WWII HISTORY

www.wwiihistorymagazine.com

EASTERN FRONT

Soviet Stand Outside Moscow

Marine Raiders on Guadalcanal

Nazi Death Squads

BATTLE OF THE ATLANTIC

U.S. Navy's Undeclared War

Daring Escape from the Philippines

+ GERMAN TANK DESTROYER, VALKYRIE BOMB PLOT, B-17 BOMB RUN, BOOK & GAME REVIEWS, AND MORE!

WWII HISTORY • LATE FALL 2012 Volume 11, No. 8

LATE FALL 2012

$5.99US $6.99CAN

0 74470 02360 9 11

RETAILER: DISPLAY UNTIL DECEMBER 3

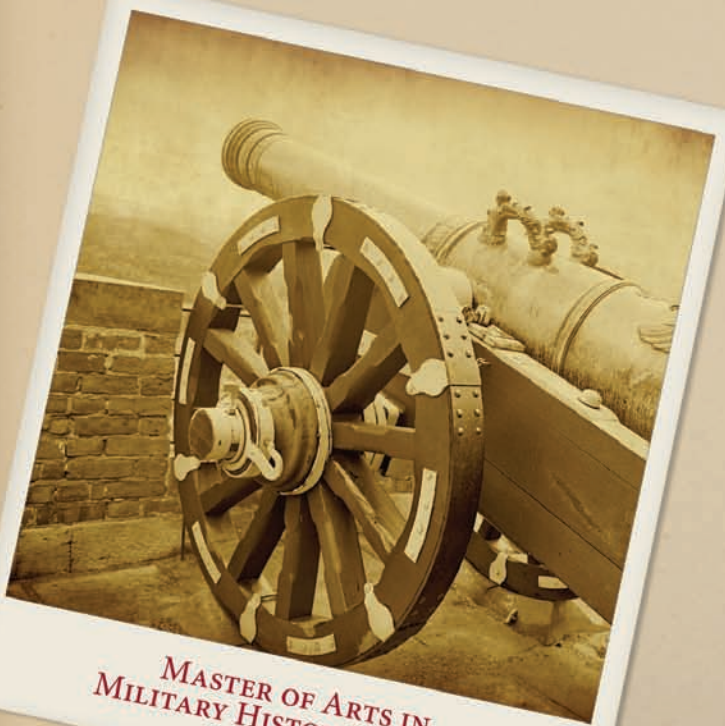
NORWICH
UNIVERSITY™
Expect Challenge. Achieve Distinction.

Experience History.

We're passionate about history because we're part of it. Established in 1819, Norwich University has grown alongside our nation and its alumni have directly contributed to America's dynamic history. As the first private military school in the United States and the birthplace of ROTC, Norwich has played an influential role in preparing historians, teachers, and military professionals with the educational foundation and historical expertise to build a lasting career.

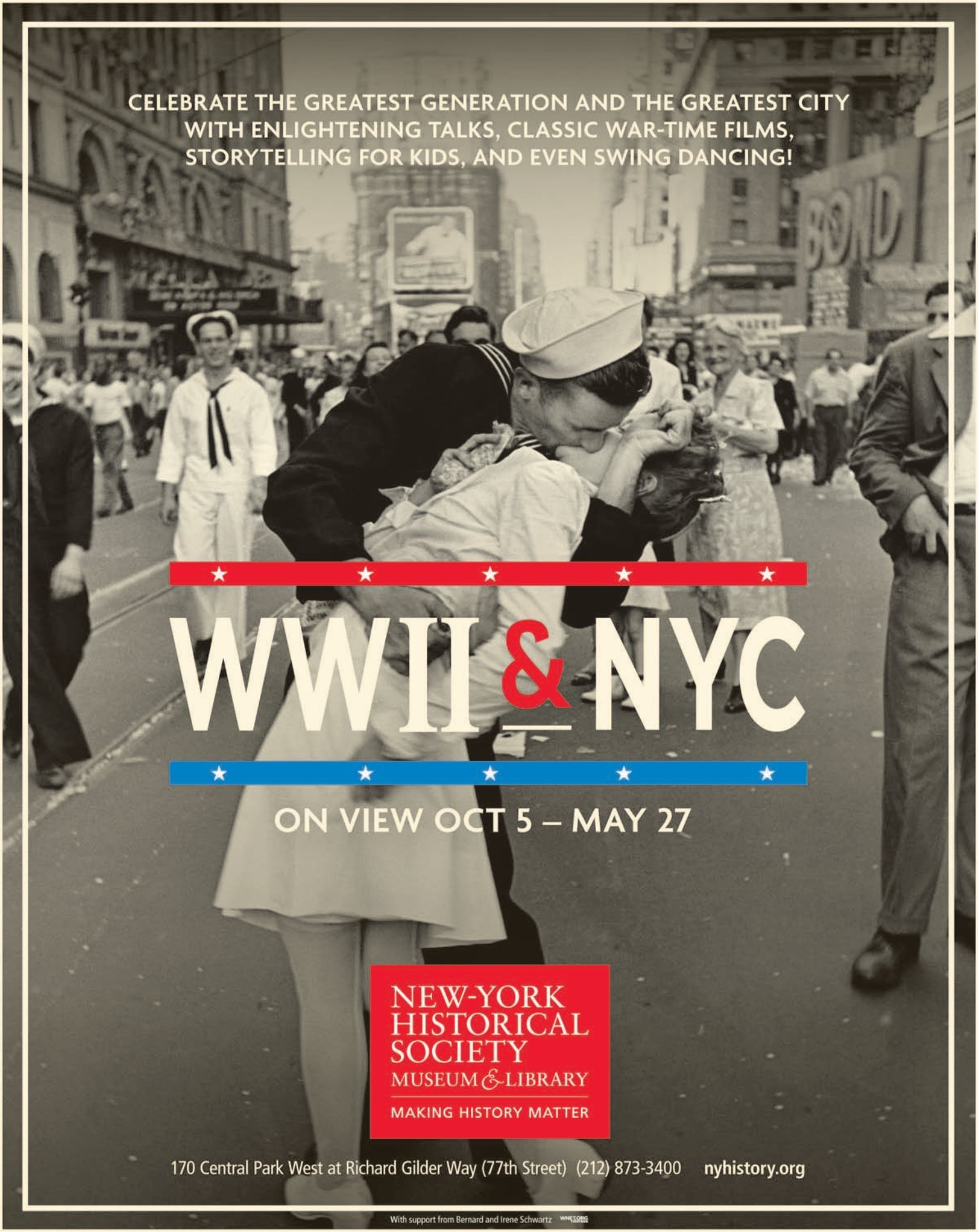
Norwich University continues to make history by defining academic excellence in the field of history. Our graduate level history online programs are directly connecting students with subject matter experts, who don't just read history books – they write them.

Master of Arts in History - Online



Master of Arts in Military History - Online

http://graduate.norwich.edu/ww2history



With support from Bernard and Irene Schwartz

Alfred Eisenstaedt, *Happy sailor kissing nurse in Times Square during impromptu VJ Day celebration following announcement of the Japanese surrender and the end of WWII, August 14, 1945.* Photograph. Courtesy of Time Life Pictures/Getty Images

Contents

WWII HISTORY

Late Fall 2012

Features

Columns

Cover: A German soldier armed with a flame thrower attacks a Soviet bunker during the invasion of Russia in 1941. See story page 34.

Photo: © Bettmann/Corbis

WWII History (ISSN 1539-5456) is published eight times yearly by Sovereign Media, 6731 Whittier Ave., Suite A-100, McLean, VA 22101. (703) 964-0361. Periodical postage paid at McLean, VA, and additional mailing offices. *WWII History*, Volume 11, Number 8 © 2012 by Sovereign Media Company, Inc., all rights reserved. Copyrights to stories and illustrations are the property of their creators. The contents of this publication may not be reproduced in whole or in part without consent of the copyright owner. ***Subscription services, back issues, and information:*** (800) 219-1187 *or* write to ***WWII History*** Circulation, WWII History, P.O. Box 1644, Williamsport, PA 17703. Single copies: $5.99, plus $3 for postage. Yearly subscription in U.S.A.: $24.99; Canada and Overseas: $40.99 (U.S.). Editorial Office: Send editorial mail to *WWII History*, 6731 Whittier Ave., Suite A-100, McLean, VA 22101. *WWII History* welcomes editorial submissions but assumes no responsibility for the loss or damage of unsolicited material. Material to be returned should be accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope. We suggest that you send a self-addressed, stamped envelope for a copy of our author's guidelines. **POSTMASTER: Send address changes to WWII History, P.O. Box 1644, Williamsport, PA 17703.**

THE WORLD WAR COLLECTION

Yours for only

$19.95

from The Folio Society

'Masterly', 'magisterial', 'all-encompassing' are just some of the adjectives from enthusiastic reviews for Martin Gilbert's histories of the World Wars. An eminent military historian, Churchill's biographer and an expert on the Holocaust, Gilbert is a superb guide, known for his meticulous approach and his insight into the experience of ordinary soldiers and civilians on all sides. He is also a gifted writer: eloquent, illuminating and frequently moving.

As your introduction to The Folio Society we are offering you this magnificent four-volume set—worth $320—for only $19.95. Reply within 14 days and you will receive a deluxe set of *The Compact Oxford Dictionary and Thesaurus* in bonded leather, worth $104—yours FREE to keep whatever you decide about joining.

The Folio Society does not send 'choices of the month.' In return for this special introductory offer all you need to do is choose four books from our catalogue, nothing more.

We pride ourselves on the quality of every book in our collection. Our current publications include history and eye-witness accounts, classic and modern fiction, memoirs, biographies, children's books, humour, myth and legend. Prices start at $37.95, and many of our books are less than $50. Our books are not available in bookstores.

The Folio Society, established in England in 1947, publishes beautiful illustrated books for readers who wish to experience the pleasure of owning a collection of fine editions to enjoy now and in the future.

Why not start your collection now? Simply complete the coupon today or call Toll Free (24 hours) 1-800-353-0700.

THE FOLIO SOCIETY
P.O. Box 8018, Aston, PA 19014
www.joinfolio.com

ON THE FIRST WORLD WAR SET

"One of the first books that anyone should read in beginning to try to understand this war and this century"

THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW

ON THE SECOND WORLD WAR SET

"Mr. Gilbert brings the strongest possible credentials to his history of World War II ... a magisterial work"

THE NEW YORK TIMES

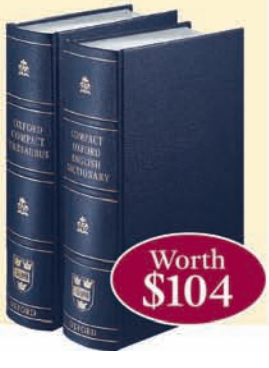
Plus your FREE gift

☐ **YES,** I am replying within 14 days and claim my free deluxe Oxford reference books which are mine to keep whatever I decide.

(please tick box)

The Compact Oxford English Dictionary and ***The Oxford Compact Thesaurus***

Two essential reference books in blue bonded leather with gold blocking



Reply Today and Save Over $404

To: The Membership Secretary, The Folio Society,
P.O. Box 8018, Aston, PA 19014 Fax:1-610-532-9001

ORDER TOLL FREE 1-800-353-0700

Please accept my application for FREE trial membership of The Folio Society and send me the *World War Collection*, together with the Folio catalogue and my FREE set of Oxford reference books. If I agree to purchase at least 4 books from your catalogue I will keep the *World War Collection* for the special introductory price of only $19.95 (including shipping). If I am not satisfied – for any reason – I will return the introductory set within 21 days. My membership will be cancelled and I will owe nothing. I understand that as a member of The Folio Society, I have the right to return any book if I am not completely satisfied. The Oxford reference books are mine to keep whatever I decide.

Title Name Date

BLOCK CAPITALS PLEASE

Address

City State Zipcode

Please allow 21 days for delivery. Applications subject to approval. Send no money now.

Promo = 2NDX36

Editorial

Hitler's nephew petitoned President Roosevelt to fight his hated uncle.

IT MAY COME AS A SURPRISE TO MANY THAT NAZI DICTATOR ADOLF HITLER failed to win the cooperation of all his family members for the dark vision of an Aryan Germany and a new world order. In fact, one nephew actually joined the United States Navy and fought against the Axis, but it did not happen without some doing.

According to recently released correspondence on the website LettersofNote.com, William Patrick Hitler, the son of the Führer's half brother, Alois Hitler, Jr., and his Irish-born wife, Bridget, petitioned President Franklin D. Roosevelt for the opportunity to enlist in the U.S. armed forces. Patrick was born in Liverpool, England, on March 12, 1911, and subsequently moved to Germany, possibly to take advantage of his uncle's powerful position. Indeed, Adolf Hitler did arrange for William to take a job in a bank in 1933. Later, he worked in an automobile factory and as a car salesman.

William Patrick Hitler, son of the Führer's half brother Alois, with his mother Bridget. William served in the U.S. Navy until 1947.

Apparently, he was not satisfied with his lot in Nazi Germany and blackmailed his uncle with the threat of revealing to the world that the Führer's paternal grandfather was actually Jewish. In the mid-1930s he left Germany for London and wrote an article for *Look* magazine titled "Why I Hate My Uncle."

By 1938, William had returned to Germany, and there is some speculation that he was in the service of British Intelligence. Then, fearing that the Nazis were suspicious, he fled Germany in 1939 and made his way, with his mother, to the United States to begin a lecture tour at the invitation of newspaper publisher William Randolph Hearst. When World War II broke out, both William and Bridget had no real choice but to remain in the United States.

According to a recent article written by Dylan Stableford of Yahoo News and the ABC News Network, William became passionate in his desire to fight for the Allied cause. In 1940, he had attempted to enlist and been denied.

A letter from William to President Roosevelt dated March 3, 1942, reads in part: "I am the nephew and only descendant of the ill-famed Chancellor and Leader of Germany who today so despotically seeks to enslave the free and Christian peoples of the globe. Under your masterful leadership men of all creeds and nationalities are waging desperate war to determine, in the last analysis, whether they shall finally serve and live an ethical society under God or become enslaved by a devilish and pagan regime…. All my relatives and friends soon will be marching for freedom and decency under the Stars and Stripes. For this reason, Mr. President, I am respectfully submitting this petition to you to enquire as to whether I may be allowed to join them in their struggle against tyranny and oppression."

William goes on in the letter to describe his attempts to join the armed forces of Great Britain and the apparently cool reception he received from British authorities. "The British are an insular people and while they are kind and courteous, it is my impression, rightly or wrongly, that they could not in the long run feel overly cordial or sympathetic towards an individual bearing the name I do…," he wrote.

William was granted permission to enlist in the U.S. Navy in 1944, served three years as a pharmacist's mate, received the Purple Heart for a wound, and was discharged in 1947. After the war, he changed his surname to Stuart-Houston and established Brookhaven Laboratories on Long Island, New York, residing in the city of Patchogue. He married in 1947 and became the father of four sons. He died at the age of 76 on July 14, 1987, having largely achieved the post-war anonymity that he sought

Michael E. Haskew

WWII HISTORY

Volume 11 ■ Number 8

CARL A. GNAM, JR.
Editorial Director, Founder

MICHAEL E. HASKEW
Editor

LAURA CLEVELAND
Managing Editor

SAMANTHA DETULLEO
Art Director

CONTRIBUTORS:
Robert Cashner, Al Hemingway, Lance D. Jones, Gary Kidney, Joseph Luster, James I. Marino, Pat McTaggart, Christopher Miskimon, Eric Niderost, Lester Rentmeester, Blaine Taylor

ADVERTISING OFFICE:

BEN BOYLES
Advertising Manager
(570) 322-7848, ext. 110
benjaminb@sovhomestead.com

MARK HINTZ
Chief Executive Officer

KEN FORNWALT
Data Processing Director

PHIL PROBST
Subscription Customer Service
sovereign@publishersserviceassociates.com
(570) 322-7848, ext. 163

CURTIS CIRCULATION COMPANY
WORLDWIDE DISTRIBUTION

SOVEREIGN MEDIA COMPANY, INC.
6731 Whittier Avenue, Suite A-100
McLean, VA 222101-4554

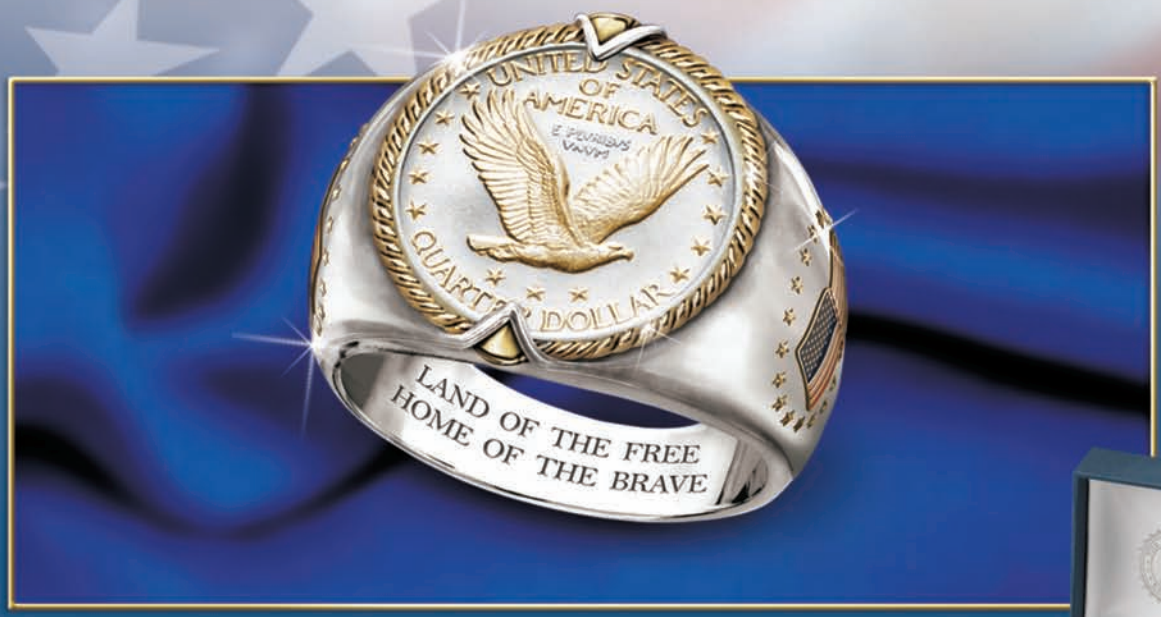
SUBSCRIPTION CUSTOMER SERVICE
AND BUSINESS OFFICE:
1000 Commerce Park Drive, Suite 300
Williamsport, PA 17701

(800) 219-1187

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

HONOR OUR NATION'S SPIRIT OF FREEDOM

with the U.S. EAGLE QUARTER RING



Side shanks showcase hand-enameled imagery of the American flag

INDIVIDUALLY CRAFTED FEATURING A GENUINE 90% SILVER U.S. COIN AND 24K GOLD PLATING

Comes in a handsome presentation case

Wear Your American Pride!

A quintessential testament to America's eternal strength, the Standing Liberty Quarter is among our nation's most treasured coins. The reverse features a majestic American eagle in flight, representing freedom, dignity and unity—making it the perfect choice for the centerpiece of the *U.S. Eagle Quarter Ring*. This distinctive ring boasts a genuine 90% silver Standing Liberty Quarter centerpiece, gleaming with 24 gold-plated highlights. The setting is hand-crafted with rich 24K gold plating and depicts the American flag with red, white and blue enameling on the side shanks. Engraved inside are the stirring words: "Land of the Free, Home of the Brave."

A Superb Value ... A Historic Opportunity.

The *U.S. Eagle Quarter Ring* arrives in a handsome presentation case, and makes a great gift. Act now, and it can be yours for just $149*, payable in four convenient installments of $37.25 each. To reserve your ring, backed by our unconditional, 120-day guarantee, send no money now. Just return the Priority Reservation Certificate. But hurry—this is a limited time offer!

www.bradfordexchange.com/eaglering

LIMITED TIME OFFER

Actual Size

Your Complete Satisfaction Guaranteed

To assure a proper fit, a ring sizer will be sent to you after your reservation has been accepted.

RESERVATION APPLICATION **SEND NO MONEY NOW**

THE BRADFORD EXCHANGE MINT

9345 Milwaukee Avenue · Niles, IL 60714-1393

YES. Please reserve the ***U.S. Eagle Quarter Ring*** for me as described in this announcement.

Please Respond Promptly

Signature _____

Mrs. Mr. Ms. _____
Name (Please Print Clearly)

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

17-00156-001-E70101

*Plus a total of $9.00 shipping and service. Please allow 4-8 weeks after initial payment for shipment. Sales subject to product availability and order acceptance.

Dispatches

Friendly Fire at the Bulge

Dear Editor,

Reference is made in the Early Fall issue of *WWII History* and in particular in the article on the Battle of the Bulge and the role of our air force in this historic campaign. Thank you for an excellent and comprehensive discourse about the air war in the Bulge. I was with the 30th Infantry Division in Malmédy during the "friendly fire" bombing and offer additional information on this subject. The bombing did take place for three consecutive days, the first being on December 23, 1944. This was conducted by B-24 bombers that targeted the center of Malmédy. The next bombing took place on December 24 again with B-24s but with a larger force than the preceding day.

This was the most destructive of the three bombings. The Christmas Day bombing was with B-26s flying lower than the B-24s. After the initial bombing, we contacted the air force and asked why they were attacking us. Their reply was that their intelligence reported that Malmédy was in German hands. The report in your article that the B-26s mistook Malmédy for Zuplich is the first I have heard of this explanation. There was actually a fourth day of attack by American planes. On December 27, American fighters did some strafing but, compared to the bombs, these attacks were more annoying than destructive!

In previous "friendly fire" bombings, the 30th Infantry Division had 683 casualties from the saturated, high-level bombing of St. Lo in Normandy. This tactic was intended to finally break through the hedgerow country of Normandy.

The bombing took place during two days, July 24 and July 25, 1944. On July 24 some of the bombs fell on the 30th and the mission was scrapped. On July 25, bombs again fell on the 30th but the mission continued and as a result a breach in the German lines effected the beginning of the end of the Normandy campaign. Of the 683 casualties, 93 were killed, 530 were wounded, and 60 were missing and presumed blown beyond recognition or buried alive. General Leslie McNair joined the 30th to witness the bombing and was one of the casualties.

In both of the described incidents the Eighth and the Ninth Air Forces were involved.

George F. Schneider
Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Sherman vs. Tiger and Panther

I just finished reading Blaine Taylor's article on the Sherman Tank, entitled "Blunder or Wonder Weapon?" While Mr. Taylor lays out the issue without really taking a stand one way or the other, I will give him credit for once again stirring this pot.

The comparisons of the Sherman to the German Tiger and Panther never cease to amaze me. Let's take a look at those two German vehicles. Both were incredibly complicated and expensive to build, and required more raw materials and skilled labor than the Germans had available to produce them in anything like the quantities needed. Mr. Taylor cites 1,835 Tigers and 4,800 Panthers as having been built and I'll stipulate to those numbers. The odds against those few German tanks are even worse than the numbers would indicate. Both the Tiger and Panther were maintenance-intensive nightmares. They broke down frequently, and in the case of the Tiger were so heavy that they frequently couldn't be recovered and had to be blown up by their own crews. As a result, the number of vehicles available for combat at any given time was usually far fewer than it should have been because so many of them were broken down.

The Tiger also had mobility issues. It was too wide for European rail transportation without first removing the outer set of road wheels and changing to a narrow "transport track." Once at its destination, the process had to be reversed and the "combat track" and road wheels reinstalled. Anyone who has "broken track" knows what a royal pain that must have been in even the best of conditions. Now imagine doing it in the snow, or mud, or under fire. The Tiger guzzled fuel and was too heavy for many bridges and fords. The famous Kampfgruppe Peiper had a battalion of King Tigers attached during the Battle of the Bulge and because of their mobility issues Peiper placed them at the back of his column, out of the way.

Both the Tiger and the Panther had issues with overloaded transmissions and final drives and were notorious for breaking down. However, we in the former Allied nations seem to have a love affair with all things German from WWII. Maybe it's the cool names, I don't know.

Now let's look at the Sherman. Anyone who wants to understand what a miracle of production the U.S. achieved in WWII ought to read a recent book on the subject by Arthur Herman called *Freedom's Forge*. It was an incredible feat that the U.S. built 40,000 of any tank. People often seem to think that the choice of the Sherman was the result of a bad decision or negligence. To go from nothing and to then design, tool up for, build, and ship around the world not only 40,000 Shermans but all the other vehicles, airplanes, equipment, supplies, and personnel that we did between December 7, 1941 and the end of the war is an accomplishment that few people appreciate to this day.

I'm sure General Patton would have preferred to have the M26 Pershing from day one, but that wasn't one of his options. The Sherman was everything the German tanks were not. It was relatively easy to mass produce and transport. It was reliable, easy to maintain, and had good maneuverability. It wasn't perfect but it was a good balance of the three holy grails of tank design: armor protection, firepower, and mobility.

Guy DeYoung
Roseville, California

Dear Editor,

Blaine Taylor's article was very informative as are many that deal with the question of quality over numbers. However, if we were able to ask all the dead tankers who died because of being in a lighter armored, undergunned tank in battle, I'm sure they would have preferred a bigger gun and more armor. Was the price in loss of life, not to mention experienced crewmen, worth it?

I was a tanker in the 1970s and I felt more confident in my ability to do my job knowing I had thick sloped armor, as big of a gun as most, and an escape hatch under the driver's seat, if needed.

Lawrence Anders
E-5, 4/69 th Armor of the 8th Inf. Div.
Mainz, Germany

Lieutenant Bonnyman

Dear Editor,

I read your article with great interest from the Early Fall 2012 issue "Conspicuous Gallantry at Tarawa," on Lieutenant Alexander "Sandy" Bonnyman. Much thanks go to author Joseph M. Horodyski for so accurately describing the details of the taking of the largest bunker off of Red Beach 3. My father, Pfc. Richard V. Morgan, was one of the 13 survivors of the initial rush. In some film and photos you can see him with a box grenades, that were used to drop down the air vents.

May I quote two sentences from my father's brief memoirs. "I never really knew Lt. Bonnyman—an officer in charge of a shore party (landing supplies) attached to our Battalion—except having spent a brief but furious morning near him. But throughout my life his memory has clung to me and he has been a humbling inspiration."

Many more Marines deserved metals for their actions on Tarawa, but Lt. Bonnyman definitely deserved our nation's highest honor and greatest thanks!

Again, thank you for this wonderful salute to a great man.

Dan Morgan
Gibsonia, Pennsylvania

Note: Opinions expressed in "Dispatches" do not represent those of the writers, editors, or staff of WWII History *or Sovereign Media.* WWII History *welcomes your letters which must be signed and include a telephone number for verification. Letters must be brief and of general interest to our readership. Write to: WWII History, 6731 Whittier Avenue, Suite A-100, McLean, VA 22101-4554; fax to 703-964-0366, or e-mail:* ***dispatch@wwiihistory magazine.com***

Are you tired of feeling "foggy"... absent-minded... or confused?

AGE PROOF YOUR BRAIN!

Discover the science behind the memory enhancer that shocked the world!

Clearwater, Florida:

Nothing's more frustrating than when you forget names… misplace your keys… or just feel "a little confused". And even though your foggy memory gets laughed off as just another "senior moment", it's not very funny when it keeps happening to you.

Like gray hair and reading glasses… some people accept their memory loss as just a part of getting older. But it doesn't have to be that way.

Today, people in their 70s, 80's even their 90s... are staying mentally fit, focused and "fog-free". So what do they know that you don't? Well, the secret may be as easy as taking a tiny pill called ***Lipogen PS Plus***.

"My memory was starting to fail me. I forgot all kinds of things. Something I just said would completely slip my mind and my memory seemed pretty unreliable. I was worried. I read about *Lipogen* and wanted to try it. It was gradual. I was taking it on a daily basis for 3 months when it hit me, 'I haven't forgotten anything recently'. I recommend it to all my friends! I would not trust my memory without it. It's given me a lot more self confidence! Thanks Lipogen for giving me my memory back!"

-Donna V., Ocala, FL.

UNBLOCK YOUR BRAIN

Made exclusively in Israel, this incredible supplement feeds your brain the nutrients it needs to stay healthy. It was developed by Dr. Meir Shinitzky, Ph.D., former visiting professor at Duke University, and recipient of the prestigious J.F. Kennedy Prize.

Dr. Shinitzky explains; "Science has shown, when your brain nutrient levels drop, you can start to experience memory problems. Your ability to concentrate and stay focused becomes compromised. And gradually, a "mental fog" sets in. It can damage every aspect of your life".

In recent years, researchers identified the importance of a remarkable compound called phosphatidylserine (PS). It's the key ingredient in ***Lipogen PS Plus***. And crucial to your ability to learn and remember things as you age.

EARTH-SHAKING SCIENCE

Published, clinical reports show replenishing your body's natural supply of Phosphatidylserine, not only helps sharpen your memory and concentration— but also helps "perk you up" and put you in a better mood.

YOUR MEMORY UNLEASHED!

Lipogen PS Plus is an impressive fusion of the most powerful, natural memory compounds on Earth. This drug-free brain-boosting formula enters your bloodstream fast (in as little as thirty minutes).

It produces amazing results. Especially for people who have tried everything to improve their memory before, but failed. ***Lipogen PS Plus*** gives your brain the vital boost it needs to jump-start your focus and mental clarity. "It truly is a godsend!" says Shinitzky.

SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENTS

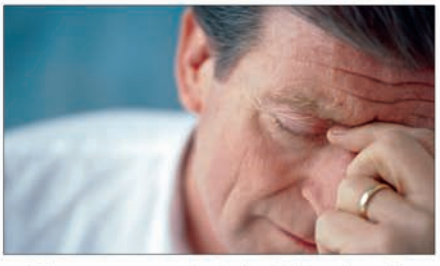
In 1992, doctors tested phosphatidylserine on a select group of people aged 60-80 years old. Their test scores showed impressive memory improvement. Test subjects could remember more and were more mentally alert. But doctors noticed something else.

The group taking phosphatidylserine, not only enjoyed sharper memory, but were also more upbeat and remarkably happy. In contrast, the moods of the individuals who took the placebo (starch pill), remained unaffected.

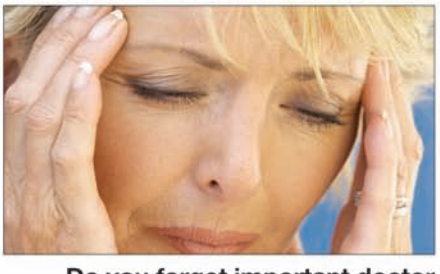
FDA Officially Reviewed by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration:

Lipogen PS safety has been reviewed by the FDA (FDA GRAS Notice No. GRN 000186) PS is the ONLY health supplement with a FDA "qualified health claim" for **BOTH, COGNITIVE DYSFUNCTION AND DEMENTIA.**

Do you get lost going to places you used to know how to get to?



Do you spend a lot of time looking for things like your glasses or keys?



Do you forget important doctor visits or dates?

But in order to truly appreciate how well ***Lipogen PS Plus*** works for your memory— you really have to try it. And now you can...

SPECIAL "SEE FOR YOURSELF" RISK-FREE SUPPLY

We've made arrangements with the distributor of ***Lipogen PS Plus*** to offer you a special "Readers Only Discount". This trial is 100% risk-free.

It's a terrific deal. If ***Lipogen PS Plus*** doesn't help you think better, remember more... and improve your mind, clarity and mood – you won't pay a penny! (except s&h).

But you must act fast. Your order can only be guaranteed if it comes in within the next 7-days. After that, supplies could run out. And your order may not be fulfilled until they are replenished.

So don't wait. Now you can join the thousands of people who think better, remember more— and enjoy clear, "fog-free" memory. Think of it as making a "wake-up call" to your brain.

Call Now, Toll Free!

1-800-789-8589

By Robert Cashner

Photo: Steven Mercatante, www.globeatwar.com

Wehrmacht Workhorse

The Hetzer provided lengthy service on all fronts where the German Army was engaged during World War II.

BY 1943 IT WAS OBVIOUS TO THE GERMANS THAT THEIR TANK PRODUCTION could not keep pace with battlefield losses. One of their efforts to expedite weapons production was the conversion of old, outdated tank chassis into tank destroyers, or Jagdpanzers. Early efforts demonstrated the rushed and sometimes rough mating of a small, old tank with a large, powerful gun. The Marder series especially appeared cumbersome and top heavy. The most successful conversion was the Jagdpanzer 38(t), commonly referred to as the Hetzer.

With international tensions rising in Europe, in 1937 the Czech Army began a search for a new modern tank. After exhaustive testing, the Czechs adopted the LT vz 38. It had riveted armor with a maximum thickness of 25mm and a minimum of 10mm, which was comparable to similar tanks of the era. A four-man crew included the driver, bow gunner, gunner, and commander. The main gun was a Skoda A7 37mm cannon, equivalent in performance to the Germans' own 37mm or the British 2-pounder. A Praga inline 6-cylinder gasoline engine gave the LT vz 38 a top speed of 26 miles per hour and a range of 125 miles. All around, it could outperform or was at least comparable to any tank in the German Army with the exception of the PzKpfw. IV with a short-barreled 75mm gun, but this tank was available only in small numbers.

When France and Great Britain sacrificed Czechoslovakia to the Nazis to gain Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's "Peace in Our Time," the Germans were more than happy to get their hands on the famous Czech arms industry and its products. The vz 38 was not in service with the Czech Army yet, but the Germans eagerly adopted all existing models for themselves as the PzKpfw. 38(t), with the "t" designating the Czech origin of the vehicle, and kept the production lines rolling. The Germans used the PzKpfw. 38(t) to equip their 7th and 8th Panzer Divisions for the invasion of Poland in 1939 and France in May 1940. The PzKpfw. 38(t), with various upgrades, remained in frontline service with the Wehrmacht as a light tank until 1942, when new Soviet armored vehicles such as the T-34 medium and KV series of heavy tanks outclassed it.

A restored Jagdpanzer 38(t), commonly called the "Hetzer," goes into action at a World War II reenactment event. The "t" designation indicated that the tank destroyer design was of Czech origin.

However, the chassis and powertrain were still quite viable. These became the bases for a variety of German tracked vehicles, including self-propelled artillery, tank destroyers, assault guns, reconnaissance vehicles, a self-propelled 20mm antiaircraft gun, and an assortment of weapons carriers. The most successful of these was the leichte (light) Jagdpanzer 38(t) Hetzer. The term "Hetzer," or "baiter," was never official nomenclature but rather a misunderstanding between German Army officials and Czech manufacturers. The name stuck unofficially.

The Jagdpanzer 38(t) retained the Praga AC/2800 water-cooled inline, six-cylinder

National Archives

An American soldier inspects the wreckage of a German Hetzer recently destroyed in combat.

engine, the 150- to 160-horsepower transferred through a semiautomatic five-speed Praga transmission and Wilson clutch and steering brakes to the final drive. The original front drive sprocket, rear idler wheel, and leaf spring suspension of the PzKpfw. 38 was retained, but the four rubber-tired steel road wheels were larger than the originals and the track had only a single return roller on top. Relatively lightweight at 16 tons (the design specs calling for 13 tons) and with a 35cm wide track, the Hetzer had a ground pressure of 0.76kg/cm2. Although at 26 mph (42 kph) it was nowhere near as fast as the 55-60 kph originally called for in the design parameters, it had good cross-country performance, and although sluggish at low speed it could be quite nimble with the engine kept revved up to high rpms. It also featured a pivot steer, with one track going forward while the other reversed, enabling it to turn around basically within its own length.

The new hull was designed with armor protection and not crew comfort in mind. The frontal

How to Outsmart a Millionaire

Only the "Robin Hood of Watchmakers" can steal the spotlight from a luxury legend for under $200!

I wasn't looking for trouble. I sat in a café, sipping my espresso and enjoying the quiet. Then it got noisy. Mr. Bigshot rolled up in a roaring high-performance Italian sports car, dropping attitude like his $22,000 watch made it okay for him to be rude. That's when I decided to roll up my sleeves and teach him a lesson.

"Nice watch," I said, pointing to his and holding up mine. He nodded like we belonged to the same club. We did, but he literally paid 100 times more for his membership. Bigshot bragged about his five-figure purchase, a luxury heavyweight from the titan of high-priced timepieces. I told him that mine was the ***Stauer Corso, a 27-jewel automatic classic now available for only $179.*** And just like that, the man was at a loss for words.

Think of Stauer as the "Robin Hood of Watchmakers." We believe everyone deserves a watch of uncompromising precision, impressive performance and the most elegant styling. You deserve a watch that can hold its own against the luxury classics for a fraction of the price. You'll feel the quality as soon as you put it on your wrist. This is an expertly-crafted time machine... not a cry for attention.

Wear a mechanical masterpiece for only $179! We surveyed our customers. As intelligent, high net worth individuals, they have outgrown the need to show off. They have nothing to prove; they already proved it. They want superb quality and astonishing value. And that's exactly what we deliver.

The Stauer ***Corso*** is proof that the worth of a watch doesn't depend on the size of its price tag. Our factory spent over $40 million on Swiss-made machinery to insure the highest quality parts. Each timepiece takes six months and over 200 individual precision parts to create the complex assembly. Peer through the exhibition back to see the 27-jeweled automatic movement in action and you'll understand why we can only offer the ***Corso*** in a limited edition.

Our specialty is vintage automatic movements. The ***Corso*** is driven by a self-winding design, inspired by a 1923 patent. Your watch will never need batteries. Every second of power is generated by the movement of your body. The black dial features a trio of date complications including a graphic day/night display. The ***Corso*** secures with a two-toned stainless steel bracelet and is water-resistant to 3 ATMs.

Your satisfaction is 100% guaranteed. Test drive the Stauer ***Corso***. If you don't love it, send it back within 30 days and we'll refund every dollar of your purchase price. Spending more doesn't make you smarter. But saving thousands on a watch this stunning will leave you feeling (and looking) like a genius!

Exclusive OFFER!

Order the Stauer Corso and these Stauer Flyboy Optics™ Sunglasses (a $99 value) are yours ***FREE!***

Limited to 4500 pieces... Order Today!

Another Stauer Exclusive Not In Stores

Stauer Corso Timepiece—~~$495~~ *Now $179* +S&P ***PLUS*** **receive the Stauer Flyboy Optics™ Sunglasses FREE!**

Call now to take advantage of this limited offer with our 30-day money back guarantee.

1-800-859-1626

Promotional Code CSW202-01
Please mention this code when you call.

Stauer has a Better Business Bureau Rating of A+

14101 Southcross Drive W.,
Dept. CSW202-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337
www.stauer.com

Stauer®

27-jeweled Vertex automatic movement - Interior dials - Transparent caseback - Dual-toned stainless steel case and bracelet band fits wrists 6 ½"–9"

armor was of rolled steel plates interlocked and welded, 60mm thick with the top sloped at a 60-degree angle and the lower plate sloped at 40 degrees. The side and rear armor was of a lower quality alloy steel and only 20mm thick. The top plates sloped at 40 degrees, and the lower hull and rear sloped at 15 degrees. Top armor was only 8mm thick, and the bottom plate 10mm.

One German after-action report by a battalion commander of a Hetzer unit noted the effectiveness of this armor. "The frontal armor resists penetration by the Russian 7.62cm antitank guns. Up to now, losses have only occurred due to penetration of the sides and rear. It is therefore especially important to only present the strong front to the enemy."

It was a low, compact armored vehicle, the hull 15 feet, 9 inches long, just over eight feet wide, and less than seven feet tall, hardly higher than a standing man. Main armament was the reliable and powerful 75mm L48 PaK39, with a secondary armament of a top-mounted 7.92mm machine gun. Small, low and easy to hide, fairly nimble, and with a powerful gun, the Hetzer made an excellent tank destroyer.

The same colonel quoted above said, "The 'leichte Panzerjager 38' had passed its test in fire. The crews are proud of this Jagdpanzer and the infantry have faith in it. Especially praised is the ... machine gun. The effective weapons, low profile, and well-sloped armor make it fully adaptable to both its main roles in combating enemy tanks and supporting infantry in both attack and defense."

"In a short period, one company destroyed 20 tanks without a single loss. A task group destroyed 57 tanks, of which two were JS 122s at a range of 800 meters."

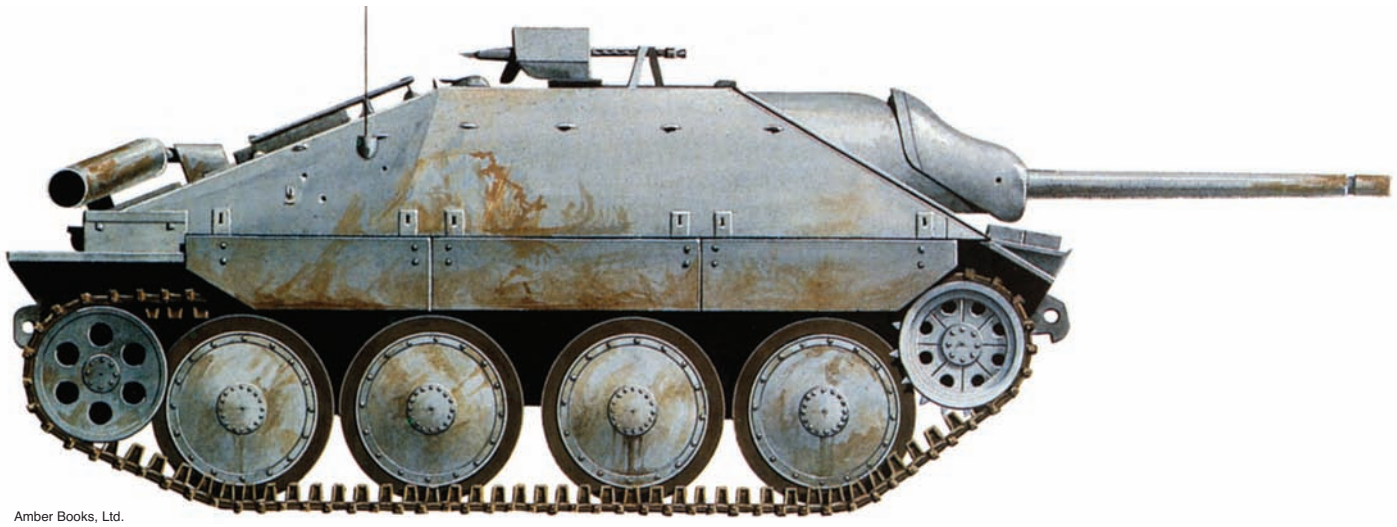
As with many wartime improvisations there were, of course, problems. Due to the width of the hull, the 75mm main gun had to be mounted on the right side, the mount supported by the thick upper plate. This limited the gun to a relatively narrow traverse of only five degrees left and 11 degrees right; anything further, or if engaging a crossing target, the driver had to turn the vehicle toward the target. The extra weight on the right side put undue pressure on the suspension's leaf springs and also made the vehicle nose heavy, with the rear end sitting 10cm higher than the front. As production continued, improvements were made, such as beefing up the leaf springs and drive train and lightening the gun mantle. Other various modifications to ease manufacture and maintenance, such as small hatches in the armor for the fuel, oil, and antifreeze caps, were also incorporated over the life of the vehicle.

National Archives

The low silhouette of the Hetzer is visible in this photo of one of the armored vehicles that was captured by the Home Army during the Warsaw Uprising and used as part of a barricade against German troops attempting to enter the Warsaw Ghetto.

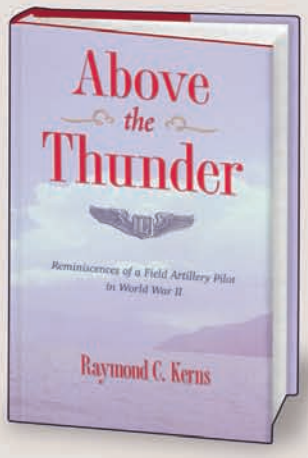
Nothing could be done to make more room inside the small hull, and the crew had little space. The driver, gunner, and loader were all seated in a line up the left side of the hull. The commander was perched in the right rear with the recoil guard of the main gun all but isolating him from the rest of the crew, hurting the vital teamwork of the whole crew. His view was restricted to the SF14Z scissors periscope forward and a small rear-facing fixed periscope.

The driver was squeezed into the front left corner with the transmission and gun mount right at his elbow. Steering was via two horizontal rather than vertical joysticks with exposed linkages, and his field of view was poor with only two periscopes pointing straight forward. Since he could not communicate well



Amber Books, Ltd.

First-Hand Accounts That Will Put You in the Middle of the Action



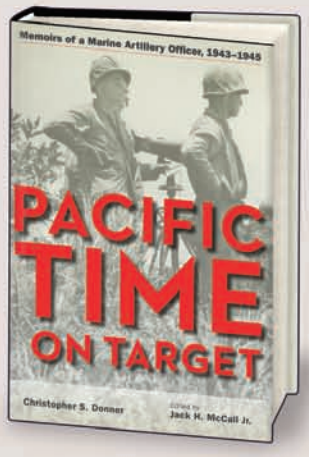
Above the Thunder

Reminiscences of a Field Artillery Pilot in World War II

Raymond C. Kerns

Winner of the 2009 Army Historical Foundation Book Award

In a simple but riveting style, Raymond Kerns recalls flying multiple patrols over enemy-held territory in his light, unarmored plane, calling and coordinating artillery strikes. While his most effective defense was the maneuverability and nimbleness of the L-4, Kerns was often required to defend himself with pistols and rifles, hand grenades, and a machine gun he welded to his landing gear.

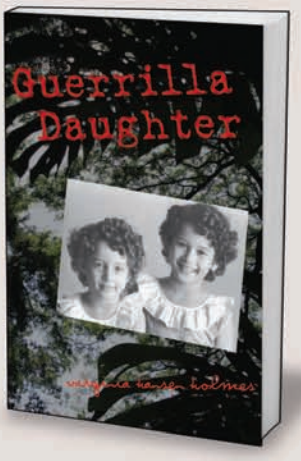


Pacific Time on Target

Memoirs of a Marine Artillery Officer, 1943–1945

Christopher S. Donner
Edited by Jack H.McCall Jr.

"The three month battle for Okinawa became a slaughterhouse. . . . Lieutenant Donner's personal memoir—written a year after the battle—recounts the searing experiences of this Marine artillery officer serving as a forward observer with front-line infantry units of the U.S. Tenth Army. . . . Tautly written, painstakingly honest, and exacting in detail, Donner's memoir chronicles his frustrations in striving to deliver precise fire support in chaotic amphibious assaults, from the Solomons to Okinawa, the climactic battle of the Pacific War."—*Colonel Joseph H. Alexander, ISMC (ret.)*



Guerrilla Daughter

Virginia Hansen Holmes

This is a powerful memoir of the Hansen family's extraordinary struggle to survive the Japanese occupation of Mindanao from the spring of 1942 until the end of the war in 1945. The men in the family fought as guerrilla soldiers in the island's resistance movement, while the women, facing disease, hunger, harsh living conditions, and possible capture and death, were left on their own to evade the Japanese.

Available from your local bookstore or from www.KentStateUniversityPress.com

THE KENT STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1118 UNIVERSITY LIBRARY • KENT, OHIO 44242-0001
■ www.KentStateUniversityPress.com

bundesarchiv bild 1011-715-0213A-25; Photo: Wilhelm Kreutzer

This Hetzer of the Waffen SS Division Florian Geyer was photographed in Hungary in 1944. The 75mm main gun of the Hetzer was capable of knocking out most Allied tanks fielded during the war.

with the commander, there were three lights on the driver's control panel which the commander could turn on and off to signal the driver to go left, right, or straight. Driver safety was limited to a thick leather pad above his head and a small, thick rubber pad on his left.

Because the gun was mounted on the right, the loader had to feed it from the wrong side, reach over it to switch the safety, breech block opening lever, and extractor release, as well as reach across the recoil path or the gunner to pull some of the stowed ammunition. The loader had a single periscope fixed in the 9 o'clock position to see out the left side of the vehicle.

The gunner was seated directly to the left of the gun breech, with hand-cranked traverse and elevation wheels directly on the right. His gunnery sight was the SFl.Z.F.1a periscope, which ran up through the roof. The reticule on the sight consisted of seven triangles that were four mils apart, enabling the gunner to aim without obscuring the target, calculate range, and lead a target. The reticule could be dimly lit for low-light shooting. An adjustable range drum was graduated in 100-meter intervals for the trajectory of the four different types of ammunition used. When the whole crew was buttoned up, there was essentially no vision to the right side of the vehicle.

A remote-control MG-34 7.92mm machine gun was mounted on the roof for close-in defense against infantry. Behind the loader were the controls, rather like a submarine periscope with two folding handles, a rotating 3x periscope to aim through, and a trigger lever on the handlebar. While it did work, it was limited to a belt of only 50 rounds inside a metal drum; with a cyclic rate of fire of 800-900 rounds per minute, it was only good for a few short bursts. Reloading required the loader to pop out the hatch and expose himself to enemy fire.

It was the PaK 39 that was the heart of the whole system, and although only 75mm it was powerful enough to handle any Allied tank with the exception of the Soviet heavies like the Josef Stalin. Four types of ammunition were carried, with a total of 41 rounds. The Pzgr.40 high-velocity, sub-caliber, tungsten core round was the best antitank shell, firing a 4.1kg projectile at 930 m/s. Striking at a 30-degree angle, this round could penetrate 120mm of armor at 500 meters and 97mm at 1,000. The sight drum was graduated to 2,000 meters for this load.

The tungsten-cored Pzgr. 40 ammunition was often in scarce supply, and the runner up for anti-tank performance was the more plentiful Pzgr. 39 armor piercing, ballistic-capped with explosive filler and tracer element, launching a heavier 6.8kg projectile at a lower muzzle velocity of 750 m/s. It could pierce 106mm and 95mm of armor at 500 and 1,000 meters respectively.

The Gr. 38 HL/C round was designed around the shaped charge HEAT (high explosive antitank) principle used in the bazooka and panzerfaust, but was actually much less effective against armor than either of the other two AT rounds as well as being much less accurate. It could be used in lieu of the standard high-explosive round for soft targets.

With the Pzgr. 39 or 40 ammunition, the Hetzer was capable of first-shot hits at 1,000 meters. The German Army testing procedure assumed correct range estimation and a competent gunner and expected with Pzgr.39 ammo a 99 percent chance of a first-shot hit at 500 meters and a 71 percent chance at 1,000 meters. The small vehicle, camouflaged and waiting in ambush, could be deadly with such shooting. An Allied tank column would not know the Panzerjager was there until the lead tank burst into flames.

A German Army after-action report from the Eastern Front detailed what Hetzers with good crews could do, even against the Soviet giants.

"The 3rd Company with four Jagdpanzer 38s was in a firefight with a JS-122 at a range of 1,200 meters. The Russian heavy tank fired 10 rounds at the commander's Jagdpanzer that had taken up a good position on a reverse slope. All 10 rounds came directly at the Jadgpanzer but always landed 100 meters too short."

This shows the value of what tankers call a hull-down position. Basically, if the driver could see the target the gunner could engage it. The gun itself needed only 1.4 meters of clearance to fire; thus, in a hull-down or defilade position, the Hetzer presented a target only .77 meters tall.

"The company commander immediately sent a Jagdpanzer off to the right along a concealed route through a depression to attack from the flank. The sixth shot from this Jagdpanzer 38 penetrated the side of the Josef Stalin 122, and it burned out. This reemphasized the experience that if possible a single Jagdpanzer 38 should never engage in a firefight. When firing the powder smoke is blown back and envelops the commander's scissors periscope and strongly hinders the ability to observe and correct the gunner's aim. A second Jagdpanzer can observe the flight and strike of the rounds and relay corrections by radio to quickly destroy enemy tanks."

So, teamwork was not only important with the individual crews, hampered by the recoil shield around the commander's position, but also with the other vehicles in the company. The tactical use of terrain, cover, and concealment was nearly as important. Deploying single Hetzers, especially without infantry support, was almost certain to end in failure.

Even after the end of the war in Europe, some Hetzers were manufactured from existing stocks and production facilities in Czechoslovakia. The Czechs built 180 for their own military forces, mostly used for training, and Switzerland ordered 158 export models of the Hetzer, which were given the Swiss Army nomenclature G-13.

Why, one would ask, with all the Hetzer's little problems, would a postwar nation want them? The Swiss military system and doctrine was defensive in nature. When needed, the

Continued on page 81

FREE SHIPPING*

BATTLEGROUND PLAYSET

This 160 plus piece playset is the perfect set to get any toy soldier collector started into the European Theater of WWII. Included in the set are over 45 Germans and 50 Allied troops including GI's, French and British. You also get 3 German tanks, 1 German 88mm cannon, 2 Sherman tanks, 1 British Churchill tank, 1 US half track, and 1 US 105mm cannon. Additional accessories include barbed wire, heavy weapons, stone walls, trees, mortar pit, matching gun nest, and much more. This set is a tremendous value for the price.

CTS 160 piece "BATTLEGROUND PLAYSET" can be yours for $159.95 plus $25.00 S&H. You save over $150.00.

GIANT BATTLEGROUND EUROPE PLAYSET

At over 320 pieces our European Theatre Playset set gives you everything you need. Over 100 Allied Troops, 85 Germans, a 2-foot-long, hand-painted street front, Allied and German Tanks plus artillery pieces, stone walls, barbed wire, trees and much more. It also comes in our custom-made playset box with art-work done by James Dietz.

Order today for $349.95 plus $30.00 S&H.

DESERT FOX SET

This spectacular 240 piece set recreates the desert war. Includes over 70 German troops holding off an Allied Force of over 85 American and British troops. The set comes with 14 tanks, 4 half tracks, 3 artillery pieces plus palm trees, barbed wire and more, plus CTS's exclusive 2-foot-long painted Oasis Battlescape. The set will come in our new custom-made Desert Fox Playset box with artwork done by James Dietz.

All for $299.95 plus $30.00 S&H.

CTS has over 50 additional playsets and over 2,500 different items for sale. To see these and all the other products we have for sale, send $6.00 for our catalog and color brochure or visit our website at: www.classictoysoldiers.com

FREE SHIPPING ON ALL PLAYSET ORDERS OF $100.00 OR GREATER. MUST ORDER ON OR BEFORE DECEMBER 9, 2012.
*(Order must be shipped by UPS ground Continental US only, no exceptions) **Free shipping is only on regular priced items. Sale items and any other specials are excluded from the free shipping offer. Cannot be combined with any other sales or specials.

Hours are 9:00 am to 7:00 pm Central Standard Time

CLASSIC TOY SOLDIERS

Classic Toy Soldiers, Inc.

15148 Mohawk Circle • Leawood, Kansas 66224

DAVID PAYNE, Call: 913-451-9458 • Fax: 913-451-2946 • www.classictoysoldiers.com

Contents and colors may vary from pictured but piece count will remain the same • Personal Checks will be held for 21 days to clear.

By Blaine Taylor

National Archives

"Do You Recognize My Voice?"

The switchboard revolt against Hitler unraveled on July 20, 1944.

AT 12:40 PM ON A HOT, SULTRY JULY 20, 1944, GERMAN FÜHRER AND REICH Chancellor Adolf Hitler, 55, was seated on a wicker stool in a conference hut at his principal Eastern Front headquarters at Wolf's Lair, Rastenburg, East Prussia, for the mid-day wartime map meeting. The chief of the German High Command, Army Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, introduced a man with a black eye patch and a yellow briefcase.

"My Leader, this is Colonel Count Claus Schenck von Stauffenberg, who is to brief you on the new divisions." Of course, the Führer already knew who Stauffenberg was and indeed had even recommended him as a bright young man to his minister of armaments and war production, Albert Speer. There were 24 men in the room.

As the conference resumed, the colonel set down his briefcase, told Keitel he was awaiting an urgent call from Berlin, and left the hut. At exactly 12:42 PM, there was a dazzling sheet of bright yellow flame as two pounds of explosives went off with a roar less than six feet from an astonished Führer.

General Walter Warlimont, who was there, described the scene in his 1964 memoirs, *Inside Hitler's Headquarters*: "In a flash the map room became a scene of stampede and destruction ... there was nothing but wounded men groaning, the acrid smell of burning, and charred fragments of maps and papers fluttering in the wind. I staggered up and jumped through the window."

In this photo taken five days before the July 20, 1944, attempt to assassinate Hitler at Wolf's Lair in East Prussia, Count Claus Schenck von Stauffenberg, an Army colonel, is shown at left in profile as several officers greet the Führer at Rastenburg.

Several men were killed outright or would die later of their wounds, but not the assassin's main target, Hitler. As the blast occurred, Hitler's immediate thought was that the compound was under an Allied bombing raid. He found himself lying on the floor next to the left doorway. His eardrums had burst, his clothes and hair were on fire, and he was covered with wood and debris from the ceiling. His right elbow hurt savagely, and smoke filled the room. His next thought was that a Russian paratroop attack was under way, as his top SS commando, Colonel Otto Skorzeny, had told him the year before was possible. He heard Keitel yell out in the din, "Where is the Führer?" and then was led by him out of the hut and back to his own bunker.

Hitler exulted to his physician, Dr. Thedor Morell, "I am invulnerable! I am immortal!"

Afterward, he mused that perhaps one of Speer's Organization Todt construction workers had planted a bomb, and then his trusty Secretary, Martin Bormann, identified the real culprit—the one-eyed colonel who been seen by a Signals sergeant leaving the hut just before the explosion.

Stauffenberg had gone to Bunker 8/13 to watch the expected explosion with the main conspirator assigned to headquarters, General Erich Fellgiebel, chief of signals for the High Command of the Armed Forces, the most important communications man in the entire Axis war effort. Together, they witnessed the blast, which the would-be assassin later described as resembling a direct hit from a 155mm artillery shell. He sincerely believed that everyone inside had been killed and drove off with his aide to fly back to Berlin to launch Operation Valkyrie, an already-prepared plan to safeguard the Reich in case of an emergency.

Two key factors were thought necessary for the success of the military coup: Hitler's death and the cutting off of the headquarters radio, telephone, and teleprinter communications with the outside world. This was the responsibility of General Fellgiebel, the man on the spot after Stauffenberg's departure.

Once he realized that the Führer had survived, the general made light of the situation, tossing out the casual remark to Warlimont in passing him within the confines of HQ Area I, "That's what

America's First Silver

Own the Dollar that helped Win America's Independence!

Most Americans would expect to see an authentic Revolutionary War treasure from the 1700s only behind glass in a museum. Now, thanks to the discovery of these coins in the centuries-old *El Cazador* shipwreck, you can actually own America's First Silver Dollar!

Gleaming Silver with a Story to Tell

Struck in the New World between 1772 and 1783 in 90.1% fine silver, these Spanish colonial "8 Reales" were authorized by the Continental Congress upon the recommendation of Thomas Jefferson as America's first official coinage. Widely circulated throughout the 13 Colonies, they were used to help fund the American Revolutionary War and earned the title of "America's First Silver Dollar."

Larger Than a U.S. Silver Dollar

Accepted as legal tender in the U.S. until 1857, eachof these hefty silver dollars weighs 27 grams and is 39 mm in diameter. From Europe to China, throughout the Caribbean, and across the 13 Colonies, these silver dollars were readily accepted for trade due to their heft and high silver value.

Imagine Who Held These Coins

Each of these amazing silver dollars makes history come alive. Coins like these were spent in taverns by patriots celebrating America's victory over the British in 1783. Was this the coin George Washington tossed across the Potomac River or used to purchase badly needed supplies for his army?

Certified Historic Shipwreck Silver

Each of these coins has been inspected and authenticated by Numismatic Guaranty Corporation (NGC) and certified to be genuine shipwreck silver from the legendary Spanish Brig of War, *El Cazador*. Each coin is dated from the revolutionary years of our Founding Fathers: 1772–1783 (*dates our choice*)—and has been sonically-sealed in an acrylic holder for preservation.

Save Over $175!

America's First Silver Dollars with the *El Cazador* shipwreck pedigree are selling nationally for up to $425. Now, thanks to this exclusive shipwreck treasure discovery, we are able to offer these historic coins for just $249 (plus s/h).

Order with confidence. **Your satisfaction is assured with our full 30-day return privilege. Hundreds of thousands have ordered from us with confidence for over 26 years.**

Call Now Toll-Free 24 Hours a Day

1-800-494-7374

Offer Code CDS131-01.
Please provide this code when you call.

New York Mint

14101 Southcross Drive W., Dept. CDS131-01,
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337
www.NewYorkMint.com

National Archives

The shattered map hut where the explosive device was detonated on July 20, 1944, leaves little argument as to the fact that Stauffenberg believed Hitler was dead. An unwitting movement of Stauffenberg's briefcase by another officer is believed to have contributed to Hitler's survival.

happens when you put the headquarters so near the front," but in fact he knew better.

The Führer received Italian dictator Benito Mussolini for what was to be their last meeting at 2:30 PM that same day, giving him a guided tour of the map hut wreckage. By 4 PM, it was apparent that a full-scale military revolt was afoot not only in the Reich, but also in the German-occupied foreign territories in the West, especially in Paris, where all Gestapo men had been arrested by the Army. A bulletin had been issued at 3:50 PM by the War Ministry Building in Berlin asserting that Hitler was dead and that they, the Army conspirators, were in charge.

This order had been issued by the Chief of Army Signals, General Fritz Thiele, nominally General Fellgiebel's deputy, but at Rastenburg his boss had done nothing to sever the all-important communications, nor to alert Berlin that Hitler was either alive or dead. Why he had not done so has been the stuff of controversy ever since. Later, after General Fellgiebel had been unmasked as a traitor, Hitler vented his spleen on the matter to Speer.

"Now I know why all my great plans in Russia had to fail in recent years. It was all treason! But for those traitors we would have won long ago.... Now we will find out whether Fellgiebel had a direct wire to Switzerland and passed all my plans on to the Russians. He must be interrogated by every means!"

Indeed, the general may very well have been a Soviet spy in this regard as Hitler thought, and this may also explain why he did not cut the communication links. With Hitler still alive, he may have reasoned that the most incompetent man in the Reich was still at the helm of a losing war effort, and with the conspirators now doomed the conflict would go on to its logical end and a possible total Red Army victory.

Born October 4, 1886, at Popelwitz in Silesia, Fritz Erich Fellgiebel began his military service as a lieutenant in the 2nd Signal Battalion and in 1914 was an instructor at the Spandau Telegraphers' Academy, serving in several General Staff posts during World War I. After the war, he was in charge of secret intelligence and security.

In 1930, Fellgiebel became commander of the 2nd Intelligence Department and in 1934 was colonel and inspector of the Signal Corps for the 7th Army. In 1936, the national Reich Post Office telephone, telegraph, and teleprinter cable resources were expanded by thousands of kilometers under his direction.

During the Hitlerian military shake-up of 1938, Fellgiebel was promoted to the rank of major general and named inspector of armed forces communications. In 1939, he was posted as chief of the Intelligence Communications Office for the High Command and in 1940 was raised again, to general of the Signal Corps.

By June 1944, there were fully 200,000 Army Signal troops, as well as 400,000 men in the Luftwaffe, a duplication of labor that both Fellgiebel and Speer complained about to Hitler, but to no avail, since he wisely believed in a division of responsibilities in this sphere. Simply put, the Führer trusted his Nazi air force more than he did his conservative, basically monarchist army.

What no one in the Nazi Party ranks knew, however, was that General Fellgiebel had already lost faith in Hitler and joined the German Resistance. Had the plot of July 20, 1944, succeeded, the general was earmarked for the spot of minister of posts in the new government, but this was foiled by Nazi Propaganda Minister Dr. Josef Goebbels and a man Speer called "this basically insignificant young officer," a German Army major named Otto Ernst Remer.

Remer, commander of the Berlin Greater Germany Guards Regiment, was assigned by his commanding officer, conspirator General Paul von Hase, to arrest Dr. Goebbels, but instead received an invitation to meet with him at 7 o'clock on the evening of the assassination attempt.

Major Remer was born on August 18, 1912, in Neubrandenburg and had enlisted in the German Army. By the time Hitler was named Reich Chancellor in 1933, Remer was a 21-year-old corporal and was destined to become precisely the type of young officer from the ranks that the Nazis groomed before and during the war to ultimately replace those men who began their service under the Kaiser, not the Führer.

Remer was commissioned an infantry second lieutenant in 1935, promoted captain in 1941, and on November 12, 1943, had been personally awarded the oak leaves to the Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross by Hitler himself at Rastenburg, a mere six months before the explosion. This sole meeting was to play a crucial role in the unraveling of the plot. In May 1944, Major Remer was named commander of the Berlin Guards in what would turn out to be the most important military post in the capital during the "Revolt by Telephone," as it came to be termed by the Nazis.

Dr. Goebbels received the 32-year-old major in his office with Speer present. In 1990, a then 70-year-old Remer asserted that he had actually come to warn Goebbels of the treason afoot, not to arrest him, but the doctor did not know that. Instead, he reminded the major of his oath of fealty to the Führer, to which Remer responded that Hitler was dead.

According to Speer, Dr. Goebbels instantly retorted, "The Führer is alive! He's alive. I spoke to him a few minutes ago. An ambitious little clique of generals has begun this military putsch. A filthy trick, the filthiest trick in history." He next placed a priority telephone call to Rastenburg, which the Führer was waiting to receive, over a line that, like all others, should already have been cut, but was not.

Goebbels handed the receiver to the major, and the latter heard someone ask, "Do you recognize my voice?" Of course he did, snapping to attention and barking out a series of affirmative responses to Hitler's commands pro-

Author's Collection

Author's Collection

National Archives

LEFT: Colonel Otto Remer, a major at the time of the assassination attempt, commanded the Berlin Greater Germany Guards Regiment and helped thwart the coup d'etat. CENTER: General Erich Fellgiebel, chief of signals for the high command of the armed forces, was responsible for severing communications between Wolf's Lair and Berlin. RIGHT: Colonel Claus Schenck von Stauffenberg carried the bomb into the meeting at Wolf's Lair and was convinced he had killed Hitler.

moting him to the rank of colonel on the spot, placing him in charge of all anti-coup troops in Berlin until the arrival of Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler in the capital, and under the immediate direct orders of both himself and Dr. Goebbels. A telephone coup in reverse was thus launched.

The mention of Himmler's name raised another troubling point, for Goebbels had been disturbed by the fact that he had been unable to reach Himmler by telephone all afternoon, and both he and Speer actually wondered if "the loyal Heinrich" was part of the conspiracy.

Another man absent from both Berlin and Rastenburg that day until after it was clear that Hitler had survived was Reich Marshal Hermann Göring, chief of the Luftwaffe, who since 1933 had controlled the governmental telephone wiretapping service code-named the Research Office. Is it to be believed that neither Himmler nor his rival Göring had any prior inkling of the events planned for July 20, 1944?

As for Stauffenberg, Remer told an interviewer, "He was shot in the courtyard of the War Ministry. My men, 10 riflemen and one officer, a lieutenant who could be relied upon to keep his trousers dry. It was done quickly and efficiently. The abortive coup d'etat came to an abrupt and most satisfactory end."

He added that Hitler made sure personally of Stauffenberg's death by having his body exhumed to view it for himself.

Meanwhile, Dr. Goebbels issued a long-delayed news bulletin that asserted that Hitler was still alive with minor injuries, had received Mussolini, and, most telling, "Shortly after the attempt on the Führer's life, he was joined by the Reich Marshal," a curious add-on statement at best.

At his French headquarters, the Commander-in-Chief West, Field Marshal Hans Gunther von Kluge, lamented, "The bloody thing's misfired." Urged to go on with the revolt anyway, he refused, stating, "Yes, if only the swine were dead!" He later shot himself to escape trial and execution.

General Thiele was caught and executed. General Fellgiebel was convicted by the Nazi People's Court of treason against the State on August 10, 1944, and hanged by the SS on September 4. He was succeeded in his post as chief of OKW Signals by Army General Albert Praun.

And what of the "basically insignificant young officer?" Colonel Remer became a Nazi national hero and in October 1944 was named commander of the Führer Escort Regiment based at Rastenburg in charge of security. The unit was later designated an armored brigade and sent to the Eifel in West Germany to fight the Allies.

On January 31, 1945, Colonel Remer was promoted to major general. He fought in the Battle of the Bulge against the Americans and ended the war in combat with the Russians commanding the Führer Escort Division. He survived the war to found a neo-Nazi Party in the 1950s and wrote pro-Hitler revisionist publications while under surveillance by the West German Federal Republic police.

He resided in West Germany, then moved with his wife Anneliese to monarchist Spain, where he died at Marbella at the age of 85 on October 4, 1997, an unrepentant Nazi to the end. His remains were cremated and then interred in the new unified Germany. □

Towson, Marylander freelancer Blaine Taylor is the author of several books on World War II. He is a veteran of the U.S. Army and a frequent contributor to WWII History.

By Gary Kidney

National Archives

One Against War

Congresswoman Jeannette Rankin was the lone voice of dissent during the vote to go to war with Japan.

ON DECEMBER 8, 1941, AMERICA WAS STILL SHOCKED BY NEWS OF WAR. PRESI-dent Franklin D. Roosevelt declared that the day before had been "a date which will live in infamy" because of the "unprovoked and dastardly attack" by Japan on Pearl Harbor. He noted that it was not a single event, but a pattern of attacks that included Hong Kong, the Philippines, Guam, Wake, and Midway Islands. In his speech, he interpreted "the will of the Congress ... to defend ourselves to the uttermost." Congress responded with a vote to declare war that made a still-famous front page of the *New York Times*.

Tremendous suffering and a smoldering need for revenge permeated the days following the attack, but something important is often lost. The congressional vote was not unanimous. Roosevelt did not understand the complete will of Congress. One person, filled with a seldom equaled strength of conviction, rose to challenge war. One single vote was cast against the declaration. One person said, "No." That person was Jeannette Rankin, a representative from Montana. In addition to being the sole dissenter, history also records that she was the first woman in Congress.

Representative Rankin had been scheduled to speak at an event in Detroit on that day. She left by train on Sunday evening, December 7, for the event and took a radio along to follow the fate-filled news. When the radio announced that Congress was to hear Roosevelt's request for a declaration of war, she got off the train in Pittsburgh and returned to Washington, D.C. She arrived at the capitol about noon and took a prominent seat in the first row of the House chamber for the important address.

When the president finished his remarks, the House took up consideration of House Joint Resolution 254, the formal declaration of war. Sam Rayburn (D-Texas), Speaker of the House, asked, "Is a second demanded?" Jeannette Rankin rose. "I object," she insisted, but the speaker overruled her. "No objection is in order," he said

In a 1974 oral history, Rankin explained the purpose behind her objection. House rules allow any resolution to be referred to committee upon any member's request. She wanted to ask for committee referral to "remove the war vote from the passion of the moment and have it at least considered so both sides of the issues could be brought out." By refusing her objection, Speaker Rayburn effectively violated standard procedure and, as she later claimed, denied her the First Amendment right of free speech.

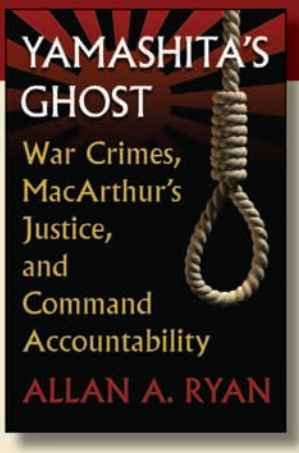
Objection overruled, a short discussion took place on the House floor. Then, a vote on the resolution was requested. Jeannette Rankin rose just after the question was called. "Mr. Speaker." Rayburn ignored her

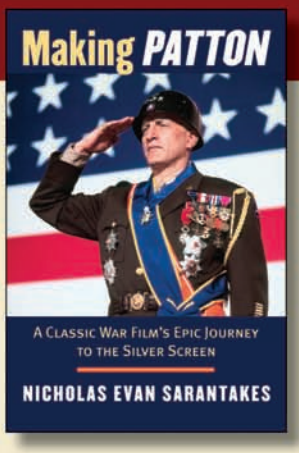
The superstructure of the battleship USS *Arizona* is a blackened mass of twisted steel as smoke billows from the stricken ship moored at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

Library of Congress

Photographed in 1939, Jeannette Rankin was the sole dissenter in Congress when a declaration of war against Japan was considered following the attack on Pearl Harbor.

MODERN WAR STUDIES





Yamashita's Ghost

War Crimes, MacArthur's Justice, and Command Accountability

Allan A. Ryan

"The most penetrating and disturbing analysis yet written of the most important war crimes trial to emerge from the U.S. war with Japan. It's impossible to read this historical account without reflecting on how the United States has pursued the current war on terror."—**Michael Schaller**, author of *Douglas MacArthur: Far Eastern General*

416 pages, 18 photographs, 2 maps, Cloth $34.95

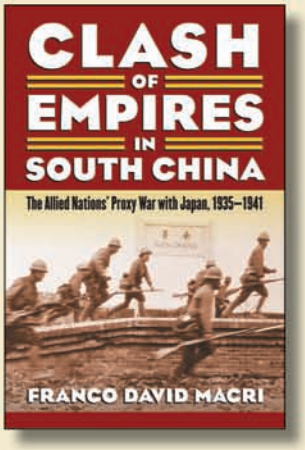
Making *Patton*

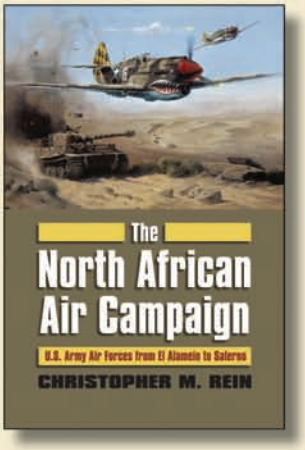
A Classic War Film's Epic Journey to the Silver Screen

Nicholas Evan Sarantakes

"A model synergy of cinematic and historical analysis that reveals Patton as both an iconic marker of America's mythic self-image in the post-World War II era and a sophisticated meditation on the challenges of command in the crucible of war."—**Dennis Showalter**, author of *Patton and Rommel: Men of War in the Twentieth Century*

280 pages, 21 photographs, Cloth $34.95





Clash of Empires in South China

The Allied Nations' Proxy War with Japan, 1935–1941

Franco David Macri

"Sophisticated, pioneering, and a significant contribution to the field of World War II studies. Macri's research is meticulous, exhaustive, and well balanced; his writing is cogent and smooth. An admirable work."—**Miles Maochun Yu**, author of *The Dragon's War: Allied Operations and the Fate of China*

512 pages, 2 photographs, 17 maps, Cloth $45.00

The North African Air Campaign

U.S. Army Air Forces from El Alamein to Salerno

Christopher M. Rein

"A thorough, comprehensive, judicious, and utterly riveting account of how the USAAF adapted pre-war airpower theory to the tactical realities of WWII's Mediterranean battlefield."—**Douglas Porch**, author of *The Path to Victory: The Mediterranean Theater in World War II*

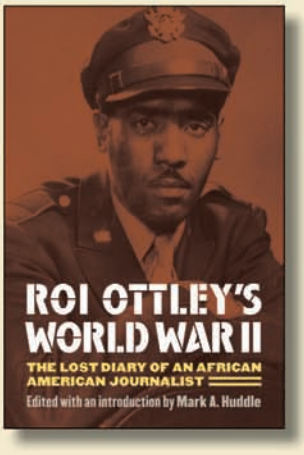
288 pages, 27 photographs, 6 maps, Cloth $34.95

NEW IN PAPERBACK

Roi Ottley's World War II

The Lost Diary of an African American Journalist

Edited with an introduction by Mark A. Huddle



"If you think you know the American experience of World War II, just try looking at the European theater through the eyes of African American war correspondent Roi Ottley. I found fascinating new stuff on page after page."—**James Tobin**, author of *Ernie Pyle's War*

208 pages, 1 photograph, Paper $19.95

University Press of Kansas

Phone 785-864-4155 · Fax 785-864-4586 · www.kansaspress.ku.edu

and continued, "Those who favor taking this vote by the yeas and nays will rise and remain standing until counted."

Rankin responded. "Mr. Speaker, I would like to he heard." Speaker Rayburn continued, "The yeas and nays have been ordered. The question is, Will the House suspend the rules and pass the resolution?"

Rankin tried a third time. "Mr. Speaker, a point of order." Rayburn responded, "A roll call may not be interrupted."

When the vote came and her name was called, she answered "No." Some historians claim that she elaborated on her vote by saying, "As a woman, I can't go to war and I refuse to send anyone else." The *Congressional Record* does not document this comment. Catcalls, hisses, and boos from the House floor as well as the packed gallery greeted her vote. Colleagues beseeched her to change her mind. However, by 1:10 PM she was still adamant, and the vote stood as recorded, 82 to 0 in the Senate and 388 to 1 in the House.

Word of Rankin's vote escaped the chambers and circulated among the mass of people who had flocked to the capitol. The crowd accosted her as she left the building, pushing toward her and shouting obscenities. She ducked into a phone booth and called capitol police for an escort to her office. There, she remained behind locked doors.

Library of Congress

Congresswoman Jeannette Rankin of Montana is shown surrounded by suffragettes in 1917, as the United States entered World War I. Rankin voted against U.S. entry into World War I.

She called her brother, Wellington, in Helena, and his response was, "Montana is 110 percent against you!" She wrote an explanation of her vote to her Montana constituents, citing a campaign pledge to the "mothers and fathers of Montana ... to prevent their sons from being slaughtered on foreign battlefields," and ended her letter with "I feel I voted as the mothers would have had me vote."

Response from radio commentators and newspaper columnists swiftly vilified Rankin. Many called for her resignation, and some of her constituents demanded her recall. A few accused her of disloyalty or treason. Montana newspapers expressed their dissatisfaction. The *Miles City Daily Star* of December 10, 1941, offered "humble and respectful apologies to the rest of the United States" for her vote. The *Choteau Acantha* of December 22 suggested a public spanking on the floor of the House with an old-fashioned hairbrush. On December 14, the *Great Falls Tribune* dubbed her "Japanette Rankin." Despite the public reaction, Rankin was never apologetic for her vote.

On Thursday, December 11, when Congress considered separate resolutions of war on Germany and Italy, Rankin simply voted "present" for each roll call, a softer form of "no." Her convictions and votes made her an outcast in Congress and left her to serve out her term with no chance of reelection. She took part in few floor debates, concentrating on minimizing the war's effect on Montanans by, for example, strengthening draft deferments.

Why did Rankin commit political suicide? Four theories have been advanced to explain her vote.

Some historians have taken Rankin at her words about women in war service and voting for mothers and chalked up her vote to a feminist stance. That view harmonizes well with Rankin's suffragette activities. She had worked tirelessly in many organizations to achieve women's voting rights. She helped North Dakota women gain the right to vote in 1913. She was successful in 1914 in her home state of Montana. On the strength of that notoriety and probably as a result of women voters, she was elected to the House of Representatives from Montana, serving from 1917 to 1919. That was her first of two discontinuous terms in Congress and the one that made her the first woman in Congress. On the national stage, she promoted ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, and in 1920 it gave women the right to vote everywhere in the United States. As a result of her work as a suffragette and for becoming the first woman in Congress, the National Organization of Women honored Jeannette Rankin at age 91 in 1972 as "the world's outstanding living feminist."

Another theory attributes Rankin's vote to her humanitarianism and interest in social causes.

Library of Congress

President Franklin D. Roosevelt addresses a joint session of Congress on December 8, 1941, asking for a vote to go to war with Japan.

During her post-college years, Jeannette read widely on social issues. A budding interest in social activism drew her to New York City and a Master's program in social work at the prestigious New York School of Philanthropy. In her after-school afternoons, she engaged in practical social work that showed her the juxtaposition of crippling poverty and lavish wealth, the poor care given orphans, overcrowding in jails, and the lack of public sanitary facilities. She developed a thesis that a woman's maternal instincts were valuable outside the home toward the improvement of society.

When working within the existing social work system proved unsatisfactory, Rankin took her activism in the political direction to aim for systemic changes. In 1917, after Anaconda Copper Company's Granite Mountain mineshaft burst into flames and took the lives of 167 Montana miners, Jeannette rallied for better working conditions. Rankin's concern for social ills and promotion of social actions led her to advocate that the foundation of democracy was human rights rather than property rights, as was then commonly believed. This took root when she helped found the American Civil Liberties Union as vice president. At Rankin's death, she left a portion of her estate to assist mature, unemployed women workers. That endowment launched the Jeannette Rankin Woman's Scholarship Fund.

In an episode of National Public Radio's *All Things Considered* titled "The Lone War Dissenter," Walter Cronkite attributed Rankin's vote to her being an "outspoken pacifist." One of Rankin's most famous quotes is: "You can no more win a war than you can win an earthquake." She perceived the violence and death of

Library of Congress

Congresswoman Jeannette Rankin listens to a colleague attempting to persuade her to vote affirmatively for war on December 8, 1941. Rankin stood her ground and refused to change her position against the declaration.

war as tragedy and never as triumph. Jeanmarie Simpson's play and 2009 movie *A Single Woman* traces the root of Rankin's pacifism to her learning of the Indian slaughter at Wounded Knee Creek in South Dakota on December 29, 1890, when Rankin was 10 years old. Rankin recalled: "As the Indians came out of their tents, the American soldiers shot them—shot the Medicine Man and anyone who came out. It was a most disgraceful act, the most outrageous thing that could happen."

Jeannette carried her pacifism into her first term in Congress. On April 6, 1917, the first woman ever elected to Congress was to cast her first vote. In Kevin Giles's book *Flight of the Dove,* he provides some melodrama to that Good Friday early morning by using as his central metaphor a flock of white doves that encircled the capitol. In that building, President Woodrow Wilson requested a vote on a resolution of war with Germany. Jeannette Rankin said, "I want to stand by my country. But I cannot vote for war. I vote NO." Unlike her lone dissenting vote for World War II, 49 other representatives and six Senators voted for peace. Later, she reflected that this vote was "the single most important act of her life because of the way it crystallized her thinking from that point forward."

Rankin reflected, "I have always felt that there was significance in the fact that the first woman who was ever asked in Congress what she thought about war, said 'No!'" Rankin remained a spokesperson for pacifism. In 1968, at 88 years of age, she marched under the banner of "The Jeannette Rankin Peace Parade" with 5,000 women in Washington, D.C., to protest the Vietnam War.

Rankin offered her own explanation on December 8, 1942, the anniversary of her vote, when she caused an essay to be entered into the formal *Congressional Record*. The essay, titled "Some Questions about Pearl Harbor," offers several well argued cases that President Roosevelt was squarely to blame for Pearl Harbor and that he had abandoned his well-professed neutrality prior to the attack. She offered several pointed arguments to advance her opinion.

Her first thesis was that Roosevelt was manipulated by the British into a posture that could only lead to war. She cited a 1938 book by British author Sydney Rogerson titled *Propaganda in the Next War,* which she had read from the Library of Congress. The book called for British propaganda in the United States, during the next war, to target and build a fear of Japan, predicting that resulting economic sanctions against Japan would cause war and embroil the United States against Germany. Then, she focused on the Atlantic Conference of August 12, 1941, where Roosevelt had promised Churchill that the United States would bring economic pressure to bear on Japan. She noted that the Economic Defense Board had imposed that pressure less than a week later.

She argued that Roosevelt knew that economic and trade sanctions would lead to war. She cited a State Department Bulletin of July 26, 1942, in which Roosevelt admitted that cutting off oil to Japan would lead to war. Rankin reported that she had applied to the Departments of State and Commerce for statistical data for month to month trade between the United States and Japan prior to the war. Such a request was within the rights of a sitting member of Congress. She received a shocking response: "Because of a special executive order, statistics on trade with Japan beginning with

April 1941 are not being given out."

Her third thesis began with a quotation from *Life* magazine of July 20, 1942, where it was written, "…the Chinese, for whom the U.S. had delivered the ultimatum that brought on Pearl Harbor…." She cited it because the presence of an ultimatum as a cause of World War II was not yet widely or popularly understood. Then, she revealed that on September 3, 1941, a communication had been sent to Japan demanding that it accept the principle of "nondisturbance of the status quo in the Pacific."

Finally, she offered several examples of military orders predating Pearl Harbor that indicated that war was known to be imminent. Once of the most compelling was the story of Lieutenant Clarence E. Dickinson, published in the *Saturday Evening Post* on October 10, 1942. He wrote about a mission to deliver a batch of 24 Grumman F4F Wildcat fighter planes from Pearl Harbor to Wake Island on November 28, 1941. He claimed that the mission was "under absolute war orders" and that they "were to shoot down anything we saw in the sky and bomb anything we saw on the sea."

Rankin reasoned that President Roosevelt had been earnestly working to entrap the United States in war. She thought Pearl Harbor was a massive stroke of luck for him. At the conclusion of her *Congressional Record* essay, she wondered: "But was it luck?"

Amid wartime secrecy and a lack of direct information, her analysis has proved rather insightful. Her speculation about Roosevelt's causality of World War II was among the first in what has become a 60-year history of conspiracy theory and spawning more than a dozen books. One of those was written by Congressmen Hamilton Fish (R-NY). He was a noninterventionist, who, in the House debate, laid aside that philosophy and endorsed the war. Later, he believed that Roosevelt had planned for war for quite some time and had tricked the country into involvement.

Jeannette Rankin's second term in Congress ended in January 1943, just weeks after her *Congressional Record* essay. In North Africa, German General Erwin Rommel was in full retreat. In the Pacific, battles at Midway and in the Solomons showed a turning tide. Field Marshall Friedrich von Paulus's German Sixth Army was only weeks away from surrender at Stalingrad. Some glimpsed the end of the conflict, and it became necessary to plan for such an end. Although a Supreme Allied Commander had yet to be named, staff developed a plan for the war's end and the peace thereafter. Either as irony or homage, this plan was code named Operation Rankin. The Rankin plan served as the basis for D-Day and the occupation zones of a postwar Germany.

Jeannette Rankin died on May 18, 1973, at age 92, in Carmel, California. History, for the most part, has relegated her to the role of footnote, a woman whose misguided adherence to a set of causes led her to dissent against one of the most popular wars in American history. She achieved a brief glimpse of remembrance when Congresswoman Barbara Lee (D-Calif.) stood alone against the war on terror following 9/11, echoing Jeannette's convictions of 60 years earlier.

However, in the United States, strength of cause and conviction has always been valued. Jeannette's ability to stand alone for her beliefs is admirable, maybe even heroic. Questioning leaders, their motives, and their principles is not only a fundamental right but an important duty in a democracy. Jeannette fulfilled that duty despite the unpopularity it caused.

Even more valuable is the voice of dissent. Dissent was fundamental before the words liberty, freedom, equality, and pursuit of happiness were ever celebrated in the United States. Jeannette Rankin should be more than a *Trivial Pursuit* answer or *Jeopardy* question. Her contribution to the history of this land should be often remembered.

As a high school junior in an American History class, the author earned extra credit by attending a lecture by Ms. Rankin at a local university. At that time, many things were burning—draft cards, brassieres, protesters in self-immolation, flags, crosses, and napalm. Ms. Rankin was a woman of wit and wisdom. Her speech was feminist, humanist, and pacifist, showing that the causes of her life were still fresh and energizing to her. Her speech was both thought provoking and transformative to at least one teenager whose mind still reeled from the deaths of Bobby Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr. During her talk, she said: "There can be no compromise with war; it cannot be reformed or controlled; cannot be disciplined into decency; cannot be codified into common sense."

Those words were on the author's mind one February day in 1972, watching on television with no draft deferment as his birthday was drawn 19th in the Selective Service Lottery. The author would have served, but thanks to Jeannette Rankin, and others of like mind, he did not have to. □

Gary Kidney is an alumnus of Arizona State University. He currently works in information technology at Rice University and resides in Houston, Texas.

By Lester F. Rentmeester

National Archives

Time Stood Still

The author remembers the harrowing experience of piloting a bomber in the skies above Nazi Germany.

THE FOLLOWING STORY DESCRIBES ONE OF OUR AIR RAIDS WHEN I WAS A B-17 pilot during World War II. It is taken from my dairy and from the official Eighth Air Force records of that mission. For some of the crew, it may have seemed like just another mission; for me, sitting in the pilot's seat, most of the 8½ hours of flying were filled with unrelieved tension.

The aircrews were awakened at 4 AM on February 22, 1944, at our base at Bassingbourne, just south of Cambridge in England. There was little banter and no unnecessary conversation as we washed and dressed unhurriedly; breakfast was scheduled for 5 o'clock, and our mission briefing was scheduled for 6 AM. Outside the blacked-out buildings, we moved about as if we were in the bottom of a black well, shivering in the damp cold that penetrated through out winter flying clothes.

At the auditorium, where the briefing was held, our ID cards were checked by the sentry who was stationed at the door; we didn't want any unauthorized persons flying our mission for us. Our crew sat together in one apprehensive clump, drawing reassurance from each other's presence. Most of us had trained together in the States, and this was the 11th time that we would be flying over Fortress Europe. This time, there were two different faces among the 10 of us. Ward Simonson, our radio operator and medic, was in the hospital, and his replacement was P.J. Del Toro. Rudy Malkin was replacing our newly grounded G.M. Cloyed as waist gunner.

This was Rudy's first flight with our crew, and it would be a test to see if the crew would accept him as a regular member. We had our doubts because Rudy had one of the most severe cases of stuttering in my experience. When he approached me the week previously, requesting to be a member of the crew, it took him almost five minutes to make his wishes known. When I asked why he wanted to leave his safe job with the air police for this dangerous duty, he said that he wanted to do his part in the war. I told him that we would try him out on a test flight but that he would have to be able to communicate perfectly with the crew on the inter-communication system because crew survival in combat depended on teamwork. In addition, we were a singing crew, and he would have to play his part. It turned out that, when he used a throat mike, he had no speech impediment. Also, he sang many of the Gilbert and Sullivan patter-songs, adding a new dimension to our musical repertoire.

Boeing B-17 Flying Fortress bombers of the U.S. Eighth Air Force fly toward their target, the German city of Oschersleben, on February 22, 1944. The bomber in the foreground was shot down during the raid, while pilot Lester Rentmeester and his crew managed to survive.

The others on the crew had proved themselves as solid citizens combat-wise. Bill Behrend, the New Jersey co-pilot, could not wait to get into combat and later became a P-51 Mustang fighter pilot after he had finished his Flying Fortress tour. Marylander Bob Roberts, as navigator, was never lost; he also flew a second tour. Joe Ashby, our Missouri bombardier, invariably did a professional job and sometimes doubled as navigator. Always smiling, Elmer (Mickey) Diethorn from Pittsburgh, was our flight engineer and top turret gunner.

Author's Collection

Photographed as a colonel in 1964, Lester Rentmeester remembers vividly the day he survived an air raid over Nazi Germany 20 years earlier.

Husky, competent Vermonter Gordon Wiggett manned the right waist gun and also kept our armament in operating condition. He would climb aboard the aircraft carrying a 75-pound .50-caliber machine gun in each hand and wearing extra ammunition over his shoulders. In the ball turret under the aircraft belly, was Chicagoan Frank Topits, whose small stature and aggressive nature helped make him effective as a marksman. Manning the

John D. Hoptak | Instructor, School of Art & Humanities

John D. Hoptak is an American and Civil War historian and educator. Author of *The Battle of South Mountain*, *Our Boys Did Nobly*, *First in Defense of the Union*, and *Antietam: September 17, 1862*, Hoptak brings to life the riveting conflicts that divided a nation. Hoptak's laboratory is the Antietam National Battlefield, where as a Park Ranger he shares his vast knowledge about the bloodiest day of battle in U.S. history.

Learn More at www.amuonline.com/ww-history

AMU American Military University

Art & Humanities | Business | Education | Management | Public Service & Health | Science & Technology | Security & Global Studies

Author's Collection

The crew of the Boeing B-17 Flying Fortress bomber *Jeannie Marie* that participated in the raid on Oschers- leben, Germany, on February 22, 1944, posed for this photograph in front of another crew's plane. They included, left to right standing, Sergeant Rudy Malkin, Sergeant Elmer Diethorn, Sergeant Ward Simonson, Sergeant Gordon Wiggett, and Sergeant Philip Lunt. Kneeling in front are Lieutenant Bob Roberts, Captain Lester Rentmeester, Lieutenant Bill Behrend, and Lieutenant Joe Ashby. Sergeant Frank Topits, the ball-turret gunner, was in the hospital when the photo was taken.

twin .50-caliber machine guns in the tail was Philip (Flip) Lunt from California, who cheerfully flew on his knees in the most nausea-producing position in the aircraft.

The A in the triangle on the tail of the aircraft shows that the plane belonged to the 91st Bomb Group, and the triangle was the insignia of the 1st Air Division of the Eighth Air Force. The chin turret in the nose containing twin .50-caliber machine guns was added to the B-17G model, introduced in early 1944 because of the deadly head-on Luftwaffe fighter attacks.

The airmen jumped to attention as our commander and his staff entered the auditorium. They climbed the steps of a stage as we resumed our seats and the curtain was drawn back to reveal a map of Europe with our route to the target shown by strings attached to pins. All eyes anxiously looked for the target—was it deep in Germany?

Oschersleben again! We had bombed an aircraft factory there five weeks before and barely made it back in our damaged B-17 to the coast of England. Luftwaffe fighter opposition had been continuous on that raid. In all, we lost one-third of our force, and the German radio that night claimed they had shot down 132 B-17s. At no time on that mission did we have friendly fighter escort, except for the first long-range P-51D Mustang fighters.

The mood was grim in the briefing theater; we knew that we were locked in a deadly struggle with the Luftwaffe. Our leaders said that our strategic objectives were no longer ball bearing factories, oil refineries, transportation centers, etc. Now we must destroy the German aircraft in the air, on the ground, and in the factories, a necessary prelude to a successful Allied invasion of Nazi Europe. Later, we were proud when General Dwight Eisenhower, Supreme Allied Commander, told the invasion force that there would be no Luftwaffe opposition on D-Day and prouder still when he was right.

The briefing session covered many different subjects. Six German aircraft factories in central Germany were the targets, with two small diversionary raids to Denmark and Schweinfurt in southern Germany to confuse the Luftwaffe. Antiaircraft batteries were shown in red. Visual operating conditions were forecast for central Germany. Electronic jamming equipment would confuse the enemy radar. The bombing run would be upwind with the sun behind us, and withdrawal of the force south of the Ruhr Valley would carry them across an area of less fighter opposition. Two groups of P-51D fighters were assigned to protect our formation.

Chaplains were available to provide spiritual support after the briefing. The next stop for the airmen was the equipment hut, where we would pick up our parachutes, headgear, additional cold weather gear, and other equipment. It was always bitterly cold at our bombing altitudes; we were told to expect a temperature of

55 degrees below zero Farenheit today. The Eighth Air Force had more people hospitalized from frostbite than from battle wounds.

Our flak jackets were designed by a member of the 91st Bomb Group. They had heavy steel plates sewn into a canvas holder. Like our helmets, they were optional for aircrew members, but most elected to wear them. At the equipment hut, we also picked up our parachutes and heavy outer clothing like leather boots, trousers, and jackets.

During the air battles, the waist gunners would be ankle-deep in empty .50-caliber shells. Each aircraft would be allotted a certain number of rounds, but after early missions when we always ran out of ammunition, our aircrew armorer, Gordon Wiggett, would smuggle additional belts of ammunition aboard.

Two hours after briefing, the aircrew was assembled by our aircraft, inspecting the engines and bombs, then discussing aircrew coordination mostly for the benefit of the two replacements.

From the moment we woke up, tension and apprehension had been building, reflecting the knowledge that a large number of our comrades had been shot down. Then, to lessen the tension, it was important to keep the minds and bodies of the aircrew occupied; we had established a routine that kept everybody busy as much as possible.

Our takeoff that morning occurred at 8:50 AM, so the signal to the pilots to start their engines, when the crew had to be in their takeoff position, would have been around 8:15. That was when a white flare was fired from the tower. The 1,200-horsepower Wright Cyclone engines produced an explosion of sound, and anxious eyes scanned the many instruments to make sure that engine performance was satisfactory. Two spare aircraft stood ready to replace any B-17 that would have to abort.

Taxiing and takeoff were normal, although like always our aircraft was overloaded and a maximum performance takeoff was required. We had no difficulty finding our proper place in the 91st Bomb Group formation. Soon the 91st linked up with the 381st Bomb Group. These 59 B-17s formed the 1st Combat Wing. Solid cloud rising as high as 24,000 feet over East Anglia prevented over half of the attacking force from completing assembly. Our radio operator, who was monitoring the command radio frequency, reported that they had been recalled.

We donned our oxygen masks at 12,000 feet and, when we were over the English Channel, the gunners tested their weapons to make sure that they were operating properly. The 1st Combat Wing left the English coast at Clacton on schedule at 10:41, weaving in and out of the broken clouds. As was our custom, the crew started singing the "Beer Barrel Polka." We would continue singing to break the constricting tension until we were attacked.

The clouds prevented us from seeing the ground except for brief glimpses. Our navigator, Bob Roberts, broke into our musical performance with the announcement that we were 30 miles south of our planned course, which put us over the Ruhr Valley, which had the greatest concentration of antiaircraft guns in the world. A B-17 near us was hit and blew up. Because of the clouds, our escort of friendly fighters never did find us while we were over Germany.

Suddenly, there was a tremendous crash and the *Jeannie Marie* jumped upward. Then, another crash and the aircraft shook in a shuddering blast. The sky around us was bright red! Metal fragments were tearing into the fuselage. The aircraft controls—rudder, ailerons, elevators—were not responsive to any pressure from either of us two pilots.

Several weeks before we had watched as an antiaircraft shell exploded under a B-17 in our formation. The B-17 was thrown over on its back, then went straight down for about 10,000 feet, when it came apart!

The same thing appeared to be happening to us. The plane was out of control. The right wing dropped despite the fact that we were applying full pressure on our ailerons and rudder. Clad in heavy winter clothing, both Bill and I were perspiring heavily, and I had stopped my ceaseless pounding of my cold feet on the floor, which I normally did to keep them from freezing.

The right wing pointed straight down. It seemed that our only option was for me to warn the crew to hang on because I was going to try to roll the heavy aircraft by reversing the pressure on the controls. I would never know if that tactic would have worked because the aircraft started to respond to the pressure by slowly righting itself.

I would have sworn in a court of law that it was at least 10 minutes from the time when the shells first hit us until the aircraft had regained its normal flying attitude. When our pulse rates settled down and I had received a report of battle damage from the crew, it appeared that after the first shell exploded we flew through the debris from the exploding third and fourth shells. The Germans used 105mm cannons arranged in a battery of four, which fired in sequence a few seconds apart. This explains their exploding shell pattern.

One newspaper correspondent witnessing the Battle of Gettysburg during the Civil War said

that during a moment of stress seconds of time became minutes. What happened to him, and to me, according to medical journals, was an abnormal rush of adrenaline pumped into the bloodstream, bringing about dramatic effects. Pupils dilate for better sight, blood pressure rises, the heart beats faster, and breathing is faster. The blood vessels near the skin contract so that there will be less loss of blood and faster clotting if wounded.

When the situation stabilized, the gunners reported on damage to the airplane. Flip Lunt, who operated his twin machine guns in a kneeling position, reported that there were holes all over the bottom of the plane but that he was not hurt. The two waist gunners gave a similar report. Frank Topits in the ball turret was fortunate that his guns were pointed to the rear. An explosion cracked the plexiglass in his turret behind him. His turret was working normally. In checking the underside of the aircraft, he found that the bomb bay doors were smashed and there was fluid leaking from the No. 3 engine.

We caught up to our squadron and resumed our place in the formation. The other planes in the squadron had all been hit with flak fragments, but their damage was not as extensive as ours. About 30 minutes later, at 1:30 PM according to my dairy, a large group of German Messerschmitt fighters, Me-109s, Me-110s, and Me-410s, along with Focke Wulf FW-190s came blasting through our formation.

A line of FW-190 and Me-109 fighter aircraft came at us, each one firing his cannon while rolling his aircraft to an inverted position, then diving straight down. Our squadron leader went into violent evasive action, which made it impossible for the pilots to keep their place in the formation. I was furious because he had done this on previous occasions, and I had expressed my displeasure to him. He did not return from this flight, or I would have done so again.

The next moment found me in a state of panic; B-17s were coming dangerously close to us from all sides. Looking out my window to the left, I saw a B-17 wing overlapping mine, so I tried to turn away to the right. Bill was resisting the turn for a good reason. The tip of a B-17 wing appeared on his side of the plane, not more than five feet from his window. Again, time stood still!

My lungs were gulping oxygen in great gasps. Later, I read that during rushes of adrenaline the lungs will take in five times as much air as normal. My throat was dry. It seemed like my brain refused to function, and I was in a state of panic for a while.

What seemed like a long time may have been only seconds because a hail of bullets made me function again. A blast of ice-cold air hit me in the face, and something jolted my chest letting me know that cannon shells had penetrated the nose of the aircraft. Later, we found an unexploded cannon shell in my seat. It had torn a hole in my flak jacket.

Because our group was at the head of the bomber stream, it bore the brunt of the vicious attack. Our airplane was riddled with cannon shells and machine-gun bullets by the time the third wave of fighters hit us. The No. 2 engine was slowly losing power, indicating that it had been damaged. I requested a report on battle damage from the crew on the inter-communication system.

Lunt, in the tall position, reported that two B-17s, trailing behind us for protection, had been shot down. The left waist gunner and the ball turret gunner saw smoke but no flames coming from the No. 2 engine. In the nose Bob Roberts said that the shattering plexiglass had cut his flying suit off him on his right side without hurting him. He was now wearing a brown wool U.S. Army blanket that we carried for such emergencies.

We saw some twin-engine Me-410 aircraft off to our left, but they did not appear threatening. However, after we returned to England we found a huge hole in the horizontal stabilizer caused by the large rocket that the ME-410s carried. Although rockets were not as accurate as cannon shells, they had over four times the explosive power of a cannon shell.

Smoke and oil were pouring from our damaged engine, but we still had enough power to stay with the formation, which added to our longevity. The Germans always ganged up on stragglers, which were much easier to shoot down. Whether there were any other private chapels set up in the plane, I do not know, but there sure was one in the cockpit!

The German fighters left us temporarily as we prepared for our bombing run. Joe Ashby reported that the bomb bay doors would not open, and we asked the radio operator to crank them open manually. Minutes later, he reported that the doors were smashed so badly that he couldn't budge them.

Again, time dilated so that seconds became minutes! My reaction was instantaneous, although it was based on a half dozen decisions that flashed through my mind in that moment of frozen time. We were carrying 12 500-pound bombs, each of which had a nose and a tail fuse. The nose fuse had a two-second delay, allowing the bomb to penetrate buildings before it exploded. Theoretically, the bombs would not explode until a little arming vane

spun off during their fall. However, I had seen bomb-loaded B-17s explode in the air when they were hit by German ammunition. Yet, it was a risk that could be taken, and delivering the bombload was the name of the game.

We had lost some power in No. 3 engine after it was hit by the antiaircraft shells, and we now had a total loss of power in the smoking No. 2 engine. We had pushed the throttles of the other engines through an emergency barrier to get 51 inches of manifold pressure and 2,250 rpm, which provided an additional 150 horsepower per engine. Normally, emergency power was limited to five minutes because of the prohibitive strain on the engines, but we used it for the rest of the flight. We would not be able to make it back to England carrying this load. Two-thirds of our fuel was already used up according to our fuel gauges.

When Joe told me that he could not get the bomb bay doors open, I responded on the interphone, "I'll take care of it."

There was a green knob on the floor near the pilot's left foot. We called it the Green Apple. It was connected to a cable, which ran back to the bomb shackles and released all of them. I reached down and gave it a vigorous yank. The only other time that I used the device was when Joe was wounded and could not drop the bombs.

This time, my heart was in my throat, as I could hear and feel the bombs thudding against one another above the crippled bomb bay doors. Finally, their combined weight smashed through the doors, and the aircraft leaped upward, free of its deadly burden. The crumpled doors were a drag on the aircraft for the rest of the flight.

There was an additional drag from the No. 2 engine, which had lost all its oil and power. We tried to feather the propeller, but the feathering pump was not working. The prop was windmilling and acting as a brake. To make matters worse, No. 3 engine was delivering only half its power; it never did give us any significant help for the rest of the trip. We were pulling emergency power on both outboard engines. The aircraft began shaking violently from the windmilling propeller, and the plane started losing altitude because of the reduced power.

At this point, we were still deep in Germany, and it seemed that our immediate goal should be to try to get back over Belgium or France, where we could bail out if the plane did not break apart first. Every foot of altitude was precious. A B-17 without power and without bombload had a glide ratio of about 16 to one (16 feet forward for one foot of altitude lost), and with our limited power we should be able

to convert our five miles of altitude into about 250-300 miles of distance. A propeller shaft was working loose, allowing the propeller to chop into the engine and wing. The aircraft was vibrating so badly that we could not read the instruments, and both Bill and I needed all of our strength to handle the controls. The plane was literally galloping through the air. We threw out everything that we could except our machine guns to lighten our load!

The crewmen were all in their parachutes and alertly watching for German fighters who liked to pick on cripples like us. We had been in a lead group, and now there were many unfortunate crippled stragglers behind us, whose pleading cries for help were constant on the radio. Our progress toward the west was agonizingly slow; each minute seemed like an hour.

Our navigator, Roberts, finally announced that we were leaving Germany, crossing into Belgium. This was the Flanders part of Belgium where all of my Wisconsin grandparents were born. If we bailed out here, maybe my scanty knowledge of Flemish would help us to escape.

Suddenly, the errant propeller, wobbling on its shaft, cut into the engine, and with a terrific shudder that ran through the plane it finally settled and froze into position. With the loss of this drag, the laboring engines allowed us to lose altitude at a much slower rate. We felt that our situation was definitely improving when a flight of four Republic P-47 Thunderbolt fighters, our first sight of friendly aircraft, approached. Accustomed to trigger-happy B-17 gunners, they first stood their planes on a wing to show us their unmistakable silhouette, then slid into position on each wing. The P-47 was a rugged airplane, which established a good record in Europe during World War II.

The radio was carrying a plaintive plea for help by a pilot being attacked by six Germans some distance behind us. I motioned to the nearest P-47 pilot that somebody needed help to our rear. He looked at our tail and, misunderstanding my gesture, shook his head in sympathy.

I asked our radio operator to tell the fighters on the fighter frequency, Swordfish, that several planes needed their help urgently back toward Germany. Shortly thereafter, the P-47s did a wingover and danced away. Bill and I looked at each other. We both would have given our eye teeth to be fighter pilots.

We were now at a low enough altitude to remove our green rubber oxygen masks, with the accordion tube and dangling microphone cord, from our leather helmets. These are pulled so tight at high altitudes that the hair on the head hurts and the skin is creased for a day after the flight. It always amazed me that the smell of gunpowder could penetrate through the tight fit of the oxygen mask.

It is hard to keep from staring at the clock hands at a time like this. At our reduced speed we were inching across Belgium, losing altitude despite our straining, overtaxed engines. Now at 2,000 feet, Bob guided us over the northern tip of France, just north of Calais, where we maneuvered to thwart hostile flak guns.

The radio operator received a message that the cloud cover was solid down to 300 feet over England. With a terrific shake, the prop cut loose and started its frightening vibration again. Oil from the engine spattered over the windshield, cutting off vision, and the vibration made it impossible to read the instruments—a condition that has been repeating in a recurring bad dream ever since that day decades ago. We were about 100 feet over the water with gas gauges at zero. We notified the British Coastal Command that we might ditch in the Channel. The white streamers were lifting off the top of the waves just beneath us. The water would be like concrete if we hit it and cold enough so that a person could live only about 15 minutes after ditching.

We were skipping off the top of a wad of air between the wings and the surface, which allowed us to reduce power and conserve fuel. This is called the "ground effect," and it operates at 75 feet altitude and below for a B-17. Through the oil on the window, I could see an orange glow. The engine was on fire again, and this time it appeared to be a high-intensity metal fire. The fire extinguisher had no effect on the fire.

The B-17 has a little window on the side of the windshield for such emergencies, and by craning his neck a pilot can see out. Seeing the coast come up, we inched the B-17 above the trees, grateful for the sight of friendly England.

The intercom was not operating, so I notified the crew by an alarm bell to prepare for a crash landing. We could not hear the bell, so Bill went forward to notify Bob and Joe in the front, and Mickey went off to warn the five crew members in the rear.

Unexpectedly, I saw a four-story brick factory directly ahead. Although we were not much above stalling speed, I had to jerk the control column back to clear it. The airplane seemed to hesitate, then threw off the propeller and the burning part of the engine and hopped over the building

Bill was a long time returning from the front of the plane, where he had notified Joe and Bob of the imminent crash landing. He explained that the front was a shambles and that he had gotten trapped in a tangle of wires.

Mickey returned from the rear with a strange story. Instead of finding the men in their crash landing positions in the radio room, they were attacking the rear exit door, which was jammed shut. The alarm bell had shorted out, ringing continuously, which was the signal to bail out! Mickey arrived in time to see big Gordon Wiggett kick the door out into the slipstream, then look in amazement at the trees going by at eye level!

By the time Bill and Mickey returned to the cockpit, I was circling a nice, flat, plowed area that looked like a good candidate for a crash landing field. The plane was flying a lot better now without the extra weight and drag, but the gas tanks still showed zero.

By a stroke of luck, we spotted a clear area, which turned out to be an emergency airfield, and we headed for it, making a straight-in approach. Fortunately, the landing gear mechanism worked. As the tail went down for the landing, what little gas there was drained to the back of the tanks, and the engines quit. A truck came out to pick us up. We loaded our parachutes and machine guns into it, all that we had left after throwing the rest of our gear out over Germany to lighten our load.

The intelligence officers debriefed our subdued and exhausted crew, after which we ate, and then climbed back into the truck for the ride to Bassingbourne. It was dark by then. Our slow trip back to England had added an hour of flying time. The 10 of us sprawled over our parachutes dozing off.

Wartime England had fake signposts on its roads, designed to confuse the Germans in case of the expected invasion in their terrible summer and fall of 1940. It confused our driver also, who at one point had to leave his cab to ask directions. When he got out he slammed his door. All 10 of us jumped a foot in the air and yelled, "Flak!"

When we got back to base about 1 AM, we saw London all lit up under a German attack, a part of the "Little Blitz" going on at that time.

Other crews in the group had seen our aircraft on fire and reported us shot down. The Eighth Air Force Narrative of Operations and a note in my diary state that 430 aircraft took off, 99 hit the target, and 41 were shot down.

Ward Simonson, our grounded radio operator, was glad to see his buddies back home safely. Our reunion was emotional. □

Lester Rentmeester served with the United States Air Force for 31 years and retired with the rank of colonel. He flew a 30-mission combat tour in Europe during World War II and later initiated the first U.S. satellite program.

Hero City

The Soviet Union recognized the city of Tula for its role in defeating the Nazis during World War II. BY PAT McTAGGART

IN 1976, the Soviet city of Tula joined an elite group of nine other Soviet communities designated as "Hero Cities." The designation was an official recognition of the courage of Tula's defenders and of their efforts in stopping the Germans during World War II. Two other cities joined the list before the award was officially discontinued in 1988.

Tula has been in existence since the 14th century, and its citizens have been no strangers to warfare since its inception. It was a minor fortress during the Middle Ages, and in 1552 it successfully resisted a Tatar siege. In 1607, Ivan Bolotnikov, leader of a rebellious army composed of malcontents, peasants, Cossacks, outlaws, and other disaffected groups bent on exterminating the ruling class, held out for four months in the fortress before surrendering to the czar's army.

The town's fortune took a dramatic turn when it was visited by Peter the Great in 1712. Peter commissioned the Demidovs, a major weapons manufacturing family, to build the first real armaments factory in Russia at Tula. Within a few decades, Tula was the greatest ironworking center of Eastern Europe, turning out thousands of weapons for the Russian Army each year.

Throughout future decades, even after the Demidovs moved their manufacturing center to

ullstein bild / The Granger Collection, NY

German tanks and panzergrenadiers advance into a village on the outskirts of Moscow in December 1941. Some German units penetrated within 12 miles of the Soviet capital while their commanders viewed the onion domes and spires of the Kremlin through binoculars; however, they could go no farther as stiff resistance and the Russian winter halted their progress.

the Urals, Tula remained a center of heavy industry and war matériel production. By 1941 the armaments and ironworks factories were a major contributor to modernizing the arms of the Red Army. In the winter of that year, however, the city and its citizens would make the ultimate contribution to the Motherland.

During the first hours of June 22, 1941, the German Army stood ready for its greatest offensive of the war. More than 3,000,000 German and allied troops from Hungary, Romania, and Finland, clustered in three Heeresgruppen (Army Groups), were about to invade the Rodina, the Motherland, the Soviet Union.

As German spearheads thrust eastward, seizing a large expanse of territory and inflicting horrendous casualties on the defenders, Tula's armaments factories continued to pour out weapons for the Red Army. After long, grueling hours of producing rifles and pistols, the workers trudged out of their workplaces and, in hushed voices, discussed the latest reports from the front. Soviet propaganda called for everyone to give their all for the defense of the Motherland, and many of the workers wondered how long it would be before they received notice to report for military duty. Tula was no different than the other towns standing in the way of the Germans, and workers often went straight from a grueling day at the armaments factories to hours of drilling and weapons training.

By early October, the German 2nd Panzer Army under General Heinz Guderian threatened Tula during an all-out effort to capture the Soviet capital of Moscow. Guderian received the following order from OKH (Oberkommando des Heeres, the German high command) on October 7: "2nd Panzer Army will attack through to Tula as soon as possible. [It] will take part in the attack on Moscow from the south."

It was about 125 kilometers from Guderian's position at Mtsensk to Tula. In his memoirs, Guderian admitted that there would be no rapid advance like the ones that had been experienced in recent months. The snow that had

bundesarchiv bild, 146-1975-099-19; Photo: Kempe

ABOVE: During the swift advance across the Russian steppes in the summer of 1941, German infantrymen of the Grossdeutschland Division move quickly past a burning farmhouse. The Germans were welcomed as liberators in some areas of the Ukraine but acted brutally against the civilian populations wherever they went.
RIGHT: Panzer General Heinz Guderian (center), the father of the German blitzkrieg that devastated Poland and much of Russia before it was unleashed in the West, pauses with members of his staff to consider his next move during the drive toward Moscow.

fallen during the night of October 6 was melting, and dirt roads that had previously been passable quickly turned into quagmires, causing the Germans to use a greater rate of fuel as the armored and mechanized units slogged their way through the mud.

On the Russian side, a shakeup in command was under way. General of the Army Georgii Konstantinovich Zhukov was summoned by Soviet Premier Josef Stalin to Moscow from his post at Leningrad. The Soviet leader blamed Zhukov's predecessor, Col. Gen. Ivan Stepanovich Konev, for a disastrous performance of the Western Front, and on October 10 Zhukov was given Konev's command. At the same time, the reserve front was incorporated with the Western Front, which made Zhukov responsible for the defense of Moscow against attacks from General Hermann Hoth's Panzer Group 3, General Erich Hoepner's Panzer Group 4, and Guderian. Although Stalin wanted to put Konev on trial, Zhukov pleaded with the Soviet dictator to allow him to make Konev his deputy commander instead—a plea that was surprisingly granted.

When he arrived at the Mozhaisk Line, a series of defenses about 113 kilometers southwest of Moscow, Zhukov found the defenses "absolutely insufficient." In a 1966 television interview that was banned for decades, he said the frontline commanders did not have a complete certainty that they would be able to hold the enemy.

"It was an extremely dangerous situation," he said. "In essence, all the approaches to Moscow were open. Our troops on the Mozhaisk Line could not have stopped the enemy if he moved on Moscow. I telephoned Stalin. I said the urgent thing is to occupy the Mozhaisk Line, as in parts of the Western Front, in essence, there are no [Soviet] troops."

Stalin responded by gathering STAVKA (Soviet High Command) reserve units and integrating them with units already on the line to form a new 5th Army under General Dmitri Leliushenko. He also took Leliushenko's old command, the 1st Guards Rifle Corps, and used it as the nucleus around which the 26th Army was reformed under the command of the former chief of staff of the Central Front, Lt. Gen. Grigorii Grigorivich Sokolov. Sokolov's orders were to stop Guderian on the Tula-Orel axis.

While Soviet and German forces slugged it out west of Moscow, Guderian was trying to press forward through the mud. Wheeled vehicles had to be pulled by tracked vehicles—a process that increased wear on both. Logistics were a nightmare due to the atrocious road conditions, and the Luftwaffe was called upon to air drop essential materials before Guderian could resume his offensive.

To Guderian's north, General Heinrich Vietinghoff-Scheel's XIII Army Corps captured Kaluga on October 12. This resulted in an important consequence for the city of Tula. The 238th Rifle Division was stationed there and along with worker units was preparing defensive positions outside and on the edge of the town. With Kaluga's fall, part of the southern wing of the Mozhaisk Line was unhinged. To block a further German advance, the 238th was ordered to Aleksin, about 50 kilometers northwest of Tula, to defend the road running from Kaluga northeast toward Moscow. The move left only NKVD troops and the 732nd

National Archives

Antiaircraft Regiment to defend the city if it were attacked.

Another disaster hit the Western Front when a combat group under the command of Major Franz-Josef Eckinger captured a bridge at Kalinin, about 170 kilometers northwest of Moscow, on October 14. A bridgehead was soon formed north of the Moscow Reservoir, causing another wave of panic in the Soviet capital. The situation was exacerbated by the capture of the town of Mozhaisk on October 19 by General Georg Stumme's XL Motorized Corps. Moscow was now threatened from both the west and the north, with Guderian ready to resume his offensive against Col. Gen. Andrei Ivanovich Yeremenko's Briansk Front.

Guderian, bolstered with forces returning after liquidating the last Russian pockets left over from the earlier week's battles, attacked on October 22 with Maj. Gen. Hermann Breith's 3rd Panzer and von Langermann's 4th Panzer, part of General Leo Freiherr Geyr von Schweppenburg's XXIV Motorized Corps, hitting the 26th Army along the Zusha River in the Mtsensk area. The initial attack failed, but a second attack by Breith breached the line northwest of the town. The same day, Brig. Gen. Walter Nehring's 18th Panzer Division,

part of General Joachim Lemelsen's XLVII Motorized Corps, took the town of Fatesh on the Kursk-Orel Highway, securing Guderian's southeastern flank.

Two days later the Panzer Brigade of the 4th Panzer Division under Colonel Heinrich Eberbach reached Chern, about 95 kilometers southeast of Tula. The danger to Tula could no longer be kept from the people, although rumors of the approaching Germans were already rampant. On October 22, as Eberbach's panzers were heading toward Chern, the Tula Defense Committee was officially organized with the First Secretary of the Party of the Tula District, V.G. Zhavoronkoy, as its leader. The following day a 1,500-man Tula Worker's Regiment was formed.

The garrison commander, a Colonel Ivanov, signed an order mobilizing inhabitants between the ages of 17 and 50 to start building entrenchments, antitank ditches, minefields, and strongpoints that would eventually surround the city. Some of Tula's industrial plants were dismantled and shipped east as part of an overall Soviet strategy to keep Russian industry safe and out of German hands, but weapons and munitions production were still in full swing in the factories that remained.

The 50th Army, commanded by Maj. Gen. Arkadii Nikolaevich Ermakov, was in the process of taking up positions to defend the area around Tula as the Germans advanced. The Tula Defense Committee coordinated its actions with Ermakov and ordered the Worker's Regiment to take up positions on one side of the Orel-Tula Highway, while the 156th NKVD Regiment occupied the other side. A vastly understrength 260th Rifle Division was sent to defend positions on the highway leading to Voronezh.

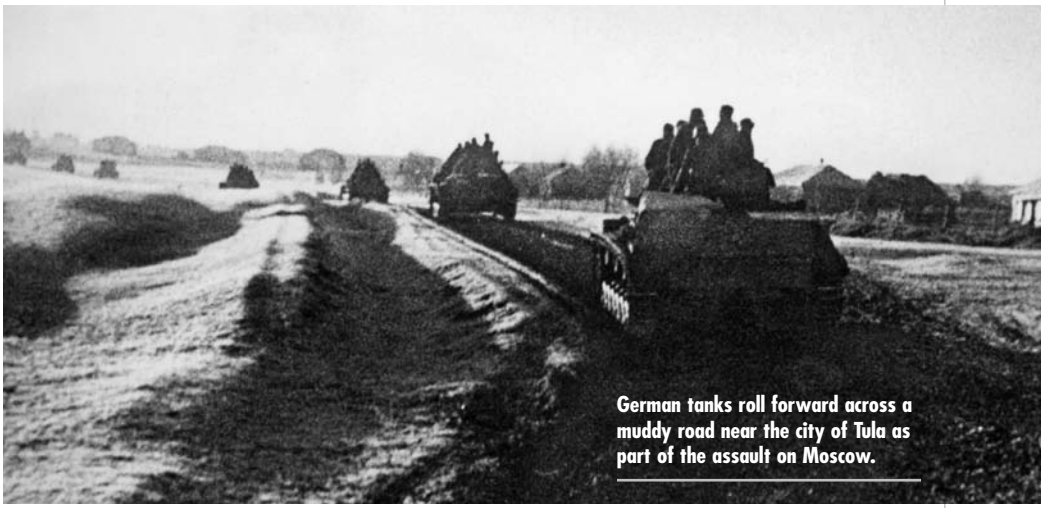
Inside the city, tank destroyer groups were formed. They were expected to meet and destroy German armor with an assortment of gasoline-filled bottles and antitank grenades. While these units continued to train, the civilians of Tula kept digging defensive lines, planting mines and stringing barbed wire to protect antitank guns from being deployed at key points.

Guderian entrusted the vanguard of the drive to Tula to Colonel Eberbach, whose battle group now comprised most of the armor of the XXIV Motorized Corps. He was supported by the Infantry Regiment Grossdeutschland, which, due to lack of fuel, mounted one battalion on Eberbach's panzers for the advance. Eberbach's orders were deceptively simple: "Advance at full speed and take Tula."

The so-called advance at full speed turned into an exhausting duel, not only with the Russians, but also with the Russian weather. Snow followed by rain turned the only good road into a virtual bog that placed a great deal of stress on the German motorized vehicles. Once again, tracked vehicles had to be used as tow vehicles to help wheeled units keep up. Supply units were left far to the rear, and many vehicles had to be abandoned due to burned out engines.

Despite the weather and sporadic Soviet resistance, Eberbach's advance column managed to reach an area about 32 kilometers south of Tula by October 28. Reports coming back from the front spurred greater efforts to strengthen the city's defenses, and Ermakov sent what little he could to Ivanov and the Tula defense forces. Several antitank and antiaircraft weapons came as a welcome addition to the defenders as the Germans resumed their advance on October 29.

Eberbach's units covered 28 kilometers that day, his men making almost superhuman efforts to keep their vehicles running in the morass that could hardly be called a road. The panzers and mounted infantry brushed aside scattered Soviet resistance as they passed through the small villages that lay along the route. Yasnaya Polyona, the final resting place of novelist Leo Tolstoy, fell by mid-afternoon, and Kosaya Goya, the last obstacle before Tula, fell soon after.



German tanks roll forward across a muddy road near the city of Tula as part of the assault on Moscow.

It was an exhausting trek through the mud, but by early evening only four kilometers separated the Germans from their goal. Sensing an opportunity for a coup de main, Eberbach proposed launching a night attack on the city.

The 2nd Company of the Grossdeutschland moved forward, planning to take an industrial area on the town's southern outskirts to use as a jumping-off point for the main attack. As the unit moved forward, it was met with withering fire from Soviet outposts. Other units met the same welcome from the Russian defenders, and the supporting panzers soon became targets of the antitank guns and individuals throwing gasoline-filled Molotov cocktails as they tried to move through enemy defenses.

Casualties among the Germans began to grow as the attack continued. The commander of Grossdeutschland's 2nd Company, 1st Lt. Brockmann, was wounded and was succeeded by 19-year-old 2nd Lt. von Oppen. With 60 effective fighting men left in the company, von Oppen stormed a workers' settlement. The Germans slowly pushed back the defenders, but resistance was heavy enough to convince Eberbach that a surprise thrust into Tula was not possible. Deciding to wait for reinforcements, he postponed the main attack until 5:30 the following morning.

By the 30th, however, the civilian and military defenders of Tula were ready for the Germans. The town was cut in half by the Upa River, and its northern section was again divided by the Tulista River, a tributary of the Upa. Antitank ditches bordered the southern outskirts and were anchored on both the east and west sides by the river. Another antitank ditch stretched from the Upa to the Tulista on the northeast section of town. Minefields backed by antitank strongpoints and machinegun nests covered the most likely avenues of advance, turning those areas into dangerous killing grounds.

Reinforcements also had arrived to bolster the defense of the city. On the morning of the 30th, the headquarters of the reconstituted 260th Rifle Division, commanded by Colonel N.V. Revyakin, entered the town. The 732nd Air Defense Regiment (Major M.T. Bondarenko) was also receiving more of its units to man the strongpoints. Ermakov, realizing the danger posed by Eberbach's thrust to the city, established the Tula Defense Zone, funneling the depleted units of the 154th, 173rd, 217th, and 290th Rifle

Divisions to shore up the flanks in the Tula vicinity, and Maj. Gen. Vasilii Stepanovich Popov was appointed area commander.

At precisely 5:30 AM on October 30, German artillery opened up on Tula's defenses. In his memoirs, the commander of the Tula Worker's Regiment, Anatoly Gorshkov, recalled waiting for the Germans to advance.

"The morning of October 30 found the regiment in the trenches," he wrote. "It was tedious and there was a cold autumn rain. We already had intelligence reports that the Germans were preparing to attack. After the German bombardment, we heard a heavy low buzz and then saw the tanks."

The men of Grossdeutschland advanced as soon as the bombardment ceased, supported by panzers from the 3rd Panzer Division. It was hard going, with Soviet defenders entrenched behind strong barricades. Combat took place in the workers' quarters in Krasny Perekop, with hand-to-hand fighting clearing buildings room by room. With the panzers confined to the narrow streets, it was up to the infantry to push the Russians back.

By early afternoon there was fierce fighting in the trenches in the Rogozhinsky District of the city. Workers' units supported by Bondarenko's antiaircraft guns gave as good as they got, preventing a German breakthrough. At Krasny Perekop, the Soviet defenders took up a new line of defense in a park and behind cemetery walls, stopping the Germans in that quarter.

The final straw for the Germans on that bloody day came around 3:30 PM, when tanks from Colonel I. Yuschuka's 32nd Tank Brigade arrived on the battlefield. They immediately engaged Breith's panzers, causing them to slowly pull back from the fight, which bogged down the entire German assault.

Eberbach and Colonel Walter Hörnlein, commander of Grossdeutschland, decided to make one more attack. Forming up along the Orel-Tula Highway, the Germans moved forward again at 4 PM. They tried to infiltrate the Soviet line on the southern outskirts of the city by attacking through the Vsekhsviatsky Cemetery, but workers' units occupying the area held firm. The attack then shifted to the area around Tula's Weapons-Technical School, achieving modest success before being stopped by another workers' battalion.

akg images

Covering a city street in Tula, defenders of the city await a German attack. Many of those who fought to keep Tula out of German hands were factory workers who finished a long shift turning out munitions only to take up a weapon and station to fight the enemy.

Artillery and machine-gun fire ripped the Russian lines, but the hodgepodge mixture of defending units holding the outskirts of the city would not break. As darkness fell, Eberbach called off the attack and ordered his men to form defensive lines of their own.

The Soviets claimed to have destroyed more than 30 tanks in addition to killing hundreds of Germans during the attack. Late in the evening the rest of Yuschuka's tank brigade arrived in the city, bringing its strength to seven T-34s, five heavy KV-Is, and 22 older T-60s. They would be enough to keep Breith's panzers at a safe distance for days to come.

More Soviet units made their way to the Tula sector during the night. A battery of rocket launchers, which the Russians called Katyuscha (Little Catherine) and the Germans soon nicknamed Stalin's Organs, came to support the defenders, and the 413th Rifle Division, commanded by Maj. Gen. Aleksei Dmitrievich Tereshkov, arrived at the northern Stalingorosk Railway Station to bolster the line there.

In the early hours of October 31, the rocket launchers announced themselves for the first time. The howl of the rockets followed by mass detonations in a small target area stretched German nerves to the limit.

Infiltration attacks by Soviet troops against Germans clinging to positions in buildings on the outskirts of the city followed the barrage. In a light rain, the Russians attacked in platoon and company strength. The semi-darkness of the fall morning added to the eerie, almost ghost-like Russian advances as the Germans saw forms appear, then disappear, in the mist and fog. Shots rang out all along the line, some aimed at human targets and others aimed at nothing but shadows.

Supported by artillery from the 447th Artillery Regiment located on the northern fringe of Tula, the Russians closed on the German positions. Some of Yuschuka's tanks also infiltrated the thinly held German line and then turned around, hitting some of the Grossdeutschland units from the rear. The attacks continued throughout the day, but counterfire from a German artillery battalion located near Kosaya Gora finally forced the Russians to withdraw.

German infantry around Tula were holding on by their fingernails, weakened by the previous two days of combat and receiving nothing in the way of replacements. Meanwhile, the Soviets got another boost as Colonel M.P. Krasnopitsev's 437th Rifle Regiment entered the city.

As the Soviets funneled more men into the area, including remnants of the 154th and 217th Rifle Divisions, the Germans called for Luftwaffe support to soften up the Russian defenses. When the bombers flew over the city, they were met with a curtain of antiaircraft fire. Several aircraft were shot down, and the remaining planes did little damage as they swerved to avoid the air bursts that dotted the sky.

German infantry units were slowly moving forward to reinforce the men of Grossdeutschland, but the weather made it difficult. Falling temperatures, the seemingly endless mud, and the icy rain made life extremely uncomfortable for the men, who were still clad in their summer uniforms.

"The mud is getting thicker," a medical offi-

akg-images / RIA Novosti

ABOVE: Photographed in August 1944, Lieutenant General Ivan Boldin rose rapidly in the Red Army command structure during the fight for Moscow despite initial setbacks at the hands of the Germans. BELOW: Two German soldiers surrender to Red Army troops outside Tula.

National Archives

cer wrote in his diary. "We are sweating in spite of the cold. We break for 10 minutes, then we start to freeze immediately. Everybody is sick and weak. Then one [soldier] lies in the mud. He can go no further."

The defenders of Tula were not about to wait until the Germans regained their strength. On November 1 the Soviets again attacked the thinly manned German line. The tanks of the 32nd Brigade led the way supported by regular infantry and workers' units. When the Russian tanks attempted to break through the point where the Grossdeutschland I and II Battalions were linked, the beleaguered Lieutenant von Oppen, still commanding the 2nd Company, yelled for a sergeant to follow him. The two men worked their way behind the tanks, which had outrun their infantry support.

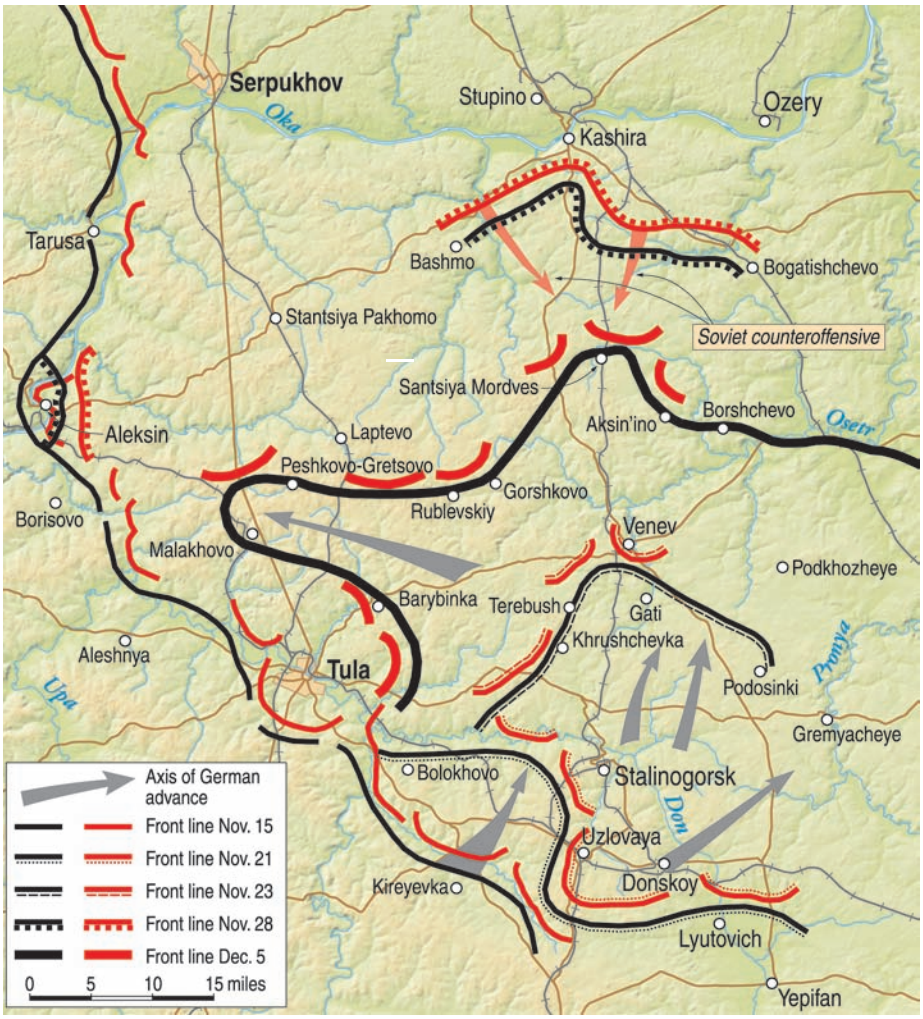
Von Oppen boarded one of the tanks and disabled its turret with a grenade bundle. Another tank was disabled by an antitank gun, causing the remaining Soviets to retreat. In touch-and-go actions all along the front, the Russian attack was finally brought to a halt, leaving both sides reeling.

Tula, the southern gateway to Moscow, proved too hard to take at the moment. The 2nd Panzer Army was strung out all along the southern front, and there were few good roads to support its efforts. Guderian, already believing the only way to unhinge this anchor of the Soviet line was to isolate it by a flanking movement, ordered most of the XXIV Motorized Corps to take Dedilovo, about 21 kilometers southeast of the city. Although not as good as the Tula Highway, Dedilova had a road connection that also headed north. If the town could be taken, Guderian's motorized forces could use the road to move north and then west, cutting Tula's lines of supply and communications.

As von Schweppenburg's panzers approached Dedilovo, they ran into heavy resistance from 50th Army units defending the approaches to the town. To von Schweppenburg's right, the divisions of General Karl Wiesenberger's LIII Army Corps moved toward the town of Teploye.

While the infantry and tanks engaged the 50th Army east of Tula, the German forces remaining in front of the city continued to try to widen their foothold. On November 3, a combined panzer-infantry attack pushed toward a stadium and a cemetery on the southern outskirts. NKVD units supported by small-caliber antiaircraft guns repelled the attack.

Elements of the German 31st, 131st, and 296th Infantry Divisions were finally arriving to reinforce Grossdeutschland, but the Soviets were also receiving more men in the form of Maj. Gen. Aleksei Dmitrievich Tereshkovo's 413th Siberian Rifle Division, which was rushed to Tula by train. When the Germans attacked again on November 5, they ran into heavy fire but made some successes including taking the village of Lower Kitaevku, four kilometers southwest of Tula. Supported by artillery and Luftwaffe bombers, the infantry then moved on the nearby



German thrusts toward the Soviet capital of Moscow were jeopardized and eventually thwarted in part by the heroic stand of the defenders of Tula, a city in the path of the Wehrmacht spearheads.

village of Mikhalkov but were stopped by workers' units and elements of Bondarenko's 732nd Air Defense Regiment.

During the next couple of days, temperatures plummeted, freezing the muddy earth. The freeze was a two-edged sword. On the one hand, truck and mechanized vehicles could move faster, as could the infantry units that had sometimes trudged through ankle- and knee-deep mud. The downside was the inadequate German field uniform, which was not made for the frigid temperatures. Winter clothing had not yet arrived, nor would it for most troops, and the Russian winter was fast approaching. If Moscow were to be taken, it had to be done soon, yet Tula and other key cities in the Moscow Defense Line refused to fall.

The cold did not stop the Russians from trying to regain territory in Tula's southern sector. Units of Tereshkovo's 413th Rifle Division supported by artillery hit the Germans hard and claimed to have destroyed a panzer and two companies of infantry. Around the Tula Station, Soviet forces strove to punch a hole in the German line but were repulsed with substantial losses.

German forces counterattacked and began an advance on the village of Malevka, two kilometers southeast of Tula. Soviet resistance stiffened as the Germans neared the village, causing the advance to stall and eventually grind to a halt. The Germans then took up defensive positions, forming another line that threatened the city.

With the ground hardening, Army Group Center began a redeployment for the next phase of operation. General Georg-Hans Reinhardt's (Reinhardt replaced Hoth on October 25) 3rd Panzer Group moved between Hoepner's 4th Panzer Group and General Adolf Straus's 9th Army with the purpose of striking directly toward Moscow from the east. Meanwhile, Guderian's 2nd Panzer Army would continue to hammer Tula and the other defenses guarding Moscow from the south and open the way for an advance on that sector.

The German redeployment did not go unnoticed. After conferring with his intelligence officers, Zhukov ordered a series of preemptive attacks to disrupt the enemy's plans. While Soviet forces moved against the Germans west of Moscow, the 49th and 50th Armies began their own mini-offensive against Guderian.

General Karl Weisenberger's LIII Army Corps had run into heavy resistance in front of Teploye. According to Guderian the Soviet forces consisted of two cavalry and five rifle divisions plus a tank brigade. The corps commander requested additional forces, and Guderian ordered von Schweppenburg to disengage and head toward Teploye to support the infantry. The disengagement was delayed when new attacks from the Tula sector hit von Schweppenburg's flank. Despite the attacks, the panzers were able to reinforce Weisenberger. Teploye fell on November 13, and the Soviet defenders were pushed south toward Yefremov.

Meanwhile, on November 11 a Soviet force consisting of a cavalry and two rifle divisions hit the 31st and 131st Infantry Divisions northwest of Tula. The fighting, much of it hand-to-hand, took a heavy toll on both sides before the Russians withdrew to their lines five days later.

Typhoon entered its second phase on a clear and frosty November 15. Colonel Eberbach, now down to only 50 serviceable panzers, continued to support the LIII Army Corps, which ran into increasing resistance as it moved toward its goal of taking control of the Elets-Moscow Highway. If Guderian could capture the roadway, he would have an alternative in advancing on Moscow while bypassing Tula.

On November 17 the impossible occurred. Maj. Gen. Friedrich Mieth's 112th Infantry Division was hit by a newly arrived Siberian rifle division while also being attacked by Soviet tanks, many to them T-34s. It was the first time the division had encountered the T-34, and German antitank gunners watched in horror as their 37mm shells bounced off the Russian armor. Combined with the Siberian attack, the division was swept up in what amounted to a rout that only ended with the intervention of the 167th Infantry Division, which was able to stop the Soviets.

"It was the first time such a thing had occurred during the Russian Campaign," Guderian wrote in his memoirs. "It was a warning that the combat ability of our infantry units was at an end and that they should no longer be expected to perform difficult tasks.... We are only nearing our final objective step by step in this icy cold and with all the troops suffering from the appalling supply situation...."

Because of the steadfast defenders of Tula, Guderian's supply lines would be stretched even farther as he pushed eastward to flank the city and continue his offensive, which had already lost two precious days fending off the Russian attacks. On November 18 the 2nd Panzer Army was able to continue its attack. The XLVII Motorized Corps struck the Yefremov area southeast of Tula while the LIII Army Corps drove east and northeast toward Venev and Uzlovaya. West of Tula, the XLIII Army Corps pushed north toward Kaluga, where it

SZ Photo / The Image Works

National Archives

ABOVE: German artillerymen fire their 105mm schwere feldhaubitze 18 field howitzer on Tula in November 1941. RIGHT: A destroyed German tank lies abandoned near Tula following one of several heavy engagements for control of the city. The Soviet stand at Tula helped turn the tide of the Nazi bid for Moscow.

hoped to make contact with the 4th Army.

Tula continued to be the sticking point—a spear jutting into Guderian's line. Von Scheppenburg's corps, now consisting of the 3rd, 4th, and 17th Panzer Divisions, Grossdeutschland, and the 296th Infantry Division, was given the task of breaking that spear as other units of the 2nd Panzer Army advanced. To accomplish his mission, von Schweppenburg planned to use Grossdeutschland and the 296th as a blocking force on the city's southern sector while his panzer divisions moved up Tula's eastern and western defenses in an effort to cut the city's supply lines in the north.

The southern lines at Tula became somewhat stagnant as the panzers strove to isolate the city from the north. Supporting infantry from the divisions moved at a snail's pace, no more than five to 10 kilometers a day. Despite the freezing conditions, the German thrust was making some progress, shaking the Soviet lines as Dedilovo and Epifan fell on the 18th, followed Bolokhova on the 19th. Von Schweppenburg was also helped when Weisenberger's LIII Army Corps took Uzlovaya on the 21st, anchoring Guderian's southeast flank.

With those goals reached, von Schweppenburg turned to support the attack on Venev, about 50 kilometers northeast of Tula. Ermakov responded by sending small-caliber antiaircraft units from other areas to help defend the city. The Soviet general had done a relatively good job with the 50th Army, but he was not doing well enough as far as Moscow was concerned. According to higher headquarters' observations, his actions to counter the German attacks were just too slow. These reports did not bode well for his future.

Besides defending the easiest southern approach to Moscow, there was another reason to hold Tula. A massive counterattack was being planned for the first week of December to bring an end to the German threat to the capital. Reserve armies were already massing behind the lines, including several divisions of the feared Siberians, but STAVKA did not want to release any of them prematurely. In the Tula sector, the Red Army needed a man who had proven himself capable of both defensive and offensive capabilities—a man who had already proven those abilities on the field of battle. Field Marshal Boris Shaposhnikov, the chief of the Red Army General Staff, thought he had just the person to fill that position.

On a bone-chilling November morning, Lt. Gen. Ivan Vasilievich Boldin, now fully recovered from his previous ordeals, was summoned to Shaposhnikov's office. The marshal told Boldin the Germans were still bent on taking Moscow and that the onslaught was continuing despite the weather and heavy enemy losses. He then motioned for Boldin to look at a large operational map.

bundesarchiv bild 146-2008-0317; Photo: o.Ang

German soldiers, some of them wearing white camouflage smocks during the fighting in the winter of 1941, take heavy fire from Russian troops as the battle for a village near Moscow rages. The two soldiers in the foreground have paused to assist a wounded comrade.

"Here!" the Marshal said, jabbing his finger at the map. "Hitler has thrown crack units into the Tula region.... Now the enemy is firing on Tula from the area of the Kosogorsk metallurgical factory [in the city's southwest suburbs]. His aim is to seize Tula and convert it into a bridgehead for an attack on Moscow."

Shaposhnikov then told Boldin he wanted him to take command of the 50th Army. The marshal left the new army commander with words that both oversimplified and cautioned Boldin about his daunting task.

"I think the mission is clear," he said. "Do not forget that Hitler has entrusted the experienced combat general Guderian with the seizure of Tula."

Boldin arrived in Tula on November 22. His predecessor was relieved and then arrested, but unlike many Soviet generals who had suffered the same fate in the first six months of the war, Ermakov was not executed. After a period of "rehabilitation" in a penal unit, he served as an army and corps commander later in the war.

The new commander of the 50th Army wasted little time in taking on his new duties. He met with commanders, gave orders to strengthen the line in the most precarious areas, and built up reserves by stripping support units to the bone. Bolding had already been trounced by Army Group Center twice. He was resolved that it would not happen a third time.

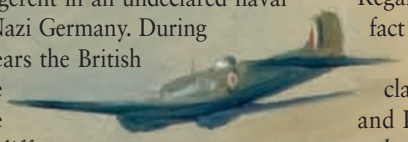
Although the Germans were running out of steam, the situation at Tula and east of the city was still critical. Nehring's 18th Panzer Division had taken Efremov, about 110 kilometers southeast of Tula, on November 20, lengthening the flank of Guderian's panzer army. A reconnaissance battalion drove another 10 kilometers to the village of Skopin. It was the farthest east that Army Group Center would ever get. All in all, Tula was very nearly surrounded, albeit by severely weakened German forces, while the tentacles of the 2nd Panzer Army continued to look for a way to break to the north.

The Germans continued to press on. Mikhaylovka, southeast of Tula, was taken by Maj. Gen. Friedrich-Wilhelm von Loeper's 10th Motorized Division on November 24, and the 17th Panzer Division, now commanded by Brig. Gen. Rudolf Eduard Licht, was approaching Kashira, about 50 kilometers north of Venev, on the 25th.The advances were impressive, but the additional ground gained stretched Guderian's supply lines even farther. It also left holes in the line, which meant that threatened Russian units like the 239th Siberian Rifle Division were able to slip away from the 29th Motorized Division near Epifan, southeast of Tula, with most of their men.

Guderian knew his men were suffering, but he continued to push them while privately expressing his own doubts of success. "The icy cold, the wretched shelters, the shortage of

Continued on page 82

Between September 1939 and December 1941, the United States moved from neutral to active belligerent in an undeclared naval war against Nazi Germany. During those early years the British could well have lost the Battle of the Atlantic. The undeclared war was the difference that kept Britain in the war and gave the United States time to prepare for total war.



With America's isolationism, disillusionment from its World War I experience, pacifism, and tradition of avoiding European problems, President Franklin D. Roosevelt moved cautiously to aid Britain. Historian C.L. Sulzberger wrote that the undeclared war "came about in degrees." For Roosevelt, it was more than a policy. It was a conviction to halt an evil and a threat to civilization. As commander in chief of the U.S. armed forces, Roosevelt ordered the U.S. Navy from neutrality to undeclared war.

It was a slow process as Roosevelt walked a tightrope between public opinion, the Constitution, and a declaration of war. By the fall of 1941, the U.S. Navy and the British Royal Navy were operating together as wartime naval partners. So close were their operations that as early as autumn 1939, the British Ambassador to the United States, Lord Lothian, termed it a "present unwritten and unnamed naval alliance." The United States Navy called it an "informal arrangement."

Regardless of what America's actions were called, the fact is the power of the United States influenced the course of the Atlantic war in 1941. The undeclared war was most intense between September and December 1941, but its origins reached back more than two years and sprang from the mind of one man and one man only—Franklin Roosevelt.

When war broke out in September 1939, the Royal Navy and the German Kriegsmarine were both unprepared. Land-minded Adolf Hitler prepared his army and air force but had not given his navy time to build the necessary submarine or surface fleets for a naval war against Britain. Since Hitler planned for a war of short duration, he considered interference with the Atlantic sealanes a means to defeat Britain. However, Hitler preferred to eliminate continental powers first and then make the British "see reason."

The German naval staff, led by Grand Admiral Erich Raeder, and the U-Boat Service, commanded by Admiral Karl Dönitz, held the opposite view of the war. They were convinced it would be a long war and that it would have to be won in the Atlantic. The Kriegsmarine believed that Britain had to be hit decisively in the Atlantic theater before America's power and economic impact became

BY JAMES I. MARINO

The U.S. Navy engaged in a shooting war with the Kriegsmarine before official U.S. entry into World War II.

British Archives

British war artist Frank Wooten painted this image of an Allied convoy in heavy seas. Prime Minister Winston Churchill once stated that it was the U-boat menace to Great Britain's maritime supply lifeline that caused him the most concern during World War II. INSET: Crewmen line the deck and conning tower of the German submarine *U-203* upon its return from a war patrol. This single U-boat sank 21 Allied merchant vessels before being sent to the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean in April 1943.

The Undeclared War
1939-1941

Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-MW-4287-16A, Photo: Jordan

Library of Congress

ABOVE: Sailors aboard the German submarine *U-107* provide supplies and a nautical bearing to survivors of a torpedoed Allied merchant vessel. During the month of June 1941, when this photograph was taken, *U-107* sank two British and one Greek ship. RIGHT: Secretary of State Cordell Hull (far right) stands with members of Congress following a meeting with President Franklin D. Roosevelt in July 1939. The contentious meeting considered neutrality issues for the United States as war clouds gathered in Europe.

decisive. Dönitz believed that 300 submarines and wolfpack tactics could strangle Britain. But Hitler launched the war almost three years before the naval construction program was completed. This left the German Navy short of submarines and surface vessels. At the start of the war, Hitler also restricted the U-boat campaign.

The British instituted the convoy system at the start of the war. First Lord of the Admiralty Winston Churchill remembered the lessons of World War I and reestablished the convoys. However, the Royal Navy engaged in the war sooner than they hoped. The British shipbuilding program, especially escorts, would not produce results until 1941. Until the new escorts came on line, a convoy escort limit had to be drawn about 300 miles west of the British Isles.

The British convoys had four major weaknesses: (1) a shortage of escorts, usually two or three ships; (2) ASDIC (a method of underwater detection) was ineffective beyond 1,000 yards; (3) RADAR (improved detection) was too primitive to give early or accurate warnings of night attacks; and (4) lack of air cover. As much as the Royal Navy lacked at the start of the war, it did have the capacity to blockade Germany, bottle up most of the German surface fleet, and handle the few U-boats and raiders that operated on the high seas.

But Churchill, unlike Hitler, recognized that the war would be a long, total war. As such, he saw the escort shortage as a major weakness. Churchill thought Roosevelt might be persuaded to sell Britain fleet destroyers to fill the urgent need for open-ocean escorts for convoys and inquired about such an arrangement in September 1939. The situation at the outset was decidedly in favor of the Allies.

The Munich Pact and the failure of appeasement convinced Roosevelt that Germany remained a dangerous threat and that war was inevitable. Roosevelt's policy for America was dictated by a desire to stay out of war, support the Allies, and prepare America's defenses. Gerhard Weinberg, in *A World at War,* wrote, "The American President hoped to avoid open warfare with Germany altogether. He urged his people to aid Britain and he devised a whole variety of ways to do just that; but he hoped until literally the last minute the United States could stay out of war."

Secretary of State Cordell Hull supported FDR's position by stating, "Our highest military officers repeatedly said they needed time to prepare our defenses." Thus, the longer FDR could delay American participation in a shooting war, the better prepared the United States would be. Roosevelt's basic approach was to do as much as he could for Britain and France without incurring the wrath of American isolationists or driving Hitler to a declaration of war. Roosevelt had the ability to do this.

Admiral Samuel Elliot Morrison described FDR's strategy: "The President had a political calculating machine in his head, an instrument in which Gallup polls, the strength of armed forces and the probability of England's survival; the personalities of governors, senators, and congressmen; the personalities of Mussolini, Hitler, Churchill, Chiang, and Tojo; the Irish, German, Italian, and Jewish votes in the approaching election; the 'Help the Allies' people and the 'American Firsters,' were combined into the fine points of political maneuvering."

All of these abilities enabled Roosevelt to influence American public opinion while guiding U.S. foreign policy. Roosevelt recognized Great Britain as the front line in America's defense against Nazi Germany. Even the Times ofLondon termed his position on the Atlantic "a forward strategy despite a neutral status." However, it was clear that this policy could only be maintained by armed resolution. Since this was to be a forward defense, reaching far into the Atlantic, then the only tool America had was the U.S. Navy.

The U.S. Navy stood as the shield guarding America. Now the Navy would not only protect the United States but would also project American power into another European war. Roosevlt would use the Navy to test the purposes of the Führer. When Roosevelt realized Hitler was unwilling to confront U.S. policy, the president set to work.

Roosevelt created his instrument in January 1939. In that month he ordered the formation of the Atlantic Squadron. At the time of the Munich Pact, the Atlantic naval strength consisted of just seven cruisers and seven destroyers. With a shift of vessels from the Pacific to the Atlantic, the Atlantic Squadron was born. By the time war broke out in Europe, the squadron consisted of an aircraft carrier, four battleships, a cruiser division, and a destroyer squadron. Roosevelt planned a new role for the enlarged Atlantic force.

Back in the spring of 1939, Roosevelt had informed cabinet members of his plan to inaugurate a naval patrol extending from Newfoundland to South America. In May 1939,

under conditions of utmost secrecy, the British Admiralty dispatched a planning officer to Washington to discuss Anglo-American naval dispositions in the event that Britain found herself at war with Germany. In the discussion, it was agreed that "command of the western and southern Atlantic would have to be assured by the United States Fleet."

In June, at a meeting between the president and King George VI, Roosevelt told the king about the help he planned to give Britain in the event of war. The president sketched his ideas of a Western Atlantic patrol based in Trinidad and Bermuda that would fan out along a radius of 1,000 miles by sea and air. Here Roosevelt's vision projected almost two years into the future. A few weeks later, in July, Roosevelt secretly but directly proposed to the British Foreign Office that the United States should establish a patrol over the Western Atlantic.

Two days after England and France declared war on Germany, the president ordered the U.S. Navy to organize neutrality patrols. The president also declared a neutrality zone, initially a 300-mile wide strip of ocean along the East Coast of the United States running south through the Caribbean. The object of the patrols was to report and track any belligerent forces approaching the coasts of the United States or the West Indies. The Germans immediately saw that the zones contracted the area in which their commerce raiders could hunt.

Although the German Foreign Office concluded that the "American Closed Zone" was a disadvantage to Germany, it assumed the British and the French would reject it and therefore did nothing about it. The Germans did not know that the zone, in fact, screened a pooling of Anglo-American naval resources and that the British government informed the Americans that the zone was acceptable. The next day, September 6, Roosevelt directed that 110 destroyers be recalled and recommissioned into the Navy. Eventually, 50 of them would be traded to the British. In addition, Coast Guard cutters worked side by side with the U.S. Navy in the Patrol Zone.

On October 2, 1939, the Act of Panama was announced in which the North and South American nations recognized a joint defense of the Western Hemisphere. This legalized any American military action in the Western Atlantic. A week later, Roosevelt ordered the Navy to broadcast in "plain English" the position of belligerent ships. In fact, this was designed only to report the locations of German submarines and to be overheard by British ships escorting convoys. British violations were ignored. For example, on December 14, 1939, the British destroyer HMS *Hyperion* fired on the German luxury liner *Columbus* only 350 miles off the coast of New Jersey.

The condition of the Atlantic Squadron and the U.S. Navy must be examined. Almost 20 years of isolationism and pacifism had resulted in a weakened fleet. The United States Fleet was unprepared to implement the orders, had very little experience, and was shorthanded. The Atlantic Squadron consisted of only a battleship division, with the USS *New York,* USS *Texas,* USS *Arkansas;* one cruiser division; a single destroyer squadron; a patrol wing; and the lone carrier, USS *Ranger.* In the early months of the war, the Navy relied more on aircraft than ships.

The U.S. Navy gradually affected German U-boat operations. American ships shadowed German merchantmen, U-boats, and raiders, reporting their positions. The U.S. Zone excluded U-boats from areas west of Bermuda. Grand Admiral Raeder protested to Hitler that the zone covered so wide an area—half the Atlantic between South America and Africa—that it severely limited the capabilities of the pocket battleship Admiral Scheer as a commerce raider. Although it hindered the Germans and helped the British, the impact on the American Navy was negative. Training and drills, notably gunnery practice and maneuvers, were all but impossible in the rough seas and bitter cold of the North Atlantic. The duty was dan-

ullstein bild/The Granger Collection, NY

U.S. Navy

ABOVE: Surface raiders of the German Kriegsmarine posed an additional threat to Allied merchant shipping in the Atlantic along with the U-boats. In May 1941, the German battleship *Bismarck* was hunted down and sunk by units of the British Royal Navy. In this photograph, *Bismarck* is shown in action against the British battlecruiser HMS *Hood,* which was sunk with only three survivors. BELOW: The battleship USS *Mississippi* navigates through heavy seas in the North Atlantic in September 1941.

gerous and exhausting; the men thought the patrols pointless and inefficient. A morale problem was building and would eventually have to be confronted.

Despite an occasional foray of German surface vessels into the neutral zone, the Germans made no serious attempt to enter until April 1940, after the occupation of Denmark, when they landed weather teams on the Danish possession of Greenland. In May, the Greenland Council, meeting at Godhaven, adopted a resolution requesting that the United States provide protection for Greenland. Before the United States could quickly or officially act, the Phony War ended and the Germans invaded the Low Countries and France. The neutrality patrol performed one final mission under the old conditions. It was a secret mission. On June 10, the day the French government evacuated Paris, the cruiser USS *Vincennes* arrived at Casablanca, even though her logs read Lisbon, and took on board 660 cases of gold ingots and 3,129 bags of coins valued at more than $241 million that France wanted to keep out of Nazi hands. The American cruiser carried them to the United States.

Between September 1939 and June 1940, the Royal Navy kept the sealanes open. The Royal Navy focused on protecting the convoys close to the British Isles, knowing that only limited resources were necessary in the Western Atlantic because the U.S. Navy was active there. With the fall of France and the entrance of Italy into the war, the entire situation changed.

The Battle of the Atlantic began after the fall of France. The German conquest of French ports changed the strategic pattern of the war at sea; possession of the French Atlantic naval bases gave the German U-boats direct access to the Atlantic. It also forced the British to divert shipping from the southwest approaches to Britain to the northwest. Stationed on the French Atlantic coast, the U-boats' cruising radius was now doubled. This provided the Kriegsmarine with a clear and simple strategic objective with war-winning potential: the defeat of Britain by severing her maritime communications and supply lines.

Although he had only 27 operational U-boats, Admiral Dönitz was ready to unleash his new wolf pack tactic. For the Royal Navy it meant a two-front naval war with the Mediterranean now threatened by the Italians. British escort capabilities were on the ropes. The British, short of escorts, reduced the average escort strength to 1.8 per convoy during the summer of 1940. As a result, between June and September 1940, the U-boats sank 274 ships with the loss of only two submarines. The monthly average of Allied merchant ships sunk jumped from the pre-June 1940 count of 60 per month to 98 per month.

The French surrender, however, directly affected the other side of the Atlantic. On June 13, 1940, Roosevelt presented a fresh defense policy to his military commanders, stating that the United States would be active in the war but with naval and air forces only. This "short of war" memo began the direct path to the shooting war of 1941.

The fall of France convinced Roosevelt to run for a third term. Cordull Hull wrote in 1948, "The third term was an immediate consequence of Hitler's conquest of France and the specter of Britain standing alone between conquerors and ourselves. Our dangerous position induced President Roosevelt to run for a third term."

Roosevelt believed he alone could carry out his undeclared war policy. Running for reelection while carrying out the "short of war" policy required secrecy and deviousness. To carry it off, he and Hull both felt they would have to drop their policy of being frank with the American people.

Thereafter, Roosevelt moved fast. In July, he sent Admiral Robert Ghormley to London to met secretly with the British Admiralty to coordinate U.S. Navy and Royal Navy antisubmarine operations. In August, the United States sent weapons, arms, and the Coast Guard to Greenland to defend its cryolite mines. At the same time, the United States and Canada, a nation at war with the Axis, signed the U.S.-Canadian Mutual Defense Pact. In September, further secret, high-level, military-liaison staff conversations were held in Washington and London.

Roosevelt also announced the "Destroyers-For-Bases Deal," calling it "the most important action in the reinforcement of our national defense that has been taken since the Louisiana Purchase. Then as now, considerations of safety from overseas attack were fundamental."

Roosevelt also expanded the neutrality patrol to the longitude 60 degrees east of Greenwich. Roosevelt's new policy committed America deeper into the war. Chief of Naval Operation Admiral Harold Stark crafted a new war plan in October 1940 based on the premises that Europe was vital to U.S. security and the United States must support Britain to stop Germany.

After his election to a third term, Roosevelt, secure in his leadership, moved the United States closer to participation in war in the Atlantic. No longer encumbered by fear of losing the election of 1940, substantial forms of aid were devised. Lend-Lease was announced early the next year.

Roosevelt did not feel secure enough to order direct convoy protection, but Admiral Stark, sensitively attuned to Roosevelt's thinking on naval matters, already had planners blueprinting a "British Isles detachment" to operate out of Northern Ireland and Scotland. On November 12, Stark recommended to the president secret talks with the British, which Roosevelt authorized and commenced in January 1941. As the undeclared war shifted into high gear, Admiral Stark dealt with the Atlantic Fleet's morale problem by placing Admiral Ernest J. King in command of the Atlantic Patrol.

King began his work by making clear what he wanted through a series of orders to the fleet. The first order, December 20, 1940, dealt with the measures necessary to place ships on a war emergency basis; the second focused on daily exercises at general quarters and damage control while at sea as well as "close attention to orders and instructions." It may have been an undeclared war, but King saw to it that the Navy was fighting a real war. The third order was devoted to the exercise of command by officers in this period of wartime. The fourth was titled "Making the Best of What We Have."

King astonished one junior officer by saying he felt the United States really was at war. The officers and sailors began to come around and soon faced their duty and orders with quiet

National Archives

National Archives

Shortly after U.S. entry into World War II, this convoy was photographed under way during the perilous passage from a port in the United States or the Canadian port of Halifax, Nova Scotia, to Great Britain. OPPOSITE: U.S. Marines took over garrison duty on Iceland in the autumn of 1941, relieving the thinly stretched British military of its obligation to defend the island against potential German incursions. Sanctioned by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the movement of American troops to Iceland was considered by some to be an act of war.

grace. The soon-to-be-designated Atlantic Fleet immediately began darkening ships, manning its guns, practicing damage control, and mentally preparing for war. King pushed his sailors to exhaustion as the United States assumed increasing responsibilities for protecting convoys in the western regions of the Atlantic. Six weeks after King took command, Secretary of the Navy Henry Knox sent him an approving letter. Knox wrote, "I am not surprised at all, but I am gratified, to know that the Commander-in-Chief of the Atlantic Fleet recognizes the existence of an emergency and is taking the proper measures to meet it."

As 1940 ended, Britain faced financial exhaustion, calamitous shipping loses, the systematic ravaging of England by the Blitz, and the expectation of a German drive through the Balkans. On the plus side, Britain had a naval alliance with the United States and coordinated naval operations with the United States Navy. Also, the "Arsenal of Democracy" was about to open its factories and treasury.

Joint Chiefs of Staff talks suggested by Stark began on January 29, 1941. They lasted almost two months and resulted in clearly defined American assignments in the undeclared war. Before the meetings, Roosevelt set the guiding principles by which the American staff was to develop a combined strategy with the British. America's military course would be conservative until its strength developed, and America would be ready to act with what was available. He also warned the Navy to be prepared to convoy.

At these secret meetings, the Americans committed the U.S. Navy to escorting North Atlantic shipping. In the final written agreement, the key passage read: "The principle task of the United States naval forces in the Atlantic will be the protection of shipping of the associated Powers [Britain, United States and invaded European nations]." Also, the British pledged that when America came into the war, covertly or overtly, Canadian naval forces would automatically come under American command. It meant a "neutral" nation would command the ships of a nation at war.

The name given to this undeclared status was "belligerent neutrality." This meant the protection of the Atlantic convoy routes became part of the American security policy, although Roosevelt denied this fact to the press and public. The two staffs agreed upon further specific operations for the U.S. Navy, which included regular Atlantic patrols, the defense of Greenland, and providing escort for convoys halfway across the Atlantic to be turned over to the Royal Navy at the MOMP, the Mid-Ocean Meeting Point.

Historian Hanson Baldwin described U.S. assignments as a thinly disguised neutrality that became an unrestricted war at sea. With the Navy assignments established, Roosevelt directed that the Navy's patrol force be greatly expanded, renamed the Atlantic Fleet, and brought to a state of readiness. Roosevelt met with Admiral King at Hyde Park to work out detailed operational plans.

Stark's reaction to the resulting directive was to tell King, "This step is, in effect, a war mobilization." In a letter to all his fleet commanders, Stark wrote, "My own personal view is that we may be in the war (possibly undeclared) against Germany and Italy within two months."

Casco Bay, Maine, was developed as a U.S. destroyer base. In mid-February, U.S. Marines raised the American flag over a desolate village called Argentia, in Newfoundland, and the U.S. Navy took an active role in convoy protection. Also in February, the Atlantic force attained fleet status and received reinforcements from the Pacific: the carrier USS *Yorktown,* three battleships, USS *New Mexico,* USS *Mississippi,* USS *Idaho,* and several cruisers and destroyers.

With the passage of Lend-Lease in March 1941, the pace of America's involvement in the naval war increased. In March, American officers arrived in Britain to select bases in Scotland for American destroyers. On March 17, the Coast Guard cutter Cayuga left Boston with the Greenland Survey Expedition to locate military airfields, seaplane bases, radio stations, meteorological stations, and aids to navigation and to furnish hydrographic information from Greenland.

On April 4, American shipyards became available to British and Allied vessels for repair and refitting. Just five days later the British battleship, HMS *Malaya,* arrived in New York for repairs, paid for by Lend-Lease funds. On April 7, the U.S. naval base on the Crown Colony of Bermuda was commissioned. A de facto U.S. protectorate over Greenland became formally legalized on April 9. The president told the American public that a loss of Greenland or Iceland "would directly endanger the freedom of the Atlantic and our own American physical safety."

The U.S. Coast Guard established the Greenland Patrol in June and July 1941. By Septem-

ber, Army engineers had constructed 85 buildings and three miles of access roads. The jeeps that were flown in were Greenland's first automobiles. Soon a civilian contractor's force arrived to begin work on the airfield itself. BLUIE West 1 was to become the major U.S. Army, Navy, and Coast Guard base in Greenland. Thousands of aircraft would stop there for refueling on their way to Britain. The day after the announcement of the Greenland occupation, the first shots fired by an American warship occurred.

The destroyer USS *Niblack* dropped depth charges on a U-boat while conducting rescue operations near a torpedoed Dutch freighter off the coast of Greenland on April 10, 1941. This was the first combat action taken by an American naval vessel against the Axis powers. Subsequently, the patrol zone was extended to the 26th longitude, and Roosevelt requested that the British Admiralty notify American naval units in "great secrecy" of its convoy dates, plans, and destinations, "so that our patrol units can seek out any ships or planes of aggressor nations operating west of the new line." On April 18, the Navy Department authorized the construction of a destroyer base at Londonderry, Northern Ireland, and one on the west coast of Scotland, along with seaplane bases in Northern Ireland and northern Scotland. American forces were now planted on territory clearly in Europe without a declaration of war.

On April 18, Admiral King issued Operation Plan 3-41, which officially designated the water west of the 26th longitude, just west of Iceland, to be part of the Western Hemisphere and stated that any transgression of that line by the Axis was to be viewed as unfriendly. Operating under this order, the Coast Guard cleaned out the German weather stations on Greenland. These turned out to be the first land combat actions of the undeclared war.

America replaced British merchant losses in the Atlantic. Fifty first-class tankers were transferred to the British maritime shuttle, replacing the 42 British tankers already sunk. Later, an additional transfer of 75 Norwegian and Panamanian tankers to the British doubled their tanker fleet. In mid-May, Churchill assessed America's impact in a memo to South African General Jan Smuts, which stated, "We shall certainly get increasing American help in the Atlantic, and personally, I feel confident our position will be strengthened in all essentials before the year is out." But it was also in May that the first American merchantman was sunk in the Atlantic. The undeclared war had its first casualty.

More and more each day, American forces

National Archives

ABOVE: The U.S. Coast Guard ship *Northland*, constructed in 1926, was one of two vessels deployed to patrol the North Atlantic off Greenland as Allied convoys braved the threat of German attacks from U-boats, surface raiders, and long-range, torpedo carrying aircraft. BELOW: President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill confer prior to ceremonies aboard the battleship HMS *Prince of Wales* in Placentia Bay, Newfoundland. Standing behind Roosevelt and Churchill are Admiral Ernest J. King, commander of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet, and Admiral Harold Stark, chief of Naval Operations.

National Archives

and personnel became involved in combat. The Coast Guard cutter *Modoc* was in sight of the naval duel between the battlecruiser HMS *Hood* and German battleship *Bismarck*. In fact, it was an American adviser, Ensign L.B. Smith, who spotted *Bismarck* on May 26 while piloting a British seaplane. That contact led to the German battleship's sinking.

Roosevelt used the sinking of *Bismarck* to declare an "unlimited emergency." This now meant the U.S. Navy would patrol all of the North and South Atlantic. On June 1, the South Greenland Patrol began to protect the sealanes from Cape Brewster to Cape Farewell to Upernivik. On June 7, the president approved the "Basic Joint Army and Navy Plan for Defense of Greenland," which included a second patrol, the Northeast Greenland Patrol. The patrol went into effect on July 1, when two veteran Coast Guard ships, the *Bear*, built in 1874, and the *Northland*, built in 1926, sailed on the first patrol. Everything available was used, as Admiral King had suggested.

The American Fleet complicated Germany's only threat in the Atlantic: the U-boats. Despite Hitler's restrictions, the Germans began to zero in on American warships. On June 20, 1941, *U-203* tracked and tried to get into a firing position against the battleship USS Texas in the area of sea where the neutrality zone and Hitler's war zone overlapped. Although *U-203* failed, another U-boat sank the merchantman SS *Robin Moore* on June 27. But the coordination between American and British naval staffs enabled them to reroute most of the convoys from the paths of the German submarines. The rerouting worked so well that many of the U-boat sightings were only of American warships, which they were not allowed to attack. In July, the United States occupied Iceland, a European territory. This was tantamount to a declaration of war against Germany.

On July 7, the U.S. Navy landed the Marines professionally and with dispatch. Roosevelt ordered a war zone around Iceland and notified Stark and Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall that "the approach of any Axis force within 50 miles of Iceland was to be deemed conclusive evidence of hostile intention and therefore would justify an attack by the armed forces of the United States."

Admiral King immediately followed the presidential order with "Special Instructions Concerning U.S. Navy Western Hemisphere Defense Plan No. 4—(WPL-51)" on July 25, which ordered the American Fleet to escort American merchant ships traveling to Iceland. This was later amended to include "shipping of any nationality." The next important contingent to arrive on Iceland, on August 6, was U.S. Navy Patrol Wing 7, a contingent of seaplanes.

For the Americans, their presence in Iceland put U.S. troops and ships squarely into the Battle of the Atlantic. In short order the Americans turned Iceland into a virtually impregnable military fortress, and it became the most vital Allied outpost in the Atlantic Ocean. In his orders to King to commence the occupation, Stark wrote, "I realize that this is practically an act of war."

As America geared up for direct convoy escort, the people at home sensed this undeclared war. In July, the president decided to put Navy plans for escorting transatlantic convoys into effect. He told Churchill this at a subsequent meeting in Newfoundland.

At that secret meeting in August, Roosevelt made several promises to Churchill, including to further project American naval strength into the North Atlantic. He forged a "concrete agreement" that committed the U.S. Navy to convoy duty. He also promised that the U.S. Navy would attack U-boats. America was at war, only Congress and the public did not know it. Back on July 29, at Senate hearings to investigate the charges that American naval vessels were convoying ships or attacking German naval vessels, the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs asked Knox and Stark point-blank if the Navy was escorting or planning to escort. Both flat-out lied when they emphatically said, "No."

But American warships violated all technical definitions of neutrality by escorting convoys beginning in August. Churchill reported to the War Cabinet that Roosevelt said to him at their face-to-face meeting in August, "I would wage war, but not declare it." Upon his return to Washington, Roosevelt went right to work to fulfill his commitments.

At the beginning of third year of the war, the British Admiralty was overwhelmed by urgent operational tasks around the world. The most demanding and difficult was the protection of Atlantic convoys, Britain's lifeline. Amid great secrecy, important modifications in the Royal Navy's mission took place in September. The most significant was America's assumption of responsibility for escorting convoys on the Canada-Iceland leg of the North Atlantic run. The entry of the "neutral" American Navy into this "undeclared war" also greatly affected the deployment and operations of Canadian forces. King's control and resources now included the entire Atlantic-based Canadian Navy. Admiral King, in consultation with the Admiralty, made substantial changes in convoy procedures in the Western Atlantic.

On September 1, the Denmark Strait Patrol began operation. Its assignment was to close to Axis ships the entrance into the Atlantic between Iceland and Greenland while the British Home Fleet took responsibility for the other entrance between Iceland and the Faroes. Admiral King even went so far as to agree to put American ships of the Atlantic Fleet under temporary British command for the purpose of hunting down German surface ships that broke through the Denmark Strait.

On the same day, Admiral King ordered the reorganized Atlantic Fleet to begin escort duty between Newfoundland and Iceland. Naval vessels in the North Atlantic were further required specifically to operate under wartime conditions. The first American-escorted convoy was planned for September 16, but a clash between an American destroyer and a German U-boat led Roosevelt to permit American ships to fire at enemy submarines first in this undeclared war.

National Archives

On September 4, German *U-652* attacked the American destroyer USS *Greer* on a supply run to Iceland. The commander of *U-652* believed he had been attacked by *Greer*, when actually it had been a British seaplane. Greer returned fire with depth charges. Neither ship was damaged, but the situation in the Atlantic had been shattered. A de facto war now existed between the United States and Germany.

Roosevelt used the incident to issue his "shoot on sight" order on September 11. At a conference with Hitler, Admiral Raeder analyzed the strategic implications of Roosevelt's orders and stated, "German forces must expect offensive war measures by these American forces. There is no longer any difference between British and American ships." The German naval staff characterized the orders as a "locally restricted declaration of war."

Stark informed Admiral Thomas C. Hart, commander of the U.S. Asiatic Fleet, in Manila, "So far as the Atlantic is concerned we are all but, if not actually, in it."

The skirmish brought the American public into the undeclared war. After Roosevelt addressed the American people, 62 percent supported the president's decision and America's defense of freedom of the seas. Immediately, the Atlantic Fleet began to receive daily reports of U-boat positions in the Atlantic derived from the British Admiralty Submarine Tracking Room.

U.S. Navy

ABOVE: Crewmen of the cruiser USS *Omaha* cheer their capture of the German blockade runner *Odenwald* off the coast of Brazil in November 1941. LEFT: On October 17, 1941, prior to U.S. entry into World War II, the destroyer USS Kearny was struck by a torpedo from a German U-boat, and 11 American sailors were killed.

Convoy HX150, the first U.S. protected convoy, sailed on September 16. The next battle was on September 20 between the destroyer USS *Truxton* and a German submarine. Again neither warship was damaged. America

Continued on page 80

Superior Orders AND Military Necessity

SS WAR CRIMINAL OTTO OHLENDORF CITED UNTENABLE DEFENSES DURING HIS TRIAL FOR ATROCITIES ON THE EASTERN FRONT.

BY LANCE D. JONES

Library of Congress

"TO PLEAD SUPERIOR ORDERS one must show an inexcusable ignorance of their illegality. The sailor who voluntarily ships on a pirate craft may not be heard to answer that he was ignorant of the probability that he would be called upon to help in the robbing and sinking of other vessels ... a man who sails under the flag of skull and crossbones cannot say that he never expected to fire a cannon against a merchantman," wrote Judge John L. Speight as cited in the proceedings of *United States v. Ohlendorf et al.,* 1948.

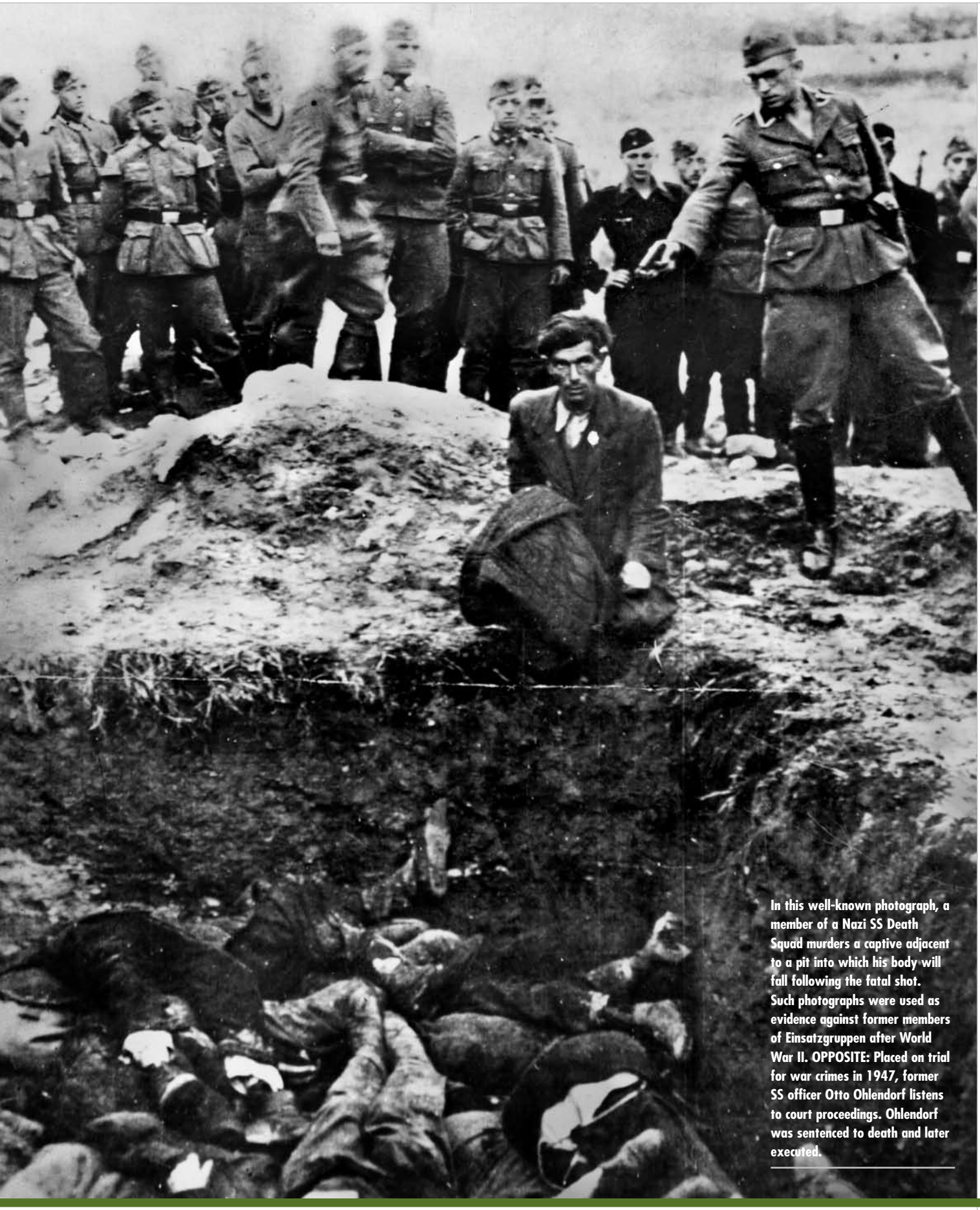
Whether emblazoned on the flag of a pirate ship in the Caribbean or centered on the peaked cap of an SS man in the Ukraine, the death's head insignia broadcasts an unambiguous message to all who have the misfortune to come close enough to identify it. No quarter can be expected from men who display such a device with pride. The analogy between the two groups, pirates and SS men, has its limitations, as the pirates were not (officially) government sponsored while the SS certainly were, and the motivation of the pirates was profit, whereas the SS were driven by an ethno-political philosophy of anti-Semitism and anti-Bolshevism. However, the personal characteristics of ruthlessness, mercilessness, and resolve to carry out the mission would seem to be common to the individuals within each group.

Following World War II, the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and France each contributed judicial representatives to the International Military Tribunal (IMT), a body constituted to try and sentence the political and military leaders of defeated Nazi Germany. Apart from the surviving cabinet-level officials and the chiefs of staff of the armed services, lesser German officials were also slated for prosecution. The trials subsequent to those of the surviving German leaders were conducted by the Nuremburg Military Tribunal (NMT), an American court, rather than the IMT. Among the trials conducted by the NMT was Trial Number Nine, that of the leaders of the Einsatzgruppen, or mobile killing squads, who had slaughtered thousands of civilians on the Eastern Front in the wake of the advancing Wehrmacht.

The basis for the defense of many of the Nazi defendants was that of superior orders. The superior orders concept, as codified in the military law manuals of most nations at the time, including the *United States Rules for Land Warfare* and the *British Manual of Military Law,* absolved a soldier of responsibility for carrying out an order from a superior, even if the order he carried out is later deemed to be a violation of law. The passage from the 1940 edition of the *United States Rules for Land Warfare* states: "The law cannot require an individual to be punished for an act which he was compelled by law to commit."

The prosecution, however, asserted that this statement applied only to lawful orders and that evidence that a soldier acted upon the orders of a superior might be a mitigating circumstance but could not justify the commission of an illegal act when the soldier should reasonably have been expected to know that the act ordered was in fact illegal. During Case Number Seven, *United States v. Wilhelm List et al.,* on February 19, 1948, which dealt with reprisals against civilian populations, the judge observed, "Army regulations are not a competent source of international law. They are neither judicial nor legislative pronouncements. They are not competent for any purpose in determining whether a fundamental principle of justice has been adopted by civilized nations generally."

Among the factors that negated the defense of superior orders in the minds of the members of the tribunal were the education and social standing of the defendants. The enlisted men who pulled the triggers were, for the most part, not prosecuted for war crimes. Rather, the lead-



In this well-known photograph, a member of a Nazi SS Death Squad murders a captive adjacent to a pit into which his body will fall following the fatal shot. Such photographs were used as evidence against former members of Einsatzgruppen after World War II. OPPOSITE: Placed on trial for war crimes in 1947, former SS officer Otto Ohlendorf listens to court proceedings. Ohlendorf was sentenced to death and later executed.

The Granger Collection, New York

U.S. Holocaust Museum

Herded into a ravine near the Soviet town of Zdolbunov in October 1942, Jewish men, women, and children await execution at the hands of German Einsatzgruppen.

ers and command staff of the Einsatz units were the ones in the dock. They counted among their ranks lawyers, university lecturers, a trained opera singer, and a former ordained minister. These were by no means coarse peasants susceptible to suggestion. These were men capable of independent thought and with the ability to make up their own minds. Some were ideologues and some were mere careerists, but whatever their individual motivations, they were not men of simple minds.

Judge Speight again makes reference to this dynamic by observing: "A defendant's willingness may have been predicated on the premise that he personally opposed Jews or that he wished to stand well in the eyes of his comrades, or by doing the job he might earn rapid promotion. The motive is unimportant if he killed willingly."

Justice Robert Jackson, the chief United States prosecutor for the IMT, observed in a June 6, 1945, letter to President Truman, "There is doubtless a sphere in which the defense of obedience to superior orders should prevail. If a conscripted or enlisted soldier is put on a firing squad, he should not be held responsible for the validity of the sentence he carries out. But the case may be greatly altered where one has discretion because of rank or the latitude of his orders. And, of course, the defense of superior orders cannot apply in the case of voluntary participation in a criminal or conspiratorial organization such as the Gestapo or the SS."

Chief among the SS officials put on trial following the conviction of the surviving Nazi government ministers were the commanders and senior staff of the four Einsatzgruppen that operated on the Eastern Front in conjunction with the Wehrmacht. Among the defendants of this latter group was Gruppenführer (major general) Otto Ohlendorf, once the commander of Einsatzgruppe D, which operated in the southern part of the Ukraine and the Crimea. Ohlendorf finished the war as the chief of Amt III of the Reich Security Main Office.

By all accounts a brilliant man who had studied law and economics and had been a university lecturer before the war, Ohlendorf was a committed National Socialist, having joined the Nazi Party in 1925 and the SS in 1926, well before Adolf Hitler came to power. Ohlendorf was initially noted within the Nazi hierarchy as something of a liberal, expressing opposition to the totalitarian direction in which the government was proceeding. Even though he was an early member of both the SS and the SD (security service), he was reported to have had frequent clashes with both Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler and Gestapo chief Heinrich Muller about various issues relating to race and dominance.

The Einsatzgruppen were four mobile killing units created shortly before the invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. Their mandate was to kill the Jews within the territory conquered by the Wehrmacht, as well as communist officials and other "subversive elements." Their creation emanated directly from Heinrich Himmler. These units, identified as A, B, C, and D, were attached to elements of the Army and traveled with them. They ranged in size from 500 to 1,000 men, but often made use of indigenous police and militia units in support roles. The tools of their trade were simple: fast trucks and motorcycles to take them swiftly to where the Jews resided; rifles, pistols, and machine guns to exterminate their prey; and natural or man-made excavations to conceal the evidence.

From the beginning, the Einsatzgruppen sent detailed reports of their body counts to the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) in Berlin. While euphemisms such as "appropriately handled, special treatment, or dealt with" were substituted for terms such as "killed, murdered, or exterminated," no special effort to conceal the activity was made either in writing or in

radio transmissions. By tallying their own reports, a figure of approximately 1.5 million killings by the four groups were documented, ranging from the murder of a few dozen Jews and individual communists in isolated Ukrainian and Belorussian villages to the spectacular figure of 33,771 Jews murdered over a two-day period at Babi Yar ravine outside the Ukrainian capital of Kiev.

Apart from murdering Jews, the Einsatzgruppen were tasked with the collection of their valuable property, ranging from quantities of gold and objets d'art to the simple wedding rings and overcoats from the bodies of the victims. This property was sent to central authorities in Berlin for the use of the Reich, although some funds were used directly for operational expenses such as rewarding collaborationist native policemen for their assistance, and some negligible items such as clothing were given to the local population.

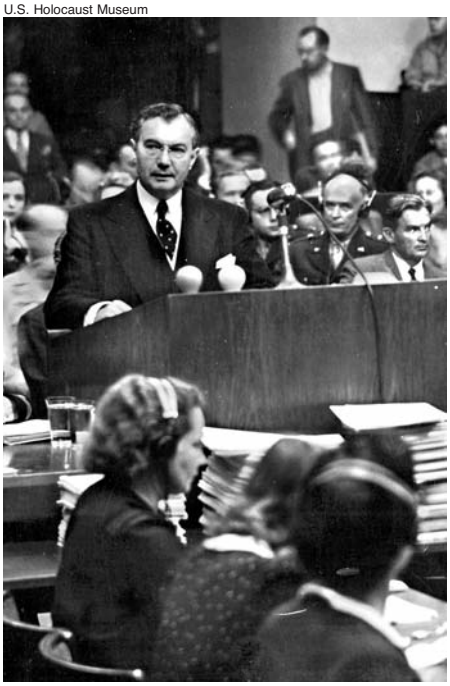
By his own admission, Ohlendorf oversaw more than 90,000 murders during his tenure as Einsatzgruppe D commander. Ohlendorf was forthcoming about his role as unit commander and willingly answered all questions put to him without apparent subterfuge. Given that he was aware that he was on trial for his life, the direct nature of his testimony might be viewed as unusual from a modern perspective. However, Ohlendorf was convinced of the correctness of his actions. He had nothing, in his mind, to be ashamed of or fearful about. When asked about the execution process, the disposition of the property and valuables of the victims, and other dynamics of his duties, he explained fully and without regard to self-incrimination. When asked about the necessity of killing the Jewish children, Ohlendorf's considered rationale was that he was trying to achieve lasting security for Germany and leaving children alive to grow up and avenge their murdered parents did not seem like a logical course of action to achieve this end.

Ohlendorf emphasized that the killings carried out by his unit were done in a military manner with the victims facing their executioners, several of whom fired at a single person. He stated that he was against the method used by other Einsatzgruppen, where each individual was shot in the back of the neck at close range. When asked why he held the opinion that his method of execution was preferable to the neck-shooting method, Ohlendorf stated, "It was, psychologically, an immense burden to bear" for both the victim and the executioner to have the execution carried out one-on-one. When questioned later in the trial about the same issue, Ohlendorf continued to defend his use of military-style executions but acknowledged that this method did lead to the need to use "ill treatment" to control those waiting to be executed since the victims realized what was in store for them and "could not therefore endure prolonged nervous strain."

When Ohlendorf was asked to further explain what he meant by "ill treatment" he stated that if the executions were carried out in a manner that caused excitement and disobedience among the victims, the use of violence to restore order would have been required. He further stated that it was his goal to keep the use of violence against the victims to a minimum, and to that end, as well as to ensure that his other directives were being followed by his subordinates, he tried, when logistically feasible, to send a member of his command staff to witness executions as an inspector.

On the surface it seems needlessly proper for Ohlendorf to have been concerned that unnecessary physical force not be used against the Jews awaiting their deaths. But to an ordered mind with legal training such as Ohlendorf's, it makes perfect sense to avoid nonlethal measures that were not absolutely necessary to carrying out the mission. The goal of the operation was, after all, to kill the Jews, not to torture them. Many killers are not sadists, as Judge Speight pointed out in his monologue: "Even a professional murderer may not relish killing his victim, but he does it with no misgivings."

U.S. Holocaust Museum



Justice Robert H. Jackson led Allied prosecutors at the Nuremberg trials during which top former Nazis were tried and many were convicted of war crimes. The evidence brought forward during a series of trials of former SS Ensatzgruppen members shocked the world during the years following the end of the war in Europe.

Even the executioners themselves, the enlisted men who formed the firing parties, had qualms about the murder of women and children. Many of these men were older and had wives and children at home. Reports of this problem reached the Reich Security Main Office, and the psychological well-being of the killers had to be taken into account. One solution was the introduction of the gas vans, trucks that were used to kill people confined in the cargo area using the exhaust fumes from the engine. However, introducing gas vans into the killing process of some Einsatz units caused other unforeseen problems, most notably the reluctance of the Einsatzkommando men to unload the corpses that were covered in bodily fluids. During his trial Ohlendorf asserted that the men of the Kommandos preferred to continue executing women and children by shooting rather than use the gas vans as the unloading of the soiled corpses was an "unnecessary mental strain."

Ohlendorf himself bluntly stated that his actions with the Einsatzgruppen were justified as a military necessity. He did not try to redirect the question of his guilt based on his not having pulled a trigger. Ohlendorf's assertion was that the Jews and the communist leadership posed a security threat to the Wehrmacht behind the lines and that the only way to prevent this substantial threat was to slaughter all of them that could be located. Ohlendorf's rationale for killing the Jews, including Jewish children, was that doing so was contributing to military victory. In reality, the military victory precipitated killing the Jews and communists for ethno-political reasons, as they did not come into the sphere of German influence until the areas in which they resided were already under military control.

Ohlendorf's SS peers, who were in some cases more directly culpable of having blood on their hands, did not help his case by their testimony. A prosecutor quoted SS-Obergrüppenfuhrer (lieutenant general) Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski's testimony in Case Number Eight by saying, "When the witness Bach-Zelewski was asked how Ohlendorf could admit the murder of 90,000 people he replied: 'I am of the opinion that when, for years, for decades, the doctrine is preached that the Slav race is an inferior race, and Jews not even human, then such an outcome is inevitable.'"

Brigadier General Telford Taylor, in his 1948 paper *An Outline of the Research and*

Continued on page 80

FROM THE JAWS OF DEATH

BY ERIC NIDEROST

In March 1942, General Douglas MacArthur and his family escaped from the Philippines in a daring PT-boat operation.

National Archives

Lieutenant John Bulkeley's *PT-34* torpedoes a Japanese ship during action in Binanga Bay on January 19, 1942. The PT-boats of the U.S. Navy were fast, highly maneuverable, and heavily armed. LEFT: U.S. Navy Lieutenant John Bulkeley led the PT-boat effort to whisk General Douglas MacArthur and his family from harm's way in the Philippines.

Lieutenant John Bulkeley knew something was in the wind when General Douglas MacArthur invited him for an informal lunch at his headquarters on Topside, the highest elevation on the island fortress of Corregidor. The date was March 1, 1942, and American and Filipino forces on nearby Bataan were besieged by a powerful Japanese army. Lacking adequate air cover, wracked by tropical disease, MacArthur's men where short of supplies, ammunition, and hope.

In spite of everything, the self-described "Battling Bastards of Bataan" fought grimly on, upsetting the Japanese timetable of conquest. But it was clear they could not hold forever. President Franklin D. Roosevelt had ordered MacArthur to escape to Australia, and the general decided part of the journey would be made by patrol torpedo (PT) boat.

After lunch MacArthur took the young Navy lieutenant out to a nearby field that was strewn with rubble and pockmarked with Japanese bomb craters. MacArthur told Bulkeley that he had been ordered to Australia, and once there he hoped to return with an army to relieve the beleaguered garrison. The general wanted Bulkeley's PT-boats to take him through the Japanese air and sea blockade off Luzon and proceed to Mindanao, some 580 miles south. MacArthur and a small party would then proceed to Australia by air.

Bulkeley could scarcely believe his ears. "But General MacArthur, sir," the lieutenant replied, "wouldn't it be safer for you to get to Mindanao by submarine or by air?" MacArthur dismissed the suggestion with a smile. "They won't be expecting me to make my breakout by PT-boats. Besides, I've got great faith in you and your boys. Well, Johnny, do you think you can pull it off?"

U.S. Navy

The lieutenant's doubts—if he had any—were melted away by the warmth of MacArthur's praise. He was young, confident in his own abilities, and possessed of an adventurous spirit. "General," he replied with alacrity, "it'll be a piece of cake."

In some respects, Lieutenant John Duncan Bulkeley had prepared for this mission his entire life. He came from a family with a long and distinguished naval background. If anyone had seafaring in his blood, it was Bulkeley. One ancestor, Charles Bulkeley, had served with John Paul Jones during the Revolution, while another forebear had been aboard Admiral Horatio Nelson's HMS *Victory* at Trafalgar in 1805.

It was natural for Bulkeley to attend the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, but he had the misfortune to graduate in 1933, during the depths of the Great Depression. Because the Navy was so small at the time, there were not enough slots for new officers. He did not get his formal commission until 1934. Bulkeley soon showed himself to be a clever and resourceful young officer who had a taste for swashbuckling adventure. These qualities would stand him in good stead in the Philippines.

Once, aboard a civilian steamer en route from Norfolk to Washington, D.C., Bulkeley noticed four Japanese passengers who looked suspicious. This was in the mid-30s, and though there were rising tensions the United States and Japan were still at peace. He was informed that one of the quartet was the Japanese ambassador, but Bulkeley was not so sure.

Thinking they might be spies, Bulkeley slipped into the ambassador's cabin and secured the diplomat's briefcase. Eventually he took the briefcase, which he imagined was full of secret intelligence, and slipped over the side with his ill-gotten "treasure." When he proudly reported to naval headquarters, official reaction was less than complimentary. An ashen-faced official

took the briefcase, and later Bulkeley was told to keep his mouth shut about the incident.

Ensign Bulkeley was a magnificent anachronism, a swashbuckling hero in the mold of John Paul Jones or Stephen Decatur. In the 1930s modern warfare seemed a matter of steel ships and big guns, not raw courage and individual initiative. Bulkeley needed a place where he could exhibit the very qualities that seemed out of place in an increasingly mechanized world.

Luckily for Bulkeley, he found out about PT-boats. These little craft were something new in naval warfare, and they were much disparaged by Navy brass who thought only in terms of big capital ships. Fast as a speedboat and supremely maneuverable, they were best handled by men of daring and skill. "Whatever in the hell these PTs were," Bulkeley later admitted, "they captured my imagination. I couldn't wait to sink my heart and soul into the program."

Lieutenant (j.g.) Bulkeley was given command of Motor Torpedo Boat Squadron 3, which consisted of PT-31, PT-32, PT-33, PT-34, PT-35, and Bulkeley's flagship, PT-41. Squadron 3 boasted a compliment of 11 officers and 68 men. In general, each boat had a crew of two officers and 10 to 12 men. The PT-boats were of the latest design, 77-footers that came equipped with four 21-inch torpedo launchers and two pairs of 50-caliber machine guns in power turrets.

By the late summer of 1941, it was clear that Japan and the United States were on a collision course. War was coming, though no one knew when, and there was a sense of urgency in the air. Bulkeley's command was selected for rapid deployment in the Philippines, even though with six boats he had only half a squadron. The second half was supposed to follow later but never arrived because of Pearl Harbor.

Squadron 3 arrived in Manila on August 28, 1941, where it joined the Asiatic Fleet. Admiral Thomas Hart, commander of the Asiatic Fleet, was not impressed. Until the crisis with Japan heated up in the late 1930s Asia was considered a backwater. Hart had one heavy cruiser, USS *Houston,* and a ragtag collection of mostly antiquated destroyers, submarines, and other vessels. He had hoped for an aircraft carrier, some cruisers, or a battleship or two.

Oddly enough, Bulkeley found a champion in Douglas MacArthur. The general knew that the Philippines consisted of some 7,000 islands both large and small. PT-boats could easily negotiate the maze of islands and channels, all the while packing a punch with their deadly torpedo tubes. Originally, the new 77-foot long boats were to have been sent to the British under Lend-Lease. MacArthur was largely responsible for Squadron 3 being sent to the Philippines.

Library of Congress

THE IDEA OF BEING TRAPPED UNDERWATER IN A **STEEL COFFIN** OF A SUBMARINE WAS NOT TO MACARTHUR'S LIKING. IF HE HAD TO GO, HE WANTED TO GO DOWN FIGHTING.

War came to the islands on December 8, 1941. After receiving news of Pearl Harbor, MacArthur seemed to have been gripped by a kind of inertia. At first he even refused permission for the U.S. Army Air Forces, Far East to bomb Japanese-held Formosa. The situation was made worse by fog-shrouded fields and additional mistakes by MacArthur's various subordinates.

The Japanese achieved tactical surprise when they attacked Clark Air Field some nine hours after Pearl Harbor. MacArthur's air force was almost completely wiped out, most of it on the ground. Outclassed and now without air cover, Admiral Hart ordered most of the Asiatic Fleet to leave the Philippines. Bulkeley's tiny Squadron 3 remained the Navy's only offensive weapon in the islands.

On December 10, 1941, a swarm of Japanese bombers attacked the Cavite Naval Base, where Bulkeley's Squadron 3 was headquartered. Once again, the raid was spectacularly successful from the Japanese point of view. Cavite was shattered, with flames and black coils of smoke rising high into the sky. But Bulkeley managed to get his boats out into the open water of Manila Bay before the first bombs fell, so all escaped unscathed.

The Japanese saw the PT-boats, and the temptation to sink a few of these impudent little waterbugs was just too great. Enemy planes dove down like birds of prey, but as soon as they released their bombs, the PT-boats had skidded away. For the next few minutes the PT-boats zigzagged across Manila Bay, engaging in a kind of deadly cat and mouse game with an exasperated enemy.

The PT-boats sliced though the bay, their bows kicking up a white and foamy wake, and rooster tails of water spray kicked up behind the darting craft. Chattering .50- and 30-caliber machine guns peppered the sky with a hail of bullets, and within a short time three Japanese planes had been shot down. The Japanese planes withdrew, having failed to sink a single PT-boat. Squadron 3's happiness at downing the planes was tempered by the loss of its base.

In the meantime, MacArthur had ordered a withdrawal into the Bataan peninsula. The Japanese 14th Army, battle hardened and confident, had landed, and the Filipino-American forces were unable to stop them. The roughly 80,000 defenders of Luzon actually outnumbered the Japanese, but the strength was more apparent than real. The American 31st Infantry and the crack Philippine Scouts formed the backbone of the defense, but together they numbered only about 25,000 or so. The rest were raw Filipino recruits, barely trained and ill equipped.

By March 1942, the Filipino-American forces had been fighting for three months. MacArthur put up a brave, even bombastic, front, assuring all that help was on the way. But in his heart he knew that the Philippines had been written off. The defeat of Hitler seemed more compelling, and the United States adopted a "Europe first" policy. But in a time of gloom, when the Japanese were winning victory after victory and the Allies were hard pressed on battlefields throughout the globe, MacArthur's defiance gave Americans a reason to hope.

President Roosevelt was faced with a dilemma. Even before the war, MacArthur had been one of his most famous and flamboyant generals. Roosevelt disliked MacArthur and had considered him a potential political rival in peacetime. The president had little regard for MacArthur the man, but MacArthur the general had become a hero in the eyes of an adoring American public. The Japanese were almost salivating in anticipation of his capture. Some propaganda even had MacArthur being hanged in Tokyo as a "war criminal."

This simply could not be allowed to happen. MacArthur, the symbol of the American war effort, could not fall into Japanese hands. Then, too, Australia was in imminent danger of Japanese invasion, or so it seemed at the time. The great British fortress of Singapore had fallen to the Japanese, with thousands of Australian soldiers becoming POWS, and on February 19 Darwin, Australia, had suffered a heavy air raid.

MacArthur had spent years in Asia and was considered something of an authority on the Oriental mind. His loss would be a bitter blow. To stabilize a seemingly deteriorating situation in the Southwest Pacific, reassure worried allies, and to save an American "hero," Roosevelt decided to order MacArthur to escape to Australia.

When the order reached him, the general's first reaction was one of outrage. It was as if leaving would show cowardice in the face of the enemy. He thundered and gestured to his staff, dramatically waving a paper that supposedly had his signature of resignation on it. MacArthur said he would resign his command and fight on as a volunteer on Bataan.

MacArthur was a genuinely brave man but so prone to theatrics it is hard to tell if he was putting on a show or sincere in his threats. At last he calmed down and decided the first leg of his journey would be by PT-boat. This flew in the face of all logic. In fact, Admiral Hart and other officials had already successfully escaped by submarine. An earlier proposal had MacArthur and his party leaving by the submarine Permit for the trip to Mindanao. From there, Boeing B-17 Flying Fortress bombers would fly him to Australia.

But MacArthur was insistent. He would go by PT-boat or not at all. He had utter confidence in Lieutenant Bulkeley. During the last three months MacArthur had had Bulkeley report to him almost every day. He got to know the young lieutenant, who had a swashbuckling, flamboyant flair so much like his own. In spite of the age difference and the fact that they were from rival branches of the military, they were in some respects kindred spirits. MacArthur developed an affection for the younger man, calling him that "bold buckaroo with the cold green eyes."

The idea of being trapped underwater in a steel coffin of a submarine while enduring a depth charge attack was not to MacArthur's liking. If he had to go, he wanted to go down fighting, even if the only weapon at hand was a .45-caliber pistol. Then, too, the idea of breaking through the supposedly all but impenetrable Japanese blockade had enormous appeal. It was a blow to Japanese "face."

By early March, Bulkeley's boats were in pretty bad shape. They had participated in a number of raids against the Japanese with varying degrees of success. But there were few if any spare parts, and much had been lost during the destruction of the squadron's Cavite base on December 10. The submarine tender *Canopus* improvised as best it could, making spare parts and repairing those that were wearing out.

Unfortunately, Japanese bombing raids made it all but impossible to work during the day, which meant there was sometimes a backlog of repair orders. If that was not bad enough, the squadron's precious fuel supply had been compromised, and Bulkeley strongly suspected sabotage. The gasoline was filled with large quantities of soluble wax, which clogged gas strainers and carburetor jets.

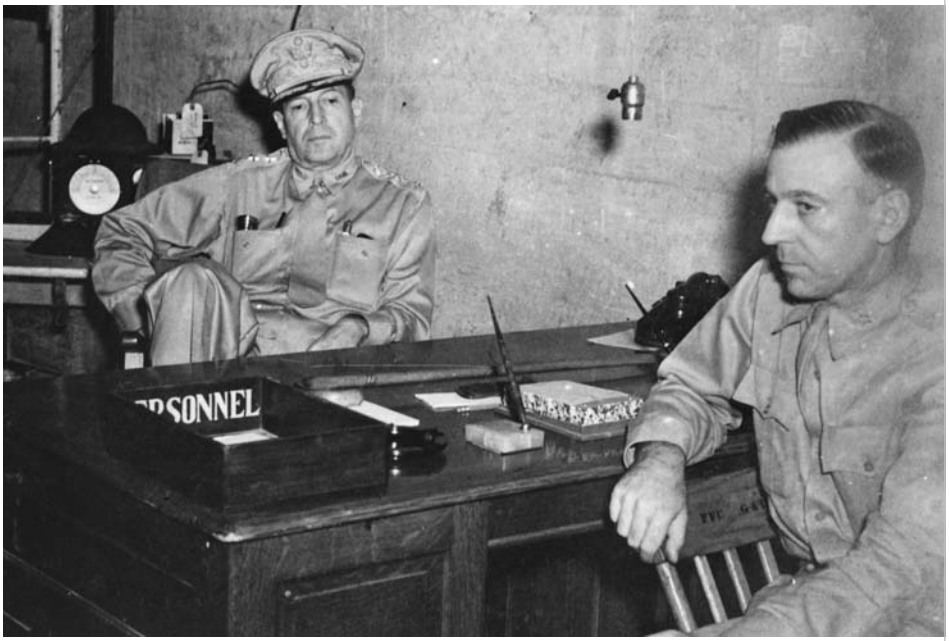
Some Filipino watchmen were searched, and blocks of paraffin were found in some kegs they had brought aboard. Bulkeley ordered their arrest as saboteurs. "I ought to shoot the bastards myself," Bulkeley raged, but the damage was done. It was soon found that most of the wax could be strained out by filtering the gas through an old army hat. Still, the engines had to be checked regularly, and there was no guarantee they would continue to run normally from day to day.

There seemed to be an increased Japanese naval presence in the area. Allied radio broadcasts let the cat out of the bag by announcing repeatedly that General MacArthur was going to take command in Australia. The Japanese were eager to capture MacArthur, and if he was taken "running away" the propaganda coup would be that much greater.

Four PT-boats would be used in the breakout operation. They would all leave from different locations so as not to arouse the suspicion of any spies that might be lurking around. The four boats were supposed to rendezvous at 8 PM on the evening of March 11, 1942, off the turning buoy outside the minefields at the entrance to Manila Bay.

Bulkeley's own 41 boat would carry General MacArthur, Mrs. Jean MacArthur, their four-year-old son Arthur, and his Chinese nurse, Ah Cheu. General Richard Sutherland, MacArthur's chief of staff, would also be aboard, as well as Captain Herbert Ray, Lieutenant Colonel Sidney Huff, and Major Charles H. Morhouse, the latter coming along as MacArthur's personal physician.

Lieutenant Robert Kelly's PT-34 would have Admiral Francis W. Rockwell, commander of the 16th Naval District, as a passenger, as well as General Richard Marshall, deputy chief of staff, Colonel Charles Stivers, and Captain Joseph Pickering. PT-35 and PT-32 each held a complement of staff officers. The journey was dangerous but well planned under the circumstances. If the boats were spotted, evasive action



U.S. Navy

Photographed inside their headquarters tunnel on the island of Corregidor on March 1, 1942, General Douglas MacArthur (left) and his chief of staff, Major General Richard Sutherland, ponder a situation that is growing more desperate by the minute. OPPOSITE: Photographed on the Bataan Peninsula in the Philippines, General Douglas MacArthur (right) and General Jonathan M. Wainwright confer. When MacArthur was evacuated from the embattled Philippines, Wainwright was left in command of American and Filipino forces.

National Archives

ABOVE: This photograph shows speed and heavy armament of the U.S. Navy PT-boat. As the boat's powerplant churns an impressive wake, torpedo tubes may be seen on its starboard side. RIGHT: Lieutenant Robert Kelly commanded *PT-41* and accompanied Lieutenant John Bulkeley and *PT-34* during the operation to evacuate MacArthur from the Philippines. This photo was taken in 1943 following Kelly's promotion to lieutenant commander.

National Archives

was to be used. If attacked, PT-41 would make a run for it while the others attempted a delaying action.

The little convoy continued though the moonless night, just making out the dim silhouette of Apo Island before sweeping around Cabra Island and making a sharp left into the Mindoro Strait. After that, the boats proceeded southeast into the Sulu Sea. At first the sea was moderate, at least for Navy men, but their landlubber passengers started to feel queasy almost at once. The real misery began when the wind whipped up a frothy sea that included 15- to 20-foot swells. Many began to feel the gut-clenching pangs of nausea, including General MacArthur himself.

Though most of the passengers felt seasick, General MacArthur was in some respects the most seriously ill. Drenched and lashed by waves that crashed over the bow, stung by spray that drove against his skin like "pellets of birdshot," MacArthur soon emptied the contents of his stomach into the raging Sulu Sea. Thereafter, all he could do was to go below and collapse wretchedly on a mattress, his face hollow-eyed and chalky white with continued dry retching.

MacArthur's torment was mental as well as physical. He could not help feeling that he had abandoned his post in time of war, leaving his men to face possible death and captivity. Huddled in PT-41's pitch-black interior, buffeted by the sea and his own raw emotions, Douglas MacArthur experienced what was probably, literally and figuratively, the darkest moment of his life.

By around 3 AM it was clear the four boats had lost contact with one another. The next rendezvous point was supposed to be Tagauayan Island. Lieutenant Kelly's 34 boat arrived first, navigating "by guess and by God." Kelly sent two men ashore, who scrambled up the island's 500-foot hill to act as lookouts for both enemy aircraft and the other three PT boats.

Meanwhile, Bulkeley was having his own troubles. He maneuvered PT-41 closer to shore in an effort to seek calmer waters. It was a calculated risk because there were uncharted reefs in the area, ready to gouge a hole into the hull of any unwary vessel. Yet danger lurked in another quarter, and when Bulkeley found out about it his rage knew no bounds.

PT-32 was under the command of Lieutenant (j.g.) Vincent Schumacher, and just before dawn he spotted a "strange, unidentified craft" to his rear. He cleared for action and seriously considered launching his torpedoes and opening up with his .50-caliber machine guns. At the last minute Schumacher decided to make a run for it instead, and 20 spare drums of gasoline were tossed over the side to make the boat lighter.

The sun's light was growing stronger, and another look through his binoculars told Schumacher the embarrassing truth. The "unknown vessel" was PT-41. When the two boats met, Bulkeley dressed the young lieutenant down in no uncertain terms. If PT-32 had opened fire, all passengers and crew aboard PT-41 might have been killed.

After this near disaster, Bulkeley led the two boats to Tagauayan, where they rejoined Kelly and PT-34. There was no time to rest. Decisions had to be made. In the back of Buckley's mind there was one worry. Where was PT-35? In the meantime, MacArthur called for an impromptu conference. The submarine *Permit* was scheduled to arrive at the island the next day. Should they transfer to the sub or continue the final leg of the trip by PT-boat?

Admiral Rockwell felt that they should continue with the PT-boats. There was always the possibility that *Permit* would not show up as planned. Bulkeley was perfectly willing to proceed but warned his passengers that the proposed night journey would be rough since they would be going across the open sea. MacArthur decided that they would continue to travel by PT-boat but felt they should start at 6 PM when it was still light.

In the end Schumacher and PT-32 would temporarily stay behind at Tagauayan, his mission to contact Permit and relay the message that the 41 and 34 boats were proceeding to Mindanao. Once he delivered the message, he would go to Panay, around 125 away, for repairs and fuel before continuing on to Cagayan, Mindanao. Schumacher's passengers were divided between the departing 34 and 41 boats.

Unfortunately, Bulkeley's prediction proved correct. The Sulu Sea was rougher than they had experienced on the first leg of the journey. Once again, MacArthur lay on a mattress, violently seasick, and most of his staff was in the same condition. But the sea was not the only enemy to confront. A Japanese cruiser was seen on the far horizon to the south. If it continued in that direction, it would be on an intercept course with MacArthur's tiny flotilla.

Thinking quickly, Bulkeley ordered the PT-boats to turn west into the setting sun at maximum speed. Somehow they escaped detection. But once again the weather turned bad with rough seas and rain squalls. Bulkeley and his crews had never been in these waters, and for the most part navigation was by dead reckoning. They managed to reach the southern tip of Negros Island, then groped their way to Silino Island, which was sighted at 2 AM.

Suddenly, Japanese searchlights lit the sky, probing fingers of light that explored the darkness. There were Japanese shore batteries in the area, and the engines of the PT-boats had been heard. Luckily, the Japanese had apparently mistaken the sounds as airplane engines, not surface craft. But their escape from Japanese artillery seemed to be the only small fragment of luck in what proved to be a miserable night.

Monstrous waves assaulted the tiny PT-boats, threatening to send them to the bottom, and there was a very real danger that someone might be swept overboard. Bulkeley and his officers and men were all feeling the strain since they had not slept for two days. But once again, it was MacArthur who seemed the worst off. Mental anguish over leaving, constant seasickness, and numbing, bone-weary fatigue had left the general in a semiparalyzed, at times almost catatonic, state.

The general could not sleep, so he talked to one of his aides, Lt. Col. Huff. Huff later recalled the incident with a mixture of incredulity and concern. MacArthur's "great general" façade, the imperious face he usually displayed, slipped off to reveal the vulnerable human being beneath. It was almost surreal because MacArthur poured out his heart to the startled aide.

He talked about how he had tried for years to persuade Congress to provide adequate money for the defense of the Philippines, but in the main these pleas had fallen on deaf years. MacArthur, his voice choking with emotion, recalled how hard it was to leave Corregidor. The storm-tossed conversation was a kind of catharsis for the general, purging him of the regrets and anxieties he had harbored for such a long time.

Then, suddenly, the moment was over; the granite façade was back in place, and MacArthur was his usual curt, imperious self. The general promised he would make Huff a full colonel, then wished him a good night.

Dawn came, and even though there was a risk in traveling by daylight, everyone's spirits revived. The seas were also calmer, and the wind had died down. It was not long before they sighted the peninsula just west of Cagayan. On the big island of Mindanao, this was their final Philippine destination. Once on Mindanao, MacArthur and his party would be flown out by B-17 bomber to Australia.

It was the morning of March 13, 1942. There was still a chance that Cagayan was occupied by the Japanese, and all were relieved to see that was not the case. When PT-41 nosed up to the dock, MacArthur stood at the prow, almost as if posing for history. Whatever the general's faults, ingratitude was not one of them. Before he departed for the airfield, there was still a task to be done.

MacArthur approached Bulkeley and told him that he would award every officer and man of his unit the Silver Star for gallantry. Both men must have been quite a sight. MacArthur's eyes were red-rimmed, and his face was speckled with the stubble of an unshaved beard. His uniform, usually immaculate, was rumpled and stained. Bulkeley, too, had a growth of beard, and his hair was longer than regulation length.

"You've taken me out of the jaws of death," MacArthur told Bulkeley, "and I won't forget it." And to his credit, the general never did. The next step for MacArthur's party was Del Monte airfield, located on a plantation owned by the familiar pineapple company. The general was outraged when he finally arrived at the airfield. Instead of the three B-17s he had expected, there was only one battered bomber. There were three days of anxious waiting while MacArthur demanded better transport.

National Archives

ABOVE: After arriving safely in Melbourne, Australia, MacArthur waves to a crowd that has assembled to greet him. To MacArthur's left is General Patrick J. Hurley, U.S. Minister to New Zealand. OPPOSITE BELOW: Following his harrowing escape from the Philippines with his father and mother, young Arthur MacArthur receives a much needed haircut in Melbourne.

National Archives

Originally, four B-17s had departed Australia, but two were forced back by engine trouble and a third ran into a rain storm and crash landed into the sea. Two crewmen had been killed, but after four hours in the water the surviving crew managed to swim ashore in the Philippines. The fourth Flying Fortress managed to reach Del Monte, though with damaged turbo superchargers and bad brakes.

General MacArthur's outrage knew no bounds. According to some stories, he was not too happy with the battered plane's pilot either. Lieutenant Harl Pease, 24, was an officer who looked like he was barely out of high school, though his looks were deceiving.

MacArthur heated up the radio waves with demands for new and better airplanes. Maj. Gen. George Brett, commander of the USAAF in Australia, eventually sent two B-17E Flying Fortresses to pick up the general and his entourage. One, No. 41-2447, was flown by Lieutenant Frank Bostrom, and the other, No. 41-2429, was piloted by Captain William Lewis, Jr. Each bomber was loaded with supplies for the troops in the Philippines, including quinine and other badly needed items.

It was clear the 1,500-mile flight from Australia to Mindanao was not going to be a "milk run." At one point their path took them between two major Japanese airbases. Nevertheless, the two bombers took off and arrived safely at Del Monte around 10 PM on March 16. There were supposed to be three bombers, but one did not leave Australia because of a fuel leak.

It was decided that two B-17s were adequate for the task, provided MacArthur's party would leave behind all baggage. This was done, but the two aircraft were cramped with both passengers and flight crew.

It was just after midnight on March 17, 1942, when the two overburdened bombers struggled to get into the air. Engines sputtering and straining, the B-17s just managed to get airborne. Though MacArthur's party must have been glad to leave the Philippines after so much danger, joy soon turned to nausea. Most were airsick the entire 10-hour flight to the land Down Under.

When the planes approached Darwin, Australia, they were informed by radio that their designated airfield was under attack by the Japanese. MacArthur's two bombers were diverted to Bachelor Field, some 45 miles south of Darwin. The general remarked to Sutherland, "It was close, but that's the way it is in war. You win or lose, live or die—and the difference is just an eyelash."

Jean MacArthur and four-year-old Arthur

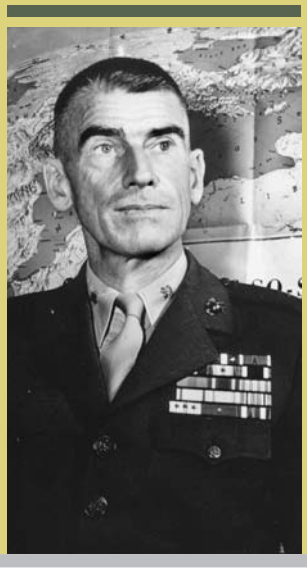
Continued on page 81

A MONTH-LONG PATROL OUTSIDE THE MARINE PERIMETER ON GUADALCANAL WREAKED HAVOC ON THE JAPANESE.

Carlson's LONG

On the morning of November 6, 1942, a force of 267 Marines took its first steps into the jungle from a landing point at Aola Bay, roughly 30 miles east of the American perimeter on Guadalcanal. The Marines within the perimeter had suffered long and hard to establish that perimeter around Henderson Field, the airstrip used to launch attacks against Japanese forces in the area and defend the Marine position. Still, outside the secure area Japanese troops moved at will. While the dreadful battles of previous weeks had drained them, they were still a force to be reckoned with, and the Japanese high command was yet trying to reinforce and supply them.

The men leaving Aola Bay were Marine Raiders, a new type of Marine unit, led by Lt. Col. Evans Carlson. They had trained using new and controversial concepts pioneered by Carlson himself. Now those ideas were being put to the test. The Raiders' orders came from Marine Maj. Gen. Alexander Vandegrift, commanding the 1st Marine Division on Guadalcanal. An aircraft dropped the order to Carlson on November 5. The Raiders were to conduct reconnaissance to determine what Japanese forces existed to the east of Henderson Field. Also, they were to engage any Japanese troops fleeing southward into the jungle from Koli Point, where substantial enemy forces had been pinned down by American action.

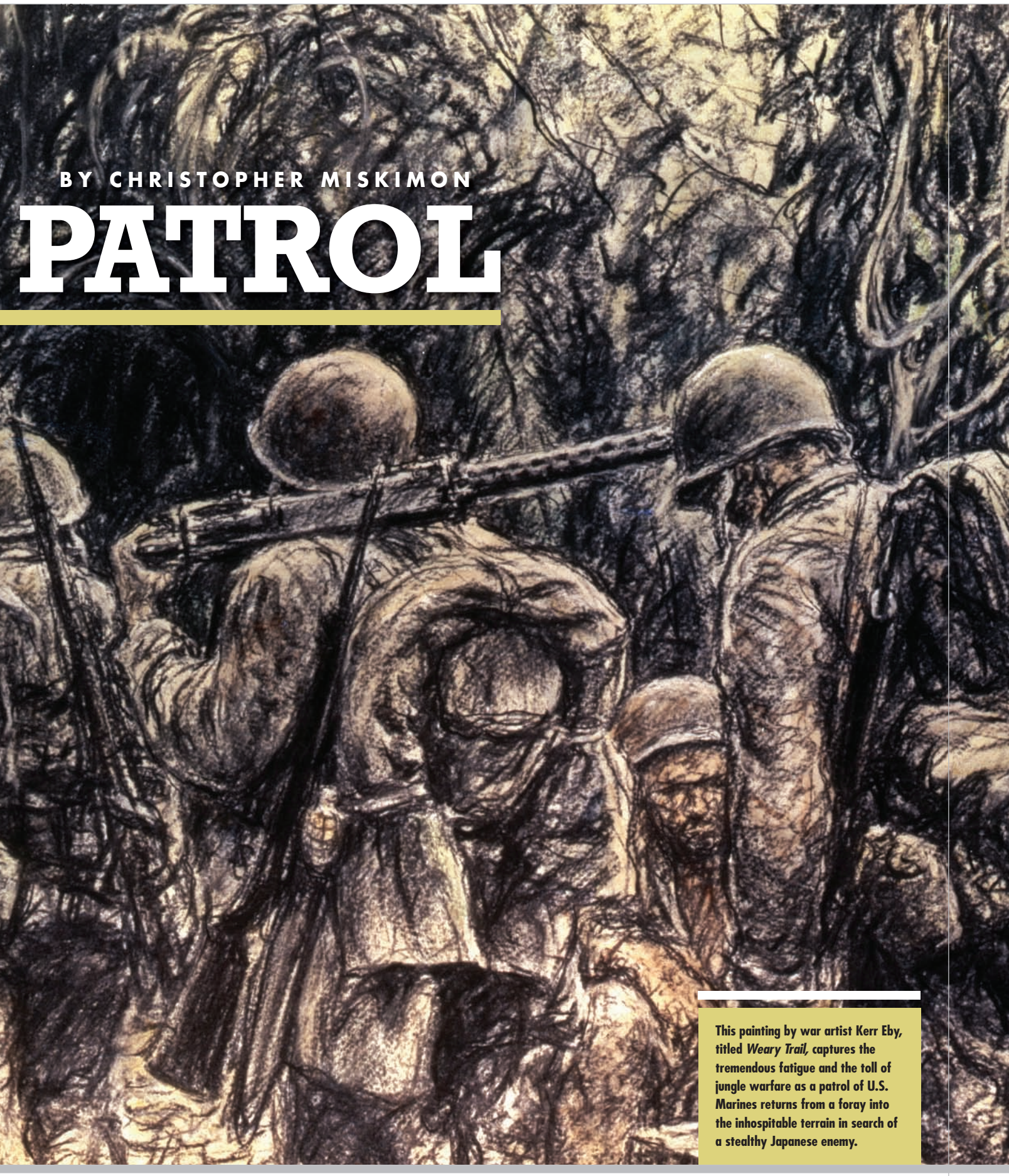


They were going in practically blind. There was almost no information about the number of enemy soldiers in the area the Raiders were to cover. No one knew where they might be hiding or what routes they were using. It mattered little; in the absence of such information, that was what the Raiders were for. The mission would turn into an epic month-long fight, elevating the reputation of the controversial Raiders to near legendary status even among the elite Marine Corps.

The journey that brought the Raiders to Guadalcanal began in the dark days after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Evans Carlson had been calling for the formation of a commando-style unit of Marines to carry out hit-and-run, guerrilla-style missions based on theories of leadership and teamwork he had witnessed in China during the 1930s. While assigned to China, Carlson had observed Mao Tse-tung's Eighth Route Army and was impressed by its teamwork and ethics, which he felt would be compatible with those of a democratic society based on justice and equality, namely the United States. In the Communist Chinese Army, Carlson observed, leaders explained to their troops the reasons why they were fighting and encouraged their soldiers to speak out with any ideas or criticisms that could make the army more effective. Carlson thought this would mesh perfectly into the American military since Americans did not have a

BY CHRISTOPHER MISKIMON

PATROL



This painting by war artist Kerr Eby, titled *Weary Trail,* captures the tremendous fatigue and the toll of jungle warfare as a patrol of U.S. Marines returns from a foray into the inhospitable terrain in search of a stealthy Japanese enemy.

culture of blind obedience to authority and took pride in thinking for themselves. In Carlson's mind these concepts could be blended to make troops who would use their initiative in support of overall goals since they would be informed of the reasons and goals of their missions.

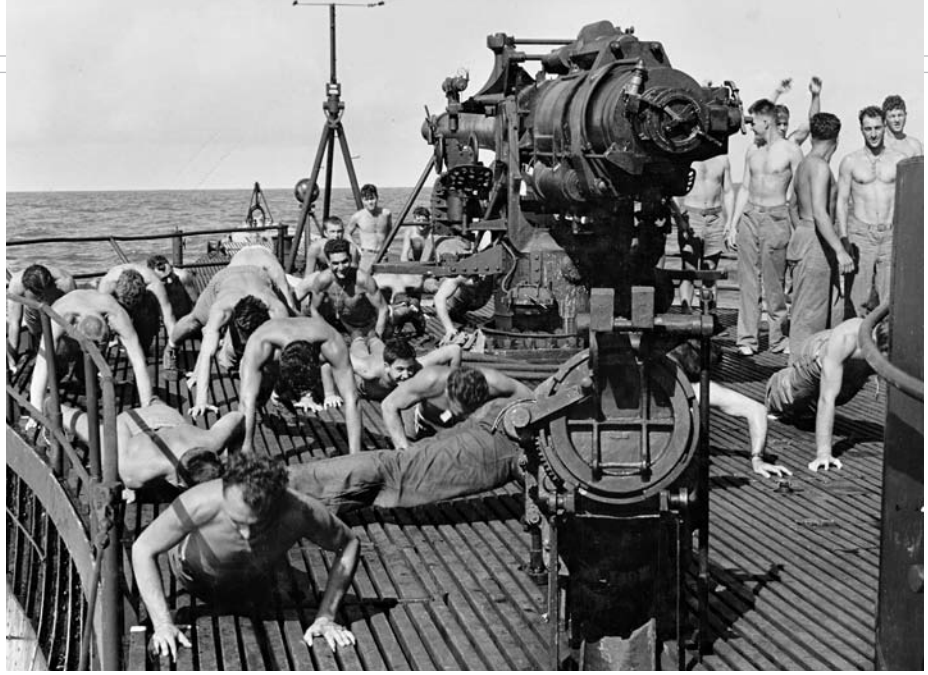
While a few were supportive of his theories, many Marine officers felt Carlson's ideas went against the discipline and hierarchy a military organization needed. They considered Carlson himself foolish at best and at worst a communist sympathizer.

Carlson had an ally, however, in the Roosevelt family. The Marine officer had been part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's security guard detachment in the early 1930s and developed a sort of friendship with the commander-in-chief. Carlson also took the president's son, James Roosevelt, under his wing when the young man obtained a Marine commission shortly before the war. For some this made Carlson even less trustworthy because he had a direct link to the president that circumvented the regular chain of command.

However it occurred, Carlson did get his battalion, which began forming in February 1942 near San Diego. Marines started hearing of an unconventional officer forming a new type of unit that would see action sooner rather than later. The eager and adventurous began filtering in. They were put through a rigorous interview process which asked them if they could "starve and suffer and go without food and sleep." Many recalled being asked if they thought they could cut an enemy's throat or strangle him. Those who were indecisive or hesitant were sent away.

Those who were accepted were sent to train at Jacques Farm south of Camp Elliott, California, part of what is now Marine Corps Air Station Miramar. Carlson gathered his new recruits and explained to them why they were there and what they were fighting for. He also promised them nothing but "rice, raisins, and Japanese" and "danger, despair and death." The men were also introduced to the Raiders' motto "Gung Ho!" from the Chinese term for working together.

The new Raiders did indeed learn to work together. There were no facilities at Jacques Farm; the Marines built the camp themselves. For six weeks they ran, hiked, swam, scaled cliffs, and learned to use their various weapons, from hands and feet to explosives. Eventually they could move seven miles an hour in full equipment, and 70-mile hikes took place weekly. Before long the Raiders were tough and confident. Carlson also indoctrinated the men with his notions of equality.



National Archives

ABOVE: En route to Makin Atoll on August 11, 1942, Marine Raiders exercise on the deck of the submarine USS *Nautilus*. The raid on Makin was a morale booster for the Marines, who were hungry for action, but 19 of their number were killed in the fighting. BELOW: Lieutenant Colonel Evans Carlson (left) confers with Lieutenant M.C. Plumley (center) and Major James Roosevelt (right) during planning for the Marine Raider operation on Makin. Major Roosevelt was the son of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. OPPOSITE: On November 4, 1942, Carlson's Marine Raiders leap from landing craft at Aola Bay on Guadalcanal during the opening phase of their long patrol.

National Archives

Officers lived in the same conditions as their Marines, ate the same food, and got few of the perks officers were accustomed to. There were frequent meetings to discuss training and current events. Enlisted men were encouraged to speak up, even with criticisms. Despite the fears of more conventionally minded officers, the Raiders quickly became a cohesive, skilled unit. Within a few months they were ready for active service.

The first operation for the Raiders came on August 17-18, 1942, on Makin Island, nearly 2,500 miles southwest of Hawaii. A small Japanese garrison had occupied the island with plans to construct a seaplane base. A decision was made to raid the island; while it was a small, non-vital outpost, such a strike would boost morale at home, still uncertain despite the victory at Midway two months earlier.

Carlson and his executive officer, Major

James Roosevelt, led two companies of Raiders in the attack. They traveled in a pair of submarines to the island and planned to go ashore in rubber boats. Once ashore they would kill or capture the garrison and destroy anything of military value before returning to the subs for the trip back to Hawaii. It was thought to be a perfect mission for a fast, hard-hitting commando group.

In the event, the raid was completed but there were numerous difficulties. The surf was extremely rough; the boats' motors were quickly waterlogged, and the Marines had to paddle to shore in the pitching waves, losing weapons and equipment along the way. Once ashore, the enemy garrison acted quickly and boldly in its defense, resulting in stiff fighting. The Raiders fought bravely, but being new to actual combat the fog of war set in and there were problems in communication and some later decried a lack of aggressiveness. When the time came to return to the subs the surf again proved an enormous obstacle to the tired Raiders, delaying their rendezvous with the vessels until the next day. Controversy came later when claims Carlson considered surrendering were brought forward; the debate over this issue continued for decades.

Still, the Marines did considerable damage on the island and killed much of the garrison. Upon their return they were greeted as heroes, and much was made of Carlson and his methods in the press. This further rankled some of Carlson's detractors, and some of the difficulties, known only to members of the high command such as Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, commander-in-chief Pacific Ocean Areas, were used to quietly criticize the Raider unit and concept.

Even Carlson longed for another chance to prove his unit and his methods. That opportunity would come at Guadalcanal. When General Vandegrift wanted someone to operate outside the Marine perimeter, essentially "behind enemy lines," the Raiders seemed to fit the bill. It was what Carlson longed for. They would operate essentially on their own, patrolling, hitting the enemy, and then fading into the jungle to strike again elsewhere. By this time the Raiders had moved to a camp on the island of Espiritu Santo, where Carlson selected two of his companies to move to Guadalcanal to begin operations with the idea that other companies would follow. Captain Harold Throneson's C Company and E Company under Captain Richard Washburn were chosen. On October 31 they went aboard the converted destroyer transport USS *Manley* for the journey to embattled Guadalcanal. Along the way a storm struck, the little ship was tossed about over and through the powerful waves; almost every Raider became seasick.

Finally at 0530 on November 4, Manley arrived in Aola Bay, and the Marines disgorged from the ship in Higgins boats. Approaching the shore they could see the lush jungle that grew right up against the beach. It was beautiful from a distance, but the Marines would shortly learn the jungle's beauty was also fraught with danger, sickness, and hardship unlike anything they had seen before. They also worried about the enemy. Did they hide just inside the green foliage, were they waiting even now to pour deadly machine-gun fire and mortar bombs into the fragile landing craft?

Luckily the Japanese were not there to greet them. Instead, two Allied personnel stood waiting for them near a bonfire lit as a prearranged signal to guide the Marines to shore. They were Martin Clemens, a British citizen responsible for organizing the native scouts in the Solomon Islands, and Australian intelligence officer Major John Mather. As they watched, the Raiders exited the boats and came ashore, traveling rather lightly in terms of equipment and comfort items but festooned with weaponry. Each Marine rifle squad was divided into fire teams of three men, one with an M1 rifle, one with a Thompson submachine gun, and the third carrying a Browning Automatic Rifle (BAR). Added to this mix was a liberal dose of shotguns and .45-caliber pistols. Such heavy firepower would prove an advantage in the jungle. Clemens looked at the nearest Marine and said, "I say, what kept you chaps?"

The Raiders spread out and formed a perimeter. There was little sleep their first night in the jungle; they had not yet learned to distinguish the normal sounds of the jungle from those of a creeping enemy. The next morning Vandegrift's orders were airdropped, and Carlson finalized his plan. Mather and Clemens would take charge of 150 native scouts and bearers; the scouts would lead the Raiders on their patrol route while the bearers would carry fresh supplies from designated points along the coast. Carlson left a small group at Aola to deliver those supplies via Higgins boats. Some supplies would be air dropped as well.

The Raider companies would move gradually west toward Henderson Field. They would scout through areas of reported Japanese presence, stopping at villages along the way. Wherever possible they would harass and hurt the enemy to ease the strain on the Marines at Henderson. It was the chance Carlson had been waiting for. He was about to prove his Raiders worthy.

On the morning of the 6th, the Raiders walked into the jungle, native scouts at the lead. The trails were so narrow they had to move sin-

THE JAPANESE, BELIEVING THEY HAD REPULSED A SMALL ENEMY PATROL, RESUMED CROSSING THE RIVER; SOME EVEN PAUSED TO BATHE. THE MARINES WERE NOT FINISHED YET, THOUGH.

National Archives

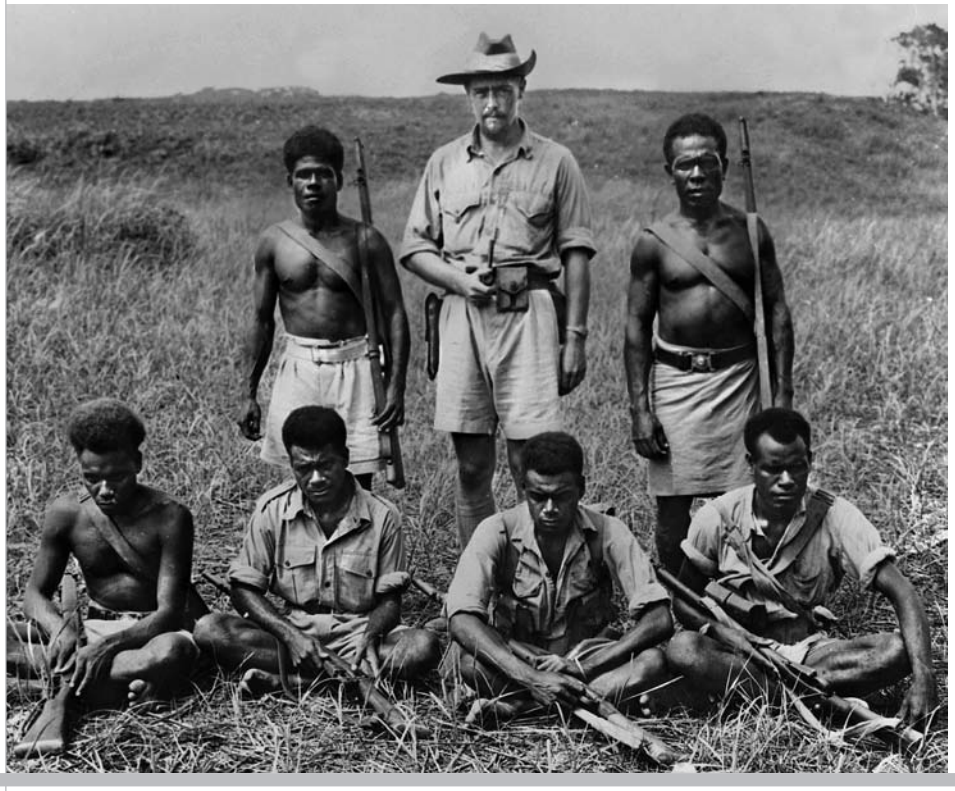
gle file through the sweltering heat, sweat running off them in rivulets. Swamps and streams slowed them and Liana vines, their long thin shapes covered with tiny barbs, cut at uniform cloth and skin alike. The Raiders' worst enemy that first day was the jungle itself; they made only five miles. When the Marines stopped for the day the pouring rain made no difference. They fell asleep anyway. Still, there was tension. At night nervous sentries fired shots at imagined enemies.

The next day they sped up their pace at Carlson's urging. The older Marine moved with the point squad to set an example. The day started out the same: heat, rivers to cross, and more foliage to fight. Soon they arrived at Reko village on the banks of the Bokokimbo River. It was devoid of inhabitants, but Japanese cigarette wrappers and ration boxes were strewn over the ground. The main body of Raiders was still several hours from the village, so Carlson posted sentries and let the rest bathe and wash their sweat-encrusted uniforms.

At first it was an almost peaceful scene, but the Raiders were warned the situation was about to turn deadly when the birds in the area suddenly went silent. Scant seconds later rifle shots shattered the quiet, and the Marines scrambled to action. They waded the neck-deep waters, weapons held over their heads, as bullet impacts raised plumes around them. The fire was thankfully inaccurate, and the entire group made it to the other side. One Marine, Pfc. Warren Alger, jumped toward cover when the shooting started but landed in a tangled web of Liana vines that left him hanging three feet above the jungle floor. Unable to free himself, he had to wait until his fellow Raiders helped him.

Other Marines began searching for the Japanese, among them Private Darrell Loveland. Soon they came to a small clearing. In it were 10 Japanese soldiers gathered around a dead pig they were in the process of skinning. Perhaps the prospect of a meal was too tempting to the hungry Japanese, but Loveland and his fellow Marines were not going to waste their good luck at catching the enemy unawares. They opened fire, killing two in the first volley and causing the rest to flee. The Raiders gave chase, and Private Lowell Bulger found one of them, wounded, lying in the jungle. He pulled the injured Japanese to the trail. The soldier's intestines hung grotesquely out of his open stomach, and he soon died. Bulger found a small oilskin envelope sewn into the folds of his uniform. It contained some papers and a bit of money.

Their first fight was over. Carlson moved his Raiders to Binu, a village a few miles west of Reko. They had found no substantial sign of Japanese troops from Binu east to Aola Bay. Now they could concentrate their efforts to the west toward Henderson. Binu was also the last inhabited village along their route. Only the Japanese enemy stood in their path now, and it seemed those enemy would be coming their way. Army and Marine troops had advanced east from Henderson Field against some 1,500 Japanese who had been emplaced northwest of Binu. The intent was to keep them fixed along the coast where they could be destroyed, but two-thirds of the enemy force slipped through the trap into the interior of Guadalcanal to the area Carlson and his Raiders were to cover.

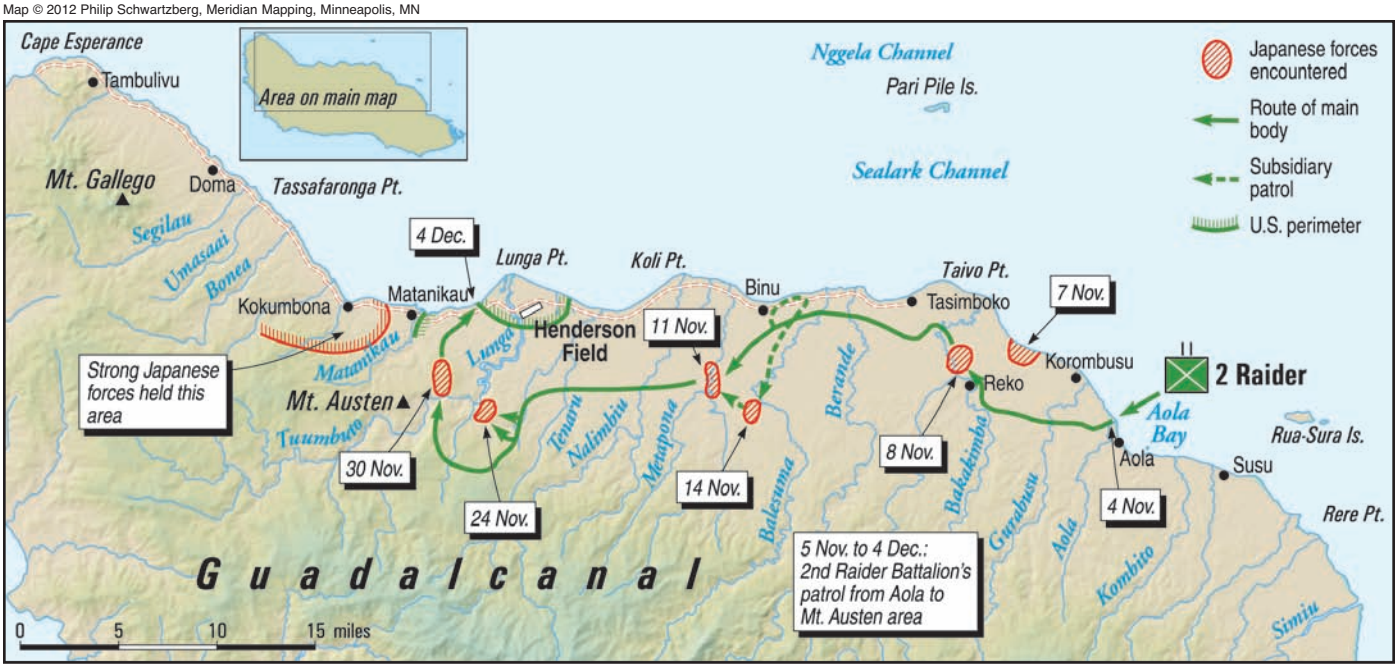


U.S. Navy

Carlson decided to send his men on a series of patrols toward the River Metapona. This seemed the area most likely for the retiring Japanese to travel through. They would begin the next morning, November 11. The current day, November 10, was the Marine Corps' birthday. The celebration feast was the normal ration of rice and bacon. Ironically, the following day was Armistice Day, celebrating the end of World War I. By this time C and E Companies had been joined by D Company under Captain Charles McAuliffe and Captain William Schwerin's F Company. At dawn the Marines were up and ready to move, Carlson moving to each company to give them their instructions for the day. Company B would remain at Binu to act as the battalion reserve, while the other four, C, D, E, and F, would patrol along separate routes to search for the retreating Japanese.

The patrols encountered nothing until 1000 hours, when C Company ran into a determined Japanese defense. Corporal John D. Bennett was leading his men across a field of Kunai grass when an unseen machine gun shattered the air with its hammering. Bennett was killed immediately along with several others while fellow Marine Private Pete Arias and two other survivors hit the dirt. Another fire team under Private Darrell Loveland tried to advance but was also pinned in the field. Small arms fire, mortars, and grenades pelted the Marines. Arias was pinned down only 20 yards from a Japanese machine gun. Fortunately, the enemy could not see him. Other Marines were not so lucky. Private James Van Winkle was hit three times as he tried to get to cover. Captain Throneson radioed Carlson that his company was engaged.

Almost simultaneously mortar bombs began falling on Company E as it crossed a field northeast of Asamana village. Captain Washburn led his Marines into the jungle and out of the mortar fire. He could hear C Company's fight nearby. Still, C Company seemed to be the unit decisively engaged. Carlson came up with a plan. He ordered Throneson to hold in place, thus fixing the Japanese and drawing their focus to his company. Washburn and E Company were told to move south toward Asamana and hit the enemy force in its rear. Company D under McAuliffe would likewise turn south and



ABOVE: The arduous march across Guadalcanal took Carlson's Raiders through heavy jungle vegetation and across treacherous terrain. Disease, particularly malaria, was rampant among both American and Japanese troops on the island, which the Japanese finally abandoned in February 1943. OPPOSITE: Captain Martin Clemens, perhaps the best known of the Australian coastwatchers in the Solomon Islands during the early months of the war in the Pacific, poses with several of his native scouts.

hit the Japanese left flank. Schwerin and F Company would come back to Binu and await developments. To ensure C Company could hold, Carlson reinforced it with a platoon from the battalion reserve.

The plan went into motion with one problem. As McAuliffe and his Marines began moving toward C Company, they came under fire themselves. McAuliffe had elected to travel with the point and found himself and one squad cut off from the rest of his company. It was now up to Washburn and his men.

Sending native Jacob Vouza ahead with his scouts, Washburn led his Marines through the jungle along the winding Metapona River toward the furious battle ahead. The scouts reported Asamana village was deserted except for a few Japanese. As the Americans entered the village checking for hidden enemy soldiers, Washburn saw a group of men crossing the river south of the village. At first he thought they were Marines from C Company, but he quickly realized they were Japanese who had no idea the Marines were there. Suspecting the group crossing the river was part of the Japanese main body and the group engaging C Company was a blocking force, Washburn set up his men to defend against flank attacks and gave the order to fire on the group crossing the river.

The Marines tore into their enemy with BARs and chattering .30-caliber machine guns. Pfc. Jesse Vanlandingham recalled, "It was like shooting birds. The guys in the front lines were mowing them down." Caught in the water, many Japanese troops never even had the chance to fire back. Still, the seasoned enemy veterans reacted quickly, setting up a machine gun of their own on the far bank. It drew Marine fire, but determined Japanese soldiers kept manning it. Each time the shooter was killed, another Japanese would take his place. Finally, several Marines led by Lieutenant Cleland Early crept close enough to throw grenades, silencing the machine gun for good. Checking the position, Early was almost killed when he turned over an enemy body and exposed a grenade the man was holding. Luckily the young Marine only took some fragments in one hand.

Within a short time the expected counterattack happened, as two Japanese companies moved on Washburn's flank at 1130 hours. Washburn pulled his company back into the jungle a short distance and radioed a report to Carlson. The Japanese, believing they had repulsed a small enemy patrol, resumed crossing the river; some even paused to bathe. The Marines were not finished yet, though. Washburn reorganized his men and sent two platoons into a new attack while a third moved around to the north for a flank attack of its own.

Having let their guard down, the Japanese were completely surprised, and many were killed in the Marines' deadly crossfire. As before, however, they recovered quickly and fought back, sending more mortar fire crashing into the American positions. Small attacks and counterattacks went back and forth in the humid, hot jungle. Marine Lieutenant Robert Burnette used his deadly shotgun to kill a Japanese only 10 yards away. Machine guns ripped from both sides, and grenades tore through foliage and human flesh alike. This went on for some six hours until the Marines began running out of ammunition. Now the greater enemy numbers started to tell. Washburn decided to pull back rather than risk being outflanked. The Japanese were slowly surrounding them.

A trail going north through a gully provided the Raiders with a way out. Washburn placed a machine gun at its mouth to cover the retreat then pulled his platoons out one at a time. A young Marine, Private Joseph Auman, manned the gun and lay down covering fire as his Raider brethren escaped the Japanese trap. Before the 20-year-old Marine could make his escape, he was overwhelmed and killed. "He knew he would die," said Private Lathrop Gay. "But he kept firing." Auman was awarded a posthumous Navy Cross for his sacrifice, which allowed his company to fight again.

Elsewhere, the pinned Captain McAuliffe eventually extracted himself and what remained of the squad from their cut-off position but could not rejoin the rest of the company. Eventually, he led nine Marines back toward Binu, arriving a few hours before a platoon sergeant returned with the rest of the company. Throneson likewise managed to extricate his Raiders from their position with some difficulty and fell back. In the confusion Pete Arias

did not get the word to retreat but eventually crawled to safety through the enemy fire.

At Binu Carlson gathered B and F Companies and moved toward the fighting, unsure of exactly what was happening in the confusion. Within an hour he found C Company, disorganized and apparently leaderless, Throneson wandering in a daze. The colonel called for an air strike from Henderson Field, his Raiders indicating the Japanese position with a makeshift arrow formed from Marine t-shirts. Within 10 minutes a half dozen planes roared overhead and dropped their ordnance on the enemy. When Carlson sent scouts into the jungle, however, the Japanese were gone, having withdrawn south. He left the comparatively fresh F Company (with a platoon from Company B attached) to form a defensive line for the night while he took the rest of his weary command back to Binu.

National Archives

ABOVE: Lieutenant Colonel Carlson (left) chats with his son, Lieutenant Evans C. Carlson, early in the war. OPPOSITE: In this rare official photo, native scouts lead Carlson's Raiders during their long march. The Marines struck deep into the Japanese rear areas on Guadalcanal and spread death and destruction.

It had been a long and confusing action. Carlson was disappointed in Throneson and McAuliffe's actions and relieved them a few days later. Still, the Raiders felt they had won the day. The American casualties amounted to 10 dead and 13 wounded. In comparison, 160 Japanese lay dead on the battlefield, 120 killed by Washburn's company. Carlson promoted him to major for his quick thinking and courage, clearly believing the young officer had retrieved the situation for the Marines.

The next day they returned to the battlefield to look for remaining pockets of the enemy. Since the Japanese had mostly fled south, time was devoted to finding and burying fallen Americans. While searching the area where Company C had fought, the disfigured, mutilated corpse of Private Owen Barber was found. His face was slashed horribly, and his testicles had been cut off and shoved into his mouth. Another Marine, Pfc. James Clusker, cut off from escape, hid in the Kunai grass that night near the wounded Barber. When the Japanese found the injured man, Clusker had no choice but to hide helplessly in the grass, listening while the hapless Barber was tortured and killed.

The tortured form of Private Barber had a transformative effect on the Raiders. They knew what they could expect if captured, and most resolved not to take prisoners themselves anymore. Two Japanese taken the day before were summarily killed with Carlson's assent. Some Marines argued that taking prisoners was unfeasible; they could not feed or watch them with their limited resources. Others maintained if they had not killed the Japanese it would have damaged their relations with Jacob Vouza and his scouts, whose families had suffered at Japanese hands. It was brutal war with little quarter given by either side.

The Raiders retook Asamana, recovering the body of Private Auman and finding his machine gun thrown in the river. They decided to occupy the village overnight. In the darkness, Japanese stragglers wandered into the village unaware it was in American hands. Twenty-five of them died that night, victims of both ignorance and Marine rifles.

The next day, November 13, the Raiders fought in and around Asamana. Scouts reported enemy troops to the north, south, and west. In a scene that could have come from a movie, a sentry saw bushes moving toward the Marine positions. Carlson looked for himself and indeed saw what appeared to be vegetation creeping closer. Heavily camouflaged Japanese were sneaking closer, stopping every 100 yards to see if they had been spotted. Letting them close to 100 yards, Carlson coordinated a mass of machine-gun, mortar, and artillery fire that crushed the enemy attack and sent the survivors into headlong retreat, trailing blasted bits of flora behind them. Four more attacks were similarly beaten back before the Marines retired to Binu that afternoon. On November 14, Captain Schwerin led a patrol that ambushed 15 Japanese who had stopped to rest and eat, killing them all.

A change of mission occurred on November 17, when General Vandegrift met with Carlson and ordered him to clear the area around the Nalimbiu and Tenaru Rivers inland from the mouth of the Tenaru. Afterward, he was to find the trail the Japanese were using to move men and matériel eastward. This trail was thought to be behind Mount Austen. Finally, somewhere on Mount Austen hid "Pistol Pete," enemy artillery that constantly harassed the Marines around Henderson Field.

The Raiders began their new mission the next day. For the next week they found themselves involved in skirmishes, patrols, and firefights mostly in squad- and platoon-sized elements. The Raiders used their tactics of fix-and-flank, and the Japanese tried to do the same. Jungle encounters were usually at close range due to the thick foliage, which provided concealment but little actual protection from bullets and shrapnel. The Marines had a deadly advantage in their semiautomatic M1 rifles, submachine guns, and BARs. Squad for squad the Americans could throw a much heavier volume of fire at their opponents, who had bolt-action rifles and relatively few automatic arms. The Raiders also issued shotguns liberally; many of Carlson's men had used them to hunt back home, and they proved excellent for quick, short-range work.

As the patrol wore on, the Raiders found disease to be a much more implacable foe than the Japanese. Over six times as many Marines were evacuated due to disease and illness than were killed or wounded in action. Poor diet, little sleep, and the stress of combat conditions only made it worse for them, but the Americans kept going, supporting and encouraging each other, even bullying and cajoling when necessary. The spirit of teamwork and pride Carlson had worked so hard to foster in his men paid off in the jungles of Guadalcanal. A lesser force, not possessed of their determination and endurance, could not have stayed in the jungle so long or accomplished so much.

By November 25, the Japanese had been pushed back sufficiently for Carlson to begin the final part of his mission. It was time to conquer Mount Austen, the looming mountain abode of Pistol Pete. Removing the Japanese artillery from its elevated perch would make the Henderson Field perimeter that much more secure. Additionally, cutting the trail used to move supplies and troops for the Japanese would leave any enemy east of Henderson cut off, starving, and isolated. Already the Japanese troops seemed to be at the limit of their endurance. Patrols regularly found abandoned weapons and ammunition, things the normally disciplined Japanese soldiers would not discard casually. Soon Jacob Vouza's scouts all had new

rifles, courtesy of the Imperial Army.

Slowly the Raiders closed in on Pistol Pete, determined to find the elusive guns. On November 28, A and F Companies were advancing when they found a dug-in artillery emplacement stocked with 75mm shells—but no cannon. It was frustrating not to find their target, but at the same time Captain Schwerin was heartened—cannon could not be moved easily in this terrain. Pistol Pete had to be close. Meanwhile, Companies B and D searched for the trail. With dusk approaching, Lieutenant Oscar Peatross and his Raiders came out of the jungle onto a path. They followed it a short way up Mount Austen before darkness stopped them for the night. It was too dangerous to move in the dark; a close-range encounter with Japanese soldiers would be bloody and confusing. They could not be sure if it was the main supply route.

Finally, on November 30, a patrol winding its way down a slender ravine made an important discovery: a thin, barely noticeable length of wire, exactly the kind used to connect an artillery field telephone to its command element. Carefully, wary of enemy ambushes, the patrol followed the wire to the Lunga River. There, on the south bank, was a Japanese encampment devoid of enemy soldiers. Searching, the Marines found Pistol Pete sitting near a 37mm antitank gun. The overjoyed Raiders tore the gun apart, disassembling every part they could. At a nearby hill, they threw the components down into the thick jungle undergrowth, where the Japanese would have the devil's own time finding them again. Pistol Pete was gone, its parts left to slowly rust away into the fetid soil.

The same day, a short squad of six Raiders led by Corporal John Yancey made another discovery. A bivouacked Japanese company, 100 strong, sat on one of Mount Austen's slopes, dozing with its guard down. Small arms leaned against trees in the middle of the campsite, and rain beat down heavily. Though badly outnumbered, Yancey was counting on the BARs and Thompsons his men carried to overcome the odds. With the advantage of surprise, the Marine squad ran right into the middle of the encampment and sprayed everyone with automatic fire. Unarmed, shocked, and with no chance to retrieve their weapons, those Japanese troops who did not fall where they lay tried to run uphill into the jungle or down into the nearby river.

The Raiders chased them and killed as many as they could. When the fight ended, the Marines could look out over the steaming barrels of their weapons and see the carnage they had wrought. Three-quarters of the enemy lay dead or dying where only moments before they had rested. Later, native scouts and a few Raiders moved among the Japanese, ramming their bayonets into any who yet drew breath. The bodies were dumped into a mass grave. Carlson was proud of the young corporal for showing such initiative, calling it "the most spectacular of any of our engagements." For his actions, Yancey was later awarded a Navy Cross.

Another sign the Japanese were weakening came on December 2. A patrol led by Lieutenant Peatross stumbled upon a small unit of enemy soldiers during a stout rainstorm. They had not bothered to post sentries around their perimeter, and all of them sat around an apparently sheltered fire they had built. Silently the Raiders moved in on their lulled quarry until they were a scant 50 yards away.

National Archives

Then, at the officer's signal the entire patrol opened up with automatic weapons, unleashing a torrent of lead. Ten Japanese were felled within seconds.

Peatross moved among the bodies, searching for anything of intelligence value. The mere sight of them told him much. They were "emaciated beyond words, pale and sickly looking. Their uniforms were in rags, and although each had a rifle, not one had a full clip of ammunition..," he later recalled. Between the generally poor state of Japanese logistics and the efforts of the Raiders to interdict their supplies and harass them, the Japanese around Mount Austen were reaching the end of their endurance.

One more piece of luck graced the Peatross patrol. Moving on from the battle site, they found a trail twisting through open fields and the slopes of Mount Austen toward the Mantanikau River. The path showed signs of frequent use. Peatross believed this was the main supply route they had been searching for. Though the Raiders were due to withdraw to the perimeter, Carlson requested permission to remain longer, in part to determine whether this trail was the supply route. Vandegrift allowed the Raiders to stay.

Whatever Vandegrift allowed, Carlson had to sell the extra time in the jungle to his Marines, who expected to move back to Henderson Field. Many officers would have simply expected their troops to follow orders without question or complaint. Carlson had built his Raider battalion on the idea of shared hardship and camaraderie wherein even the lowest private knew the reason behind his orders. The grizzled Marine officer gathered his men and told them what he needed them to do.

There were six companies of Raiders present. Carlson said he was sending the three that had been in the jungle the longest to Henderson. These were C, D, and E Companies. He appointed Captain Washburn to lead them back. Since the Raiders were now located on the south side of the mountain, they would retrace their steps around it and back to the main American position. Carlson would lead Companies A, B, and F to Mount Austen, where a final mission had to be carried out.

One of the scout patrols had found an unoccupied Japanese defensive position on a ridge near the top of the mountain. Carlson hoped to get his Raiders there first and ambush the Japanese when they arrived. They would have to climb 1,500 feet up steep and difficult slopes and ridges, a task requiring all their strength and determination. After eliminating the enemy, this group would climb down the northern side of Mount Austen and proceed the two miles to Henderson Field.

The journey up the mountain on December 3 was a six-hour uphill slog through the jungle, struggling to ascend slopes slippery with wet leaves and vegetation. The almost daily rain added thick layers of mud. The sweating Marines were soon caked in grime as they hauled ammunition, supplies, and their own equipment doggedly upward. Carlson, apparently wanting to reach the summit quickly, allowed only one 20-minute rest during the march.

His sense of urgency paid off when they finally reached the empty position near the top. No sooner had the leading Raiders arrived to survey the opposite slope leading down toward Henderson than a group of Japanese troops was spotted coming up. Quickly the Raiders took cover and prepared to ambush their enemy, but the Japanese point man must have spotted something out of place. He signaled his comrades to take cover. For him it was too late; a burst of Raider fire cut him and two others down within seconds.

What followed was a classic example of Raider-Japanese jungle fighting. The Japanese formed a base of fire with machine guns that Carlson tried to outflank by sending a squad to each side. The Japanese responded with a flanking attack of their own, so Carlson replied by dispatching a platoon to each Japanese flank.

One of the flanking platoons was led by Lieutenant Jack Miller. He sent a native scout ahead as point with Pfc. Ray Bauml next in line and Miller himself third. The Marines moved single file through the thick foliage, a method often necessary to keep control of the group. The scout stopped and gestured that enemy troops were ahead. Miller stopped the platoon and issued his orders. He sent Bauml to one side of the trail with four Marines, while he took the rest to the opposite side. With Miller was his platoon sergeant, Victor Maghakian, nicknamed "Transport" due to his skill at obtaining vehicles, sometimes legitimately, sometimes not.

CARLSON FELT VINDICATION FOR HIS TRAINING METHODS AND THE STEADFAST COURAGE OF HIS RAIDERS.

National Archives

ABOVE: Carlson (kneeling center) poses with some of his tough, battle-hardened Marine Raiders following their return from the long patrol. As they show off captured Japanese flags, the Marines exhibit the fatigue and stress they have just experienced during relentless marching and fighting on Guadalcanal. OPPOSITE: U.S. Marines on patrol wade across the shallow mouth of a river on the embattled island of Guadalcanal. Guadalcanal was the scene of six months of horrific fighting in thick jungle before the Americans declared it secure.

Bauml and the others pushed slowly forward in the dense vegetation, unable to see the enemy or even each other. The corporal heard some branches moving and made ready to shoot. It was a moment of tension, broken when Lieutenant Miller emerged and asked if Bauml had spotted anything yet. Since neither had, Miller began to move away. He had only gone a few steps when a burst of automatic fire shattered the quiet, tearing into the young officer. Bullets plunged into his chest, arms, and throat and shattered his jaw. He fell into the tall grass as Bauml lunged for cover behind some trees, firing as he ran. Enemy fire chased him, but the trees were thick enough to stop the bullets. Miller's runner ran off to find a corpsman.

A short firefight erupted, and the Japanese were killed with two bursts by a BAR man who spotted them. Maghakian rushed through enemy fire to pull another wounded Marine out of harm's way. He had no idea his lieutenant had also been hit. When the engagement ended, someone told him Miller had been hit as well. Maghakian and Miller were close, their relationship more of a friendship than a strict command affiliation. The platoon sergeant rushed to his fallen officer and found him being tended by a corpsman, who had given Miller morphine. Looking at Maghakian, Miller muttered his nickname, "Transport," but could say no more. Nearby, a Raider found the weapon used to fell the platoon leader, a captured American Thompson.

It was more than Maghakian could bear. Wanting vengeance, the Marine began a war of his own. A nearby enemy machine-gun nest was firing on the Raiders, and somewhere a sniper was concealed in the trees. Maghakian told two Raiders to cover him as he moved down a ravine toward the machine gun. Armed with a grenade, the sergeant knew he would be exposing himself to the sniper but thought it was the only way to get him to give away his position. He ran down the ravine, zigzagging as the sniper tried to kill him. A bullet found Maghakian's wrist, but the Marine silenced the machine gun. The sniper did indeed expose his location and was dead from American fire in a moment.

Maghakian later wrote, "I made a human target of myself but I did the job.... I did not care as long as I revenged [sic] Jack." The corpsman tried to get Maghakian to evacuate to the rear, but the tough sergeant refused to leave until later when he had lost too much blood to continue.

The battle continued as Carlson brought the rest of the Raiders forward. Twenty-five Japanese died in one slight draw alone. Bodies lay

scattered around, and Peatross had the job of checking them for intelligence. As he did so, one Japanese soldier sprang up and aimed his rifle. Carlson was nearby and instinctively shouted, "Shoot the bastard!" Peatross needed no encouragement, however. He raised his shotgun and blasted the enemy soldier at point-blank range. Private Ashley Fisher was wounded by a grenade tossed by a Japanese soldier playing dead. That soldier was also quickly shot down.

By the next morning, Miller was still hanging on and even joked about wanting a beer when they got to Henderson Field. When a fellow officer promised to find him a bottle, Miller said he wanted a case. Still, he and the other wounded needed care, and Carlson decided to move to Henderson Field right away. The enemy on Mount Austen had been defeated, and now it was time to go back. There was a trail leading back to the perimeter some two miles away; the Raiders could cover the distance in a few hours. They set out with B Company leading the way.

After moving some 500 yards, the trail straightened, and the Raiders worried about an ambush. Corporal Albert Hermiston led his fire team cautiously forward, checking for lurking enemy soldiers. Something was waiting for them. Just as Hermiston motioned for those behind to get down, a blast of machine-gun fire killed him and one other Marine. Another fire team moved to flank the enemy. One Marine, Pfc. Cyrill Matelski, saw an American helmet poking through the foliage. He gave the recognition signal, "Ahoy Raider!" and was promptly shot in the head. A Japanese soldier had used the helmet as a trick.

A third fire team was able to knock out the machine gun but was quickly outflanked itself by a Japanese riposte. Carlson ordered another flanking move, and this was successful in pushing the enemy back. There was one more casualty of the fight, however. While the wounded waited for the battle to end, Miller died. Carlson held a brief ceremony, and the young officer was buried alongside the trail to await retrieval by graves registration troops. Miller would receive a posthumous Navy Cross for his actions against the Japanese on December 3.

The rest of the journey to Henderson proved uneventful. When the Raiders ran into the Marine sentries at the perimeter, they looked like scarecrows. While they moved with pride, they were unshaven, emaciated, and covered with sores and all the minor injuries the jungle can inflict. Carlson cautioned his Raiders not to take any food or candy from anyone. He knew their stomachs could not take it. They did take new canteens as the Marines in the perimeter cheered them. Rumors had circulated claiming the Raiders had all died.

Carlson had achieved all his objectives for the long patrol and done great damage to the Japanese on Guadalcanal. He felt vindication for his training methods and the steadfast courage of his Raiders. The press seized upon the daring patrol and praised Carlson and the Raiders in newspapers across the country. It was the high point of Carlson's career, and his battalion was awarded a unit citation by General Vandegrift.

Unfortunately, the Raider concept Carlson had pioneered soon became a casualty of war itself. The battalion was made part of the new 1st Marine Raider Regiment with a new commander, Lt. Col. Alan Shapley, who promptly instituted his own, more conventional way of running the unit. Carlson was made the regimental executive officer. By the summer of 1943, he was rotated home, ostensibly for medical treatment. He had ruffled too many feathers in the Marine high command with his unorthodox ways. By early 1944, the Raider Regiment itself was disbanded and reformed as a conventional regiment.

Still, the Raider concept eventually made headway in the Marine Corps. The fire team idea took hold, and both Marine and U.S. Army units use them in the rifle squad today. The discussions and critiques Carlson held with his Raiders after a mission or training event survive today as the AAR (After Action Review), used by military units to determine what went right or wrong and to suggest improvements.

Modern Marine special forces elements consider themselves descendants of Carlson's unit, although the Marine Corps does not officially call them Raiders. Nevertheless, the men who called themselves Raiders earned their place in history. □

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

National Archives

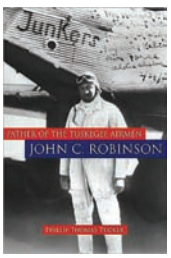
By Al Hemingway

Both: Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum

Father of Tuskegee Airmen

John C. Robinson assisted Ethiopia during World War II and inspired the successful training program for African American pilots.

ON THE HOT, HUMID AFTERNOON OF MAY 22, 1934, A ONE-SEATER BUHL "PUP" aircraft slowly descended from the skies over a large field near the all-black Tuskegee Institute in eastern Alabama. The aircraft landed smoothly, and out stepped the person flying the monoplane, John C. Robinson, himself a Tuskegee graduate 11 years earlier. The students were awestruck. None of them had ever seen a black pilot before; it was something they thought impossible in the strict "Jim Crow" segregated world of the South. But Robinson had a dream—and he was here to promote it. He wanted to start a training program for young African Americans, male or female, to become licensed pilots.



In his latest offering, *Father of the Tuskegee Airmen: John C. Robinson* (Potomac Books, Washington, D.C., 2012, 329 pp., photographs, notes, index, $29.95, hardcover), historian Phillip Thomas Tucker has written a marvelous account of a man who has received little attention in history for his achievements in aviation, fighting racism, both in the United States and abroad, and his tireless efforts to have his alma mater create a program so African Americans could learn to fly.

Unfortunately, Robinson's lofty ideas were a shock to white Americans, especially those in the South. Growing up in Gulfport, Mississippi, Robinson experienced firsthand racial inequality. But he did have parents who believed a good education was the key to escape the strict segregation in the South. They knew by moving north possibilities existed for young black Americans to succeed.

And Robinson did just that. After graduating from Tuskegee, he moved to Chicago and began working as an automobile mechanic. He was so skilled in his trade he soon opened his own automobile and motorcycle shop. A persuasive, intelligent individual with a magnetic personality, Robinson managed to convince the board of directors at the all-white Curtiss-Wright Aeronautical School to enroll him in classes. He took a job as a janitor and became the school's first African American graduate and even taught classes to both black and white students.

Robinson photographed in 1935 as co-commander of the Military Order of Guard, Aviation Squadron, the first black aviation unit.

Robinson's greatest accolades and, ironically, disappointments, came when he traveled to Ethiopia, when Emperor Haile Selassie asked for black volunteers to create an all-black air force to help defeat the Italian Army that was poised to strike his country. Selassie would eventually appoint Robinson a colonel and make him the head of his air force. Although not much of an air force, Robinson worked tirelessly to recruit, train, and fly combat missions when war broke out in 1935.

Robinson photographed in the cockpit of his Buhl Bull Pup monoplane at Robbins airfield in the suburbs of Chicago. The airfield was built by Robinson and other black aviation enthusiasts and completed in 1933.

For a year, Robinson fulfilled his duties. He was wounded and gassed on several occasions. More important, the conflict in Ethiopia changed his views dramatically. He came away from it, like many combat veterans, cynical and dis-

You deserve a factual look at . . .

Arabian Fables (I)

How the Arabs soften up world opinion with fanciful myths.

Josef Goebbels, the infamous propaganda minister of the Nazis, had it right. Just tell people big lies often enough and they will believe them. The Arabs have learned that lesson well. They have swayed world opinion by endlessly repeating myths and lies that have no basis in fact.

What are some of these myths?

The "Palestinians." That is the fundamental myth. The reality is that the concept of "Palestinians" is one that did not exist until about 1948, when the Arab inhabitants of what until then was Palestine, wished to differentiate themselves from the Jews. Until then, the Jews were the Palestinians. There was the Palestinian Brigade of Jewish volunteers in the British World War II Army (at a time when the Palestinian Arabs were in Berlin hatching plans with Adolf Hitler for world conquest and how to kill all the Jews); there was the Palestinian Symphony Orchestra (all Jews, of course); there was *The Palestine Post*, and so much more.

The Arabs, who now call themselves "Palestinians," do so in order to persuade a misinformed world that they are a distinct nationality and that "Palestine" is their ancestral homeland. But, of course, they are no distinct nationality at all. They are entirely the same — in language, customs, and tribal ties — as the Arabs of Syria, Jordan, and beyond. There is no more difference between the "Palestinians" and the other Arabs of those countries than there is between, say, the citizens of Minnesota and of Wisconsin.

What's more, many of the "Palestinians," or their immediate ancestors, came to the area attracted by the prosperity created by the Jews, in what previously had been pretty much of a wasteland.

The nationhood of the "Palestinians" is a myth.

The "West Bank." Again, this is a concept that did not exist until 1948, when the army of the Kingdom of Transjordan, together with five other Arab armies, invaded the Jewish state of Israel, on the very day of its creation.

In what can almost be described as a Biblical miracle, the ragtag Jewish forces defeated the combined Arab might. But Transjordan stayed in possession of the territories of Judea and Samaria and part of the city of Jerusalem. The Jordanians promptly expelled all Jews from the area that they occupied, destroyed all Jewish institutions and houses of worship, used Jewish cemetery headstones to build military latrines, and renamed as "West Bank" what had been Judea and Samaria since time immemorial.

The attempt, quite successful, was to persuade an uninformed world that these territories were ancestral parts of the Jordanian Arab Kingdom (itself a very recent creation of British power diplomacy). Even after the total rout of the Arabs in the 1967 Six-Day War, in which the Jordanians were driven out of Judea/Samaria and of Jerusalem, they and the world continued to call this territory the "West Bank", a geographical concept that cannot be found on any except the most recent maps.

> "The web of lies and myths that the Arab propaganda machine has created plays an important role in the unrelenting quest to destroy the State of Israel. What a shame that the world has accepted most of it!"

The concept of the "West Bank" is a myth.

The "Occupied Territories." After the victorious Six-Day War, during which the Israeli army defeated the same cabal of Arabs that had invaded the country in 1948, Israel remained in possession of Judea/Samaria (now renamed "West Bank"), which the Jordanians had illegally occupied for 19 years; of the Gaza strip, which had been occupied by the Egyptians but which (hundreds of miles from Egypt proper) had never been part of their country; and of the Golan Heights, a plateau of about 400 square miles, which, though originally part of Palestine, had been ceded to Syria by British-French agreement.

The last sovereign in Judea/Samaria and in Gaza was the British mandatory power — and before it was the Ottoman Empire. All of Palestine, including what is now the Kingdom of Jordan, was, by the Balfour Declaration, destined to be the Jewish National Home. How then could the Israelis be "occupiers" in their own territory? Who would be the sovereign and who the rightful inhabitants?

The concept of "occupied territories" in reference to Judea/Samaria and Gaza is a myth created by Arab propaganda.

Unable so far to destroy Israel on the battlefield — though they are feverishly preparing for their next assault — the Arabs are now trying to overcome and destroy Israel by their acknowledged "policy of stages". That policy is to get as much land as possible carved out of Israel "by peaceful and diplomatic" means, so as to make Israel indefensible and softened up for the final assault. The web of lies and myths that the Arab propaganda machine has created plays an important role in the unrelenting quest to destroy the State of Israel. What a shame that the world has accepted most of it!

This message has been published and paid for by

FLAME

Facts and Logic About the Middle East
P.O. Box 590359 ■ San Francisco, CA 94159
Gerardo Joffe, President

FLAME is a tax-exempt, non-profit educational 501 (c)(3) organization. Its purpose is the research and publication of the facts regarding developments in the Middle East and exposing false propaganda that might harm the interests of the United States and its allies in that area of the world. Your tax-deductible contributions are welcome. They enable us to pursue these goals and to publish these messages in national newspapers and magazines. We have virtually no overhead. Almost all of our revenue pays for our educational work, for these clarifying messages, and for related direct mail.

64B

To receive free FLAME updates, visit our website: www.factsandlogic.org

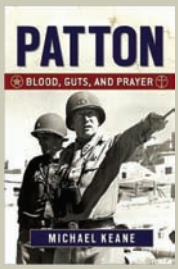
illusioned. His Pan-Africanism, that is Africa for Africans, diminished as well. Although he loved the Ethiopian people, the institution of slavery still existed. He watched in horror the indiscriminate bombing and lethal gasses dropped not only on military targets, but also the civilian population. He was also bitter that none of the members of the all-black Challenger Aero Club traveled to Ethiopia to assist in the fight against fascism and the subjugation of the Ethiopian people.

Robinson returned to the United States a changed man. His metamorphosis was detected by his friends and family. Although he had difficulty breathing from the gas attacks, he criss-crossed the country making speeches and raising money for financial aid for Ethiopia, despite the fact that the country had collapsed when the Italians seized the capital city, Addis Ababa, in May 1936.

There remained one dream Robinson wanted to fulfill, the creation of an aviation program at

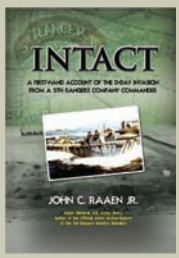
Short Bursts

Patton: Blood, Guts, and Prayer by Michael Keane, Regnery Publishing, Washington, D.C., 2012, 256 pp., notes, index, $27.95, hardcover.



There has been a plethora of books about the legendary General George S. Patton, Jr., but this new addition is a good overview of his life. A man of many contradictions—a very religious yet profane individual—he became a living legend. From his days at West Point to the punitive expedition to hunt down the Mexican bandit Pancho Villa where he received his baptism of fire, to his grievous wound in World War I, to his exploits in Europe during World War II, Keane traces Patton's life until his untimely death due to a car accident in December 1945.

Patton was cheated out of his wish of being killed in battle. He told his wife from his hospital bed that he "wasn't good enough," before succumbing to his injuries. If he had lived, Patton would have almost certainly been paralyzed, a fate for "Old Blood and Guts" that would have been worse than death.

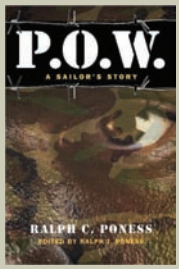


Intact: A First-Hand Account of the D-Day Invasion from a 5th Rangers Company Commander by Maj. Gen. John C. Raaen, Jr. USA (Ret.), Reedy Press, St. Louis, MO, 2012, 176 pp., photographs, index, $18.00, softcover.

Retired Major General John Raaen has written a detailed blow-by-blow description of what transpired from his company's initial landing on Omaha Beach on June 6, 1944 to the relief of the Ranger contingent atop Pointe du Hoc the following day. Interspersed between his own story of the 5th Rangers, Raaen received eyewitness accounts of what transpired in adjacent areas from those who fought there. Adding the two together gives the reader a complete story of what the Rangers and elements of the 116th Infantry Regiment endured when they faced a determined dug-in German Army.

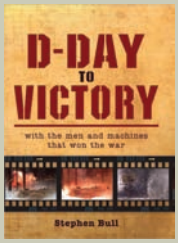
Raaen, who received a Silver Star for his actions during that period, lists the Distinguished Service Cross (DSC) recipients as well. One fascinating sidebar to the book is the brief biography of the battalion chaplain, Father Joseph Lacy, a Roman Catholic priest, who was awarded a DSC for continually exposing himself to enemy fire on the beachhead as he dragged the wounded to safety, prayed over them, and gave last rites to the dying.

This is a gem of a book that gives readers an excellent viewpoint from one Ranger who served on Omaha Beach during the "Longest Day" of World War II.



P.O.W.: A Sailor's Story by Ralph C. Poness, Vantage Press, New York, 2012, 134 pp., $16.95, softcover.

This is a riveting story of one sailor's hell as a prisoner of the Japanese during World War II. A gifted athlete, Ralph Poness joined the Navy in 1937 to see the world. His travels took him to the Far East as a crewmember on the destroyer USS *Pope*. Transferred to the U.S. Navy Yard at Cavite, Philippines, ironically so he could have the opportunity to play baseball, Poness was captured by the Japanese when they invaded the islands in the spring of 1942. He tells of his harrowing experiences when traveling to the POW camp at Cabanatuan and then a terrifying nine-day sea voyage to Japan itself, where the men were to be used as slave labor for the enemy's war machine. After his death in 2002, Poness's son eventually gathered his father's manuscripts and published his story. It is indeed a moving tribute to a man who endured so much for his country.



D-Day Victory with the Men and Machines That Won the War by Stephen Bull, Osprey Publishing, Long Island City, NY, 2012, 272 pp., maps, photographs, notes, index, $25.95, hardcover.

This book focuses on the D-Day landings on June 6, 1944, until Germany's surrender in May 1945. It is told by the Allied soldiers who lived through it with the equipment they carried or operated to achieve that victory. Everything from tanks, bazookas, and artillery to flamethrowers and more are discussed. The book contains numerous color as well as black and white photographs, while detailed maps and other illustrations accompany the text. More than 80 interviews from the actual participants are also included and add a dimension of realism to the story. The book's final comment on the Allied veterans is most revealing when veteran Jim Tuckwell notes, "I think they were on this earth to do what was right."

Nazi Steel: Friedrich Flick and German Expansion in Western Europe, 1940-1944 by Marcus D. Jones, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2012, 192 pp., notes, index, $29.95, hardcover.

The Nazi war machine needed extensive amounts of war matériel to fulfill Hitler's dream of a world ruled by the Third Reich. To accomplish this goal, Friedrich Flick, a German industrialist, assisted by supplying the Nazi government with a wide variety of items such as steel, coal, munitions, trucks, airplanes, and more. He amassed a huge fortune selling material to the Nazis. In 1941, with German occupation of the Lorraine region in France, Flick obtained the massive and lucrative Rombach steel works and immediately went to work to manufacture war equipment.

The author does a good job examining the relationship between Flick and other German business magnates within the Nazi regime. He also focuses on the German economic policies in the occupied territories during the war. After the conflict, Flick was tried at Nuremberg for using slave labor and was sentenced to seven years in prison but was released after serving just three years.

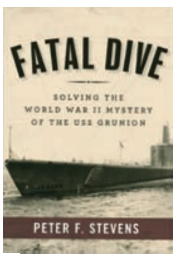
Despite losing most of his assets, Flick rebounded and became a multi-millionaire by investing in automobile plants and paper mills. He died in 1972 and, according to the author, he was "by default institutionally more complicit than most other industrialists" who were helping to supply Hitler's armed forces for world domination. □

Tuskegee. With the outbreak of World War II, everyone realized it was a matter of time before the United States would be involved. As the author writes, the birth of the Tuskegee Airmen was not when the college was selected as the Civilian Pilot Training Program for blacks in 1939, rather that seed had been planted five years earlier when Robinson flew there in an attempt to convince the school's leaders to adopt such a program. As with white America, Tuskegee officials were reluctant to agree with Robinson for varied reasons. Although he never taught at Tuskegee, his vision and accomplishments were well known and undoubtedly contributed to the success of the program.

During World War II, Robinson returned to his beloved Ethiopia to assist in the war effort. After the war, he remained and was tragically injured in a plane crash when on a mercy mission to obtain blood for a transfusion for a young Ethiopian boy. A damaged engine valve was the cause of the crash. He lingered for several weeks in a hospital before succumbing to the third-degree burns he suffered from the accident. He was buried with full military honors, and thousands came to view the body of the "Brown Condor of Ethiopia," as he was affectionately called.

"Unlike Robinson, the Tuskegee Airmen eventually found the national spotlight to rightly earn a distinguished place in the annals of American history," Tucker writes. "However, without Robinson's efforts and achievements on both sides of the Atlantic, there might well have been no Tuskegee Airmen of World War II fame."

Fatal Dive: Solving the World War II Mystery of the USS Grunion by Peter F. Stevens, Regnery History, Washington, D.C., 2012, photographs, notes, index, $24.95, hardcover.



Here is a great detective story that unearthed the fate of a U.S. Navy submarine, USS *Grunion,* and its entire 70-man crew who were lost at sea off the coast of Kiska in the Aleutian Islands during World War II. The commander of the sub, Lt. Cmdr. Jim Abele, was patrolling the icy waters searching for Japanese transports when his boat was sunk by a 3-inch shell from the Japanese transport *Kano Maru,* which was struck by one of *Grunion*'s torpedoes. When a "thin, black bar" suddenly shot up from the sea like a rifle shot and then quickly fell back into the water, and a brown liquid appeared on the water's surface, the Japanese

were overjoyed believing they had sent the enemy vessel to the bottom of the ocean. Or did they?

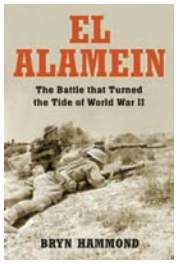
For 65 years, the families of the crewmembers of USS *Grunion* were in the dark as to the whereabouts of their loved ones. The Navy Department had said they were lost at sea and presumed dead. Abele's widow, Kay, wrote countless letters to the crew's families until her death in 1975. However, her sons, John, Brad, and Bruce, never lost hope and would ultimately finance a trip, costing them millions, to the frigid waters of the Bering Sea, near Kiska, to determine the fate of their father and his crew.

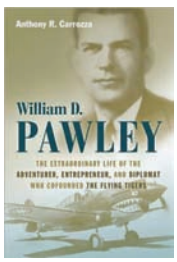
On August 23, 2007, a remote-operated vehicle (ROV) was dropped from the *Aquila,* a 165-foot commercial fishing boat, commanded by skipper Kale Garcia, who was familiar with the area. When it was finally determined that they had found the wreckage of *Grunion*, the next question was how she sank?

Experts examining the photos from the ROV, declassified U.S. and Japanese documents, and eyewitness accounts from the *Kano Maru* came to the conclusion that the MK 14 torpedo launched by *Grunion* has not detonated and made a circular path back toward the sub, striking her stern. The "loud thud" was heard by the Japanese sailors, but it was not the 3-inch shell they had heard, it was the boat's own torpedo.

When Abele ordered the sub to dive, he did not realize that its stern planes were jammed in full dive. The sub buckled and imploded, sending her to the bottom. Why did the Navy hide this fact for so many years? The author contends that they were trying to cover up the fact that it was the faulty torpedo they were using during the early stages of the war.

This book is a truly moving tribute to the tremendous resolve of the Abele family, the families and friends of *Grunion* who, despite insurmountable odds, were finally able to uncover the mystery behind the loss of the submarine that sent 70 souls to the bottom of the ocean on July 31, 1942.





El Alamein: The Battle that Turned the Tide of the Second World War by Bryn Hammond, Osprey Publishing, Long Island City, NY, 2012, 328 pp., maps, photographs, notes, index, $24.95, hardcover.

The author has done a superlative job in writing about a battle that has been thoroughly examined by others. He, however, brings fresh material to light about the extreme hardships faced, not only in fighting a determined foe but the harsh weather conditions as well, from actual survivors of the Battles of El Alamein and Alam Halfa from June through November 1942. It was here that British and Commonwealth troops stopped German Field Marshal Edwin Rommel's juggernaut that was bent on seizing Egypt, giving the Nazis control of the Suez Canal and the Middle Eastern oil fields.

Hammond also writes about the relationships among the commanders of the British Eighth Army and their staffs and superiors, primarily Prime Minister Winston Churchill, who was known for meddling in military matters. Command of the British forces ultimately fell to Lt. Gen. Bernard Montgomery, who subsequently beat Rommel in one of the largest tank battles in military history.

Rommel, given the sobriquet of the Desert Fox because of his uncanny ability to appear out of nowhere and achieve victory, became something of an unbeatable superhero in the minds of many. However, the British soldiers, the author claims for the most part, had remarkable morale despite their setbacks on the battlefield.

Hammond praises the Italian Army units attached to Rommel during the campaign. Unfortunately, the Desert Fox did not think highly of them or the overall Italian commanders who he had to report to and gain approval for his actions. None of the Italian leaders "could control Rommel."

Although the Germans had occupied "sound positions," as one British private wrote in a letter home, El Alamein was much more than just a tremendous artillery barrage. The fighting, at times, was hand-to-hand, and the dreaded minefields took the lives of many men. In the end, the British Tommy plus New Zealand, Australian, South African, and Indian troops, won the day—and drove the German Army out of North Africa.

William D. Pawley: The Extraordinary Life of the Adventurer, Entrepreneur, and Diplomat Who Cofounded the Flying Tigers by Anthony R. Carrozza, Potomac Books, Washington, D.C., 2012, 407 pp., photographs, notes, index, $34.95, hardcover.

He has been referred to as a "mid-twentieth century cross between Indiana Jones and Donald Trump" and there is no doubt that William D. Pawley led an amazing life—from selling candy bars to sailors whose ships were docked in Havana harbor, supporting the American Volunteer Group, more commonly known as

From the Publishers of WWII History Magazine

D-DAY
Through A Soldier's Eyes...
Limited Edition Print

The storm was violent, the waves were huge and the noise was deafening for the soldiers in the landing craft on D-Day, June 6, 1944. As they neared the beach, the door dropped open... and this photo lets you see exactly what they saw, and feel what they felt: treacherous breakers, withering machine gun fire, a long beach, huge cliffs, and near-certain death.

None hesitated. These brave unselfish men jumped into the cold Atlantic waters. Two thirds of them died soon after, so that we could live in freedom.

This historic photograph shows American soldiers from Company E, 16th Infantry, 1st Infantry Division exiting their LCVP landing craft under heavy German machine gun fire on Omaha Beach. The photo was taken by Coast Guard Chief Photographer's Mate Robert F. Sergeant.

Company E landed on Easy Red Beach at 0645 in the face of murderous fire. Those few who survived kept wading right into everything the enemy had and took their objective, which provided the only exit from the beach that the entire Fifth Corps had for two days. Company "E," perhaps by strength of will and courage alone, helped keep the entire landing force from being thrown back into the sea. For a month afterwards, those who survived remained almost in a daze.

A Haunting Image
Available Now In Limited Edition

This handsome Giclee print is large -- printed on 12" x 18" silver emulsion photographic paper. Reserve one of these incredible limited edition prints now, and display it proudly.
$49.95 Plus $10 Shipping

Call 1-800-219-1187 today.

Have your credit card ready or use the coupon below.
COMPLETE MONEY BACK GUARANTEE

YES! Send me the Limited Edition print(s) I've indicated below at the special price of $49.95, plus $10 shipping and handling, for each.

Number of prints (at $59.95 each): _____

☐ **Check Enclosed** (payable to *Sovereign Media*)

Credit Card: ☐ **VISA** ☐ **AmEx** ☐ **MasterCard**

Card Number: _____

Exp.: ___ ___ / ___ ___ Security Code: _____ *(Security Code: Last 3 digits on the back of VISA & MC, four digits on the front of American Express).*

Name on Card: _____

Signature: _____ Telephone: _____

SHIP TO:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

MAIL TO: Sovereign Collections
1000 Commerce Park Drive, Suite 300
Williamsport, PA 17701

the Flying Tigers, to serving as ambassador to Peru and Brazil and advisor to four presidents —it seems Mr. Pawley did it all.

An enterprising man, even as a child, Pawley honed his salesmanship skills in Cuba and Florida. After delving into numerous business ventures, the Georgia native was bitten by the aviation bug. His reasons for hastily leaving Cuba remain unclear, but he claimed it was for "political reasons." So, the young entrepreneur ventured to China in 1933 to make his mark in that Asian country.

Pawley's tenure in China was full of backroom business dealings, hobnobbing with Chinese officials, and making sure that his planes from the China National Aviation Corporation cornered the market. He made many friends and as many enemies, including U.S. Army officer Claire Chennault, who would eventually head the Flying Tigers comprised of American volunteer pilots fighting the Japanese who had invaded China in 1937.

Pawley and Chennault battled for years after the war about each other's role in creating the famed group. The author traces Pawley's career after World War II as well. His book is a well-written and absorbing story of a fascinating individual who left his indelible mark on world history.

Two Roads to War: The French and British Air Arms from Versailles to Dunkirk by Robin Higham, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2012, 410 pp., photographs, notes, index, $44.95, hardcover.

A former Royal Air Force pilot and teacher of military history at Kansas State University, author Robin Higham has written a factual and interesting book on the pitfalls of the Armee de l'Air, or French Air Force, during the period between the world wars and how its shortcomings, military, political, and even social, affected its performance during the early days of World War II. Higham compares the French Air Force to methods the British Royal Air Force used to emerge as an effective fighting arm. He contends that the RAF was the core of this military machine and not on the periphery, as the air force was within the French Army.

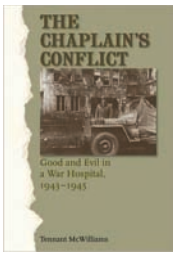
In addition to the French Air Force being relegated to a back seat role during the two decades between the conflicts, the author claims that the British business owners and entrepreneurs who were involved in the design and manufacture of British aircraft had a good

working relationship with the unions, something the French lacked.

Sadly, the French were still rebuilding and "depressed by the casualties of the 1914-1918 conflict" and adopted a defensive mind-set prior to the German invasion. Aircraft of all types took on a secondary role in the French military, contributing to an ineffective defense of the country.

When the massive German blitzkrieg rolled around the Maginot Line on May 10, 1940, the country crumbled, setting up the humiliating evacuation from Dunkirk by Allied forces in June. France soon capitulated, and the country would be occupied by the Nazi invaders until 1944.

The Chaplain's Conflict: Good and Evil in a War Hospital, 1943-1945 by Tennant Williams, Texas A&M University Press, College Station, 2012, 144 pp., photographs, bibliography, index, $35.00, hardcover.



Here is a unique and candid look at the inner workings of the 102nd Evacuation Hospital from the viewpoint of its chaplain, 1st Lt. Renwick C. Kennedy, a graduate of the Princeton Theological Seminary and prolific writer who chronicled his time with the unit when it served in France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Germany. The author, Tenant Williams, interviewed Kennedy at his home in Camden, Alabama, and was given his correspondence when he passed away in 1985. Williams and his wife traveled extensively throughout Europe retracing the movements of Kennedy's unit to write his account.

In his writings, Kennedy wrote with clarity and, above all, honesty when discussing those he served with. Not all his observations were glowing. He vividly describes the affairs between doctors and nurses, the rape of two German girls by six GIs and, interestingly enough, his dislike for General George Patton, whom Kennedy referred to as "very profane and vulgar."

Kennedy wrote about his experiences, both good and bad, later in an article for *Christian Century* magazine and was severely criticized by the American Legion as being "un-American." Despite this, he treasured his time with the 102nd Evacuation Hospital, where the majority of men did their jobs in a professional manner.

"Being with the 102nd was like going to school in reality," he confided to Williams. "I have to say that I may have learned more with the 102nd than I did at Princeton." □

By Joseph Luster

THE LATEST IN DOGFIGHTING ACTION ARRIVES WITH *DAMAGE INC.: PACIFIC SQUADRON WWII.*

DAMAGE INC: PACIFIC SQUADRON WWII

It's been a fairly long road for *Damage Inc: Pacific Squadron WWII*, which started its life as *War Wings: Hell Catz*, but the latest in World War II dogfighting action is finally here. From the outset, things will feel pretty at home to anyone remotely familiar with arcade-centric flight games, but after putting some time into *Damage Inc.* with a standard controller, it becomes clear that this sortie was developed primarily with its key peripheral in mind. Enter: Mad Catz's Saitek Pacific AV8R Flightstick. Owning one will likely determine how much fun you ultimately have with Trickstar Games' high-flying wartime action game.

Picking up after the tragic events of Pearl Harbor, *Damage Inc.* sees you and your brother suiting up for war, as you enter the Air Force and he joins the Marines. With the brutal impetus the Japanese attack provides, the United States is thrust into war, thus kicking off a series of aerial missions that range from dogfighting with enemy aircraft, escorting bombers and protecting ground troops, taking out the opposition's key installations, and more. It all adds up to 23 missions spread across 11 locations, from 1941 to 1945, finally building to an explosive finale with a mission taking place at the Battle of Iwo Jima.

Damage Inc. offers plenty of planes—32 in total—to unlock and upgrade throughout, and they don't skimp on the points with which to do so. From the outset Trickstar was very vocal about their efforts toward historical accuracy with the aircraft, and it shows in the final product. The missions themselves enjoy a fairly steady increase in difficulty and, like most any other flight game, can get a bit overwhelming later on, especially when it comes to key escort objectives.

PUBLISHER
Mad Catz

DEVELOPER
Trickstar Games

SYSTEM(S)
Xbox 360, PS3, PC

AVAILABLE
Now

I can't think of the last time I played a flight game without an abundance of defensive sorties, so it kind of comes with the territory. As usual, though, they're one of the least enjoyable aspects of the outing.

Visually this one is kind of a mixed bag. Folks who pick it up on PC might be able to squeeze a little more juice out of it, but one would be hard-pressed to tell *Damage Inc.* apart from any other dogfighter released in the last few years. The planes look pretty nice, but quite a few of the environments are just plain bland. Historical accuracy aside, it wouldn't hurt some of the games in the genre to pull out a little something special stylistically, especially when the game engine isn't anything particularly exceptional. For the most part players shouldn't be bothered by the visuals, though, as it's kind of tough to gripe about the quality of a building model when swooping toward it and unloading a volley of missiles at breakneck speed.

It all controls decently as is—for review we played it on Xbox 360—but, seeing as this is published by peripheral maker Mad Catz, the advantage their joystick provides is readily apparent. The aforementioned Flightstick comes packed with the special edition of *Damage Inc.*, which also includes a custom decal kit, and the exclusive downloadable Reaper Corsair plane. While the equipment does feel a bit light overall, the Flightstick really shines in Simulation mode, offering the most precise control over the various aircraft. Despite the advantage the AV8R provides, it's still only really recommended to true flight game enthusiasts. Those

who just choose to casually dip their feet in the genre likely won't appreciate the finer differences between playing with this and the standard setup. It's just a nice touch offered to those who are more hardcore about the genre, and it also works with a bunch of other games, from *Birds of Prey* to *Ace Combat 6*. There are even more compatible titles on PC, though one would imagine dedicated PC flight sim fans might already have a superior stick on hand.

As far as Trickstar's work goes, *Damage Inc.* is a marked improvement over *J.A.S.F.: Jane's Advanced Strike Fighters*, but it isn't without its flaws. Some aspects of the campaign can be frustrating no matter what controls are implemented, and the overall product lacks polish where it could have attempted to stand out more. PC gamers have a few more choice options on deck, but console-bound flight enthusiasts may want to give this one a spin, especially those in need of a flightstick bundle that won't completely eradicate the bank.

HEARTS OF IRON III: THEIR FINEST HOUR

The last *Hearts of Iron III* expansion we previewed in these pages was *For the Motherland*, and now we're back for more. *Hearts of Iron III: Their Finest Hour* puts players back in the commander's seat with new units, strategies, and game mode enhancements to assist in defeating all that stand in the way of victory. One of the key enhancements in *Their Finest Hour* comes in the form of covert operations, which are part of the expansion's improved espionage system, allowing players to destroy the enemy from within.

A new battle plan mode lets you load historical plans, draw your own, and share it all in real-time with multiplayer allies. New units in Their Finest Hour include elite operatives—Ghurkas, Rangers, Imperial Guards, and more—for the armies of each major nation. Other improvements include a deeper naval invasion system, a lend-lease system that increases control over strategic warfare, a new combat tactics system that places more importance on leaders gaining and allocating traits, a faster-paced new mode for single and multiplayer, and two new battle scenarios: the Finnish Winter War and the Spanish Civil War.

PUBLISHER
Paradox Interactive

DEVELOPER
Paradox Development Studio

SYSTEM(S)
PC

AVAILABLE
Now (Expansion)

By the time this issue hits stands, *Hearts of Iron III: Their Finest Hour* will be available to all as a Windows download. Those who are still knee-deep in Paradox Development Studio's grand strategy title should find plenty more to extend that fun with in this expansion. □

einsatzgruppen trials

Continued from page 53

Publication Possibilities of the War Crimes Trials, singled Ohlendorf out because of his insistence that his actions were justifiable and legally defensible, noting: "Of great interest to ethnologists and sociologists are the several cases in which the leaders of the SS were tried. In these cases, many of the barbaric and horrible superstitions of the SS were judicially examined and fanatically defended by such pseudo-intellectual SS leaders as Ohlendorf."

In the official finding of guilt issued on April 8, 1948, Ohlendorf was described as a Jekyll and Hyde figure with a clearly defined dual nature. On one hand, he was known as an academic, a sociologist, a humanitarian, and a lawyer. However, he condemned himself out of his own mouth as a cold-blooded racial exterminator by admitting the murder of tens of thousands of helpless men, women, and children. Even the prosecution commended Ohlendorf for his candor and his refusal to attempt to dissemble the facts of the matter.

For all his forthrightness, it was noted that Ohlendorf was still a criminal and would be required to pay the penalty for his acts. Ohlendorf was executed by hanging on June 7, 1951, at Landsberg Fortress, the same prison in which Adolf Hitler was incarcerated following his unsuccessful 1923 Beer Hall Putsch. Three of his fellow Einsatzgruppen veterans, Erich Naumann, Paul Blobel, and Werner Braune accompanied him to the gallows.

Ohlendorf and the rest of the Einsatzgruppen leadership were multifaceted individuals who approached their assigned task of murdering the Jews of Eastern Europe from a variety of positions and diverse motivations. However, their professionalism and skill in carrying out their orders led directly to the deaths of more than a million people and the destruction of cultures that had lasted for centuries.

Chief Trial Prosecutor Benjamin Ferencz summarized Ohlendorf and the Einsatzgruppen leadership poignantly in the last sentences of the opening statement of the trial on September 29, 1947, when he said: "Death was their tool and life their toy. If these men be immune, then law has lost its meaning and man must live in fear." □

Author Lance D. Jones is an adjunct instructor of history at Casper College in Casper, Wyoming. He wishes to thank the Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and Museum and its staff for their assistance and support in conducting the research.

undeclared war

Continued from page 49

expanded its responsibility further into the South Atlantic when, on September 29, Brazil opened two of its ports, Recife and Bahia, to American ships. By the beginning of October, the U.S. Navy was fully integrated in the two-thirds of the Atlantic Ocean that was now "American." The U.S. Navy worked alongside the Canadian Navy escorting slow convoys along the Canadian coast. By October 1941, the Atlantic Fleet consisted of seven battleships, five cruisers, eight light cruisers, 87 destroyers, and four aircraft carriers, more carriers than in the entire Pacific.

On October 17, the destroyer USS *Kearny* was damaged by a torpedo off the coast of Greenland, leaving 11 dead and 24 wounded. The crew confined the flooding to the forward fire room, enabling the ship to get out of the danger zone. After power was regained in the forward fire room, *Kearny* steamed to Iceland. On October 31, the destroyer USS *Reuben James,* while escorting a convoy from Halifax, Nova Scotia, was torpedoed and sunk by *U-552* near Iceland with a loss of 115 lives. She was the first U.S. warship sunk by the Germans in the Atlantic.

On November 2, to help beef up the Atlantic Fleet, Roosevelt transferred the Coast Guard to U.S. Navy command. Such action is usually initiated after a declaration of war. By November 7, Senator Robert Taft commented, "The battle of the Atlantic is now an American undertaking." Four days later, the U.S. Navy achieved its first victory against the German Navy with the capture of the German blockade runner *Odenwald* off the coast of Brazil by the cruiser USS *Omaha* and the destroyer USS *Somers*. Also in November, the president ordered American troops to occupy Dutch Guiana by agreement with the Netherlands government in exile.

Within weeks, Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbor and Hitler's equally surprising declaration of war carried the United States into a declared war.

America's participation in an undeclared naval war in the Atlantic reaped enormous benefits toward its total war effort and helped carry Britain through its toughest two years. Due to secrecy, the importance of the undeclared war was not realized by the American people at the time, but its contribution to Allied victory was as important as any of the "real" war. □

Author James I. Marino writes from his home in Hackettstown, New Jersey.

ordnance

Continued from page 14

Swiss could mobilize some 500,000 troops. Every soldier, after serving his mandatory time in the armed forces, took all his equipment, including his rifle, home and was subject to periodic training. Individual marksmanship was especially emphasized, with nearly every town having shooting competitions on weekends, and the reservists issued both practice and ready ammunition.

The Swiss had authorized a marked increase in defense funding in 1936 and purchased weapons that they could not manufacture. They realized well, perhaps better than some larger and more powerful nations, the importance of armor and aircraft. One of the main rearmament purchases was for 100 Czech LT zv 38 tanks. Only two dozen had arrived, without the main gun yet installed, before the Germans took over Czechoslovakia and confiscated all existing tanks.

The Swiss armed their tanks with an odd 24mm gun and distributed them in three eight-tank companies, one each in support of their 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Light Brigades, but this was obviously little more than a token gesture. Although they had extensive fortifications in the Alps and could produce artillery pieces up to 150mm, their antitank arm was extremely weak. The German General Staff drew up two major plans to invade Switzerland, but both projects were fortunately dropped. Switzerland breathed a sigh of relief in 1945, but the nation was determined not to be caught in such an uncomfortable situation again.

Thus, the Hetzer was a good choice to quickly and cheaply begin to build up Swiss antitank capabilities, and its design was perfectly suited to their strictly defensive military doctrine. Additionally, the existing LT vz 38s had given them experience with running and maintaining the same automotive systems and could provide spare parts in a pinch.

The Hetzers were but a first step, and the Swiss postwar arsenal came to include exports such as the French AMX-13 and British Centurion tanks, as well as a host of infantry antitank weapons. The Swiss began building their own tanks in the early 1960s. Still, the G-13 soldiered on, with most converted to diesel engines in the early 1950s, until the last was retired in 1970. □

Author Robert Cashner resides in Philipsburg, Montana. He has previously written for WWII History *on the Boys Anti-Tank Rifle and the Japanese knee mortar.*

jaws

Continued from page 61

were exhausted, and it was necessary to give the boy intravenous fluids. The general's party boarded two Australian National Airways DC-3s for the trip to Alice Springs, where the nearest rail line was located. At the time Alice Springs was rough and primitive, more like a 19th-century Tombstone than a community located in the British realm.

MacArthur's staff flew ahead to Adelaide, but since Jean refused to board a plane again the general traveled on a special train. The train was a steam engine pulling three wooden cars, and it took 70 hours to cross the 1,028 miles of narrow-gauge track. MacArthur was becoming disillusioned because he realized he had been told gross exaggerations if not outright lies.

Earlier, Washington had assured him that there was a massive buildup of American men, equipment, and matériel in Australia. There was a buildup, but nowhere near what he had been led to expect. He was not going to immediately return to the Philippines with an army at his back, and the truth hurt. Nevertheless, he put on a brave face. When he reached Terowie Railway Station on March 20, he gave an impromptu speech stressing the fact that he had come out of the Philippines, but "I shall return."

In retrospect, Roosevelt's decision to take General MacArthur out of the Japanese trap was a wise one. MacArthur was knowledgeable about the Far East, but above all he was a good and occasionally brilliant general who was the living embodiment of the military to the American people. His death or capture would have been a psychological blow to the Allied cause, a cause already reeling from the shock of many defeats.

By the same token, MacArthur's insistence on PT-boats was foolhardy and almost reckless in the extreme. Going by PT-boat exposed the general, his family, and all his companions to unnecessary risk. The weather was bad, and they managed to avoid detection from Japanese shore batteries, surface ships, and aircraft by sheer luck. Above all the boats were worn out, dangerously in need of repair and overhaul.

If MacArthur had been lost at sea, killed, or captured, his breakout would have been a mere footnote of history, another entry in the growing list of Allied failures early in the war. But he did make it to Australia, thus providing one of the most exciting episodes of World War II. □

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

Continued from page 41

clothing, the high losses of men and equipment, the lack of heating fuel made the conduct of battle a chore," he wrote.

Striking out farther to the north and east would accomplish nothing new, and the German panzer commander knew it. "Our most important task was now the capture of Tula," he wrote in his memoirs. "Until we were in possession of this communications center and its airfield, we had no hope of continuing to advance northward or eastward."

Guderian planned for one more attempt to take the city, ordering the XXIV Motorized Corps to attack from the north and east, while the XLIII Army Corps attacked from the west. He wanted to coordinate the attack with an advance planned by the 4th Army, which was scheduled to begin on December 2 but was postponed until December 4.

Meanwhile, the German lines began to unravel as Soviet reinforcements continued to arrive. The 17th Panzer's drive on Kashira was halted by the 1st Guards Cavalry Corps on November 27. On the following day, 4th Army came under heavy attack by Western Front forces, contributing to the two-day postponement of its own planned offensive. Von Schweppenburg's troops were brought under heavy fire from Tula's artillery as they moved slowly toward their jumping-off point, and on November 29 the XLVI Motorized Corps was pushed out of Skopin.

It was the same on other sectors of Army Group Center. Last-ditch efforts to take Moscow were being met with bitter resistance and heavy losses. The wily Zhukov trickled reserves into the line like chess pieces, throwing individual divisions into the most threatened areas while holding his reserve armies back for his massive counterattack.

Because the narrow corridor occupied by von Schweppenburg's divisions made them easy artillery targets, Guderian refused to wait for the 4th Army's attack. The 3rd and 4th Panzer Divisions along with Grossdeutschland caught Boldin by surprise on December 2 and took several 50th Army advanced positions. To the east, the 31st and 296th Infantry Divisions also made some progress, striving to meet the XXIV Motorized Corps and cut off Tula from the north.

On December 3, in blizzard conditions with temperatures well below zero, the Germans cut the Tula-Serpukhov-Moscow Highway and also severed the Tula-Moscow rail line near Revyakino. As von Schweppenburg's panzers continued forward, the village of Kostrovo fell on December 4. The lead elements of the XXIV Motorized and XLIII Army Corps were now only 15 kilometers apart.

As the Germans pushed forward, Boldin galvanized his forces, furiously issuing orders for counterattacks in the threatened areas. They were not to be piecemeal, but well-coordinated strikes intended not only to stop the enemy but also to push him back. He ordered the 340th Rifle, 31st Cavalry, and 112th Tank Divisions supported by several tank and rifle regiments to hit von Schweppenburg on the flanks, forcing the Germans to retreat and reopening the Moscow-Tula Highway.

"We pulled back our troops and regrouped strike forces of mobile artillery and tanks," Boldin wrote. "We knew that the enemy was dangerously overextended, and his fuel and ammunition were running low. On the evening of 4 December, we received substantial reinforcements from the Army Strategic Reserve."

In the XLIII Army Corps sector, Brig. Gen. Gerhard Berthold's 31st Infantry Division, at the forefront of the attack, was stopped dead in its tracks by the 194th and 258th Rifle Divisions. The German 82nd Infantry Regiment reported 100 dead and 800 cases of frostbite, with other regiments of the 31st Division suffering about the same. It was the final gasp of the 2nd Panzer Army's thrust toward Moscow.

In his memoirs Guderian vividly recalled the effect that the Red Army and the Russian winter had on his men during those critical days of the attack. He had witnessed the frostbite, the frozen breech blocks on artillery and antitank guns, the panzer motors frozen too tight to turn over, and the abysmal conditions his troops were forced to fight in firsthand, and he knew the end of the Moscow campaign had come.

"On account of the threats to our flanks and rear and of the immobility of our troops due to the abnormal cold, I made the decision during the night of December 5-6 to break off this unsupported attack and to withdraw my foremost units into defensive positions along the general [river line] Upper Don-Shat-Upa," he wrote after the war. "This was the first time during the war that I had to make a decision of this sort, and none was more difficult."

It was much the same throughout Army Group Center's front. The 3rd and 4th Panzer Armies were also forced to halt their drive on Moscow, and Red Army attacks had already forced the 9th Army to go on the defensive. Operation Typhoon had shot its bolt. During the next few weeks, it was the Red Army's turn to take the offensive.

At Tula, Boldin ordered his men to prepare to annihilate the enemy. A new army, the 10th under future Marshal of the Soviet Union Filipp Ivanovich Golikov, joined Boldin for the counteroffensive. Because of the heavy losses incurred by the 50th Army while defending the Tula sector, Golikov would provide the main strike force with Boldin playing a secondary role.

They hit Guderian's troops as they were starting to pull back, running roughshod over Guderian's rear guards and creating havoc with plans for an orderly withdrawal. The 296th Infantry and 3rd Panzer Divisions were briefly able to hold ground around Tula, but within a few days Guderian had come to the conclusion that his proposed river line could not be held. Gaps were appearing all along the lines of the 2nd Panzer Army, and the retreat continued farther to the west. Except for intermittent Luftwaffe raids, Tula was out of harm's way for the rest of the war.

On December 25 Guderian was relieved of his command and transferred to the Army Officers Reserve Pool. He later served as General Inspector of Panzer Forces and was eventually made chief of the Army General Staff. Guderian died on May 14, 1954, in Schwangau, Germany.

Boldin continued to lead his 50th Army throughout the war, fighting at Rzhev, Vyazama, Orel, Mogilev, and the invasion of East Prussia, but the shining moment of his career was the defense of Tula in the critical days of November-December 1941. In April 1945 he was appointed deputy commander of the 3rd Ukrainian Front. His postwar career included the command of the 8th Guards Army and the Eastern Siberia Military District, ending in 1958 as a military consultant to the Defense Ministry Group of General Inspectors. He died in Kiev on March 28, 1965.

As the war shifted westward, the citizens and workers of Tula returned to their work. Replacements were brought in for those who had fallen during the fighting, and the armaments factories continued to turn out arms for Soviet forces during the war and into the Cold War.

Many of the soldiers and workers who defended Tula in November and December 1941 had died by the time Tula received its recognition as a Hero City, but those who remained still had intense pride in their role in holding the Germans at bay. In their minds, the defense of Tula and the blood shed in that defense had helped save Moscow. The designation of Hero City only strengthened that belief. □

Author Pat McTaggart is an expert on World War II on the Eastern Front and has contributed numerous articles on the subject to WWII History. *He resides in Elkader, Iowa.*

ORDER NOW
TO HAVE YOUR BRICK INSTALLED BY WINTER 2013.

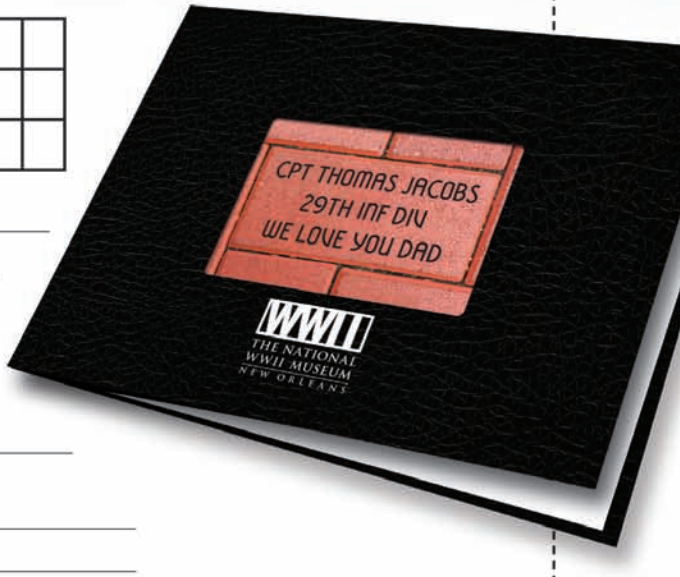
IT'S NOT JUST A BRICK. IT'S THEIR STORY.

WITH A BRICK AT THE NATIONAL WWII MUSEUM, you can create a lasting tribute to loved ones who served their country. These fathers and grandfathers, sons and daughters, friends and neighbors overcame a once-in-a-generation challenge, and they deserve a memorial that will last for generations to come. To learn more, visit **ww2brick5.org**.

WWII History

BRICK TEXT

(Please Print Clearly) 18 characters per line including spaces



Mrs. Mr. Ms. _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Telephone (Day) _____ (Evening) _____

PLEASE RESERVE MY PERSONALIZED BRICK(S)
Number _____ at $200 each. Add a Tribute Book at $50 each _____ Total $_____
Please make check or money order payable to: The National WWII Museum.

O Check/Money Order
O MasterCard O VISA
O Discover O AMEX

Card # _____ Exp. _____

Signature _____

Fax orders to 504-527-6088 or mail to: The National WWII Museum, Road to Victory Brick Program, 945 Magazine Street, New Orleans, LA 70130.

FORMS MUST BE RECEIVED ON OR BEFORE 12/31/12

WWII THE NATIONAL WWII MUSEUM

877-813-3329 x 500 | bricks@nationalww2museum.org

The National WWII Museum reserves the right to refuse to engrave any message or material that it determines to be inappropriate, such as telephone numbers, political messages and suggestive wording.

World of Tanks™ is a team-based, free, online game dedicated to armored warfare in the mid-20th century. Throw yourself into epic tank battles and dominate the world with tank supremacy!

TEEN T Mild Violence
ESRB CONTENT RATING www.esrb.org
Online Interactions Not Rated by the ESRB

WARGAMING.NET™

POWERED BY bigWORLD TECHNOLOGY

WORLDOFTANKS.COM