THE GREAT COURSES®

Topic
History

Subtopic
Modern History—World

World War II
Up Close and Personal

Course Guidebook

Keith Huxen
Henry M. Jackson Foundation

THE GREAT COURSES®

LEADERSHIP

President & CEO	PAUL SUIJK
Chief Financial Officer	BRUCE G. WILLIS
Chief Marketing Officer	CALE PRITCHETT
SVP, Marketing	JOSEPH PECKL
VP, Customer Engagement	KONSTANTINE GELFOND
VP, Technology Services	MARK LEONARD
VP, Product Development	JASON SMIGEL
VP, General Counsel	DEBRA STORMS
VP, People	AUDREY WILLIAMS
Sr. Director, Creative & Production	KEVIN BARNHILL
Sr. Director, Content Development	KEVIN MANZEL
Director, Business Operations & Planning	GAIL GLEESON
Director, Editorial & Design Services	FARHAD HOSSAIN
Director, Content Research & Alternative Programming	WILLIAM SCHMIDT
Director, Creative	OCTAVIA VANNALL

PRODUCTION TEAM

Studio Operations Manager	JIM M. ALLEN
Video Production Director	ROBERTO DE MORAES
Technical Engineering Manager	SAL RODRIGUEZ
Quality Assurance Supervisor	JAMIE MCCOMBER
Sr. Post-Production Manager	PETER DWYER
Production Manager	RIMA KHALEK
Producer	TRISH GOLDEN
Content Developer	GINA DALFONZO
Associate Producer	ABBY INGHAM LULL
Graphics Manager	JAMES NIDEL
Graphic Artist	MORIAH MCREYNOLDS
Editing Manager	OWEN YOUNG
Sr. Editor	STEVE BITTLE
Editor	CORY SIVAKOFF
Assistant Editor	CHARLES GRAHAM
Audio Engineering Manager	ED SALTZMAN
Camera Operator	RICK FLOWE
Production Assistants	LAKE MANNIKKO VALERIE WELCH

EDITORIAL & DESIGN

Writer/Editor	ERIKA ROBERTS
Graphic Designer	TIM OLABI
Sr. Editorial Associate	JENNIFER ROSENBERG
Editorial Assistant	WILLIAM DOMANSKI

Keith Huxen

Henry M. Jackson Foundation

Keith Huxen is the Korean War Oral History Project Director at the Henry M. Jackson Foundation in support of the Defense POW/MIA Accounting Agency. His work promotes the agency's mission to locate, identify, and recover the remains of fallen American service members from World War II, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, and Middle Eastern wars. He received an MPhil in American Diplomatic History and a PhD in American History from George Washington University.

Previously, Keith was the Senior Director of Research and History in the Institute for the Study of War and Democracy at The National WWII Museum. He was responsible for creating historical exhibits and galleries, including the US Freedom Pavilion: The Boeing Center; the *Road to Berlin* and *Road to Tokyo* galleries in the Campaigns of Courage: European and Pacific Theaters pavilion; and the *Arsenal of Democracy* exhibit galleries. He also curated the traveling exhibit *Manufacturing Victory*, devoted to the industrial effort on the American home front. He has led World War II tours or lectured abroad in England, France, Germany, Poland, Russia, Taiwan, and China.

Keith has taught at Arizona State University, Louisiana State University, and the University of New Orleans. His specialties include American economic and diplomatic history, modern European history, and 20th-century international history. He has published in academic journals ranging from the *Forum on Public Policy: A Journal of the Oxford Round Table* to *Collections: A Journal for Museum and Archives Professionals* and appeared in *TIME* magazine, *USA TODAY*, and *The Washington Post*. ■

Table of Contents

Introduction

Guides

Supplementary Material

World War II
Up Close and Personal

No event in human history matches the destructive horrors of World War II. The story is often told as a series of great campaigns by famous political leaders and generals, dramatic turning points, and cataclysmic events. But what were the perspectives of the ordinary, everyday people who found their daily lives engulfed in the war's global disruption? How did civilians cope when their cities were besieged or react when their nations were invaded and devastated by a foreign enemy? How did people adjust to the new military roles and obligations the times demanded of them? How were regular people changed, often permanently, by the war?

In this course, you'll learn the answers to those questions by examining the real-life, personal experiences of individuals from around the world caught up in the maelstrom of war. Each lesson is designed around a particular event or experience. While the course is designed with an overarching historical narrative from the beginning to the end of the war, it's not necessary to follow the lessons in chronological order.

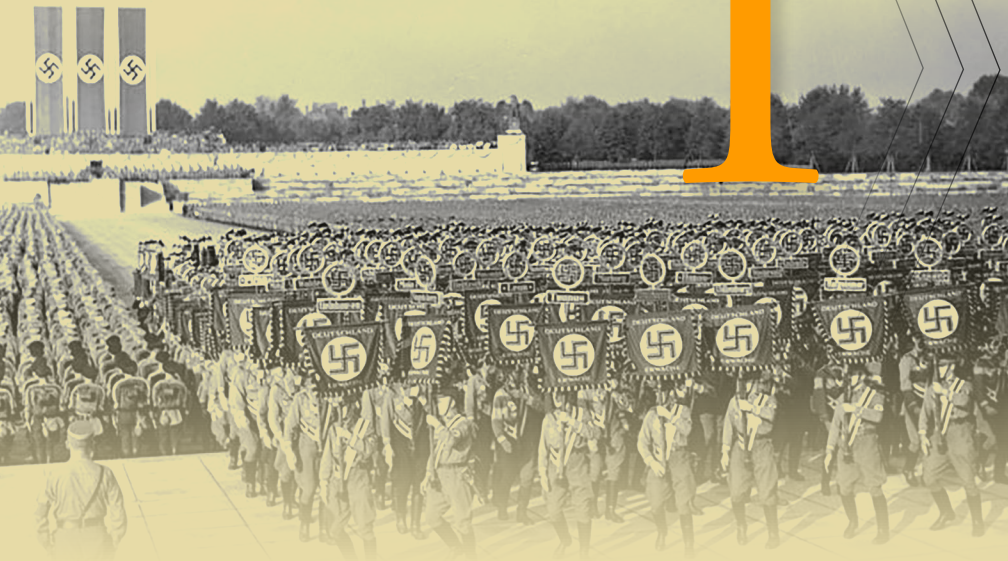
You'll examine what it was like to be there at epic events. Through the eyes of a young girl and a historian, you'll find out how Jews inside the Warsaw ghetto sought to survive and record what was happening to them. You'll learn directly from three Soviet women what it was like to starve with their families in Leningrad. And from the perspectives of a doctor and a photographer, you'll witness the destructive power of the atomic bomb at Hiroshima.

You'll learn what it took for people to master new skills and technology. What was it like to lead a panzer tank attack during a blitzkrieg? How did it feel to be an African American Tuskegee Airman serving in a racially segregated army? What was life like at sea when serving onboard an American submarine?

And you'll discover how the war forever changed the lives of ordinary people and how they sought to interpret and give meaning to the events they lived through, both great and small. You'll learn about the spiritual struggle of a young RAF pilot badly burned and wounded during the London Blitz. You'll find out how one young American naval officer was inspired to become a writer by the unique cultures he encountered far behind the battle lines in the South Pacific. And you'll learn how a few survivors of the Holocaust chose to document the evil of the Nazis so that the world would never forget.

When you complete this course, you'll have gained insights through personal testimonies about what it was like to live through an unprecedented global war. As the World War II generation passes from the scene, this course will help us to better know and understand truths about daily life during a global conflagration.

1



Hitler and the Nazi Youth

The Nazi revolution was not merely a political movement that instituted a fascist government. Instead, the aim was the creation of a new social order that reached into every aspect of the country's public and private spheres. Hitler's vision of National Socialism rejected the failed politics and humiliations suffered by Germany in the wake of defeat in World War I, and it was based on the premise of German racial superiority. To gain the objectives of the Nazi cultural revolution, Hitler had to enlist and unite all racially pure Germans to the cause.

Joining the Hitler Youth

- Youth organizations were widespread throughout Germany and the rest of the world even before World War I. In 1930, the year of the Nazi breakthrough in national elections, the Hitler Youth consisted of only 18,000 members. But when Hitler became chancellor in January 1933, the Nazis began dissolving rival youth organizations.

- By the end of the year, the Hitler Youth had expanded to 2.3 million members, 115 times its size the year before. And by the eve of World War II in 1939, virtually the entire youth of Germany—98% of a population of 8.87 million boys and girls between the ages of 10 and 18—were members of the Hitler Youth.

The Nazis did not intend for their cultural revolution to be limited to Germany. Their ultimate goal was to acquire lebensraum, or living space, through war and conquest in the east. The subsequent new order would be built on Nazi conceptions of racial supremacy, meaning they believed the elimination or enslavement of peoples they considered inferior was justified.

- Bernhard Teicher was only nine years old when he joined immediately after Hitler rose to power. In May 1933, he recalled riding on a flatbed truck with older members of the Nazi paramilitary SA Brownshirts. They drove through a working-class neighborhood—risky territory that was still populated by Social Democrats and Communists. It was common for both the roving Nazis and these other groups to fire weapons or throw rocks and bricks at political opponents.

- Besides the hiking, camping, and singing common in German youth movements, physical fitness was emphasized. In the Hitler Youth, Teicher was afforded the opportunity to ride a motorbike for the first time, and he relates the excitement of listening to a heavyweight boxing title fight between the German Max Schmeling and the American Max Baer, who was partly Jewish, in 1933. Schmeling was a Hitler favorite, but Baer won.

- There were specific requirements that Nazi Youth members had to fulfill. This began with swearing a personal oath of loyalty to Hitler. Youths also had to pass medical and physical examinations at various stages of membership. Ten-year-olds had to dive from a 10-foot-high diving board into a swimming pool as a test of courage. Alfons Heck recalled that "the pain was worth it" when he received a membership dagger inscribed with the words "Blood and Honor."
- A compulsory Hitler Youth program was established to expose every young German boy to the organization—even those who did not apply or join. When Hitler Youth recruiters visited the home of young Joachim Fest, his father turned them away. But Joachim discovered that he could not escape some organized activities. He later wrote:

  > We had to march around in a circle in the school playground in wind and rain, crawl on our stomachs, or hop over the terrain in a squatting position holding a spade or a branch in our outstretched hand.

- The overall effect of membership in the Hitler Youth was a "coarsening" of children and students, according to some criticism. The group's emphasis on military-style discipline and physical competitiveness, without intellectual growth or moral reflection, manifested itself in physical aggression and arrogance.

T4 Euthanasia Program

Mentally or physically disabled children were not candidates for membership in the Hitler Youth. As a child, Irmgard Hunt overheard her mother and aunt discuss in low voices how the Nazi health service had picked up the mentally disabled daughter of a neighbor family. She heard them whisper that the child was now dead, allegedly from a cold.

Irmgard's own parents had supported Hitler's rise to power in 1933, but they could not accept the reality that the Nazis had begun a euthanasia program, known as T4, to murder the most vulnerable members of German society. The Nazi regime displayed little or no mercy in its pursuit of racial perfection.

Nazi Ideals in German Schools

- In keeping with the total transformation of society, virtually the entire German school curriculum was altered to fit Nazi ideals. Students were taught that their primary allegiance was to the German people and, in particular, to Hitler. His photograph was hung in every classroom and saluted by the students each morning.
- Hitler issued decrees setting guidelines for the teaching of history that emphasized German heroism, nationalism, and leadership. Horst Wessel, who had participated in the failed 1923 Beer Hall Putsch and was later attacked and killed in his apartment, was now identified as a martyr to be emulated. Children were instructed to contemplate the martyr's death—and even their own deaths—in service of the state.

- Biology now focused on ideas of hygiene and cleanliness and about the importance and expansion of large families. Agricultural peasant life was lifted up as a natural ideal. Physics was taught with an emphasis on military considerations, such as ballistics, radio communications, and aerodynamics.
- Social arithmetic asked students to perform calculations such as determining how much it cost for society to take care of mentally ill or otherwise presumably undesirable persons. And race became a subtext of virtually all studies. The German language was taught in a manner that analyzed other European peoples and languages according to Nazi racial standards, and the concept of *ein Volk, ein Reich*—"one people, one state"—was traced through history and geography classes.
- Students were not taught sex education, which was deemed a parental responsibility by the Nazis. Young girls were instructed that physical health was essential for childbearing and motherhood—the supreme contribution women could make to the Reich. Homosexuality went unacknowledged, and Nazi leadership hushed up any evidence of it in the Hitler Youth camps.
- The Hitler Youth were a disruptive influence inside school and out, as their special training took them out of the classroom for many hours. The group's attitude toward traditional learning also lagged. By 1939, German employers were beginning to complain about the low academic performance of the nation's youth.

The Hitler Youth and Family

- The connection between the führer and the Hitler Youth was personal. Ursula Mahlendorf related that she understood Hitler was a father figure to her, just as she was her mother's child. Alfons Heck was proud that only the Hitler Youth of all the Nazi party organizations had the right to address Hitler with the familiar second-person pronoun *du*—although he knew no one who would actually do so.

- Through Nazi control of the Hitler Youth, Hitler also created divisions between parents and their children. First, the Nazis encouraged German children to inform their Hitler Youth leaders about critical comments made by their relatives. A nine-year-old Irmgard Hunt narrowly avoided betraying her grandfather to the Gestapo after her fanatical Nazi teacher tried to find out what the gruff grandfather thought about the war.
- One father, a veteran of the First World War, lamented his son's affiliation as a Nazi Youth, stating: "The lad has already been completely alienated from us. … Sometimes I feel as if my lad is the spy in the family." And parents like this father were powerless because Hitler imbued the Hitler Youth with a wild sense of their own power. At the 1938 Nuremberg rally, Alfons Heck recalled the unbearable excitement of standing with 80,000 people as Hitler rapturously declared before them:

  > You, my youth … are destined to be the leaders of a glorious new world order under the supremacy of National Socialism. You, my youth, never forget that one day you will rule the world!

- The end goal of the cultural revolution wrought by Adolf Hitler and the Nazis was to prepare and train an entire generation of young people to fight a world war, conquer a new empire in the east, and propagate a racially pure German nation. In pursuit of these ideals, World War II would change the daily lives of virtually everyone on the planet.

Reading

Evans, *The Third Reich in Power*.
Heck, *A Child of Hitler*.
Mahlendorf, *The Shame of Survival*.

Questions

1. What were the Hitler Youth taught to value, and what was attractive in membership? What was not taught?
2. What roles were envisioned for young girls and women in the Nazi social order?

2

Japanese Soldiers in Nanjing

The embers of the worldwide conflagration that became known as World War II were first sparked in Asia. In September 1931, the Japanese Kwantung Army sabotaged a railroad line in northeastern China in a campaign to take over the resource-rich and geographically strategic Manchuria. Four months later, Japanese planes bombed Shanghai. The next signal moment occurred on July 7, 1937, when Japanese troops clashed with Chinese defenders on the Marco Polo Bridge outside Beijing, initiating Japan's full-scale invasion of China. The events culminated in the Rape of Nanjing, which set the tone for the brutality that would sweep up millions of noncombatants across the globe over the next eight years.

Yang Dapeng

- The path from the earliest Japanese aggression in Manchuria to the gates of Nanjing six years later can be traced through the brief life of a young Chinese soldier, Yang Dapeng, and his family. Dapeng was born in 1915 a few miles from the South Manchuria Railway. He was the second of three sons. When his father died of tuberculosis, his mother moved the family to their grandfather's home in Faku.
- Dapeng and his younger brother Shu-Chin attended schools in Shenyang. Late one night, cannon fire woke the boys in their dorms. It was September 18, 1931, and the Japanese had commenced their attack on Manchuria. In the morning, the boys went to their aunt's house, where they saw Japanese troops on horseback ordering Chinese civilians around. The boys made their way safely through back alleys, becoming among the first civilian witnesses to an act of territorial aggression that would put the world on its path to World War II. This deepened Dapeng's determination to defend his country.
- In 1934, Dapeng was accepted into the Whampoa Military Academy in Nanjing. He was one of only 650 successful applicants out of more than 10,000. Convinced that war with Japan was inevitable, he became noted for his skills as a writer and orator who passionately advocated China's defense.
- Dapeng graduated on August 13, 1937—a date that marked the beginning of the Japanese assault on the city of Shanghai. Soon afterward, he was sent to defend Shanghai. He then fought alongside Nationalist Chinese forces as the Japanese drove up the Yangtze River toward Nanjing.
- In the following weeks, Dapeng was promoted to second lieutenant. He also had a chance meeting with his brother Shu-Chin on a railway car at Jiujiang, where he reassured Shu-Chin that his spirit was unbroken despite the physical hardships. It was the last time the two brothers ever saw each other.
- Dapeng was killed defending the Zhongshan Gate in the city wall of Nanjing on December 12, 1937. His body was never recovered. Shu-Chin later found out that as Chinese forces fell apart, Dapeng refused to don civilian clothes to escape the Japanese. The next day, the Japanese Kwantung Army entered Nanjing, China's southern capital, as conquerors.

Ishikawa Tatsuzô

- The Japanese magazine *Chûo Koron* sent a journalist named Ishikawa Tatsuzô to Nanjing to survey the scene. Arriving in January 1938, three weeks after the fall of the city, Ishikawa spent more than a week interviewing soldiers before returning to Japan to complete a fictionalized account based on what he'd heard.
- Ishikawa's written treatment of the soldiers, translated into English as *Soldiers Alive*, was heavily edited by the Japanese military government before publication and banned altogether on release. The government was outraged over Ishikawa's account because it portrayed casual brutality by Japanese troops against Chinese civilians, particularly women. And Ishikawa revealed the pessimistic—even nihilistic—attitudes that Japanese soldiers adopted in reaction to the brutalities of war.
- Ishikawa's portrayal of the war was clearly darker than the uplifting national narrative favored by the Japanese government. But the biggest sin of his account was probably a passage where one of the Japanese soldiers casts doubts on the entire enterprise. This passage conveys a foreboding premonition of a long, drawn-out war. And because the Chinese would survive and outlast the Japanese no matter how many people they killed, the Japanese would eventually be overwhelmed by the madness of war.
- After *Soldiers Alive* was banned by the Japanese government, Ishikawa was tried and convicted of "disturbing peace and order by describing massacres of noncombatants by Imperial Army soldiers." Ishikawa told the judge that his intention for his readers had been to replace ideas of soldier-gods with the reality of human beings at war. But after being convicted and sentenced to four months in prison with three years of probation, he recanted such views.
- Even though his novella did not discuss events within Nanjing in December 1937 and January 1938—that was forbidden by the regime—it's clear that Ishikawa's fictional account struck too close to the truth. The imperial government's preferred narrative was that Japanese soldiers were warrior-gods, inspired by their martial philosophy of Bushidō. But for those who knew what daily life had been like in Nanjing in December 1937, Ishikawa's account was mild compared to the truth of what the Japanese Imperial Army did there.

Robert Wilson

- As the Japanese approached the city in November 1937, the foreign community in Nanjing organized an International Committee for the Nanjing Safety Zone to provide refuge to civilians. The expatriates reasoned that as foreign nationals, the Japanese would not wish to harm them, and they could use their privileged positions to aid their Chinese neighbors. The International Committee also documented the looting, rape, murder, and destruction within Nanjing that the Japanese engaged in for seven weeks.
- American physician Robert Wilson bore special witness to these events. He treated Chinese patients and heard their stories of rapes and massacres taking place in the city. Throughout the rampage, Wilson wrote letters to his family back in the United States. And though he could not mail them at the time, the letters provide a running eyewitness account to the horrors of life under Japanese occupation.
- In a letter dated December 14, 1937, Wilson wrote that an estimated 150,000 to 200,000 refugees were crammed into the city's safety zone. One problem was that many thousands of Chinese troops had tossed their uniforms to try to blend into the mass. The Japanese were not fooled. They sought out young Chinese men and took them to peripheral areas around the city for mass executions.
- On December 23, Wilson reported that when the International Committee negotiated with the Japanese to get a disabled power plant back online, the committee discovered that the Japanese had shot 43 of the 54 Chinese plant workers for no reason, leaving no one to operate the plant.
- The next day, on Christmas Eve, Wilson wrote that he'd lent a friend a camera to document a trench the Japanese had filled with executed and wounded soldiers. When the tomb-like trench was not piled high enough for the tanks to drive over, neighborhood civilians were rounded up and executed to fill it.

- Three days after Christmas, Wilson wrote that the Japanese promised before members of the International Committee that Chinese soldiers would not be harmed if they came forward from the safety zone. And yet when 200 Chinese soldiers did so, the Japanese took them outside the city and used them for bayonet practice.

Conclusion

- Dr. Robert Wilson, like millions of others, understandably wanted no part of war. He saw what the Rape of Nanjing in December 1937 portended for the world's future. And the reputation for ruthlessness and fanaticism that the Japanese acquired beginning at Nanjing ultimately meant that no quarter would be given to them when they spread the war across the Pacific to the United States and its allies.
- For the Japanese, their occupation of China was a short-lived moment of euphoria. Some hoped that the fall of Nanjing meant that the Chinese Nationalist government would be forced to make peace, but they fought on under Chiang Kai-shek.
- In April 1938, the Nationalists won a battle at Tai'erzhuang that broke the image of the Japanese Imperial Army as invincible. As at Nanjing, the Chinese people were brutalized. But their spirit of resistance and sacrifice against the Japanese invaders would not waver across eight more years of continuous war.

Reading

Brook, ed., *Documents on the Rape of Nanking*.
Tatsuzô and Cipriš, trans., *Soldiers Alive*.
Yang, *Yang Dapeng*.

Questions

1. According to Ishikawa Tatsuzô, how did emperor worship affect the performance of the Imperial Japanese Army in the field?
2. What sorts of practical problems did foreigners living in Nanjing have to contend with in a city under enemy occupation?

3

Panzer Leaders Who Changed Warfare

The early days of World War II saw German attacks so fast and furious that they were known as blitzkriegs, or lightning wars. This new form of warfare centered on the tank's coming of age. A weapon that in the First World War had been a slow, lumbering behemoth used to cross the trenches was now transformed into a swift, mobile, and terrifyingly effective offensive weapon. It overran men, battlefields, and nations with alarming speed. But the men who drove Hitler's tanks had to overcome internal opposition before their victories in battle made them symbols of a seemingly unstoppable war machine.

Heinz Guderian

- After World War I's slaughter in the trenches, militaries looked for new ways to achieve results and avoid protracted, stalemated fighting that futilely bled away men and resources on landed battlefields. It was a German officer named Heinz Guderian who became the great proponent of tank warfare, laying out his original theories for tank warfare in his book *Achtung Panzer!*
- But there was resistance within the German military. Guderian argued that the critics were captives of history, still seeing fighting dominated by trenches and soldiers in "positional warfare." The critical German officers argued that tanks had already had their chance to show their value on the battlefield, and their failure to do so had permanently settled the matter. But Guderian understood that new models such as the Panzer I and Panzer II, produced in the 1930s, were much lighter, faster, and mobile vehicles.
- One other German saw the possibilities, however, and his opinion counted more than anyone's. At the opening of the 1937 automobile exhibition, Adolf Hitler said, "The replacement of muscle power by this new machine will lead to one of the mightiest technical—and therefore economic—transformations that the world has ever seen."
- Under Hitler's sponsorship, the tank's future role in warfare changed. New models such as the Panzer III and Panzer IV were developed. The first three panzer divisions that Guderian established in 1935 had more than tripled by the eve of war in 1939. Finally, younger officers in the German army were much more enthusiastic about the possibilities of tank warfare.

The Polish Campaign

- The opportunity for Guderian to prove his theories arrived when Hitler ordered Germany's invasion of Poland in September 1939. Guderian was in the first wave of the invasion, heading the 3rd Panzer Division when it crossed the Polish border on September 1.
- In his memoir, Guderian relates how his service was almost cut short when artillery fire from his own nervous troops landed 50 yards before and 50 yards behind his command car. The rattled driver drove the vehicle directly into a ditch, bending an axle. Unperturbed, the general resumed command and directed the German attack on the village of Gross Klonia.

> Guderian's ancestral German family had previously settled in this Polish village, and his grandfather was buried on the family estate there. It was the first time Guderian had ever been to Gross Klonia.

- Two days later, Britain and France declared war on Germany, opening the European phase of World War II. Two days after that, on September 5, Adolf Hitler paid Guderian and his division a surprise visit. With the destruction of almost three Polish infantry divisions and a cavalry brigade to their credit, Guderian pressed his case to Hitler that tanks had saved German lives while inflicting severe damage on the enemy. He urged Hitler to increase production of new Panzer III and Panzer IV tanks.
- The führer and the general drove until they reached the banks of the Vistula River, where the silhouetted town of Kulm appeared on the other side. Only a year and a half before, Guderian had greeted Hitler in his hometown of Linz at a moment of triumph for the führer, when Germany annexed Austria. Now, experiencing his own moment of martial glory in his own ancestral homeland, Guderian turned to Hitler and said, "In March of last year I had the privilege of greeting you in your birthplace; today you are with me in mine. I was born in Kulm."

- After Hitler left, Guderian established his headquarters in the Finkenstein Castle. The Polish campaign was victoriously concluded in October. For Guderian, this moment was perhaps the high point of his career. The rapid conquest of Poland proved his theories in action, impressed Adolf Hitler, and won him the mantle of a conqueror.

Hans von Luck

- What it was like to be a young German tank commander at the spearhead of one of Hitler's invasions can be seen in the experiences of Hans von Luck, a 28-year-old lieutenant with the German 7th Armored Reconnaissance Regiment. The Polish military put up no resistance as Luck's unit drove 15 kilometers into Poland on the first day of the war. The lack of defenses surprised him, since he believed Hitler's claims that Poland was set to invade Germany.
- By September 6, Luck reached Łódź, Poland, and began to set up headquarters in a large country home owned by an aristocratic Polish diplomat. He spent evenings with his host and their friends listening to piano recitals of Chopin punctuated by distant machine-gun fire, and he was gifted an Irish setter puppy that he named Boy and a watercolor painting by a noted Polish artist.
- On September 9, Luck gathered his gifts for the final advance on Warsaw, but his tanks saw no further action as the Luftwaffe and German artillery fire brought Warsaw to surrender on September 27. Luck's unit was moved into the 7th Panzer Division, and Luck found himself answering to a new superior officer, General Erwin Rommel, whose mastery of tank warfare and tactics both impressed and inspired confidence.

The French Campaign

- The successful use of tanks on the battlefield in Poland led to planning for an even greater operation: the invasion of Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France. On paper, the Germans were outgunned. The French tanks were better armored and had bigger guns, but Guderian was confident that the Germans' superior speed and tactical understanding of how to use tanks on the battlefield would be decisive.

- On the morning of May 10, 1940, Luck advanced into the Ardennes in Belgium. Within only two days, his unit had achieved its objective, reaching the town of Dinant on the Meuse River. On May 14, Luck and the 7th Panzer Division took up the attack in coordination with infantry under Rommel's personal direction. Luck and his fellow tank commanders were spurred forward through the bridgehead at Dinant, and they opened a breach in the French lines more than a mile and a half deep. They reached the Sambre River so quickly that they were able to capture the bridges intact.
- German victory was near, but the war was not over. Rommel's aggressive tank warfare tactics resulted in the death of Luck's commander, Major Erdmann. When Rommel saw Erdmann was dead, he promoted Luck on the spot to the second youngest company commander in the battalion. The British managed to evacuate more than 338,000 men from Dunkirk in the following days, but the fighting went on.

- On June 9, Rommel reached the Atlantic shoreline, and Luck encountered a new role that some tank commanders had to master: diplomacy. At the coastal resort town of Fécamp, France, he found two British destroyers in the harbor. He ordered the mayor to surrender, falsely claiming the town was surrounded. The mayor refused his request.

- When another emissary from the mayor arrived, Luck ordered that the town's casino, town hall, and monastery—where he knew the town's famous Benedictine liqueur was produced—would not be hit. To seem stronger than they were, Luck ordered German 88-mm guns to open fire at noon, taking special care to shoot at the radio station and the two British destroyers. The destroyers retreated after one suffered a hit, and a British bomber was coincidentally shot down, its crew taken prisoner.

When Luck visited the monastery to make certain no damage had been done there, the abbot offered to give every man under Luck's command a bottle of liqueur.

- Luck's highly mobile division was next sent to Cherbourg in Normandy, and then south to Bordeaux. He was in Bordeaux managing refugees when the French campaign ended by an armistice signed on June 22, 1940. Luck, now a captain, found yet another duty that some tank commanders had to master: civil administration. With the surrender of the city, he decided issues regarding the collection of arms, passes, available roads, rationing of fuel, and a town curfew.

Conclusion

- Hitler's charging panzer commanders had conquered a vast empire from the shorelines of the Atlantic all the way to the Vistula River, the new boundary between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. But the next blitzkrieg was different.

- When Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, General Heinz Guderian and Captain Hans von Luck were among 3 million Nazi troops hurled against the Red Army. Once again, the Wehrmacht achieved surprise and rolled deep into enemy territory, taking hundreds of thousands of prisoners.

- But ultimate victory lay thousands of kilometers away. Only when Leningrad, Stalingrad, and Moscow fell could the war be won. German fuel supply lines stretched taut. In August 1941, General Guderian was called from commanding panzers in the invasion's southern prong to once again meet with Adolf Hitler. Debating whether Moscow or the Ukraine should now be the primary target, they argued over the resources needed to conduct tank operations.
- Citing Guderian's 1937 estimate in *Achtung Panzer!* that the Russians possessed 10,000 tanks, Hitler astonished the general with his acid conclusion: "If I had known that the figures for Russian tank strength that you gave in your book were in fact the true ones, I would not—I believe—ever have started this war."
- For long years to come, German tankers and soldiers would bear the burdens of Adolf Hitler's reckless judgments on the front lines of brutal, attritional battles that only ended with Soviet tanks in the streets of Berlin. The failed German blitzkrieg into the Soviet Union paved the road to the Final Solution and the killing of more than 9 million innocents, by some estimates, in Nazi concentration camps.

Reading

Guderian, *Achtung Panzer!*
———, *Panzer Leader*.
Von Luck, *Panzer Commander*.

Questions

1 How did the innovative use of tanks by Germany in World War II ensure that World War I would not be repeated?

2 How was the German invasion of the Soviet Union in Operation Barbarossa bound to be different than their previous invasions of Poland and western Europe?

4

Jews inside the Warsaw Ghetto

In September 1939, Poland disappeared as a political entity, consumed by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, and the Polish capital of Warsaw suffered almost complete physical annihilation. But wartime Warsaw became a gateway to darker events, some even more unfathomable to residents than the defeat and destruction of their city. To reside in Warsaw during the war was to live amid a constant state of disintegration, destruction, and death. We can see some glimpses of daily life in the walled-off Warsaw ghetto through the eyes of a historian and a teenage girl.

Emanuel Ringelblum and Mary Wattenberg

- Emanuel Ringelblum was a teacher and activist in the city's Jewish schools, social groups, and labor politics. His knowledge of past anti-Semitism, coupled with his reverence for historical preservation, inspired him in October 1939 to begin a secret archive that he called the Oneg Shabbat. Ringelblum recruited others to gather information and began to write down notes on what he heard was happening in Warsaw and the rest of Poland.
- At virtually the same time, 15-year-old Mary Wattenberg began a new entry in her diary with a personal dedication to record her life under occupation. Her first entry was on her birthday—October 10, 1939. She wrote that she felt "old and lonely" from being at home, observing: "Everyone is afraid to go out. The Germans are here."
- So far as we know, the historian and the young diarist never met. But they both employed precautions and secrecy from the start in case they were discovered. The Germans were referred to as "they" and were not identified as Nazis or the enemy. Mary did not write down the names of persons she knew, but instead used their initials. Ringelblum recognized that the Germans would destroy the archive as evidence against their crimes, so he stowed away his documents in metal boxes and milk cans.
- Their fates as Warsaw Jews began to come into focus when the Germans constructed walls around the quarantined Jewish Quarter beginning in September 1940. The next month, 80,000 Christians living in 1,500 homes on approximately 100 square city blocks were ordered out so that 140,000 Jews could be condensed into the planned ghetto.
- On November 15, the Warsaw ghetto was sealed off with a Jewish police force guarding the inside and a German militia outside. Teenaged Mary Wattenberg observed that Jewish masons completed the walls under the supervision of German soldiers. The ghetto became extremely crowded as the Nazis ultimately crammed more than 400,000 people into fewer than 1,000 acres. In July 1940, a German regulation required that at least four people share a room in the ghetto, and that number more than doubled by 1942.

Starvation and Disease

- With so many people living in such close proximity, the specter of disease stood right next to that of starvation. The realities of acquiring food became more complicated than rising prices and limited supplies. As in life before the German occupation, when wealth determined social position, money and resources provided wealthy Jews with a competitive edge for survival. And with people in the ghetto willing to pay for food and other services, smuggling was required to survive. It even provided some limited prosperity to some.
- The Germans discovered that Jewish masons were leaving loose bricks in the ghetto walls to pass through food and articles and even attempt escape. They shut the breaches down, but the Jews still found ways to pass small bags of food through sewer pipes. And the basements of bombed-out homes at the edges of the ghetto were used for tunnels through which smuggling flowed.
- The Nazis granted concessions to some Jewish firms in the ghetto. Both Ringelblum and Wattenberg were deeply critical of one of the firms, Kohn-Heller, which was rumored to have bribed its way to a monopoly position for food supplies. The firm brought in decayed fish that cost them only one Polish zloty and then charged six or seven zlotys for it. In this way, the availability of edible food was a continuous problem.
- Given that people with weakened bodies were in close contact with each other amid unsanitary conditions, disease was inevitable. In summer 1941, a typhus epidemic broke out. Overcrowded hospitals soon had no beds available. And an active black market trade in anti-typhus serums favored those who had the financial means to acquire medicines.
- In her diary entry of July 29, Mary Wattenberg noted that 200 people had died the day before of typhus. By August, there were more than 6,000 cases in apartments and another 900 in the hospitals. Still, Ringelblum wrote, people didn't visit relatives in the hospitals or graveyards anymore. He noted, "There is a marked, remarkable indifference to death, which no longer impresses. One walks past corpses with indifference."

Efforts to Live Normal Lives

- Perhaps the most important element to understand about daily life in the Warsaw ghetto is how horror and despair existed side by side with the attempts of ghetto inhabitants to live normal lives.
- Mary Wattenberg described how the patrons of the Café Sztuka dressed up to discuss fashion at elegant tables and place settings. And the Bajka Café created a "beach" area with deck chairs, where bathing-suit clad patrons sunned themselves. But she also saw people starving in the streets, even lying down to die when hunger overcame their strength.
- Mary often visited cafés to perform with a theatrical group organized through her school. Her art class hired starving people as models, paying them a few pennies to pose. She noted that many models closed their eyes while posing, giving them the appearance of corpses.
- Students formed educational circles and often gathered in cold basements to study subjects forbidden by the Nazis. Languages were an important element of resistance. Participants often spoke Polish, English, or French, but Yiddish and especially Hebrew generated tremendous interest among the students. The educational circles often read underground resistance newspapers which spread throughout the ghetto.
- Traditional comforts including humor, love, and reading, inspired hope for the future amid the problems of the present. Although the Nazis had forbidden Jews to marry, as early as November 1939, Mary Wattenberg related with zest and trepidation how she and other guests attended a secret Jewish wedding. And she noted in her diary that despite the ban, marriages were actually increasing. She enjoyed teenage romances, ultimately rejecting one boy because she suspected that his superior grooming came from his father doing business with the Nazis.

Mass Deportation

- On September 22, 1941, Mary passed a crowd of young Jewish men awaiting deportation to a labor camp. A policeman suddenly pulled her into a doorway. At that moment, a bullet struck a man where she'd been standing. The incident made her late for curfew, which was a death sentence if she was caught on the streets. Finally arriving safely at home, she reflected on the young men she'd seen earlier: "I see before me the thousands of young Jews standing like sheep before a slaughter house."
- Those young men never returned. Their destination was whispered throughout the ghetto to be an extermination camp, where they would all be murdered. On May 8, 1942, Mary Wattenberg recorded the prediction of a Jewish police captain that soon everyone in the ghetto would be killed. She reasoned in her diary that with half a million people living in the ghetto, "to exterminate such a number of people seems impossible, inconceivable."

- Unfortunately, it was not inconceivable. On July 22, a German order was issued for a mass deportation from the Warsaw ghetto "to the East." By the end of September, 75% of the Warsaw ghetto Jews were gone. And by December 1942, fewer than 10% remained.
- Mary Wattenberg was not among the departures. Instead, she found herself in an enviable position. She'd been born in Poland, but her mother was from New York and had an American passport. Just days before the deportation order, the Germans ordered all foreign citizens residing in the ghetto to be interned at Warsaw's Pawiak prison. The family was told they would spend three days at Pawiak "and then be sent for exchange to America."
- Mary and her family were held at Pawiak for six months. From their cell windows, the family saw more than 300,000 Jews depart the ghetto for the death camp at Treblinka. Rumors swirled about machines and steam used for mass murder. On January 18, 1943, Mary and her family were released from prison and sent to a camp in Vittel, France.

Conclusion

- Emanuel Ringelblum buried his Oneg Shabbat archive in the summer of 1942 and spring of 1943. And in April 1943 he was smuggled out of the ghetto before the remaining Jews fought the Germans in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, which the Germans brutally crushed. Ringelblum survived and hid in the ruins of the ghetto with his wife and son. But the Gestapo discovered them in a basement along with 35 others. They were executed on March 7, 1944.
- Mary Wattenberg's family was sent to Lisbon on March 1, 1944, as part of a prisoner exchange. From there, they sailed to the United States, reaching New York on March 15. She participated in a ceremony commemorating the one-year anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, and with the help of a journalist and fellow Jewish refugee from Europe named S. L. Shneiderman, she began to translate the 12 small notebooks that contained her diary into English.

- Writing under the name Mary Berg to protect the Jewish survivors back home, she published *Warsaw Ghetto: A Diary* in February 1945. The fall of the Third Reich was still three months away. Mary's diary was the first eyewitness testimony published in English testifying to the horror of daily life under the Third Reich.
- A little more than a year and a half later, in September 1946, 10 metal boxes of the Oneg Shabbat archive were dug up in the ruins of the Warsaw ghetto. In December 1950, two more rubber-sealed milk cans were dug up in the same cellar, at 68 Nowolipki Street. And Ringelblum reportedly hid part of the archive in a third location, but it has never been found.

Reading

Berg, *The Diary of Mary Berg*.
Ringelblum, *Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto*.

Questions

1 What sort of daily life incidents did historian Emanuel Ringelblum's secret archive document in the Warsaw ghetto, and why was this important?

2 What experiences that teenager Mary Wattenberg wrote about in her diary were most interesting to you? What did you think of her efforts to live a normal life while under Nazi occupation?

5

The "Small Acts" of the French Resistance

Germany's blitzkrieg into western Europe, launched in May 1940, resulted in the complete and total defeat of the French army in six weeks. As the German army approached Paris, a massive exodus occurred. More than 8 million people clogged the roads to escape the invaders. But with the Germans seemingly triumphant everywhere, city refugees were at the mercy of French peasants in the countryside. Daily life in France meant confrontation with shocking and complete military defeat, Nazi occupation and rule, and deep national shame. And for some, it meant resistance.

Robert de La Rochefoucauld

- Daily life for resisters was dominated by the constant danger from German soldiers as well as danger of betrayal by collaborators. It was stunning how quickly—and eagerly—many French got on with life in the wake of defeat.
- The aristocratic Rochefoucaulds were forced to allow German officers to occupy half their family château, Villeneuve. But at least they were not dispossessed. Still, 17-year-old Robert was appalled at the apparent willingness of many of his fellow countrymen to accept defeat, and he felt himself in the minority of opinion that a fight must be carried on.

For less wealthy French families, the most immediate and pressing problems of occupation were rationing and nutrition. The burden often fell most heavily on women, who navigated a complex system of ration cards to feed families, wash clothes, and warm homes with reduced supplies of food, soap, and fuel.

- Robert learned he had been denounced when a friendly mailman showed his mother an anonymous letter. The letter claimed that Robert had voiced support for de Gaulle—which was true enough—but also claimed he was a terrorist. He only found out because the mailman, in a small act of resistance, was secretly steaming open all letters addressed to the secret police.
- Robert fled to Britain, where he hoped to join de Gaulle's Free French Forces. Instead, he was selected by the British Special Operations Executive for training as a commando—a professional soldier and killer. After learning to kill, pick locks and safes, parachute, use aliases, and survive torture, Robert became one of seven graduates from 30 candidates to go back to France. The British even provided him with cyanide pills to commit suicide if necessary.

- In 1943, Robert returned to France to aid the resistance network established by Marie-Madeleine Fourcade. He was in the Yonne region of France when German intelligence moved to crush the resisters there beginning that September. With no means to establish the trustworthiness of the peasants around him, Robert hid in a barn in the woods as his contacts within Fourcade's network were betrayed and killed all around him. One evening, he woke to find himself surrounded by the Milice, the Vichy secret police, and Nazi intelligence men. Robert knew that he had been betrayed but never discovered the source of the betrayal.
- Robert was imprisoned and tortured at Auxerre, where the Nazis used waterboarding and bludgeons, filed teeth, and pulled nails with pliers, all the while withholding medical care. While being driven to his execution in a field near Auxerre prison, he surprised his guards and escaped from the back of the truck, running through fields and eventually leading the Germans on a dramatic chase in a stolen car.
- As a highly trained professional soldier, Robert became a legendary resister. In a later instance, he killed three Germans to escape imprisonment and afterward eluded the Germans by disguising himself as a nun. But most who resisted the Germans did so in more subdued ways and endured daily stresses for actions that, though less dramatic, were every bit as dangerous.

Stephen Grady

- Stephen Grady lived in the small village of Nieppe in northern France, directly in the path of the invading German army. His English father had served as a soldier in World War I and took care of Nieppe's military cemetery.
- After the Germans overran Nieppe, teenaged Stephen Grady took over his father's job in the cemetery. He began hiding weapons there for the resistance. Stephen was constantly on the lookout and faced several near-misses when Wehrmacht soldiers visited the graves of dead Germans from World War I. Once, he even hid the weapons stash in a latrine.

- But an act of resistance that was really nothing more than an immature prank landed Stephen in trouble with the Gestapo. At dawn on June 5, 1941, Stephen and his friend Marcel Lombard gathered souvenirs from the wreckage of a German Messerschmitt fighter plane that had been downed in a potato field. On the side of the plane, Stephen wrote: "Long live the English Airman who shot down this filthy Kraut."
- A nearby German patrol quickly picked up Stephen and Marcel exiting the field. Without trial, recourse, or notification to their parents, the two boys were jailed for three months for the crime of graffiti. In prison, Stephen learned how to mentally contend with the threats German guards made against his sisters, how to sniff out informers, and how to put up with bad food, rats, and fleas. He learned to control his emotions when English airmen were executed in the prison, and he endured interrogations and physical abuse before being freed.
- Stephen's three months in prison deepened his commitment to the resistance. He performed actions which he knew were risky, such as throwing nails on roads ahead of German truck convoys. But small acts of violence and terror were often the only paths open for resisters to take in extreme situations. The realities of occupation and war were stripping away what was left of Stephen's naïveté and innocence.
- After the order came from a superior in the resistance, teenaged Stephen Grady personally shot and killed a German officer while the German was in a pub. He had to go into hiding and was only able to return to Nieppe after a Pole who frequented the pub was blamed for the murder. Stephen learned the innocent man was deported to the east and most likely murdered in a German concentration camp.

Lucie Aubrac

- The world of the resistance was filled with aliases, false identification, and code names to protect and insulate the resisters from German and Vichy enemies. Deep friendships between resisters were frowned on because they might betray comrades under torture.

- Despite this, Lucie Aubrac became good friends with two forgers in Lyon named Jean and Pierre. The communist resistance cells were much more disciplined about secrecy. But Lucie knew Jean's last name, and she knew Pierre by his address. Furthermore, since she and her husband Raymond lived under their real names, the two forgers knew exactly who they were.
- Occupation and war meant that resisters had to navigate through a world of secrets, and sometimes trust had to be risked. After Raymond was picked up by the Germans and imprisoned in Lyon, he made contact through a cellmate who was released. He arranged a subterfuge, getting Lucie to meet him in the back of a bookstore under the pretext of selling her history books.
- When the man told her Raymond had sent him, she was mistrustful. Then the man told her things that only she and Raymond knew, such as details about their wedding and honeymoon, her favorite aperitif, and a story about a dead goose. The man even produced Raymond's wedding ring. Lucie was persuaded because she recognized that her husband clearly trusted this intermediary.
- While Raymond was imprisoned in Lyon, he was tortured. But like Robert de La Rochefoucauld, he did not break—but he said it was because he feared what would happen to his wife, Lucie, and his fellow resisters if he did. But since he did not break, Raymond was sentenced to be executed. It was then that Lucie, who was pregnant, organized a daring plan.
- She went in person to the prison to appeal to a Gestapo officer there, invoking an obscure French law known as marriage in extremis, whereby an expectant mother could quickly marry to give the child a legal father in the event of the father's expected death. Her request was granted, but it meant that Raymond would have to be transferred to another facility. Lucie and a gang of resisters intercepted the truck he was in, killing the German guards and freeing Raymond.
- Still in hiding later, Lucie and Raymond were horrified when a fellow resister informed them that the Nazis had discovered that their own two-year-old son was hidden in a children's home in another town.

Fellow resisters rushed to get to the boy first. Lucie and Raymond vowed that if the Nazis captured him, they would commit suicide to create a chance that the Nazis would spare their child.

- But the nightmare was averted as their fellow resisters got there first, and their son was rescued. After that close call, the Aubracs knew they had to get out of France. The family escaped on a clandestine flight to London in February 1944. A few days later, Lucie gave birth to a daughter.

Conclusion

- Paris was liberated on August 25, 1944. Robert de La Rochefoucauld was fighting in Bordeaux then and did not share in the jubilation. Instead, what caught his attention as the Germans withdrew was how rapidly the town squares and cafés filled up with celebrating French soldiers. Robert was somewhat sarcastic, noting, "The heroes were surely tired, but why were so many of them here, when the danger had disappeared?"
- Only 2% of the French population actively participated in resistance activities during the war. Stephen Grady, like Robert de La Rochefoucauld, felt sickened when he witnessed the flood of tricolors and uniforms among his fellow French, "as if they had been fighting for freedom all these years." At the same time, he and his friend Marcel were stunned when they learned about the vengeance taken against French women accused of sleeping with German soldiers. Marcel said to Stephen, "The war has made us hate ourselves."
- There are competing legacies of the French resistance. One is a mythical version created by Charles de Gaulle after the war of a unified and defiant nation, in which all French men and women resisted. The more truthful version included extraordinary and heroic acts of risk, sacrifice, and resistance by a minority who often felt disillusioned with their countrymen at the time. They became bitter with the Gaullist myth after the war.

Reading

Aubrac, *Outwitting the Gestapo*.
Grady, *Gardens of Stone*.
Kix, *The Saboteur*.
Werth, *33 Days*.

Questions

1. What was the most dangerous threat to members of the French resistance, and what could members do to negate it?
2. Based on this lesson, what are the most popular myths surrounding the French resistance?

6

A Child and a Pilot in the London Blitz

After the fall of France in 1940, Britain faced the Nazi war machine alone. London encountered an ordeal of fire as German air forces battered the outnumbered Royal Air Force and terror-bombed civilians as prelude to an invasion. Through three very different persons—a Jewish child from London's East End, a bureaucrat performing an unglamorous desk job in the besieged city, and a young Oxford student who flew against Hitler's Luftwaffe—we can glean insights into the social and personal changes wrought by the London Blitz.

David Merron

- On September 4, 1939—the day after the British Parliament declared war on Nazi Germany—the American journalist Edward Murrow broadcast that 600,000 people had moved out of London without incident. Evacuation plans removed children from London to the countryside in anticipation that the skies would fill with German bombers. In his next broadcast, Murrow reported, "For six days I've not heard a child's voice. That's a strange feeling." But evacuated children were already writing letters home to their parents.
- A social and cultural collision began as poor urban children—often ethnic minorities—came to live in great country mansions, villages, and small residences of rural England. The results could be jarring. Along with his sister, Rita, eight-year-old David Merron was evacuated from the Jewish working-class community of London's East End to a country village near Aylesbury in central England. His confidence melted away as he realized he would be confronting unfamiliar situations without his parents.
- David had promised his father that he would maintain Jewish customs while away. But he and his sister were given to the care of the parish priest, who was in charge of assigning billets. Initially unsettled by being in the presence of a Christian authority figure for the first time, David was further frightened by the large crucifixes in the rectory. His father had told him it was a sin to gaze on the image of Christ.
- The priest succeeded in placing David and his sister in the home of a young couple, the Clarks. But culture shocks continued when Mrs. Clark served pork sausages at dinner that night, and David and his sister broke down in embarrassment and tears. Mrs. Clark, also frustrated, cried that she had no way of knowing the dietary customs of the refugee children to whom she'd opened her home.
- In early June 1940, the British Expeditionary Force at Dunkirk miraculously survived a retreat back across the English Channel from France. Dunkirk marked a turning point. It was the moment when World War II became a real war for the British. They realized defeat was perilously near.

- With the school year ended and no bombs yet falling in London, David returned to the city for the summer. In addition to the rising prices for sweets, he discovered that many people he'd known in his old neighborhood had moved because they feared that the docks of the East End would be a German military target. The German air force, the Luftwaffe, had until then focused on strictly military targets. But failing to break those bases, Adolf Hitler ordered an intensive bombing against London itself. And beginning on September 7, 1940, German bombers attacked London every day for nearly two months.
- In the first week of September, David and his mother survived a near-miss while in their landlord's makeshift bomb shelter. The next morning, his parents argued over whether David should stay in the city. Later, on their way home from an outing, air-raid sirens sounded, and David and his mother went into a public shelter in a cellar beneath a large warehouse. David was separated from his mother in the crowd, but a policeman reunited them.
- As they emerged above ground, the warehouse was on fire, and David and his mother dashed through the streets. They made their way over broken glass and under burning wood and cloth floating in the air to another shelter in an alleyway. Here, after the all clear was given, David's mother told him that she was taking him back to the country immediately.

Hector Bolitho

- When the war began, the novelist and biographer Hector Bolitho resumed his diary. Commissioned as an intelligence officer with the air ministry in London, Bolitho was a compulsively productive writer who recorded wartime life for more than two years. Bolitho was a unique observer of the London Blitz not only because of his writing skills and intelligence work but also because of his perspective as a native New Zealander. He'd lived in London for nearly 20 years before the war, but the Blitz made him more conscious of being an outsider.

- Working at the air ministry in September 1940 meant being under falling German bombs every night. Lying fearfully in bed each night, Bolitho envisioned bombs descending straight at him. One night, after a bomb landed outside, he rushed through the streets in a panicked state of mind. Finally, the fear passed out of him as if a fever had broken. He observed: "I simply fought those bloody bombs with my mind."
- In late December, Bolitho watched London's flaming skyline. He learned that vast stocks of his 20 published books had been destroyed in his publisher's burned warehouse. Despite the financial loss, Bolitho wrote, "I don't really feel very much about it." He thought that people were more fearful at the start of a war, before they'd realized actual losses to their homes, careers, bank accounts, and personal respectability.
- Bolitho marveled at the changes to himself and others caused by the war. He felt people expressed fewer inhibitions and more tolerance for small inconveniences than they had before the war. Daily inconveniences made people appreciate what he called "small luxuries." After going three months without savoring a lemon, he shared it when he did get one, enjoying the spectacle of a waiter from the Savoy solemnly carrying the half lemon on a salver to his friend.

Richard Hillary

- From July to October 1940, German planes filled the skies over Britain in the first great air battle in history. This became known as the Battle of Britain. It was won by the outnumbered young British pilots who fought off the Luftwaffe. By controlling the air above the English Channel, they denied the Germans any chance of invading.
- A young pilot whose spiritual life was transformed by Britain's desperate hour was Richard Hillary, who had grown up among Britain's elite. Like so many of the privileged youth of their generation and class, when war broke out, Hillary did not disagree when his pacifist friend David Rutter declared that "modern patriotism" was a "false emotion." Hillary described his motivation to be a fighter pilot as better pay, better food, and a moral—almost knightly—method of killing.
- Hillary projected a sense of cynical, worldly sophistication. He often asked fellow pilots why they were fighting the war and enjoyed eviscerating their moral or religious reasons. He declared his cause to be entirely selfish: He planned to make use of his experiences after the war to become a writer. He was not moved even when he returned to Oxford and visited the empty rooms in Trinity College formerly occupied by friends who had died or been taken prisoner on the beaches of Dunkirk.
- Then, on September 3, Hillary shot down a German Messerschmitt fighter plane over the English Channel. Moments after his first kill, the cockpit of his own Spitfire burst into flames from enemy fire. Hillary fell unconscious out of the spiraling plane. When he came to, he pulled the ripcord on his parachute and descended into the water. A lifeboat from the seaside town of Margate in southeast Britain rescued him.
- Hillary later awoke at the Royal Masonic Hospital with burns covering his face and hands. He became a member of the revolutionary plastic surgeon Dr. Archibald McIndoe's Guinea Pig Club, for months undergoing extensive reconstructive surgery to his hands and face. His eyelids and upper lip were replaced in their entirety. During his recovery, Hillary learned about the deaths of more friends, pilots, and Oxford mates, but his emotional indifference to others continued.

- One night, Hillary returned to London and was sipping beer at the George and Dragon Tavern when a bomb struck the house next door. When he uncovered a woman from the home's rubble, Hillary saw she still tightly held her child in an unwavering, protective clasp. Then the dying woman looked at the disfigured pilot and said to him, "I see they got you, too."
- Hearing these words, Richard Hillary's spiritual world changed. He felt the loss of dead friends, companions, and people his life had only grazed. He fully understood the cause for which they had given their lives. In 1942, he wrote and published his book *The Last Enemy* to share their story and his journey to victory over his self.
- Despite limited dexterity in his hands, Hillary resolved to fly again. And he did. But he was killed on January 8, 1943, when his plane crashed on a night-training flight. He was only 23, and his life's story still casts light on the social changes and spiritual values Londoners embodied in daily life under the Blitz.

Reading

Bolitho, *War in the Strand*.
Hillary, *The Last Enemy*.
Merron, *Goodbye East End*.

Questions

1 What major social changes and class challenges came with the London Blitz?

2 Winston Churchill said of the Royal Air Force pilots in the London Blitz, "Never have so many owed so much to so few." What impressed or surprised you most in learning of Richard Hillary's wartime experiences?

7

The Besieged at Leningrad

On June 22, 1941, Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union with three army groups. Army Group North rapidly advanced toward Leningrad on the Baltic Sea. After severing the last road into the city on September 8, a German communiqué announced, "The iron ring around Leningrad has been closed." On September 22, with Leningrad already encircled, Adolf Hitler decided to starve the city into submission. Conditions rapidly deteriorated as the siege and the freezing Russian winter commenced. We can understand what daily life was like inside the ring of besieged Leningrad through the eyes and diaries of three Russian women: Elena Kochina, Elena Skrjabina, and Lena Mukhina.

Evacuation Orders

- Sixteen-year-old Lena Mukhina was first alerted to Germany's invasion and the challenge of war on spotting six antiaircraft guns in the city's Victims of the Revolution Square. She wrote on June 23, 1941: "As of today the city has started to look different." For her, the immediate consequence of war was that she and her schoolmates were sent out to paper over windows, carry planks, and haul sand for fire prevention.
- On June 25, Elena Skrjabina reported "It is only the fourth day of war and the normal, everyday routine has been upset." The very next day, Skrjabina learned that an evacuation order for all children from Leningrad was in effect. Thinking of her youngest son, Yura, she declared, "The idea of separating from [him] is so horrible to me that I am ready to do anything to keep him. I have decided to defy the order."
- The resilient and cooperative spirit of Leningraders was evident as virtually the entire citizenry mobilized for the city's defense. But darker forces were also evident. As the Germans drove closer, the Stalinist state feared and searched for inner threats. Elena Kochina wrote that roused suspicions caused a "spy-mania" to break out in the city. And Elena Skrjabina's youngest son was almost arrested as a German spy. Only when she produced her husband's military certificate and papers that proved the boy was too young to hold a passport did the Soviet authorities relent.
- As the German Army Group North closed in on Leningrad, the two mothers Elena Kochina and Elena Skrjabina were faced with a choice: flee or stay? Kochina's infant daughter was suffering from diarrhea and fever, so she initially hesitated to try to leave Leningrad. Then she realized it would not be possible. On August 25, she wrote: "The evacuation has been broken off. I am left in Leningrad!"
- She was not alone in lamenting her choices. Elena Skrjabina dithered for weeks, hoping that the Red Army would halt the German advance. On August 23, she wrote: "Leningrad is surrounded, and we have been caught in a mousetrap. What have I done with my indecision?"

- On September 8, the Germans cut off the last road into the city of more than 3 million residents. Leningrad was now trapped, ringed in by the Baltic Sea to the west, the Finnish border to the north, Lake Ladoga to the east, and German forces to the south. The ring would not be broken for 900 days.

Malnutrition and Famine

- Hitler's directive of September 22 ordered the German Army Group North to "erase [Leningrad] from the earth by means of artillery fire of all caliber and continuous bombardment from the air," but the ruthless and implacable German attacks had begun as soon as the city was encircled.
- The threat of malnutrition and famine now immediately threatened the city and its inhabitants. An unprecedented ordeal began. The daily bread ration was lowered to 250 grams on September 15. Bartering for potatoes and vegetables was filled with underlying urgency.
- In an understated but heartbreaking diary entry on September 27, Elena Kochina recounted bringing her infant daughter, Lena, to the hospital each day for a daily ration of milk. The baby eagerly drank the three and a half ounces allotted to her. But each time she held her little hands out for "more, more, more," none was forthcoming.

- Later that fall, bread rations were again reduced, with 250 grams available to manual workers but only 125 for white-collar workers, wives, and children. And not only was food scarce, with people waiting in long queues for hours, but existing supplies lacked much nutritional value.
- Elena Kochina wrote that the bread was "heavy, sticky, and damp." To supplement her family's diet, she noted that "we've learned to make doughnuts out of mustard, soup out of yeast, hamburgers out of horseradish, and gelatin out of joiner's glue."
- In November 1941, Elena Skrjabina recounted rumors that human flesh was being incorporated into sausages in the market. Her husband warned her that "children were the first to disappear" and to not let their youngest son wander anywhere alone.

The Russian Winter

- As if starvation was not threat enough, an extremely harsh winter descended on Leningrad. In the first week of December 1941, Elena Kochina recorded a temperature of 22 degrees below zero. In city apartments, water turned to ice almost instantly. Ink wells froze in school classrooms. And deep snows interfered with trams on the street. All the while, people wore coats and boots to bed, all without washing.
- Adding to the depressed state of the city was the complete darkness of living without electricity or gas. The residents needed firewood for heating whatever meager meals they had, so they could not burn the wood for mere warmth and comfort. Boarded-up windows kept heat in and light out.
- Lice bred in the apartments and covered the outer clothes of people in the streets. Elena Kochina noted in February 1942 that she had not bathed in three months. And although there was a public bath where men and women washed together, it was not modesty that kept her from going there but fatigue.
- And there was always the deepening oppression of starvation. Hunger drove people to steal, even from those closest to them. It divided husbands from wives and mothers from daughters.

When the siege began, Elena Kochina's husband Dima, an engineer by trade, brought his rations home to give to his wife. But Elena also realized that it was Dima who was eating a sack of millet that she'd acquired for their infant daughter. When she caught him in the act, her anger passed as she realized he could not help himself.

- Dima began to steal bread by lancing loaves with a sharpened stick in the stores. Elena was at first apprehensive at the risks he was taking, but she relented, only cautioning him to be more careful. Although he brought stolen bread back to his family, he still ate the bread rations a doctor provided for their daughter a few weeks later. When she found out, Elena wrote, "We stood and stared at each other stupidly."

Worsening Conditions

- Leningrad's pet population became the main source of protein during the siege. Elena Kochina confided to her diary her failed attempt to kill a neighbor's cat to eat it. And Elena Skrjabina wrote, "In Leningrad, now, you will not see either cats or dogs. I must say, so far we haven't partaken of this 'delicacy'—not because we haven't wanted to, but because we never caught one."
- On the other hand, 17-year-old Lena Mukhina confided to her diary on December 18 that she "never thought cat meat would be so tender and so tasty." Aka, the family friend who lived with Lena and her aunt, began to fall ill only days after Christmas. Lena wrote, "To tell the truth, if Aka died it would be for the best, for her and also for Mama and me. We could divide everything in half, rather than into three portions as we do now."
- Lena was reflective but not remorseful of her feelings, noting: "I don't care whether Aka dies or not. But if she is going to die I hope it happens after the 1st, so we'll be able to get her ration card." She got her wish. On January 2, 1942, Lena marveled: "It's extraordinary, really, how one thing leads to another. If we hadn't killed our cat, Aka would have died earlier, and we wouldn't have this extra ration card, which will in turn save us now.

- Death was an inescapable reality of the siege. Elena Skrjabina noted that some 3,000 people were dying every day. Death in the city was so overwhelming that Soviet officials could not keep up. Elena Kochina noted in late December 1941 that "they're no longer registering the dead." And on January 18, 1942, she recorded: "Now they're no longer carrying corpses to the cemetery. They just pile them up near the outer doorways."

Conclusion

- In spring and summer 1942, all three women were evacuated along what Leningraders called the Road of Life—the temporary icy path that trucks could drive across when Lake Ladoga froze. But each was irrevocably altered by their time in the ring.
- On the night before Elena Skrjabina escaped with her family, the last line in her diary stated that "ours is a gathering of ghosts." She fled Leningrad only to again find herself in the fires of the Nazi-Soviet war at Pyatigorsk in the Caucasus later that year.
- Lena Mukhina chose to become something of a ghost while waiting to evacuate. On April 30, 1942, she began to refer to herself in the third person in her diary so that her story could be read as if it had happened to someone else.
- We don't know what became of Elena Kochina after the war. But after she'd crossed Lake Ladoga, she penned this diary entry:

  > Today at one of the small stations we saw a little black dog. It wagged its fluffy tail affably. "A live dog! A real dog!" everyone shouted enthusiastically, leaning out of the car. Everybody wanted to look at the little dog. It was only a mongrel, but to us it seemed a legendary, mythical being.

- Not until January 1944 was the siege was finally broken.

Reading

Kochina, *Blockade Diary*.
Mukhina, *The Diary of Lena Mukhina*.
Skrjabina, *Siege and Survival*.

Questions

1 This lesson is based on the diaries of three women who survived the siege. What specific efforts of theirs most impressed you?

2 What were the primary motivations of Leningraders to hold out during the 900-day siege?

8

The Captured and Pursued in the Philippines

Daily life in the Philippines during World War II was characterized by the brutal conditions of camp life under Japanese occupation forces. We can understand some of the challenges through the eyes of infantryman Richard Gordon, who became a prisoner of war, and Margaret Sams, an interned American civilian. Later, after General MacArthur returned with US forces in October 1944 to liberate the Philippines, we gain a different perspective of daily life behind Japanese lines through the eyes of Tetsuro Ogawa, a Japanese civilian teacher.

Richard Gordon

- In December 1941, Japan launched its invasion of the Philippines on the Bataan Peninsula of Luzon island. Richard Gordon was part of the US force tasked with repelling the invasion.
- Existing on 1,000 calories a day in an environment that required more than four times that total, Gordon grimly noted: "We on Bataan were beginning to starve." The troops attempted to kill any wayward animal they could find, including snakes, monkeys, and iguanas. Without adequate supplies of quinine, malaria spread, and the jungle was inhospitable.
- On April 9, 1942, General Edward King ordered his troops on Bataan to surrender. Gordon and a few others attempted to evade capture by retreating up a dormant volcano. Returning the next day in search of supplies, he and another soldier encountered a single Japanese soldier. Sensing danger, they obeyed when the soldier indicated that they should drop their pistol belts. An entire Japanese patrol emerged from the jungle around them. Gordon realized that the Japanese would have preferred to shoot them dead. Instead, he was taken as a prisoner of war.
- On April 11, Gordon began what became known as the Bataan Death March. It was an approximately 65-mile forced transfer of captive Americans and Filipinos to Japanese prison camps—an event that later would be recognized as a war crime.
- The men were not given food or water. Instead, they were left in the sun to maximize their thirst. And when prisoners attempted to break ranks for water, they were beaten with rifles and clubs. Those who fell and could not get up were bayoneted, and if they still survived, they were shot dead. Gordon survived because he had been trained on how to conserve water. He spat water back into his canteen after briefly swirling a sip in his mouth.
- Gordon witnessed men with dysentery relieve themselves where they stood in the sweltering heat. He saw Japanese tanks purposely crush a sleeping American prisoner and ensuing tanks swerve to mash the corpse into the road. Finally, he survived a crowded, four-hour train ride before marching the final 11 kilometers to Camp O'Donnell. In the next 40 days, 25,000 out of 45,000 Filipino prisoners and some 1,600 American prisoners out of 9,300 died.

- Gordon was assigned to burial detail. Each day, the dead were dropped through the floor of a filthy, raised-bamboo building that served as camp hospital. Live men were sometimes among the dead. The burial detail stripped the bodies of personal effects and carried them on makeshift stretchers to the camp cemetery, where they were buried in shallow graves.
- On July 5, Gordon was transferred to the POW camp at Cabanatuan, where conditions were improved. But after he contracted malaria, the camp doctor advised him to volunteer for a work detail in Japan, where there was a cooler climate and medical supplies. Gordon left Cabanatuan two years to the day after he'd arrived in Manila and spent the rest of the war as a prisoner in Japan.

Margaret Sams

- Not all American prisoners in the Philippines were soldiers. Margaret Sherk was a 25-year-old wife and mother living in Baguio, a small city in Luzon. Her husband, Bob Sherk, ran a gold mine, and their son, David, was born there in 1938. Like many other Americans, she'd enjoyed a prosperous lifestyle that included servants, a nice home, and beautiful furnishings from Hong Kong.
- When the Japanese invaded the Lingayen Gulf to the west of Baguio in December 1941, the family fled southward to Manila, which was declared an open city. Japanese bombs were falling when they arrived shortly before Christmas. With no means to support the family, Bob decided to join the US Army as an engineer. He was sent to Bataan on New Year's Eve, and Margaret never saw him again.
- On January 2, 1942, Margaret witnessed Japanese troops arrive in Manila on bicycles. She spent several anxious days waiting to learn her fate. Then, on January 7, the Japanese instructed all Americans to take three days' worth of food and clothing. Some troops allowed internees to take mosquito nets and mattresses. When a Japanese soldier asked Margaret where her husband was, she lied. She and David entered the internment camp at the University of Santo Tomas that night.
- Margaret immediately discovered the challenges of living as an American prisoner of the Japanese. The internees were housed in overcrowded rooms and slept on concrete floors amid hungry, crying children. Already filthy from previous use by the Filipino army, a five-toilet bathroom now served more than 500 women and children. Margaret eventually served on toilet duty, cleaning up the lidless, seatless toilets.
- The Japanese provided no food to the internees for the first six months of 1942. Initially, Bob's mining company paid Margaret 20 pesos a month. And the internees could work for wages, grow vegetables, and trade for or purchase available food. But food was expensive. Margaret recalled that she bought a box of cornflakes for $1.50 and tried to make it last months. She worked binding books, which paid her enough to send four-year-old David to kindergarten.

- In July 1942, Bob confirmed in a letter that he had survived the Bataan Death March. But in September, Margaret met a handsome internee named Jerry Sams and fell in love with him. Jerry's daring disobedience of Japanese rules attracted Margaret, and they became lovers in May 1943.
- After Jerry was transferred 40 miles away to the internment camp at Los Baños, Margaret realized she was pregnant. She gave birth to a daughter, Gerry Ann, on January 23, 1944. Missing Jerry, and now viewed by many internees as a scarlet woman, Margaret made the momentous decision three months later to request a transfer with her children to Los Baños.
- Santo Tomas at least had some paved streets and modern plumbing. No such amenities existed for the 3,000 prisoners amid the open spaces and mountain views of Los Baños. But the biggest challenges remained disease and hunger. Margaret lost 42 pounds, and Jerry weighed only 120 pounds. In October 1944, their hopes soared when they learned that the Americans had landed at Leyte. But as the days dragged into 1945 without liberation, hope faded.
- On February 23, 1945, Margaret and Jerry watched as paratroopers from the 11th Airborne Division of the US Army floated down from a clear bright sky. An airplane circled overhead with the words "This is your liberation" painted on its sides. Only later did Margaret learn that her husband Bob had been killed four months earlier when the Japanese transport ship he was aboard was sunk off Manila by an American submarine. In January 1946, she married Jerry Sams.

Tetsuro Ogawa

- The return of MacArthur and US forces in October 1944 placed Japanese civilians behind their collapsing military lines. Tetsuro Ogawa, a civilian teacher attached to the Japanese army, promoted Japanese rule through education and information in occupied areas. He'd worked in Manila for two years when, in January 1945, he learned that senior officials from his section were leaving for Japan without him. Deserted as the American invasion of Luzon landed, Ogawa attempted to flee to Baguio.

- After reuniting with some civilian teacher friends and surviving a harrowing car journey, Ogawa learned that the Japanese forces opposing the American landings at Lingayen Gulf were outnumbered five to one. His friend Kakehi remarked, "I'd rather die than see my country defeated." This hari-kari mindset, which elevated death above surrender even in a civilian teacher, was the great challenge that Ogawa and others like him now confronted as the war turned against the Japanese.
- But Ogawa was not ready to give up. In ensuing days, he stole rice, foraged for food, and survived an aerial attack. Reaching a new Japanese military command, he was put in charge of civilian carpenters at La Torre base in the Cagayan valley. As the Americans approached, multiple suicides occurred around Ogawa. He exchanged his watch for a Colt .45 pistol and cartridges.
- With the Americans fighting to take the municipality of Balete, Ogawa noted that the "fortunate" wounded were left with grenades and poison for suicide. He was forced to flee into the mountains, where he learned from a leaflet dropped by a plane of the Japanese emperor's decision to end the war. Surrender was considered unthinkable, but he had second thoughts after an old man in an Igorot hut reasoned to him that it was "useless and even stupid to follow the Army and die a fruitless death."
- Ogawa knew that crossing the high mountains to surrender to the Americans would be an ordeal. And when he endeavored to do so, he faced his supreme personal challenge, struggling with whether to kill himself with his revolver. Later, he wrote, "I called the names of my children, asking them to help their father. Tears ran down my cheeks. Taking all the bullets out of the magazine, I holstered my gun."
- On September 17, 1945, Ogawa surrendered himself at Kiangan, 15 days after Japan had formally surrendered to the United States. And on July 4, 1946, the Philippines gained its independence and was born anew.

Reading

Gordon, *Horyo*.
Ogawa, *Terraced Hell*.
Sams, *Forbidden Family*.

Questions

1. How did the daily experiences of American soldiers and civilians compare in Japanese captivity in the Philippines?
2. What was the most difficult aspect for Japanese civilians trapped behind the lines with the army when the Americans returned to the Philippines?

9

The US Home Front as a Secret Weapon

Sixteen million American men and women served in uniform during World War II. But in a nation of more than 130 million, this meant that most people made their contributions on the home front. The response of American industry was phenomenal. All Americans, especially women, mobilized into new roles in the labor force, and American management focused on efficient mass manufacturing of war materiel. But it was American scientific leaders who brought all of these components together to produce the most powerful weapon the world had ever seen.

James B. Conant and Vannevar Bush

- From the highest American intellectual and social elites down to rural farm girls, the Manhattan Project showcased the unity and complete commitment of the American people to do whatever was necessary to win the war. But it was so secret that most of the people working on the ultimate weapon did not know what they were working on.

From 1941 to 1945, American industry produced more than 300,000 aircraft, 88,000 tanks, 223,000 artillery pieces, 5,777 merchant ships, 1,556 naval vessels, 2.3 million trucks, 6.5 million rifles, and 40 billion bullets.

- One of the intellectual elites who would drive the United States into the nuclear era was James Bryant Conant, chemist and president of Harvard University. As the French and British armies collapsed under the Nazi blitzkrieg in May 1940, Conant had a fateful lunch meeting with Vannevar Bush, the head of the Carnegie Institution. The two agreed on the woeful state of American unpreparedness for war and that the nation's universities, laboratories, and scientific talent had to be enlisted into the coming war efforts.
- In June 1940, President Franklin Roosevelt created the National Defense Research Committee to marshal American science for military defense needs and appointed Vannevar Bush as its chairman. Conant became head of the unit known as Division B, which was in charge of all chemical issues, including bombs.
- In February 1941, Conant traveled to London on the president's behalf to exchange sensitive scientific information on the military effort. Perhaps the most intriguing conversation Conant had on this trip was with Oxford professor Frederick Lindemann, who talked about the possibilities of uranium fission and the need to prioritize an atomic bomb in the war effort. This was the first time Conant heard a serious proposal that uranium-235 could be used to build an atomic bomb.

- A new federal agency called the Office of Scientific Research and Development was established in June 1941. Conant was named Bush's deputy and put in charge of the National Defense Research Committee. By now, the two men had formed a deep partnership.
- Bush also brought Conant up to speed on new developments regarding the possibility of a fissionable plutonium bomb. He said that the American physicist Ernest Lawrence, winner of a 1939 Nobel Prize for work on manmade radioactive elements, believed that an atomic bomb was possible and that the war would be lost if the Germans made one first.

Ernest Lawrence

- During a subsequent conversation with Lawrence and Harvard chemist George Kistiakowsky in September 1941, Conant became persuaded that a uranium fission bomb could be built and that it was a necessity to do so before the Nazis. Conant recounted this conversation to Bush, and Bush met with President Roosevelt on October 9, receiving approval to try to build a fission bomb. Besides the president, Conant was one of only five men authorized to know about the project.

Building the Bomb

- On December 6, Bush put Conant in charge of the Office of Scientific Research and Development's Uranium Section, renamed S-1 Committee, to lead an all-out effort to create a uranium fission bomb. The next day, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, and the United States entered World War II.

James B. Conant

- Two weeks later, Conant met with three Nobel Prize winners—Ernest Lawrence, Arthur Compton, and Harold Urey—who would be in charge of a three-tiered plan to create a bomb. The first part of the plan involved harvesting uranium and plutonium isotopes through diffusion and centrifuge. The second part was the electromagnetic separation of the isotopes. And the third part was the bomb's design.
- The problem was that there was no clear leader among five theoretical methods to produce uranium and plutonium. All appeared promising. In the end, Conant made the bold recommendation to pursue the construction of production plants for each method to get a bomb as quickly as possible.
- On December 2, 1942, physicist Enrico Fermi and a team at the University of Chicago's Metallurgical Laboratory activated the first self-sustaining nuclear chain reaction under the bleachers of the college football stadium. While the experiment showed that fission with plutonium worked, it did not change Conant's opinion that uranium provided a surer method to create an actual working bomb.

Oak Ridge

- At a secret laboratory code-named Site X at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, women would perform the lion's share of the work harvesting the uranium needed to create an atomic bomb, although they did so without knowing its ultimate purpose.
- After General Groves arranged the purchase of this rural Tennessee site in September 1942, government planners set about constructing the so-called Clinton Engineering Works. The sprawling complex consisted of a number of buildings with discrete functions devoted to producing uranium, and a total of 82,000 were people employed throughout the complex. None of the buildings—much less the small city that supported the Clinton Engineering Works—appeared on public maps.
- Worker turnover was high, particularly among construction workers. The challenges of daily life can be seen in the experiences of James Rowan, a plumber who worked at Oak Ridge.

The entire family, including his wife and nine children, moved into a double-wide trailer. Street lights were on all night to support the 24-hour workday. The trailer had no bathrooms, and water had to be hauled in and stored. A leaky stove provided heat and cooking.

- The Oak Ridge complex also introduced social challenges, bringing together rural white construction workers and PhD scientists along with Native American cooks and African American janitors as more and more Americans responded to wartime opportunities for work and advancement. But perhaps the biggest adjustment wartime workers faced was the psychological stress rendered by the need for secrecy.

Rosie the Riveter

When the United States entered the war, Conant opened admission to Harvard—one of the most elite universities in the country—to women. This initiative reflected the deep changes that war had brought for American women.

Perhaps the most iconic image of the American home front during World War II was Rosie the Riveter. In February 1943, an internal poster created for Westinghouse employees by J. Howard Miller depicted a bandanna-clad young woman against a yellow background, reinforcing the simple message of "We can do it!"

Norman Rockwell then gave the millions of women now working in American industry a name. He painted a strong woman eating a sandwich with her lunch box labeled "Rosie" and a rivet gun on her lap. It appeared on the cover of *The Saturday Evening Post* on May 29, 1943. Affirming the confidence and competence that women felt in their new roles in the economy and society during wartime, the Rosie poster would later become a symbol of the postwar feminist movement.

- With so many social fissures and pressures in the upstart community, women were the glue that held the Oak Ridge project together. They introduced a sense of home, family, social connection, and permanence to a living space that otherwise felt rushed and impermanent. And women were everywhere—as janitors, saleswomen, chemists, operators, and administrators.
- One of the most essential jobs the women of Oak Ridge held was to monitor the machines—called calutrons—that separated enriched uranium isotopes. And the station had to be monitored around the clock. The women carefully watched banks of gauges with wavering needle monitors, and when the readings veered too far right or left, they adjusted the gauges back into an acceptable range. Many of them were just out of high school, and none of them knew exactly what they were measuring, although they learned the lingo from their supervisors.
- Ernest Lawrence was used to having a team of PhDs operate the calutron in his home laboratory at the University of California, Berkeley. When he heard of the plan to train young women to monitor the calutrons in Tennessee, he was skeptical. But recognizing the wartime labor shortages, he acquiesced, with the expectation his team could tweak the results afterward.
- Lawrence was shocked to learn that the Tennessee farm girls far outperformed the PhDs at generating enriched uranium. A friendly contest ensued between the PhDs and the women. And true to form, the women won again. Although Lawrence was surprised, the project's administrative head, Colonel Kenneth Nichols, was not. He understood that the women had been trained like soldiers.

Conclusion

- The first successful detonation of an atomic weapon was recorded in the New Mexico desert at 05:29:45 on July 16, 1945. Ernest Lawrence, James Conant, Vannevar Bush, and General Leslie Groves were all in attendance.

- On August 6, 1945, an American B-29 bomber dropped the world's first atomic bomb over Hiroshima, Japan. The immediate death toll was in the tens of thousands, followed by many more in the years to come from burns, cancer, and radiation poisoning.
- President Harry Truman went on the radio to inform the American public that Secretary of War Henry Stimson would soon release a statement that would "give facts concerning the sites at Oak Ridge, near Knoxville, Tennessee." At that moment, residents of Oak Ridge learned the secret of their small city. Stimson said it "probably represents the greatest achievement of the combined efforts of science, industry, labor, and the military in all history."
- But the true secret weapon of the United States during World War II was the unity and willingness of Americans to take extraordinary risks, and work for ultimate victory, even when they might not immediately see the rewards. And as a result of their wartime sacrifice and hard work, Americans would also be ready after the war to work and fight for a freer, more equal society.

Reading

Conant, *Man of the Hour*.
Kiernan, *The Girls of Atomic City*.

Questions

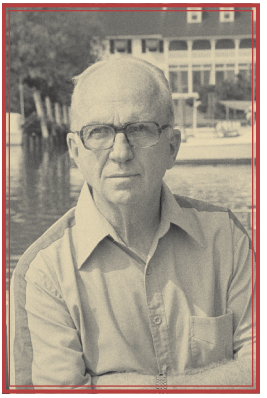
1. What attributes of American scientific leaders were most important in organizing and administering the Manhattan Project?
2. How did the roles of women in American society change during World War II? Using examples from Oak Ridge, discuss the new realities which women encountered.

10

James Michener in the South Pacific

Japan's attack at Pearl Harbor in December 1941 was followed by an onslaught across the southwest Pacific. In August 1942, American forces began to push the enemy back at Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands. Increasing numbers of doctors, nurses, chaplains, clerks, mechanics, and intelligence personnel were needed to keep up the forward momentum. These American reinforcements came into contact with diverse cultures, and maintaining peaceful relations with these people was imperative to the war effort. In an effort to better understand the Pacific Theater, the navy assigned a young lieutenant and historian named James Michener to travel behind the lines.

On Board the *Cape Horn*



- When James Michener shipped out on an old merchant freighter called the *Cape Horn* to serve in the Solomon Islands, he met head-on with the special rhythms, unique surprises, and confounding complexities of daily life in the Pacific. The first cultural clash he dealt with was between fellow Americans aboard the ship. Tensions mounted over practical matters between the military sailors being deployed to war zones and the merchant sailors who were still classified as civilians at the time.
- The military men received a bonus of $21 a month for going to a war zone, while the unionized civilian sailors received an $850 monthly bonus. The civilian sailors also had their own mess, cooks, and food supplies of reasonable quality, while the military men were served inferior meals. In addition, civilian sailors were contractually entitled to regular fresh-water showers, while the marines and sailors had to stand in lines to receive drinking water.
- Perhaps the most divisive issue was the safety measures on board the ship. The navy sailors were extremely conscious of not smoking on decks and keeping doors shut at night to prevent Japanese submarines from spotting lights. But the merchant sailors regularly voyaged this part of the Pacific—mostly without incident—and they frequently disregarded the regulations. Adding to Michener's concerns, the captain and commanding military officer were never seen in person. Rumors swirled that they were drunk in the captain's quarters.
- When Michener and a fellow lieutenant known as Richmond confronted the cooks over the food, with Richmond threatening them by pulling his pistol, they discovered ample supplies were being hoarded, presumably for black-market profits in port. They forced the cooks to serve fresh meals to the military personnel for the rest of the voyage and decided to present a formal complaint to the captain. But when they arrived to present their complaint, the captain refused to open his cabin door.

- Once the *Cape Horn* docked in Espiritu Santo, Michener and two friends went looking for the captain once more. The captain wasn't in his office, but one of Michener's friends found forms for naval orders on the captain's desk. Under the name of a fictitious admiral, he wrote up an authorization for Michener to conduct "tours of inspection" wherever Michener was theoretically needed.
- This ruse allowed Michener to go exploring in the Solomon Islands. And the knowledge and experience he gained there became the foundation for formal orders, later issued, that allowed him to explore all over the Pacific.

British Samoa

- Michener flew first to the city of Suva, capital of Fiji, where he used the Grand Pacific Hotel as his base. He then flew to British Samoa to learn why an American general had built a road on the island without the permission of the British and for no discernible military purpose.

- On a jeep ride down a white coral road, Michener watched sarong-clad young women and men bathe in the ocean against the setting sun. Behind them were thatched huts known as *fales* set among coconut plantations. In the city of Apia, Michener became friends with a woman named Aggie Grey, who personified the region's merging cultures as the daughter of an English father and Samoan mother.
- Then, Michener discovered that the general who had built an excellent coral road from the north side of the island to its south side had done so to arrive directly at the home of his friend Aggie Grey's younger sister. Just as Michener had warmed to Aggie, so the general had fallen in love with the sister. And the general was highly regarded by the Samoans for his road. It brought benefits to the island that the British government simply ignored.
- Given his own deep feelings for the Samoan people and their heavenly environment, Michener realized he could not fault the general. He reported that if a Japanese invasion had come, the road would have been beneficial to the defense.

Bora-Bora

- Bora-Bora was Michener's next stop. He was to find out why American service members there who were eligible for honorable discharge did not want to return home.
- At the American military base, far from the fighting, he discovered that virtually all of the men stationed there had vahines—the Tahitian word for "women." Each night, the men gathered under a tent to watch movies together and then left base to spend the night with their vahines. In the morning, the staff arrived back at work. Michener noted that the base seemed to be run well by superior, competent officers. The entire staff appeared to be unusually happy.
- Michener could understand why the men didn't wish to go home. In one case, Michener discovered that a young sailor from Alabama didn't want to return home because he believed that his family would regard his vahine as racially inferior and not allow him to marry her, even though she was pregnant. A US senator became involved in the case on behalf of the sailor's mother, so Michener had to place the young man on a plane back to America, leaving his pregnant lover behind.

Papeete

- Traveling to Tahiti next, Michener's job was to investigate the offices of Ratchett Kimbrell, a man who occupied a vaguely defined diplomatic position on the island. In the process, Michener uncovered a love triangle in which the ranking American naval officer on the island was wooing Kimbrell's secretary, Reri. The officer was unaware that after Reri's expensive dinners with him, she was going to bed with Kimbrell in the consulate.
- The real problem was that Kimbrell had allowed Reri access to top-secret code books, which she kept in an unlocked desk. She used the books to decode incoming government messages and even shared them with her friends. Vichy French officials were part of the Papeete bar scene, and Michener realized that a security breach was a threat.
- When Michener confronted Kimbrell with a cable that Reri had decoded, the diplomat informed him that cable traffic in Tahiti was never important. Holding evidence of a security violation, Michener was not impressed. But Kimbrell then produced his own cable informing Michener that Kimbrell had been reassigned to Australia. To yet another unique wartime situation which had seemed to resolve itself, Michener adopted a "no harm, no foul" attitude.

Laura Henslow and Father Bega

- Michener traveled next to Pukapuka Atoll to rescue Robert Dean Frisbie, the ailing American travel writer whose 1929 book, *The Book of Puka-Puka*, documented his search for solitude in the South Pacific. Michener brought Frisbie back to Fiji for medical treatment. But on checking back into the Grand Pacific Hotel, the US liaison officer on Fiji informed Michener that an unanticipated emergency now called for his skills.
- Michener's friend Laura Henslow, a New Zealand woman who worked at the hotel reception desk, had caused a social rupture on the island. She and the first Fijian ordained as a Catholic priest, Father Thomas Bega, were in love. Michener became involved in negotiations with the military and church authorities over the scandal.

- The hotel fired Laura, but she still insisted that she and the priest be allowed to marry. The US Navy's interest was to protect the American supply route through Fiji, a major refueling port, and maintain peace and calm there. To find a resolution, a meeting was held with Bishop Dawson and the acting US Navy legal counsel from Nouméa. Unable to break up the couple, the acting counsel officer ordered the American liaison officer on Fiji to evacuate the lovers to Australia that night. They'd fly out on a B-17 bomber.

Matareva

- The last stop on Michener's tour was the remote island of Matareva—a name that he falsified in his autobiography to protect those involved in the tragic events. An island of crucial strategic importance in the early days of the war, it had since been largely forgotten as the Americans gained ground against the Japanese. But a force of hard-nosed marines had been left to guard the isolated outpost.
- Michener noticed the hard terrain and gloomy atmosphere on the road from the airstrip to the stark base. Unpainted barracks were surrounded by barbed wire. Here, Michener set about learning all he could about two men: the camp commander, Captain Dorn, and Staff Sergeant Hazen. They were at the center of a mystery concerning why a marine general had abruptly ended a court martial before certain information could be entered into the record.
- It emerged that Dorn was blind to the fact that Hazen hated him. Hazen sabotaged Dorn's orders through sarcasm, snide comments, and failure to transmit commands. Soon, his criticisms spread throughout the marine barracks. And Dorn's obliviousness to this eroded his own standing among the marines. Once Dorn was sufficiently isolated, Hazen seduced young marines into homosexual relations and passed new conquests around to his growing membership until more than three dozen men obeyed his orders.

- Michener also discovered that a young Matarevan man known to be the lover of at least two marines had been found dead on base, stabbed in the back and his head bashed in. There was no way to identify the murderer, and the likely motive for the crime might implicate many marines. Rather than allow the scandal to become part of the official record, the court martial was ended. Michener found the enlisted man who'd typed the orders, and now he knew why Dorn, Hazen, and three dozen other marines had been quietly discharged and sent home.

Conclusion

- Before he'd agreed to this tour of Pacific duty, Michener had been on a plane that narrowly avoided crashing into the mountains at La Tontouta International Airport. Despite having already seen the vicious realities of the Pacific War, this somewhat pedestrian escape from death deeply affected him.
- That night, he paced the landing strip and vowed, "I am going to live the rest of my life as if I were a great man." He then began writing the stories of his experiences in the islands. *Tales of the South Pacific*, a collection published after the war in 1947, won a Pulitzer Prize and launched Michener's career as a bestselling novelist.

Reading

Michener, *The World Is My Home*.

Questions

1. Which of James Michener's experiences behind the battle lines in the South Pacific struck you as most surprising?
2. How did cultural values and geography among the native peoples of the South Pacific affect Americans stationed there?

11

Masters of Death in Nazi Concentration Camps

Perhaps nothing symbolized the ultimate evil of Nazi Germany more than the massive system of concentration camps that the regime established across Europe. After Germany's defeat in World War II, images of prisoners liberated from the camps shocked people worldwide. This lesson focuses on slave labor and genocide in the Nazi concentration camps through the eyes of two very different German individuals who were high-level commandants in the system: a prince of German industry and a policeman. As they became masters of their realms within the Nazi regime, both men were utterly corrupted.

Alfried Krupp

- Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach was the 34-year-old head of the Krupp armaments dynasty. His personal fortune would be valued at nearly $10 billion today. In reality, he controlled much more, as that number does not include a substantial number of companies and assets that Krupp seized in Nazi-occupied lands.
- Alfried's wealth largely inoculated him from the privations of war. Each day, he drove his BMW automobile from the family estate to the firm's headquarters in Essen. He spent his workdays managing more than 200,000 employees while creating weapons for the Reich, and he returned home for dinner at 7:30 pm. His stockpile of food, wine, Camel cigarettes, and White Horse scotch was never threatened.
- While still an engineering student in 1931, Alfried joined the elite subdivision of the SS when Hitler decided to court Germany's industrialists. Although he waited until Hitler consolidated his power to join the parent organization, his personal loyalties were never doubted. He recognized that his ambitions and fate were tied up with his country's.
- As the firm's heir, Alfried was exempt from serving in the German military, so he accepted more responsibilities within the firm and within the Nazi Party. He would eventually hold seven top government and Nazi Party posts, any one of which would have provided him with the right to communicate directly with Hitler. Two key posts Alfried held were with the Reich Iron Association and the Reich Coal Association, which were organized to loot the industrial assets of foreign nations when the Wehrmacht invaded.
- From Essen, Alfried demanded information on foreign factories and had Krupp agents work with military personnel to seize the facilities in the name of the Reich. The Hague Convention of 1899—which Hitler had not revoked—specifically stated that private property was protected when a nation was invaded. From translated British press clippings in Alfried's personal files, he was clearly aware that such open brigandage would be regarded as a war crime by the Allies. But this knowledge did not deter him.

Slave Labor

- Since the 19th century, slavery and serfdom had been eliminated across Europe, and as late as 1926, the League of Nations had legally condemned the practice. But with stolen property and the need for war production came the demand for vast amounts of labor. Alfried Krupp, as the largest industrialist in Europe, placed orders for slaves in lots of a thousand. All told, some 100,000 inmates from 138 concentration camps would toil for Krupp.
- In alignment with Nazi racial doctrines, Krupp claimed western Europeans freely contracted to work for the firm and left once the contracts were fulfilled. This was a fiction, but Krupp did give western Europeans better food rations. Eastern European laborers, however, were consigned to perpetual bondage. Alfried himself was referred to as *Sklavenhalter*, or the slaveholder. That language equated the workers with farm animals.

- Then, in the spring of 1942, the Nazi regime implemented the Final Solution—the extermination of all European Jews and other peoples deemed undesirable in concentration and death camps. To keep the war machine going, Krupp proposed to Hitler that the firm implement "extermination through work." Seeing the condemned as a solution, he argued that each undesirable person could contribute labor until disposable. Hitler and the Nazi leadership initially resisted, but Krupp found the lever to get what he wanted: bribery. He paid a per diem of four marks to the SS for each prisoner.
- Records show that for the month of July 1943 alone, Krupp paid the SS 28,973 marks for work done by prisoners at Auschwitz. Two Krupp employees recorded the working conditions they saw there, documenting not only the lack of proper food, clothing, and housing but also the smell of burning human flesh from the crematoria. By September 1944, Krupp employed approximately 100,000 slaves in addition to some 277,966 workers and staff in nearly 100 factories across Europe.
- Alfried's exploitation of slave labor and plunder brought him to the docket at Nuremberg on charges of crimes against humanity after the war. His attorneys argued that he'd had to accept slave labor because Hitler would have executed him if he'd failed to produce armaments. In reality, Hitler needed Krupp, and the "missed production quota" defense was a smokescreen. The American attorney Drexel Sprecher concluded that the real cause of Alfried's crimes was his power as the Nazi regime's leading industrialist: "His power was absolute, and therefore absolutely corrupting."
- Recognizing by late 1944 that the Nazis would lose the war, the Krupp firm sold off much of its war bonds, collected government debts, cashed in war-damage claims, and liquidated as much as possible to survive and rebuild during the postwar. In doing so, Alfried showed that the defenses of "superior orders" and "blind obedience" were not true—at least not when his money and his own empire were at stake.

Franz Stangl

- Of the 44,000 concentration camps in Nazi Germany, six are identified as extermination camps. The Nazi camp at Treblinka is lesser known but chilling for its lethality. Between 700,000 and 900,000 people were murdered there, and fewer than 70 who entered Treblinka survived.
- The camp commandant at Treblinka was Franz Stangl, a young police officer from Linz, Austria. Initially, he was uninterested in the political turmoil around him. He believed that his job was to enforce the law. When the Austrian chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss was assassinated by Nazis in July 1934, Stangl found a hidden cache of Nazi weapons. For this, he was awarded the Austrian eagle medal.
- But Hitler's Anschluss in March 1938—absorbing Austria into Nazi Germany—changed everything. Within days, the Nazis arrested three of five police officers who had received the Austrian eagle medal. Stangl, afraid that he would be next, forged papers to identify him as a Nazi Party member since 1936. The Gestapo absorbed the Austrian police, and Stangl was eventually promoted. But he also had to sign a document in which he renounced his membership in the Catholic church.
- In November 1940, Stangl received orders signed personally by SS boss Heinrich Himmler to report to a special facility at Tiergartenstrasse 4 in Berlin, where he would serve as police superintendent. Known as T4, this was the euthanasia program under which the Nazis had begun to kill mentally and physically disabled Germans.
- Stangl was given a choice about the transfer and later claimed to be initially reluctant. But fears about disciplinary actions persuaded him to accept. He was assured that doctors and nurses were the only ones to determine and perform euthanasia, and only in extreme cases. His role was to maintain "law and order" in the facility.

Genocide

- Stangl knew what was being done at T4. He was responsible for the delivery of death certificates to family survivors, which he noted often falsely listed a heart attack as cause of death. Still, he felt personally removed from the killings because he did not carry them out. His conscience from his Catholic religious upbringing was salved by an encounter with a nun and priest who seemed to approve of ending the lives of mentally disabled children at their hospital.
- When Stangl was promoted to the police commandant at Treblinka, he did not refuse. Treblinka operated as a death factory for more than a year, beginning in July 1942. Multiple times a day, trains arrived at a fake rail station. Unsuspecting victims were conducted through a series of steps that systemically stripped them of their resistance and dehumanized them.
- Finally, the mass of victims was herded naked between barbed wire fences under the gaze of Nazi guards with machine guns. Later transports could see the footprints from earlier arrivals in the sandy soil as they had gone down the so-called Highway of Death to the concrete gas chambers. It took about a half hour for them all to be killed. Afterward, the bodies were removed to a massive grill in an earthen pit, where they were burned to ashes.
- Stangl began each day at 5:00 am. He made the rounds, checking on camp guards before breakfasting at 7:00 am. The camp had an excellent bakery. After visiting his office, he would meet the first transports at the train station. When Stangl greeted the new transports and the thousands of people condemned to death each day at Treblinka, he liked to wear a specially tailored white jacket. Each day, about 5,000 people on the early transport would be murdered.
- Stangl would then go to his office to do paper work until 11:00 am, when he would meet the next transport. As the murder of the second group of 5,000 arrivals was conducted, Stangl would lunch on meat, potatoes, and vegetables grown in the camp gardens before taking a rest. In the afternoons, there was more paper work and sometimes additional transports to greet. In the evenings, he would often drink brandy in his room and retire at about 10:00 pm.

- In August 1943, the inmates at Treblinka organized a revolt. Between 100 and 300 prisoners escaped into the woods. Some were recaptured, but one survivor, Samuel Rajzman, later recalled that as Stangl watched the victims go to the gas chambers, "he stood there like a Napoleon surveying his domain."

Conclusion

- When the war ended in 1945, Alfried Krupp was captured by the Allies and tried and convicted at Nuremberg as a war criminal. With the subsequent rise of the Cold War, Krupp was released from prison in 1951. He remained the most wealthy and powerful industrialist in Europe until his death in 1967.
- Franz Stangl escaped to Brazil, but he was extradited to West Germany in the 1960s and sentenced to life in prison for war crimes. The Austrian-born British writer Gitta Sereny spent more than 70 hours interviewing Stangl in prison. In their final interview, she asked if he would seek the truth about himself. Stangl replied: "I have never intentionally hurt anyone. … But I was there. … So yes, in reality I share the guilt. … My guilt is that I am still here." Nineteen hours later, he was found dead in his cell of heart failure.

Reading

Manchester, *The Arms of Krupp*.
Sereny, *Into That Darkness*.

Questions

1. Discuss how the Nazis infused slave labor and plunder into the daily life of nations they occupied.
2. What seemed to be the motives of two very different men, Alfried Krupp and Franz Stangl, as they worked through to command positions in the Nazi system?

12

A "Red Tolstoy's" Vision at Stalingrad

In August 1942, German forces reached the west bank of the Volga River. Here at Stalingrad, the stage was set for an epic battle. It would see the Soviet people endure unprecedented strife, suffering, and death before they turned back the Nazi tide. And from the depths of that battle would emerge the greatest novelist of World War II.

The Battle of Stalingrad

- Vasily Grossman was a Jew born in the small Ukrainian town of Berdichev in 1905. Educated as a scientist during the 1920s, he'd discovered literature as his true calling just as Stalin's purges consumed Soviet society during the 1930s. He was deemed physically unfit for combat when Nazi Germany invaded in 1941, so he was assigned as a war correspondent to the *Red Star* military newspaper.

> *The People Immortal*, Grossman's 1942 novel about Soviet military disasters during the preceding year, was nominated for a Stalin Prize.

- Grossman was ordered from Moscow to cover the battle at Stalingrad on August 23, 1942, the same day that German panzer tanks reached the Volga. On his way south, he visited Yasnaya Polyana, the birthplace of the 19th-century Russian novelist Leo Tolstoy. Grossman marinated himself in *War and Peace* during the war, reading the book completely through twice.

- German bombers had already smashed Stalingrad to rubble when Grossman reached his destination in late August. His first description of what he saw states: "Stalingrad is burned down. Stalingrad is in ashes. It is dead." Based on interviews there, Grossman later reconstructed the fear and anxiety of those days in late August when it appeared that Soviet surrender to the Germans was inevitable.

- But the city was not dead. Fighting raged from house to house, with desperate Soviet defenders at times dug in only 200 yards from the river. The siege of the city lasted for five months. And Vasily Grossman lived the Battle of Stalingrad shoulder to shoulder with the people on the front lines.

- Gaining access to the city meant crossing the Volga River from the east bank. The Soviets' 10th NKVD Rifle Division controlled access, and the German Luftwaffe strafed and bombed ferry traffic between the river banks. Civilians were prevented from evacuating the city because Stalin believed their presence encouraged the Soviet troops to fight harder.

- Transiting the 1,300 meters of open water that span the Volga was a harrowing experience. But getting new troops and supplies funneled into the city was the lifeblood of the Red Army. The hill overlooking the city, known as Mamayev Kurgan, saw constant fighting. Whoever controlled it had the best vantage point from which to fire down onto the river landings.
- Inside the city, the travails of the men and women fighting there deeply interested Grossman. He noted that one soldier blamed the deaths of some fellow soldiers on getting caught in the open while waiting for food. The lament of soldiers everywhere was told by another. He's quoted as saying: "I've been walking with blood blisters. I took the boots off a dead man because they didn't have any holes, but they were too small for me."
- Close-quarters urban warfare distinguished the fighting at Stalingrad. German and Soviet troops engaged each other with grenades, submachine guns, knives, and flamethrowers across cellars, sewers, roofs, and ruined buildings. Battle lines were often so close that opposing soldiers sometimes dived into the same holes during air raids and could hear the enemy walking and rationing food.

Grossman's Articles

- Grossman also noted many of the bureaucratic problems that beset the Red Army and, by extension, the Soviet state. In one example, Grossman wrote that "provisions for an encircled division were to be dropped by parachute, but the quartermaster didn't want to issue the foodstuffs, because there was no one to sign the invoice." Other notes tell the story of a pilot who saved his burning plane at the cost of injury to himself. But the quartermaster refused to replace the pilot's charred pants because the minimum period for replacement had not expired.
- Perhaps most significantly, Grossman recognized similarities between the behemoth totalitarian regimes of Adolf Hitler's Nazi Germany and Joseph Stalin's Soviet Union. He understood that however ideologically opposed the two regimes were, they were more alike than different in their use of terror, willingness to crush opposition, and fanatical use of violence to achieve ideological aims.

- On July 28, 1942, Stalin issued his Order No. 227, which instructed Soviet troops that they should take "Not One Step Back!" To reinforce strictest discipline, the state security police organized units behind the Soviet lines to shoot soldiers who retreated. In doing so, they showed a ruthlessness and lack of pity that matched the Nazis'. Ultimately, 13,500 Soviet soldiers were executed during the siege of Stalingrad under Order No. 227.
- Grossman also saw the sacrifice and humanity of the Soviet people. His words published in the *Red Star* were hungrily consumed not only by soldiers at Stalingrad but throughout the Soviet Union. Grossman's articles were also less subject to censorship because his inspiration to the troops was apparent to the Communist leadership in Moscow. In one instance, the Red Army's general headquarters staff transmitted Grossman's text directly to the *Red Star* in the midst of a battle.
- Grossman was in place as the eyes and ears of the people through many signature moments during the Battle of Stalingrad. He inspired readers through stories such as his account of a platoon leader who calmly read a novel while German aircraft dove on his hillside. And he chronicled Operation Uranus, when General Georgy Zhukov turned the tables on the German 6th Army and surrounded them in late November 1942.

After Stalingrad

- On New Year's Day of 1943, Grossman was ordered to depart Stalingrad. And a month later, on February 2, the German 6th Army surrendered and the road to Berlin commenced.
- Grossman accompanied the Red Army as it pushed the Germans back across Ukraine. In January 1944, he visited his hometown of Berdichev, outside Kiev, and learned his mother's fate. The Germans had executed her on September 15, 1941, along with approximately 30,000 other Jews at an airfield there. He wrote two posthumous letters to his mother in 1950 and 1961.
- Grossman was witness to still more Nazi depravities when he visited the Nazi extermination camp at Treblinka in July 1944. Today, it's estimated that 700,000 to 900,000 people were murdered there and fewer than 70 of its inmates survived. In a November 1944 article for the *Red Star* headlined "The Hell of Treblinka," Grossman wrote about the Jewish focus of the Nazi Holocaust. This account was based on interviews with about 40 survivors who were discovered in the woods around the camp.
- In Berlin, Nazi leaders showed concern for the first time of being held to account. That's when Himmler flew to Treblinka and issued urgent orders calculated to hide the traces of crimes committed within 60 kilometers of Warsaw. Himmler's orders were a direct repercussion of the mighty blow the Red Army had just struck against the Germans on the Volga.

Conclusion

- With the war now over, Vasily Grossman came to refocus on the Battle of Stalingrad as the centerpiece of his literary work. It was to be a Tolstoian effort to honor the heroism of common Soviet people and the Red Army. It would remember the unknowable millions who had perished at the hands of the Nazis and bring new perspective to the horrors of the 20th century.

- Grossman brought out his story in two related novels. The first was published in 1952, before Stalin's death, under the title *For a Just Cause*. In it, he demonstrated loyalty to Stalin's regime and introduced a panorama of characters who'd become engulfed in the Battle of Stalingrad up to September 1942.
- He produced the second half of his story, titled *Life and Fate*, in 1960. It was his masterpiece. *Life and Fate* was critical of Stalin, and it compared the Soviet and Nazi regimes and found them both depraved. Despite a supposed thaw in criticism of the regime under Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet government raided Grossman's apartment and seized all manuscripts, notes, carbon copies, and even the typewriter ribbons containing *Life and Fate*'s content.
- *Life and Fate* would have never been published had Grossman not hidden two copies of the book with friends who did not know each other. It was smuggled out and published in the West in 1980.

Reading

Beevor, *Stalingrad*.
Grossman, *The Hell of Treblinka*.
Popoff, *Vasily Grossman and the Soviet Century*.

Questions

1. From Vasily Grossman's writings, what characteristics of average people caught up in the Battle of Stalingrad were most impressive?
2. What impact did Grossman believe the Battle of Stalingrad had on the Nazi Holocaust?

13

“The Bomber Will Always Get Through”

In November 1932, British prime minister Stanley Baldwin prophesied, “I think it is well … for the man in the street to realize that there is no power on earth that can protect him from being bombed. Whatever people may tell him, the bomber will always get through.” Aerial combat came of age during World War II. In 1937, fear of bomber attacks crystallized for Europeans with the fascist terror bombing of Guernica during the Spanish Civil War. And the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 demonstrated the potential of aerial attack like no other event up to that point in history.

Samuel Hynes

- For many young Americans, the journey to become a wartime pilot was a transformative undertaking that changed who they were. Samuel Hynes was 18 years old when he left Minnesota to become a marine bomber pilot. First, he had to pass civilian pilot training in Denton, Texas. If he "washed out," he would be reassigned to a less desirable assignment as an enlisted man.
- The first plane Hynes flew was a Piper Cub, which he explained was ideal because the small plane was dominated by its wings and not the engine that propelled it. He mastered gentle climbs, glides, and stalls.
- He then moved on to the Naval Air Station at Memphis, where he learned to fly loops in an open-cockpit Stearman N2S. This meant trusting his seat belt to hold him and overcoming an instinctual fear of being turned upside down. The lack of visibility when flying at night meant that he had to develop faith in his instruments and that he would be able to find a landing strip when all he could see was a black pool.
- Hynes then went to Florida to learn the art of dive-bombing. To bomb a carrier, pilots flew in a diagonal line and then followed a lead plane into a nearly vertical dive. This acceleration left the crew with bursting eardrums and the psychological struggle of seeing the ground fast approaching. At the appropriate altitude, the pilot had to almost simultaneously drop his bomb, pull out of the dive, and see whether the bomb struck.
- In becoming a pilot and marine military officer, Hynes believed that he had passed a test into adulthood. A second test was mastering relations with women. He married early, at age 19. And his third and final test of manhood was flying in combat.

Harold Buell

- In early 1942, navy lieutenant Harold Buell journeyed from Norfolk, Virginia, across the Pacific to join the aircraft carrier USS *Yorktown*. He served as an SBD Dauntless pilot in the Battle of the Coral Sea on May 7 and 8.

- Buell described how American pilots and gunners gathered in the ready rooms aboard the *Yorktown* at 0540 in the morning. The carriers operated under complete radio silence. On the flight deck, all communications were conducted via hand signals, chalkboards, and handwritten messages anchored by beanbags.
- "The real test of a naval dive-bomber pilot," Buell observed, "was hitting a moving target—a ship at sea going full speed and maneuvering." For bomber pilots, enemy aircraft carriers were a prize target due to their offensive firepower. The carriers' size made them vulnerable. But they were typically equipped with antiaircraft batteries and protected by escort ships and their own aircraft once launched.
- The Battle of the Coral Sea saw the Americans sink the light Japanese carrier *Shōhō*, while the Japanese sank the American carrier *Lexington* and damaged the *Yorktown*, which left the Coral Sea. Buell wrote that the Japanese bomb strike had killed 40 men and wounded 26.

- An exhausted Buell desired a bunk more than the sandwiches and coffee that had sustained him throughout the day. He found his bunk by flashlight and immediately fell asleep. When he was awakened later by hands lifting him from the bunk, a shocked voice stated, "My God, Doc, this one ain't dead!"
- Buell had not known that the other bunks were filled with dead sailors being prepped for burial at sea. Although he was in a morgue, Buell expected more fighting the next morning. So he went back to sleep until it was time to report to the ready room.

Philip Ardery

- The dive-bomber pilots who flew against Japanese carrier fleets had a different experience from that of the airmen who flew in Europe. The pilots of the US Army Eighth Air Force flew heavy bombers such as the B-17 and B-24 with crews of 10 and 11 men. From high altitudes, the heavy bombers attacked German military and industrial facilities, often in urban areas. The Eighth Air Force in particular paid a high price, suffering more than 47,000 casualties with more than 26,000 killed. That surpassed the total number of deaths among US marines in the Pacific during the entire war.
- The B-24 pilot Philip Ardery provides some insight into the daily life of a heavy bomber crew member. In 1942, Ardery sought to qualify to pilot a B-24 heavy bomber. He was initially disappointed that he was assigned to train other pilots rather than immediately assigned to Europe. But he was pleased to learn that if he performed well as an instructor, he would be assigned a better position. By the time he prepared to leave for Europe in 1943, he had accumulated nearly 1,000 hours flying the B-24.
- Ardery's first missions were in support of Allied operations in the Mediterranean, including Sicily. On each of his first seven missions, his plane suffered damage from enemy fire. To cope, Ardery turned to prayer, which he said allowed him to sleep the night before embarking on a mission. And he occasionally attended formal religious services. As squadron leader, he wanted his men to feel that openly expressing faith was not a sign of weakness.

- On August 1, 1943, Ardery participated in Operation Tidal Wave, the long-range, low-altitude raid on the oil refineries at Ploieşti, Romania. He was briefed that high casualties were inescapable, but if 50% of the target refineries were damaged, it would strategically change the course of the war. Fearing that he would be shot down as part of the second wave of the attack, Ardery taped a hacksaw blade to the bottom of his foot. This was his plan, if caught, for escaping from enemy prison.
- During the raid itself, Ardery witnessed the heroic efforts of Lt. Pete Hughes, holding in formation as they approached their strike point despite flames pouring from his left wing. Flying through thick smoke over the refinery, Ardery dropped his bombs and estimated that he must have cleared the refinery's chimneys by mere inches. Hughes also emerged from the smoke after dropping his bombs on the target, but flames consumed the left wing of his plane before he could land. The aircraft's resulting cartwheel and explosion, which Ardery witnessed, took the lives of Hughes and his crew.

- The Ploieşti raid saw 178 B-24s lift off for the attack, and 53 of them never returned. Some 446 crew were dead or missing. Ardery was stunned to survive when so many had not. He wrote a citation recommending the late Lieutenant Hughes for the Medal of Honor, which was granted months later. He then returned to England and continued to fly missions over Europe. In all, he completed 25 combat missions.

Maria Ritter

- During the London Blitz, Nazi Germany attempted to demoralize the British into surrender by bombing civilian populations. The Allies' doctrine for strategic precision bombing focused on German military and industrial targets, but in reality, attempts to bomb from high altitudes often saw wayward bombs strike the German working-class neighborhoods located around factories. And piecemeal factory work often took place in residential homes in Japan, so low-altitude bombing with incendiaries by American B-29s was eventually used to spread fires throughout the wooden buildings of Japanese urban areas.
- In late January 1945, Leni Ritter packed up her four children at their home in Damsdorf, Germany, and put them on sleds laden with food, blankets, and a few precious belongings. They headed for Dresden, where Leni's mother lived. She thought it was a safe haven from Allied bombers. But on February 13 and 14, Allied bombers struck Dresden. Breezy updrafts turned the explosions on the ground into a fiery inferno, and thousands perished from suffocation as the city burned to ashes.
- Leni's daughter Maria, then three years old, recalled fragments of that night when her family hid in the basement of her grandmother's house: "The firestorm starts outside, whipping up flames. … The basement door lock is melted shut. Finally, we all get out, wet sheets thrown over our heads, hold hands, walk together."

- On the street, Maria's family found shelter for a few hours in the hallway of a neighbor's home. But the fires reached there as well. Desperately, Leni pushed open the door—now with a melted lock and two holes burning in it—into fresh air. She led her children to a refugee camp, where Maria received treatment for second- and third-degree burns.
- About 10 days later, Leni took her eldest son, Klaus, back to search for his grandmother Lydia's remains. "Ashes were still warm" where the house once stood. All Leni recovered were two blackened soup spoons monogrammed *LW* for Lydia Wunderlich. In the hallway of the second house where they'd sheltered during the firestorm, they found what Maria described as "the entrance to a tomb: black, hollow, and final."

Reading

Ardery, *Bomber Pilot*.
Buell, *Dauntless Helldivers*.
Hynes, *Flights of Passage*.
Ritter, *Return to Dresden*.

Questions

1 How did aerial bombing in the Pacific War compare with the Eighth Air Force experience in Europe? Who had the greater challenges?

2 How practical and realistic was it for the Allies to embrace precision bombing to avoid civilian casualties while waging a total war against the enemy?

14

The Tuskegee Airmen and "the Experiment"

Racial issues were at the heart of daily life and conflict in World War II. Nazi Germany and imperial Japan justified their conquest of sovereign nations and the enslavement and killing of other peoples based on their beliefs in their own racial supremacy. Race would also be a central issue in the decolonization of European empires after the war. In the United States, race was a fault line that revealed the country was failing to live up to its democratic ideals—principles that it was willing to fight abroad to defend. And yet with the war came opportunities for American citizens to change their lives and the future of the country.

Benjamin O. Davis Jr.

- Before World War II, most African Americans faced limited opportunities. The military career of Benjamin O. Davis Jr. showcases some of the petty discriminations that African Americans faced. But the idealism behind Davis's commitment was essential to performing his duties in aerial combat and thus in transforming the role of African Americans in the US military during the 1940s.
- Davis Jr. was the son of Benjamin Davis Sr., a career army officer who rose through the ranks after enlisting during the Spanish-American War. Although Henry Flipper had been the first African American cadet to graduate from West Point in 1877, such opportunities were rare for aspiring Black soldiers. When Davis Jr. entered the United States Military Academy in 1932, he was the only African American plebe at West Point.
- As a cadet, Davis was hazed through a practice known as silencing. Other cadets spoke to him only in the line of official duty, and he roomed and ate alone. The tactic was supposedly implemented for his violation of the honor code. But Davis recognized that it was applied to him simply because of his race, with the goal of driving him to resign. Instead, he became even more determined to succeed.
- In the fall of 1935, when he was on the verge of graduating, Davis's application for the US Army Air Corps was rejected because the army's air wing believed Black officers could never command white troops. And it refused to form all-Black units. Still, in June 1936, Davis became the first African American of the 20th century to graduate from West Point. The infantry appeared to be his most likely option, but Davis was determined to not give up his dream of becoming a pilot.

The Civilian Pilot Training Act

- General Henry "Hap" Arnold, the head of the Army Air Corps, argued in 1940 that racial integration was impossible because it meant that African American officers would have to command enlisted whites, creating "an impossible social problem." Given these assumptions, American military leaders were able to portray air corps service as simply beyond the mental capabilities of most African Americans.
- But World War II began to crack the army's wall of discrimination. In 1939, President Franklin Roosevelt gained Congressional approval and $300 million to double the size and strength of the Army Air Corps. He had foreseen that the challenge to the United States would not be its number of planes but rather the number of pilots and crew needed to fly them. That same year, Congress passed the Civilian Pilot Training Act to train pilots at colleges and vocational schools throughout the country. If needed, these pilots could also be trained for military aviation.
- The 1940 census showed that out of a population of 12 million African Americans, only 124 were licensed civilian pilots. And Benjamin O. Davis Jr. knew that there was not a single Black military pilot in the armed forces. Then, in October 1940, the new secretary of war Henry Stimson announced that African Americans would henceforth be accepted for military training as "pilots, mechanics, and technical specialists." These all-Black support units would train in segregated facilities.
- It was a political as well as a practical necessity. President Franklin Roosevelt needed to secure African American votes for a third term as president. That same month, FDR promoted a Black officer, Benjamin Davis Sr., to the rank of brigadier general. General Davis requested that his son, Captain Benjamin Davis Jr., join his staff. But in the spring 1941, the Army Air Corps asked the general to release his son from office duty for pilot training.

The Experiment

- Opportunities for pilot training opened at several historically Black colleges, including the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. In early 1941, the War Department contracted with the Tuskegee Institute to construct a $1.66 million training base to train African American pilots. The goal was to staff the all-Black 99th Pursuit Squadron with nearly three dozen pilots, about 70 administrative officers, and about 500 support staff. Captain Davis would assume command once he successfully completed his own pilot training.
- Thus began what the United States Army referred to as "the experiment." It aimed to determine if African Americans could master the skills needed for military aviation, but it was also a social experiment that would test the assumptions underlying segregation in the military and American society itself.

- In July 1941, the first Army Air Corps class of 13 cadets began training as pilots at Tuskegee. At the same time, 271 enlisted men trained at Chanute Field in Rantoul, Illinois, as mechanics, welders, communications specialists, weather specialists, and in other support roles. The men in Illinois lived in mostly unsegregated circumstances. But they would be transferred to the segregated Tuskegee air field on completion of their training to become ground crew for the 99th Pursuit Squadron.
- In January 1942, Colonel Frederick von Kimble assumed command of the base at Tuskegee. Kimble is said to have ordered white officers to not socialize with African Americans and to have withheld assignments to qualified Black officers. Kimble was replaced by Lt. Colonel Noel Parrish after clashes between the African American men on base and local townsfolk and civilian police, including one incident that almost developed into a riot.
- Parrish was a native southerner who took a personal interest in promoting the advancement of African Americans in military aviation. He was even able to integrate the Tuskegee Army Air Field due to a new policy that banned segregation in all base recreational activities.
- Still, success depended on the individual. In Davis's original class of 13, five cadets earned their wings while eight washed out. Davis developed the necessary skills to successfully qualify as a pilot and leader of the 99th Pursuit Squadron, which before long was renamed the 99th Fighter Squadron.
- In August 1942, the Tuskegee Army Air Field graduated enough pilots and ground crew for the squadron to reach full strength. But for months, no combat assignment was forthcoming. Finally, word came that the Tuskegee Airmen would ship out for deployment in combat on April 2, 1943.

The 99th Fighter Squadron

- On arrival in North Africa, the 99th Fighter Squadron was attached to the 33rd Fighter Group under the command of Colonel William Momyer.

- The men first experienced combat on June 2, 1943, flying P-40 aircraft against German installations on the island of Pantelleria. A month later, a Tuskegee Airman named Charles Hall shot down a German Focke-Wulf 190 to become the first African American pilot to score a kill. But two of the pilots did not return from the mission.
- Following more combat in support of the Allied invasion of Sicily, the 99th was assigned to flying in coastal areas where no German aircraft were present. White squadrons continued to fly inland on combat missions.
- In September 1943, Benjamin Davis Jr. was recalled stateside to assume command of the 332nd Fighter Group, which consisted of three all-Black squadrons. When he arrived, he found that Colonel Momyer had accused the 99th Fighter Squadron of lack of air discipline, broken formations, and a lack of teamwork and aggression. It was recommended that the 99th be pulled from combat operations. The experiment was now halted in its tracks.
- In October 1943, Colonel Momyer's report went to the War Department's Advisory Committee on Negro Troop Policies. There, several problems arose with the official account. Momyer had based his accusations on a single mission. Davis had never been given the opportunity to rebut the accusations before the report went to the top of the army's command. And no complaints about the 99th's performance had ever been given to Davis while in the field.

It's a myth that the Tuskegee Airmen never lost a bomber. But the myths abound and persist because the men who lived through the experiment at Tuskegee became legends. They overcame the humiliations of segregation and the heavy responsibility of being pioneers. They proved wrong the doubts of those who believed they were inherently inferior. They exceeded expectations in performing their combat duties. And 66 of them paid the ultimate price as casualties of war in the Mediterranean.

- Based on this, General George Marshall commissioned a more objective appraisal of the 99th's field performance. It concluded that the 99th had performed at least competitively with white fighter squadrons. And since the 99th had been denied opportunities for aerial combat, it was thought unjust to cancel the experiment. Now, instead of being removed from combat, the 99th Fighter Squadron was transferred to Foggia Airfield in Italy.
- At Foggia, the fortunes of the 99th Fighter Squadron came under the wing of the 79th Fighter Group and drastically changed. Colonel Earl Bates, the commander of the 79th Fighter Group, insisted on treating the 99th officers as equals. And he integrated the squadron into all of the fighter group's operations.
- What ended the debate about the experiment was the men's performance. In the wake of the Allied landings at Anzio beach in January 1944, pilots of the 99th Fighter Squadron shot down 12 enemy planes in two days of combat. Tuskegee Airman Robert Deiz was credited with two kills, and his image became the model for a famous war bond drive poster. After the action at Anzio, there was no further talk in the Army Air Corps that the Tuskegee Airmen were unequal to the job.

Reading

Davis, *American*.
Moye, *Freedom Flyers*.

Questions

1 Race was a pervasive factor in World War II. How did the Tuskegee Airmen challenge assumptions in American daily life?

2 Based on what you've learned about Benjamin O. Davis Jr.'s career, what do you think was the greatest challenge he faced as a leader during World War II?

15

US Submariners: "A Breed Apart"

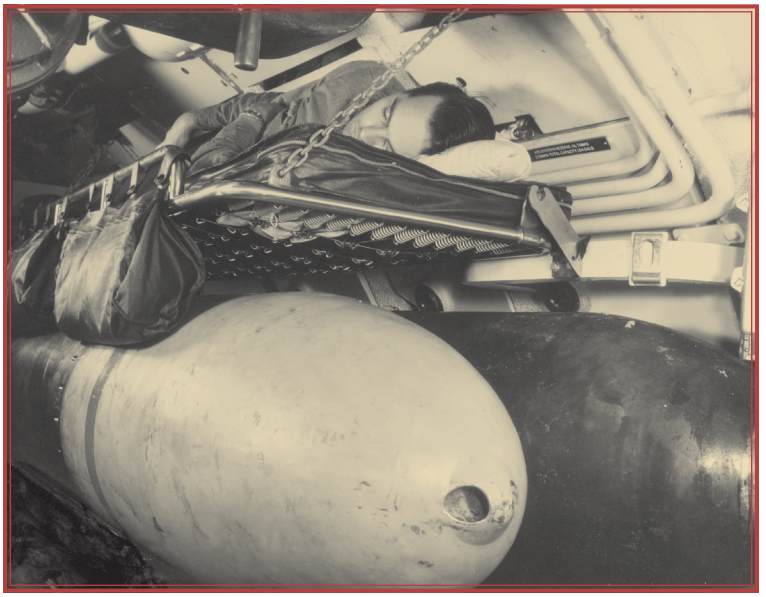
World War II was fought in many forbidding environments, perhaps none more so than the war fought under the ocean. Submariners were "a breed apart," as one American skipper put it. For the special fraternity of submariners, daily life during World War II could be divided into light and dark stages. There were times in the sun as they trained in port, made preparations, and enjoyed a few weeks of leave. And there were the dark times on long war patrols, when their world was confined to the inside of a windowless machine as they engaged with the exhilarations and sheer terrors of war at sea.

The New London Submarine School

- An American submariner's journey began at the navy submarine school in New London, Connecticut. On arrival, candidates such as Cornelius Bartholomew were subjected to in-depth physical testing and psychological examination. Before he ever saw a submarine, his physical capacity to withstand pressure within a bell-shaped submarine rescue chamber was tested in a silo-shaped building. He learned to physically pop his ears to equalize pressure.
- Bartholomew also had to demonstrate the ability to swim from depths of 18 and 50 feet while breathing through a Momsen lung. This was a masked apparatus that filtered nitrous oxide to create oxygen and allow sailors to breathe underwater. He then had to ascend from an escape cylinder designed to resemble what he would encounter on a US submarine. This involved following an ascending line up through 100 feet of water while expelling nitrogen every 10 feet to prevent the bends when he reached the surface.
- The sailors also had to learn every detail about the layout of a modern 312-foot fleet submarine and how to operate every piece of equipment onboard. To demonstrate their knowledge, sailors like Bartholomew submitted a notebook filled with their drawings of each operating system on the boat.
- There was some training on submarines at New London, but the sailors did not train in the 312-foot modern vessels used in World War II. Instead, these were older, smaller submarines that often were dangerously outdated. In June 1941, one of these older trainer submarines identified as 0-9 left New London on a routine training dive and sank near the Isle of Shoals with the loss of all onboard.
- The senior enlisted advisor to the captain and executive officer was known as the chief of the boat. He conducted oral and practical exams of the sailors. With his approval, the sailors went before a final examination board of qualified officers. Those who graduated won the right to wear the navy's submarine warfare pin adorned with dolphins.

Daily Life on Submarines

- What was it like to be onboard a submarine for weeks and months at a time, traveling thousands of miles in a sealed cylinder and living with upward of 80 crew members in tight quarters? Hollywood films made during the war years created some false impressions with the American public.
- World War II submarines were incredibly cramped, with narrow passageways lined with pipes and equipment. The crew had to step through hatches and climb ladder rungs between compartments. In the Pacific, the typical submariner's outfit was a T-shirt, dungarees, and navy-issued sandals.
- Hygiene on board was negligible, as crew showered less than a minute perhaps once a week. Fleet submarines had four toilets, or heads, three of which went to an internal storage tank. A fourth expelled outside the hull. But it could be used only by qualified submariners because of the sophisticated pressure and valve system it entailed.



- On the other hand, submariners enjoyed the best food in the navy. Officers and enlisted men all ate the same meals. These included luxuries such as turkeys and cherry pies, roasts, and other delights. Outside meal times, the mess area was often used for recreation and study. Cribbage was a particular passion of submariners.

- While serving on the USS *Gurnard* in July 1944, Bill Gleason brought aboard a stowaway: a small black dog he named Penny. He and shipmates trained and hid the dog, although eventually they were discovered when the captain stepped in a mess the dog had left. The captain, who'd been barefoot at the time, forgave Penny, and she was adopted as the ship's mascot. Penny participated in four war patrols on *Gurnard*. Gleason eventually took her home to Ohio.

While serving as executive officer aboard the USS *Wahoo*, Richard O'Kane once recorded a perfect cribbage score. The mathematically minded submariners celebrated what they believed was a sign of luck for their war patrol.

- An even more unusual presence on a World War II submarine was a woman. On May 3, 1942, army nurse Lucy Wilson was one of 13 women evacuated from the Philippine island of Corregidor to the USS *Spearfish*. The biggest issues were where to sleep and how to use the sub's special toilet that expelled outside the hull. After several embarrassing episodes, it was agreed that a submariner would flush the system for them.

- Submariners also performed the service of rescuing downed airmen. Some 504 American airmen were fished out of the sea by the crews of 86 submarines during World War II. Captain Richard O'Kane's sub, the USS *Tang*, picked up 22 downed flyers off the Truk atoll in mid-1944. It returned the aviators back to Pearl Harbor.

Revolutionizing Submarine Warfare

- Submarine warfare was revolutionized by two Americans in Brisbane, Australia, on December 31, 1942. That's when Dudley "Mush" Morton assumed command of the USS *Wahoo* and sought out executive officer Richard O'Kane to discuss some of his ideas for the upcoming assignment.
- At the time, the war was not going well for the US submarine force. Both Morton and O'Kane believed that more aggressive offensive tactics were needed. They wanted to take the war to Japan's shores on long patrols. They sought to attack from the water's surface, where a submarine is most vulnerable but also faster and more maneuverable. And they decided they would attack at night and use the cover of darkness to escape.
- To do this, Captain Morton would have to shift some of his responsibilities onto his executive officer. O'Kane was aware that being given the periscope during battle—traditionally the captain's responsibility—was both bold and innovative. And it would allow the captain to focus on guiding the boat to weigh all factors in a more dispassionate manner.
- Over the next eight months, the *Wahoo*'s war exploits became legendary—but not without controversy. Morton was credited with sinking 19 ships and more than 55,000 tons of shipping. In one incident, Japanese troops in lifeboats allegedly fired at the *Wahoo* after it had sunk their transport ship. Morton responded by sinking all of their lifeboats. On its third patrol, the *Wahoo* returned to Pearl Harbor with a broom attached to the periscope, indicating a "clean sweep" of Japanese targets.

In October 1943, Japanese forces sank the *Wahoo* with a sustained air and surface attack as the submarine attempted to exit the Sea of Japan. Morton and all hands aboard were lost at sea.

- O'Kane was eventually promoted to command his own boat, the *Tang*. Captain O'Kane and the *Tang* ultimately surpassed the *Wahoo*'s wartime record. In five patrols between January and October 1944, the *Tang* was credited with sinking 24 enemy ships estimated at more than 93,000 tons. That made it the most successful American submarine in World War II.
- On October 24, 1944, the *Tang* was sunk off the island of Formosa. One of the boat's faulty torpedoes circled back around and struck the vessel's aft. Some survivors escaped by using the special chamber and Momsen lungs. Captain O'Kane and eight crew members went on to survive beatings and starvation in Japanese prison camps until being liberated at the end of the war. President Harry Truman awarded O'Kane the Medal of Honor in March 1946.
- All told, American submariners made perhaps the greatest impact with the fewest men of any military force in the world during World War II. American submariners accounted for only 1.6% of US Navy personnel, but they were responsible for sinking 55% of the 10 million tons of enemy shipping sent to the bottom during the war. More than 3,600 men aboard 52 American submarines paid the ultimate price by giving their lives to the Allied war effort.

Reading

Lockwood, *Sink 'Em All*.
Monroe-Jones and Green, eds., *The Silent Service in World War II*.
O'Kane, *Clear the Bridge!*
———, Wahoo.
Tuohy, *The Bravest Man*.

Questions

1. What parts of daily life made service on a submarine most and least attractive?
2. In your opinion, were the aggressive new tactics pioneered by Captains Mush Morton and Richard O'Kane worth the risks during wartime?

16

An American Diplomat in the Vatican

The commencement of war is always seen as the moment when diplomacy between governments has officially failed and military force becomes the chief means of settling conflicts. But even in war, the actions that diplomats take—or don't take—can impact events and change daily life for millions of people. The story of the Vatican during World War II can be understood through the efforts of two popes and an American diplomat.

The Lateran Treaty

- Pius XI served as pontiff from 1922 until 1939—that is, from the year that Benito Mussolini led a political insurrection known as the March on Rome until the year that Germany invaded Poland and launched World War II. Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli served Pius XI as the Vatican secretary of state beginning in 1930.
- The Lateran Treaty was settled between the pope and Mussolini in 1929. Under its terms, the papacy recognized Italy, with Rome as its capital, and Italy recognized papal sovereignty over Vatican City. This agreement aimed to resolve a long history of conflict between the papacy and government. And both were eager to use the other. Pius XI thought he could make use of Mussolini's fascist power to create a Catholic state across Italy, while Mussolini was eager for the clergy to popularize support for his regime.
- But neither the pope nor Mussolini anticipated the rise of Germany's Adolf Hitler, and his more virulent fascist regime, in a few short years. One in every three Germans was Catholic, and church leaders there distrusted the pagan elements in Nazi ideology. Hitler, in an effort to sway German Catholics to support his regime, recognized that he could court papal support through his own denunciations of Bolshevism.
- In July 1933, Cardinal Pacelli signed a concordat with the Nazi government granting the German church independence in its own affairs and other protections. But that same month, a new Nazi law imposed forced sterilization to prevent the spread of some inherited diseases and other undesirable conditions—a policy clearly against church doctrine. Pius XI slowly realized the Nazis desired total control of the German church.
- In July 1938, Mussolini prepared to follow Hitler's lead on racial policies. The pope became concerned for the rights of Jews who had converted to Catholicism or married Catholics with church approval.

These rights were among those granted to the church under the 1929 Lateran Treaty. Mussolini vowed that the new anti-Jewish laws would conform to church-supported restrictions going back to the former Papal States. In turn, Pius XI promised to stay silent about them.

- But when the Italian government announced the new racial laws in September 1938, they radically discriminated against Jews on the Nazi basis of race and blood purity. Citizenship was revoked for all Jews who became naturalized Italians after 1919, and all foreign Jews in Italy were ordered to depart in six months.

The Secret Encyclical

- Alarmed that Italy was aligning with Nazi Germany as war threatened to erupt, the American ambassador to Italy, William Phillips, met with Vatican officials. Anti-Catholicism and the argument that the Vatican was a religious institution, not a state, had kept the American government from appointing an ambassador to the Vatican itself. Phillips suggested that if Pius XI denounced Mussolini's anti-Semitic racial laws, a path would open for formal diplomatic recognition of the Vatican by the United States.
- Whatever Pius XI's personal feelings, the official Vatican position was silence. And Pius XI's health was rapidly deteriorating. When he died on February 10, 1939, his final words were "Let there be peace." On his desk was the draft of a papal letter he had been preparing before his death, titled *Humani generis unitas*, or "The Unity of the Human Race. It demanded an end to the persecution of Jews.
- A few days later, Cardinal Pacelli had all written materials in the pope's office gathered up, and he ordered the Vatican printing office to destroy all copies of Pius XI's last letter. These precautions were prompted by Mussolini's worries that the late pope had prepared a secret document denouncing fascism—and he was right. The document became known as the secret encyclical.

The full text of Pius XI's last message was not revealed to the world until the Vatican opened his archive in 2006.

- In March 1939, Cardinal Pacelli was elected to the papacy. He took the name Pius XII and made clear his continued intention to pursue friendly relations with Nazi Germany and fascist Italy.

Diplomacy in Vatican City

- Some insights into daily life in Vatican City during World War II can be gained from the American diplomat Harold Tittmann Jr. Once war began in Europe, President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed the American industrialist Myron Taylor as the first formal American diplomat to Vatican City, although he was officially Roosevelt's personal envoy. Tittmann, the American consul general in Geneva, Switzerland, was named Taylor's assistant.
- Relations between the United States and Italy deteriorated in March 1941 after Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act, which allowed US military supplies to begin flowing to Great Britain. The next month, the Vatican invited Tittmann to move his office from Rome into Vatican City, though he was warned that outside communications would become more difficult.
- On June 14, Roosevelt issued an executive order freezing Italian financial assets in the United States. Vatican assets were not included in the order. Tittmann met Pope Pius XII in his apartment for an informal interview. The pope requested that some private accounts he controlled in New York be listed among official Vatican accounts to guarantee continued access to them for charitable causes. The pope also asked the American to keep his visit and request secret, as he believed the Nazis would misinterpret both.
- Eight days later, Germany invaded the Soviet Union. Roosevelt realized he would have to overcome anti-Soviet sentiment among American Catholics to gain congressional support for Lend-Lease aid to the Soviet Union. In September, he solicited Pius XII's support in a letter that argued that Soviet communism was less of a threat to the church than Nazism. He also claimed that signs of religious toleration were visible in the Soviet Union.
- The problem was that some four years earlier, the previous pope's encyclical *Divini redemptoris* had condemned communism as atheistic. Pius XII consented to allowing the archbishop of

Cincinnati to write a pastoral letter. It reinterpreted Pius XI's condemnation of communism in a way that exculpated the Russian people, if not the Russian regime, of supporting atheism.

- On December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked the United States at Pearl Harbor. Tittmann expected that Germany and Italy would now join the war against the United States under the 1940 Tripartite Pact between Germany, Italy, and Japan. On December 11, Mussolini stood on the balcony overlooking a crowd at the Piazza Venezia and declared war on the United States. Tittmann moved into Vatican City on December 16 and would not set foot in Rome again for two and a half years.

Pius XII's Silence

- When the Vatican received a Japanese ambassador soon after Pearl Harbor, Tittmann pressed the pope to establish formal ties with Nationalist China. He also encouraged Pius XII to speak out against Japanese atrocities in the Pacific War, but Pius XII kept silent. He also maintained silence about German atrocities in Europe, beginning with the German invasion of Poland in 1939. This stance infuriated many diplomats.
- In his 1942 Christmas message, Pius XII referred to "the hundreds of thousands who, through no fault of their own, and solely because of their nation or race, have been condemned to death or progressive wasting away." A few days later, the pope told Tittmann that he believed he'd clearly fulfilled the requests made that he condemn Nazi atrocities.
- Tittmann diplomatically replied that he thought not everyone would agree. But Pius XII explained that his oblique reference was clearly about the Jews, Poles, and others killed by the Nazis. He said that he could not specifically mention the Nazis because if he did so, he would also have to mention Soviet atrocities, and this would displease the Allies.

- The silence of Pope Pius XII regarding Nazi Germany and the genocide of the Jews extended even to the German round-up of more than 1,000 of Rome's Jews on October 16, 1943. They were held in a building near the Vatican for two days before they were sent to Auschwitz and gassed. Pope Pius XII never said a word publicly.

Conclusion

- On June 28, 1943, President Roosevelt proposed that the Vatican seek to have Rome declared an "open city," with all military installations removed to avoid Allied bombing. This did not come to pass, and Tittmann witnessed the first Allied bombing of Rome only weeks later, on July 19.
- In November 1943, wayward bombs landed in Vatican City, leaving craters in the garden and several uninhabited buildings. Then, in February 1944, Tittmann found himself having to deal with the Allied bombing of the abbey at Monte Cassino, southeast of Rome. The thousand-year-old abbey was destroyed, and more than 200 civilian lives were lost. The targeted Germans were not there.

- Pius XII now hinted to Tittmann that he might have to speak out publicly to condemn the bombing. The US diplomat responded that he did not think such criticism wise, in part because nations that had already lost cultural treasures to German bombs would be unsympathetic to the pope's criticism.
- On June 3, 1944, with Allied ground forces approaching Rome, Tittmann watched a tank battle from his refuge in the Vatican gardens. And on June 4, Tittmann's son observed as the Germans retreated from Rome. He watched joyously as the US Army arrived the next day by the same road the Germans had departed on.
- All the Americans were now free. Some soldiers celebrated by parking a tank on St. Peter's Square and going in for mass.

Reading

Kertzer, *The Pope and Mussolini*.
Tittmann, *Inside the Vatican of Pius XII*.

Questions

1. What was the biggest diplomatic challenge the papacy faced before and during World War II?
2. What policies could Pope Pius XII have pursued, other than silence, to influence the course of World War II?

17

Americans in Britain: Countdown to D-Day

The Allied invasion of Normandy on June 6, 1944, was perhaps the pivotal event of World War II. First, however, daily life on the British side of the English Channel was transformed by a friendly invasion of American military forces who came to join the fight in Europe. More than 3 million Americans passed through Britain during World War II, and the encounter between two different yet historically related cultures left a permanent mark on both sides.

"Instructions for American Servicemen in Britain, 1942"

- Tensions between American and British armed forces personnel in Britain threatened to disrupt Allied unity. US officials produced a short pamphlet titled "Instructions for American Servicemen in Britain, 1942," to instruct young, untraveled American servicemen on what they could expect during their daily lives in Britain.
- The booklet made a case for why the outcome of the war depended on good relations between the Americans and their hosts. It emphasized the two nations' close ties, including a common language, religious liberties, and the traditions of common law and constitutional rights. Both nations, moreover, were modern democracies whose populations valued "courtesy and decency" in their personal relations.
- American soldiers were urged to understand that the British were not unfriendly but rather reserved. Having lost 60,000 civilians in the war to date, their toughness was already proven. Indeed, the Americans needed to understand that the British were tempered by the daily realities of war, including the rationing of food and gasoline. The British were actively sacrificing some of life's necessities to support their troops and merchant sailors.
- Small differences in daily customs were to be respected. For instance, the British drank warm beer in pubs, and whiskey was rare and expensive. Americans were warned: "The British don't know how to make a good cup of coffee. You don't know how to make a good cup of tea. It's an even swap."
- Money and sex were two particular areas of potential friction. Regarding the first, the US War Department informed its troops: "American wages and American soldiers' pay are the highest in the world." Trouble and jealousy were also likely to be stoked up as American servicemen lavished gifts and money on young British women who were accustomed to a wartime existence under rationing.
- Another worry was that British military women often had more direct experience than the young American soldiers, and sometimes they were in positions where they gave orders to men. The American troops were instructed to respect British women, especially those in uniform, in part for what they had endured and accomplished in the war.

- The pamphlet concluded: "It is always impolite to criticize your hosts; it is militarily stupid to criticize your allies." This advice was not always heeded.

The Eighth Air Force

- Among the first Americans to develop special bonds with their British hosts were the flyboys of the US Army Air Forces. The American Eighth Air Force conducted high-altitude precision bombing raids in tight formations over the European continent, flying out of dozens of bases northeast of London. Uncertainty was a constant in their lives. The biggest uncertainty was who would be returning to the airbase after each mission.
- The standard tour for airmen was the completion of 25 combat missions, after which they would be rotated home. But the Eighth Air Force suffered such horrific losses that it was virtually impossible to survive, and the airmen knew it. Entering combat on June 22, 1943, only two of nine crews originally deployed by the 381st Bomb Group survived to complete 25 missions. And the group lost 26 of its 36 crews in less than four months.
- After a disastrous raid on Schweinfurt, Germany, where 11 planes and 101 men were lost, surviving crew members skipped breakfast rather than confront the long rows of empty tables and seats in the mess hall that had been occupied just the day before. A few days later, all combat personnel were given four-day passes to London with advance pay, which underwrote a "super-bender" for the airmen. As one airman noted, "at nine o'clock in the morning we could be bombing Berlin, and at midnight at a fancy dance in London."
- London satisfied the many diverse tastes of American GIs, ranging from museums, concerts, theaters, and pubs to sexual promiscuity and prostitution. In London, the Americans and British alike might have shown their worst sides. American GIs were estimated to spend more than half of their $40 monthly disposable income on trips to the city, where alcohol and individual anonymity contributed to some rude and confrontational situations.

Forrest Pogue

- By the spring of 1944, 1.65 million Americans were stationed in Britain. Allied plans for the greatest amphibious operation in history were now underway, led by General Eisenhower at the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force, or SHAEF. The ultimate objective was to coordinate the movement of 2.5 million soldiers, sailors, and airmen into position at the right moment to break Hitler's Atlantic Wall defenses.
- The diary of an American combat historian provides insights into what it was like to be among Eisenhower's planning staff as D-Day neared. Sergeant Forrest Pogue was a native of Kentucky who'd studied in Paris on his path to earning a PhD in European diplomatic history. He arrived in London in early April 1944 with the task of recording the oral histories of American combat soldiers in the upcoming invasion.

African American Troops in Britain

The presence of African American troops in Britain grew to 130,000 before D-Day. Lieutenant Joseph Curtis, who was stationed in a segregated engineering unit, became friendly with a schoolmaster in Cornwall and a family in Chacewater that baked him a cake, even though their rations were meager.

The American invasion of Britain also included the import of some of the worst American racial prejudices. In April 1943, a young British woman recorded an altercation in which a white American airman entered a London canteen and slapped a Black British airman in the face, demanding that he leave. In contrast, African Americans made note of the comparative lack of discrimination by most members of the British public. This general sense of toleration was an impression that African Americans would take home after the war.

- To better recognize what occurred on a battlefield, Pogue and other staff historians were given infantry and weapons manuals to study. But they were unable to find out exactly where and when the pending invasion would take place. Meanwhile, the men walked and explored London. Pogue visited Parliament and walked through the bombed-out House of Commons, among other sights and scenes of English history.
- Like many Americans, Pogue often struck up friendly relations with British children, giving away candy and gum. He was pleased to talk to a young boy from Deptford, in southeast London, who knew enough American history to ask him if he was a Yank or a Rebel. Pogue also listened as a Jewish youth told him about his family's escape from Nazi Germany to Paris, and then to London, only to have two of his relatives killed by German bombs during the Blitz.
- At the end of April 1942, Pogue was assigned to the army's V Corps under General Leonard Gerow at Norton Manor. Now, Pogue and fellow service historians received security clearance granting them access to top-secret invasion plans. He learned of the plan to land V Corps on Omaha Beach on D-Day as well as its projected operations for the first 10 days of the campaign. He also began to deduce other details about the overall plan, code-named Operation Overlord.

D-Day

- Amid a fierce rainstorm on the morning of June 5, 1944, General Eisenhower gathered his staff at his headquarters in Southwick House for a 4:00 am briefing. The invasion had already been postponed once due to inclement weather. Now, Eisenhower's chief meteorologist, Captain James Stagg, told him the weather would break the next morning for 36 hours. Still, the general's staff was split on whether or not to launch the invasion.
- The decision was Eisenhower's alone. He gave the go-ahead, and his staff rushed from the room to carry out their assignments. Eisenhower was perhaps the most powerful military man in the world, but he knew that the success of D-Day depended on the ordinary soldiers who would now leave Britain for unknown destinies on the shores of northern France.

- In the early morning hours of June 6, Lieutenant Dick Winters leaped from a C-47 transport plane along with the men of E Company, 506th Parachute Infantry Regiment. They descended in the darkness through enemy fire.
- Despite scattering across the jump zone, Winters regrouped his men once on the ground. They fought the Germans and took the key crossroads town of Sainte-Mère-Église. This was one of the key first steps that would help the incoming troops secure the Normandy landing beaches at dawn. By the end of the day, 156,000 Allied troops had successfully landed.
- The next day, Pogue landed at Omaha Beach to begin his work as a historian recording the combat experiences of the American troops. He later learned that one of his former students was reported missing in action that day. The young man had missed seeing Pogue in London, but he had written him a note just before the landing. His body was never recovered.

Reading

Pogue, *Pogue's War*.
Reynolds, *Rich Relations*.
Winters and Kingseed, *Beyond Band of Brothers*.

Questions

1. What were the biggest daily challenges between the temporarily occupying US Army and their British hosts?
2. Both Britain and the United States are multiracial societies. How did they compare in their treatments of racial minorities during wartime?

18

Commanders at the Battle of the Bulge

Adolf Hitler's last, desperate gamble for victory was to launch a surprise winter attack through Belgium's Ardennes forest and split the American and British armies. The German offensive in late 1944 initially overran Allied positions, but US forces did not break. In the largest battle in the history of the US Army, more than 600,000 troops fought frozen conditions, hunger, fear, and death over five weeks to flatten the bulge and defeat the German enemy. Approximately one in 10 US combat casualties during the entire war occurred at the Battle of the Bulge. But this historic battle sealed the military fate of the Third Reich.

Captain Charles MacDonald

- The German offensive launched at 5:30 am on December 16, 1944. It walloped the US 99th Infantry Division near the village of Rocherath, Belgium, and chaos enveloped the Americans for days. Captain Charles MacDonald—commander of I Company, 23rd Infantry Regiment, 2nd Division—had premonitions that a challenge was on the way.
- MacDonald was new to the command of this veteran infantry unit. He had seen only defensive fighting thus far in areas classified as quiet, and he had yet to lose a man under his command. But on December 16, MacDonald was told that I Company was to move out immediately to a crossroads a mile outside Rocherath. They would defend the crossroads there in coordination with K Company.
- As MacDonald and his men advanced down the road, a group of soldiers warned them to stop because the fighting lay ahead. They now heard the sound of German Nebelwerfer rocket shells exploding behind them, and they jumped into the snowy woods. Perhaps against their better instincts, the infantry captain and his lieutenants assured themselves the German attack was a local one, not across a broad front.
- That night, MacDonald received orders that I Company was to dig in and hold the position at all costs. After two hours of turning a spade in the cold, muddy earth, MacDonald had opened a slit trench deep enough to protect his body from surface fire. With only thin blankets for warmth, he and two others smoked cigarettes in cupped hands to avoid detection.
- MacDonald hoped that American food trucks, along with two Sherman tanks that had been promised to the men, would arrive in the morning. But by mid-morning, careening jeeps on the highway indicated that the 99th was in retreat. Now nothing stood between I Company and the Germans.
- Next came German artillery and small-arms fire raining on the Americans. MacDonald called in his own artillery strike, but the Americans were short of ammunition. And though the two Sherman tanks he'd expected had arrived, they were now in retreat.

MacDonald also learned that one of his men, Martin Carlson, was dead. This was the first death of an I Company soldier since he had assumed command.

Opening Days at the Battle of the Bulge

- MacDonald's orders remained to hold the position at all costs, even as he witnessed seven enemy infantry assaults. German Tiger tanks approached, and 88-mm shells from the tanks' guns burst through the woods. On the radio, MacDonald begged for Sherman tanks to be sent.
- When MacDonald stood up, he realized that his own men were falling back. He took off in a mad dash through the dense, snowy forest, with bullets flying around him. He then stumbled on the infantry's K Company in shallow foxholes of their own. MacDonald's presence at the K Company position meant that the American line was broken and the German enemy's arrival was imminent.
- Headquarters ordered the companies to withdraw into Rocherath and Krinkelt. As they fled, MacDonald witnessed Private Jose Lopez of M Company hold off the German infantry with a machine gun. He continued laying down covering fire, even in the face of a German tank that fired an 88-mm shell directly at his position. Lopez would later receive the Medal of Honor for his actions that allowed MacDonald and the others to escape.
- In a farmhouse basement, MacDonald's superior, Colonel Paul Tuttle, told him that "the Germans are throwing everything they've got. You held out much longer than I expected after I learned the true situation." This realization made MacDonald almost cry in relief.
- The overwhelming confusion and surprise that reigned in the opening days at the Battle of the Bulge dissipated as the Allied armies gradually came to grips with the enormity of the German onslaught. What remained, however, was an arduous task that could be overcome only with fierce and unwavering determination.

The Siege of Bastogne

- Perhaps the most desperate situation American infantry troops faced was in the defense of the Belgian town of Bastogne, which the German surge had completely surrounded. Captain Richard Winters was promoted in October 1944 to command the 506th Parachute Infantry Regiment's D, E, and F Companies of the 2nd Battalion. They were to respond to the large German offensive in Belgium.
- E Company was not equipped for winter warfare. The men were short on ammunition and wore the same light uniforms, underwear, socks, and unlined boots that they had for their parachute drops into Holland nearly three months earlier. They now boarded a convoy of trucks, breathing on their hands for warmth, as wild rumors circulated in the cold air. One of the retreating Americans was heard to warn the men of E Company: "They'll kill you all."
- In preparing defenses, the men dug L-shaped holes in the earth that were for sleeping and shooting. Coffin jokes were made. Trench foot was one problem in the wet and cold conditions. Sergeant Don Malarkey came up with a system of wrapping his boots in burlap sacks and pouring water over them. The water froze and, counterintuitively, provided him with greater insulation around his feet. Other soldiers laughed at this method.
- The Germans surrounded Bastogne. Worries about the worsening cold and lack of sleep, food, weapons, and supplies consumed Winters' attention. Then, on December 22, the Germans delivered an ultimatum: The 101st Airborne Division must surrender or face total annihilation. Brigadier General Anthony McAuliffe sent a single-word reply: "Nuts!"
- The next day, American C-47 transport planes dropped food, ammunition, blankets, and medical supplies. And on Christmas Eve, the front-line troops read about McAuliffe's response in a one-page newspaper printed in Bastogne. The general's tough talk reminded Malarkey that "what we were doing here was about something bigger than just us. That we weren't folding no matter what."

- On Christmas Day, the troops celebrated with a meal of navy bean broth. But the best Christmas present the American defenders of Bastogne could have asked for arrived the next day, on December 26. The 37th Tank Battalion of General George Patton's Third Army broke through German lines and reached Bastogne. Supplies could now flow in, and the wounded were evacuated.
- More than 2,000 American casualties had been sustained during eight days of defending the small Belgian town. But the Americans' ability to hold their ground signaled that the Battle of the Bulge had turned. The Germans were being forced back.

E Company

- The Battle of the Bulge continued until January 25, 1945, a full month after the siege at Bastogne was broken. Winters' men were ordered to remain on the front lines and continue to engage the enemy.
- E Company—now under the command of Lt. Norman Dike—was moving into position at dusk on January 3 when the men were hit with a German artillery barrage. Several men were severely wounded. Sergeant Carwood Lipton moved forward to organize the evacuation and care for the wounded, and Lieutenant Dike left the line for headquarters. Seeing their leader apparently walk away, some soldiers broke.
- As E Company now prepared to attack German positions in the town of Foy, Belgium, Lipton went to Captain Winters to express doubt that Lieutenant Dike was capable of leading such an attack. Winters decided to personally observe the action from a woods near the town. And sure enough, Dike halted the advance 75 yards from the target despite covering machine gun fire. This left the soldiers of E Company exposed.
- Winters sent Lieutenant Ronald Speirs to take command of E Company. The lieutenant dashed through German fire to confront Dike behind a haystack. Taking command, Speirs now sprinted across a field to locate and coordinate with another unit, I Company, while a German 88-mm gun shot at him. Then, he raced back across the same field to lead E Company's charge into Foy for house-to-house fighting.

- In all, E Company captured 20 enemy soldiers against the loss of one killed and a few wounded. But disaster had only narrowly been averted. That evening at regimental headquarters, Winters made the suggestion to relieve Lieutenant Dike and put Speirs in command. The recommendation was immediately approved.
- The firing of a junior officer might seem like a minor decision amid 41 days of hard-fought warfare. But the American victory in the Battle of the Bulge hung on just such adjustments. By the end of the historic battle, the American GIs had ensured that the days of Adolf Hitler's Third Reich were fast closing.

Reading

MacDonald, *Company Commander*.
Malarkey and Welch, *Easy Company Soldier*.
Winters and Kingseed, *Beyond Band of Brothers*.

Questions

1 Charles MacDonald described daily life during the opening German offensive in the Battle of the Bulge. What part of his duties as a company commander seemed most challenging?

2 What parts of the soldiers' training did Dick Winters and Don Malarkey attribute to keeping them in the daily battle?

19

General Slim and the Forgotten Fight

The China-Burma-India Theater of World War II was for decades referred to as the forgotten theater. During World War II, British general William Slim perhaps best fit the description of a great commander who inherited a losing situation and then took control by implementing a new strategy. In the face of inferior resources, a hostile environment, and long and hard odds, he achieved complete victory over the enemy.

William Slim

- After their attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the Japanese unleashed an onslaught on the British Empire in Asia that swept down the Malaysian peninsula, culminating in an attack on the British naval stronghold of Singapore. On February 15, 1942, more than 80,000 British, Indian, and Australian defenders handed Singapore over to a Japanese army half their number. Churchill later called this "the worst disaster and largest capitulation in British history."
- In early March, the Japanese captured Rangoon, the capital of Burma, or present-day Myanmar. British forces were forced to flee west to India. A moment of supreme strategic danger to the British had now arrived.
- General William Slim was then commanding the 10th Indian Division in Iraq against a possible German invasion of Turkey. Shortly after the fall of Rangoon, Slim was called to the phone by his army commander in Baghdad and told to fly to India immediately. General Archibald Wavell, the empire's new commander in chief in India, appointed Slim to take command of an army corps in Burma.
- Slim initiated a candid exchange with Wavell regarding the sensitive topic of Singapore. From this exchange, Slim fleshed out a deeper plan for victory that began by reckoning with British underestimation of Japanese fighting prowess and lack of resources.
- On March 13, Slim flew to Prome, Burma, and conducted his own analysis of the situation. Burma was a predominantly tropical country, and Slim's army was not equipped or trained for jungle warfare. His combat units were undermanned and underprepared. He suffered from inferior situational intelligence vis-à-vis the Japanese, and he needed the cooperation of locals. Above all, morale was low from the streak of Japanese victories.
- Slim concluded that he needed to go on the offensive. But Japan would be the first to renew the attack, beginning on March 24. Slim had arrived in Burma just in time to lead the British retreat to Imphal, in northeastern India.

Morale in the 14th Army

- With the Burma corps now in India, Slim concluded that British and Allied forces had been "outmaneuvered, outfought, and outgeneraled." He decided that British troops had to gain comfort in the jungle environment and that British patrols would be key to future success. He also realized that dropping supplies by air to troops in the jungle would be an important element for successful jungle warfare.
- In October 1943, the Allies formed the 14th Army under Slim's command. Slim chose the town of Comilla in present-day Bangladesh as his operational headquarters base. Responsible for a front more than 700 miles long, from the Chinese border to the Bay of Bengal, Slim was constantly concerned about the availability and conditions of railways, roads, river traffic, and motor vehicles. His supplies of ammunition were short, as were meat, vegetables, medical supplies, doctors, and nurses.
- Slim thought that improving and sustaining morale was most important. He observed, "The men were calling themselves a 'Forgotten Army' long before some newspaper correspondent seized on the phrase." He recognized that the way to reach the men was by talking to them on a daily basis. The goal was that each of the half-million men under his command would grasp their specific roles and feel pride in their contributions to the war effort.
- Troops in Burma would always lack priority, so Slim decided that honesty was the best method to confront the obvious material shortages his men faced. He stressed to his troops that while most of the Allies' resources had to be devoted to the defeat of Nazi Germany, he and his officers would obtain all the material support they could. If they lacked resources, they would improvise or go without. But he would not ask the troops to accomplish any mission without the minimum necessary equipment. In this way, the general earned the loyalty and respect of the 14th Army.

Personal Diplomacy

- Rancorous allies and a fractured political environment were part of daily life for any officer or a soldier in the China-Burma-India Theater. Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Chinese troops were under the command of the American general Joseph Stilwell.
- Slim maintained good relations with his Chinese counterparts, Generals Sun Li-jen and Liao Yaoxiang, though he recognized that General Sun felt a "loss of face" because American officers were training his troops. Slim counseled Sun to remember that by becoming better soldiers the men would reap the benefits on the battlefield against the Japanese. Sun accepted his advice.
- Meanwhile, though the British and Americans had agreed to an integrated command system, this also posed problems. In one instance, American general Stilwell lived up to nickname as "Vinegar Joe," presenting a surly attitude toward his immediate superior, British admiral Mountbatten.
- This portended an ugly showdown until Stilwell abruptly announced his willingness to temporarily serve under Slim's operational command. The arrangement was unorthodox, but Slim recalled it was also surprisingly effective. He recalled that "Stilwell, talking things over quietly with no one else present, was a much easier and more likeable person than Vinegar Joe with an audience." In this way, personal diplomacy allowed Slim to coordinate with his allies to get the most effective operations out of all their military forces.

Reading the Enemy

- Slim attached the highest importance to reading his enemy. Realizing that the Japanese were making war plans, Slim found out all he could about his opposite number, Lieutenant General Kawabe Masakazu, the commander in chief of Japan's Burma army. Slim obtained a photograph that he believed to be of Kawabe and pinned it up where he could gaze at it from his desk.

- Slim did not have enough information to understand Kawabe individually, but he thought the enemy officer would fit the mold of most Japanese commanders Slim had studied. Slim had analyzed the 1904 Russo-Japanese War, and because Japanese tactics had proved so successful against the Russians, he expected that they would be repeated against Allied forces.
- Consequently, Slim expected Kawabe to be bold in his offensive operations, with total faith in his men and their spirit to carry the day in battle. And he expected Kawabe to be willing to commit all resources and reserves to the battle without adjusting his plan to any unexpected circumstances that he might confront.
- Slim's efforts prepared the British for the Japanese onslaught. British troops had found orders and maps on dead enemy soldiers that confirmed Japan's upcoming attack as the first step to invading India. At Arakan, the British annihilated a Japanese force of 8,000 troops, recovering more than 5,000 bodies with many others lost. Halting the Japanese in the coastal area of Arakan, the British foiled an intended Japanese march southward on Delhi.

When the Japanese launched their anticipated offensive in early February 1944, Slim had just finished receiving a series of nine injections of emetine for dysentery. This was one of the distractions of daily life in the tropical zone that had to be expected and tolerated.

Conclusion

- Japan's main offensive from March to July 1944 attempted to invade India through a northern route and placed tremendous pressure on India's regional capitals of Kohima and Imphal. Kohima was under siege, and Slim was convinced that the Japanese would attack Imphal in mid-March.

- Slim developed a plan under which the Allied forces would fall back from Kohima to Imphal. But because the appearance of a retreat might have the effect of damaging his men's morale, Slim left it to his commanders on the ground to anticipate when the Japanese attack was imminent. Slim later considered this a mistake, believing that he should have maintained this responsibility.
- When the Japanese attacked, fighting at Kohima and Imphal was heavy. But by mid-May 1944, Slim's worst fears about the Japanese offensive had passed. It would take until June 22 for the road to Imphal to be opened so that supplies could flow, but Slim knew the battle was won and the Japanese threat to invade India was over.
- What remained was the pursuit and destruction of retreating Japanese troops all the way through to victory in Burma. General Slim went on to recapture Rangoon in 1945 and defeat the Japanese in Burma. While the British Empire would lose its colonial possessions of India and Burma in the postwar era, the opportunity for it to grant independence to these peoples had come about by first defeating imperial Japan in the China-Burma-India Theater.

Reading

Slim, *Defeat Into Victory*.

Questions

1 Why was the China-Burma-India Theater considered a forgotten theater to the Allies during the war?

2 What were the most important initiatives undertaken by General William Slim to transform daily life in the British army and eventually gain victory in the China-Burma-India Theater?

20

The Kamikazes and the Duty to Die

Respected by comrades and countrymen for their psychological impact, the Japanese suicide pilots known as kamikazes left a mixed legacy that, to the present day, haunts the Pacific War. The willingness of Japanese suicide pilots to take the lives of others through their own deaths raised philosophical questions for all involved—the kamikazes, the commanders who sent them into battle, and their victims.

The First Kamikaze Attacks

- Japan's worsening military situation was at the heart of why the airborne kamikaze units were created in October 1944. There had been previous operations that could be viewed as suicidal, from the Japanese infantry's swarming banzai charges to the mini submarines that attacked at Pearl Harbor. Some surface attacks such as that by the battleship *Yamato* off the coast of Okinawa in 1945 might also be classified as suicide missions.
- Furthermore, there are debates over when the first airborne kamikaze attack occurred during World War II. Historians offer varying suggestions, from the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor to events in 1944 and 1945 at Saipan, Formosa, and the Philippines' Negros island.
- On October 15, 1944, the aircraft carrier USS *Franklin* was struck by a Japanese airplane in an attack led by Rear Admiral Masafumi Arima. Although his airplane is believed to have been shot down by the Americans—and only the wing from a Japanese plane that crashed in the water struck the *Franklin*—the Japanese government credited Arima with inventing the kamikaze tactic. Four days later, Vice Admiral Takijiro Onishi formally initiated kamikaze missions.
- In war, ordering young men and women into situations of life and death is part of being a commander. But for troops to trust their commanders and be willing to follow orders, there must be at least the hope of survival, or even the possibility of victory. Whether by requesting volunteers or via direct command, sending young men into missions expressly designed for their death crossed a virtually sacred traditional ethical boundary for Japanese military commanders.

The Shimpu Special Attack Corps

- The military and moral Rubicon was crossed on the night of October 19, 1944, at Mabalacat Airfield in the Philippines. Vice Admiral Onishi was facing a massive American invasion fleet at Leyte Gulf and had only a few dozen planes to offer in defense. He proposed the formation of a unit whose pilots would deliberately crash their planes with 250-kilogram bombs into US aircraft carriers.

- That night, Captain Rikihei Inoguchi and Commander Asaichi Tamai asked for volunteers to organize the first kamikaze unit, and 23 pilots stepped up. The new unit was named the Shimpu Special Attack Corps. It was subdivided into four sections: the Shikishima and Yamato (both meaning "Japan"), the Asahi ("Morning Sun"), and the Yamazakura ("Mountain Cherry Blossoms").

> *Shimpu*, or "Divine Wind," refers to the typhoon that destroyed the Mongol fleet of Kublai Khan as it sought to conquer the Japanese archipelago in 1274 and 1281.

- Because the Japanese attack aircraft would come in either very low—the planes skimming the water's surface—or very high above the targets, some pilots would be assigned to crash while others would fly in support of the mission. The Shikishima unit under Lieutenant Yukio Seki launched the first successful attacks using the new tactic. The aircraft carrier USS *St. Lo* was targeted on October 25, 1944, and it sank in the Leyte Gulf.
- That same evening, the Japanese emperor Hirohito sent a message to his naval chief of staff, saying, "Was it necessary to go to this extreme? They certainly did a magnificent job." Vice Admiral Onishi took the emperor's words as criticism of his tactics. Two days later, he told Commander Tadashi Nakajima: "The fact that we have had to resort to a thing like this shows how poor our strategy has been." But there was no turning back now.

Inoguchi and Nakajima

- The two commanders of the kamikaze units—Rikihei Inoguchi and Tadashi Nakajima, who had replaced Commander Tamai—both noted that morale among the pilots was high in the beginning. Veteran airmen willingly volunteered. Having seen many of their comrades die, they desired vengeance and expressed no outward fear of death. Plus, as experienced military professionals, they knew that Japan was losing the war.

- Captain Inoguchi experienced a taste of this firsthand when his nephew, Satoshi Inoguchi, arrived at the air base in the Philippines. The youth's father, Toshihira Inoguchi, had gone down with his ship in the Battle of Leyte Gulf on October 24. It was Rikihei Inoguchi's responsibility to inform his nephew of this.

> Commander Nakajima later wrote, "The special attackers were neither saints nor devils. They were human beings, with all the emotions and feelings, faults and virtues, strengths and weaknesses of other human beings. So they sang songs, laughed, cried, and got drunk; did good things and bad."

- Less than 10 days later, Satoshi tricked his way into flying a mission to strike US planes at Tacloban Airfield. The Japanese attack was foiled by antiaircraft fire. Only one plane returned. When Inoguchi asked the surviving pilot about his nephew, the pilot's stare stopped him. Inoguchi realized his nephew had intended all along to join his father in death.
- On October 27, 1944—the same day that Vice Admiral Onishi was ruing "how poor our strategy has been"—kamikaze pilot Naoji Fukabori wrote his final letter to the suicide unit's leader, Commander Nakajima.
- First, he went through practical details concerning bomb fuse locks, how to calculate departure time and distance to target, the desirability of dawn attacks, and the need for patience to await the right conditions. Then he added: "The good faith of our pilots makes me confident that the Imperial prestige will last forever. Our pilots are young but their behavior is brilliant."
- The next day at dawn, Fukabori flew his final mission. No Japanese records exist of his dive, but the Americans' light cruiser USS *Denver* was damaged by a kamikaze that day. Commander Nakajima wrote: "I like to think he was successful that day."

Life in Limbo

- Just because a pilot volunteered to fly a kamikaze mission did not mean he immediately fulfilled the assignment. Instead, kamikazes who volunteered for service sometimes waited for months before receiving orders for their mission. Commander Nakajima described life in limbo at a kamikaze base in the Philippines in November 1944. As sake flowed in a jovial atmosphere rare on the front lines, he was accosted by pilots requesting to fly their attack missions.
- On mission days, the maintenance crews worked hard to make sure the planes were in condition to fly. A pilot who was left behind because his airplane was not airworthy suffered a pitiable loss of face. Nakajima noted that one particular crewman always kept the cockpits of designated kamikaze planes especially clean because he believed he was preparing the pilot's coffin.
- But the attitudes of the kamikaze pilots had changed by January 1945, Nakajima noted. Part of the reason was inferior equipment. The kamikazes were not flying Zero fighters but rather simple trainer aircraft with a bomb attached. The men's inspirational spirit had also dissipated with Japan's receding prospects.
- The attrition rate of experienced Japanese pilots was quite high by late 1944. It became necessary to use what remained of the experienced pilots to fly cover for the much less experienced suicide flyers. Needing more kamikazes than ever to counter the Americans' landings at the Japanese island of Okinawa, pressure to become crash-dive pilots was applied to young university graduates who served under compulsion with little flying experience.

- The kamikazes' motivations were often intellectual and idealistic, and their university studies during the war years often infused a sense of fatalism in their thinking. These traits can be seen in the diary of Nakao Takenori, a University of Tokyo law student. As early as August 1939, he'd seen his life swept up in a wave of historical determinism and war. He wrote:

  > Although Hitler and Napoleon fought to expand their national territory, from a historical point of view, they are nothing but the rise and fall of people. Human beings are born and die. It is just a historical cycle.

- The stress of living what was in effect a death sentence became especially pronounced as the Americans came closer to the Japanese home islands. Nakao Takenori wrote a final letter to his parents on April 28, 1945, stating, "Although I did not do much in my life, I am content that I fulfilled my wish to live a pure life, leaving nothing ugly behind me."

- His alarmed parents went to the airbase, but Takenori's plane had malfunctioned after take-off, and he had gone to a different base. On May 4, 1945, Takenori flew his final mission without leaving any final words. When his parents came for him, they were not told of his death.

Conclusion

- Another kamikaze pilot, Heiichi Okabe, wrote his final diary entry on February 22, 1945, before his final flight on April 12. One of the last lines said, "If, by some strange chance, Japan should suddenly win this war, it would be a fatal misfortune for the future of the nation."

- But Japan had no chance to win, and the military leadership knew that. Still, Vice Admiral Onishi told the young pilots and their immediate superiors that Japan could prevail if the kamikaze tactic was adopted and that their voluntary deaths would be idealistic and glorious. In reality, although the kamikazes could strike terror, they could not emerge victorious by their sacrifice.

- The day after Japan surrendered in August 1945, Vice Admiral Onishi committed hari-kari, or suicide. He disemboweled himself and died in agony 15 hours later, offering his death as a penance to the kamikazes' family members.

Reading

Inoguchi, Nakajima, and Pineau, *The Divine Wind*.
Ohnuki-Tierney, *Kamikaze Diaries*.

Questions

1. Why were kamikazes viewed with a mixture of admiration and pity? Why was the formation of organized kamikaze units seen as a moral Rubicon?
2. As the fortunes of war changed, what differences were seen in the pilots who became kamikazes? What do you think is their ultimate legacy?

21

The Eyes and Ears of War Correspondents

During the 1940s, governments around the world censored and controlled wartime information in the name of national security. Working to break that news blackout were war correspondents who were determined to serve a hungry public. Their words and images remain the most direct, intimate daily record of war many of us will ever know. And although their work might be only the first draft of history, their insights remain lasting, serving as warnings for future generations about the eternal realities of armed conflict.

Don Whitehead

- When Don Whitehead of the Associated Press newswire requested an overseas assignment, he was forewarned that although the work might appear to be glamorous, he would be exposed to personal physical danger. The AP made no guarantees about where he might go or what living conditions he might encounter. Any overseas assignment would be for the duration of the war, and there would be no company leave during wartime.
- Whitehead forged ahead anyway and was assigned to the Middle East. In preparation, he received a $500 cash advance and travel tickets valued at $1,500. He was relieved to learn that his baggage and typewriter weighed only 45 pounds, far below the 55-pound limit. Leaving New York on the evening of September 28, 1942, he arrived in Cairo 11 days later.
- The British under General Bernard Montgomery were fighting German general Erwin Rommel's Afrika Korps troops in the desert when Whitehead arrived. The Americans would not land in North Africa until a month later. Already, the influx of Western military officers, diplomats, and civilians had doubled Cairo's peacetime population and created a war boom. Inflation rose about 18% a year in wartime Egypt even as the country's economy grew little, if at all.
- From Cairo, Whitehead followed the Allied campaign against Rommel in North Africa. He became friendly with other correspondents, missed his 14th anniversary with his wife, shared food recovered from a captured German ration dump, and shot flares over the tents of British colleagues.
- The dangers of war were a daily presence during this time. Whitehead was startled when his young driver informed him, "You've been over more mines than you'll ever know. … Remember coming into Bengasi when I swerved and almost ran into a ditch? I just missed a mine." Whitehead's driver had never spoken of this near miss before to spare him worry.

- Later, in February 1943, Whitehead wrote in his diary about the death of Associated Press correspondent Edward Harry Crockett in the Mediterranean Sea, after the British ship he'd been on was torpedoed and sunk by a German sub. Whitehead noted, "The death of Harry Crockett brought the dangers of this business close to us. Harry's the first A.P. man to die in World War II."

Warriors and War Correspondents

- In the Pacific Theater, the American correspondents Richard Tregaskis and John Hersey embedded with marines fighting the Japanese on the remote island of Guadalcanal in 1942. Hersey told of the discomfort of bedding down on crushed coral ridges, while Tregaskis—who was further inland—related that the palm trees and starry night would have been enjoyable if not for the mosquitoes, squealing macaws, thirst, and gunfire.

- Hersey reflected that international humanitarian law known as the Geneva Conventions classified correspondents as noncombatants, and thus reporters such as himself were assumed to be unarmed. In reality, an officer had given him an automatic pistol because of the physical threat to his life. Tregaskis likewise recorded how another Allied correspondent openly wished for a pistol, as sleep evaded the nervous newsman.

- Combat could be nightmarish and dehumanizing, the two correspondents came to discover. Unlike the troops, correspondents could leave if things got too bad. But many correspondents felt compelled to tell the stories of the men beside them who were tasked with doing the fighting.

- On Guadalcanal, Hersey asked a group of dirty, tired marines what they were fighting for. The young man who answered said to his fellow marines, "Jesus, what I'd give for a piece of blueberry pie." Hersey understood that the men were fighting to end the war and go home, and that blueberry pie was a symbol of home.
- Warriors and war correspondents may have shared the same battlefields, but they were not comrades in arms. They performed separate missions. Their objectives, and their privileges, also diverged. One soldier later offered a fighter's perspective on the correspondents:

  > I distinctly remember bitterly resenting the fact that they were able to come to the front at their discretion and then return to headquarters, where warm food, warm beds, and warm tents were available. We soldiers were not afforded those luxuries.

Edgar Snow

- Some war correspondents were stars and moved in different orbits than the soldiers did. One example was the American journalist Edgar Snow, who interviewed leading personalities across Asia, including Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. He was also the first Western journalist to interview the Chinese Communist revolutionaries Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai.
- Snow's 1937 book *Red Star over China* established him as a leading expert on the country the same year that war broke out between China and Japan. Snow returned to the United States in early 1941 and began working for the magazine *Saturday Evening Post*. American political and military leaders now eagerly sought his opinions and views.
- Some weeks after Japan's December 1941 attack at Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt summoned Snow to the Oval Office and mischievously told the newsman that he wished to interview him. The two had a wide-ranging discussion of Asian affairs. When Snow told the president that he faced a decision between a job with Army Air Force intelligence and a correspondent's position for the *Saturday Evening Post* in Moscow, Roosevelt jokingly ordered Snow to take the job in Russia. And the president invited Snow to write him whenever he felt there was something he should know.

- In Moscow, Snow learned about being a foreign correspondent and dealing with Joseph Stalin's regime. He mentioned to Roosevelt his concern about rising anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union in August 1944. A few months later, the president invited Snow to what would be their final interview in the Oval Office.
- Snow reported an exultant president as saying, "I got along absolutely splendidly with Stalin at Yalta. … I am convinced we are going to get along." Roosevelt died a month later, and Snow's account has continued to be evaluated and debated by historians of the Cold War ever since.

Illustrating War

- While wartime censorship was often ridiculed, the concerns were real. Hungarian-American combat photographer Robert Capa, on assignment in Britain for *Illustrated* magazine, snapped a photograph of a B-17 heavy bomber christened *Hell's Battlewagon*. The photo was going to be on the magazine's cover. But Capa did not realize that the image captured the Army Air Force's secret Norden bombsight in the plane's nose cone. More than 400,000 copies of the printed magazine had to be recalled and destroyed before distribution.
- In 1943, President Roosevelt himself interceded in favor of *LIFE* magazine on the question of whether to publish combat photographer George Strock's haunting image of three American soldiers lying dead on a beach in Buna, Papua New Guinea. Conveying what happened to ordinary Americans in war was a principal goal of war correspondents. Robert Capa believed that "pictures could do better than words" in illustrating some aspects of warfare.
- After the Allies took Naples, Capa walked the streets amid the victory celebrations and came across a funeral for 20 children who had fought the Germans as partisans. Their dirty feet stuck out of small, "primitive" coffins covered in flowers. Capa wrote, "I pointed the lens at the faces of the prostrated women, taking little pictures of their dead babies until finally the coffins were carried away. Those were my truest pictures of victory, the ones I took at that simple schoolhouse funeral."

- The fighting in Italy inspired the *Stars and Stripes* cartoonist Bill Mauldin to create his "everyman" infantry characters, Willie and Joe. Mauldin's sketches rendered the dogface soldiers and their experiences in immediate, easily understandable terms. He did not embellish his characters as heroes; instead, he depicted the dirty, rough, hangdog reality of the men he saw around him.
- One war correspondent the dogfaces revered above all others was the Scripps Howard war correspondent Ernie Pyle. In Italy, Pyle witnessed grief-stricken soldiers in the moonlight as the corpse of their company commander was delivered by mules from a mountain battlefield. The resulting column, "This One Is Captain Waskow," was among reporting that would earn Pyle a Pulitzer Prize in 1944.

- In April 1945, Robert Capa took his final two photographs of the war: the first of a young soldier firing a machine gun from a balcony, and the second of his limp body slouched back onto the apartment floor, a pool of blood running from the single hole in his face. Capa wrote: "I had the picture of the last man to die. The last day, some of the best ones die. But those alive will fast forget." Later that night, Capa found out that Ernie Pyle had been shot and killed off Okinawa earlier that day.

Reading

Capa, *Slightly Out of Focus*.
Hersey, *Into the Valley*.
Hynes, Matthews, Sorel, and Spiller, eds., *Reporting World War II, Part Two*.
Matthews, Sorel, and Spiller, eds., *Reporting World War II, Part One*.
Moorehead, *A Late Education*.
Snow, *Journey to the Beginning*.
Tregaskis, *Guadalcanal Diary*.
Whitehead, *Combat Reporter*.

Questions

1. What motivations did reporters have to become overseas war correspondents, and what was their daily working life truly like?
2. How did the military view reporters, from the very top brass to the lowest common soldiers?

22

Casualty Stories of the Atomic Age

World War II in the Pacific came to an incredibly violent and sudden end. In August 1945, the United States dropped atomic bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki that killed without mercy or exception. At the same time, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan. Scholars continue to debate which factors most influenced Emperor Hirohito to declare that the Japanese must surrender. But there can be no doubt that the atomic age opened a new era in history.

Yoshito Matsushige

- On August 6, 1945, a Japanese newspaper photographer named Yoshito Matsushige watched the sun rise over the stone walls of the feudal Hiroshima Castle. He returned home and hung his sweaty clothes on a line to dry. After falling asleep on a mat on the floor of his house, Matsushige said he rose at 8:15 am to "a tremendous cracking noise, like trees being torn apart, and at the same instant there was a brilliant flash of immaculate white." He said, "I sensed an explosive wind like needles striking me."
- Matsushige and his wife rushed outside. The morning light had disappeared into darkness so black that he could not see her face. Once the darkness gave way to a lifting fog, Matsushige saw that the four-story wooden firehouse next door was rubble and his own house had collapsed. Matsushige took his camera and began walking into the heart of the city.
- Fires kept him from reaching his office. The streets were filled with swollen bodies with blackened, burst skin. At the western end of the Miyuki Bridge, Matsushige initially could not bring himself to photograph what he saw, but he pressed the shutter twice. Both photos are dominated by smoke and fire.
- In one image, a half-naked young woman runs with her baby, pleading for it to open its eyes, while a policeman doles out cooking oil to soothe burns. In the second image, survivors suffering with burns from melted asphalt lie on the blistered road. They were begging Matsushige for water.
- Matsushige returned home and took two more photographs early that afternoon. One was of his wife in the ruins of their devastated barber shop. The image testifies to the power of the atomic explosion, as they lived more than a mile and a half from the center of the blast. The second image was of the destroyed firehouse, which contained the remains of several trapped firemen.
- Later that afternoon, Matsushige looked into an incinerated trolley car that held about 15 naked, charred corpses. He could not make himself photograph the horrific scene. He did take a picture of an injured police officer handing out disaster-relief forms to obtain food and transportation for some of the blast's survivors.

- Matsushige took seven photographs, but only five could be developed. These photographs are the only ones known to have been taken on the ground in Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. That bomb killed at least 70,000 people instantaneously.

Michihiko Hachiya

- That same August morning, Dr. Michihiko Hachiya was resting at home after an overnight shift as a hospital air-raid warden when he was overcome by a brilliant wave of light. Wounded by flying wood and glass, Hachiya was bleeding heavily as he and his wife headed for the hospital a few hundred meters away. They joined what Hachiya described as a "dismal parade" of "walking ghosts" who moved "like scarecrows," their arms held out to avoid friction from their burns. The naked men and women around him made him realize that their clothing—his own included—had been consumed in the blast.
- Hachiya's hospital colleagues recognized him, and he received emergency first aid in a janitor's room. The hospital building was on fire, and the windows around him flamed. Hachiya passed out, thinking that he would die. But the group he was with survived by drenching themselves with water from a fire hose.
- On August 8, Hachiya found out that he had been reported killed—a report he was delighted to refute. He was annoyed that the dead were not being removed from the hospital quickly enough to make room for living patients. He commented, "People were dying so fast that I had begun to accept death as a matter of course and ceased to respect its awfulness."
- On the morning of August 9, he was feeling more optimistic. He sat up without pain from the stitches that had been applied to his wounds, ate sweet potatoes, and asked his wife to share the ointment that she was using on her singed eyebrows. He learned that people were calling the bomb blast by a new word: *pikadon,* roughly meaning "flash-boom."
- On August 15, Hachiya was unable to hear the radio in the hospital's crowded communications room. Expecting a message to fight to the death, he was stunned when the emperor called instead for surrender. A furor of denial and defiance sounded in support of continuing the war.

- Hachiya observed, "The one word—*surrender*—had produced a greater shock than the bombing of our city." He reflected on the finality of the emperor's message and bitterly evaluated the Japanese army's culpability for the war. Now healed enough to conduct rounds, he then refocused his energies on his patients.

Sadako Okuda

- Thirty-year-old Sadako Okuda had been about to get an inoculation at a hospital clinic some 37 miles from the city when "there was a blinding flash." Afterward, rumors of the destruction in Hiroshima swept her remote village. Her sister-in-law, niece, and nephew lived in Hiroshima, along with an uncle. The next day, when the villagers arranged for boats to take volunteers to search for other family members, Okuda went along. She would walk the ruins of Hiroshima for eight days.

- Okuda went into Hiroshima with a bag packed with green tea, rice balls, hand towels, and antiseptic. She came across two children on a bicycle—an older brother and younger sister—who were both suffering. She tried to get the children to her uncle's house, but the girl died. Okuda left to get supplies, and when she returned she discovered that the boy had died as well. She left the children with a note to "please cremate these two together."
- Okuda wrote her mother a letter describing a three-year-old boy she'd met. The sobbing, burned child had told her, "I want to go beddy-bye with my mommy." When Okuda asked where his mommy was, he pointed to the ruins of a house where a young woman's hand was visible from beneath a slab of concrete. Unable to explain death to the boy, she promised to put him next to his mother.
- His skin came off when she gingerly hugged his swollen, red body. She fed the boy and dug a hole for him to lie in next to his mother, and he fell into a peaceful sleep. She arranged a board and galvanized iron sheet to protect him from the sun. When she returned later, she found that the sun cover she'd built to protect the boy had fallen on him. He was dead, still holding his mother's hand.
- In horror and with a deep sense of guilt, Okuda cradled the boy's body, begging his forgiveness for not taking him with her. Feeling that it would make him happiest, she finally lay the boy back down next to his mother and tied their hands together with a ribbon.
- On August 14, a disheartened and dispirited Sadako Okuda was preparing to leave Hiroshima when her niece and nephew arrived at their uncle's house after seeing a message she'd posted for them on the street.

Aidan MacCarthy

- On August 9, 1945, a second atomic bomb dropped on the city of Nagasaki. On that morning, Dr. Aidan MacCarthy was working with other prisoners of war at a coal mine outside Nagasaki. MacCarthy, a Royal Air Force medical officer, had been captured with British forces in Java in March 1942.

- Spotting B-29s high overhead, the prisoners scattered for cover. Thinking it a conventional air raid, MacCarthy observed: "To dig our own graves with a view to being shot by the Japanese was one thing—but to be killed by our own allies was far too galling." And then MacCarthy saw "a blue flash, accompanied by a very bright magnesium-type flare" that blinded the prisoners. It was followed by "a frighteningly loud but rather flat explosion" and "a blast of hot air."
- The men rushed outside and found that "the camp had to all intents and purposes disappeared." He and other surviving prisoners joined thousands of locals fleeing the devastation to the northern end of the valley. In caves among the foothills there, MacCarthy applied his medical training in tending to burns and broken bones. Black rain fell, and MacCarthy wondered if a biblical judgment day had arrived.
- Three days later, the Japanese Kempeitai secret police took MacCarthy and the other prisoners into Nagasaki to help with mass cremations. Then, on August 15, the guards assembled before a radio outside the commandant's office and listened to the Japanese emperor's radio broadcast. MacCarthy and other POW officers attempted to enter the office, where a translator informed them of Japan's surrender.
- MacCarthy and the other prisoners "were all in a state of shock," he recalled. "We cried, hugged each other, shook hands, dropped on our knees and thanked God." Then, they got around to the practical business of organizing food, water, and camp order until occupation troops arrived.

James Yamazaki

- Japanese-American physician James Yamazaki had served with the US Army as a medic during the war, even as his family was held in US internment camps. He was taken prisoner by the Germans at the Battle of the Bulge, briefly freed, and then captured again at Hammelburg. He narrowly escaped death from Allied bombers at Nuremberg before being liberated at Moosburg.

- On returning home, Yamazaki took a position with the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission in 1948 to study the long-term effects of radiation on Japanese children, focusing on their growth, malformations, and genetic consequences. He arrived in Japan during fall 1949 and was stationed at Nagasaki for two years.
- Yamazaki studied pregnant women who'd been exposed to the bomb. Among the symptoms of radiation sickness in the mothers were hair loss, lesions in the mouth and throat, and dark purple-red skin. Among their children, he studied the incidence of mental disabilities and reduced head size.
- Some 40 years later, on a return visit in 1989, Yamazaki discussed the challenges the 70,000 *hibakusha*, or "survivors," and their disabled children had faced. One woman, learning that her child had been mentally damaged before birth, confessed, "To think that the bomb reached into my womb and hurt him leaves me bitter." Another survivor asked a question that haunted Yamazaki: "When will the silent bomb within us explode?"

Reading

Cook and Cook, *Japan At War*.
Hachiya, *Hiroshima Diary*.
MacCarthy, *A Doctor's War*.
Okuda, *A Dimly Burning Wick*.
Yamazaki, *Children of the Atomic Bomb*.

Questions

1. When the atomic bomb was detonated over Hiroshima, what were the common reactions of victims, and how did their views shift over the coming days?
2. The experiences of five atomic bomb survivors are given in the lesson. In your opinion, which incidents or stories gave the most meaning to the event?

23

A Nuremberg Interpreter, a Tokyo Judge

After the Allies defeated both Nazi Germany and imperial Japan on the battlefield, there remained the task of bringing to account those responsible for inflicting murder, death, and carnage. The war crimes trials that took place in Nuremberg and Tokyo were unprecedented in the history of international law and faced complex challenges, including different national legal traditions, interpretations of new legal charges, and the presentation of evidence.

War Trial Locations

- The International Military Tribunal for 24 major war criminals at Nuremberg ran from November 20, 1945, to October 1, 1946—slightly more than 10 months. In comparison, the International Military Tribunal for the Far East opened its first trial of 28 major war criminals in Tokyo on April 29, 1946, and would continue for more than two and a half years, until November 12, 1948. There would be subsequent trials for lesser figures in both Germany and Japan.
- While the enemy capitals seem like logical trial locations, the war's devastation was the first challenge the legal proceedings had to overcome. The Japanese capital of Tokyo did not even have a courthouse standing after the bombing damage from B-29 raids, including a March 1945 raid that had killed about 100,000 people and burned some 16 square miles of the city.
- In Germany, the victorious Allied powers opted for Nuremberg instead of Munich or devastated Berlin. Nuremberg was chosen because of its historical significance, specifically as the location of the anti-Semitic 1935 Nuremberg Laws, which denied citizenship and other rights to German Jews. It was also a site of some of Hitler's frenzied mass rallies.
- Most importantly, Nuremberg's Palace of Justice and jail buildings were intact enough to host the trial and Nazi defendants. But the rest of the city was enormously damaged. US Army private Richard Sonnenfeldt, flying into Nuremberg in July 1945, described it as "an ocean of destruction, as far as the eye could see."

Translation Troubles

- Richard Sonnenfeldt had escaped Nazi Germany in 1937 as a 15-year-old Jewish boy. In the summer of 1945, he was handpicked to handle one of the key jobs at Nuremberg. He would be chief of the American Interpretation Section, with more than 50 interpreters, stenographers, and typists reporting to him. For months before the trials began, Sonnenfeldt regularly spent more than six hours a day conversing with the Nazi prisoners.

- The nuance of language was a problem throughout the interrogations. Some issues were of a trivial nature. When the Nazi Julius Streicher was interviewed, his interpreter's heavy Swabian accent in English sounded to the prosecutors like Streicher was asking if he was before the "chuch." Confusion reigned until Sonnenfeldt realized that the interpreter was the problem—Streicher was asking if he was before the judge.
- A more serious lapse occurred during Rudolf Hess's interrogation. US attorneys were attempting to disprove Hess's claim of memory loss. But the psychological examiners did not speak German and did not react when Hess used a student slang term, *kladde*, for a notebook. Sonnenfeldt realized that a true amnesiac would not use such a word. But as the interpreter, he could not interject.
- More problems arose when US prosecutors misunderstood the realities of working in a dictatorial government, as when former German foreign minister Joachim von Ribbentrop was asked to take personal responsibility for planning aggressive war and denying passports to Jews. Ribbentrop declined. Adolf Hitler set foreign policy in the Nazi state, and the foreign ministry did not issue passports as the US Department of State did. The Gestapo controlled passports.

- In the Nuremberg courtroom, simultaneous translations were made in English, Russian, French, and German. In Tokyo, English and Japanese were the official languages, with Chinese, Russian, and French employed as necessary. But the Japanese language was difficult to interpret. And confusion often arose over the meaning of a word or phrase. When the Japanese premier Hideki Tojo spoke at the trial, he used language that would be used to address servants—a nuanced and deliberate insult to the prosecutors and court, of which they were ignorant.

Evidence at the Trials

- The trials were convened not as military court martials but rather as international tribunals. The International Military Tribunal in Berlin was established by the Allies to enforce international laws of war, not the laws of sovereign nations. The concept of laws of war had evolved from the Thirty Years' War in the early 17th century through the 1928 Kellogg-Briand Pact, which proposed to outlaw war.
- In the fall of 1944, lawyers working in the US War Department developed what became known as the Nuremberg ideas. Prosecutors at both Nuremberg and Tokyo would attempt to convict defendants ex post facto for violating laws that had not existed before 1945. It was a historic opportunity to develop a new foundation of international law.
- When the trials began, both chief prosecutors directly confronted the defendants' claim that the trials were merely imposing vengeance, or victor's justice. The true value of these trials was the exposure of policies, events, and crimes that had been hidden from the German and Japanese publics. Tokyo's leading financial newspaper observed that the International Military Tribunal for the Far East had given the Japanese people a chance "to reflect deeply upon this fundamental problem" of how the accused war criminals had risen to power in the first place.

- But at Nuremberg, the Nazis Joseph Goebbels, Heinrich Himmler, and Adolf Hitler had all escaped prosecution through suicide. And those who did stand trial attempted to shift responsibility for their actions to their dead bosses. And in Tokyo, the Truman administration and General Douglas MacArthur's occupation government preferred to portray Japanese emperor Hirohito as having been a figurehead in the wartime government so that the emperor could assist in governing postwar Japan.
- Similar to the way in which Hermann Göring was a lesser stand-in for Hitler at Nuremberg, the most important figure on trial in Tokyo was Marquis Kido, who was understood to be Hirohito's "alter ego." Kido's greatest contribution to the prosecution was in providing access to his diaries, which presented a detailed account of decision-making at the highest level from 1930 to 1945.
- In Germany, the Allies had captured many Nazi archival materials, so the prosecution strategy was to have Hitler and his accomplices convict themselves through their own words and records. Because translating the flood of documents was problematic at court, the prosecutors limited the evidence to the pertinent parts. This information was translated, and Allied counsels received copies in their native tongues.

The Verdicts

- At Nuremberg, Private Sonnenfeldt recalled walking the prison corridor with Colonel Burton Andrus, the prison commandant, who kept his hand on his gun while they distributed indictments. He observed that the cells each had "an observation window in the door and a guard stationed outside who could see the prisoner's cot, with his chair and a small table, but not the toilet."
- In Tokyo, Arnold Brackman noted that the guards at Sugamo prison were unarmed and cell doors had been removed. A single lightbulb stayed on over the head of each prisoner. As Brackman toured the facility, he observed that men who had spread terror throughout Asia and the Pacific were now writing, reading, playing solitaire, smoking, sleeping, and daydreaming, often without looking up as he passed. While departing, the reporter's attention was directed by the prison commander to the courtyard, where gallows were being constructed.

- Suicide was a final option that defendants could take to cheat justice. The Japanese military officially adopted suicidal tactics in battle. When the war ended, there was a wave of suicides among Japanese military and political leaders and lower-ranking officers. Premier Tojo shot himself in September 1945 but survived to stand trial. And at Nuremberg, the Nazi defendant Robert Ley hanged himself before the trial began. Afterward, Allied guards employed constant surveillance to prevent defendants from killing themselves.
- Nuremberg prosecutors sought the death penalty for all defendants. But when the verdicts were announced on October 1, 1946, 12 men were condemned to death, seven were sentenced to prison terms ranging from a decade to life, and three were acquitted. The acquittals presumably provided some hope to Japanese defendants a half-world away.
- Then, two hours before Germany's Hermann Göring was to be hanged on October 16, 1946, he committed suicide with a hidden potassium cyanide pill. To prevent a recurrence at Tokyo, the prisoners' cells, clothes, and body cavities were searched daily for the rest of the trial.

- When the verdicts in the Asian tribunal were rendered, an eight-member majority of justices condemned seven defendants to death and sentenced 16 to life imprisonment, with two others receiving lesser time. There were no acquittals.
- The executions at Sugamo prison took place on December 23, 1948. Afterward, the bodies were cremated and ashes scattered to prevent gravesites of convicted war criminals from becoming future pilgrimage destinations. The same precautions were taken at Nuremberg.
- In establishing a legal foundation with which to judge the war crimes committed by Nazi Germany and imperial Japan, the tribunal judges, prosecutors, and defense lawyers created a permanent record and memory by which to avoid such a road to ruin in the future.

Reading

Brackman, *The Untold Story of the Tokyo War Crimes Trials*.
Röling and Cassese, *The Tokyo Trial and Beyond*.
Sonnenfeldt, *Witness to Nuremberg*.
Taylor, *The Anatomy of the Nuremberg Trials*.

Questions

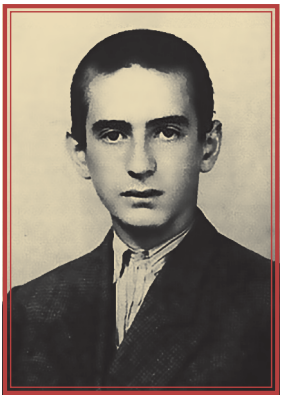
1. What were the major similarities and differences between the Nuremberg and Tokyo war crimes trials?
2. What contribution did the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials make to the conclusion of World War II and its legacy?

24

Survivor Memories: Reliving the Holocaust

The moral horror of World War II has been defined by the Holocaust, the deliberate murder of more than 9 million people conducted through industrial and scientific means by Adolf Hitler's Nazi Germany. While other people deemed undesirable by the Nazis were also murdered, the Jewish people were singled out for complete extermination by Hitler's genocidal vision. To live through the Holocaust was to confront evil that permanently changed a person. Through the eyes of three Holocaust survivors, we can discover how the tragedy of their youths affected their lives after the war.

Elie Wiesel



- Elie Wiesel was born into a Jewish family in the Transylvanian town of Sighet. His family and Jewish community believed that Germany was a humanistic, cultured, and civilized society—even in 1939, when Jewish refugees from Poland began telling stories of atrocities after the Nazis invaded. But the Nazi invasion of Romania in 1944 shattered Wiesel's world.
- Deported to Auschwitz, his mother and younger sister were killed on arrival. Elie himself was tattooed as prisoner number A-7713 and, along with his father, selected for slave labor. They were transferred to the Nazi concentration camp Buchenwald, and his father was beaten to death by a German guard.
- After the war, Wiesel lived in France, briefly studied at the Sorbonne, and began working as a journalist. Then, after traveling to Israel, he returned to Paris as an international correspondent for an Israeli newspaper. Wiesel refused to discuss or write about his wartime experiences for a decade. But his friendship with François Mauriac, winner of the 1952 Nobel Prize for Literature, persuaded him otherwise.
- In 1955, Wiesel wrote an 862-page Yiddish manuscript titled *And the World Has Remained Silent*. Three years later, his French publisher edited it down and changed the title to *La Nuit*, or, as it appeared in English, *Night*. This was the first of nearly 60 books—nonfiction and novels—that Wiesel wrote about the Holocaust, Judaism, and other religious themes across a period of 60 years.
- Wiesel moved to New York in 1956, became an American citizen in the 1960s, and married and had a son he named after his father in the 1970s. He became a noted professor of religion, philosophy, and the humanities at Boston University, and he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1986 for his political activism. He also helped found the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in the nation's capital.

- Some scholars credit Wiesel with coming up with the term *Holocaust* to label the genocide of the Jewish people. The word is a Greek translation of the Hebrew word *`olah*, meaning "a burnt sacrifice." Wiesel, however, resisted the term *Holocaust* as well as *Shoah*, the Hebrew word for "catastrophe." He insisted that "there is no word for the ineffable."
- And yet Wiesel devoted his writing life to speaking the unspeakable. His example encouraged other survivors to speak as well. They sent him manuscripts, diaries, and memoirs. Wiesel advised them: "Tell your stories, even if you have to invent a language. Communicate your memories, your doubts, even if no one wants to hear them."

Saul Friedländer

- In his memoirs, Wiesel relates a café meeting with historian Saul Friedländer in Paris during the early 1960s, when Friedländer was still working on his PhD dissertation. Friedländer disclosed that he'd found explosive archival documents regarding Pope Pius XII's policies toward Nazi Germany. Wiesel introduced him to a publisher, and his scholarly career as the great historian of the Holocaust was launched.
- Born in Prague in 1932, Friedländer and his family fled to France in 1939 amid the Nazi takeover of Czechoslovakia. His name changed from Pavel Friedländer to Paul-Henri Ferland. His parents secreted him in a Catholic seminary, hoping to save his life as the Nazis advanced on France, while the parents themselves attempted to escape to Switzerland.
- Friedländer's parents were captured by French Vichy police at the Swiss border and perished at Auschwitz. The youth embraced the Catholic religion and France as his homeland until after the end of the war, when he learned of his parents' fate and their Jewish identity. In 1946, he met with a Catholic priest, and the two discussed what had happened to his parents. Friedländer recounted: "For the first time, I felt myself to be Jewish—no longer despite myself or secretly, but through a sensation of absolute loyalty."

- In 1948, at age 16, the orphaned boy became a Zionist. To support the reestablishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, he moved to Israel and adopted the name Shaul, although he was known as Saul. He worked for Zionist organizations and the Israeli defense minister, and he became a husband and father.
- Friedländer then moved to Geneva, Switzerland, to earn his doctorate at the Graduate Institute. Later, in Germany, he researched government archives and interviewed Hitler's brief successor as head of the Third Reich, Admiral Karl Dönitz. Friedländer joined the faculty at Geneva's Graduate Institute in the 1960s and taught dual appointments at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv University.
- Despite his professional advancements, Friedländer struggled on a personal level to come to terms with his past. He had trouble with daily joys, including fatherhood. He spent four years in psychotherapy and decades using "hefty daily doses" of drugs such as Librium, Valium, Xanax, and Zoloft. His career successes and time eventually helped to heal some afflictions, but his marriage suffered under the strain.

Friedländer's Writing

- In 1978, Friedländer published *When Memory Comes*, a memoir that contrasted the events of his youth against where his adult life stood at a time of improving Israeli-Arab relations. The book's title was inspired by a few lines out of a book he recalled from his childhood in Czechoslovakia. This book, *The Golem*, tells the story of a robotic golem—or anthropomorphic clay being—that represents the suffering of the Jews in Prague.
- Having spent the war in a French seminary, Friedländer was deeply aware that he had not personally experienced the Nazi camps. His memoir was a personal journey, but it became the foundation for a brilliant scholarly history of the Holocaust.

- Friedländer was motivated by a debate among some historians in the 1980s that called for examining the Third Reich in a broader social and economic context than had been the focus of those who'd concentrated on Nazi criminality and the Holocaust. He did not want historical revisionism to overlook Nazi atrocities.
- The product of Friedländer's scholarship was the two-volume *Nazi Germany and the Jews*. He argued that the Nazis' brand of "redemptive anti-Semitism" was separate from the larger history of European anti-Semitism. One important distinction was that Hitler's Final Solution sought to violently, and completely, extinguish Jewish life from history. For this reason, the multilayered perspectives and responses of the Jews themselves had to be deeply explored and examined.
- Much as Wiesel believed that words alone were not adequate to the task, Friedländer was concerned readers would struggle to grasp the realities he was conveying. His masterstroke was to incorporate the "raw voices" of the victims into his narrative. By giving direct personal testimony from the victims via letters, diaries, and other documents, Friedländer wove personal, emotional, and everyday horrific detail into a comprehensive history. His work received a Pulitzer Prize in 2008.

Otto Dov Kulka

- One of Friedländer's colleagues was Otto Dov Kulka, who in some ways shared a similar biography. He was born in 1933 in Czechoslovakia under the name Otto Deutelbaum. In 1942, he and his mother, Elly, were relocated to the Theresienstadt concentration camp and Jewish ghetto. They were then sent to Auschwitz-Birkenau in occupied Poland, where his father, Erich, had been sent the year before.
- Kulka's mother, uncle, aunt, and half sister all perished in different camps. Otto and his father survived. After the war, they returned to Czechoslovakia and changed their name to Kulka to honor the boy's mother, whose maiden name was Kulková. Kulka immigrated to Israel in 1949 and added the Hebrew name Dov—meaning "bear"—to his identity.

- Kulka joined the history faculty at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1966. In his work as a historian, he prided himself on maintaining a scientific conceptual and methodological approach to studying the Holocaust. This meant that he deliberately remained silent about his own personal experiences.
- Then, in 1978, the power of Kulka's dreams and memories presented itself in a way that changed his work. In a taxi to Auschwitz-Birkenau, he felt himself on a "river of time," but now going in the opposite direction, down the road he'd left the camp by in January 1945. He remembered seeing black stains against the snow under a clear night sky and realizing that the stains were corpses.
- Kulka asked his taxi driver to take a photograph of him standing on the railroad tracks leading into the entrance of Birkenau. The driver, unfamiliar with the camera, snapped a photo of him and inadvertently cropped Kulka in half, revealing a divided man with the death camp behind him.
- From 1991 to 2001, Kulka made tape recordings in which he compared the images conjured up in his mind of what he'd seen at Auschwitz-Birkenau as a grown man in 1978 against his memories during the war years. He kept the tapes secret until Friedländer encouraged him to publish his visions. In 2013, Kulka published *Landscapes of the Metropolis of Death: Reflections on Memory and Imagination*. In a deeply personal manner, he mapped out memories of a place where the inescapable "Great Death" had ruled.
- In documenting their memories, the Holocaust survivors who became its historians bequeathed to future generations a history that—even if the written word falls short of conveying their experience—can be forgotten only at our own peril.

Reading

Friedländer, *When Memory Comes*.
———, *Where Memory Leads*.
Kulka, *Landscapes of the Metropolis of Death*.
Wiesel, *And the Sea Is Never Full*.
———, *Night*.
Wistrich, *Hitler and the Holocaust*.

Questions

1 What differences do you see in the postwar lives and careers of Elie Wiesel, Saul Friedländer, and Otto Dov Kulka? What differences do you see in how the Holocaust affected them?

2 This lesson discusses three different modes of storytelling: autobiographical, scholarly history, and personal memory and dreams. Which do you find most effective in relating what happened in the Holocaust to those who have never lived the experience?

Bibliography

Ardery, Philip. *Bomber Pilot: A Memoir of World War II*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky. 1978. Memoir of a Harvard Law graduate and B-24 pilot with the US Eighth Air Force who flew the raid on Ploieşti, Romania, during World War II.

Aubrac, Lucie. *Outwitting the Gestapo*. Translated by Konrad Bieber and Betsy Wing. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press. 1993. Memoir of a woman in the French resistance who broke her husband out of prison and fled to England during World War II, later becoming the first woman in the postwar National Assembly.

Beevor, Antony. *Stalingrad: The Fateful Siege, 1942–1943*. New York: Penguin. 1998. Classic account of the fateful Nazi-Soviet battle at Stalingrad by British historian Beevor.

Beevor, Antony, and Luba Vinogradova. *A Writer at War: Vasily Grossman with the Red Army, 1941–1945*. New York: Pantheon Books. 2005. Based on Soviet novelist Vasily Grossman's journals, a wonderful book that tells the story of Grossman's wartime experiences.

Berg, Mary. *The Diary of Mary Berg: Growing Up in the Warsaw Ghetto*. London: Oneworld Publications. 2007. Diary of a 15-year-old girl in the Warsaw ghetto. Published in 1945 when she escaped to the United States, this was the first account published in English.

Bolitho, Hector. *War in the Strand: A Notebook of the First Two and a Half Years in London*. London: Agora Books. 2018. Memoir of a successful writer who served in British intelligence during the London Blitz, featuring many fascinating observations of changing social mores and social life.

Bonnin, Georges. *The Nuremberg Trials: A Personal History*. Edited by Jean Bonnin and Lyn Bonnin. UK: Silver Egg Publishing. 2016. Memoir of French delegate at the Nuremberg trials who was imprisoned during the war by the Gestapo. Unique for French perspective on the trial.

Brackman, Arnold. *The Untold Story of the Tokyo War Crimes Trials*. New York: Quill/William Morrow. 1987. Part memoir, part history of the major events at the Tokyo trial for Japanese war criminals.

Brook, Timothy, ed. *Documents on the Rape of Nanking*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1999. A compilation of primary source documents and testimony of the Japanese Rape of Nanjing in China from 1937 to 1938.

Buell, Harold L. *Dauntless Helldivers: A Dive-Bomber Pilot's Epic Story of the Carrier Battles*. New York: Orion Books. 1991. Memoir by an American SBD Dauntless dive-bomber pilot who participated in the historic battles of Coral Sea and Midway in 1942.

Capa, Robert. *Slightly Out of Focus*. New York: Modern Library. 2001. Memoir first published in 1946 and full of photographs by Capa, documenting his personal experiences in love and war during World War II.

Churchill, Winston S. *The Hinge of Fate*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1950. The fourth volume in Churchill's magisterial history of the Second World War, focusing on the Allies changing fortunes circa 1942.

Conant, Jennet. *Man of the Hour: James B. Conant, Warrior Scientist*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2017. This biography written by Conant's granddaughter includes personal anecdotes and history of the Harvard president and scientist who was a key driver of the Manhattan Project.

Cook, Haruko Taya, and Theodore F. Cook. *Japan At War: An Oral History*. New York: The New Press. 1992. Collection of oral histories showcasing the experiences of ordinary Japanese people on the home front during World War II.

Davis, Benjamin O. Jr. *American*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press. 1991. Memoir of the leader of the Tuskegee Airmen, the African American pilots who became the first Black military aviators in World War II.

Evans, Richard. *The Third Reich in Power*. New York: Penguin Press. 2005. The second volume in a massive trilogy of the Third Reich, this volume concerns the Nazi revolution in Germany from 1933 to 1939.

Fest, Joachim. *Not I: Memoirs of a German Childhood*. Translated by Martin Chalmers. New York: Other Press. 2006; 2012. Memoir of a young German whose family was resistant to the Nazis. He later became a noted biographer of Hitler.

Friedländer, Saul. *When Memory Comes*. New York: Other Press. 1978. Memoir of a young Jewish boy whose parents perished in the Holocaust. Becoming a Zionist after the war, he reflects on the improving Arab-Israeli relations of the time along with his own past and career as a historian.

———. *Where Memory Leads: My Life*. New York. Other Press. 2016. Second volume of Friedländer's memoirs that takes readers from the historical debates over how to interpret the Holocaust in the 1980s through his two-volume, award-winning history of the subject.

Glantz, David. *The Battle for Leningrad, 1941–1944.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2002. Massively detailed military history of the siege of Leningrad by the Germans from 1941 to 1944.

Gordon, Richard. *Horyo: Memoirs of an American POW*. St. Paul, MN: Paragon House. 1999. Memoir by an American soldier who survived the Bataan Death March and years as a prisoner of war of the Japanese in the Philippines.

Grady, Stephen. *Gardens of Stone: My Boyhood in the French Resistance*. UK: Hodder and Stoughton. 2013. Memoir of a teenaged boy in the French resistance in a small town during World War II. His father had tended the World War I dead in the town cemetery, and he inherited its care after World War II.

Grossman, Vasily. *The Hell of Treblinka*. 1944. Soviet writer Grossman's mother perished in the Holocaust. This is his account of the Nazi death camp operations at Treblinka right after it was liberated by the Red Army.

Guderian, Heinz. *Achtung Panzer! The Development of Tank Warfare.* London. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1999. Originally published in 1937, a classic account by the German general arguing that tanks will revolutionize the battlefields checked in stalemate during World War I. It became the theoretical basis of the German blitzkrieg attack.

———. *Panzer Leader*. Da Capo Press. 1996. Originally published after the war, a memoir of famous German general Heinz Guderian, who revolutionized tank warfare in World War II.

Hachiya, Michihiko. *Hiroshima Diary*. Edited by Warner Wells. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1955. Based on his diary at the time, a day-by-day memoir of a Japanese physician after the atomic bombing of Hiroshima in August and September 1945.

Heck, Alfons. *A Child of Hitler*. New York: Bantam Books. 1985. Memoir of a German boy in the Hitler Youth from 1939 to 1945.

Herman, Arthur. *Freedom's Forge: How American Business Produced Victory in WWII*. New York: Random House. 2012. Account of how American economy produced unprecedented amounts of war material as the basis of military victory in World War II, with particular emphasis on the roles of industrialists William Knudsen and Henry Kaiser.

Hersey, John. *Into the Valley: Marines at Guadalcanal*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2002. Veteran journalist's brief account of the struggles US Marines faces on Guadalcanal.

Hillary, Richard. *The Last Enemy*. UK: Penguin Books. 2018. Published in 1942, a haunting memoir of a privileged British pilot who is badly injured during the Battle of Britain and reexamines his own beliefs and conscience.

Hunt, Irmgard. *On Hitler's Mountain: Overcoming the Legacy of a Nazi Childhood*. New York: Harper Perennial. 2006. Memoir of a young girl raised in the 1930s at Berchtesgaden in Austria, where Adolf Hitler maintained a mountain retreat.

Hynes, Samuel. *Flights of Passage: Reflections of a World War II Aviator*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press. 1988. Memoir of a young US Marine pilot, detailing his training and wartime experiences in the Pacific. He later became a noted professor of literature at Princeton University.

Hynes, Samuel, Anne Matthews, Nancy Sorel, and Roger Spiller, eds. *Reporting World War II, Part Two: American Journalism 1944–1946*. New York: Library of America. 1995. Second volume of compilations of the best American journalists writing on a vast array of subjects. Includes entries by Ernie Pyle and all of cartoonist Bill Mauldin's work.

Inoguchi, Rikihei, Tadashi Nakajima, and Roger Pineau. *The Divine Wind*. New York: Bantam Books. 1958. Classic account published by two Japanese officers in charge of the first organized kamikaze units in the Philippines. Reproduces last letters from kamikaze pilots.

Kertzer, David. *The Pope and Mussolini: The Secret History of Pius XI and the Rise of Fascism in Europe*. New York: Random House. 2014. Pulitzer Prize–winning history that explores the diplomacy of Pope Pius XI and Benito Mussolini's fascist government between 1922 and 1939.

Kiernan, Denise. *The Girls of Atomic City*. New York: Touchstone. 2013. Story of the development of Oak Ridge, Tennessee—the secret city built to produce uranium for the atomic bomb—and how women played a central role in its success.

Kix, Paul. *The Saboteur*. New York: Harper Collins. 2017. Biography of daring French commando Robert de La Rochefoucauld and his experiences with the resistance during World War II.

Kochina, Elena. *Blockade Diary: Under Siege in Leningrad, 1941–1942*. New York: Ardis Publishers. 2014. Terse diary of a young woman and her struggles to survive with her family during the siege of Leningrad.

Kotkin, Stephen. *Stalin: Waiting for Hitler, 1929–1941*. New York: Penguin Press. 2017. Second volume of a proposed biographical trilogy that details the Soviet dictator's life and policies in the 12 years leading up to war with Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany.

Kulka, Otto Dov. *Landscapes of the Metropolis of Death: Reflections on Memory and Imagination*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2013. An astonishing, brief memoir by a survivor and professional historian of the Holocaust in which he details his dreams provoked by a 1978 personal visit to Auschwitz and his memories as a boy during the war there.

Lockwood, Charles A. *Sink 'Em All: Submarine Warfare in the Pacific*. E.P. Dutton and Company. 1951; 2017. World War II memoir of the commander of the submarine force in the Pacific, Admiral Charles Lockwood.

Lubbeck, William, and David B. Hurt. *At Leningrad's Gates: The Story of a Soldier with Army Group North*. Philadelphia and Newbury: Casemate. 2010. Memoir of a German infantry soldier who served with Army Group North for the siege of Leningrad during World War II.

MacCarthy, Aidan. *A Doctor's War*. London: Grub Street. 2006. Memoir of a Royal Air Force physician who was taken as a prisoner of war in Java by the Japanese, survived the sinking of his transport vessel, and witnessed the atomic bombing at Nagasaki before returning home to Ireland.

MacDonald, Charles. *Company Commander*. NJ: Burford Books. 1947. Brief memoir of a young infantry company commander fighting in Europe in 1944 and 1945.

Mahlendorf, Ursula. *The Shame of Survival: Working Through a Nazi Childhood*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2009. Memoir of a woman reflecting on her girlhood and beliefs in the Hitler Youth, including her psychological and moral struggle when older to come to terms with what she was and might have become.

Malarkey, Don, and Bob Welch. *Easy Company Soldier*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin. 2008. Memoir of a parachute infantry soldier in the so-called Band of Brothers, a unit of the 506th Parachute Infantry Regiment in World War II.

Manchester, William. *The Arms of Krupp, 1587–1968*. New York: Little, Brown and Company. 1968. Classic history of Krupp, the German cannon production firm that armed the Third Reich, and the involvement of its young leader, Alfried Krupp, with Nazi war crimes during World War II.

Manchester, William. *The Last Lion: Alone, 1932–1940*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1988. Second volume of a biographical trilogy of Prime Minister Winston Churchill. Examines Churchill's years in the wilderness, out of power, from 1932 to 1940.

Matthews, Anne, Nancy Sorel, and Roger Spiller, eds. *Reporting World War II, Part One: American Journalism 1938–1944*. New York: Library of America. 1995. Compilation of the best American journalists writing on a vast array of subjects. Includes J. Saunders Redding, Mary Heaton Vorse, Margaret Bourke White, and Ernie Pyle.

Merron, David. *Goodbye East End: An Evacuee's Story*. London: Corgi Books. 2015. This memoir by a young Jewish boy evacuated from London's East End tells the story of his discovery of rural England, his social challenges, and how the countryside and nature transformed him during World War II.

Michener, James A. *The World Is My Home*. New York: Random House. 1992. Memoir of the best-selling novelist. Includes his years of service in the US Navy in World War II in the South Pacific, which set the foundation for his postwar writing career.

Monroe-Jones, Edward, and Michael Green, eds. *The Silent Service in World War II*. Philadelphia: Casemate. 2012. A collection of stories by World War II submariners, with many interesting and unique experiences detailed.

Moorehead, Alan. *A Late Education: Episodes in a Life*. London: Hamish Hamilton. 1970. Memoir by Australian journalist Moorehead detailing his friendship with British journalist Alex Clifford in North Africa and Europe during World War II.

Moye, J. Todd. *Freedom Flyers: The Tuskegee Airmen of World War II*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Outstanding history of the Tuskegee Airmen, the African American pilots and aircrew who overcame racism to prove their worth in battle during World War II and set the stage for postwar change.

Mukhina, Lena. *The Diary of Lena Mukhina: A Girl's Life in the Siege of Leningrad*. London: Pan Books. 2016. Diary of a teenage girl struggling with cold, hunger, and other challenges during the siege of Leningrad.

Murrow, Edward R. *This Is London*. New York: Schocken Books. 1941. Tells the story of famous American radio broadcaster Murrow's coverage of the Battle of Britain.

Ogawa, Tetsuro. *Terraced Hell: A Japanese Memoir of Defeat and Death in Northern Luzon, Philippines*. Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Company. 1972. Rare and fascinating account of a Japanese teacher trapped with the retreating Japanese army into the mountains of the Philippines in 1944 and 1945. Details his struggle to escape his culture's expectations of suicide.

Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko. *Kamikaze Diaries: Reflections of Japanese Student Soldiers*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Scholarly study of the diaries and letters of six Japanese university students who became kamikazes in World War II. Most notable for their examinations of alternative philosophies against Japanese nationalism.

O'Kane, Richard. *Clear the Bridge! The War Patrols of the USS* Tang. New York: Ballantine Books. 1977. Memoir and poignant story by the captain of the most successful American submarine in World War II. Gives interesting insights into daily life aboard a WWII submarine.

———. Wahoo*: The Patrols of America's Most Famous World War II Submarine*. Novato, CA: Presidio Press. 1987. Memoir from when O'Kane was the executive officer on USS *Wahoo* under Captain Dudley "Mush" Morton. Discusses how their unique partnership revolutionized submarine tactics during World War II.

Okuda, Sadako Teiko, and Pamela Bea Wilson Vergun. *A Dimly Burning Wick: Memoir from the Ruins of Hiroshima*. New York: Algora Publishing. 2008. Memoir of a young woman's search through the ruins of Hiroshima for her family in the immediate aftermath of the atomic bomb's detonation. Particularly moving for its accounts of the suffering of children.

Overy, Richard. *Interrogations: The Nazi Elite in Allied Hands, 1945*. New York: Penguin. 2001. Accounts of interviews conducted with leading Nazis by Allied personnel for the Nuremberg war crimes trials.

Pogue, Forrest C. *Pogue's War: Diaries of a WWII Combat Historian*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 2006. Memoir from diaries kept by Dr. Forrest Pogue, noted army historian charged with collecting oral histories of Allied troops after D-Day landings.

Popoff, Alexandra. *Vasily Grossman and the Soviet Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2019. Scholarly study of the life and works of Vasily Grossman, Soviet journalist and novelist.

Reynolds, David. *Rich Relations: The American Occupation of Britain, 1942–1945*. New York: Random House. 1995. Outstanding history of the American troop buildup in Britain in preparation for the D-Day invasion. Details many colorful and serious issues between the two Allies despite their shared language, cultural values, and history.

Ringelblum, Emmanuel. *Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto: The Journal of Emmanuel Ringelblum*. Edited and translated by Jacob Sloan. New York: ibooks, inc. 1958; 2006. Journal entries compiled by historian Ringelblum detailing everyday abuses of Jews within the Warsaw ghetto by the Nazis.

Ritter, Maria. *Return to Dresden*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2004. Memoir of a German woman remembering her experiences as a three-year-old child with her family during the Allied bombing of Dresden, Germany, in 1945.

Röling, B. V. A., and Antonio Cassese. *The Tokyo Trial and Beyond*. UK: Polity Press. 1993. A long interview with B. V. A. Röling, the Dutch judge at the Tokyo war crimes trials, on the events of the trial and its legacy.

Sams, Margaret. *Forbidden Family: A Wartime Memoir of the Philippines, 1941–1945*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press. 1989. Memoir by an American woman caught with her family in the Philippines during the Japanese invasion. She survives prisoner-of-war camps and personal traumas before being liberated.

Sereny, Gitta. *Into That Darkness*. New York: Vintage Books. 1974. Fascinating book based on interviews conducted by Sereny with the police commandant at the Treblinka death camp, Franz Stangl.

Skrjabina, Elena. *Siege and Survival: The Odyssey of a Leningrader*. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press. 1971. Poignant memoir by a Soviet woman struggling to survive the siege of Leningrad. Provides many fascinating insights into daily life there.

Slim, William. *Defeat Into Victory: Battling Japan in Burma and India, 1942–1945*. New York: Cooper Square Press. 1956. Memoir by General William Slim detailing the turnaround of British fortunes against the Japanese in the China-Burma-India Theater under his command from 1942 to 1945.

Snow, Edgar. *Journey to the Beginning: A Personal View of Contemporary History*. New York: Vintage Books. 1972. Autobiographical account by famed American journalist Edgar Snow of his career, with particular focus on important leaders in Asia and the United States that he knew well.

Sonnenfeldt, Richard. *Witness to Nuremberg*. New York: Arcade Publishing. 2006. Memoir by the chief American interpreter at the Nuremberg war crimes trials. Sonnenfeldt relates many interesting details from his interactions with top Nazi leaders.

Tatsuzô, Ishikawa. *Soldiers Alive*. Translated by Zeljko Cipris. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 2003. Originally published in 1938, this novella was based on Tatsuzô's coverage of Japanese soldiers during the invasion of China, particularly at the Rape of Nanjing. Enough harrowing truths emerged from it to permanently influence perceptions of the Imperial Japanese Army.

Taylor, Telford. *The Anatomy of the Nuremberg Trials: A Personal Memoir*. New York: Skyhorse Publishing. 1993. Memoir written by one of the American prosecutors at the Nuremberg war crimes trials. Contains much insight into the legal history, issues, and legacy of Nuremberg.

Teicher, B. R. *For All It Was Worth: A Memoir of Hitler's Germany before, during and after World War II*. Biocomm Press. 2016. Memoir of a German boy in the Hitler Youth before and during World War II.

Tittmann, Harold Jr. *Inside the Vatican of Pius XII: The Memoir of an American Diplomat during World War II.* New York: Image Books Doubleday. 2004. Memoir by the American charge-d'affairs living in the Vatican from Pearl Harbor to the liberation of Rome. The value is Tittmann's firsthand accounts of Pope Pius XII's statements on his policies.

Tregaskis, Richard. *Guadalcanal Diary*. New York: Modern Library. 2000. Memoir by American journalist Tregaskis of his time embedded with the marines during the first six weeks of the Battle of Guadalcanal. His diary became a bestselling book in 1942.

Tuohy, William. *The Bravest Man: Richard O'Kane and the Amazing Submarine Adventures of the USS* Tang. New York: Ballantine Books. 2006. Biography of Richard O'Kane, captain of the USS *Tang*, telling the story of submarine warfare in the Pacific.

Von Luck, Hans. *Panzer Commander: The Memoirs of Colonel Hans von Luck*. Dell Publishing. 1989. Memoir by German tank commander Hans von Luck, who participated in German invasions and was a defender in Normandy when the Allies landed on D-Day.

Werth, Leon. *33 Days*. Translated by Austin Denis Johnston. Brooklyn: Melville House Publishing. 1992; 2015. Werth's manuscript telling the story of fleeing the German Army from Paris was lost for more than 50 years. It provides compelling insights into the French national disaster as it occurred.

Whitehead, Don. *Combat Reporter: Don Whitehead's World War II Diary and Memoirs*. Edited by John B. Romeiser. New York: Fordham University Press. 2006. Based on war correspondent Whitehead's diary, this is the story of his coverage in North Africa, Sicily, and Italy during World War II.

Wiesel, Elie. *And the Sea Is Never Full: Memoirs, 1969–*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1999. Memoir by Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel that details his writing career and continuing efforts to keep the memory and history of the Holocaust alive and promote peace.

———. *Night*. New York: Hill and Wang. 1958; translation 2006. Holocaust survivor Wiesel's first book is a chilling, unforgettable personal account of suffering, with particular focus on his relationship with his father.

Winters, Richard, and Cole Kingseed. *Beyond Band of Brothers: The War Memoirs of Major Dick Winters*. New York: Berkeley Caliber. 2006. Memoir of Major Richard "Dick" Winters, commander of the 506th Parachute Infantry Regiment of "Band of Brothers" fame. Includes stories of his time in England, D-Day, and Battle of the Bulge experiences.

Wistrich, Robert. *Hitler and the Holocaust*. New York: Modern Library. 2003. Brilliant compact history examining the interaction of the Nazi regime and Jewish people in a larger European historical and cultural context. Impressive study of the historical roots of anti-Semitism that made the Holocaust possible.

Yamazaki, James, and Louis B. Fleming. *Children of the Atomic Bomb*. Durham: Duke University Press. 1995. Memoir by a Japanese-American physician who survived being a POW in Germany and studied the effects of the atomic bombs on children in Japan.

Yang, Shu-Chin. *Yang Dapeng: Remembrance of a Martyr in Nanjing 1937*. Translated by Catherine Tsai Yang. 2017. Brief account of the service of his older brother, a Chinese soldier who was killed defending Nanjing against the Japanese in 1937. Provides a valuable Chinese perspective on the origins of the war in Asia.

Image Credits

3: Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-H12148/Wikimedia Commons/CC-BY-SA 3.0.; **6**: GaHetNa (Nationaal Archief NL)/Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain.; **10**: Aerial3/iStock/Getty Images.; **10**: Tevatron/Wikimedia Commons/CC BY-SA 3.0.; **15**: Bundesarchiv, Bild 101I-124-0242-24/Gutjahr/Wikimedia Commons/CC-BY-SA 3.0.; **16**: National Digital Archive of Poland/Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain.; **19**: Bundesarchiv, Bild 101I-721-0378-28/Vennemann, Wolfgang/Wikimedia Commons/CC-BY-SA 3.0.; **22**: Bundesarchiv, Bild 101I-134-0766-20/Knobloch, Ludwig /Wikimedia Commons/CC-BY-SA 3.0.; **26**: National Archives and Records Administration.; **29**: National Archives and Records Administration.; **36**: United States Department of Defense/Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain.; **39**: National Archives and Records Administration.; **42**: RIA Novosti archive, image #216/Boris Kudoyarov/Wikimedia Commons/CC-BY-SA 3.0.; **44**: Naumov Andrey/Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain.; **49**: United States Air Force.; **51**: United States Signal Corps/Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain.; **56**: US Department of Energy/flickr/Public Domain.; **58**: National Archives and Records Administration.; **58**: ACME/Wikimedia Commons/Public domain.; **60**: National Archives and Records Administration.; **63**: Photograph Curator/flickr/Public Domain.; **64**: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.; **65**: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.; **70**: Auschwitz Album/Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain.; **72**: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.; **77**: Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-B22081/Wikimedia Commons/CC-BY-SA 3.0.; **80**: Ipos/Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain.; **83**: National Museum of the U.S. Navy Photograph Curator/flickr/Public Domain.; **85**: United States Navy.; **87**: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.; **90**: SDASM Archives/flickr/Public Domain.; **91**: National Archives and Records Administration.; **93**: National Archives and Records Administration.; **97**: Naval History and Heritage Command/United States Navy.; **99**: Naval History and Heritage Command/United States Navy.; **103**: Olivier LPB/Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain.; **104**: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.; **108**: United States Army/Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain.; **110**: National Archives and Records Administration.;

116: Aerial3/iStock/Getty Images.; **116**: National Archives and Records Administration.; **122**: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.; **128**: tormentor4555/flickr/Public Domain.; **132**: Soica2001/Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain.; **135**: United States Navy Photo Curator/flickr/Public Domain.; **137**: USMC Archives/flickr/CC BY 2.0.; **137**: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.; **140**: United States Army Center of Military History/Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain.; **142**: Hiromichi Matsuda/Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain.; **145**: United States Department of Defense/Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain.; **149**: Ratte/Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain.; **151**: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum/Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain.; **152**: WTCA/Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain.; **154**: National Archives and Records Administration.; **156**: Belarusian State Archive of Documentary Film and Photography/United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.; **157**: Chicago Public Library/Wikimedia Commons/CC BY 3.0.

THE GREAT COURSES®

Copyright © The Teaching Company, 2021

Printed in the United States of America

This book is in copyright. All rights reserved.

Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form, or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise), without the prior written permission of The Teaching Company.

4840 Westfields Boulevard

Suite 500

Chantilly, VA 20151-2299

USA

1-800-832-2412

www.thegreatcourses.com