

GLOBAL WAR STUDIES

**The Journal for the Study of Warfare
and Weapons, 1919-1945**



1944: SEVENTY YEARS ON

An International Conference

14-17 April 2014 • Royal Military Academy Sandhurst

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Monday, 14 April

0900 Onwards

Conference registration takes place in Old College.
Registration for accommodation takes place in Victory College and the Slim Annex.

1200-1300

Lunch

Old College

(for all conference delegates)

1330-1400

Welcome and Opening Remarks

Woolwich Hall

1400-1500

Keynote Address: Antony Beevor

Armies in Normandy: Characteristics and Contrasts

Chair: Robert von Maier

1500-1600

Tea

Old College

Panel Locations:

Panel A – Old College Model Room

Panel B – Indian Army Memorial Room, Old College

Panel C – Amiens Room, Old College

Panel D – Conference Room, Old College

Panel E – Overseas Room, Old College

1600-1800 Session 1

1A The Prelude to Overlord • Chair: Evan Mawdsley

Revisiting the Decision for Torch: Its Impact and Consequences

Kevin Smith, *Ball State University*

The Delay in Closing the Air Gap: British Decision-Makers and the Application of Air Power in the Battle of the Atlantic, **Christopher M. Bell**, *Dalhousie University*

When Overlord was All [North] American: The COSSAC Plan for an American- and Canadian-led D-Day and how First Canadian Army got the Boot in December 1943

Marc Milner, *University of New Brunswick*

Making the Grand Alliance Work: Anglo-American-Soviet Liaison and the Pursuit of Victory, December 1943 to February 1945, **Martin Folly**, *Brunel University*

1B Pre-War Thinking, Wartime Experience • Chair: Matthias Strohn

The Secret School of War: The Soviet-German Tank Academy at Kama, 1926-1933

Ian Johnson, *The Ohio State University*

Feldjägerdienst and Werwolf: German Partisan Warfare, 1918-45

Matthias Strohn, *Royal Military Academy Sandhurst*

The Development of German Naval Concepts from 1925-1944

Christian Jentsch, *Marineschule Mürwik*

Design, Design, Design! Did the RN's Carrier Fleet of 1944 owe its Ships Design more to Wartime Experience, Emergency Construction, or Pre-War Thinking Freed of the Constraints of Treaty?

Alexander Clarke, *King's College London*

1C The British Empire at War • Chair: Marcus S. Faulkner

The Role of the Dominions in British Victory, 1939-45

Iain Johnston, *Christ's College, University of Cambridge*

West Africa in the Strategy of the Second World War, 1939-1945

O.A. Akinyeye, *University of Lagos*

Smuts, Empire, and the Legacy of Defeat: The Shaping of South African War Policy in 1944

David Katz, *Stellenbosch University*

The Colonial Office and British West African Colonies' Involvement in WWII

Fewzi Borsali, *University of Adrar*

1D Intelligence • Chair: Duane C. Young

The U.S. Navy Quasi-War of 1939-1941: Special Naval Observers and the Transatlantic Alliance during the Second World War, **David Kohnen**, *U.S. Naval War College*

"One of our most valuable sources of intelligence" – British Intelligence and the Prisoner of War System in 1944, **Falko Bell**, *University of Glasgow/Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz*

The Clowder Mission in 1944: A Reevaluation of SOE's Most Ambitious Project to Penetrate Nazi Germany, **Peter Pirker**, *University of Vienna*

Soviet Espionage in the U.S. Treasury Department during 1944

Donald A. Jordan, *Ohio University*

1E All Too Ordinary: Aspects of the Nazi Genocidal Project • Chair: Geoffrey P. Megargee

The Wehrmacht and the Nazi Camps and Ghetto System
Geoffrey P. Megargee, *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*

KL-Mauthausen: The Final Year in the Worst of Camps
David Wingeate Pike, *The American University of Paris*

The German Uniformed Police and the Holocaust: Behaviour as a Question of Options,
Constraints, and Concealments, **Jan Hendrik Issinger**, *Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg*

When Caregivers Become Killers: Medicine and the Holocaust
Michael and Sheena Chamberlin

1900

Dinner

Victory College

(for Victory College and Slim Officers Mess Annex residents only)

Tuesday, 15 April

0730-0830

Breakfast

Victory College

(for Victory College and Slim Officers Mess Annex residents only)

0845-0945

Keynote Address: Richard Overy, University of Exeter

The "Battle of Germany," 1944-45: The Collapse of German Air Power

Chair: Robert von Maier

Woolwich Hall

0945-1030

Coffee

Old College

1030-1200 Session 2

2A The War in the West • Chair: Anthony Clayton

German Strategy for 1944: Cold Sweat in the East, but Greater Danger in the West

Jürgen Förster, *University of Freiburg*

Battle for France or Battle of France? The French and Their Liberation

Olivier Wieviorka, *Ecole Normale Supérieure de Cachan*

The French, the Allies, and the Second D-Day

Claire Miot, *Ecole Normale Supérieure de Cachan*

2B Strategy and War in China and India • Chair: Kevin Smith

FDR's New World Order: A Chimerical Vision, **Richard Thornton**, *George Washington University*

The Ichigō Sakusen: Myth and Reality, **Haruo Tohmatsu**, *National Defense Academy of Japan*

Papering over the Cracks: 1944, Japan's Invasion of India, and the Reality
of Anglo-American Relations, **Catherine Wilson**

2C Monte Cassino • Chair: Lee Windsor

The Tragedy of Monte Cassino: The Role of Intelligence in the Decision to Bomb the Benedictine Monastery during the Italian Campaign of 1944

William E. Colligan, *National Intelligence University*

"What commander since Hannibal had ever had such instructions?": Major-General Alexander Galloway and 4th Indian Division at the Third Battle of Monte Cassino, March 1944

Chris Mann, *Royal Military Academy Sandhurst*

Remembering Monte Cassino: The Memory of the Battle of the 2nd Polish Corps in Post-War Poland, **Jan Szkudlinski**, *Museum of the Second World War*

2D Naval Strategy and Operations • Chair: Kathleen Broome Williams

Allied Naval Strategy in the Indian Ocean, **Ben Jones**, *University of Portsmouth*

Maru Massacre: Re-assessing the American Submarine War of 1944

Robert Dienesch, *Gregg Centre for the Study of War and Society*

Trial by Battle: Roi-Namur and the Naval Gunfire Support "Lessons of Tarawa"

Donald K. Mitchener, *University of North Texas*

2E Occupation and Economic Policy • Chair: Olivier Wieviorka

Italian Economic Policy in French-Occupied Territories: A Strategy to Achieve War Aims?

Diane Grillère-Lacroix, *Université Paris-Sorbonne*

The Legacy of Military Necessity in Italy: Allied and German Policy and Its Impact on Italian Civilians, **Cindy Brown**, *University of New Brunswick*

Japanese Efforts for Currency Warfare in China

Keishi Ono, *National Institute for Defense Studies*

1200-1300

Lunch

Old College

(for all conference delegates)

1300-1500 Session 3

3A Strategy and Politics on the Eastern Front • Chair: Jürgen Förster

Why did the Red Army not take Warsaw in August 1944?

Evan Mawdsley, *University of Glasgow*

Prelude to the Soviet-Yugoslav Split of 1948? The Failure of Communist Coalition Warfare in Spring 1944, **Klaus Schmider**, *Royal Military Academy Sandhurst*

Churchill-Stalin Correspondence during WWII: New Evidence from the Russian Archives
Vladimir O. Pechatnov, *Moscow State Institute of International Relations*

Comparative Study of Marshals Zhukov and Rokossovskii

Stephen Walsh, *Royal Military Academy Sandhurst*

3B Air Operations • Chair: Randall Wakelam

Operations COBRA and QUEEN: Successes and Failures in Heavy Bomber Support for Ground Campaigns, **Christopher M. Rein**, *U.S. Air Force Academy*

The Soviet Air Force in Combined-Arms Operations of 1944

Ilya Grinberg, *State University of New York*, and **Von Hardesty**

The Black Widows of 1944: The Hybridization of RAF-trained American Pilots, RAF/RCAF Tactics, and an American Airplane to Form the Post-1942 Night Fighter Units of the United States

Terry M. Mays, *The Citadel (The Military College of South Carolina)*

Lend-Lease Aircraft in the Air Battle over the Ukraine, 1944, **Valerii Romanenko**, *National Aviation University*, and **Ilya Grinberg**, *State University of New York*

3C Strategic Choices and Decision Making in the Western Pacific

Chair: Donald K. Mitchener

Rethinking 1944: The Struggle to Bring Down Tojo or the Pacific War as the Final Phase of a Confucian Revolution, **David Williams**

Searching for a Strategy: Australia and the Plan to Retake Singapore in 1944

Peter J. Dean, *The Australian National University*

Japanese Organizational Decision Making in 1944: Year of Indecision

Omi Hatashin, *Waseda University*

Not just "mopping up": Australian Aspirations and Frustrations in the Pacific War, 1944-45

Karl James, *Australian War Memorial*

3D Societies in War • Chair: James Jay Carafano

Army Group Centre, the HEU-Aktion, and the Deportation of Belorussian Children to Germany in Spring 1944, **Johannes-Dieter Steinert**, *University of Wolverhampton*

Young Spongers off the State: Soviet Junior Cadet Schools during WWII

Olga Kucherenko, *University of Cambridge*

Winter 1944 in the British Coal Mines: The Bevin Boys' Scheme and the Mass Stoppages over the Porter Award, **Ariane Mak**, *EHESS*

Managing Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard: A Microcosm of American Society in 1944

Brenden L. Bliss, *Hawai'i Pacific University*

3E The Italian Social Republic • Chair: H. James Burgwyn

German Dominance over the Italian Social Republic

Lutz Klinkhammer, *Deutsches Historisches Institut in Rom*

Counterinsurgency Operations of the Italian Social Republic

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi, *Deutsches Historisches Institut in Rom*

Risorgimento 1944: The Military Aspects of Italian Co-Belligerency

Richard Carrier, *Royal Military College of Canada*

1944: Total War and Irregular Warfare of the Italian Social Republic in Italy and Abroad

Federico Ciavattone, *Italian Society of Military History*

1500-1530

Tea

1530-1700 Session 4

4A D-Day in History and Memory: Comparative Perspectives on the Normandy Invasion

Chair: John Buckley

"Portal of Liberation": D-Day's Role in American Self-Affirmation

Michael R. Dolski, *Joint POW/MIA Accounting Command*

"The Beginning of the End": D-Day in British Memory

Sam Edwards, *Manchester Metropolitan University*

The Aesthetic of Forgetting: Material Culture and French Memory of D-Day in Normandy

Kate C. Lemay, *Auburn University Montgomery*

4B Overlooked Aspects of D-Day - Chair: James Goldrick

Where Were the Carriers on D-Day?, **Tim Benbow**, *King's College London*

A Critical Enabler: RAF Coastal Command in Support of D-Day, June 1944

Christina Goulter, *King's College London*

The Curious Case of Service Harmony: Joint Fire Support to Seaborne Landings

Jon Robb-Webb, *King's College London*

4C The Philippines - Chair: H.P. Willmott

Philippine Guerrilla Campaigns in Luzon and Mindanao

Stephen N. Sams, *National Intelligence University*

The Limits of Combined Operations: The 1944 Leyte Campaign as a Case Study

Arrigo Velicogna, *King's College London*

"Not Politically Expedient": Australia and Operations in the Philippine Islands

Garth Pratten, *The Australian National University*

4D Covert Operations and Overlord - Chair: Kristina A. Young

From Intelligence Plans to the Field: The Military Integration of the French "Maquis"

by the Allies in 1944, **Raphaële Balu**, *University of Caen-ENS Cachan*

Missed Opportunities, Force Multiplication, and Unconventional Attrition: A Reassessment
of the use of Allied Special Forces in France, June-September 1944

Andrew Hargreaves, *Tbilisi State University*

The Price of Resistance: Coerced Cooperation or Coerced Collaboration?

Mary Kathryn Barbier, *Mississippi State University*

4E Societies in War II • Chair: Olga Kucherenko

Mezzogiorno 1943: Soldiers, Citizens, and the Collapse of the State

Mario De Prospo, *Università degli Studi "Federico II" – Naples*

GIs in Paris: An Example of the Complex Relationship between the French and the American Army at the end of World War II, **Arthur Mesmin**, *Ecole Normale Supérieure de Cachan*

The Defeat of the Japanese Garrisons and the Fate of "Comfort Women" in the North Burma-Yunnan Front, **Toyomi Asano**, *Chukyo University*

1715-1815

Keynote Address: Nicholas Rodger, All Souls College, University of Oxford

Naval Aviation, 1920-1945: Some Doubtful Questions

Chair: James Goldrick

Woolwich Hall

1930

Dinner

Victory College

(for all conference delegates)

Wednesday, 16 April

0730-0830

Breakfast

Victory College

(for Victory College and Slim Officers Mess Annex residents only)

0845-0945

Keynote Address: Richard B. Frank

The Asian-Pacific War: New and Contested Terrain

Chair: John C. McManus

Woolwich Hall

0945-1030

Coffee

Old College

1030-1200 Session 5

5A Fighting in Normandy • Chair: Stephen Hart

"Bn occupied objective and held it against various counterattacks." 7th (Light Infantry)

Parachute Battalion 0100 hrs 6 June – 0015 hrs 7 June 1944

Andrew Wheale, *University of Buckingham*

German Defenses at Omaha Beach, D-Day 1944, **Steven Zaloga**

Tactical Adaptability and Innovation in Normandy, 1944: The Royal Ulster Rifles and the Battle of Cambes Wood, **Aaron Edwards**, *Royal Military Academy Sandhurst*

5B Fighting on the Eastern Front • Chair: Klaus Schmider

The World's Largest Stage: The Eastern Front in 1944 - A Geographic Overview

James F. Gentsch, *The University of West Alabama*

The Top Summits of World War II: Actions on the Caucasus Ridge

Alexander Statiev, *University of Waterloo*

The Culmination of Vernichtungskrieg: The German Infantry's War in 1943-44

Jeff Rutherford, *Wheeling Jesuit University*

5C Fighting in Italy • Chair: Chris Mann

The French Army in Italy: A Decisive Contribution?

Julie Le Gac, *Institut des Sciences Sociales du Politique*

"Always on the vino, always on the spree": A Re-visitation of the Morale
of the I Canadian Corps in the Italian Campaign, 1944

William Pratt, *University of Calgary*

Advance to Kill: Eighth Army's Canadian Corps in Northern Italy, August-September 1944

Lee Windsor, *University of New Brunswick*

5D Intelligence and the Third Reich • Chair: William E. Colligan

Shadow Wars, Nazi Style: Nazi Germany's Foreign Intelligence and 1944

Katrin Paehler, *Illinois State University*

The Nazi Intelligence Matrix: The Gestapo outside Germany, 1939-45

Claire M. Hubbard-Hall, *Bishop Grosseteste University*

Clearing the Decks in 1944: The Gestapo's Systematic Program
of Killing Captured Intelligence Agents, **Stephen Tyas**

5E Strategic Bombing and the Normandy Campaign • Chair: Ilya Grinberg

Collateral Damage: Combined and Joint Operations from the French Perspective,
29 May–7 June 1944, **Stephen A. Bourque**, *School of Advanced Military Studies*

Bomber Command and the Normandy Campaign: Precision if Possible, but Possibly no Precision

Randall Wakelam, *Royal Military College of Canada*

Allied Bombing Strategy and Operation Overlord

Boris Leval-Duché, *Ecole Normale Supérieure de Cachan*

1200-1300

Lunch

Old College

(for all conference delegates)

1300-1500 Session 6

6A The British and German Armies at War • Chair: Simon Trew

21st Army Group: Structure, Organisation and Culture, 1944-45

John Buckley, *University of Wolverhampton*

Osthärte im Westheer: The "Easternization" of the German Army in the West, 1944

Russell Hart, *Hawai'i Pacific University*

Teeth, Tail, and Tanks: Manpower Distribution in the Late-War British Army

Alan Allport, *Syracuse University*

Panzer Divisions in Comparison: Heer and Waffen-SS in Normandy, 1944

Peter Lieb, *Royal Military Academy Sandhurst*

6B The Island War in the Pacific • Chair: Donald K. Mitchener

Stalemate in Palau: An Unnecessary Corner of Hell

Derek Mallett, *Joint POW/MIA Accounting Command*

Guam and Peleliu: Self Destruction, Culture, and a Shift in the Pacific War

John C. McManus, *Missouri University of Science and Technology*

Saipan: The Other D-Day and a Marine's Fight to Fight, **Kathleen Broome Williams**

The Occupation of Okinawa: Considerations of Race and Identity in Naval

Military Government Policy Construction and Practice, 1945-1946

Courtney A. Short, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

6C Homefronts • Chair: Jürgen Förster

The French and German Public Opinion in 1944

Johannes Schmidl, *Ecole Normale Supérieure de Cachan*

Policing Airwaves: The Decree by the Ministerial Council for the Defense of the Reich on "Extraordinary Radio Measures" as a Means of Controlling Informational Flow

Paulina Faraj, *Georgia Institute of Technology*

The End of Pretend-Normality: Goebbels' Closure of the Theatres, September 1944

Gerwin Strobl, *Cardiff University*

Fighting Music in Imperial Japan: The Relationship between the Japanese Music Industry and War in the 1940s, **Masanori Tsujita**

6D Memory and Making History • Chair: Paul Latawski

The Second Sino-Japanese War from the Viewpoint of a Japanese Soldier:

Through the Non-written Materials, **Issei Hironaka**, *Mie University*

Dwight Shepler, Combat Artist at Normandy

David W. McComb, *Destroyer History Foundation*

Why are we seeing more and more oral history on our bookshelves? Wolverhampton University's Oral History Programme and the North West Europe Campaign, **Matthew Lucas**

Battlefield Tourism 70 Years On

Peter Caddick-Adams, *UK Defence Academy/Cranfield University*

1500-1530

Tea

1530-1700 Session 7

7A Fighting in Normandy II • Chair: Russell Hart

Villiers Fossard: The U.S. 3rd Armored Division versus Great War Trenches
Duane C. Young, *National Intelligence University*

Seizing the Bridgehead at Jort: The Polish 1st Armoured Division in Operation Tractable,
14-16 August 1944, **Paul Latawski**, *Royal Military Academy Sandhurst*

"Improvisation in Contact": Tactical and Technical Innovation plus C2 and Force Structure
Adaptation within the 2nd Canadian Armoured Brigade-Group, Normandy, 7-8 August 1944
Stephen Hart, *Royal Military Academy Sandhurst*

7B Burma • Chair: Donald K. Mitchener

Re-Fighting the Battle of Imphal; Mountbatten, the General, and the Official Historians
Tim Bean, *Royal Military Academy Sandhurst*

"Marauder" Brigadier General Frank D. Merrill and the U.S. Army's War in Burma,
November 1943 – August 1944, **Leo J. Daugherty III**, *U.S. Army Cadet Command*

The Siege of Kohima, 4 April – 20 April 1944: A Case Study of Successful Active Defence?
Edmund Yorke, *Royal Military Academy Sandhurst*

7C Collaboration and Treason • Chair: Mary Kathryn Barbier

Hitler's Springboks: South Africans, the German Reich, and the Politics of Collaboration
and Treason, 1939-1945, **Ian van der Waag**, *Stellenbosch University*

A Sorry Spectacle: The Great American Sedition Trial of 1944
Eric A. Sibul, *Baltic Defence College*

How did they protest? Collaboration and Resistance in the South East Asian Occupied Territories
Yoshimasa Nomura, *National Defense Academy of Japan*

7D The Experience of the War in the West • Chair: Robert von Maier

Known Unknowns of Hill 112: Difficulties of Tactical Level Historical Research
Claus Telp, *Royal Military Academy Sandhurst*

POWs Behind Barbed Wire: Paratroopers of the 504th Parachute Infantry Regiment
in German Captivity, July 1943 – May 1945, **Frank van Lunteren**

From Occupiers to Prisoners of War: German Soldiers in Normandy, 1944
Valentin Schneider, *Université de Caen Basse-Normandie*

7E Covert Wars • Chair: Kristina A. Young

The Difficult Collaboration Between Anglo-Americans and Italians in Military Intelligence in 1944
Maria Gabriella Pasqualini, *University of Palermo; Scuola Ufficiali Carabinieri*

Intrigue on Neutral Ground: Macao during the Second World War
Felicia Yap, *University of Cambridge*

The "Ratcatchers": British Security Intelligence in Occupied Persia, 1942-44, **Adrian O'Sullivan**

1715-1815

Keynote Address: David Reynolds, Christ's College, University of Cambridge

June 1944: Two D-Days and the Making of Cold War Europe

Chair: Christopher M. Bell

Woolwich Hall

1930

Conference Dinner

Old College

(limited to conference delegates who have pre-booked and pre-paid for this occasion)

After-Dinner Keynote Address: Evan Mawdsley, University of Glasgow

War in Our Time: Writing and Reading about the 1940s in the 2010s

Chair: Simon Trew

Thursday, 17 April

0730-0830

Breakfast

Victory College

(for Victory College and Slim Officers Mess Annex residents only)

0900-1030 Session 8

8A Military Operations • Chair: Steven Zaloga

Attrition and Manoeuvre Synchronised: Coalition Warfare, the Normandy Breakout, and the Belorussian Operation, June-July 1944, **Chris Bellamy**, *Greenwich Maritime Institute*

Modern Examination of Strategic Decision-Making Related to Operation Market-Garden

Elizabeth A. Coble, *U.S. Army*

Cohesive to the End: Corps Ems' Defence of the Cuxhaven Peninsula, 1-5 May 1945

Stephen Hart, *Royal Military Academy Sandhurst*

8B The End of the War and its Aftermath • Chair: Raymond J. Batvinis

Dying Embers: The Final Days of the Nazi-Fascist Alliance, **Robert Mallett**

Lancaster Scheme and British/Indian Politics in Afghanistan in late WWII – early post-WWII

Vladimir Boyko, *Altai State Pedagogical Academy*

Cairo Spies: Problems of Intelligence Appraisal in early Post-War Planning

Jill Edwards, *American University in Cairo*

8C Memory and Legacy • Chair: Donald K. Mitchener

Commando Kieffer: Free French Sailors in the British Army – History, Memory, and Representations, **Stéphane Simonnet**, *Le Mémorial de Caen*

The Exhibitions and War, **Mamiko Ito**, *Gakushuin University*

1944 and the Legacies of Anti-Communist Ideology in West Germany's Border Guard

David M. Livingstone, *University of California, San Diego*

8D Air Forces and Their Impact • Chair: Klaus Schmider

Dutch Aircrews and Their Participation in the Liberation of the Netherlands:
Advantage or Disadvantage?, **Erwin van Loo**, *Netherlands Institute for Military History*

Wings for Victory: Jacqueline Cochran, American Women Pilots, and the RAF
Rhonda Smith-Daugherty, *Alice Lloyd College*

The Terror and Chaos that was Hidden from the World: Grimsby, Cleethorpes,
and the Butterfly Bomb, **James I. Rogers**, *University of Hull*

1030-1100

Coffee

1115-1215

Keynote Address: Karl-Heinz Frieser

Courland - Hitler's Last Illusion: The Collapse of the Eastern Front
and the Retreat to the Baltics, 1944

Chair: Geoffrey P. Megargee

Woolwich Hall

1215-1300

Close of Conference Remarks:

Major General Stuart Skeates CBE, Commandant RMAS

Robert von Maier, Editor-in-Chief, *Global War Studies*

1300

Lunch

Old College

(for all conference delegates)

Special Thanks to Our Conference Co-Sponsors



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HOLOCAUST
MEMORIAL
MUSEUM**

The **National Intelligence University** is a fully accredited, federal degree granting institution with the mission to educate and prepare intelligence professionals to meet current and future challenges to the national security of the United States. The NIU is a unique and technologically advanced university that focuses on the profession of intelligence. The main campus is in Washington D.C.

The **United States Holocaust Memorial Museum** is America's national institution for the documentation, study, and interpretation of Holocaust history, and serves as the country's memorial to the millions of people murdered during the Holocaust. The Museum's primary mission is to advance and disseminate knowledge about this unprecedented tragedy; to preserve the memory of those who suffered; and to encourage its visitors to reflect upon the moral and spiritual questions raised by the events of the Holocaust, as well as their own responsibilities as citizens of a democracy.