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 Jentzsch, 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
IE 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 Iffinger, 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


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 Diñesch, 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 Grillére-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 Schmidt, 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: Randell 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, Raphaëlle 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


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-Duchê, Ecole Normale Supérieure de Caen

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, Hawaii 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 Schmid, 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

1944: SEVENTY YEARS ON • 9
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

1944: SEVENTY YEARS ON • 10
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 Kieffèr: Free French Sailors in the British Army – History, Memory, and Representations, Stéphane Simonnet, Le Mémorial de Coen
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

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.