allied air forces on the island were the remnants of what had escaped from Singapore, Sumatra, and the Philippines. By late February there were less than 40 shot-up fighters remaining on Java, divided between the airfield at Kalidjati (British Hawker Hurricanes) and Blimbang (American Curtiss P-40s, Dutch Brewster Buffalos, Hurricanes, and a few Curtiss P-36s). Making an already bad situation worse, many of the Dutch aircraft were flown by inexperienced pilots.

The bomber force consisted of a few American B-17s that had not been evacuated to Australia. The rest of the Allied airpower consisted of U.S. Army Air Corps Douglas A-24 dive bombers, six British Bristol Blenheim and six Australian Hudson bombers along with nine ancient Dutch Vildebeste torpedo planes reconfigured to drop bombs. All the air assets were in need of repair.

The Japanese committed the 16th Army, under Lt. Gen. Hitoshi Imamura, to the conquest of Java. It included Lt. Gen. Masao Maruyama's 2nd and Maj. Gen. Yuitsu Tsuchihashi's 48th Infantry Divisions with more than 15,000 men in each formation. Also assigned were two independent combined arms (infantry, artillery, armor, engineer, antiaircraft guns, and transport) brigade-size groups. These latter units were the 3,500-man Shoji Detachment under Colonel Shoji Toshishige from the 38th Infantry Division and Maj. Gen. Sakaguchi Shizuo's 5,500-man Sakaguchi Detachment from the 56th Infantry Division. These units were made up of highly trained and motivated veterans who had seen earlier combat in China, Hong Kong, the East Indies, and the Philippines.

To support their ground troops, the Japanese assembled close to 400 combat aircraft based out of Kendari in the Celebes, Borneo, Sumatra, and Mindanao in the Philippines. Most of the planes belonged to the Naval Air Force's 11th Air Fleet, consisting of the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd Air Flotillas.

To carry the invasion force, which was split into eastern and western attack groups, 97 transport ships escorted by seven cruisers, one light aircraft carrier, and 24 destroyers were mustered into service. The invasion armada was under the command Vice Admiral Ibo Takahashi. In addition, two powerful strike forces led by Vice Admiral Chuichi Nagumo with four aircraft carriers, two cruisers, and a flotilla of destroyers and Vice Admiral Nobutake Kondo with four battleships and four carriers sailed for the Indian Ocean in late February to cut off the Allied escape route south of Java.

As the Japanese armada headed for Java, Allied ground forces prepared to repel the invaders. General Poorten expected the Japanese to simultaneously attack both ends of the island, near Surabaya in the east and Sunda Strait in the west. Allied bombers were to attack enemy transports as far out to sea as possible. The main elements of the ABDA fleet were to engage the opposing naval force when it appeared. On the island itself, General Ilgen's eastern sector, which included the naval base at Surabaya and the rest of the island to the east, was garrisoned by an infantry regiment, a small Dutch Marine battalion, several reserve battalions, and some antiaircraft and artillery battalions. Ilgen also had Battery E, 2nd Battalion, 131st Artillery Regiment attached to his command. His mission was to protect Surabaya and its environs.

Cox's central sector was responsible for defending the middle part of the island and providing the operational reserve force for all of Java. He commanded the 2nd East Indies Division (in reality a brigade size element) and two cavalry battalions.

The western sector held the bulk of the island's defenders where the main enemy landings were anticipated. General Schilling was in charge there, and he oversaw the deployment of the 1st DEI Infantry Division made up of the 1st and 2nd DEI Infantry Regiments, one artillery regiment, a small Dutch mechanized detachment, and various antiaircraft and service units. Schilling's most potent formation was Blackforce. He also had a few British air defense units.

The Allied ground forces on Java were spread widely across the island, which assured that they would engage the Japanese piecemeal. In the

east, Ilgen hoped to delay any enemy advance on Surabaya long enough to allow demolition of the naval base there. In the center, Cox was concerned with keeping the roads to the port town of Tjilatjap, on Java's south coast, open. In the west, Schilling's men were arrayed to protect the towns of Batavia and Bandoeng. Last stands by the defenders were to be made at Bandoeng in the west and the Malang Plateau in the east.

Only in the west did an opportunity exist for Allied offensive action against the Japanese landings. General Schilling and Colonel Blackburn came up with a scheme of maneuver that had Blackforce and one DEI infantry regiment attacking the opposing force's right flank and rear as it advanced on Batavia from projected landing sites at Bantum Bay west of the town. They envisioned the Dutch holding the foe at the Tanjarang River while Blackforce used the southern road from Bandoeng to Djasinga to attack the Japanese right. It was a reasonable plan and could have succeeded if the Japanese had come ashore at Bantum Bay and did not threaten Batavia from any other direction.

Other than the offensive operation concocted by Schilling and Blackburn, there were no other strategies for the coordinated defense of the island. Poorten's one chance—a slim one at best—was to concentrate his forces and assault the Japanese landing beaches one at a time before they could coordinate their efforts. Instead, he pinned his hopes of survival on holding the three main population centers on Java (Batavia, Bandoeng, and Surabaya) as long as possible. In reality, the Allied dispositions could scarcely have been better suited to ensure their speedy defeat.

A harbinger of the inevitable and complete destruction awaiting the defenders on Java occurred on February 27-28 during the Battle of the Java Sea. Determined to fight to the end even as Java was being hemmed in by the Japanese occupation of the surrounding territory, the commander of the ABDA Combined Strike Force, Dutch Rear Admiral Karel W.F.M. Doorman, was ordered to "continue attacks until the enemy is destroyed." This directive set the stage for the largest surface fleet action since the Battle of Jutland 26 years earlier.

Doorman's ships—two heavy cruisers, three light cruisers, and nine destroyers—set sail from Surabaya on the afternoon of February 27 searching for an enemy transport convoy reportedly heading for east Java. This conglomeration of vessels had never fought together as a tactical unit, and the lack of previous joint training, compounded by the different battle doctrine and the language barrier, made the chances of the Allied flotilla's success in any fight problematic.

National Archives

A Boeing B-17 Flying Fortress heavy bomber of the ABDA air forces is consumed by flames in the aftermath of a Japanese air raid on installations at Bandoeng on the island of Java on February 19, 1942. The raid was in preparation for the Japanese invasion of the island, and soon the attackers were in control of the skies.

A running fight with the Japanese convoy's escort resulted in the loss of two Allied ships. When the fleets broke contact, another of Doorman's ships was sunk by a mine as it withdrew. During the night of the 27th, the Allies lost two more ships to enemy action. The Japanese transports were never threatened since they were sent northward at the start of the action and did not resume their run to Java until after the Battle of the Java Sea ended.

The next afternoon, two Allied cruisers blundered into the Japanese Western Invasion Fleet anchored off Bantum Bay. In the resulting Battle of Sunda Strait, the cruisers were sunk after they had destroyed at least two Japanese transports and a minesweeper and damaged an enemy oil tanker, three destroyers, and a light cruiser. In return for a one-day delay of the amphibious assault on Java, Allied naval power in the DEI had been eliminated.

Between February 28 and March 1, the Japanese landed on Java's western and eastern margins. Their plan of conquest hinged on simultaneous landings at three places. The 48th Infantry Division was to make shore at Kragan in the east, move on Surabaya, and then occupy Madoera and the rest of eastern Java. The Sakaguchi Detachment would also land at Kragan but then proceed south to take Tjilatjap. In the west, the 2nd Infantry Division and the headquarters of 16th Army would land at Bantum Bay and then move east to Batavia using the northern coast road and the Djasinga-Buitenzorg road paralleling it to the south. Meanwhile, the Shoji Detachment would land at Eretenwetan and march on the airfield at Kalidjati. From there it would threaten Batavia from the east. After seizing Batavia, the Japanese planned to press south to take Buitzenzorg and then Bandoeng, completing the destruction of any remaining Allied forces in the field.

The landings were carried out at all the designated locations with only minimal resistance from the Dutch forces posted near the shoreline. Although some equipment was lost by the Western Attack Group during the naval fight at Sunda Strait, these losses did not prevent the 2nd Infantry Division from advancing on Batavia shortly after dawn on March 1.

The landing force at Eretenwetan lost some of its barges and light craft along with several dozen personnel when the few remaining Hurricane fighters based at Kalidjati strafed them shortly after dawn. However, the unexpected air attack did not delay the Japanese for long.

The landing sites were also hit by the few American P-40s able to take to the air, but again with only limited success. Those missions were the last flown by the U.S. Army Air Corps on Java. The surviving Yank fighter pilots were evacuated to Australia by March 3.

Hurricanes also strafed the Japanese columns during their advance on Kalidjati, again inflicting casualties but failing to stop their progress. The landings of the Japanese 48th Division and the Sakaguchi Detachment at Kragan were virtually unopposed. On the whole, the Japanese invasion of Java went off like clockwork.

The 48th Division moved quickly on Surabaya. In response, General Ilgen sent his 6th

Infantry Regiment and Dutch Marines forward to the Solo River to buy enough time to complete the demolition of Surabaya's naval and other military facilities. However, he made no use of Battery E or any of the Dutch artillery units available to aid that deployment while there were insufficient forces to guard the many crossing sites on the river.

As a result, Ilgen's screen was easily brushed aside or bypassed by the Japanese, who also managed to capture several intact bridges over the Solo before the Dutch could destroy them. As it turned out, the final defense of Surabaya was left to a motley collection of Dutch units and Battery E.

The Japanese arrived before the city on the afternoon of March 6. After probing the Allied positions, they launched an attack the next day. As the Japanese moved forward most of the Dutch defenders melted away before contact was made. Not so with Battery E. It met the onrushing enemy with both small arms and direct artillery fire over open sights. Its furious resistance caused at least one opposing force to halt its forward movement due to heavy casualties. However, after a few hours the Texas artillerymen had to withdraw because their flanks were uncovered by retreating Dutch units.

By the day's end the Dutch abandoned Surabaya, moving across the bay to the island of Madoera and taking Battery E with them. From there, General Ilgen arranged the surrender of all the Allied forces in and around Surabaya on March 7. Not long after Ilgen gave up, the invaders overran the rest of eastern Java without further Allied resistance.

As the Japanese rolled over the defenders of eastern Java, the Allied defenses in the western part of the island also quickly unraveled. In spite of repeated air attacks, the Shoji Detachment reached the airfield at Kalidjati on the afternoon of March 1. As soon as the Japanese tanks and foot soldiers appeared they were engaged by British Bofors guns, and a fierce firefight developed. The battle raged for several hours before the attackers managed to seize the airstrip after nearly annihilating the defenders.

Meanwhile, the 2nd Division moved from its landing zone at Bantum Bay and headed for Batavia 50 miles to the east by way of the coastal road. The going was slow due to extensive demolition that had been carried out by the Dutch. Hoping to avoid further delay, the 2nd Division commander switched his one reserve infantry regiment to the secondary Djingasa-Buitenzorg road just south of the coastal highway, making that his main axis of attack. As a result, Batavia was threatened from two sides.

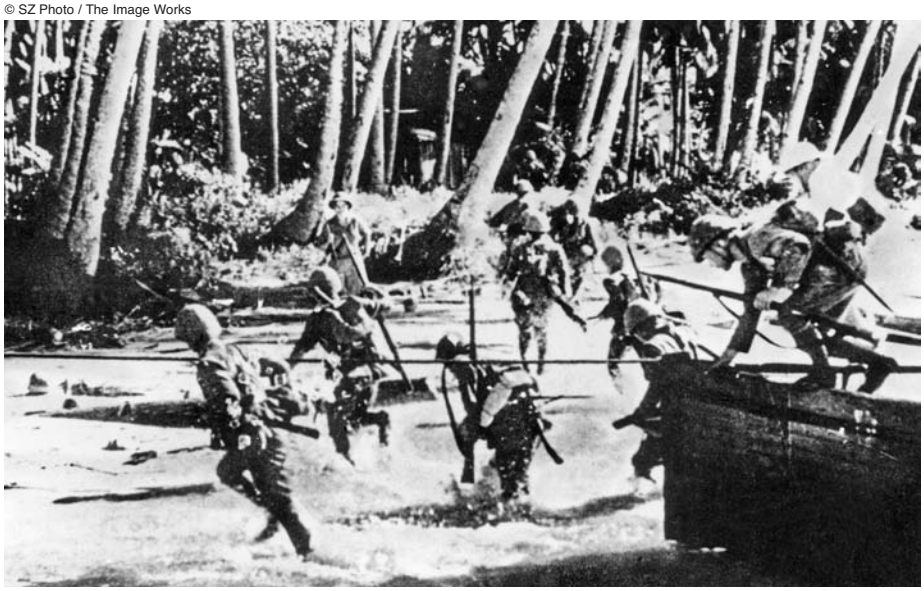
The developing enemy attack on Batavia threw Schilling's preinvasion plan for a counterstroke by Blackforce out the window. The Dutch officer then redirected his attention to the enemy unit moving on Kalidjati just 75 miles southeast of Batavia. He ordered a series of counterattacks against that force, but like most of the offensive actions mounted by the Dutch during the battle for Java they were carried out in a piecemeal and uncoordinated fashion.

The first attack went in on March 2 and temporarily threw back the Japanese spearhead from the town of Soebang. Some Dutch light tanks were able to reach Kalidjati airdrome, but then they became separated from their accompanying infantry. Without infantry support, the armor withdrew from the field after several hours, followed by its infantry comrades who were just arriving. Encouraged by this small success, Schilling struck at Kalidjati again on the 3rd. He reallocated the DEI infantry regiment that had been assigned to Blackforce to the attack on Kalidjati.

Unfortunately for the renewed Dutch effort, the Japanese had decided to provide more assets in support of the Shoji Detachment as a result of the minor setback suffered the day before. The result was a five-hour aerial assault on the infantry formation that Schilling intended to use to reinforce his second attack against Kalidjati. Under a hail of bombs and machine-gun fire, the DEI regiment broke and fled.

Meanwhile, Blackforce had been ordered to take up defensive positions along the Leuwiliang River 75 miles south of Batavia. Its mission was to prevent the enemy from advancing along the Djasinga-Buitenzorg road to Batavia. Blackforce accordingly set up a defensive position with the 2/2 Pioneer Battalion along the river on either side of the destroyed bridge spanning the waterway and the 2/3 Machine Gun Battalion slightly to the 2/2's southeast. The other elements of Blackforce, except for the 2/131 Field Artillery, were in reserve around Buitenzorg.

The American artillerymen were posted behind the 2/2 Pioneers with their batteries divided into two gun detachments. D and F Batteries both placed two guns in direct fire mode along the road to act as antitank weapons. The remainder of the cannons (four pieces) were placed on a small island on a rice paddy a mile back from the blown bridge. The initial plan was to let the Japanese repair the structure and start moving across it before firing on them at close range with small arms and artillery.



Japanese troops swiftly exit their landing barges and cross an invasion beach on Java. Resistance was relatively light, and the invaders rolled forward, suffering few casualties in the opening hours of their offensive to conquer the island.

At noon on March 3, the Japanese sent forward an infantry column spearheaded by armor and aiming for the Leuwiliang Bridge site. As it approached, the Aussies, using Boyes antitank rifles, knocked out the two lead tanks. The Japanese column halted on the road, withdrew out of small arms range, and brought mortars into action.

As the fight on the west side of the river intensified, the American artillery of Batteries D and F, with the aid of a forward observer, shelled the road-bound Japanese force, destroying tanks and trucks along a stretch of the highway to the west. The Japanese were unable to counter the American artillery fire because their artillery had not yet been moved forward. Nor had they been able

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Belgrade BLITZ

BY JOHN W. OSBORN, JR.

GERMAN FORCES OVERRAN YUGOSLAVIA RAPIDLY IN THE SPRING OF 1941.

A Yugoslav Army vehicle burns furiously along the side of the road as a column of the German 11th Panzer Division advances through the village of Nis on April 8, 1941. German forces overwhelmed the Yugoslav military and captured the capital city of Belgrade swiftly in the spring of 1941.

AKG Images

IT was the most exciting scene Associated Press correspondent Robert St. John had yet witnessed in the career he had abandoned for five years to farm in New Hampshire then returned to when he sensed that war was coming.

It was March 27, 1941, and Terrazia, the Times Square of Belgrade, capital of what was then Yugoslavia, was packed with crowds jubilant at their country's sudden stunning, defiance of Adolf Hitler. The mood quickly turned to anger, though, directed at St. John when he began to get down to his job of reporting.

"If I wanted to photograph these scenes I must be a Nazi agent gathering evidence, trying to get onto film the faces of those responsible, so they could be punished in true Nazi style when and if Hitler got this country under his thumb again," he recalled. "That was the way they seemed to figure it."

Early in his journalism career in notorious Cicero, Illinois, the town owned by Al Capone, St. John had been set upon by thugs and left for dead in a ditch. Understandably anxious to avoid a repetition, he waved his passport and a small American flag; the fickle crowd turned to ransacking the tourist agency of Hitler's ally Italy while he took the opportunity to hotfoot it from the square.

Just 10 days later St. John would be back in Terrazia Square to witness a very different, tragic scene before running again—this time right out of the country before one of World War II's briefest but most brutal blitzkriegs, the effects of which would be felt to the end of the 20th century. Yet another American, a female member of a distinguished political-military family, would also be on the run—not from danger but deliberately heading straight into it with near fatal results.

Yugoslavia was the makeshift attempt after World War I to bring the lands and people of the southeastern Balkans, formerly part of the Austro-Hungarian empire of the Hapsburgs, under the rule of the royal house of Serbia. But, it turned out, union did not mean unity. Almost a dozen nationalities and ethnic groups seethed with resentment, none more so than the largest among them, the Croats.

The political powder keg finally exploded in 1929 when a member of a different national group gunned down three Croatian deputies during a riotous session of Parliament. Arguing he needed to act to prevent civil war and secession, Serbian King Alexander I moved swiftly to establish a dictatorship.

The response by Croatian extremists out for independence was to found a terrorist group, the Ustachi, which engineered the king's assassination in France in October 1934.

With his heir Peter II just 11, a cousin, Prince Paul, assumed a regency. The result was power without leadership. The prince, a cultured figure with little interest in or much aptitude for politics, made no secret he was just marking time until he could hand

©SZ Photo / Scherl / The Image Works

A Junkers Ju-87 Stuka dive bomber of the Luftwaffe wings over as its pilot acquires a target while flying above embattled Yugoslavia. RIGHT: Young King Peter II of Yugoslavia confers with President Franklin D. Roosevelt after fleeing Yogoslavia when the Nazis invaded. He never returned again.

responsibility to the king on his 18th birthday in September, 1941.

Unhappily for the prince and tragically for Yugoslavia, Adolf Hitler would not wait. Preparing for his invasion of Greece, Hitler put relentless pressure on the nations of the Balkans to sign his de facto alliance, the Tri-Partite Pact. Robert St. John found himself rushing from capital to capital: "Weeks of 'Will they? Won't they?' Weeks of dope stories based on the slimmest of chancellery gossip. Weeks of writing two or three long dispatches a day trying to keep the story alive while we waited for the inevitable to happen."

Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania fell into line, and St. John found himself waiting in Belgrade for Yugoslavia's turn to fold. Also observing events anxiously there was the other American, the woman of distinguished family, determined to do more about events than merely report on them.

Ruth Mitchell was the daughter of a one-time United States Senator from Wisconsin and the sister of General Billy Mitchell. A journalist herself, she accepted the fateful assignment of covering the comic-opera wedding of Albania's outlandish King Zog I in 1938. "If I had known then what was coming," she would reflect after the end of her ordeal, "would I have turned back? The answer is a completely certain No!"

Intending to stay just a few days for her story, she instead became so intrigued by Albania that she gave up her career to stay and study it. Driven out by the Italian invasion in early 1939, she then moved to Yugoslavia. There she became enthralled by Serbian history and culture. "The Serbs," she was to write, "are a very small race; there were before the war not more than eight million of them. But it is a race of strikingly individual character, of extraordinary tenacity of purpose and ideal. That ideal can be expressed in a single word: Freedom."

With the same uncompromising intensity for a cause and personal flamboyance that had cost brother Billy his military career due to his vocal advocacy of military aviation in the United States, she went so far as to enlist in the legendary Serbian Chetnik militia, complete with fur hat, skull and crossbones emblem, uniform, boots, dagger, and poison pill in case of capture.

"The soul of Serbia on the march! I was a Chetnik—until death," she exulted.

For his part, though, Robert St. John was skeptical. "It seemed to me that Miss Mitchell was just looking for some Hollywood adventure. Well, I thought, she'll probably get all she wants before long."

Foreign Minister Aleksander Cincar-Markovic, then Prime Minister Dragisa Cvetkovic, and finally Prince Paul himself got the feared summons to meet Hitler at Berchtesgaden. "Fear reigned," Churchill would record. "The Ministers and the leading politicians did not dare to speak their minds. There was one exception. An Air Force general named Simovic represented the nationalist elements among the officer corps of the armed forces. Since December his office had become a clandestine center of opposition to German penetration into the Balkans and to the inertia of the Yugoslav government."

Serbian public opinion, remembering their support during World War I and afterward for independence, was overwhelmingly pro-British. "I am out of my head!" Prince Paul bewailed under the strain. After a second visit to Hitler and the assurance—for what it was worth—that all that was wanted was his signature, the prince finally sent Prime Minister Cvetkovic and Foreign Minister Cincar-Markovic to sign the Tri-Partite Pact in Vienna on March 25, 1941. To the protesting minister from the United States, Prince Paul replied bitterly, "You big nations are hard. You talk of honor, but you are far away."

Ruth Mitchell's Serbian friends visited, anguished and humiliated at what they considered the betrayal of a friend. "We had written our capitulation stories, packed our bags, and argued over where the next crisis was likely to break out," St. John later wrote. "But then something happened that forced us to unlimber our typewriters, dig copy paper out of our suitcases, and get to work in Belgrade again."

National Archives

AP Photo

National Archives

ABOVE: Both journalists, Robert St. John (left) of the Associated Press and aristocratic American Ruth Mitchell, pictured here in a Chetnik uniform, witnessed the Nazi conquest of Yugoslavia. Mitchell actively participated in the political and armed unrest that followed.

Prince Paul had warned Hitler that if he signed the pact he would not last another six months in power. He would be off in his calculations by five months and 28 days.

The day after the signing, demonstrations, started by students, erupted on the streets of Belgrade. As he watched, a secret policeman

next to St. John remarked, "You newspaper boys better keep your pencils sharp. Things are going to happen in Yugoslavia yet!"

At 2:30 the next morning, St. John was awakened by a phone call from a colleague who informed him that troops and tanks were in the streets. Rushing out, he was soon led under guard to a park to join prostitutes, cleaning women, and other night-crawlers.

"We were watching the unfolding of a first class, full-dress coup d'etat," he recognized.

Without a shot, government buildings were occupied and ministers arrested at their homes. At the palace, the guards opened the gates to the rebels without resistance while young King Peter II climbed down a drainpipe to join them. Soon, General Simovic, the leader of the revolt, arrived to announce, "Your Majesty, I salute you as King of Yugoslavia. From this moment you will exercise your full sovereign power."

Prince Paul had been heading to his country estate for a badly needed rest. He would get a longer one. His train was intercepted and rerouted back to Belgrade. Under guard, he was then trooped into the office of the new prime minister, General Simovic, to sign his resignation. He finally reboarded his train with many of his ministers for a new destination, Greece. They were luckier than they knew. Ruth Mitchell had been tipped that the Chetniks were launching their own coup, which intended to leave none of them alive. Foreign Minister Cincar-Markovic was one the few kept on in the new regime, with a personally tragic consequence.

"Few revolutions have gone more smoothly," Churchill would comment. The king, who had just learned to drive, without guards creeped and beeped his way through the packed, wild, streets.

The euphoria soon wore off as the grim reality of their position began to set in on the Serbs. Just three days after the coup, the new government timidly announced it would abide by the Tri-Partite Pact after all.

It was already too late. Hitler had reacted to the news of the coup with an awesome, eardrum-bursting blast of blind fury, then issued Directive 25 not merely to invade but to completely destroy Yugoslavia. "The tornado is going to burst upon Yugoslavia with breathtaking suddenness," he vowed.

At the main planning session with high-ranking henchmen, Hitler made another statement that was to doom a country. The officer taking down the minutes felt compelled to underline it: "The beginning of Operation Barbarossa will have to be postponed up to four weeks."

"Belgrade those last two days of peace was a weird place," Robert St. John would remember. "A heavy, depressing atmosphere hung over the city." He went to the train station to see the German legation depart but noticed the military attaché was not there. One of the officials made a remark that left him pondering the meaning. "We'll be back soon. Probably very soon. And when we come we'll bring a few souvenirs for you boys."

St. John would not be there to see them when they returned. He was ordered to report the next day, Palm Sunday, April 6, 1941, at 3 PM for an immediate expulsion order. Back in his hotel for his last night in Yugoslavia, he got a new head scratcher, a call from the Associated Press office in Berlin cryptically suggesting he not go to bed. "We think up here it would be an excellent night for you [to be] listening to the music from the Berlin broadcasting station."

St. John dutifully kept vigil all night. Finally, at 4 AM German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop suddenly came on the air. St. John could not make out what he was shouting about, but Ruth Mitchell, at home, did. "The bombs fall and already now this instant Belgrade is in flames."

St. John phoned a Yugoslav colleague. "War! War! War is here, St. John," the Yugoslav responded.

With another American reporter, St. John rushed to the balcony of his hotel room. "We heard the planes before we saw them," he would later describe. "At first it was just a faint drone. Like a swarm of bees a long way off. Then louder, louder! LOUDER!"

The Yugoslav military attaché in Berlin learned of the sledgehammer blow about to fall but had been, foolishly and fatally, disbelieved in Belgrade. Now more than 300 Luftwaffe aircraft—dive bombers, medium bombers, fighters— were heading in to commence one of the war's worst terror bombings, codenamed bluntly and brutally Operation Punishment.

St. John and his colleague quickly tore down the stairs as explosions shook the hotel to wait it out in the crowded, panic-filled lobby. At home, Ruth Mitchell was sheltering under the stairwell while bombs were falling scarcely 20 yards away. "The effect was almost inconceivable," she would write. "It wasn't the noise or even so much the concussion. It was the perfectly appalling wind that was most terrifying. It drove like something solid through the house: every door that was latched simply burst off its hinges, every pane of glass flew into splinters, the curtains stood straight out into the room and fell back into ribbons."

The only Yugoslav aircraft to get airborne were, ironically, Messerschmitt Me-109 fighters supplied earlier by Germany. Those not brought down by the far more experienced Luftwaffe sometimes were by mistaken anti-aircraft fire from the ground. The Luftwaffe struck around the clock in waves every two to four hours. St. John used one lull to pick his way through the rubble for the U.S. Legation.

He passed a truck stacked with dead, the ramp down with legs sticking out. He went through Terrazia Square, scene of the celebra-

A Yugoslav civilian, perhaps under duress, points to positions he believes are occupied by units of the Yugoslav Army. His Nazi interrogators appear in a hurry to continue their advance.

tions he had witnessed then had run from just 10 days before. "Pieces of peoples' bodies," he saw. "Jewelry and groceries and clothing out of shop windows. Glass and stone. Chunks of bombs and jagged pieces of tin roofing."

St. John was certain the Germans had dive bombed the square in revenge for the celebrations there. One body riveted his attention, that of a young woman in an evening dress. "I looked down on her," he recalled, "and wondered where she had been last night, to still have on an evening dress at five o'clock in the morning. Then I noticed her right leg. Half of it was gone. Sawdust trickled out of the stump. My lovely brunette had been blown out of a shop window."

St. John finally reached the Legation followed soon after by Ruth Mitchell in her Chetnik uniform. "Where's your horse? I asked her," St. John later wrote. "She didn't laugh."

She had good reason. Along her own way through the devastation she had come upon a scene "which will haunt me while I live—a gaping hole where an air raid shelter had been and in the trees around legs and arms, many of them so pathetically, tragically, small, dangling from the branches."

At the time he was to have been expelled, St. John was driving out of Belgrade during another air raid. At his side was a young Serbian girl who asked for his help and proved invaluable in hunting for food and lodging in the days ahead. King Peter was again at the wheel amid the motorized mob. He would never see his capital again.

"The vehicles on that road leading out of Belgrade were a strange sight," St. John later recorded. "There was everything in the parade that man had ever invented to run on wheels, from the crudest kind of oxcart you ever saw, up to some diplomatic limousines fancy enough for an Indian Maharajah …

"The people we felt really sorry for were those who had everything they owned tied in bundles on the end of sticks they carried over their shoulders. Instead of following the winding highway, these footloose people trudged across the fields because that way was shorter, even though they did have to struggle down through little valleys and then up steep hills. That ribbon of people is still one of the most vivid pictures of the whole war."

The absence of panic made St. John wonder if Americans would react the same way. He doubted it. "The difference, I suppose," he reflected, "is that those poor Europeans, and especially people like the Serbs, are so used to war and destruction that they have got resignation in their bones. They just take it. There isn't much else they can do."

Ten miles out of the city St. John stopped on a hilltop for a final look. "We could see Belgrade," he recalled. "Burning Belgrade. Belgrade already well on the way to becoming a city of silent people. Except that a lot of these men and women lying around in the streets were probably still moaning for help and a drink and something to stop the pain.

"We could see the smoke from dozens of fires. And up through the smoke the red flames. It looked as if there was another air raid going on. We were too far away to hear sounds distinctly, but what we did hear was a dull noise that was probably a brew of all the miseries of war mixed together. The noises of planes and guns and sirens and falling buildings.

"But what made us think the raid was going on in earnest again were the little dark dots in the sky and the puffs of white smoke, which we knew came from the shrapnel set up by the ack-ack guns as they tried so hard and generally so futilely to pin one on the bombers."

In the late afternoon the Germans had been dropping incendiaries to light up the city for the night attacks. Ruth Mitchell had been among those fleeing on foot and from a village had the same, grim, view as St. John. "The great city on the Danube seemed to be one blazing bonfire. Great tongues of fire would burst suddenly, glare fiercely for a while and slowly sink away. Suddenly heavy clouds of smoke coiled upwards, billowing, writhing, twisting into the sky, reflecting on their black bellies the angry glare that must have been visible for hundreds of miles across the huge river and the limitless flat plain."

When the air assault and slaughter ended after two horrific days, the city of Belgrade was in ruins and an estimated 17,000 were dead. Robert St. John, who had just come for a story, quickly decided it was hopeless to continue reporting so he had to get out of Yugoslavia.

Ruth Mitchell, who had found a cause,

Bundesarchiv Bild 146-1973-035-10; Photo: Unknown

ABOVE: French-built Renault tanks of sit derelict and destroyed along a dirt road somewhere in Yugoslavia. Superior German arms and the coordinated blitzkrieg tactics they employed inflicted a rapid defeat on the Yugoslav Army during the spring of 1941. OPPOSITE: Wading across a small stream and prominently waving white flags, Yugoslav soldiers approach German troops and surrender, preferring captivity to the prospect of combat with an enemy that was already experienced in warfare and confident of victory. During their swift conquest of Yugoslavia, the Germans swept aside most of the organized resistance they encountered.

elected to stay. "I was full to the brim and running over with fury," were her feelings. "I swore to myself that while there was breath in my body I would fight to save what those monsters of cruelty would leave of a people whose dream they could never understand." But her personal crusade was to end before it could get started—and her real ordeal would begin.

Less than an hour after the bombing of Belgrade had commenced, the ground invasion got underway. "It is vital for the blow to fall on Yugoslavia without mercy. There must never again be a Yugoslavia," Hitler had decreed. Yugoslavia's neighbors had been bullied under the Tri-Partite Pact to join in or permit passage of German troops. Hungary's foreign minister, who not long before signed a friendship treaty with Belgrade, alone made an honorable, if futile, protest—he shot himself.

The invasion had been so hastily ordered that some Wehrmacht units were still en route from as far as Germany, or just getting orders. Fully eight divisions would not get there in time, but those that were there proved enough to overwhelm the hapless Yugoslavs.

The German Twelfth Army and 1st Panzer Group attacked from Bulgaria, the German Second Army and Hungarian 3rd Army from Austria, Hungary, and Romania, and finally the Italian 2nd Army from occupied Albania. To meet the multisided onslaught, the Yugoslav Army had almost a million men. It was an army, though, with antiquated weapons, a transport system based on the sluggish oxcart (a Yugoslavian unit required a whole day to cover the distance an equally sized but motorized German one could speed across in an hour), and a defense plan stubbornly based on holding the entire 1,900-mile border instead of withdrawing to more defensible positions as the British had urged.

And just how weak these border defenses turned out to be was glaringly exposed as a German bicycle company jumped the gun and pedaled more than 10 miles before having to fire a shot! However, the greatest weakness of all for the Yugoslavian Army was its other, equally deadly, enemy—the one from within.

"It is a sad fact," Ruth Mitchell was to bitterly comment, "that Yugoslavia, of all the small nations of Europe, is the only one in which a large portion of her army with its regular officers turned traitor to their oaths." That portion she was referring to was the Croats, who saw the invasion as an opportunity to throw off Serbian rule and eagerly took with a long-simmering vengeance.

One Croatian officer had defected to the Germans three days before the invasion with Yugoslavia's air defense plans, enabling the Germans to pinpoint targets, particularly government buildings, in bombing Belgrade, then to locate local airfields to catch and destroy the obsolete Yugoslav air force on the ground. More than 1,600 others, 95 percent of the Croatian officers in the army, also deserted to the Germans while Serbian officers by the hundreds were murdered by their Croatian troops.

Equipment was disabled, communications disrupted, transport diverted. Croatian soldiers would wave on or outright cheer passing German formations. One was notoriously filmed handing over his rifle and, with a stupid grin on his face, offering to shake hands as the German smashed the weapon on the ground and, with obvious disdain, walked away.

From her train window Ruth Mitchell watched Croatians celebrating, with the royal Yugoslav flag hung with contempt upside down. The train repeatedly came under fire from mutineers. "Suddenly a sharp burst of firing. The train jerked to a stop. Our soldiers, yelling raucous curses at the Croats, tramped down the corridor, jumped out and down the embankment. Violent firing continued for 10 or 15 minutes. I could watch the flashes of the guns as our Serbs hunted the traitors among the trees and shrubs along the embankment."

She got a further glimpse of the hopelessness of Yugoslavia's position when she met on the train a Montenegrin peasant, gaunt, clothes in tatters, rags around his feet instead of shoes, who told her how he had rushed off from home to fight armed with just a knife. "There were only big iron monsters—tanks in long rows coming down on us. And what use—what use are knives against tanks?" he kept repeating.

The terrain at times was a more stubborn adversary. German armor so rutted the dirt roads that oxen were seized from the Yugoslavs to pull supply vehicles. Skopje fell to the German Twelfth Army on the second day, sealing off the border with Greece. When the news hit Sarajevo, which he had reached, St. John knew what that meant. "Poor Yugoslavia was hemmed in on three sides. The necklace of steel was tightening…. And it meant that all those thousands of people in Sarajevo had only one way out now. The Adriatic!"

Good Friday in Sarajevo was anything but as the city was repeatedly bombed—St. John sadly watching soldiers shoot at the aircraft, then dance around thinking they had driven them off—and diamonds were being offered for gasoline. "It was a battle of wits, with no tricks barred," St. John would say about the relentless hunting for gas. "Whenever we parked the Chevrolet anywhere, one of us had to stand guard to make sure some unscrupulous or hysterical refugee wouldn't break the lock on the gas tank and siphon out our last drop of fuel."

With panic full on, the scenes in Sarajevo's cafes reminded him "of the New York Stock Exchange on a two-million trading day." Luckily, St. John remembered an army depot outside of town; the officer in charge, resigned to the Germans coming, let him have all the gaso-

Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-169-0916-15; Photo: Heber

ABOVE: Tanks and troops of the German Army advance during the invasion of Yugoslavia. Among these German armored vehicles are three Hotchkiss tanks apparently captured during the invasion of France. OPPOSITE: Riding motorcycles, soldiers of the German SS Division Das Reich pause during the assault on Belgrade. A small motorized detachment of Das Reich led by Captain Fritz Klingenberg captured Belgrade in an audacious and brilliantly executed advance.

line he needed.

With the Yugoslav command structure destroyed by design in the bombing of Belgrade and the king and government on the run, Yugoslav forces in the field were leaderless. On his flight for the coast St. John met general staff officers who took their time dining and chatting with him. "Members of the Yugoslav General Staff, on the eve of a great military debacle, were spreading butter on salted biscuits and talking about things that didn't matter and never had mattered and never would matter," he would recall with dismay.

The Germans often simply bypassed what pockets of resistance there were. One Yugoslav unit made a desperate nighttime charge out of the woods against a village Germans were billeted in. Grabbing their boots, helmets, and weapons, the Germans, still in their underwear, soon drove off the attackers.

Racing 100 miles a day, the German Second Army rolled into the Croatian capital, Zagreb, on April 11, to be cheered for the first time in the war by a non-German population. The Ustachi declared independence and set up the most crazed, murderous, quisling regime of the war. "In the north of Yugoslavia the front is breaking up with increasing rapidity," General Franz Halder of the German General Staff, who knew what they were doing, recorded in his diary. "Units are laying down their arms or taking the road to captivity. One cycle company captures a whole [unit] with its staff. An enemy divisional commander radios his superior officer that his men are throwing down their arms and going home."

The German Twelfth Army had broken through a strong defense line of bunkers and antitank batteries then driven northwest 213 miles through the Morava Valley in seven days toward Belgrade. Other Wehrmacht units were closing in from the southeast, through Serbia where resistance had been the stiffest, and from the west, but all were beaten to the prize by a tiny unit of the hated rival, the Waffen SS.

A motorcycle assault company of the SS Das Reich Divison led by Captain Fritz Klingenberg and attached to the German Second Army reached the opposite, north bank of the Danube on the morning of April 12, 1941. Though the river was flooded, Klingenberg located a motorboat and with a lieutenant, a pair of sergeants, and five privates grandly set off to conquer a capital.

They were nearly swamped, but crossed successfully. On shore they surprised a score of Yugoslav soldiers who, at the sight of them, just dropped their weapons and threw up their hands. When Yugoslav military vehicles arrived shortly afterward, Klingenberg fired on them, boarded, and then headed into the ruined city.

With no one to stop him, he made his way to the wreck that had been the Ministry of War, then drove on, weaving through the rubble, to the German Legation. It was untouched. The Luftwaffe had spared the blocks around it.

The military attaché, Robert St. John noticed, had not left, and Klingenberg ran up the Swastika at 5 PM to proclaim Belgrade's fall. The mayor appeared two hours later with what little authority he had left to make it official, and the next morning German armor crunched the debris to make it final.

The last major city left, Sarajevo, fell two days later. Cruelly fitting, the Yugoslav government official who surrendered the country had signed Yugoslavia's first capitulation to Hitler in Vienna just a month before—Foreign Minister Aleksander Cincar-Markovich.

King Peter and Prime Minister Simovic had flown out from one of the few remaining operational airstrips incongruously aboard another German aircraft purchased during better days with Berlin, a Junkers Ju-88. Along the way they ran short on fuel and had to put down at a makeshift British airfield in Greece, with airmen rushing it with pistols in hand.

"And I'm Father Christmas!" an irate British pilot responded when the young king identified himself. "Now come on, get out."

After the king convinced the British of his identity, Simovic passed out on gin and had to be carried back on board for the flight to Athens. Aboard British aircraft now, this was the beginning for King Peter II of a long, sad road leading to Jerusalem, Cairo, London—and ending on a barstool in Los Angeles.

Robert St. John would make his own perilous escape from Yugoslavia. On a winding mountain road he passed troops building tank traps and reflected on the futility. More hopefully, he saw others, rifles on their shoulders, heading up into the forests to launch what became one of World War II's epic guerrilla resistance movements.

He delivered his Serbian companion to her family, and his last memory of Yugoslavia was the sight of her in his rear view mirror waving proudly. At the coast he and three other journalists boarded a 24-foot sardine boat to sail down along the coast for Greece.

The only one with any experience at sea, however, was St. John, who had swabbed the deck of a Navy transport during World War I. The voyage soon turned into a desperate struggle against pelting rain and stiff wind, requiring bobbing and constantly bailing.

"Several times the combined force of the wind and waves tore the oars from our hands, and we had to risk drowning to grab them as they flew through the air and landed on the water," St. John would be lucky to write later. The most dangerous moment came when an Italian warship spotted them and trained its guns. St. John and the others held up an American flag and, after several tense minutes, they were waved on.

After four days they reached the island of Corfu on April 20, 1941. From there St. John

reached the Greek mainland only to be caught up in the German blitzkrieg there. After surviving more bombings he squeezed aboard what turned out to be the last British evacuation ship. From there it passed through Crete just before the German invasion, then went on to Alexandria, Cairo, Cape Town, and finally reached New York.

Back home he was advised to go easy on his remarks at an after-dinner lecture and rest in the country to forget and find perspective. "I didn't make pleasant remarks in that lecture," he concluded in his account of his experiences in *Yugoslavia and Greece, From the Land of Silent People* (1942).

"I didn't go to the country to try to forget. Maybe I don't have any perspective," he wrote.

Ruth Mitchell also made her way to the coast, reaching Dubrovnik. Along the way she met British diplomats who offered to evacuate her. "I did think about it all that night…. But, of course, my choice had been made a long time ago, when I became a Chetnik," she was, like St. John, fortunate to write later.

Italian forces arrived, and she gamely mapped their positions while preparing to rejoin the Chetniks. But the day before she was set to flee, on May 22, 1941, she was arrested by the Gestapo. Sentenced to death as a spy she was imprisoned in Belgrade, then in Germany. In the end she would sail from Lisbon aboard the last shipload of repatriated Americans, to reach New York on June 30, 1942, and later tell of her own eventual time in *The Serbs Choose War* (1943).

Ruth Mitchell proved luckier than the 6,028 officers and 337,684 soldiers of the Yugoslavian Army who also went, but stayed, in captivity. The poisonous ethnic hatreds that doomed Yugoslavia to swift, ignominious defeat and the decades of suffering that lay ahead were reflected in how fewer than two percent of those prisoners were Croats who refused the Nazis' offer of release.

The last Yugoslavian casualty of the invasion did not die until 1970. He was the sad, booze-bloated shell of the trim young man who, for a brief moment, had been the hope and idol of at least part of his country, King Peter II.

Driven out by Hitler then kept out by Tito, he could never adjust to exile or abandon the fantasy of one day returning to his throne. Fed up with his maudlin self-pity, his wife, a Greek princess, finally gave up on him and left. He ended his days in Los Angeles, destitute, despondent, drinking (the author's late father, a used car dealer in Long Beach, had a repossessor working for him who knew the king in LA's dingier establishments). When liver failure finally put him out of his misery at just 47, the King–for-ten-days made a final bit of royal history. He was the only king ever to die in the United States.

To borrow from Churchill, Yugoslavia's swift surrender proved only the end of the beginning for what lay ahead. As brutal as they were, the German and Italian occupations paled in comparison to the reign of terror the Ustachi in Croatia launched against Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies. When the Communists defeated the Chetniks and took over, a Croat would finally be leader of all of Yugoslavia, but Tito's rule proved more iron fisted, not least against his own people, than any Serb king could have imagined.

When Communism and the Cold War ended, so did Yugoslavia finally. The breakup, though, soon turned into a nightmare of war, ethnic cleansing, wholesale massacre, and systematic rape culminating in the 1999 NATO bombing campaign.

It would not be until 2000, when the Serbian strongman at the bottom of the turmoil, Slobodan Milosevic, was voted from office by his war-weary people and died in United Nations custody while being tried as a war criminal, did the ordeal that started that Palm Sunday finally come to an end. Ironically, separated, the parts of what became generically referred to as the former Yugoslavia became what they could never be as a whole—prosperous and democratic.

Ironically, in his furious determination to obliterate Yugoslavia, Hitler very likely brought about his own self-destruction. The cost of the invasion did, at the moment, seem cheap—151 dead, 392 wounded, 15 missing, but, as the well-known chronicler of the Third Reich's rise and fall, William L. Shirer, noted, the real price was paid later. "The postponement of the attack on Russia in order that the Nazi warlord might vent his personal spite against a small Balkan country which had dared to defy him was probably the most single catastrophic decision in Hitler's career.

"It is hardly saying too much to say that in making it that March afternoon in the Chancellery in Berlin during a moment of convulsive rage he tossed away his golden opportunity to win the war and to make the Third Reich, which he had created with such stunning if barbarous genius, the greatest empire in German history and himself the master of Europe.

"Field Marshal von Brauchitsch, the Commander of the German Army, and General Halder, the gifted Chief of the General Staff, were to recall it with deep bitterness but also with more understanding of the consequences than they showed at the moment of its making, when later the deep snow and subzero temperatures of Russia hit them three or four weeks short of what they thought they needed for final victory. Forever afterward they and their fellow generals would blame that hasty, ill-advised decision of a vain and infuriated man for all the disasters that ensued."

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LONG-RANGE Fighter Escort

BY GENE J. PFEFFER

ON August 17, 1942, the 97th Bomb Group began the opening attack of the U.S. Army Air Forces' (USAAF) strategic bombing campaign against Germany. The mission was a strike by 12 Boeing B-17 Flying Fortresses against the railroad marshalling yards at Rouen, 40 miles into France from the English Channel.

The 12 bombers were escorted by four squadrons of Supermarine Spitfire fighters of the Royal Air Force (RAF). The first plane off the ground was flown by Major Paul Tibbets, who three years later would pilot the B-29 Superfortress *Enola Gay* on its historic mission against Hiroshima. Sitting across from Tibbets was Colonel Frank Armstrong, the 97th commander. Armstrong was to serve as the model for Colonel Frank Savage, the lead character played by Gregory Peck in the famous World War II film *Twelve O'Clock High!*

On hand for the launch of the mission was Maj. Gen. Carl "Tooey" Spaatz, the commander of the USAAF Eighth Air Force, the primary organizational element that would carry the air war to Germany. Riding along in one of the strike aircraft was Brig. Gen. Ira Eaker, commander of the Eighth Bomber Command, the bomber component of the Eighth Air Force bomber and fighter forces. Eaker had spent most of his career as a fighter pilot not as a bomber disciple. However, he was convinced that daylight strategic bombing could inflict catastrophic damage on the fighting capability and military production capacity of an enemy.

This first raid was moderately successful, if pitifully small. About half the bombs fell within

In this painting by artist Richard Taylor titled *Wounded Warrior,* a Boeing B17G Flying Fortress heavy bomber nicknamed *Silver Meteor,* returns from a mission to bomb the city of Munich, Germany, on July 11, 1944. The bomber was hit several times by German antiaircraft fire, and when the prospects for a safe return looked bleak, two ace fighter pilots of the Eighth Air Force, Bud Anderson and Kit Carson, roared to the rescue, fending off Luftwaffe fighter pilots who had anticipated an easy kill. When the North American P-51 Mustangs came into view, the Germans rapidly dispersed.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LONG-RANGE ESCORT FIGHTERS WAS ONE CONTRIBUTOR TO THE PROGRESS OF THE ALLIED BOMBING CAMPAIGN AGAINST NAZI GERMANY.

the target area; some rolling stock was destroyed, about one third of the track lines were damaged, and there were no bomber losses. After the raid Spaatz wrote to General Henry "Hap" Arnold, chief of the Army Air Forces, "It is my opinion and conviction that the B-17 is suitable as to speed, armament, armor, and bomb load." Eaker was more questioning. He wrote, "It is too early in our experiments in actual operations to say that it can definitely make deep penetrations without fighter escort and without excessive losses." These were prophetic words.

The buildup of the aircraft and trained crews in southern England for Eighth had been slow. There were fewer than 100 B-17s in England at the time of this August 1942 mission. Far less than 100 aircraft were mission capable. Under increasing pressure from top U.S. political and military leaders to take the war to Germany, to do something with all the men and machines allocated to it, it was inevitable that Eighth Air Force missions would start as soon as possible.

The form of warfare embodied in this first mission was the air strategy that Arnold, Spaatz, and Eaker had helped develop—unescorted daylight precision bombing of enemy industrial and military targets. In writing to Arnold before this first mission, Eaker said, "The theory that daylight bombardment is feasible is about to be tested when men's lives are put at stake."

And tested it would be. As missions were pushed beyond the range of protecting British and American fighters, German fighters and air defense artillery destroyed American bombers

at a great rate. By August 1943, a year after that initial raid, five times as many American bombers and airmen would be lost in attacks on two German industrial centers as had flown on that first mission. In the August 1943 dual raid on Regensburg and Schweinfurt, Colonel Curtis LeMay led 146 bombers against Regensburg while Brig. Gen. Robert Williams led 230 bombers against Schweinfurt. The bombers were escorted for parts of the missions by U.S. Republic P-47 Thunderbolt fighters, but because of their limited range they could only go as far the western German border.

The German defenders had great advantages. The Luftwaffe fighter force was up in strength and could fly multiple sorties from its nearby bases. Twenty-four bombers of the 146 dispatched, carrying 240 crew members, were lost from the Regensburg force. From the 230 dispatched to Schweinfurt, 36 failed to return to bases in England. Combined, the two forces lost 60 of 376 bombers for a loss rate of 16 percent. But this number only told part of the story. In fact, an additional 20 percent of the attacking bombers were permanently lost to operations as a result of battle damage. In all, the raids cost the Eighth Air Force 40 percent of the bomber force dispatched from England.

Mission results were spotty. At Regensburg the aircraft plant was put completely out of action, but only briefly. At Schweinfurt, ball bearing production dropped by 38 percent, but it quickly recovered. These combined missions demonstrated clearly that for the Eighth Air Force the cost was too high. Both the aircrews and the senior leadership saw that such loss rates could not be sustained over the long haul.

Why were loss rates so high? Some historians have argued that the losses experienced on raids like Regensburg-Schweinfurt demonstrated clearly and unequivocally that the concept of unescorted daylight precision bombing was a failed strategy. Could Army Air Forces' planners and leaders not have foreseen that German fighters would inflict unacceptable and unsustainable losses to the bombers unless they were escorted by protecting fighters? Why wasn't an effective escort fighter available before late 1943? Were Army Air Forces leaders blinded to the flaws in the bombing strategy they had developed?

A close look at the historical facts demonstrates that it was not ignorance, hubris, or a misplaced commitment to their own thinking that led them to conclude that in 1942 and through the fall of 1943 the concept of unescorted daylight precision bombing was sound. Rather, it was a cold logic based on what was known and knowable at the time. To understand why this is so, it is necessary to understand the context of the times in which the planners and leaders worked.

B-17 Flying Fortress bombers of the U.S. Eighth Air Force maintain formation above the German city of Regensburg during a daylight bombing raid. The Americans maintained that greater accuracy was achieved during daylight raids, but German flak and fighters took a fearful toll on the bombers.

National Archives

The U.S. concept of strategic bombardment derived from the theories of airpower thinkers like Brig. Gen. Billy Mitchell, who saw what even the primitive airpower of World War I could do. The resulting concepts were developed and refined at the Air Corps Tactical School (ACTS) at Maxwell Field in Alabama from 1926 until the beginning of the war in Europe. Although the ACTS taught these concepts to many airpower advocates, its doctrine lacked formal War Department approval. Accordingly, the spread of the doctrine was initially limited. The ACTS strategic bombing doctrine included the following components:

- The national objective of war is to break the enemy's will to resist and force the enemy to submit to our will.
- The accomplishment of this goal requires offensive warfare.
- The special mission of air is the attack on the entire enemy national structure to dislocate its military, political, economic, and social activities.
- The disruption of the enemy's industrial network is the real target because such a disruption might produce a collapse sufficient to induce surrender.

In 1935, the Army Air Corps took action to acquire a weapon system, although in small numbers, that enabled it to carry out its strategy—the four engine B-17 Flying Fortress heavy bomber. Its design was based on the technology then available, and it was initially sold as a weapon for coastal defense against naval threats. Fast for its time and well armed by contemporary standards, the B-17 was designed to fly in large numbers in a self-protecting formation for mutual defensive gunfire. Unaware of the British development of radar in 1935 as a means of detecting and tracking aircraft, the ACTS theorists believed, based on World War I and interwar experience, that bomber formations would reach their targets undetected or could fend off their attackers. They further expected to encounter the enemy only over the target, where the enemy would concentrate defenses rather than having to conduct a long-running battle to and from the objective.

The state of prewar fighter and air defense technology supported these views. When strategic bombing theory was being developed at the ACTS, the leading edge fighter aircraft of the time had an externally braced single wing, a fixed landing gear, an open cockpit, short range, and light armament. These fighters could hardly keep up with a high-flying B-17 bomber in speed and took a long time to get to a bomber's altitude. In fact, early versions of the Hawker Hurricane, the RAF's first mono-

National Archives

ABOVE LEFT: The experimental YB-40, a heavily armed and armored aircraft intended to escort bomber formations over occupied Europe and particularly into the heart of the Third Reich, proved an impractical failure in 1942. ABOVE RIGHT: As a B-17 bomber turns toward home, industrial targets in the German city of Schweinfurt billow smoke. An August 1943 Eighth Air Force raid on Schweinfurt cost the Americans 60 Flying Fortresses and their crews. Losses were attributed to both German antiaircraft fire and fighters as the limited range of American Republic P-47 Thunderbolt fighters restricted their ability to escort the B-17s to many targets inside Germany.

winged fighter, were not fielded even in small numbers until mid-1938. To think in the early 1930s that the United States or any nation could within a few years develop a short-range, 380 mile-per-hour pursuit fighter with a closed cockpit, retractable landing gear, a cantilever wing, and internally mounted machine guns or cannons would have been extraordinary. But, that is exactly what happened.

Designing a rugged, fast, lightweight, highly maneuverable, and well-armed interceptor such as the Hurricane, the Spitfire, or the Messerschmitt Me-109 was one thing. Developing an effective long-range escort fighter was another matter. From 1935 to 1940, the design of an escort fighter that could fly fast enough to protect the bomber stream, had sufficient range to reach the target and return, and yet had good enough performance to fight successfully against enemy interceptors was judged by leading aeronautical engineers as not technically feasible. The extra fuel requirements alone seemed to make the escort heavier than the enemy's interceptors, negatively impacting performance.

Even though the Army Air Corps, the predecessor to the USAAF, began a program in 1940 to explore ways to extend the range of fighters, the prevailing attitude of the Air Corps senior leadership was that the complete technology package for an effective, long-range, single-seat escort fighter was simply not available. Air Corps planners noted in 1941, "The technical improvements to the strategic bombardment airplane are or can be sufficient to overcome the pursuit airplane." But they also noted, "It is unwise to neglect development of escort fighters designed to enable bombardment formations to fight through to the objective."

As early as 1940, Lt. Col. Hal George, a bomber advocate and planner, was telling General Arnold that it appeared to him that bombers would definitely need fighter protection. But the aircraft envisioned by these planners was not a single-seat, high-performance fighter, but rather a convoy defender, a B-17 or similar large multi-engine aircraft modified to carry more armor, more guns, and more ammunition. Such a prototype, the YB-40, was to later prove in 1942 to be both costly and a complete failure in combat. In 1941, Arnold appointed a board of pursuit and matériel officers to recommend the future development of escort fighter aircraft. The board could not overcome the seeming disparity between the operational requirements for an effective escort fighter and the technology then available. The board made no recommendations.

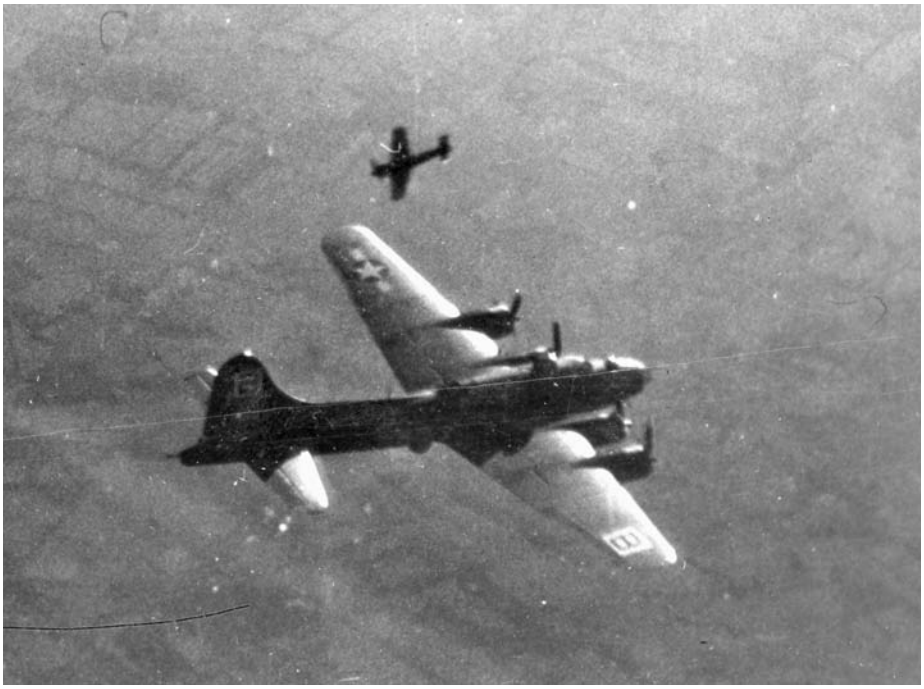
Through 1942, the attitude of both the Air Corps' engineers and its combat leaders remained that bombers could be designed and operated to be effective against enemy air defenses and the technology for effective escort fighters was not at hand. The combat experience of the British supported this view. Eaker had been sent to England in the fall of 1941 for six weeks as a special air observer. As Eaker reported, the views of the Royal Air Force on bomber escort aircraft paralleled those of the Air Corps. The British had flown a number of daylight bombing missions against German targets on the French coast that were within the range of escorting British fighters. They had hoped to lure German fighters into an uneven fight. The tactic failed. The British bombing targets were just not of high enough importance to the Germans that they would engage the escort fighters.

The Germans would wait until the British bombers attempted deeper raids without escorts. They then took a heavy and unsustainable toll of British bombers. Prime Minister Winston Churchill asked why bombers could not be escorted farther over the Continent. The RAF Chief of the Air Staff, Air Chief Marshal Charles Portal, wrote to Churchill that longer range escort fighters were not feasible. Portal said, "Increased range can only be provided at the expense of performance and maneuverability." He added, "The long-range fighter, whether built specifically as such, or whether given increased range by fitting extra tanks, will be at a disadvantage compared to the short-range high-performance fighter." Portal later wrote to Eaker, "The proper escort fighter will be a ship exactly like the bomber it is going to escort."

Thus, the opinions held by a future ally already engaged for two years in an air war against Germany strongly supported the views of senior U.S. Army Air Corps officers regarding escort fighter development.

The Germans went so far as to field a fighter

All: National Archives



ABOVE: This still photograph from the gun camera of a Republic P-47 Thunderbolt fighter depicts an attack on a German twin-engine Messerschmitt Me-110 fighter. The German pilot has apparently attempted to position himself to attack the big, four-engine B-17 bomber in the distance; however, the hunter has become the hunted. LEFT: A B-17 of the U.S. Eighth Air Force flies high above the German city of Bremen during a bombing raid in November 1943. Also captured in this image is a fighter plane, possibly an American P-47 Thunderbolt, streaking in the opposite direction while flying escort.

that had sufficient range to escort their Heinkel and Junkers medium bombers on strikes against England during the Battle of Britain. The Messerschmitt Me-109 had superior performance but limited range. The Luftwaffe responded to the escort fighter problem with the twin engine, longer range, and heavily armed Messerschmitt Me-110 Destroyer. It was fielded with the expectation that it would prove to be an ideal bomber escort and could effectively take on the RAF fighter aircraft. Spaatz and Eaker's observations in England of the ongoing air war had quickly shown the disadvantage of the less maneuverable Me-110 against the RAF Hurricanes and Spitfires. It failed miserably as a bomber escort and would require escorts of its own during strikes on England. The Germans could only depend on their short-range Me-109 fighters to offer limited protection for their bombers due to the short time the fighters could loiter over Britain. By 1941, American, British, and German airmen were all convinced by the experience of the Battle of Britain and the follow-up RAF bomber raids against German targets that a plane capable of both long-range combat and successful dogfighting against high-performance pursuit fighters could not be built.

The problems of conducting an effective bombing campaign against well-defended targets haunted both the Germans during the Battle of Britain and the RAF in its 1940-1941 bombing campaign against German targets along the North Sea coast and in the Ruhr industrial area. Both air forces found that they experienced unsustainable losses during daylight raids, and both opted to move to nighttime bombing campaigns against industrial and politically significant cities.

Why then would American air leaders think they could do better? Both Spaatz and Eaker thought that they had other advantages that would discount the German and British experiences. First, the B-17 was a much more rugged aircraft than either the British or Germans had available to them. It could take a lot of punishment and keep going. Second, it had far better defensive armament—more and heavier guns than the few light-caliber weapons of the typical British and German medium bombers. Third, the United States would fly bigger and tighter defensive formations with far better mutual defensive firepower. U.S. leaders envisioned bomber missions of up to 1,000 aircraft flying in close defensive formations. Accordingly, based on their best professional judgment, U.S. airpower leaders were convinced of the correctness of their unescorted daylight precision bombing strategy.

But the old saying "You don't know what you don't know!" was particularly applicable to strategic bombing theory in general and to the need for long-range escort fighters in particular. The technology of air defense was evolving at such a high rate during the late 1930s and early 1940s that strategy and aircraft could hardly keep up with it. The development of radar both as a means of detecting bombers and for vectoring defensive fighters turned out to be a game changer. The ACTS strategists were unaware of early U.S. efforts in radar development that took place in great secrecy. An early prototype set was first demonstrated in 1938 but only to selected high officials. The bomber theorists knew little of Britain's secret radar program and nothing of Britain's integrated defense system that was so instrumental to victory in the Battle of Britain. The British developments that ushered in a new era of effective air defense were only revealed to Air Corps observers in August 1940 during the Battle of Britain itself.

American air planners were not alone in their ignorance of evolving air defense technologies. Most Luftwaffe officers did not understand the role that radar could play in defense against bombers. While the Germans enjoyed a decided numerical advantage in the Battle of Britain, they ultimately lost that battle because they did not fully understand how radar and integrated air defense could multiply the effectiveness of the British fighter force. By 1939, the British had linked their Chain Home radar network to key command and control centers where the radar information was combined with reports of ground observers and intercepted German aircraft radio traffic.

The Germans learned fairly quickly how to fashion an integrated air defense system of their own. They had initially constructed an overlapping network of radar sites primarily for fighting against the nighttime raids of Britain's Bomber Command. The densest parts of the network were in Germany, Holland, Belgium, and northern France. The day fighters that would oppose U.S. bombers would eventually benefit from this network when American bombing efforts began in earnest.

By 1943, the Germans also had developed an excellent radio intercept service. They were able to determine important operational factors such as preflight ground operations at bomber bases, weather forecasts for the bomber routes and target areas, the status of bomber navigational aids, and the routes of approach and return through direct intercept of voice transmissions or triangulation through radio direction finding of coded bomber aircraft radio traffic. Such transmission as "crossing enemy coast," "30 minutes from target," or "no clouds over the target" immeasurably aided German interceptor attacks on bomber formations.

In early 1943, the German view was that it was impossible for American bombers to carry out effective daylight raids. This was based on their own experience in the Battle of Britain. Should the USAAF try them, the Germans were convinced that a small German pursuit fighter force could ward off attacks with large losses to the bomber force. The Germans gave only slight consideration to the possibility the Allies could develop effective long-range escorts. By dismissing the possibility of having to do battle with high-performance escorts, the Germans eventually created a dangerous gap in defensive capabilities. Their failure to foresee where technology might go was every bit as costly to them as it was to the American planners.

Radar, electronic navigation, and signals intelligence continued to evolve rapidly as the war progressed, delivering capabilities that could not even be dreamed of in the late 1930s when strategic bombing doctrine became the centerpiece of Air Corps war fighting concepts. As the technology war evolved, newly developed German radar-controlled antiaircraft artillery took a great toll on Allied bombers both day and night. Maj. Gen. Haywood Hansel said after the war, "Our ignorance of radar development was probably a fortunate ignorance. Had this development been well known it is probable that the theorists would also have reasoned that, through the aid of radar, defensive forces would be massed against incoming bomber attacks in a degree that would have been too expensive for the offensive." Had the strategists known of the developments in warning and tracking of bombing raids, the theories they propounded would have undoubtedly undergone major modification.

By mid-1943, the thinking of USAAF leaders about the vulnerability of the bomber force and the promise of new technologies began to evolve. In spite of being escorted part of the way by P-47s, the massive air attrition battles of 1943 like the Regensburg-Schweinfurt mission badly eroded both bomber aircraft numbers and aircrew strength. Arnold was beginning to think that the bomber attrition rate was too high to be sustained even with the enormous bomber production and aircrew training going on in the United States. In June 1943, Arnold wrote Maj. Gen. Barney Giles on the air staff that by January 1944 he wanted an effective long-range escort fighter in Europe. He wrote again in September 1943, "Operations over Germany conducted during the last several weeks indicate definitely that we must provide long-range fighters to accompany daylight bombardment missions." But Arnold and the USAAF continued to apply pressure to Germany with what they had while stepping up efforts to solve the bomber attrition problem.

As bomber units rebuilt in late 1943, tactics were changed. Additional escorts were added to cover as much of the outward and inward legs of the missions as possible, but the bombers were still without fighter coverage when they outran the range of P-47s and Lockheed P-38 Lightnings on raids deep into Germany. The ever increasing effectiveness of the German defenses, both air defense artillery and fighter interceptors, continued to prove devastating. On a followup mission to Schweinfurt in October 1943, outright losses were 26 percent of the attacking force.

But the technology that was unforeseen in the late 1930s and early 1940s was beginning to come together to fill the need for a high-performance, long-range escort fighter. It took a very fortuitous confluence of events for it to happen. One development was the auxiliary gas tank carried under the wings or fuselage of Allied fighters. The USAAF pursuit board had in 1940 and 1942 considered a range extension program for fighters including expendable external auxiliary fuel tanks. But it did so as a means of extending fighter endurance in support of its primary mission—defensive actions against the hostile bomber. It never connected the single-engine pursuit fighter and drop tanks with the bomber protection problem.

In May 1941, Lt. Col. Bob Olds was given the task of organizing the ferrying of Lend-Lease planes to England. He was an advocate of adding range to all fighter aircraft to increase their ferrying capability. As part of that effort, Lockheed and Republic were asked to increase the range of the P-38 and P-47 fighters they were producing. The modifications of these aircraft, essential for any escort role, were pushed forward to increase their ferrying range, not their combat range. Thus, by chance the P-38s and P-47s delivered to the Eighth Air Force in 1942 (P-38) and 1943 (P-47) were given the capability to extend their combat ranges. With the addition of the tanks, these fighters could escort the bombers farther but still not far enough. They could not go all the way with the bombers on deep strikes into Germany. German fighters would learn to wait and attack the bombers after the escorts had to turn for home.

The key development that enabled effective bomber defense was the evolution of fighter design. In 1940, North American Aviation was asked to propose a fighter aircraft in response to a British requirement for a reconnaissance and ground attack fighter bomber. The chief designer at North American was Edgar Schmued. The

Affectionately known as the "Jug" to Allied pilots and ground crews, the Republic P-47 Thunderbolt was an effective fighter and ground attack aircraft that was capable of escorting bomber formations to some targets in Nazi-occupied Europe. However, even with external drop tanks such as the one attached to the belly of this Thunderbolt, the P-47 lacked sufficient range to reach targets deep inside Germany itself.

German-born Schmued had formerly worked for Willie Messerschmitt, the designer of the Me-109 fighter, before immigrating to the United States. It was his intention to build an exceptionally clean aircraft showing superior aerodynamic characteristics. When in early 1940 the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics first released information on the new laminar flow wing, Schmued incorporated this new wing concept into the design of the fighter. The new wing promised about 20 percent less drag than older designs. That equated to better performance and longer range. Reports from England, where the prototype was flight tested, were favorable with respect to the low-level performance of the new fighter, an early variant of the famed P-51 Mustang.

The original Mustang as designed for the British had an underpowered Allison engine. It did not perform well at altitudes above 15,000 feet. It was pure serendipity that a pilot who flew one of the early British versions suggested its performance could be significantly improved by replacing the Allison engine with the same Rolls-Royce Merlin engine that powered the RAF Spitfire. That idea was the stroke of genius that made the Mustang a great high-altitude fighter. It matched or bettered the performance of any German fighter except the Messerschmitt Me-262 jet fighter that entered operations too late to affect the outcome of the air war. But even with external drop tanks, the P-51 did not have the range to escort bombers on their deepest penetrations into German territory. It took further design work to come up with a fix.

In the summer of 1943, North American was told to add another 200 gallons of gas storage to the P-51 design. The head of the company said that it was impossible to accomplish because the landing gear would not hold the additional weight. He was told to try it anyway. He did. Schmued was able to modify the design to provide for an 85-gallon fuselage tank to the rear of the armor plate behind the pilot. With further design modifications, the P-51 with the internal tank plus 108-gallon drop tanks could fly to Poland, a round-trip of 1,700 miles, at speeds approaching 440 miles per hour and at altitudes up to 40,000 feet. It was now the fuel load of the bombers that limited the range of Eighth Air Force strikes.

By early 1944, the Eighth Air Force was being reinvigorated. In January 1944, Ira Eaker was relieved of command of bomber forces in England and given command of all Allied air forces in the Mediterranean. Maj. Gen. Jimmy Doolittle replaced Eaker. Several things changed. Finally, there were enough bombers available to put together formations of hundreds of bombers. There were enough bombers that formations now were able to provide optimum defensive firepower. Additional guns were added to the front of the B-17s to deter the deadly frontal attacks of German fighters. By February 1944, the U.S. bombers forces were able to mount 1,000-bomber daylight missions against the German heartland.

Both: National Archives

Ground crewmen at an Allied airfield await orders to begin arming a North American P-15 Mustang fighter for its next mission deep into Germany. The drop tanks, ammunition, and bombs may indicate that the Mustang will embark on a fighter-bomber sortie in support of Allied ground troops.

Just as important, beginning in early 1944 the Army Air Forces in Europe and the Mediterranean began to receive large numbers of P-51 fighters with the range necessary to escort bombers deep into enemy territory. Other fighters such as the P-38 and P-47 also benefited from the great range provided by external fuel tanks.

The pipeline that had only slowly increased the Eighth's combat power in 1943 overflowed with new aircraft and crews in 1944. The Battle of the Atlantic against German submarines had by now been won, and U.S. production was booming. The number of fully operational heavy bombers in Britain rose from 451 to 1,655 despite increased operational losses. The Eighth's fighter strength increased from 274 to 882, mainly P-47s and P-51s. The Eighth also acquired bombing radar that enabled many more bad weather missions even though bombing was less accurate than with the Norden bombsight.

Spaatz also incorporated a strategy of offensive counter air, unleashing his fighters to go after German fighters on the ground. He told Doolittle that his primary mission was the destruction of the Luftwaffe. By choosing to attack the Luftwaffe rather than solely defend against it, he found the way to defeat the German fighter force through attrition. By early 1944, the USAAF had the means as well as the method. Fighter sweeps with long-range fighters disrupted all German air activity from pilot training to going after U.S. bombers.

All of these changes culminated in Operation Argument. On February 20, 1944, the Eighth Air Force and Fifteenth Air Force (based in Italy) began a systematic and coordinated attack on the German fighter aircraft industry and fighter airfields. On this date, for the first time, the Eighth sent out more than 1,000 heavy bombers.

The weeklong operation became known as "Big Week." This operation, planned since early November 1943, called for a series of combined attacks by the Eighth and Fifteenth Air Forces against the highest priority objectives. Sixteen combat wings of heavy bombers (more than 1,000 bombers), all 17 USAAF fighter groups (835 fighter planes), and 16 RAF squadrons (to assist in short-range penetration and withdrawal escort) began their takeoff runs, assembled, turned to the east, and headed for 12 major assembly and component plants that constituted the heart of Hitler's fighter production. The mere fact that the Eighth intended to hit 12 German targets in one mission spoke to the newfound confidence of its commanders and their determination to strike hard. Only 21 heavy bombers of the 889 that reached their targets (2.4 percent) failed to return to base.

Over the following days, both the Eighth and Fifteenth put up large missions against German targets in Denmark, Austria, and Germany. Over the course of Big Week, the Americans had proved that they could fly into the worst the Luftwaffe could muster, as long as they had fighter escort, and could do so with an overall loss rate of less than 5 percent. In all, the combination of U.S. strategic bomber and supporting fighter forces in Europe lost approximately 266 heavy bombers, 2,600 aircrew members (killed, wounded, or captured), and 28 fighters. In all of February, the Eighth wrote off 299 bombers, one fifth of its force, whereas the Luftwaffe wrote off more than one third of its single-engine fighters and lost almost 18 percent of its fighter pilots.

Big Week was big not only due to the physical damage inflicted on the German fighter industry and frontline fighter strength, but also to the psychological effect it had on the Army Air Forces. In one week Doolittle dropped almost as much bomb tonnage as the Eighth had dropped in its entire first year. In combat the AAF had shown that precision bombing in

daylight not only performed as claimed, but also at no greater cost than the supposedly safer and less accurate night area bombing. What is more, the American fighter escorts destroyed many enemy fighters. German sources supported the conclusion that the Germans lost between 225 and 275 aircraft during Argument, primarily to U.S. long-range escort fighters. In their own minds, General Spaatz and other high-ranking American air officers had validated their belief in their basic strategy of precision daylight bombing.

Although the Luftwaffe fighter force actually increased its bomber kills in March and April 1944, Big Week was the beginning of the end for the German daylight fighter. The United States Strategic Air Forces' (USSTAF) assistant director of intelligence said three weeks later, "I consider the result of the week's attack to be the funeral of the German Fighter Force." He added that USSTAF now realized that it could bomb any target in Germany at will. A key contributor to the eventual success of the strategic bombing campaign was the development of the long-range escort fighter, primarily the P-51.

In 1937, the German Luftwaffe had the best interceptor fighter in the world in the Messerschmitt Me-109. After the war began, German fighter development faltered. The Luftwaffe's primary mission was support of the German Army. Air-to-air fighting had only been considered to the extent it supported gaining air superiority for the land battle. Also, the meddling of Hitler, who insisted it be developed as a bomber, delayed the production of the Me-262 jet fighter to a time so late in the air war that the Allies had already achieved overwhelming air superiority.

By the time the P-51s entered the fight in large numbers, the Luftwaffe pilot force had been greatly reduced in effectiveness. U.S. commanders knew of the sorry state of German pilot training and combat experience from decrypted radio messages. The AAF intentionally put up large bomber formations to lure the Germans into air-to-air combat with U.S. escort fighters. By the time of the D-Day landings in France in 1944, the Germans could mount only a few hundred sorties to oppose the Allied landings. Most of the German fighters had been drawn back into Germany to oppose the devastating Allied bomber raids.

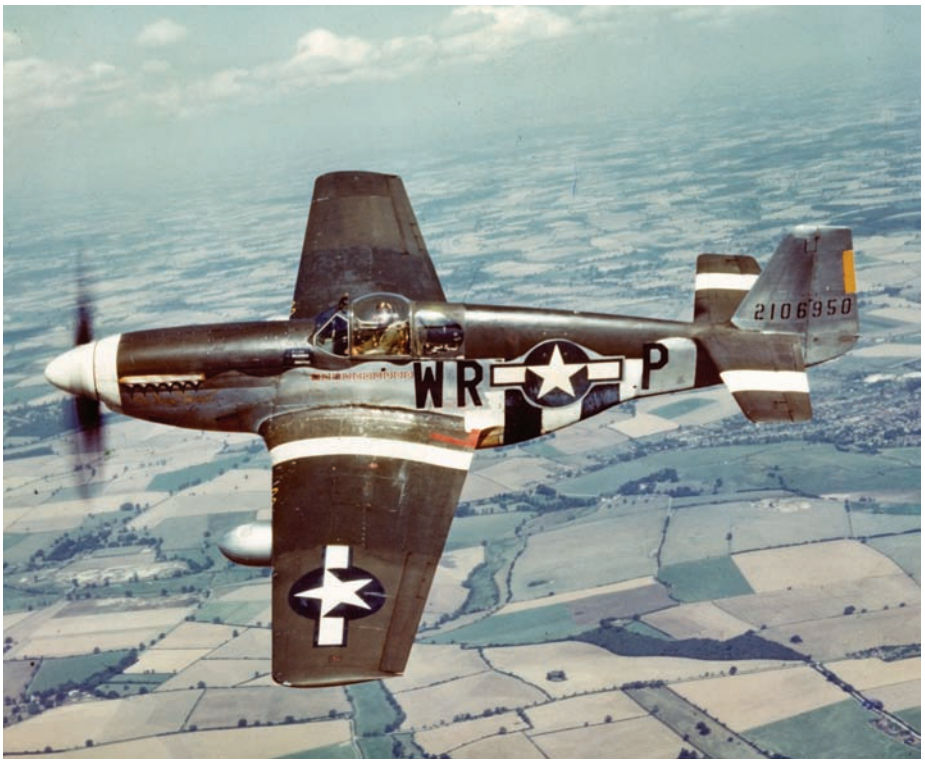
For the bomber offensive as a whole, the Eighth Air Force lost 4,182 aircraft from a total of 273,841 sorties, a rate of 1.5 percent. RAF Bomber Command, whose leadership shifted to night bombing to reduce losses, had a higher loss rate of 2.5 percent over the course of the war. The 250,000 aircrew members who flew bomber missions in the Eighth Air Force during the course of the war sustained 58,000 casualties—18,000 killed, 6,500 wounded, and 33,500 missing. The RAF Bomber Command lost 49,000 killed.

It is easy in hindsight to criticize the conduct of the strategic bombing campaign and the development of bombers and escort fighters. However, the postwar occupation of Germany found that its economy and its national infrastructure had been devastated to the point that they barely functioned. The U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey stated, "Allied airpower was decisive in the war in Western Europe." This was confirmed by German Armaments Minister Albert Speer after the war when he said that bombing created a "third Front" and that "without this great drain on our manpower, logistics, and weapons, we might have knocked Russia out of the war before your invasion of France."

While the P-51 provided the answer to the need for a highly effective, long-range escort fighter in Europe, it was to prove less successful in the Pacific, where the long-range B-29s were used against the Japanese homeland, and even the improved P-51 did not have the necessary range. Many GIs died to secure islands close to the Japanese homeland as bases for the P-51s to escort the bombers.

After more than 70 years, it is easy to overlook the context of the times when assessing bomber and fighter strategies of World War II. The difficulties the planners encountered at the time far exceeded what can be readily seen. The air power planners of the 1930s could not know with any certainty that Hitler would start a war in Europe, that the Japanese would attack Pearl Harbor, that the laminar wing would be invented, that radar would enable integrated air defense, that outnumbered Britain would survive a German bombing campaign, and that the German people and industry could endure the destruction of their major cities.

It is all too easy to conclude that solutions like the long-range, high-performance escort fighter were obvious. However, when viewed in context, it is reasonable to conclude that Allied air leaders did well given the complexity of the times and the rapid pace of technological evolution.



A North American P-51B Mustang fighter in flight somewhere above the English countryside. The P-51 was conceived as a dive bomber, but the installation of the British Rolls Royce Merlin engine, replacing the original Allison powerplant, transformed the Mustang into perhaps the finest American fighter plane of World War II.

Author Gene Pfeffer resides in Colorado Springs, Colorado. He served 30 years in the U.S. Air Force working in the areas of weather, space operations, and research and development, retiring with the rank of colonel as Vice Commander of the Air Force Weather Service. After retiring from the Air Force, he worked in the aerospace industry.

By Christopher Miskimon

Nazi troops parade down a tree-lined boulevard in occupied Paris. Members of the Jackson family aided the effort against the Germans at the risk of their own lives.

One Family's Ordeal

> The Jackson family's nightmare in occupied Paris is a testament to the bravery of the resistance and the fearful price they paid to help liberate France.

IT WAS EARLY IN THE MORNING OF JUNE 14, 1940, WHEN THE THIRD REICH arrived in Paris. The defeat of France was nearly complete, with French and British forces in retreat. Paris had been declared an open city to spare it the destruction being visited upon the rest of the country. The entire nation was in a state of shock at the rapid German advance. The Axis soldiers moving into the city passed walls festooned with propaganda posters extolling the superiority of French arms. Quickly the Germans moved to set up a headquarters at the Hotel de Crillon and sent troops to the Eiffel Tower and the Arc de Triomphe.

By afternoon swastika flags were flying above many of the city's landmarks. A rain began to fall, drenching happy Germans and nervous Parisians alike. That evening, trucks with loudspeakers roamed the streets warning the citizenry to gather what supplies they would need, return to their homes, and stay there. The main German army would arrive within 48 hours. The broadcasted message ended ominously with a warning that no demonstrations would be permitted.

One of the streets the trucks drove down was the Avenue Foch, which branched to the west from the Arc de Triomphe. On the Avenue Foch stood the home of Doctor Sumner Jackson, an American citizen, and his Swiss-born wife Toquette. Jackson worked at the American Hospital in Paris. He had moved to France years earlier so Toquette could be closer to her family. They had a son, 12-year-old Phillip. Now they had to face the reality of Nazi occupation amid the defeat of their adopted home. America and Germany were not yet at war, so Sumner and his family were relatively safe, at least for the moment. However, this sad day in June 1940 was only the beginning of their ordeal, which is told in Alex Kershaw's newest book ***Avenue of Spies: A True Story of Terror, Espionage, and One American Family's Heroic Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Paris*** (Crown Publishers, New York, 2015, 304pp, maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $28.00, hardcover).

Before the war Sumner Jackson had worked hard to serve his adopted nation, and now that it was in its darkest hour he did not fail to render all the aid he could. He continued his work at the hospital, which allowed him to help wounded Allied soldiers sent to the American Hospital for treatment. After helping with their recovery, Sumner would obtain forged documentation and help them get out of Paris and eventually France altogether. A scare came in 1942 when he was arrested one day by the French police. He soon found out all Americans were being interned; the Germans had not caught on to his scheme to help others escape. Friends quickly intervened and secured his release.

While Sumner was aiding Allied soldiers, Toquette was at home on Avenue Foch fighting the Nazis in her own way. She allowed members of the French Resistance to use the residence as a clandestine meeting place. They also used the home as a "drop," a place to leave important messages for various members of their movement. In this way the family helped the Allied cause for years; on June 6, 1944, when the Canadian Army came ashore at Juno Beach, they were crossing sands where young Phillip had played as a child.

Sumner Jackson, his son, Philip (both, above), and his wife, Toquette, were arrested by the Gestapo on the day after the Allied invasion of France.

By that point, however, time had run out for the Jackson family. On May 25, 1944, the Nazis arrived at their home; they had been found out. All three were arrested by the French milice, the German-controlled

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police force. The day after D-Day, they were handed over to the Gestapo. Soon all three were sent to concentration camps, Sumner and Phillip together while Toquette was alone. One of them would not survive the war.

The author is well known for his skill at storytelling, and he does not disappoint here. When it comes to such tales, one cannot fabricate stories that exceed the drama of actual events. As such, this book reads almost like a novel, keeping the reader interested in turning the page to see what comes next. Kershaw's writing relays all the tension, emotion, and fear the Jackson family went through in clear, engaging prose. This new work tells a little-known story of the French Resistance along with the risks they took and the terrible price some paid.

The Mighty Eighth: The Air War in Europe as Told by the Men Who Fought It (Gerald Astor, Berkley Caliber, New York, 2015, 493pp, bibliography, index, $17.00, softcover)

The Eighth Air Force suffered a higher casualty rate than the Marine Corps did in the Pacific. These aviators took the war to Germany under harrowing conditions against stiff resistance, fighting their way through enemy fighters and antiaircraft fire to deliver their payloads of destruction. While ground troops might complain of the flyers' ability to sleep in a warm bed in England between missions, the risks they took meant they could expect to die if their planes went down; few wounded made it back to base. This paperback edition of the original book by the late acclaimed historian Gerald Astor brings the air war to the reader through the first-person accounts of the men who took part in it, risking everything to take the war to the skies over Nazi Germany.

Freemantle's Submarines: How Allied Submarines and Western Australians Helped to Win the War in the Pacific (Michael Sturma, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2015, 248pp, map, photographs, notes bibliography, index, $32.95, hardcover)

In early 1942, the Allies were retreating in the Pacific. In March, American and Dutch submariners fell back to Australia, occupying a small naval base on the country's west coast at Freemantle. They had been pushed out of the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies, and Freemantle was the only place they could reasonably base while staying out of range of Japanese land-based aircraft. It was a difficult location to supply, but it had a good harbor. The sailors were welcomed by the local Australians, which helped immensely. Soon they began to take the war back to the Japanese.

The story of the Freemantle submarine base is both a military and social history. The Australian families of Fremantle took in the Allied sailors and watched them go out time and again on patrols. This close relationship was valued by the sailors and became almost legendary. This book tells one of those small stories of the war in an interesting way.

The Rise of Germany 1939-1941: The War in the West, Volume 1 (James Holland, Grove Atlantic, New York, 2015, 649pp, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $30.00, hardcover)

Siegfried Knappe, a young German artillery lieutenant, was a bit disappointed in how World War II began for him. His regiment had gone off to invade Poland, but 20 percent of it—Knappe included—had been left behind to form the nucleus of a new regiment. Thus the army would expand to meet the challenges of war with not only Poland but France and England as well. Soon after, new recruits arrived, including a new commander, a 40-year-old reservist. Within days this untrained, untested

Simulation Gaming

BY JOSEPH LUSTER

SEGA PUTS A NICE HD POLISH ON ITS FAN-FAVORITE, ALTERNATE-UNIVERSE WORLD WAR II STRATEGY GAME AND PANZER CORPS COMES BACK FOR MORE

VALKYRIA CHRONICLES REMASTERED
PUBLISHER SEGA • **GENRE** STRATEGY-RPG • **SYSTEM** PLAYSTATION 4 • **AVAILABLE** FEBRUARY (JAPAN), SPRING 2016 (WEST)

Sega's *Valkyria Chronicles,* which originally debuted on PlayStation 3 back in 2008, is one of the better examples of the "alternate universe" World War II game. Sure, it's set in the fictional world of Europa, but its setting closely mirrors that of Europe at the start of World War II. Thus we were treated to a heavily stylized, manga-inspired mix of strategy-RPG and third-person shooter action that a modest but vocal group of fans absolutely adored.

Valkyria Chronicles II followed up the original on PSP in 2010, and while Japan got a third game on PSP in 2011 in the form of *Valkyria Chronicles III,* that one ultimately wouldn't make it to Western audiences. Fans were understandably upset, and an unofficial fan translation was eventually made for 2013's *Valkyria Chronicles III: Extra Edition.* Still, the fact that the second game was the last Western fans would see of the series lingered, and the sore spot was further irritated by its relative popularity Japan, which would see it inspiring anime and manga adaptations.

That brings us to the current state of the series, five years strong since *Valkyria Chronicles III,* and things are actually looking pretty bright in both the East and West. February sees the Japanese launch of *Valkyria Chronicles Remastered,* an HD spruce-up that brings the original strategy hit to PlayStation 4 with a load of extras. In addition to 1080p video, *Valkyria Chronicles Remastered* adds in PlayStation Network trophies and all the downloadable content that was released for the original. Among that content is the additional Hard EX Mode difficulty, as well as three additional episodes, "Edy's Mission: Enter the Edy Detachment," "Selvaria's Mission: Behind Her Blue Flame," and "Challenges of the Edy Detachment."

First-print copies of the remastered game come with a demo for *Valkyria: Azure Revolution,* which is the other reason the future is bright for the series as a whole. *Azure Revolution* is a sequel/spin-off that Sega has planned for a Q4 2016 release in Japan. While it's considered separate from the mainline series, it shares many similarities with the rest of the entries,

from the strategy-RPG gameplay to a painterly visual style. One of the major features in this one is permanent death, meaning that any characters who die on the battlefield will remain dead for the rest of the game. This will naturally have a huge impact on the narrative, so players who are careful enough with their strategies will hopefully be able to see the full story with every character participating.

If you've never played a *Valkyria Chronicles* game before, there are a number of features that rocket them right up the alley of anyone who's into exciting war games. There is, of course, the setting, which puts you on the continent of Europa in 1935 C.E., a time in which the superpowers of the East European Imperial Alliance and the Atlantic Feder-

regiment was moved west to the Luxembourg border, there to await attack by the French. This assault did not come, and presently Knappe and his men began to think the war would quickly be over. They had no idea what was in store for them.

The conventional view of the war at this point is of a superior German military sweeping all before it without even breaking a collective sweat in the effort. The author tells a new story, revealing how difficult it was for all sides. No one was fully ready for war—Knappe's artillery was horse-drawn—but Hitler took a chance and war came anyway. The Nazi leader's gambling early in the war paid off, but those initial victories created a false sense of superiority that hid serious shortcomings in Germany's war-making capability. This book includes new archival material and numerous firsthand accounts woven into a compelling narrative about the early years of the war.

U.S. Navy Codebreakers, Linguists, and Intelligence Officers Against Japan, 1910-1941: A Biographical Dictionary (Steven E. Maffeo, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Lanham, MD, 2015, 610pp, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $120, hardcover)

In the early 20th century, Japan was on its way up in the world. Less than a century before, it had been in a feudal state. Now, however, it was reinventing itself into a modern industrial power. In 1904-1905 it had beaten the Russians in the Russo-Japanese War, and during World War I it moved against Germany, occupying many of that country's Pacific holdings. In some respects its relatively meteoric rise was akin to the modern ascendance of China in the 21st century.

This was not lost on the United States Navy of the period. Many naval officers predicted with certainty an inevitable conflict between America and Japan within 20 years or so. Their predictions were to prove correct. Many in the Navy's intelligence service worked to prepare for this coming war, virtually from the end of World War I until the attack on Pearl Harbor and the Battle of Midway. Many students know of Commander Joe Rochefort, who correctly predicted the coming Japanese attack at Midway, but he was only one of the people who matched wits with the Japanese in the two decades between the wars.

This new book, written by a retired Navy intelligence officer, brings the story of 59 Navy and Marine intelligence specialists to the reader with clarity and detail. The author's experience in the field gives his story that extra ring of authenticity that makes his book a pleasure to read. Many little tales, such as the successful

ation have been forced to go to war. In this world the spark that ignites the conflict is a rare mineral known as Ragnite. The economies of both forces depend on Ragnite, which has quickly become a scarce resource. Thus begins the Second Europan War. Players are quickly thrown into the struggle of Alicia Melchiott, Welkin Gunther, and his adopted sister Isara as they flee the Imperial attack and join up with the Gallian militia to help mount a counterattack as part of the new Squad 7.

Thankfully, this isn't another situation in which we have to watch Japan with glowing green eyes, because Sega recently announced plans to bring *Valkyria Chronicles Remastered* to PlayStation 4 in the Americas and Europe. *Remastered* will be released both physically and digitally, and like the Japanese version this one features 1080p/60fps gameplay, trophy support, and all the original DLC. There's also a bonus for folks who pre-order or pick up launch copies in the form of a collectible Squad 7 Armored Case. Beyond the extras, the best thing about this release is that it will give anyone who slept on *Valkyria Chronicles* the first time around a chance to see why everyone else regards this tactical outing so highly.

SOVIET CORPS
PUBLISHER SLITHERINE GROUP
GENRE STRATEGY • **PLATFORM** PC, iPad • **AVAILABLE** FEBRUARY

The classic strategy stylings of the *Panzer General* series recently made a big comeback on PC and iPad in the form of *Panzer Corps,* a spiritual successor that puts players in charge of the Axis armies across 26 scenarios. Now Slitherine is taking a return trip with the debut of *Panzer Corps: Soviet Corps,* expanding on the award-winning base game with a strategic trip through Stalin's Russia.

Soviet Corps introduces a branching campaign that consists of over 25 new scenarios. From going on the defense and counterstriking against Operation Barbarossa to showdowns in Finland, the Crimean Peninsula, Romania, Hungary, and Berlin, there are plenty of opportunities to flex your tactical muscles. *Soviet Corps* adds in more than 60 new regular and special elite units to the mix. New additions include the T-34's PT-34 variant, GAZ-67B jeep recon, G-11, glide, IS-3 Heavy Tank, and more.

This one should be available to dig into on PC and iPad by the time you read this. If you enjoyed the throwback strategy of *Panzer Corps* and want to see the battlefield from another perspective, *Soviet Corps* looks like it will also be worth a thorough spin.

New and Noteworthy

The Cost of Courage (Charles Kaiser, Other Press, 2015, $26.95, hardcover) This is the story of a French family's involvement with the resistance movement during WWII. It details their actions and the price they paid for them.

First to Jump: How the Band of Brothers Was aided by the Brave Paratroopers of Pathfinders Company (Jerome Preisler, Berkley Caliber, 2015, $16.00, softcover) This is a history of the U.S. Army Pathfinders. These soldiers jumped ahead of airborne assaults to mark the way for the main force.

Goodbye, Transylvania: A Romanian Waffen-SS Soldier in WWII (Sigmund Landau, Stackpole Books, 2015, $19.95, softcover) The author spent six years fighting the Soviets on the Eastern Front. His tale spans the length of the war and ends with the Berlin campaign.

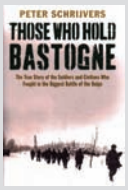
Those Who Hold Bastogne: The True Story of the Soldiers and Civilians Who Fought in the Biggest Battle of the Bulge (Peter Schijvers, Yale University Press, 2015, $28.00, hardcover) This is an in-depth look at the famous siege of Bastogne. American, Belgian, and German accounts are included.

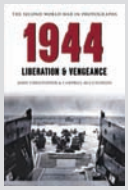
1944: The Second World War in Photographs (John Christopher, Campbell McCutcheon, Amberley Publishing, 2015, $22.95, softcover) This photo essay book covers each month of the year in photographs and period illustrations. Many of them have not been published previously.

1945: The Second World War in the Air in Photographs (L. Archard, Amberley Publishing, 2015, $24.50, softcover) This photo book tells another story of the war. This volume gives greater attention to the air campaigns and aircraft of the period.

The Fighting 30th Division: They Called Them Roosevelt's SS (Martin King, David Hilborn, and Michael Collins, Casemate Publishing, 2015, $32.95, hardcover) The 30th Division was formed in the American South and went on to become one of the most highly regarded U.S. Army units in the European Theater.

Courage and Defiance: Stories of Spies, Saboteurs and Survivors in World War II Denmark (Deborah Hopkinson, Scholastic Press, 2015, $17.99, hardcover) This is a history of the resistance in Denmark written for young, school-aged readers.





theft of a Japanese code book from the country's New York embassy only to have its translation made nearly impossible by the interpreter's poor handwriting and his wife's equally bad typing, combine to give a real-world view of the difficulties these men and women faced.

The German U-Boat Base at Lorient, France: June 1940-June 1941 Volume 1 and July 1941 -July 1942 Volume 2 (Luc Braeuer, Schiffer Publishing, Atglen, PA, 2015, 176pp each, maps, photographs, $45.00 each, hardcover)

The Battle of the Atlantic was a submariner's war. The German U-boat crews matched their wits, bravery, and determination against those of the Allied sailors, merchant seamen, and aviators bent on getting their ships and cargoes through despite the cost. When France fell, the Nazis gained an advantage; they were now able to position their submarines in bases on the French Coast, closer to the open Atlantic and away from the dangers of a breakout through the North Sea. Lorient was one such base. From there the Third Reich could strike at the United Kingdom's vital shipping, hoping to bring the British to capitulation.

These two books are the first half of a four-volume set chronicling the history of the U-boat base during its first two years of operation. Included are stories of the units and personalities that sailed from the port, along with the progress of the war at sea during this period. There are extensive maps, tables, and charts to explain their progress in detail. The best feature of these books is the illustrations, over 1,100 of them between both volumes. The author's efforts to show the Lorient U-Boat base to the minutest aspect are obvious and successful. □

insight

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mitigate future crimes against humanity. None claim to be a victim or allow themselves self-pity. Each has learned to abide with the guilt and shame and, perhaps, channel it. At the documentary's conclusion, a granddaughter says, "It is almost something positive, like a reminder to bear all of this in mind."

Although Harlan professed no anti-Semitism at his trial or in his pamphlet, statements in the 2008 documentary indicate a much more complex psychology than his denial. Harlan's first wife was Dora Gerson, a Jewish cabaret singer and silent motion picture actress. Their two years of marriage, from 1922 to 1924, ended in divorce. The divorce was her idea as marriage took her away from the Jewish roots she cherished. Perhaps Gerson's clinging to old Jewish traditions in which Harlan could not participate caused a latent anti-Semitism. Gerson's second husband Max Sluizer, their daughter Miriam Sluizer, and their son Abel Juda Sluizer perished as victims of the Holocaust on February 14, 1943, at Auschwitz.

Did *Jud Suss* cause the Holocaust? Probably not, but it may have had a larger role as a catalyst to the Holocaust than has been previously accepted. When dividing the Holocaust into three phases: exclusion, expulsion, and extermination, most place *Jud Suss* in the middle of the expulsion period. That placement usually comes from dating the beginning of the extermination phase from the Wannsee Conference, a 90-minute meeting of senior Nazi officials held on January 20, 1942, which sanctioned the final solution. But, mass murder of Jews had started much earlier, as early as 1939 in Poland.

Himmler's SS formed special groups called Einsatzgruppen to carry out extermination orders. The first recorded action of the earliest of these special groups, Einsatzgruppe A, took place on June 22, 1941, during the invasion of the Soviet Union. Einsatzgruppe A also swung into action against an old Jewish settlement in Lithuania—the border town of Gargzdai (Gorzdt in Yiddish; Garsden in German). Approximately 800 Jews were shot in one day in what is known as the Garsden Massacre. In the winter before this action, as Einsatzgruppe A was forming and training, the soldiers would have watched a movie on Himmler's orders. They would have seen *Jud Suss*.

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Java

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to locate their adversary's guns in spite of the fact that they had observation planes overhead.

The combination of American artillery and Australian small arms fire completely frustrated the Japanese effort to move forward on the 3rd. They spent much of the morning of March 4 scouting around the southern flank of Blackforce. However, as the Leuwiliang River defenders continued to hold throughout the day the Japanese pushed on to Batavia along the coast road and from Kalidjati. Yielding to the approaching threat, Schilling directed Blackforce to delay the enemy west of Buitenzorg as long as possible while the rest of the Allied forces abandoned Batavia and headed for Bandoeng.

By the end of March 4, Blackforce had successfully withdrawn to just west of Buitenzorg. The next day the last of the DEI forces passed through the Australians and beyond Buitenzorg. Blackforce then withdrew. The 2/131 Field Artillery supported the retrograde move, leapfrogging one battery with the next. The Japanese did not press their advance, content to consolidate their position around Batavia and Buitenzorg as the Allies fell back to Bandoeng.

On March 6, General Poorten held a conference with his senior officers at Bandoeng. He expressed little confidence in holding that town or conducting a long-term guerrilla war against the Japanese. Although the British and Australian officers present wanted to continue the fight, their Dutch counterparts doubted the viability of such action, stating that their men were demoralized and beginning to desert in large numbers. Without Dutch support, the few thousand remaining British and Australian fighting men, now low on ammunition and supplies, had no chance against the Japanese. News that the port of Tjilatjap had fallen on March 7 meant that no help would be forthcoming. Allied resolve reached a new low.

When the Japanese demanded the surrender of the Allied forces on Java on March 8, Poorten agreed to the terms for his Dutch troops. Two days later the other Allied commanders also surrendered their men. The result was a brutal captivity for 10,000 Allied soldiers, sailors, and airmen.

The Japanese conquest of Java was their most complex amphibious campaign to date. By any standard, it was a classic joint operation.

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Cisterna

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nearby high ground. The entire area was criss-crossed by machine guns, rifles, and 88mm guns. Antipersonnel and antitank mines covered all approaches to the enemy positions.

Company C attacked, infiltrating one platoon at a time across the railroad tracks. Once across, the Americans mopped up each enemy position in turn. The attack, however, disorganized the company, and it was replaced by Company A. Company A quickly cleared the high ground against modest opposition, which in turn allowed Company C to finish clearing out the railroad area defenses. By the afternoon of May 24, the 1st Battalion, 7th Infantry was following the 3rd Battalion into Cisterna itself. The Germans had, as usual, made good use of the shattered rubble that had once been the town of Cisterna, and the advance was strongly opposed. But the defenders were now cut off, low on ammunition, and without hope of relief. By late afternoon on May 25, Cisterna was being mopped up by the 3rd Battalion, 7th Infantry.

Lieutenant Colonel Everett W. Duvall's 2nd Battalion, 7th Infantry approached Cisterna from another direction, targeting the railroad station. Although initial opposition was light, as it crossed the railroad tracks about 600 yards south of the town, the battalion was struck by machine-gun, mortar, and self-propelled artillery fire. Companies E and G attacked and in a fierce fight cleared the area of the enemy despite heavy casualties.

Company F entered Cisterna early on the morning of May 25 and cleared a third of the town. A large castle in the town center delayed the clearing for a while until two medium and two light tanks from the 751st Tank Battalion arrived. The sole entrance to the castle was covered by an enemy antitank gun blocking any attempt to enter. Company F put a machine gun atop a house to suppress the enemy's fire while a medium tank raced through the castle entrance and knocked out the gun.

Some 250 prisoners were brought out of a cave under the castle and another 60 from caves in the area. After four of the bloodiest months in American military history, Cisterna had fallen.

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

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later wrote that in the course of the drive, in which the admiral and the general were sandwiched in the open limousine on either side of the president, he knew from the congenial conversation between the general and the president that MacArthur had won all his points.

However, it was not until Roosevelt returned to Washington, D.C., that his decision was made public in a radio broadcast when he simply announced complete accord with his "old friend" General MacArthur. Soon after that, the Joint Chiefs confirmed the two-pronged approach to Japan.

This decision cost tens of thousands of American lives. If the United States had not planned to invade the Philippines, the Allied military would have avoided the thousands of casualties suffered in New Guinea. Furthermore, the Allies would have avoided the pointless fight for Palau, particularly the island of Peleliu, which Nimitz believed necessary to support the Philippine landings and to protect MacArthur's right flank. Lastly, the Allies would have saved the 10,380 Americans killed and the 36,631 wounded during the liberation of the Philippines.

While the fateful meeting was happening in Honolulu, 3,700 miles to the west the Pacific Island Invasion Force, which left Hawaii the week before the invasion of France, was fighting a bloody battle to occupy Saipan in the Mariana Islands. In fact, this resulted in the highest casualty toll to date in the Pacific with 3,000 American dead and 10,000 wounded. The Japanese suffered 30,000 dead along with 22,000 civilians, many of whom committed suicide. Their calamitous defeat offered proof to Japanese leaders that military victory was not attainable. Nine days after Saipan was secure on July 9, 1944, Japanese Prime Minister Hideki Tojo and his entire cabinet resigned. Four years later, Tojo was executed as a war criminal.

The occupation of the Marianas, including the islands of Guam, Saipan, and Tinian, was important because it could accelerate the bombing of Japan. When the Formosa strategy was developed, two types of bombers with enough range to travel the 1,000 miles from Japan to Formosa were available: the B-17 Flying Fortress and the Consolidated B-24 Liberator.

This was soon to change when the Army Air Forces concluded a competition for a long-range bomber in May 1940. The Boeing B-29 Superfortress had a speed of 350 miles per hour, a bomb load of 10,000 pounds, twice that of the B-17, and a range of 3,500 nautical miles, more than enough to reach Japan from the Marianas and return. The B-29 was a highly advanced design with many innovations, including a pressurized cabin and a revolutionary central weapons control system that operated four machine-gun turrets remotely. Because of this complexity, coupled with unreliable engines, delivery did not begin in quantity until early 1944. However, by the time Tinian was occupied on August 1, 1944, B-29s had been flying from India and forward bases in China for several months.

The U.S. Joint Chiefs selected Tinian as an operational base because it had two existing airfields, West Field in the center of the island and Ushi Point or North Field. As soon as Tinian was under American control, Navy Seabees began a massive construction project at North Field to repair and expand the existing runway and build three additional two-mile-long runways. This was one of the largest construction projects of World War II, with more than a million cubic yards of earth and coral moved. By early 1945, North Field had become the largest and busiest airport in the world, home for 1,000 B-29s that took off and landed every minute around the clock to bomb Japan.

On August 6, Colonel Paul Tibbets left Tinian and piloted the B-29 *Enola Gay* to Hiroshima and dropped Little Boy, a 16-kiloton uranium bomb. Three days later, Major Charles Sweeny in the B-29 named *Bock's Car* released Fat Man, a plutonium bomb of even more destructive power, on Nagasaki. On August 15, 1945, Emperor Hirohito announced in a radio broadcast to his people that Japan had surrendered and the war was over. The United States never did utilize the Philippines to bomb Japan or stage an invasion of the home islands, and it is doubtful that their liberation helped to end the war.

The Pacific War was widely reported in the press, in photographs, and in newsreels, but several mysteries remain. Why did MacArthur ignore warnings about a possible Japanese attack on Manila on December 7, 1941? Why was he so intent on liberating the Philippines? Why did FDR consent to MacArthur's strategy against the advice of his general staff and military advisers? Why did Japan continue to fight after its navy was destroyed, its oil sources were cut off, and it was clear by any objective analysis that victory was impossible?

For more than 50 years, Bob Rosenthal was an architect specializing in the design and development of healthcare facilities. Today he is an independent filmmaker whose current project is a documentary about the end of World War II in the Pacific that was filmed on Tinian Island. He lives with his wife in Del Mar, California.

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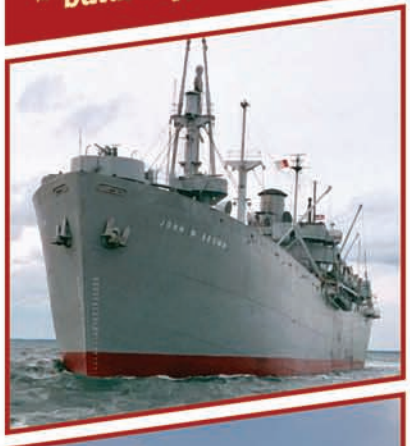

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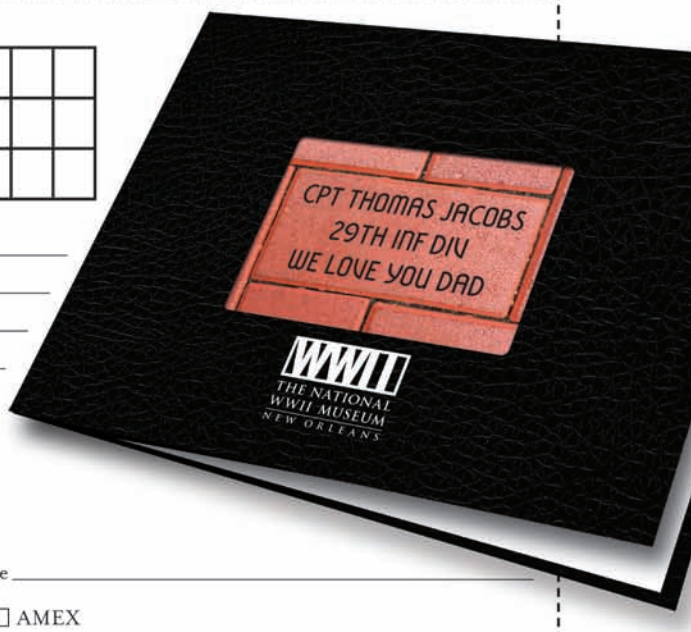

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